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URBAN HANDICRAFTS
OF THE
BOMBAY DECCAN

BY
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To
The Memory of My Father

N. M. Joshi

FOREWORD

This publication was first written as a thesis for the M. A. Degree of the University of Bombay. It is now published by the Institute in a considerably revised and abridged form. The Institute has included it in its series of publications as the author carried out his investigations and completed his study at the Institute and as the type of work carried out and the region selected are those in which the Institute has chiefly concentrated its work.

It is impossible to deny the great importance of handicrafts in Indian economic life. But while a number of descriptive accounts of handicraft conditions in various regions are available nobody has yet undertaken as comprehensive and detailed a study of any branch of handicraft industry as Mr. Joshi here attempts for the urban handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan. The way of a private student-investigator in a field like Indian handicraft is strewn with great difficulties; and it will be readily acknowledged that the volume and nature of the data gathered by Mr. Joshi do him credit. The part of Mr. Joshi's study dealing with the evolution of handicraft activity in the Bombay Deccan is an important contribution to recent Indian economic history. The important changes brought about in the localisation, character, and organisation of handicrafts by the impact of machine competition are narrated in as great a detail as the data available permitted and though to those interested entirely in the problems of the present day, the space allotted to the historical study may appear excessive it was retained as of considerable interest, at least to the academic students, and also as throwing some light on an understanding of the present itself. Mr. Joshi has, I believe, succeeded in showing that the problem of the reconstruction of Deccan handicrafts is of extreme urgency. As a fact the situation calls for even more immediate action than shown in this publication. For, the wage and employment conditions that Mr. Joshi describes relate to the year 1932 and the general conditions of the handicraftsmen have further deteriorated since that time. Mr. Joshi has, of course, addressed himself mainly to the problem of the Deccan handicrafts. But his preliminary general sketch, his concluding chapter and specially his study of state policy in

India and in foreign countries will, it is expected, prove of interest to students of the problem in all parts of India. We thankfully record the fact that it would have been impossible to bring out this publication but for the substantial publication grant received by Mr. Joshi from the University of Bombay.

Gokhale Institute of
Politics and Economics,
Poona. 4.

D. R. GADGIL,
Director.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The present book is an humble attempt at an academic study of the artisan industries (handicrafts) of India. I had to restrict myself to a small tract, due to limitations of single handed investigational work and due to considerations of costs and labour involved. Independent investigations, to supplement available data were carried out in representative handicraft centres of the Bombay Deccan, the results of which are largely summarised in Chapter III and have formed the basis for Chapter V. This work was originally submitted in 1933 as a thesis for the Master of Arts Degree of the Bombay University. It is now considerably revised and brought up-to-date wherever possible.

The entire work in all its stages has been carried out under the guidance of Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Director of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. Prof. Gadgil took great pains in directing me from the initial stages of reading and investigation to the final preparation of the volume for the press. I cannot adequately express the deep debt I owe to Prof. Gadgil for his constant encouragement and guidance. I have also to thank the authorities of the Gokhale Institute for consenting to include the work in the series of publications of the Institute, and bearing a part of the costs of publication.

Dr. V. V. Gokhale, Ph.D. of the Fergusson College, Poona, helped me considerably in connection with the study of the German publications referred to in this volume, for which I tender him my heartiest thanks. I have to further record my appreciation and tender my thanks to all those gentlemen who rendered me valuable assistance in the survey work. Chief among these were Mr. P. V. Kelkar, the then Inspector of Weavers' Co-operative Societies, Central Division, Bombay Presidency, Prof. R. V. Oturkar, M.A., sometime Professor of Economics, Nasik College, my friend Mr. S. V. Irabatti, now a leading entrepreneur in the hand-loom industry of Sholapur, Mr. Karmarkar, the then manager of the Malegaon branch, of the Provincial Co-operative Bank and Mr. M. B. Nirhale, B.A., LL.B., of Sangamner. 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 Library who helped

me throughout the work in the Library. I wish to recognise with thanks the help I received from the Department of Industries, the Central Provinces and Berar and the Department of Industries and Commerce, Mysore State, in the form of certain detailed statistics regarding industrial schools and industrial loans, which they supplied and which were not easily available in the published documents.

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

Willingdon College, Sangli,
1st October, 1936.

N. M. JOSHI.

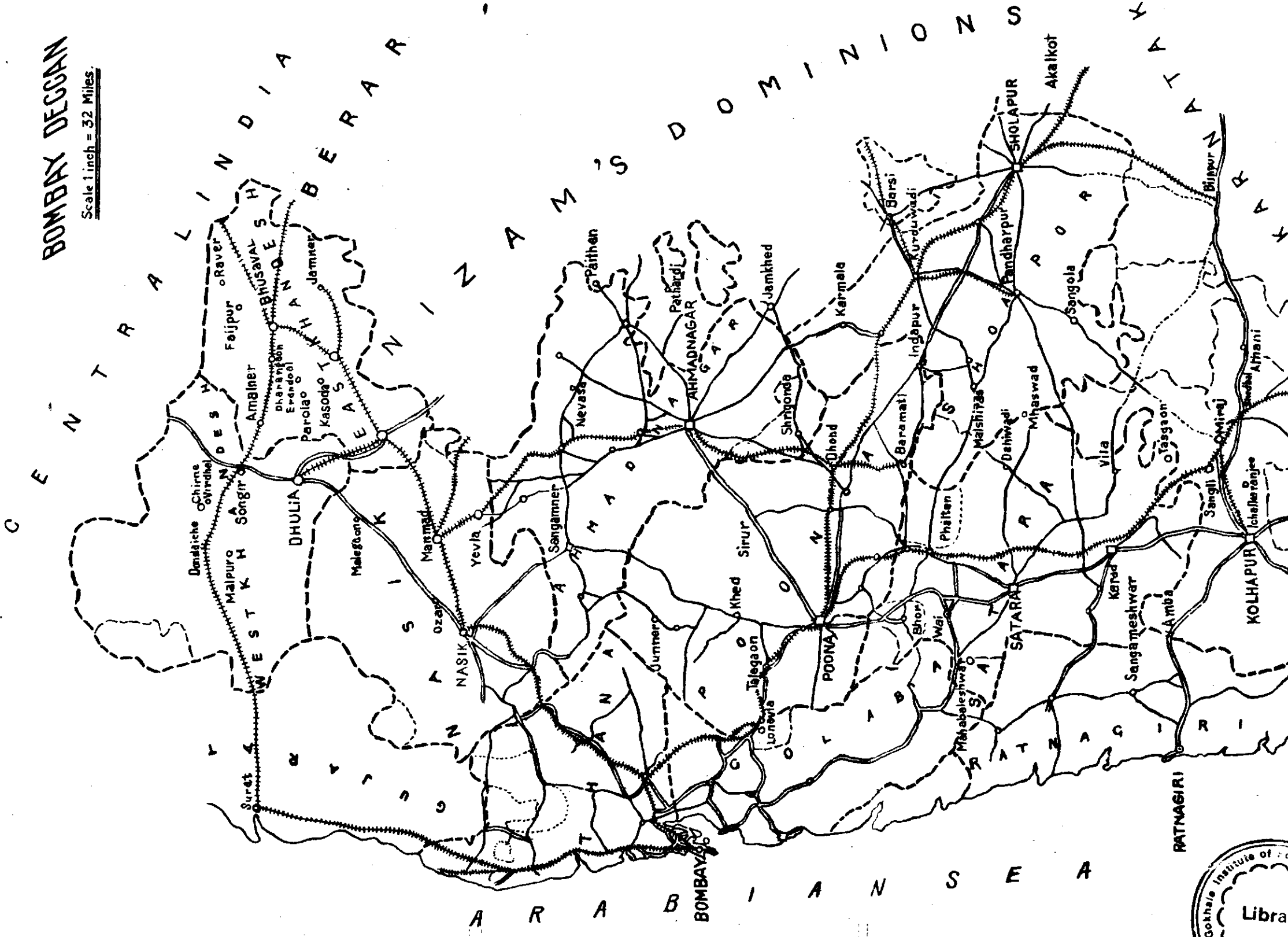
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BOMBAY DECCAN

Scale 1 inch = 32 Miles



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

SECTION I

Theoretical aspects of handicraft Economics

An attempt must first be made to understand the exact meaning attached to the term "Handicraft" in economic parlance. This term has long been in use in works on Economics and has been used in varying senses by different authors of text books of Economics. This has given rise to confusion in determining the nature of the organisation of any particular economic productive activity and has resulted in different sets of classifications of industries in different countries. As examples we may study a few definitions given by eminent writers and compilers and see how far each of them comprises different aspects of the Handicraft as a form of economic activity.

Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy considers Handicraft as a synonym for the Domestic system "which may be accurately and simply described (as is done by the 1806 Report) as a system of manufacture conducted by a multitude of master manufacturers generally possessing a very small and scarcely ever any great extent of capital.... The prevailing feature of the system is the existence of the small capitalist who provides work and livelihood only for himself and a meagre supply of..... subordinates."¹ This definition of Handicraft is in contradistinction to the "Factory System." But by associating it with Domestic System, which is defined as above, the definition includes only the small Independent Master-craftsmen working with or without the help of assistants, and ignores the whole field of industries, carried on by workers in their own houses for capitalist traders, either on piece wages or on contract for a price, industries necessarily carried on, on a very small scale, with inexpensive equipment. Even the term 'Domestic System' is ill-defined

¹ Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, Vol. II, 1925, edited by Henry Higgs, p. 325.

and as Marshall points out, confused by many authorities. The term is used in narrow technical senses, quite inconsistent with one another.¹ Some authors confine it to cases where the small producer works up the material provided by a capitalist trader, others to cases in which the material is owned by the small producer. Marshall uses the term Domestic System in a very broad sense, including all kinds and arrangements of work "done in the houses of the small producers who do not attempt to market the goods themselves...." Thus this term is open to criticism. A definition which associates Handicraft with it cannot be accepted either as a complete or a scientific definition.

Bucher understands Handicraft (*Hand-werk* or *Preis-werk*), as one of the five distinct groups of industries which Marshall calls "Homely Industries" carried on by 'Homely producers,' "whose resources are small and whose outlook is so narrow that they cannot obtain good direct access to general markets...."² According to Bucher the five groups are Household industry, Wage-work, Handicraft, Financed work (*Verlag* or *Hausindustrie*) and finally Factory industry. Under Handicraft Bucher included those industries in which the small independent masters bought their own raw material and sold the finished goods to middlemen traders who dealt with consumers; and by Domestic industry he understood work for a merchant who supplied the raw material and took over the finished product. This definition also narrows down the field of handicraft activity and associates Handicraft with the economic position of the worker in it and his relation to capital and markets only.³ It excludes outwork and the handicraft factories maintained by capitalists which do not cease to be forms of handicraft organisation merely on the score of lesser independence of workers or of the nature of the unit of work. This and the previous definitions only describe the handicraft as a partial phase of industrial evolution rather than as a definite system of production, a system which does not disappear at any particular stage of economic evolution but a form which survives in the midst of superior and more efficient systems of industrial production.

¹ A. Marshall, *Industry and Trade*, 1927, p. 718.

² *Ibid.*, p. 718 and the foot note on the same page.

³ Mantoux in his *Industrial Revolution in the 18th century*, 1927, p. 29, points out that size of the market is not a useful criterion. There are small scale industries, catering for the world market.

More comprehensive and more flexible is the definition given in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Handicraft is defined as "Skilled work with hand, more generally designating those visual arts which are actually practised by hand. In a sense Handicraft may be considered as synonymous with arts and crafts including those which are practised by hand and those which are practised with the aid of machine."¹ This definition stresses two factors, which are most essential aspects of Handicraft. It postulates the existence of manual skill as a precedent to any production and hence a skill which can be acquired by long practice and training; and/or secondly the skilful use of tool or machine, for the transformation of a material substance. This includes such small industries as are carried on with the help of machines, driven with or without motive power, e.g., the metal industries where articles are made with the help of machines or such industries as wire and nail making, cutlery, lock making, etc., which employ small machines and are carried on by small artisan producers. Thus the definition extends the field not only to industries where hand methods and manual skill prevail but also to those industries where as a result of technical improvements, small machines have been introduced. It would, therefore, be easily applicable to the case of handicrafts in Western countries. Further as it makes no distinction as regards the kind and arrangements of work, as the earlier two definitions do it includes all kinds of work carried in small establishments by skilful artisans, irrespective of their relations with capital, equipment, materials and markets or in other words it applies to all those classes of industries which come under the general term "Homely industries" as Marshall styles them and brings under it such diverse classes of workers, as Independent handicraftsmen, Home workers,² Contract work-

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. II, p. 148. Also Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. II, p. 255; "Handicraft is both a method of industrial production and a form of artistic activity. It has become considerably extended in meaning by the conditions of a machine age. A worker who produces an article by hand-work is still a craftsman even though his labour is facilitated by an electric motor, by machine-spun yarns or standard dyes made in big plants."

² They are defined sometimes as handicraftsmen dependent upon an employer, controlling all the elements of production. *International Labour Review*, Vol. XVII, p. 821. *Handicraftsmen and Modern Industry*, by H. Rabinowilch, pp. 818-839.

ers, workers in small handicraft capitalist concerns, etc. This definition, however, does not make it quite clear whether mere manipulation of material substances, without any great technical or manual skill, as in the case of milling, bakery, or whether mere repair work as in the case of low grade smithy, etc., are included within the general term art and craft (of lesser types), and therefore under the term Handicraft. To this extent, therefore, the definition would appear to be somewhat indefinite and narrow.

Another set of definitions is handed down to us, through the criteria applied in statistics and legislation, dealing with artisan or small industries, in a few European countries.¹

The criterion set up by Statistical Offices and Bureaux to define the scope of the small industry or Handicraft, as it can be called, and to distinguish it from the large scale industry, rests on the size of the work-unit and the character and quantity of motive power employed. In U. S. S. R., for example, an establishment employing less than 30 men and no motive power or an establishment employing less than 15 men with motive power is taken, for all statistical purposes, as a small industry. In Germany the limit is 10 men or below. In Rumania an establishment employing between 5 and 20 men with not more than 20 H. P. is a small industry. For Poland we get similar limits. These criteria are thus based on the technical structure of industry and include divergent classes from the smallest out-worker to the commercial entrepreneur who with a limited supply of capital and within restricted sphere of production, merely controls the elements of production.

The legal criteria stress the character of the skill required in the manipulation of material and take into account the professional standing of the worker. This is largely the case in those countries where there has been no summary break up of the old handicrafts and where they continue to the present day. Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia etc., who have had legislation for the artisans, define them as those who carry on some industries with manual skill acquired after some standing in that industry or after a regular course of apprenticeship.

¹ Bureau International du travail, *Le notion de l'artisanat et son evolution* and *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. II, p. 257.

In those countries where the handicrafts had temporarily disappeared, particularly in France, the legislation in favour of the artisan industries in whose case the criterion of manual skill is adopted differentiates between the several types of artisans. The law draws nice distinctions between the size of the establishments and the grades of the relative economic independence of the workers. The French law, thus defines the big artisan as one who carries on an industry or a manufacturing activity, with any number of assistants, and is supposed to have a greater personal credit, and a decent earning as the law does not provide him either with capital facilities or with an exemption from taxation. The 'small Independent artisan' is characterised as one who undertakes some manual work, without the direction of a patron and employs not more than 2 or 3 assistants one being an apprentice.¹ He is supposed to have no capital resources and the law provides him with credit facilities and exempts him from taxation. The lowest grade of artisan is the out-worker, who works with hand or motive power with or without his tools, exclusively for an industrialist or a merchant capitalist, with the help of his family (outside labour being wholly excluded), or an apprentice of not more than 16 years of age. He is naturally supposed to be the least independent economically and is therefore the first to receive State help. Thus the French law takes into account both the size and the nature of the work and draws distinctions between various various grades of the workers.²

But both the statistical and legal definitions lack scientific precision as they wholly ignore the fact of transformation of material substances and are silent as to whether those establishments which satisfy the tests of skill, size, quantity of power employed etc., and yet carry on operations which are subsidiary to finished production, are to be included under the generic term Small industry or Handicraft. Can the Non-artisan industries like plumbing, washing and cleansing, hair dressing—all of them services—, be included under the term Handicraft? Here, evidently, no manipulation of material substances can be said to be taking place and yet the criteria of statistics and law are fairly satisfied. These definitions would, therefore, mislead one when it comes to classifying industries and have therefore to be aban-

¹ Bureau International du travail, *op. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

done if we are to put an exact and scientific interpretation on the term Handicraft.

The latest scientific attempt to define Handicraft is found in the introductory remarks of the Committee on Hand-work in Germany. By Handicraft (*Hand-werk*) the Committee means "a positive kind of economic activity connected as a rule with some material, which is either so manifold or so valuable as to be undertaken only on the ground of a regular training of several years....." and Handicraftsman is defined as a man who belongs to the industry, regardless of the form of his business and hence a man who is either a master, an apprentice or a journeyman or a man who carries on the work as a subsidiary occupation.¹ This definition is more comprehensive than the previous ones. Handicraft, under this definition, is not merely the use of manual skill or mechanical skill but further means the manufacture or transformation of the material with a view to produce a value, by means of some kind of labour. Small machines may be employed, but not beyond a certain limit of the division of labour, which means some processes will of necessity be hand processes. According to this definition Handwork may be found as a part of some large scale industrial processes, in which case it becomes 'handicraft in manufacture' (*Fabrik Handwerk*); Hand-work may be found in trades, services and professions, and this is 'Trade or Professional Handicraft.' Then there is handwork in those industries which are 'Pure Handicrafts,' i.e., those industries which require greater manual skill than others; and finally there are Handicrafts which are small industries and are known as such, in which handwork persists for some process or other, e.g., smithy, bakery, upholstery, etc. This definition includes every kind of industry where handwork prevails to a greater or smaller extent and in a narrow sense the definition emphasises the predominance of hand methods with manual skill and long industrial training, as two factors determining the nature of an industry as a handicraft. Under Handicraft in its broader sense (*Hand-werk*) the German Committee includes the following ten groups of industries :

1. Stone and Earth,
2. Metal,

¹ Report-Committee on "Das Duetsche Handwerk," 1930, Vol. I, p. 1.

3. Chemical,
4. Textile,
5. Paper,
6. Leather and Rubber,
7. Wood and Wooden industries,
8. Food and Provision industries,
9. Clothing and cleaning, and
10. Architecture and Building trades.

In its narrow sense the term includes Iron and Lock-smithy, Wire and Nail making and other metal trades, Lace-knitting, Embroidery, Tailoring, Saddlery, Shoe making, Carpentry, Upholstry, Cabinet making etc.

We may, therefore, accept this German definition for our purposes and use it in its restricted sense as applied to 'Pure handicrafts,' with which we are primarily concerned, *i.e.*, to those handicrafts in which there is a transformation of material substances by workers who possess manual skill and work with hand-tools or machines or with small power-driven machines, which are used for one or more but not for all processes. The economic position of the worker is immaterial in determining the nature of the establishment. The worker may be an independent master, or a home worker (wage or contract worker), or a journeyman or an apprentice.

Our acceptance of this definition would show that we emphasise the production structure of the manufacture, which determines the character of an industrial activity. It would show that we do not take into account the economic position of the persons engaged in the manufacture nor do we lay any special emphasis on the specialisation of productive and managerial and business operations in determining the content of Handicraft. We have pointed out earlier how these considerations lead to the exclusion of some of the handicraft activities. To make the term as comprehensive as possible, it would be seen, we have accepted criteria which appear rather technical than economic. This is not to say that we have nothing to do with economic considerations. Far from that; our main aim is to study the economics of the handicrafts in general and to enable us to take a broader view of it we have merely accepted an interpretation of the term Handicraft, in a broad sense.

It is interesting to note that on the economic side, handicraft has passed through several phases of evolution. The technical structure has gradually evolved in its relation to the worker and to the character of production. There has also been a gradual separation and specialisation between production, and marketing or business, and finally all the factors like mechanical improvements, commercialisation of capital, specialisation of managerial activities, etc., have in their turn led to a gradual growth in the size of the production structure of the handicraft as a system of manufacture. The Handicraft before the rise of Modern Industry was the dominant system of manufacture, with an ultimate aim to exchange or consumption. It was a system devised to meet specialised demand in a localised market; and since its origin it has passed through several phases of evolution, though the rise of a new phase did not drive the earlier phase out of existence. On the contrary all the phases persist even to this day to a greater or smaller degree in different countries and different handicrafts.¹

Handicraft had its origin in 'Usufacture' or production for immediate use or consumption. This phase of industry had two sub-phases. First the household employed outside labour to make certain things to be consumed in the house; the raw material and plant belonged to the household. Another phase was that the raw material, owned by a household was carried to an outside plant where the article was manufactured for the household. From these two resulted a phase in which outside labour and plant was employed by the household, as in the case of itinerant tailoring, goldsmith's work etc., in the house of the consumer, the raw material being provided by the household. Here we find a definite specialisation of the technical means of production. In the modern economic life this usufacture of goods survives as a 'type' rather than as a 'stage,' especially where people are isolated and largely dependent upon themselves for the manufactured wares. Another reason for the appearance of Usufacture of goods in modern times is the intention to boycott some other system of industry (as in the case of hand-spun yarn given by a consumer to a hand-loom weaver in the present day India), or an intention to avoid the existing laws (as in the case of liquor production in Dry America).²

¹ For details, see Gras N. B. G. *Industrial Evolution*, 1930, pp. 1-48.

² *Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

From 'Usufacture' the 'Retail handicraft' both rural and urban followed. 'Retail handicraft' has two phases, namely an artisan working in his own house may work to order, or may make the articles with a view to sell it to a chance customer who may happen to pass his work-shed, or to an undetermined customer in small localised markets. The essential feature of this phase is "the direct retail dealing without the intervention of a special capitalist merchant...."¹ This 'Retail Handicraft,' which introduced the element of sale, was only the first phase of production for sale ('Mercifactory'), which soon developed into Wholesale handicraft as a result of the introduction of merchant-capitalist, with a specialised knowledge of business.² The 'Wholesale handicraft' whether rural or urban, had, on account of the varying economic positions of artisans engaged in them, two phases, viz., Independent and Dependent.

The term wholesale denotes indirectness of relation between consumer and producer, rather than the extent of the volume of business.³ The specialisation in production and marketing brought about a distinction between industrial capital and commercial capital; and led to the development of the handicraft along two lines, viz., the development of the technical structure and that of the marketing machinery. A struggle between these two specialised activities was inevitable as the interests of the artisan and the merchant capitalist were not uniform. The result was the disintegration of the independent master craftsman.

With the advancement in business organisation and scientific progress, came the next stage, namely a centralised system which again had two phases, namely work-shop and factory. The centralised system was helped a great deal by the increasing inter-urban marketing. The work-shop in Handicraft, got additional encouragement, owing to the fact that it helped supervising, maintenance of discipline and timely production. This phase at one time dominated the industrial structure of most countries and even to day it continues in almost all handicrafts where there is considerable division of labour and specialisation of processes, e.g., in the carpet or the metal industry.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 20.

² *Ibid*, p. 22.

³ *Ibid*, p. 25.

With the employment of labour-saving hand-driven machines in some handicrafts the work-shops came to be of two types ; those with hand methods (*i.e.*, those where manual skill was essential, *e.g.*, carpet industry, embroidery, artistic metal and pottery industries ;) and those with machine methods, (*i.e.*, those workshops where mechanical skill in manipulating the machines was essential, *e.g.*, the manufacture of plain metalware or of gold-thread). Both these types of workshops hold the ground respectively in artistic industries of countries like India, Japan, China etc., and in the staple handicrafts of Western countries.

The invention of steam power in the 18th century and of gas and electric power in the last century and their systematic commercialisation and employment in manufacture, the improvements in transport, in marketing machinery and in capital organisation introduced a new era of large scale production. The 'Work-shop' became a large factory employing power-driven machinery operated by ordinary wage earners, with some amount of mechanical skill. The small industrial capitalist developed into a corporation of small share-holders and the small dealer similarly developed into a large advertising and marketing organisation, functioning in conjunction with the factory organisation. The large scale factory owed its rise also to the standardisation of processes, products, and of consumption. These three had a considerable share in determining the field of large scale operations and wherever the three factors were absent the large scale operations did not, as a rule, function efficiently.

The emergence of large scale industry did not mean a wholesale disappearance of the handicraft as a system of production. All the phases we have noticed hitherto are found in different handicrafts of the different countries, side by side with large scale industry. This has given rise to a severe competition between the two systems of production as a result of which some handicrafts have survived while some have decayed partially or wholly. The causes for this phenomenon have to be looked into the advantages and disadvantages of large scale industry and handicraft, arising from their technical structure, and their organisation.

The inherent advantages of large scale industry are of two types, namely those which arise from its production technique

and those which arise from its organisation. Under the advantages of technical structure we include the internal economies such as the employment of high speed machinery leading to greater output, standardisation of tools and appliances, close division of labour and intense specialisation of processes, possibilities of research in the technique and the manufacture of by-products, which in the last 20 years or so, has been carried out to limits beyond belief.¹ The cumulative effect of all these internal economies has been the production of large quantities of materials at lower unit costs.

All these advantages are denied to the handicraft as a system of production. Their absence has caused the entire disappearance of some handicrafts and of some processes in many others. The best instances of this phenomenon are the disappearance of hand-spinning and the preparation of metal sheets. Both the hand-spinning and the manufacture of metal sheets by hand were before the rise of large scale industry the two important handicrafts in industrial life. They have, with the exception of a small amount of hand-spinning in the present-day India, disappeared in the face of the spinning mill and metal sheet factories. In some cases, only a few processes if carried on on a large scale, could make full use of the advantages and these were then transferred from handicraft to large scale industry. Chrome tanning, for example, was taken up by large scale industry; and only bark tanning for some kinds of leather retained its handicraft structure and even in modern times it continues as a handicraft as in India or rural England.²

The advantages of organisation further helped large scale production. These were not possible in the case of the handicraft. Greater capital resources, whole-sale operations of purchase and sale, wider advertising and canvassing activities and a large managerial staff, with close specialisation of routine duties, ultimately resulted in an economy of capital, efficient conditions of production, efficient and economical purchase of raw materials, and efficient distribution and marketing of the finished product. Handicraft which had smaller capital resources, less efficient purchase and sale organisation and lack of efficient advertisement

¹ Gras, *op. cit.* p. 240.

² Fitz-roy and Hay, *Rural Industries of England*, Vol. I, p. 153 and pp. 165-168.

and canvassing, stood at a great disadvantage within the same field of manufacture. Further, standardisation of demand disabled the handicraft in its competition with the large scale industry. For example, the weaving mill and the hand-loom establishment, the shoe factory and the hand-made shoe establishment, calico printing factories and hand-block calico printing establishment, have struggled with each other. In plain piece goods, in shoes and boots of standard shapes and patterns and in calico cloths of standard designs the handicraft has ceased to operate and its field has been restricted, to the production of specialised articles which do not allow economical production on large scale.

As a result of these advantages of the large scale industry and the disadvantages of the handicraft, the latter has disappeared for some or all processes in the manufacture of many products. This process, therefore, represents the wholesale or partial decay of some handicrafts and handicraft processes. As illustrations of this we may refer to some handicrafts like rice and grain husking by hand methods, the preparation of dairy products, timber-sawing etc., in the rural areas of the Western countries. These have been virtually replaced by the rice and flour mills, the big dairy industries (particularly in Denmark), the saw mills etc.¹ which have been greatly helped by the employment of power-driven high speed machinery and their comparatively greater capitalisation in the hands of the industrial entrepreneurs.

Where the advantages of the handicraft are considerable there has been a complete survival of the handicraft and where they are nullified to some extent by the advantages of the large scale industries, the survival has been partial.

The simple production structure of the handicraft, with or without the employment of machines, leads to small and slow out-put and better and artistic qualities of work. The small and slow out-put is necessary in small unconnected markets and the second to satisfy artistic tastes and fashions in vogue.² As only simple tools and appliances are used, the handicraft establishment

¹ In India this is still almost entirely a handicraft.

² Cf. Harry Jerome, *Mechanisation of Industry*, 1934, p. 340—He points out that as a rule, small scale production incident to diversity of product is a handicap to the use of machine methods. See also Robinson, "Structure of competitive industry," pp. 84-86.

can easily adjust itself to the changes in the types and the nature of the demand.¹ The large scale industry, which favours and employs a large proportion of high speed machinery² cannot easily adjust the production to qualitative changes in the demand and has for all times to depend, for economical and efficient production, on standardisation of the demand and highly centralised markets.³ Further a handicraft which can preserve art in a product is strongly entrenched against large scale industry, in whose case the employment of machines destroys the art or fails to preserve it.

Handicraft, thus, survives even to this day in those staple industries where the demand is of a specialised kind, *e.g.*, the cotton carpet industry, the coarse weaving, the hand-block printing etc. in India, all of which endeavour to supply the needs of the smaller consuming areas and satisfy a restricted demand. It also survives in the art industries of China, Japan and India. The knitting, the lace making, the 'bespoke tailoring,' the silk and luxury industries of France, are additional instances in which the handicraft has survived due to its simple technical structure which makes possible small out-put of various types. This would also explain why a few of the rural handicrafts of the different parts of the world survive, in the face of the competition from the large scale industry. These, in addition to employing simple tools and appliances, produce to order varieties of different products, for local consumption, and have as a rule little to fear from the large scale industry.

Another advantage which handicraft establishment derives from its simple production structure is that in the temporary absence of any social and economic strife and of strikes and lock-outs in its field, the handicraft establishment with simple organisation adds very little by way of certain overhead charges to the total costs. These charges for the maintenance of large plants, on non-working days are heavy in the case of large scale industries

¹ This advantage may not actually operate in every handicraft as it ultimately depends upon the adaptability and versatility of the skill of the personnel engaged in it. Where this essential is absent (as in many of the Indian handicrafts) the change in the type of demand may not actually lead to a commensurate change in production.

² H. Jerome, *op. cit.* p. 341.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 351: "Industries with a local market and shielded from intensive competition are but slowly mechanised."

and add a great deal to the unit cost of production. It must be remembered, however, that this advantage is appreciable only in the case of comparatively large handicraft establishments owned and financed by industrial capitalists and worked by unorganised groups of wage-earning craftsmen. In the case of small independent craftsmen's establishments working, on a very small scale the advantage arising from the absence of the organisation of the handicraft labour is negligible as also in the case of dependent home workers, working on contract, or on piece wages.

Another advantage which in recent times has given strength to the handicraft system is the decentralisation of motive power, e.g., electricity which in countries like Germany and Switzerland has helped the small establishments using small machines driven by small electric motors. This advantage is clearly seen in the cutlery, watch-making, gilding, polishing and other small establishments which have arisen as a result of the invention of small machines and decentralisation of the production of some materials and some of the processes which till now had been carried on by the large concerns. This use of electricity in the handicraft establishments is found at different stages of the processes. In some products it appears in the primary processes as in gilding and wire drawing in the gold thread industry of Germany and France; while in other handicrafts it appears in the advanced processes as in the power-loom weaving, or in the polishing of the metal-ware and cutlery etc., in the Western countries. As a result of this, handicraft or the small establishment has survived in some primary processes in some products and in advanced processes in others. But the largest number of handicraft products manufactured by electricity are those where electricity appears at the later stages of the manufacture. A few of the numerous instances are the gilding industries, lock-smithy, cutlery, cotton weaving, tailoring (in Western countries where electric ironing replaces the ordinary ironing processes) etc.

Thus because of the simple technical structure, handicraft has survived in the face of large scale industry in those products where the standardisation of the demand is absent and variety is the dominant characteristic. It persists where premium is put on personal likes and dislikes, and artistic requirements in a product are overwhelming. Similarly where the demand for a product is quantitatively small making large scale production un-

economic and inefficient and where the large scale industry has constantly to suffer from serious extraneous troubles.

The small capital and credit requirements of the handicraft system and the possibility of a direct relation between production and consumption make it an effective system of production under conditions where transport structure is primitive, where credit is unorganised, capital dispersed and direct relation between consumer and producer helpful for the sale of the product. In the rural areas in the Western countries and even in urban areas of the Eastern countries like India, China, etc., where banking and credit are in a backward condition, the handicraft system survives even though large scale production may be possible for the products in question. Even large handicraft factory in the absence of the concentration of the capital and credit, becomes difficult to conduct and the only type which thrives is the 'Retail handicraft' carried on by small master-craftsmen or by outworkers for small capitalists.

Further in goldsmith's trade, bespoke tailoring and footwear it is only a small establishment which can make goods to order for individual consumers. The large scale industry, cannot deal with the individual consumers each with his own variety of demand. Inefficient transport structure, further, would explain the survival of some rural handicrafts which cater for local demands in the Western countries and the survival of some urban handicrafts catering for small regional demands in the countries like India.

The conditions, we have taken note of, under which the handicraft system has decayed or survived are general. When all is said and done, the local conditions differing from country to country and from industry to industry determine the degree of survival or decay. The geographical, economic, social, political and historical conditions have a considerable effect on the position of the handicraft as a system of production, so much so that they sometimes outweigh considerations of structural or organisational character. Such movements as the revival of art and craft in the Western countries and handspinning and khaddar movement in India depending upon the popular support, political or æsthetic, go a long way in giving temporary impetus to handicrafts, even in the face of the competition of the large scale

industry. These and similar factors have to be taken into consideration while accounting for the survival of the traditional handicrafts of the different countries.

Quite a new set of conditions in modern time has given rise to a new group of handicraft activity. This has appeared in those fields of production where the major processes of production are accomplished by the large scale industries and the final finishing processes or the repair work are left to handicraft. Box making, match filling etc., is done by out-workers around match factories as in Bombay suburbs, Bengal and to a very great extent in Japan and Sweden. The factory workers carry home these materials and their wives and children work on them for piece wages and return the product to the factory. Card board box-making, in the vicinity of hosiery knitting, cutlery, food provision and such other factories which require some receptacles for packing etc., is carried on on small scale, mostly by hand methods by the inmates of the houses of the factory workers. The polishing and assembling of watches and clocks, have lately become handicraft processes carried on by skilled workers, around the watch and clock factories in Switzerland and Germany. Manufacture of electric installature for the house-holds and other places where electricity is consumed as power, heat or light, is carried on by factories which produce parts of different articles and distribute them to workers at home to polish, assemble and join, according to the patterns supplied to the workers. In Germany in particular even the manufacture of different articles of installation are carried on in small establishments with the help of electric motors and small machinery for moulding, cutting, filing, polishing etc.¹

The wide-spread use of motor, cycle, vehicles for transport of goods and passengers, and the use of Gram-a-phone, Radio, type-writers, sewing machines etc., in the households, offices, workshops, etc.—all of which are the products of the large scale industries,—has given rise to repair handicrafts, which undertake the repairs of these modern utility machines. Here tools and hand machines are invariably used in the processes of repairs, by workers, who acquire mechanical skill after long practice in these repair handicrafts. These repair establishments cannot properly

¹ Das Duetsche Hand-werk, Vol. I, p. 2—Classification of handicrafts.

be classed as handicraft, since the criterion we have adopted while defining handicraft namely 'transformation of material substances,' is not satisfied by these repair workshops. They would appear to satisfy our tests of industrial skill, trade experience and dominance of hand methods; but as the criterion we referred to above is not satisfied these repair handicrafts have to be classed under non-artisan industries, which we have called as Handicraft services.¹

The new handicraft activity proper has thus to be restricted to the finishing processes in some large scale industries, which find it advantageous to carry some processes on handicraft scale.

To express the different categories of handicraft system in precise terms and to illustrate each we can put them under the following heads:—

1. Products in which handicraft has wholly disappeared,
2. Products where handicraft system has disappeared in some processes,
3. Products where handicraft survives for all processes, and
4. Products where handicraft has appeared newly.

(1) The products in which handicraft has disappeared from all processes are cotton yarn, iron, brass, copper and tin mining, extraction and manufacture of their sheets and bars. Hand-spinning (except to a certain extent in the present-day India) has been replaced by mill-spinning. The sub-processes, like cotton ginning, carding, etc., have all been transferred to the mill. Extraction of iron, copper, etc., from ores, on small scale has been completely replaced by large iron and copper factories. The manufacture of iron, copper, brass, tin sheets and bars has also been completely transferred to the large scale industries.

(2) To this class belong all those handicrafts which depend upon the large scale industry for the supply of their raw material. Handweaving, metal manufacture (low grade iron smithy, brass and copper pots, wire, fittings etc.) cutlery, lock-making, foot-ware and other leather articles, tailoring, gold-thread, dyeing and printing, etc., are instances in point.

¹ Ante, p. 5.

(3) To this group belong the handicrafts in artistic products like engraving, embroidery, lace-making, artistic pottery, stone, wood and metal carving including gold and silver ornaments and jewellery. Handicrafts which survive in the face of the large scale industry, are the rural handicrafts, catering for small and variegated demand and the handicrafts of those countries where social, geographical and economic conditions are unfavourable to large scale production.

(4) To this group belongs the out-work around match, cutlery, hosiery, knitting, watch, electric installature factories and the smithy handicrafts in the vicinity of the iron and steel industries of the Black Country, particularly chain, wire, nail, screw making by handicraft methods in handicraft establishments.¹

The indication of the survival of and in some cases the rise of the handicraft in modern times, which is more illustrative than exhaustive would show how the scope of Handicraft is still large in spite of the conquest by the large scale industry of many of its fields. It has an important place in the system of production. The recognition by the International Labour office, of handicraft as a branch of Labour having international importance² is enough to show that even in modern times handicraft cannot be neglected whether in the international or national economics. A time there was when in highly industrialised countries the fate of the handicraft as a system was supposed to be sealed; but the developments in recent years in some of the Western countries in Germany, France, Italy etc., have directly falsified these fears and handicraft in the modern economic world has come to have a very important place in economic and social studies.

This is further emphasised by the quantitative importance of it in different countries. This is indicated by the available figures of handicraftsmen in different countries. We get fairly accurate

¹ For the rise of new handicrafts within the large scale industry, as its adjunct, see Allen G. C., *Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country*, 1929, p. 300, 306, 342, etc. *Das Duetsche Hand-werk*, 1930, p. 2; Moulton, *Japan, economic and financial appraisal*, p. 131; Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau, *Monthly circular, bulletins*, Oct. 1934, No. 132, p. 15, Sept. 1935, No. 143, p. 15.

² *Industrial and Labour information*, Vol. 28, p. 218.

figures for a few countries only. The following table¹ would show the total number of handicraftsmen employed in the years marked against different countries.

Country	Year	Total Population in Lakhs	Total Handicraftsmen in Lakhs
Germany	1925	647	33.2
Russia	1926	1470	29.82
France	1931	418	40.27
Switzerland	1920	38.8	3.28
Denmark	1927	34.34	9.42
Poland	1930	307.33	1.97

From these figures the relative importance of handicrafts, as compared with large industries cannot be ascertained. But they roughly show the extent to which handicrafts afford a means of livelihood in different countries. It must also be borne in mind that it is doubtful whether these figures include handicrafts in the broader sense and whether the figures in different countries represent the same groups of handicrafts. The comparative position, therefore, of each country from the view point of handicraft cannot be ascertained.

Let us now examine the present day structure of the handicrafts and illustrate it wherever necessary by reference to the handicrafts in some prominent countries. This can be classified under 6 heads with sub-heads under each: ²

1. Production structure :—

- (i) Small work-shop, independent or dependent (Home-work).
- (ii) Big work-shop of an industrial entrepreneur.
- (iii) Co-operative work-shop.
- (iv) (a) Itinerent handicraftsmen and (b) co-operative labour gangs or *Artels*.

¹ See International Labour Review, Vol. XVII, pp. 823-826: "Denmark, 1927," published by Danish ministry for foreign affairs and Danish statistical department.

² The idea of the structure is borrowed from Das Duetsche Handwerk, Vol. I, 1930, Chapter on Handicraft structure.

2. Technical structure :—

- (i) Tools and appliances used by hand.
- (ii) Hand and power-driven machinery.¹

3. Capital structure :—

- (i) Self-owned.
- (ii) Borrowed: (a) Private agency, (b) Bank, (c) Co-operative society (cash or kind) and (d) State agency.

4. Labour structure :—

- (i) Small master.
- (ii) Home-worker.
- (iii) Wage earner or Journeyman.
- (iv) Apprentice.

5. Marketing structure or Purchase and Sale organisation :—

- (i) Individual independent purchase and sale or either, in a free market or co-operative field.
- (ii) Middleman at both ends or either.
- (iii) Co-operative purchase or sale or both.

6. Superstructure or the general organisation of the handicraft :—

Guilds and chambers on regional or craft basis or a combination of both.

Going into a few details of these structures and taking production structure first, we have 3 different categories of manufacturing unit for house handicrafts and 2 categories of work units in itinerant handicrafts.

In the house handicrafts, if we may so call them,

- (1) We have the small units of workshops of a single artisan or of a small master craftsman with workers employed on piece wages under him. Both types of establishments may be worked by independent craftsmen or contract workers and out-workers.
- (2) The big workshops owned by industrial entrepreneurs; the entrepreneur merely brings together different factors

¹ For a detailed discussion of the distinction between tool and machine. See Mantoux, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

of production, and manages the workshop with the help of the employees, working on piece or daily wages.

- (3) Then there are the co-operative workshops found in some handicrafts of countries where the co-operative movement has made a great deal of advance among the handicraftsmen. These co-operative workshops of producers' co-operatives, as in Germany and France, receive orders for supply of articles produced by the member-craftsmen and distribute them among the members and pay them wages according to the work.¹

In the itinerant handicrafts, we find individuals or groups of individuals, coming together more by accident than by design and working directly or through a contractor for a consumer, generally on the premises of the consumer himself, as in building trades, carpentry, etc.; and secondly these itinerant craftsmen might form co-operative gangs as in Italy or *Artels* as in Russia and undertake works like house building, or constructional works like dams, bridges, etc., on contract and distribute the wages to the member artisans according to the work performed by each of them.²

In the technical structure of the handicraft, we find different types of means of manufacture being employed. First there is the employment of simple tools and appliances worked by hand or feet or both and therefore necessarily small and light with slow speed or turn-over. Secondly small machines manipulated by hand or power, form the higher stage of the technical structure. Here the employment of the machine driven by hand does not necessarily lead to increased production. Pure manual skill is replaced by a combination of manual and mechanical skill, the latter being necessary to manipulate the given machine. In some workshops power-driven machinery may be employed.³ Employment of machines which replace hand work places the manual skill at discount and mechanical skill in tending, feeding, starting, stopping and regulating the machines is needed.⁴ At this stage

¹ Fay: Co-operation at Home and abroad, p. 218.

² *Ibid*, pp. 250-54 and J. V. Bubnoff, co-operative movement in Russia, p. 40.

³ This is found in many of the western handicrafts particularly Swiss and German and in Japanese handicrafts.

⁴ Mantoux, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

the element of increased production, as compared with the production by hand and tool method, makes itself definitely felt. A particular handicraft, employing for a large portion such machinery, becomes more a small industry than a handicraft.

In the capital structure, the capital feeding the handicrafts, flows into them through four different channels. Capital may be owned by the small master or the industrial entrepreneur, or it may be borrowed from some private source on personal credit or collateral securities. Another source of the borrowed capital is the credit facility provided directly or indirectly by the banking concerns of a country to the handicrafts. The third source of handicraft capital is the co-operative finance. The artisan Co-operative societies or the Urban banks, may finance the craftsmen, either in the form of cash credit or in the form of raw material advances. Lastly handicrafts may be financed through a State agency.

The labour structure consists of four divisions of types of labourers. We find the independent master working singly with the help of the members of his family, or of the labourer employed under him on piece wages. Secondly we find a body of dependent workers who work in their own house, with their own tools and machines or with the tools and machines provided by some outside agency. They work on contract which may be a price contract or a wage contract, for a permanent or a temporary contract giver. These are found in the groups of handicrafts giving home work to workers in England, Germany, Switzerland etc., where the handicraft factories give out-work to some select workers. Thirdly, there is the group of pure wage earners or journeymen who are either skilled artisans working for some master in a small or a big workshop or they may be unskilled or half skilled artisans, working for the same kind of masters as above. In the case of the skilled artisans they are employed on piece rates, while the unskilled and skilled labourers are usually employed on daily or monthly or in some solitary cases on yearly wages.¹ The last constituent of the labour structure is the apprentice, who is a learner in the handicraft methods and handicraft trades. In almost all the Western countries there are elaborate systems of

¹ The last system prevails in the Surat gold thread industry in India. Oral information through Prof. D. R. Gadgil.

apprenticeship controlled and regulated by the State which lays down the rules about the service, the eligibility of the masters for taking boys under training, their wages and stipends, periods of apprenticeship, certificate examinations etc.¹ The field of apprentice is the recruiting field for handicraft-labour and apprenticeship therefore can be considered as the primary division of the labour structure, supplying the efficiency and skill for different handicrafts. The handicraft labour of different shades further acquires its efficiency and skill through a regular system of industrial and trade training, vocational guidance and selection offices, and juvenile labour exchanges.²

In the purchase and sale structure we find purchase and sale of raw material and finished products, by independent individuals, who buy and sell either in ordinary retail or whole-sale markets, free of any influences of the merchant capitalist in the matter of compulsory purchase and sale; or the independent individual craftsmen may buy from, and sell to co-operative organisations, where such organisations permit and carry on dealing with non-co-operative elements in handicrafts. Secondly there may be sale and purchase through the agencies of middlemen merchants who intervene between the raw material market and the producer or between consumers and producers. Lastly there may be co-operative purchase or sale or both.

The super-structure or the general organisation of the handicraft comprises of the guilds and chambers which are organised on territorial or craft basis or a combination of both. These guilds or chambers in the Western countries like Germany, Italy, France, Sweden etc., and in the Eastern countries like China, Japan are organised horizontally and vertically into federations. They control the handicrafts for industrial, economic, social and political purposes. They are usually recognised as corporations by the State, through whom credits are granted, apprenticeship controlled and as in Germany, constitutional representation secured for the handicrafts. These guilds and chambers in various countries have had a long history and in recent times, in Germany and

¹ For a scientific recent study of modern apprenticeship, see S. Scrimshaw, "Apprenticeship," 1932.

² This is largely found in countries like Poland, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Canada, etc. *International Labour Review*, Volumes for 1923, 1925, 1928, etc. Notes on Vocational Guidance.

Italy particularly, their value has been definitely recognised. The guild organisation in Germany for example has been made compulsory for some handicrafts.

These are in brief the essential features of the handicraft structure in the present day economic life. The details of this structure vary from country to country, from one handicraft to another, from one centre of handicraft to another and indeed from one group of handicraft establishments to another. The structure may not be found to be present in its entirety in every country and every handicraft. But a short study of handicrafts in a few countries would easily show how this structure is present in essentials in almost all countries having handicrafts.

SECTION II

The Indian Handicrafts

With the back-ground of a little theoretical and general discussion of the economics of Handicraft we can now study the conditions that obtain in India. We propose to deal, in brief, with the essential results of contact of the Indian handicraft with the large scale industry in and out of India, together with the broad changes that took place in its economic organisation and structure during this period. We would also indicate some new features in the present day organisation of Indian handicraft with illustrations drawn from handicrafts in different provinces of the country.

In the 'Indian handicraft' we include art and utility handicrafts and exclude itinerent handicraft like building-trades masonry, etc., where the system of usufacture prevails. In this sense we get two broad divisions of handicrafts, according to their localisation *viz.* Urban handicrafts and Rural handicrafts. These are sub-divided into Urban and Rural Art handicrafts and Urban and Rural Staple handicrafts or Utility handicrafts. We are, here more concerned with urban handicrafts than with rural handicrafts. The latter, suffice it to say, are more staple than artistic. They are either carried on as subsidiary occupations or as customary services within the frame-work of Indian village economy. Even in modern times, in spite of the break-up of the old self-sufficient village economy,—a phenomenon which followed the

improvements in transport and communication and linking of Indian villages with external economic spheres,—the rural handicrafts continue to play a very important part in rural economy.

We concentrate, however, on urban handicrafts, which have had a past, which have a present and which, let us say, will probably have a future too. Their history, on account of the rise of the large scale industry both in and out of India, has to be studied in two broad divisions. These divisions are the non-competitive and competitive periods. We say 'competitive period' because the impact of large scale industry was followed by the inauguration of a regime of a fierce external and internal competition between large scale industries and handicrafts.

In the non-competitive regime, the handicraft was the only form of industrial production and the different types of handicrafts provided for the demand of the rural and urban India. Gradual tendencies of population towards concentration in urban areas, must have accounted for the urbanisation of handicrafts and in times to come the urban handicrafts came to be localised in geographically favourable tracts and convenient producing areas. Some degree of localisation and specialisation thus became visible in some typical products like Yeola Paithani,¹ Ahamadabad Kinkobs,² etc.³ In spite of this urbanisation and gradual localisation, the dominant characteristic of these urban-handicrafts was their sympathetic fluctuations along with those in Indian agriculture. In the midst of these occasional fluctuations a sound organisation of handicrafts was noticeable. The main features of this organisation were the presence of master artisans, with apprentices and hired labourers and a class of dependent workers. Fluctuations in prices and wages during this period were within narrow limits owing to the absence of any disturbances due to external competition, as also on account of the less severe competition between the different handicraft centres within the country itself, a result of the absence of interprovincial co-ordinated markets.⁴

¹ Paithani is a rich silk garment with gold thread in the border and in various designs. It is used by Deccani women.

² Kinkob is velvet with designs in gold thread.

³ For these and further remarks, see D. R. Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution*, 1929, pp. 32-46.

⁴ Report, Committee on Industrial Education, 1903, p. 119, Mr. B. J. Padshaha's letter to the Committee.

The technical structure of the handicraft during this period was of a simple kind, as only ordinary tools and appliances were used both in the artistic and the staple handicrafts, to the entire exclusion of mechanical contrivances.¹ This naturally put a premium on manual skill and dexterity in working on the given material and therefore necessitated a prolonged training in the handicraft processes, which in the absence of any organised industrial training agencies, was secured by means of a system of apprenticeship. It was organised in varying degrees of efficiency, in different handicrafts. Generally the apprenticeship could be noticed in a more organised form in the artistic than in the staple handicrafts.

Further, the demand for the artistic handicraft products came from the king's court and court-gentry, who generally favoured and patronised almost all of them. The demand for the ordinary products came from the general urban population and also from the rural parts, wherever communication was possible. This was particularly the case with handicrafts like cotton weaving, ordinary leather articles, foot-ware, etc.

Finally we may notice that during this non-competitive period, some amount of guild organisation with economic, industrial and social influence was found in some centres of handicrafts.² These worked in restricted areas and had very little inter-district or inter-provincial connections with each other. Gujarath was the centre of guild life in India. To the south the guilds were found in Poona, Madura, etc. In the north they were to be found in Rajputana, Punjab, Benares, etc. The artisan guilds distinct from traders' guilds were both of urban and rural character and were called Panch their head being styled Patel, as the head of the merchant guilds (Mahajans) was called Mahajan or Nagar Seth. These guilds collected funds by taxes and spent on religious charities. They controlled wages, prices, hours of work and regulated observance of holidays fixed by them. As in other countries the Indian guilds had some sort of apprentice-

¹ The provincial monographs on handicrafts like cotton, silk, carpets, metal, paper, leather etc., describe the simple processes and tools used in the manufacture of artistic or staple wares.

² Birdwood—Industrial Arts of India, Vol. I, p. 139, and D. R. Gadgil, op. cit. pp. 45-46 and foot note on p. 45,—account of the Punjab Guilds of engravers and repousse workers.

ship though no formal agreements and guild regulations were framed.¹

The beginning of the competitive regime was heralded by a number of extraneous influences, which affected handicrafts rather adversely and placed the rival system of large scale production in and out of India, in an advantageous position. Prominent among these was the establishment of alien rule and bringing India under one political control. British rule in India meant improvements in transport, competition from imported articles and rise of large scale industry within the country particularly in the last quarter of the 19th century. The rise of British Power in India, further, profoundly affected the social life of India, particularly in towns and cities. The inevitable fall of a number of independent and feudatory principalities, meant a set-back to the court life with all its attendant luxuries, curtailing in the process of this collapse a demand for art-ware, and discounting Indian fashions and modes of life. This withdrawal of court patronage naturally adversely affected the art handicrafts. Further the influx of western fashions, modes of living and ideals, more particularly in cities and towns, had a similar effect on both artistic and staple handicrafts. All these special factors helped the large scale industry in its struggle with handicrafts to a degree, whilst the handicrafts suffered heavily. The struggle continues between the two unequal forces even at present. The competition which the Indian handicrafts had to face expressed itself in three forms viz. the competition between Indian handicrafts and foreign handicrafts which were better organised; competition between Indian handicrafts and foreign large scale industries; and competition between Indian handicrafts and Indian large scale industries.² The most damaging type of competition was that between handicraft and large scale industry in and out of India. We might, here note the causes peculiar to Indian condition which have acted in the direction of decay and survival of old and rise of new handicrafts.

Technical improvements and consequent cheaper costs of pro-

¹ Hopkins, India old and new, 1902, Chapter on Ancient and Modern Hindu Guilds, pp. 169-205.

² In some cases provincial handicrafts were affected by inter-provincial competition, particularly from those areas which were comparatively better organised, e.g., competition with Deccan handicrafts of the handicrafts in Madras, U. P. etc.

duction and large output in large scale industry made certain handicraft processes out of date and they entirely decayed. Such for example was the fate of hand spinning, iron and other metal mining and sheet and bar manufactures of the same. We know from earlier history how hand-spinning of cotton was extensively carried on in the several parts of India as a distinct industry and how with the exception of its revival since 1920, it had practically disappeared, from almost all parts of India except some districts in Madras, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Similarly the extraction and manufacture of iron, which was carried on by small iron smiths as in some parts of C. P.,¹ Burma, etc. has also disappeared. Manufacture by hand methods of brass and copper sheets from brass and copper bars has also disappeared. All these activities have now been monopolised by large scale industries in and outside India.

The technical improvements within the handicrafts themselves have accounted for the partial disappearance of hand processes from some handicraft establishments. Here the displacement of the hand methods has not uniformly led to the displacement of the handicraftsman working in that process; in some cases he has been displaced, in others he has changed his methods and adopted the improved tools and appliances. The gold-thread industry is an excellent example of this phenomenon. The improvement in the gilding process, has replaced the old process entirely in Surat but it has not displaced the old gilder.² He has only changed his method. On the contrary, as we will see in the next chapter, Yeola wire-beaters with the introduction of the machinery for beating have been practically displaced and have been reduced in number. This displacement of the worker due to the displacement of the hand process is markedly seen in the class of twistlers in this industry. Another example of the partial disappearance of the handicraft establishment for some processes is furnished by the tailoring industry in India, which till the introduction of the sewing machine was exclusively carried on by small workers in their own houses. It is now capitalised to a certain extent in the hands of the big master-tailors, in whose shops, hand-sewing is restricted to a few parts of clothing.

The second cause for the decay of handicraft as a system in

¹ Monograph on Iron and Steel, C. P. Burma, etc.

² Oral information collected by Prof. D. R. Gadgil in Surat.

some products, can be traced to the cessation of demand for those products and the standardisation of demand for some others. Here the decay of the handicraft system is more or less quantitative. The field of handicraft in this case has only been restricted. The cessation of demand is witnessed in those products which in earlier times had been constantly in demand from the court-gentry ; e.g. the manufacture of artistic cutlery, weapons, embroidered cloths, etc., has now dwindled quantitatively and to that extent such artistic handicrafts have collapsed. The present handicraft in these different products is entirely dependent on the meagre patronage granted by some of the Indian princes and chiefs and other aristocrats.

The standardisation of the demand for certain types of products gave, naturally, a favourable opportunity for the large scale industry to operate within the field of these standardised products. With its structural and organisational advantages which enabled it to lower down its costs of production and sell at cheaper prices, large scale industry could easily displace the small establishments engaged in the manufacture of these types. The best example of the standardisation of demand is found in the plain white and grey cotton piece-goods, mostly in use among the male population of India. Several types of male attire of cotton have now been practically monopolised by the textile mills in and out of India. In these products the hand-loom industry has now lost its ground, in almost all the provinces, though in parts of Madras coarse Kailis or Lungis¹ in use among the plantation labourers in the Strait Settlements, Malay States, Ceylon, Java, etc., are even now manufactured on hand-looms by small weavers.² In Bengal also, some high count dhoties, shirting and coating are manufactured on hand-looms. The fact to be emphasised is not that the hand-loom has entirely ceased to produce these types but that the activity of the hand-loom in this direction has been considerably diminished on account of the Indian and foreign mill competition. Another example in which the handicraft has quantitatively decayed on account of the standardisation of demand and

¹ Kailis or lungis are pieces of cloth shorter than dhoties and sometimes coloured, generally used in Southern India, Ceylon, etc. by males.

² Survey of Cottage Industries, Madras Districts, by Mr. Narayanrao, and Report—Department of Industries, Madras, 1932, p. 19.

production is to be found in the village tanning industry in major provinces like Bombay, Madras and Bengal. On account of the chrome tanning in foreign countries and in recent years in some Indian cities like Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore, etc., the small village tanner has suffered a great deal and has now been almost restricted to the flaying or preparing for the market raw hides and skins, which are increasingly exported to foreign countries. Village tanning industry has been displaced to this extent. Other examples are such industries as paper-making, dye-extraction, calico-printing which are now carried on by large industries, the handicraft having only a small field of activity in the manufacture of specialised products.¹

Decay of the artistic handicrafts was further accelerated by a considerable change in the nature of the demand. Westernisation of culture and fashions, discounted oriental art and art productions. Westernised Indians, officials and tourists dictated new patterns of cheaper varieties. Art industries had to choose between two alternatives, either to produce cheaper varieties of doubtful artistic value or cease to exist.² Different art handicrafts chose these two different alternatives. There was thus qualitative and quantitative decay. Where there was qualitative decay the production has been changed to suit the changes in fashion, and a few art handicrafts have survived as a result. As illustrations we may refer to shawl and carpet industries of the Punjab, artistic metal-ware of United Provinces, artistic pottery and bamboo carving of Burma, etc., in which there has been a definite qualitative decay. To the quantitative decay we have already referred above, when we dealt with the results of the cessation of the court demand.

Government policy both in the Company and Crown phases has also been responsible for the decay of some of the Indian handicrafts. The Company rule in its later period and the Government of India policy in the Crown phase, which was dictated by the industrial and merchantile interests in Britain had adopted a definitely unfavourable attitude towards the Indian industries. The expression of this was found in such measures as raising heavy

¹ See, e.g., monograph on paper-making, Bombay, Punjab, monograph on dyes and dyeing, Bombay, Madras, N. W. F. etc.

² Gadgil, op. cit. p. 43.

internal custom and export duties in the Company period ; and favourable railway rates and customs for imports of finished articles, and exports of raw material, etc. in the Crown period. The effects of this policy were to be seen in the history of the handicrafts like shawl and carpet industry, Dacca muslin, silk industry of Bengal, U. P., Punjab, etc.

By far the most important factor which helped the process of decay was the inadaptability of the handicrafts and the absence of any private or state efforts to reorganise the handicrafts and arrest their fall. This factor practically affected every Indian handicraft which came into conflict with the foreign handicrafts or the internal and external large scale industries. Illustrations of this are numerous. To cite a few, we can mention calico-printing, dyeing, paper-making, etc.

We may, further, note the factors helping the survival of handicrafts. Handicraft methods and processes have survived in the manufacture of products, in those cases where improved machinery to suit the local conditions has not yet been invented or having been invented has not yet been employed in the different stages of manufacture. This is largely found in the preparatory processes of hand-loom weaving *viz.* warping, winding, sizing, etc. ; in some of the processes of metal-ware handicrafts, *viz.* cutting, soldering, beating, polishing, etc. This persistence of the hand methods, however, in the earlier processes has actually adversely affected handicraft methods at advanced stages in hand-loom weaving, metal and leather handicrafts.

Where such mechanical improvements have taken place and where they have been made use of, as also in the case of those handicrafts where the hand-methods have completely disappeared in the elementary stages (hand-spinning, iron, brass and copper sheet and bar making, etc.), the handicraft system has survived and gained additional strength. The small power loom factories turning out cotton fabrics, employing the improved looms and carrying on their own sizing, warping, etc., have gained strength in their competition with the mills. Similarly the workshops where metal pots are cast or beaten and finished by mechanical processes, have been able to hold their position. The same can be said of industries like gold-thread, knitting and foot-ware in those parts of the country, where improved tools and appliances and

hand and power-driven machines have in recent times been employed. Electricity has also helped in a few cases the employment of power-driven machinery as in small power-loom factories, or in gold-thread industry notably of Surat. Complete disappearance of handicraft in the elementary processes and large scale production at cheaper costs has helped the survival of some handicrafts in India as in other parts of the world, which use the products of the large scale industries as raw materials. The obvious instances in which this advantage has operated are the hand-loom industry using mill-spun yarn, metal handicrafts using ready-made sheets and bars, leather handicrafts using better qualities of leather tanned by large factories. Low costs in some and the saving of time in others has thus helped the handicrafts in their struggle against the large industries.

A further factor which has led to the survival of the handicraft system in some products, is the almost entire or partial absence of standardisation of demand, and the standardisation of production. The predominance of communal tastes and customs, the individual likes and dislikes and art requirements, makes standardisation of some types of articles well-nigh impossible. Every caste has its own social customs and religious prejudices, which are expressed in the things every member of the caste consumes. The variety of garments, utensils, foot-ware, etc., explains the presistence of hand-loom, metal and the foot-ware handicrafts, which are practised on a greater or smaller scale in almost all the provinces. This variety similarly explains the comparative absence of large scale industry in some types of cotton garments, notably in women's garments, in metal-ware in use in Indian house-holds and in the several types of Indian foot-ware, e.g. Chapples, Chadhavs, Jodas,¹ etc. Not only is there variety of patterns but each pattern has only a limited demand which makes large scale operations inefficient and uneconomic.

Further the geographical expanse of the country, and the comparatively insufficient development of the means of transport and communication even in the present times, have helped some

¹ Chapples are Sandles with straps on the up-side. Chadhavs are a kind of slippers with tapering toe, largely used in the northern India. Joda is a type of foot-ware in red morocco generally used in the Deccan.

centres of handicraft production. This is true of those parts of the country where railway has not yet penetrated and where the roads are no better than 'fair weather tracks.' In other words, this is particularly true of the village handicrafts.

In the manufacture of some products, handicraft system is seen working within that field as subsidiary to large scale industries. We have in mind the out-work around match factories of Bengal, Bombay, etc., and card board box-making around knitting, boot or shoe factories of Madras, Cawnpore, Calcutta, etc. The nature of the handicraft around these factories is the same as explained in the earlier section. The workers around these factories do the work on piece wages and return the finished articles to the factories within a prescribed time. No details of the working of this system are available. We have only to rest satisfied with noting the presence of the handicraft in these new products in India. We may also take note of such establishments as book-binding which carry on work in conjunction with those printing presses which do not undertake binding work.

Another type of new handicrafts are those which manufacture types of products introduced newly in Indian markets, e.g., cutlery and lock smithy (of Punjab and United Provinces), manufacture of European foot-ware, leather bags and other fancy articles, tin and steel trunk-making (in big cities), horn and conch shell button-making (in Bengal), manufacture of furniture, cabinet, upholstery, sports accessories, etc. This group of new handicraft activity has been neglected so far. Whenever a reference is made to handicrafts it is generally to the traditional handicrafts. No detailed data are available regarding the economic conditions in these new handicrafts.¹

The field of handicraft activity, would show how the handicraft occupies a prominent position in the economic and industrial life of India. The figures for home workers in a few of the major handicrafts of important provinces, collected in 1921 for the Industrial Census would indicate the magnitude of handicraft in

¹ Some recent surveys in Indian Provinces like U. P. District Industrial Surveys, Madras Cottage Industries Surveys, Bengal and Burma Surveys give some minor details about cutlery, lock-smithy, button making, etc. Beyond mentioning a few processes and wages no satisfactory account is generally found about the rise, growth and organisation of these handicrafts.

India. Taking into account persons engaged in other handicrafts the magnitude would be still greater. Following are figures for home workers and workers in power and non-power factories, in some industries of the different provinces.¹

Industry		Bengal	Madras	U. P.	Punjab	Bombay	Remarks
Cotton weaving							
Power factories	A	12619	26678	11612	372	233883	A = Persons in power factories. B = Workers in non-power factories. C = Home Workers.
Non-power "	B	138	2928	284	270	3349	
Home Workers	C	177518	245700	355,313	249,353	81534	
Woolen Blankets	A	...	...	2996	1962	1969	
" "	B	...	...	...	...	...
" "	C	645	6405	8975	976	8002	
Woolen Carpets	A	...	...	...	...	...
" "	B	...	152	289	1431	375	
" "	C	262	2535	192	110	1163	
Silk Weaving	A	...	...	...	...	479	
" "	B	...	226	142	172	303	
" "	C	12,505	14,750	539	402	5432	
Calico Printing	A	...	...	...	...	...
" "	B	...	29	...	...	...
" "	C	357	14	10353	2138	1944	
Embroidery	A	...	22	78	...	88	
" "	B	...	142	62	...	...
" "	C	490	6279	7941	993	30144	(including insufficiently described weavers).
Makers of Leather Goods	A	275	25	952	...	...
" " "	B	600	53	87	...	124	
" " "	C	110	22990	45178	5379	15,377	
Brass & Copper ware, Bell metal & Tin	A	819	1210	...	...	2747	
" " "	B	2833	100	1880	125	67	
" " "	C	8766	9491	10709	7003	7898	
Shoe and Boot makers	A	196	399	399	...	...
" "	B	1251	755	755	21	319	
" "	C	97318	19694	72999	184288	43476	

We may note in brief some of the following details about the structure and organisation of handicrafts during the competitive period. In the production structure in addition to the master-craftsman's small establishment small industrial entrepreneurs came on the scene. This rise of a 'karkhandar'² was visible in cotton, silk, wool shawl and carpet-weaving (in the Punjab and

¹ These figures taken from the 1921 census reports, are extremely unreliable. Some entries appear to be obviously ridiculous. They only indicate in a very rough manner, the magnitude of the handicrafts as compared with large scale industry in different products.

² Karkhandar in Indian handicrafts is an entrepreneur who is generally conversant with the processes of manufacture and runs a workshop on his own initiative and risk. He has financial staying power, much superior to that of an independent artisan.

United Provinces). In some handicrafts particularly in art-handicrafts and luxury handicrafts like gold-thread gota-making a merchant-manufacturer who produced and sold the goods himself had also appeared in the handicraft. As a result of the rise of the karkhandar and the merchant-manufacturer a new system of out-work sprang up first in art handicrafts and then in staple handicrafts.¹ This out-work was found in embroidery, carpet-making, brass and copper-ware of artistic value and then it gradually spread to such industries as cotton hand-loom, silk-weaving, calico-printing, etc. In some handicrafts in later years, out-work was distributed for some processes only, as the preparatory processes and yarn dyeing in hand-loom weaving, beating and polishing in metal handicrafts and polishing and sizing in paper-making. This out-work was on piece-wage, but where the whole manufacture was carried on by home-workers it was either for a price or a wage. In recent years, as a result of the co-operative movement, co-operative workshops are found in some solitary cases like the Bankura Weaving Union which provides work during seasons of unemployment, to some weavers.² With the exception of such small co-operative production, the handicraft production has been carried on in the independent craftsman's workshops, in big karkhanas owned by the industrial entrepreneurs or by merchant-manufacturers and finally in the houses of the out-workers.

In the technical structure, during the latter part of the competitive regime, the introduction of improved tools and appliances, hand and power-driven mechanical contrivances, was noticed. In Provinces like Madras, Bengal, United Provinces, the preparatory processes in cotton and silk weaving were improved and in some places beam-warping, roller-sizing, frame-winding, etc., were introduced with a view to improve the efficiency. This took place to a larger extent in big weaving establishments. In weaving itself, for ordinary cloths, fly shuttle was being increasingly used particularly during the last two decades. In gold-thread industry of Benares, Surat, Coimbatore, the winch replaced the windlass, the beating machine replaced the hand-beating with hammer. In leather industry in urban areas, the sewing machine was seen particularly in large units of works controlled by merchant-manu-

¹ See, D. R. Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution of India*, 1924, p. 209.

² *Cottage Industries Survey, Bengal*, 1924.

facturers of Chamhar, Mochi or Bohora castes.¹ In a few cases power-driven machines came to be employed notably in cotton-weaving, brass and copper-ware, lock-smithy and cutlery (of the Punjab and United Provinces). The power-loom factories of Madras and Bombay, the brass and copper factories of Poona, Nasik, Bombay, etc., are instances in point. With the advent of electricity even the small establishments of gilding, polishing, cotton-weaving (with 2 to 5 power-looms) began to use electricity for driving the improved machines. Thus in the technical structure, new machines both hand and power-driven, gradually found a place.

In the capital structure, the merchant-capitalist controlling industries definitely appeared.² This even now is the largest source of handicraft finance in the Indian Provinces. The small artisans, if they had any small capital with them, invested it in their establishments and became increasingly dependent for the working capital on the Mahajans, Beparis, etc.³ This domination of the capitalist was visible in almost all the urban handicrafts of different provinces. It was greatest in those handicrafts where the raw material was very costly or in those where the processes of manufacture were so prolonged that the moneyless artisan had to depend upon the credit granted by the raw material dealers or the advances from the dealers in the finished products.

Since the rise of co-operative credit in 1906 a fresh source of capital has been available for the handicrafts. The co-operative credit societies in some provinces like the Punjab, Madras, Bengal, have provided some capital for the small artisans. But this has replaced the dealers' agency only to an insignificant extent.⁴

Since 1920 a third agency of finance has made itself known in the form of "Industrial Loans" and Hire-Purchase system in a few provinces notably Madras, the Punjab, Bihar, etc. Like co-

¹ Chamhars are a Deccani sub-caste of the backward community engaged in the manufacture of foot-ware. Mochis are a similar sub-caste preponderant in the Northern India. Bohoras are a sect of Mohamedans, predominantly a trading community.

² Gadgil, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

³ Mahajans are capitalist financiers in the Indian handicrafts. Beparies are dealers in raw material or finished products.

⁴ For details see, *infra*. Ch. IV.

operative credit, state finance has helped somewhat to finance the handicrafts.¹

In the labour structure with the rise of the 'karkhanas' and the out-work distribution, a class of wage-earners and out-workers has newly arisen in addition to the small master-craftsman. Working under very unfavourable conditions and in some particular cases having a status of an indentured labourer, the wage-earner in the handicraft 'karkhanas' is worse than a wage-earner under a small master.² In the labour structure, thus, small independent masters, out-workers and wage-earners are distinctly noticeable in handicrafts like hand-loom weaving, brass and copper-ware and leather.

The old system of apprenticeship, which was more or less fairly organised in urban art-handicrafts, collapsed along with the guild and it came to be replaced by a training in elementary methods by inefficient craftsmen or by some state institutions in the last two decades.³ Apprenticeship as a method of recruitment for the handicraft considerably diminished in importance and this had an adverse effect on the maintenance of the skill and the efficiency of the different handicrafts. The worst sufferers were the art industries in the North.

In the marketing structure, with the rise of the dealer in the raw material and the finished product, dealing became specialised and the dealer at the both ends began to control the conditions of purchase and sale entirely in his own interest utterly indifferent to the conditions of production. The producer lost touch with the consumption areas. An indirect result of this was the qualitative and quantitative mal-adjustment between demand and production. This was more particularly the case with the art industries of the North. In consequence of this mal-adjustment they soon found themselves displaced from the home markets. The dictation of patterns, designs and qualities by middlemen in industries like carpet and shawl industries of the Punjab to conform production to the conditions in foreign markets went

¹ For details see *infra*, Ch. IV.

² Oral information.

³ Report, Industrial Education Committee, 1903.

was As. 12 per day in 1928 which was twice the earnings of an independent artisan in other hand-loom areas.¹

The entire elimination of the middleman dealer in recent times, from the conch-shell industry of Dacca in Bengal is again a new feature. The Dacca industry is remarkable for its very close organisation and close division of labour. The entire number of Dacca conch-shell workers is organised in a single unit at least so far as the purchase of raw materials is concerned.² These workers cooperate with each other, in ordering shells from Tuticorin, directly without the intervention of any dealer. This has enabled these workers to secure the shells at comparatively low prices and to reduce the cost of production to some extent.

As an interesting innovation in the handicraft organisation of modern India, we may note the remarkable adjustment between the workers themselves in the basket industry of Coimbatore.³ In spite of the illiteracy of the workers, they are able to secure bamboos for basket-making, by allowing one of them who guarantees the highest bonus to them, to purchase the right of cutting the bamboos from the forest. These workers then work for this monopolist supplier of the raw material on piece-wages plus a bonus from the gross profits of the monopoly-holder according to the contribution of each worker towards the annual production. In this manner the basket makers are able to avoid cut-throat competition and secure fair proportion of wages and profits from the industry.

These modern features in the organisation of the Indian handicrafts, it must be emphasised, occupy a very small field. Barring these few new features in the internal organisation, the general characteristics are, those already indicated. These general conditions and features are likewise found in the Bombay Presidency and the Bombay Deccan the close examination of which is our primary purpose.

The brief examination of the economics of Indian handicraft would show that the importance of handicraft in Indian economic life cannot be under-rated. Its importance as a system of produc-

¹ Survey of Cottage Industries, Malabar District, 1928, p. 14.

² This type of organisation still continues—Mysore Economic Journal, Sept. 1933, p. 617.

³ Coimbatore Cottage Industries Survey, 1928.

tion is thoroughly recognised in western countries. Even such an authority as the Indian Industrial Commission (1918) was highly impressed with the place which the handicrafts occupy in the industrial life of India and the Commission was convinced that "the striking feature of the Indian industrial life is the vitality of Domestic Industry....."¹—understood in the sense of handicraft in general. To stigmatise, therefore, the Indian handicrafts as 'uneconomic' and 'destined to die,' "reveals a certain unfamiliarity with Indian and occidental modern economic conditions and a failure to analyse the situation fundamentally and as a whole.."²

¹ Report, Indian Industrial Commission, 1918, p. 193.

² R. Gregg, Economics of Khaddar, 1928, p. 90.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL REVIEW—(1880-1930)

Introductory

It is proposed to take a brief historical survey, in the first instance, of some of the important handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan. For this purpose it would be convenient to examine some selected handicrafts. The examination will be confined to the following industries, for reasons to be explained in the next chapter :—

1. Textile (*i.e.*, Cotton, Silk, Wool and Carpets).
2. Metal (*i.e.*, Brass and Copper-ware and Gold thread).
3. Leather (*i.e.*, Foot-ware and other articles like Saddlery, Bags, etc.).
4. Paper.
5. Calico printing.

The examination is further confined to the period 1880 to 1930, as some sort of reliable data are available for this period only. The relevant published documents and books date from 1880 and the entire period under review has been treated under three divisions :—

1. The first division relates to the period round about 1880 for which District Gazetteers and Settlement Reports are available;
2. The second, between 1884 and 1907—10 for which the Industrial monographs and the Settlement Reports supply the data ; and
3. The third, between 1910 and 1930.

These divisions are more based on the chronology of the available publications, than on events of economic importance. The latter basis would have been more valuable and logical ; but for want of a connected series of data regarding the Deccan handicrafts, the former basis has become inevitable.

SECTION I

First Division (1880 to 83 and before)

It is needless to go into the early history of the handicrafts ; since, before the rise of the modern industry, handicraft played a prominent part in the economic life of the country, practically free from competition. The absence of modern industrial organisation did not, however, prevent the existence of the centralised workshop (as distinct from the factory) as a higher form of handicraft organisation, and in fact it was the dominant form of production in some industries. Before the rise of the modern factory industry in India, the handicrafts of our tract had no competition to face, arising from within the country. External competition had begun to make its existence felt in some industries notably in textile. Even so this competition was felt in the Bombay Deccan really only after the advent of the railways in the sixties and seventies of the last century.

The Textile Handicrafts

Cotton Hand-Loom Industry—(Major Products) :—This was spread over many centres in the tract and continued to be by far the most important industry.¹ Sholapur, Malegaon, Ahmednagar. Bhingar, etc., were the larger centres of hand-loom production in 1880—83 and before. If the Gazetteer figures are in any sense reliable, we find in the following centres the number of looms marked against them, in 1883—84 :—²

Name of Centre	Number of looms
Sholapur	6,465
Walsang	830
Malegaon	2,441
Ahmednagar	1,200
Bhingar	800
Pathardi	1,000
Sangamner	1,000
Poona	400 to 500

¹ In the absence of the earlier data or of any account in the Gazetteers, it is not possible to gauge the extent of decay of hand-loom industry consequent on the coming of the mill product. Nor is it possible to say definitely, how, when and in what products did the decay occur.

² Reference to Gazetteers :—Sholapur District Gazetteer, p. 270. Nasik District Gazetteer, p. 166. Ahmednagar District Gazetteer, p. 348 and 638. Poona District Gazetteer, p. 194.

definitely against the best interests of such industries so far as their artistic value was concerned.¹

Co-operative activity, in the non-credit, *i.e.*, purchase and sale field, since 1915, in provinces like Madras, the Punjab, Bengal, etc., secured for some handicrafts alternative agencies for purchasing raw materials and selling the finished product. It should be remembered however, that this Co-operative agency is a new feature affecting only a small part of the handicraft field.

We might note in passing the activities of the museums, emporia, and Research Institutes of Cawnpore (U. P.), Bhagalpur (Bengal), Amarpura (Burma), Madras, etc. These various institutes have helped handicrafts like art industries of U. P., silk weaving of Burma, cotton and silk weaving of Madras, etc., in securing better markets for their products. These institutes do not form a part of the handicraft structure. They are only to be noticed as additional agencies for purchase and sale of the handicraft product.

The super-structure or the guild organisation in the Indian handicrafts collapsed during the new regime, a partial cause for which was the spread of individualism under the British rule. The guilds, which in the earlier period had some amount of organisation and control over the economic, industrial and social conditions of handicrafts, had now lost all that control and caste organisations with some control on social and religious aspects of handicraft life came into prominence without any distinct organisation or constitution of their own.² In some places, like Surat and Ahamadabad and a few places in the Punjab, caste organisations function like guilds even at present but their control is not as complete as that of the old guilds.

The wage conditions in some handicrafts improved a little, while in some other handicrafts the wages showed a tendency towards a general fall, a phenomenon which characterised the famine periods of the last century. The general economic conditions of the artisans worsened in the handicrafts where the available supply of skilled labour was comparatively large. In other handicrafts where a demand for skilled labour of a new type with

¹ Punjab monograph on woollen fabrics and carpets.

² Hopkins, India, old and new, p. 20 and Khandesh Gazetteer, p. 25.

a different kind of manual or mechanical skill asserted itself, wages showed a tendency towards a rise. The beginning of the post-war depression did not leave unaffected these groups of craftsmen and their wages fell as much as the wages of other artisans had done. In spite of the fall in wages common to all handicrafts, the general difference between the wage conditions of different groups of artisans persisted. Compare, e.g. the daily wage in 1924 of a weaver which varied from As. 6 to Re. 1 (the latter for high count work), to the daily wage of a boot-maker varying from As. 12 to Rs. 1-4-0, per day or of a cutler varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 2-8-0 in Bengal, and Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0 in United Provinces. The difference in these wages is more or less due to unfavourable labour conditions in weaving and comparatively favourable conditions in cutlery or shoe-making.¹

During recent years some remarkable features have been noticeable in a few handicrafts of some provinces which indicate that if proper developments are brought about, a change in the economic conditions of the artisans may follow as a result. In Katari, in the Malda District of Bengal, for example, the hand-loom industry was carried on by the weavers on the basis of profit-sharing and partnership.² The weavers worked for the Mahajans (middlemen dealers) and got 25% of the sale proceeds of the cloth as a wage plus 50% of the net profit. The sales were through recognised brokers appointed jointly by both the weavers and the Mahajans. The average wages per mensem of such a weaver were Rs. 25. This high wage was possible only because of the new system on which the weavers worked. This type of organisation in Bengal weaving is of recent origin.³

The factory type of organisation in the cotton hand-loom industry of Cannanore, Calicut etc., in the Madras Presidency where most up-to-date hand-looms are employed on a large scale, with improved machinery for the preparatory processes, has given successful results in the matter of the reduction of the costs of production consistently with high wages for the weavers. The minimum wage of the wage-earner in these hand-loom factories

¹ For these figures see Report, "Cottage Industries, Bengal," 1923-24, and "U. P. Industrial Surveys—Allahabad District," 1924.

² See Report, Cottage Industries in Bengal, 1924, pp. 89-90.

³ We have no later information at hand to say if this feature still continues.

Over and above these centres, there were small centres like Dhulia, Parola, Junnar and Baramati, but the industry was concentrated to a great extent in the larger centres mentioned above.¹

Beginning with Sholapur which was the biggest centre, the main product of the centre was coloured sarees² with silk or cotton borders. Besides Sholapur, Walsang carried on the manufacture of coarse Sarees, Pasodis,³ and other cloth of minor description. The general area of demand was among lower classes of agriculturists in almost all parts of the Deccan and the Konkan, especially Ratnagiri, from where Sarees (known as Salwati Sarees) were regularly asked for by Ratnagiri dealers.

During this time so far as the economic organisation was concerned, the small independent artisan worker, who bought raw material from the local yarn dealer on credit, made the fabric in his house and sold it to the local dealers in the markets on market days⁴, was the main type of worker. The system of daily Gujari⁵ sale (direct sale) was totally absent, nor was there the presence of stockist, who intervened between the weaver and the export dealer. By this time, the 'Karkhana' as a unit of work had made a headway⁶ owing to the persistent endeavour of an enterprising Telegu weaver, who first started as an independent weaver, but later on increased the size of his works and by 1880 had erected a small Karkhana with 20 looms. This weaver was the pioneer in introducing not only the Karkhana system, but had in those days introduced fly shuttles on pit looms and also new patterns of cloth. He had dealings not only with the local dealers, but had a considerable sale of his product, under personal supervision, in outside markets. Out-work, of course existed, but it

¹ The Gazetteers supply the figures for earlier years only in respect of the Ahmednagar hand-loom industry, which are as under :—*

Year	Name of the Town	No. of looms
1820	Ahmednagar	213
1850	Ahmednagar and Bhingar	1,322
1850	Pathardi	500

* Ahmednagar Gazetteer, p. 347.

² Saree is a cotton cloth usually in different colours and with borders in some design worn by Indian women.

³ Pasodi is thick cotton cloth used as covering.

⁴ Sholapur Gazetteer, p. 266.

⁵ See p. 45.

⁶ This is based on oral evidence.

was purely in the hands of export dealers who distributed work to weavers on contract basis. In Sholapur as in other places, the family was the unit of work and the women and children helped the weaver in preliminary processes and also in dyeing, if the weaver himself dyed his yarn. Thus in that period, there was no specialisation in processes. There was division of labour in the family group, outside labour being employed for weaving in the brisk seasons only. It is estimated that the earnings of the independent weaver were between 4 as. and 8 as. in the period 1880—83.

The next important centre in that period was Malegaon in the Nasik District. The industry in this centre was entirely in the hands of the momins in those days, though there were a few Hindu weavers. Out of the 2,440 looms, as many as 1,700 looms were owned by momins, who were all immigrants from United Provinces.¹ History affirms that Malegaon was chosen by the immigrants as a convenient centre, owing to its favourable geographical position in the cotton producing tracts and as a place safe from wars on the Deccan borders in Khandesh and trans-Khandesh districts, during the early years of the 19th century.

There was nothing particular about the economic organisation of the Malegaon industry, except that from the beginning the preliminary processes had been a specialised branch, a change which was introduced in Malegaon by the immigrants. The independent artisan was the dominant type of worker and the system of Gujari sale prevailed to a considerable extent.

The Gujari sale to explain it once for all, means the sale of the product by the artisan himself, from day to day, to any dealer in the product, who gives him a fair price. In this system, the artisan moves from one dealer to another, in the evening when his product is ready and sells it to the dealer, who gives him the highest price ruling in the market on that day. It is direct and free sale, though the dealers may conspire to control the prices and keep them at a lower level by refusing to buy over the product. This system was prevalent in 1880 in almost all centres

¹ Nasik Gazetteer, p. 166.

except Sholapur where the sale took place on market days, as we have already seen.

The capital in the industry was highly unorganised. Each individual put his little capital chiefly in the loom, which meant nearly Rs. 20 per loom. Each artisan house had one or two looms, which were worked by the head of the family and per chance by a grown-up male member in addition. The family worked as a unit as in other places and the earnings of the family were from annas 4 to annas 6 per day, which was the wage for one saree.¹ The Malegaon weaver produced coarse cloth in great numbers and high count weaving was restricted to a negligible percentage.

The product was exported to Khandesh, Berar, Nagpur and the Nizam's Dominions and to Bombay to a small extent. Though by this time, the Maheji Fair² had begun to diminish in importance, Malegaon like other centres, participated in the fair by exporting a considerable volume of cloth to it, where in addition to the cash sale a number of orders from dealers were secured.

The next important centres were the three centres in Ahmednagar District, *viz.*, Ahmednagar, Bhingar and Pathardi. No information is given regarding the Sangamner hand-loom industry in detail in the District Gazetteer though there were 1,000 looms working at that place. The history of the Ahmednagar hand-loom industry upto 1883, is available in greater detail than that of any other centre in any District. The industry was established by a 'Koli' and dates from the fifteenth century. We can see from the table of looms given above how the Ahmednagar industry was gradually increasing in importance, viewed from the rise in the number of looms. The 1866-67 famine temporarily ruined the hand-loom industry. Large numbers of weavers resorted to general relief works as a result of the loss of markets in agricultural areas. After 1877, the industry again made a rapid progress owing to low yarn prices. Between 1873 and 1883, the number of looms in Ahmednagar is estimated to have increased by 200 to 300 and in 1884 it was 1,200. In the same year (1884) the number was 800 in Bhingar and 1,000 in Pathardi.

¹ Nasik Gazetteer, page 166.

² An annual fair on the river Girna in Khandesh district. It served as a considerable market for many of the North Deccan handicrafts.

The economic organisation slightly differed in Ahmednagar from other centres in 1880—84. Small Karkhanas had just made their appearance and were to be found at work in that period, under the direct supervision and control of the master weaver, who himself worked along with his assistants. But the prevalent type was the small weaver, who bought on credit, coarse yarn and silk for the borders, from the local cloth dealers, who imported the mill yarn and silk from Bombay markets. The fly shuttle was totally absent and the work was done by throw shuttles, which were made of buffalo horns. Some weavers were employed as out-workers by the Gujarathi cloth dealers on piece rates. Excluding these workers, the other weavers sold on the Gujar system. The average annual income of a master weaver and his family was Rs. 100 in 1884 and of a large and efficient family Rs. 300 or the daily earnings were from annas 4 to annas 12. The out-worker earned merely annas 6 per day.¹ In 1884 and before, barring the famine periods and the periods of high yarn prices, the hand-loom industry in the Ahmednagar District showed a gradual development in number and organisation. In spite of the prevailing competition and restriction of the markets which were gradually being captured by Indian mills and foreign imports, the industry was safely entrenched in the manufacture of female garments—Sarees. Thus simultaneously with the restriction of the sphere of hand-loom and the extension of the sphere of mill competition, there was an imperceptible tendency towards specialisation of the hand-looms in the non-competing areas of production and consequent monopolisation of certain types of products, for the time being.

Hand-loom weaving in Poona and other smaller centres in that District, as also in the Khandesh District does not need any special mention. Suffice it to say that these centres shared the lot of the bigger centres to a greater or smaller degree. In 1884 and thereabout, the Poona looms appear to have been producing high count Sarees since their prices ranged between Rs. 2 and Rs. 10, a level which was not found in other centres. In spite of the higher prices, wages were as low as in other centres and were between annas 4 and annas 6 per day. The Poona industry was dominated by the merchant-capitalists, who were either Shim-

¹ Ahmednagar District Gazetteer, p. 688.

pees or Vanis. In Khandesh centres, the production was for local consumption. The master weaver who, in addition to manufacturing in his own house, got some work done by out-workers, on piece wages, was the dominant type of producer. The wage rate in Khandesh was not much different from the Poona rate; we are told that the daily wages of a Khandesh out-worker varied from annas 2 to annas 6.¹ The Khandesh product was sold by the weavers either in the weekly markets or through the dealers. Poona and Khandesh products were of 'local consequence' and had very little importance outside the two districts.

Cotton Hand-loom Industry (Minor products) :—There is very little to be mentioned about the other classes of cotton goods which were produced in almost all centres to a smaller or greater extent. Under this class come Turbans (Pagotas), Khans (Bodice cloths), Rough Khaddar for Pasodies, Zazams, etc. Turban weaving was chiefly found in Nasik, Poona and Yeola, the last accounting for nearly 2,000 looms.² These turbans were 50 to 60 feet in length each and were woven on looms of small width. The industry was dependent on the demand from agriculturist classes. The economic organisation was the same as in major products. The wages varied from 4 as. to 6 as. per day. There was some production of Khans (Bodice cloths) in a few centres but it was of no importance. In the majority of cases they were extremely rough. Equally unimportant was the rough Khaddar used in Pasodies and Zazams. It was produced in Walsang, Malegaon, Dhulia, Parola, and in other villages, by agriculturist-weavers. The Khaddar was often in demand in calico printing centres like Malpur, Chirne, Malegaon, etc. The industry was predominantly a retail handicraft.

In all these branches of minor production external competition was almost entirely absent. Indian mill product also did not compete with them as all these branches catered for a special and limited type of demand.

The position of the cotton hand-loom industry in the Deccan centres in 1880—84, may be described briefly as under :—

1. There was a gradual rise in the number of looms in large centres, though smaller centres which were less organised, were gradually decaying. The opening of the Railways

¹ Khandesh Gazetteer, p. 223.

² Nasik Gazetteer, p. 167.

had made the competition of imported and Indian piece goods more intense and the sphere of the hand-loom was being restricted to low and high count production, particularly to the female garments, in which the hand-looms came to possess a temporary monopoly. In plain clothing and medium counts, the hand-looms were yielding place to their machine rivals. At the same time mills had begun to provide coarse yarn to the industry in larger quantities.

2. The independent artisan, who depended for yarn dyed or otherwise, on the local yarn dealer, was the predominant type of worker, though Karkhanas or Centralised workshops had just begun to come in vogue, in a few centres like Sholapur and Ahmednagar. The sales were on the Gujari system, common to all centres except Sholapur. The processes were primitive, throw-shuttle being almost exclusively used. The preliminary processes were a part of the labour of the weaver, and included at times even the dyeing of yarn. The average daily wages of the weavers ranged from annas 2 to annas 6 or annas 8 though these were disturbed, from time to time, either owing to the fluctuation in yarn prices, or prevalence of the famines, which resulted in a sudden contraction of demand, as the larger portion of the demand was from the agriculturist classes.
3. In the bigger centres, the trade in hand-loom product extended beyond the Deccan districts to neighbouring provinces—Central Provinces and Berar and Hyderabad (Deccan). The smaller centres were of local consequence. The local markets, small fairs in the districts and the fairs of wider importance were the chief agencies of the trade, Maheji fair on the river Girna in Khandesh being by far the most important fair in the Northern districts and Pandharpur fair in the Southern districts.¹ Over

¹ The Maheji fair afforded a large market for almost all the industries of the northern circle of the tract. In 1880-83 the Maheji fair was still of considerable importance as can be seen from the following table, for the sale of cloth in the fair. (Pachora Settlement Report, 1893, p. 5).

Year	Value of the sales of cloth
	Rs.
1880-81	8,91,609

and above the regular sale, the fairs afforded a link between customers and producers in some cases and customers and dealers of the centres of production in others without the intervention of the dealer in the consuming areas. In addition to this, the fairs served as an advertising place, and further orders were secured from dealers visiting the fairs.

4. The several castes of the Hindu weavers were spread in large proportions in several centres, though Mohamedan weavers were to be found in varying numbers in some parts of Khandesh District, Malegaon and Poona. The main castes engaged were Kostis, Salis, Padamsalis and Khatries.¹ Generally these were well trained in their art and in spite of the low wages, were comparatively better placed owing to the prevailing low level of the cost of living. Occasionally, however, the famines disturbed the equilibrium of their family budgets. Though no statistics are available, it can be stated that they enjoyed fairly steady incomes during 1884 and before. The weavers worked long hours often from 10 to 14 hours per day, particularly in brisk seasons, which corresponded with the Hindu marriage seasons, Divali festivals and the annual fairs.

Silk Industry:—The next group of textile industry was the silk industry. Yeola and Poona have been the only chief centres, in the Deccan, for this industry for a long time.

In Yeola, it was first initiated in the eighteenth century, by a Bhil robber king Raghoji Naik, who, so the tradition affirms, gave monopolies to some Gujar Wanis² and induced them to start the silk weaving industry. These Gujarathi merchants

¹ Kosti, Sali and Khatri are Deccani weaver's caste. Padamsalis or Padmasalis are Telegu weavers, largely from Hyderabad State.

² Gujarathi traders.

1881-82	..	11,58,660
1882-83	..	19,68,620
1883-84	..	15,53,840

Similar details in respect of the Pandharpur fair are not available.

brought some silk-weavers, from Paithan in the Nizam's Dominions, who were at that time thrown out of employment due to the local famine. The Gujarathis gave a license tax per loom to the robber king for the monopoly with which they were invested and as a rule did not allow outsiders to come and settle in Yeola as silk-weavers. After the Naik the Peshwas continued the monopoly and it was upheld by the British until its final abolition by a decision of the High Court in 1864. After the abolition the number of looms began to increase and members of the weaver castes could and did work independently in the industry. Still it was, as a whole, controlled by the Gujarathi dealers. Silk cloths for use by men and women were largely in demand by the upper classes, at the big fairs, in the Central Province and Berar and Hyderabad and to a certain extent in Southern districts.

The early history of the Poona Silk industry was similarly a history of a monopoly, which was granted by the Peshwas directly to some weavers belonging to Momin and the Jula¹ castes. The Poona industry received a considerable impetus from the patronage given by the Peshwas and other rich families of Poona. After the fall of the Peshwas, the industry must have received a set-back. From this it seems to have recovered by about 1876—84, as is indicated by the fact that some Kamathis² from Narayan Peth (Hyderabad Deccan) with nearly 100 looms came and settled in Poona, as silk-weavers during this period.³

In 1883—84 there were in Yeola nearly 925 looms owned and worked by Khattris, Kostis and Salis, who numbered nearly 775 and the industry was controlled by about 48 dealers of Gujarathi, Patni and Thakur⁴ castes. There were nearly 25 independent weavers who worked outside the control of the dealers. In Poona, there were about 700 to 800 looms, two-thirds of which were owned by Momins and Julas. By this time, Poona, had begun to compete with the silk industry in Yeola in the Southern districts. In the Northern districts Yeola had a practical monopoly.

In both centres the industry had a common type of organisation. There were three main classes engaged in it, viz., (1) the

¹ Julas are a caste among Muslim weavers.

² Kamathis are a sub-caste among Telegu weavers.

³ Poona Gazetteer, Part II, p. 185.

⁴ All these are trading communities.

capitalist raw silk dealer who sometimes also dealt in finished silks, (2) the manufacturers and (3) the dealers in the export of the silks. Since the raw material, i.e., silk and gold thread, were costly, the capitalist middlemen dominated the industry.¹ The raw silk was imported by the silk dealers from Bombay, and if they owned any looms, it was given to the reelers and dyers for reeling, dyeing and bleaching, or it was sold to the independent weavers as raw silk, who sent it to the reelers and dyers. With these weavers the dealers dealt on credit, which was extended to a period of one month. In Yeola nearly eight types of silk were imported as against four in Poona.

In the processes of manufacture there were three sections in which three distinct types of workers were engaged, viz., the reeler, the dyer and the weaver. The raw silk had to be reeled, dyed and bleached before it was ready for the loom. The reelers or the 'Rahatkaris' were a distinct group by themselves and took work either direct from the capitalist dealers or from the weavers. The small establishment of a reeler required a capital of Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 whereas a reeling establishment of a medium size, required a fixed capital of about Rs. 93.

The silk dyers and bleachers were also a small but distinct caste. In Yeola, for instance, there were 12 families engaged in dyeing and bleaching. The use of dye stuffs differed in both the centres. The Yeola silk dyers used indigenous dyes of nearly 13 varieties, each variety costing nearly Re. 1 to Rs. 2-8-0 per lb. In Poona the Hindu dyers had abandoned the old processes by 1884 in favour of the use of aniline dyes to compete with imported dyed silk thread. The earnings of these dyers varied from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per mensem or annas 2 per lb. of silk.

The raw material was now ready for the weaver's shed. They were either independent weavers or out-workers working for a capitalist dealer. The independent weaver owned from 5 to 20 looms and employed outside labour on piece rates of annas 8 to Re. 1 per yard. Both the independent weaver and the out-worker had to do the warping for themselves and had to employ warping appliances worth Rs. 8 to Rs. 15-8-0 according to the size of the warp. The looms and accessories used to cost Rs. 17 to Rs. 32

¹ Nasik Gazetteer, p. 161.

(loom only costing Rs. 14-8-0) whereas the agate or 'Morvi,' used for polishing jartar border cost anything between Rs. 3 and Rs. 20. The weaver with 8 to 10 hours of work, took nearly 45 days to warp and to weave a piece of cloth from which his income would be from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 per month. The earnings of the Poona weaver as reported by the Poona Gazetteer seem to be much higher and they were often between Rs. 15 and Rs. 25 per month. The weaver had to spend a considerable portion of his time on the preliminary processes which were primitive and slow and which in those days, did not show any signs of being specialised in the hands of a distinct class of workers. This abnormally large proportion of the compulsory waste of time had an adverse effect on the wages of the weavers.

The production in Poona in 1884 was of two kinds, viz., (1) Pitambar and (2) Paithanis which were largely used among the upper classes on ceremonials. Yeola on the other hand, manufactured Kads and Pitambar¹ both for males and females. These cloths of Poona and Yeola were largely demanded all over the Deccan and Konkan, Central Provinces and Berar and the Nizam's Dominions. The Meheji and Nagarnath (Central Provinces) fairs were the largest single markets for these fabrics. By 1884 Yeola silks had begun to spread particularly among the agricultural classes, from whom there was a seasonal demand during the Hindu marriage season. Simultaneously with this, Yeola had been gradually losing ground in favour of Poona, in the types which were demanded by the urban classes. Both the centres, however, had to face common rivals from Benares, Coimbatore, Surat, in India, and from foreign countries like France, Italy and Germany, for whose dainty and fashionable products, the Westernised Indians had begun to have an increasing attraction. In spite of the restriction of the markets and a virtual failure of demand in a series of famines, the production was estimated at from Rs. 10,00,000 to Rs. 15,00,000 per year in Yeola and Rs. 2,50,000 per year in Poona during the period round about 1884.²

Woollen Industry:—Next may be considered the woollen industry which was more a rural than an urban industry. It was

¹ Pitambar is a silk cloth, with or without gold thread, used by Hindus for dinner and auspicious occasions. Kad is a similar cloth but without any gold thread.

² Nasik and Poona Gazetteers, pp. 161 and 188 respectively.

scattered throughout the tract, with no concentration except in a few urban areas where it was found on a small scale. Such for instance was the woollen industry of Ahmednagar, Mhaswad (Satara District), Pandharpur, Sangola and Barsi (Sholapur District) and Virghel and Jamner (Khandesh District). Barring a brief mention of these centres, there is no material available in the Gazetteers, which would enable us to study the conditions in this industry. It can, however, be said that with the exception of Namada¹ or felt industry of Virghel the entire production in the Deccan was of the coarse kambli,² which had the widest market in agricultural areas. Woollen carpet industry was wholly a jail industry.

From the account found in the later period it can generally be said that the blanket and the felt industry was a domestic industry, family being the unit of work. It was in the hands of Dhangars³ and other allied castes. The stages from sheep-rearing, to the sale of the finished blanket were undertaken by the family. The middleman appeared only in centres of medium size, like Mhaswad, Barsi, etc., (with 100 to 400 looms), where the local markets served as distributive centres. From these, the product was exported to the district and other larger markets. It could be asserted that during this period, the woollen industry was of the type of retail handicraft in almost the whole of Deccan and had assumed the whole-sale handicraft features in a few centres like Ahmednagar, Virghel, Barsi, etc., about which, however, no statistical details are available. The earnings in general of the Dhangar weaver varied from annas 2 to annas 6 as can be seen from the Sholapur Gazetteer.⁴

With the exception of famine years the industry probably enjoyed a steady position, free from competition either due to imported woollens or indigenous woollen mill product. The nature of the demand, namely a demand for coarse blankets and the inability of the Indian mills to produce this type of rough cloth,

¹ Namada is a kind of felt used as padding in the manufacture of saddles and harness.

² Kambli is a coarse woollen blanket used by poor people as a covering in India.

³ Dhangar is the shepherd caste of the Deccan. They rear sheep and weave woollen blankets.

⁴ Sholapur Gazetteer, p. 270.

saved the Dhangar weaver from any sudden disruption. His earnings, however, were not higher than those of the cotton weaver. They were notoriously low. His personal drawbacks like the want of artistic skill, lack of the understanding of the science of superior and improved designs, etc., incapacitated him for any genuine effort to take the advantage of the comparatively independent position, which he must have enjoyed in the absence of middlemen, capitalist entrepreneurs and of the competition.

As the last branch of the textile handicraft, we may consider the carpet industry which included three main types of manufactures, viz., woollen carpets, cotton carpets or dhurries and zoras.¹ Here again no definite data is available. The District Gazetteers beyond mentioning it in passing, do not attempt any detailed analysis, nor are there any other sources available to correctly describe the position of the industry before 1883—84. So far as the woollen carpets are concerned, it was largely a jail industry. In the Deccan, it never thrived as a free industry, as it did in some other parts of India.

The second type of manufacture is the dhurrie or cotton carpet which again was a jail industry rather than a free industry in the Deccan, though from very long times it had been localised in other parts of the Presidency. But instead of these dhurries, we find some centres in Khandesh and Nasik Districts, viz., Kasoda, Parola, Erandol, etc., and Malegaon, where a rough type of dhurrie called 'Zora' was made.

The Zoras were of white unbleached coarse cotton yarn upto 10s, and were without any designs either in the borders or in the body. They were woven usually on horizontal looms adjusted according to the breadth and length of the zoras. The processes were primitive and most of the work was done by hand. The price varied from Rs. 7-4-0 to Rs. 12 per piece according to the size. The zoras were used in Khandesh, Central Provinces and Berar, either as floor carpets or as bags for cotton, for which there was a great demand during cotton harvest. When they were used

¹ Dhurries are thick cotton carpets used in the drawing room or as bed spreads. Zoras are thick cotton carpets usually white and with some borders put to similar use as Dhurrie by poor people in Khandesh,

as cotton bags they were called Chawals and were of smaller sizes.

In Kasoda, the industry was considerably organised, though it was seasonal, as most of the independent artisans were agriculturists during monsoon and weavers in the fair season. They used to weave the zorras, chawals, and zools (the coverings on the backs of the bullocks in Khandesh and Berar, usually with some design in shining colours) and then during the cotton harvest, sold them locally or went to the neighbouring markets with the product and sold it directly to the consumers recovering a fair price for their goods. With very little or no competition from alternative sources of production and with somewhat steady demand, though seasonal in character, the zora weaving industry in Khandesh, in general and in Kasoda in particular, was thriving. In 1883 the demand had however been seriously curtailed owing to a series of bad harvests. Signs of decay had begun to appear in unorganised centres like Malegaon, where the industry was becoming less remunerative to the weaver, the daily wage with 9 hours of work being annas 2 to annas 6 in 1883.

Metal Handicrafts

Brass and Copper-ware :—We shall now review the economic position of metal handicrafts. We shall study the economic condition of brass and copper-ware industry in Nasik and Poona, mainly and that of Ahmednagar in passing. The other branch we include under metal handicrafts is the manufacture of gold thread in Yeola and Poona. This is not allied to brass and copper industry. It is an industry in precious metals, subsidiary to silk weaving in both Yeola and Poona. We exclude from our consideration the other metal industries like iron and tin on the one hand and silver and gold-smithy on the other. We proceed first with the copper and brass industry.

The Nasik and Poona copper and brass-ware industry represented in the main the metal industry of the Deccan though there were smaller centres like Satara and Ahmednagar, whose markets were chiefly local. By 1884 the introduction of railways had greatly helped the brass and copper industry in both these centres, as it cheapened the cost of transport of raw materials and finished product. In Poona, for instance, between 1868 and 1883 the number

of workers had doubled and in 1883 the industry supported 70 dealers and 2,320 workers. The industry was divided into several branches, the three main branches of which were copper vessel, brass vessel and bell-metal manufactures. In both these centres, the unit of work was a 'workshop' where work was done in group on piece wages, which varied according to the character of work and the skill involved in it. The piece wages of beaters in Poona, who numbered about 500 working in 25 establishments were annas 3 to annas 5 per day. The piece wages of makers of large vessels were Rs. 1-4-0 per maund and of the makers of small vessels were Re. 1 per maund. With 9 hours of work in a day these wages came to annas 5 or annas 6 per day. These workshops owned either by the Kasars or the master workers required a large amount of fixed capital invested in tools and appliances. It was estimated that the cost of appliances of a copper-smith in Poona and Nasik in 1883-84 came to approximately Rs. 288 and Rs. 315 respectively, in addition to which Rs. 100 were spent on a stone for beating sheets before the imported sheets were introduced. In spite of this large fixed capital, the processes were all by hand and machine was nowhere used except an English lathe used for polishing vessels (and which then cost Rs. 900) in one establishment of a polisher in Nasik. The hand processes naturally involved a considerable length of time in manufacture, which resulted in smaller output and smaller daily earnings.

Both these centres manufactured different types of vessels and articles with imported brass and copper sheets. Poona was producing about, 60 different types of articles and Nasik 50 to 60 types.¹ In 1883-84 Nasik was largely producing finer articles like

¹ Following are some important types of articles manufactured:—

Description of Pots	Nasik	Poona
	No. of types	No. of types
Eating, drinking and cooking pots ..	17	33
Water-carriage and storage ..	9	7
Pan Supari storage ..	..	15
Musical instruments ..	3	12
Measures ..	..	3
Lamps ..	3	8
Worship utensils ..	13	26
Peasant jewellery ..	..	13
Toilet requisites and miscellaneous ..	..	15

Poona Gazetteer and Nasik Gazetteer, pp. 173-83 and p. 149 respectively.

worship utensils, idols, polished ware, etc. ; Poona was producing larger varieties of ordinary vessels in daily use though in the manufacture of high grade polished ware it was ahead of Nasik, judged from the types it produced. By 1883 the Nasik brass and copper industry, in spite of the temporary impetus given by the opening of railways was losing some of its trade to Poona, whose copper-smiths could undersell the Nasik wares by reason of their superior combination and specialisation of work in different stages. Though the Nasik industry had a special advantage in the demand from pilgrims who flocked to Nasik and bought smaller and finer varieties of brass and copper-ware, Poona in the branch of ordinary vessels had been capturing the markets in the Southern Deccan, which Nasik had so long controlled. Another factor which helped Nasik was the proximity of the still prosperous Maheji fair. The industry appeared to be prosperous and well organised and had wide markets in Central Provinces, Berar and Hyderabad. In 1883—84 Poona exported Rs. 24 lakhs worth of metal-ware made out of Rs. 20 lakhs worth of imported sheets.¹

Ahmednagar² and Satara, by this time had considerably diminished in importance owing to the serious competition from Nasik and Poona. The decay of copper and brass-ware industry in Ahmednagar was, it would appear, compensated by the rise in importance of bell-metal industry during the years 1860 and 1875. But even in this branch the signs of decay appeared after 1875 and between 1875 and 1883—84 all the three branches recorded a considerable fall in output.³

Gold Thread Industry :—There were only two important centres in the whole of the Deccan, viz., Yeola and Poona. In both these centres the industry sought to supply the local demand from the silk weaving industry, to which it was subsidiary, and had no exports. The gold thread was used in the borders and ends of different types of silk garments. In Yeola the industry was first started in 1836 by one Ramachandra Baswande, an immigrant from

¹ Poona Gazetteer, Part II, p. 311.

² Till 1860 Ahmednagar was "the chief metal mart in the Deccan." But Poona attracted a large number of workers from Ahmednagar and displaced that city from its position. Poona Gazetteer, p. 174.

³ Ahmednagar Gazetteer, p. 688.

Paithan in the Nizam's Dominions, who established a gold thread karkhana on his own initiative.¹ Since then it had gradually developed along with the silk industry. In Poona the industry was of a long standing and was patronised by the Peshawas. The industry supported 500 and 250 families approximately of different castes of Hindus and Mohomedans in Yeola and Poona respectively. The workers were immigrants from different parts of the country. The distribution of these families of workers in the two centres in 1880 was—²

	Poona	Yeola
Karkhandars	.. 37	48
Bar-drawers	.. 25	50
Wire-drawers	.. 78	40
Beaters	.. 70	100
Twisters	.. 40	250

The industry like brass and copper-ware industry was considerably organised and had a close division of labour with specialisation in processes. The karkhana owned by the dealer was the central distributing and collecting station and the workers of different types worked in their own houses either in group or singly according to the stage of manufacture in which they worked. The initial processes of bar-drawing and gilding the silver with gold were done in the karkhanas owned by the dealers and afterwards the bars were sent to wire-drawers, from whom they were passed to the beater and finally to the twister, who in addition to the beaten wire was supplied with reeled silk (on which to wind the thread) by the Karkhandar—dealer. This simple and efficient division of labour gave independence to the outworkers, regarding the place, time and the manner of work.

The dealers who owned the karkhanas, bought gold, silver and silk directly from Bombay or from the local market, got silver worked into bars of 40 tolas, gilded them with 1 to 2 tolas of gold and handed them over for further processes to different groups of outworkers. The appliances for bar-drawing and gilding cost Rs. 80 to Rs. 125 to the karkhandar. He employed 3 skilled workers for this purpose at Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 per *pasa*³ (bar) of 40 tolas. The

¹ Nasik Gazetteer, pp. 165-66.

² Poona Gazetteer, p. 191; Nasik Gazetteer, p. 165.

³ *Pasa* is a gilded silver bar of 40 tolas and is an unit of out-work in wire-drawing process in the gold thread industry of the Deccan.

monthly earnings of these skilled artisans came to Rs. 17 or Rs. 18. The wire-drawer invested Rs. 10 to Rs. 18 in his appliances. He worked in his own house with the help of a windlass driver, who was paid annas 4 per day. The piece wages of the wire-drawer came to Rs. 4 to Rs. 10 per 40 tolas according to the fineness of the wire. His monthly earnings came to Rs. 15 to Rs. 17, i.e., annas 8 to annas 9 per day. Similarly the beater had his own appliances on which he spent Rs. 17 to Rs. 78, the largest amount being spent on 'opanis,' (hones) which then cost between Rs. 10 to Rs. 70. For beating he got Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per 100 tolas of the beaten wire and his daily earnings came to annas 6 to annas 8. The winder or twister, usually a woman, used her own appliances and got annas 2 and pies 6 per tola or annas 2 to annas 4 per day.

The finished wire was taken weight for weight by the karkhandars and was locally sold to the weavers directly or to the raw silk and cloth merchants, from whom it was bought on credit or was taken away as the raw material, by the small independent weavers and contract workers respectively. At both ends of the stages of manufacture the middleman with his profits and commissions was totally absent and the price of the finished gold thread was free from all these additional charges, a thing which enabled the industry in both these centres to find a ready sale for its production in the local markets. As the market for its product was the local silk industry, its fortunes depended on the movements in the silk industry.

Leather Handicrafts

This was next to metal in importance and the industry was carried on to a greater or smaller degree throughout the Deccan. There were two classes of leather workers. Dhors who were the tanners and Chamhars the workers in leather. In the district towns the tanning was carried on with primitive processes by the urban Dhors who supplied to the town shoe-makers rough and often, grained leather. In such big towns, there was some concentration and organised industry was carried on by different castes of Chamhars, in leather articles used by the town dwellers. There were two main branches of the industry, viz., (1) the European and indigenous foot-ware of various shapes, sizes and nomenclature and (2) the manufacture of leather articles like

harness, saddles, etc. The production was for the needs of the particular district only. There were some centres like Poona and Ahmednagar widely known for their products, which had trade with other districts. Sholapur could only partly meet the needs of the district and had to depend upon the supplies of English and Indian shoes from Poona and Bijapur. It appears that the leather bag and the portmanteau industry of Sholapur, had not come into existence till 1883, since the Gazetteer does not mention it in its chapter on industries and occupations. In Khandesh District, it was estimated that nearly 1,300 rural and urban families¹ were supported by this industry, and the product was locally consumed. The shoes were manufactured by the local Chamhars and were sold locally, their daily earnings ranged from annas 2 to annas 4. In Dhulia, however, the manufacture of English shoes had been started by 1880, by a few immigrant 'Paradeshi Mochees' to meet the local needs.

Poona and Ahmednagar cities had a considerable industry, as stated above, and the number of leather workers was put at 600 for Poona and 200 for Ahmednagar in 1883.² The two main castes engaged in this industry were (i) 'Paradeshi Mochees' and (ii) 'Maratha Chamhars' of various sub-castes. The main types of manufacture were the European shoes, in the hands of the 'Paradeshi Mochees' and Indian foot-ware like joda, chappal, etc., in the hands of the 'Maratha Chamhars.' In addition to this, the manufacture of saddlery was carried on by a few 'Jingars' in Poona. The famous Deccani Joda (made of red morrocco leather) accounted for the largest share of the total production of these two centres.

The organisation of this industry was quite simple. The independent artisan prevailed particularly in Ahmednagar, though in Poona as also in Ahmednagar to a certain extent, a few workshops were owned and worked by rich Bohora merchants and Deccani Chamhars for the manufacture of English shoes. These karkhandars employed small groups of Mochees on piece wages varying from annas 12 to Rs. 1-8-0 according to the size and quality of the shoe. The manufacture of the indigenous shoes was practically in the hands of the independent artisans, who worked

¹ Khandesh Gazetteer, p. 236.

² Poona Gazetteer, Part. II, p. 298 and Ahmednagar Gazetteer, p. 667.

in the family as a unit. The system of outwork, had not yet become important owing to the comparative steadiness of the demand and the absence of any necessity to employ extra people during rush seasons. For these different types of foot-ware the finished leather for the uppers and soles was locally provided by the tanners. For high class products imported leather had begun to be increasingly used.

The local leather was used for the cheap and rough foot-ware. Whether in the small workshops or in the houses of the artisans, the implements used were of the old type, though the improved sewing machine, had just made an appearance in some solitary shops of a few 'Paradeshi Mochees.' Almost all these workers worked from 8 to 10 hours and earned annas 4 to 6 per day. In this industry, women were not employed in the actual manufacture, though in the houses of the independent artisans they did light work like embroidering the indigenous shoe, putting the silk border on 'Brahmini' jodas, etc. The boys who were employed either as apprentices or assistants earned annas 2 to 3 per day. This would show that the earnings of the leather workers were not much higher than those of the weavers during this period.

The product of the independent artisans as well as of the small karkhandars was sold to the consumers directly or to the shoe-dealers, who either sold locally or sent to order to the other towns. Poona and Ahmednagar Jodas, for example, were largely sent to Satara and Sholapur in the south and to Nasik, Khandesh and the Berar in the north. The retail sale to the consumers by the artisans was in their own workshops or in the weekly markets and fairs in or outside the town. The independent artisan of the town sometimes supplied the wants of the agriculturists particularly in the case of water-bags which were often purchased in the town by the agriculturists when they came to market their product.

In spite of the comparative stability of the industry there were seasonal fluctuations in demand. In summer, owing to the marriage season, there was a large demand for Brahmini jodas while in the beginning of the rainy season, the increase in demand was shifted from the jodas to wahanas¹ and chappals.

¹ Wahanas are a kind of sandals slightly different from chappals in the uppers.

During these seasonal increases in demands, there was no commensurate increase in the employment of the labourers. Production was adjusted to the demand by working longer hours even at night upto 12 or 14 hours in all per day.

In 1883—84, the leather handicrafts manifested some prominent features of which the most important were as under :—

(1) There were two branches of industry—English and Indian foot-ware. English foot-ware was in the hands of the Paradeshi Mochees and Indian foot-ware was produced by local Deccani Chambars. In the English shoe branch the organisation of small Karkhana units had begun to appear during this period. For the rest the unit was that of a single artisan establishment.

(2) The industry was concentrated chiefly in Poona and Ahmednagar. The Brahmini Joda accounted for the major product of the two centres.

(3) The industry like other industries was seasonal.

(4) The imported leather was now being used for finer work

Paper, Dyeing and Calico Printing Industries

Lastly we may review, in brief, these smaller handicrafts, which were less important in the economic life of the tract, and were localised in a few centres, employing comparatively a small number of people.

Paper Industry :—In the Deccan this industry was localised in three or four places, viz., Poona, Junnar, Nasik and Erandole. The industry was encouraged as a matter of policy, by the Peshwas during whose times, it became a flourishing industry. Erandole, had this industry from very old times, while it was started in Nasik and Poona, by about 1800, by two enterprising men, one Balaji Abaji, a Hindu of Nasik, who brought Mohamedan 'Kagadis'¹ from Roje (near Aurangabad, Nizam Dominions) to Nasik and the other Alibhai, a Mohamedan from Poona, who brought settlers from Junnar and established 40 factories in 'Kagadipura' in Poona, the land for the factories being granted free by the Peshwas.² By 1883, the industry in Poona and Nasik had de-

¹ Kagadis are paper makers.

² Monograph on 'paper' Bombay, 1908, p. 3.

clined to a very great extent and there were only 7 or 8 factories in the former centre and 5 in the latter. In Junnar the decline was slow as can be seen from the fact that in that centre the industry gave livelihood to no less than 100 families in 1880.¹ The decline in all these centres was particularly due to the competition from imported paper.

In all these four centres in the Deccan two types of raw material were used, *viz.*, rags and waste paper—hand-made or machine-made. Junnar and Nasik used rags while Poona and Erandole used waste paper. The paper makers who owned the karkhanas bought this raw material and employed different types of men for different processes, in the premises of these karkhanas, where hand methods prevailed to the entire exclusion of mechanical devices. As in the hand-loom industry, so in this industry both men and women were employed, the latter generally being paper setters or polishers. The paper passed through several processes. After the first wash of the raw material, it was pounded into pulp by the help of a 'deggi,'² which was abandoned in Poona by about 1870 but which continued to be used in Junnar and Nasik even in 1884.³ After the second wash of the pulp it was ready to go to the paper maker who made the paper, in certain fixed sizes, in large waterpits, with the help of sieves of different gauzes. The different pieces were then put on the wall for drying after which they were polished by rice or wheat size, with the help of glass pieces. Finally they were folded in bundles of 240 sheets. Each karkhana employed about 5 to 6 people on piece wages, which ranged from annas 4 to Re. 1 per gaddi,⁴ according to the nature of the work. Each of these karkhanas employed appliances worth Rs. 58 to Rs. 68 and manufactured 1 or 2 gaddis (240 sheets) of paper per day.

The demand for this special type of paper came from a limited class of people in Deccan, Central Provinces and Berar, *viz.*, indigenous merchants. Another source from which a small demand

¹ Poona Gazetteer, Part III, p. 298.

² Deggi is a wooden contrivance used in making paper pulp, for pounding the raw materials.

³ Poona and Nasik Gazetteers, pp. 204-06 & p. 169 respectively and Monograph on paper making, Bombay, pp. 3 and 4.

⁴ Gaddi is a bundle of 240 sheets of paper.

came, was a few Indian States, which ordered this paper for important documents like 'sanads,' land records, etc. Durability was the only quality in the hand-made paper, upon which the industry was sustained after it was ousted from the general paper market by the machine-made foreign and Indian paper. The demand for this Deccan paper was not only limited but also was largely seasonal. The busy season started when the Indian commercial year changed at the Divali festivals. Another cause for the seasonal nature of the industry was its exclusive dependence, for pulp making and washing, on the river water, which could be used only after the monsoon floods had subsided and before the bed of the river was laid bare by the summer heat. This meant work during the period between September and January only. After the brisk season the industry shrank in size and a smaller output for occasional demand was undertaken, by the karkhandars.

To summarise, by 1883,

- (1) a great decline had occurred in the industry. With the exception of Junnar and Erandole, the industry had practically ceased to be of any importance in the face of the machine competition ;
- (2) what little industry had been left was purely dependent upon a special type of demand and had lost the general paper market, owing to the excessive cost of production ;
- (3) owing to the seasonal nature of the demand and impracticability of working during monsoons, the industry was intensely seasonal and the workers were gradually becoming dependent upon agriculture as a subsidiary industry.

Dyeing and Calico Printing :—Though carried on by dyers as a community, in which were included Hindus of several castes and Mohamedans, this was essentially an industry divided into two distinct branches, viz., Dyeing and Calico Printing. Both these branches had come down from very early times and could boast of a brilliant past before both of them were affected adversely by western influences. The dyeing industry, for instance, depended in early times on the indigenous dyes and dye-stuffs, and the knowledge of dye extraction and dyeing was a trade

secret and a valuable communal property of the dyers. But the introduction of cheap chemical dyes from the west gave a rude shock to the indigenous dyers and their knowledge of indigenous dyes and dyeing methods no longer possessed monopoly value. Since the new colours could be used by anybody with little preliminary experience, the dyers had to meet with serious competition from the non-caste and non-hereditary dyers who worked out at cheaper rates. By 1884 this new tendency had become aggravated; the dyeing industry as a monopoly of the old time dyers no longer held the field and the industry of the new type came into prominence in which caste dyers and men outside dyers' castes were freely engaged.

This industry existed practically in every city and town of the Deccan tract on a greater or smaller scale. But in those centres where the hand-loom industry (cotton or silk) was carried on, dyeing of yarn in different colours, was carried on on a somewhat greater scale. The dyers worked either for yarn dealers who gave them work on large scale or for the small weavers who bought grey yarn from the dealers and got it dyed from the local dyers. With the gradual decline of the sphere of hand-loom industry and its restriction to the production of women's garments, the yarn dyeing industry in the indigenous colours, (with the exception of silk dyeing), gradually declined and the dyers resorted to dyeing in cheap chemical colours for which the cotton weavers had gradually begun to show a preference. The class of 'Nirhalis' who had possessed a practical monopoly of dyeing in indigo colour was hard hit by the imported colour dyes. With the increasing use of imported colours the earnings of the dyers had begun to dwindle. Besides dyeing in cotton and silk yarn, dyeing of wool, leather and wood was carried on to a small extent in the Deccan.¹ But at no time did this branch of the dyeing industry cover all the parts of the Deccan. It was found only in some parts of Ahmednagar and Khandesh Districts.

Calico printing was carried on in some parts of Khandesh and Malegaon and its vicinity, in the Nasik District. The best known centres were Raver, Faizpur, Jalgaon, Malpur-Dondaiche in the north-western parts of Khandesh and Chirne in Sindkhed Taluka of the present West Khandesh. In all these places cloth was print-

¹ Monograph on dyes and dyeing, Bombay Presidency, 1896, p. 30.

ed in different designs by means of blocks locally manufactured by designers. The different types of printed cloths were differently known as,

- (1) Odhanis, (used as head dress by women of the agriculturists of Khandesh and Berar).
- (2) Pasodis, (used by agriculturists as coverings during winter.
- (3) Zazams, (used as floor coverings by the middle-classes), and
- (4) Quilts or Razais, (made of printed cloths sewn together with small quantities of cotton interspersed between the two pieces, and used as coverings).

These different types of printed cloths were largely demanded in the early parts of the last century. The Zazams and Razais in particular had an extensive sale in the Deccan districts, Central Provinces, Berar and Hyderabad. But with the rise of Dhurries and cotton carpets either jail-made or imported from other provinces like the Punjab, United Provinces, etc., the manufacture of Zazams seems to have declined. For the rest, the other products continued to be produced primarily for agricultural population who demanded cheaper printed cloths.

The economic organisation of the industry in these years was like that of other handicrafts. The family was the unit of work. The printer with the help of his wife and children above 8 years, used to print cloth for the local contractors who used to bring, to the printing centres, viz., Chirne, Malpur, etc., work on contract from dealers in the far off cities like Jalgaon, Dhulia, Malegaon. These dealers gave the rough cloth (known as Maharau Khadi,¹) to the contractor in bundles of 40 yards or 80 yards and to be printed at a rate, previously fixed between the two parties. The cloth was taken to the printing centres, at their own cost by the contractors who distributed it among the independent small printers, on piece wages. These contractors maintained printing establishments in addition to this outwork. The average printer usually printed 2 to 3 yards of cloth per day with vegetable

¹ Maharau khadi, is rough khaddar produced by Mahars for whom its production was a subsidiary occupation.

colours. The contractor returned the printed cloth to the dealers, at his own cost. Both the contractors and the small printers, co-operated for the final processes of printing, viz., washing in colour which was usually red. This dye-washing was done communally in big dye pots on the banks of the river the pots being the property of the printers as a class.

To sum up, dyeing was in a decadent condition due to the competition from imported dyes. It was concentrated in hand-loom centres as an industry dependent on demand for dyed yarn in hand-loom. Calico printing was a speciality in Khandesh centres and in Malegaon in Nasik District. The economic organisation of both of these branches was as in other industries and the earnings were said to be comparatively satisfactory.

To summarise, the position of Deccan handicrafts in general during this period we may say,

- (1) A decline had set in owing to the rise of factory industries in India and the competition resulting therefrom, as well as owing to the competition of imported goods. This was intensified by the improvements in communications in the latter half of the last century.
- (2) In almost all the handicrafts as a result of this competition a beginning had been made in restricting their sphere of activity to the production of those articles in which there was little competition from factory products.
- (3) The handicrafts began to produce more and more for the slow moving agricultural custom. This meant deterioration in quality and therefore, fall in the range of earnings, in the absence of devices for speeding up the manufacture of cheaper varieties of handicraft product. This increasing reliance on the agricultural custom made the handicrafts dependent on the fortunes of the agriculturist. The demand for handicrafts became more and more seasonal in character and majority of handicrafts became liable to collapse during years of famine.
- (4) Caste as a controlling factor came into prominence. Caste guilds replaced the old craft guilds. They came to have no connection with the craftsmen's work except so far as

any special line of conduct would be a breach of caste rules.¹

SECTION II

1883-84 to 1907-10

For the purposes of the study of this period we have to depend on the provincial monographs on several handicrafts which were written between 1899 and 1909—10 and also on a few Revenue Settlement and other reports. It should be borne in mind that these sources do not attempt any detailed analysis of the position or organisation of any industry. The figures they supply are not helpful in instituting comparisons between different periods and at best serve as rough and ready guides for indicating general tendencies manifested by different industries. The Taluka Revenue Settlement reports, for instance, no doubt make some attempt to describe a few industries like hand-loom, or metal, but their main concern being the survey of the talukas for the purposes of the assessment of land revenue the industries have been neglected. Bearing this in mind we would take the survey of the handicrafts in the order in which we have done in the earlier period. But the review would necessarily be short, as we would indicate only the broad changes that took place in this period, there being very few changes in the details of the industry.

Textile Handicrafts

Cotton Hand-loom:—The industry during this period had been completely ousted from such products as coating, shirting, dhoties, etc., in which mill competition was serious and had been confined to the sphere of women's garments, Sarees, Khans, i.e., bodice cloth used by Deccani women, and of turbans and other cloths of minor description which were neither imported nor could be produced in Indian mills.² In the latter part of this period, however, the mills had begun to produce coarse count women's garments, though of shorter lengths, particularly the Sholapur

¹ Khandesh Gazetteer, p. 237. Also cf. Hopkins, India, old and new, pp. 199-200.

² Enthoven, Monograph on Cotton Fabrics in Bombay Presidency, 1903, p. 4.

mills. This competition, had not intensified as the prices of the hand-loom sarees were only slightly higher than, or sometimes equal to, the prices of the mill-made sarees, and these were readily paid by the consumers who showed a marked preference for the hand-loom sarees, which were considered more durable than the other sarees. In the high count weaving, hand-loom centres in the other divisions in the South and the North, e.g., Dharwar, Belgaum, Ahamadabad, etc., had begun to compete with the Deccan.

With all this internal competition and displacement the hand-loom industry, after a succession of famine years and temporary dislocation during the last decade of the 19th century had succeeded in holding its own against the foreign and Indian mill competition partially on account of the preference among consumers in favour of the hand-loom saree, which persisted owing to their durability in the low and medium count groups and to the superior skill and intricate designs in the high count groups.

A study of the figures of hand-loom in some centres would substantiate our view:—¹

Centre	Year	No. of looms
Sholapur	.. 1906	7,900
Malegaon	.. 1899	3,000
Ahmednagar & Bhingar	.. 1904	5,000
Sangamner	.. 1907	657
Poona	.. 1904	800—900
Dhulia	.. 1898	540
Yeola	.. 1904	3,000

The comparison between the figures of hand-loom for the previous period² and for this period would show that there was an actual increase in the number of looms in bigger centres like Sholapur, Malegaon, Ahmednagar, etc. Yeola also showed rise in number in cotton branch, particularly in the manufacture of turbans. The number of looms weaving turbans had gone up from 2,000 to 3,000. It should, however, be noticed that during this period Sangamner would seem to have declined. There were now 650 looms as against 1,000 in 1883—84.

¹ Prepared from the Taluka Settlement Reports between 1898-1904 and the Monograph on Cotton Fabrics, Bombay, 1903, pp. 14-18.

² See *supra*, p. 43.

In all the centres, except Yeola, the product was coarse count women's garments. The weavers as a class came under further control of the dealer. This was on account of the dependence of the hand-loom weavers on the mill-made yarn, which was now consumed on a larger and larger scale. This can be seen from the growth in the total yarn available for hand-loom in the country.¹ The yarn trade was exclusively in the hands of the capitalist dealers who controlled the whole-sale purchases of yarn and its retail sale to the weavers in the production centres.

This period further witnessed the evolution of the karkhana system which was adopted in Sholapur, Malegaon, Ahmednagar and Sangamner. In all these places except Malegaon, the system spread vigorously and many, who were formerly independent weavers or outworkers working on contract, came to work in them. In Malegaon, Dhulia and other Khandesh centres the karkhana was initiated by the rich momins who were originally independent weavers. With the rise of this system contract-work on larger scale came into prominence. This was undertaken by the small Padamsali karkhandars for some cloth dealers with whom they entered into contracts for fixed prices and quantities. This sprung up chiefly in Sholapur and Ahmednagar. But the rise of a class of stockists was characteristic of Sholapur only. This stockist intervened between those karkhandars and the dealers, who were not bound by any contract. He bought over the product, from the karkhanas as well as from the small independent weavers during periods of low prices and when the prices went up in the brisk seasons, he sold the goods to the dealers who placed with him rush orders for exports. In places where the Padamsali enterprise was absent, the karkhanas were generally owned and worked by the Maratha Salis, Kostis, Khattris, etc., in imitation of the Padamsali pioneers.

Karkhanas owned by Padamsalis were worked by weavers, who were brought from the Nizam's Dominions and who worked

¹ Table :—*

Period	Total yarn available for consumption by hand-loom (in million lbs.)
1896-97 to 1900-01	1058
1901-02 to 1905-06	1156
1905-06 to 1910-11	1294

* See R. D. Bell : Notes on Indian Textile Industry, 1926, p. 2.

on piece wages. These were laid down by the karkhandars in a bond of regular service, signed by the weavers. According to this bond the karkhandars made advances, for marriages and other ceremonials, to the weavers who bound themselves to repay the debt by a regular service in the karkhanas. To this system we would refer in detail later on. This system of service gradually spread to the karkhanas owned by Maratha weavers and Momins of Malegaon and Khandesh centres.

Above this class of workers and beneath the karkhandars stood the various types of weavers who worked for karkhandars or for dealers in their own houses, with their own tools and appliances. To these weavers out-work was given by the Decani, Telegu and Momin karkhandars, over and above the work in their own karkhanas, particularly in Sholapur, Ahmednagar and Malegaon. The dealers also gave contracts to these classes of weavers during periods of brisk trade. The contract was either for a price or for a wage and these contract workers, whether bound to the karkhandar or the dealer, were independent to the extent of controlling the processes and conditions of manufacture. But to all intents and purposes they had to depend on the other party to the contract for the types and quality of the products and also for the prices and wages.

Totally different from these middling classes was a large number of independent weavers who depended for the yarn on the credit granted by the yarn dealer, but who had the absolute freedom to sell their goods to anybody whether a dealer, an itinerant merchant or a chance customer. This class of weavers was present in almost all centres to a varying degree, but in centres like Sholapur their number had dwindled with the rise of the karkhana. The old inefficient throw-shuttle hand-loom with its slow out-put and waste in breakages of the yarn, persisted in both the coarse and high count production, though in the later years of this period, the English fly-shuttle was to be found in the karkhanas of some enterprising Padamsali and Momin weavers. By this time, however, a noticeable change was taking place in the methods of production in Malegaon, Sangamner and Sholapur. That change was the gradual specialisation of the preliminary processes of sizing and warping, by a different group of workers consisting of women and inefficient weavers to whom this business was more paying than weaving. This change from its beginning was favoured by the karkhanas as they required sizing and

warping on a comparatively larger scale to do which each karkhana could not have a suitable place or machinery. The small weavers had not, on account of their being underfinanced, yet begun to take advantage of this growth of a separate subsidiary industry. They did their own sizing and warping which involved a necessary waste of time. This time, a skilful weaver could have turned to best account if he were financed for this purpose on cheaper terms.

The Deccan weavers produced cotton fabrics which were mainly of the following types :—

- (i) Women's cotton garments—sarees, lugadis, khans, etc., both of coarse and higher counts with or without silk borders ;
- (ii) Men's garments with silk or jartar borders—uparanis and pagotas¹ in white or coloured bodies ; and
- (iii) Rough cloth like pasodi and khaddar. These last two groups constituted cloths of minor description remaining unaffected by any machine competition, and held their field as is evident from the rise in the number of looms, turning out pagotas in Yeola.

There appears to have been a slight increase in the wages of the weaver which ranged from annas 3 and annas 5 in Sholapur to annas 8 and annas 10 in Poona, along with the rise in prices. The economic position of the average weaver was far from being satisfactory and he earned a wage which was only slightly higher than the wage of an agricultural unskilled labourer. The type of production had, of course, an influence on his earnings, the high count weaver earning a better wage than a low count weaver.

These fabrics had a large sale in the Deccan, Konkan, Central Provinces, Berar and Hyderabad. In addition to this, 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 ;

¹ Uparanis are pieces of cloth with silk or gold thread border, worn round body by the gentry in the Deccan. This is now fast going out of fashion. Pagota is a turban 50 to 60 feet in length and with or without gold thread border at two ends.

hence the inter district trade expanded. This can be seen from the fact that by about 1900 Sholapur exported hand-loom cloth worth Rs. 12 lakhs per year as against Rs. 5,76,000 in 1872.¹ Malegaon exported cloth worth Rs. 4,65,000 per year on an average in the Nineties. This showed an increase of 25% over the previous period.²

The improvements in communications also rendered unnecessary to a certain degree, some links of middlemen in the retail trade in the district markets. For example, the pedlar or itinerant merchant, who intervened between the small-town retail-dealer and the village consumer, was no longer essential. This movement was counteracted, however, by a simultaneous growth of wholesale dealers in taluka and big village markets, who often intervened between a retail-dealer in a less important and less accessible taluka market and the export dealers in the different centres of production. This period witnessed therefore, the linking of the existing markets, controlled and dominated by the middlemen, the handicraftsman being absolutely ignorant about the markets or their proper exploitation. This was a definite stage in the development of the handicraft markets, though it never benefited the actual manufacturer, but on the contrary made him more and more dependent on the marketing machinery which he did not control.

Silk Industry :—The industry did not extend to other centres but continued to be centralised in Yeola and Poona. Here it must be pointed out that Mr. Edward's Monograph on Silk fabrics in Bombay, 1900, classifies silk-bordered sarees in the Sholapur, Satara and Ahmednagar districts under silk fabrics, lending colour to the view that the silk industry was widely spread throughout the Deccan. This we think to be an incorrect classification. Mere use of silk in the borders of the cotton sarees is not, we feel, a sufficient reason for placing them under silk fabrics as Mr. Edward apparently does. As a matter of fact, these sarees formed part of the production of the cotton hand-looms, woven by cotton weavers, usually with a higher type of skill. We leave, therefore, this sort of production out of consideration under this head and restrict ourselves to the treatment of the silk

¹ Sholapur Taluka Settlement Report, 1906, p. 51.

² Malegaon Settlement Report, 1899, pp. 54-56.

fabrics, pure and simple. These were produced in Yeola and Poona only.

In this industry, unlike the cotton hand-loom industry, the external competition from Japan, China, France, etc., was slow in ousting the Deccan silk weaver, as the industry produced such fabrics as could not be supplied by the silk industry in the foreign countries. Standardisation in silk fabrics was possible only on a small scale, as the larger portion of the demand consisted of different types and patterns, a fact which temporarily gave an advantageous position to the silk hand-loom. Another factor in favour of the silk weaver was that the peculiarly oriental designs were generally unsuitable to weavers in foreign countries. Thus the silk industry was better-placed in comparison with the cotton industry. Even so in the wake of the railway extension and betterment of the means of communication there had come about a growth of imports of silk fabrics from other comparatively well-organised and well-established Indian centres like Coimbatore, Benares, Ludhiana, etc., in other provinces and from Surat and Ahmedabad in this Presidency. These centres had not only trade relations with the Deccan districts, but they had begun to extend their markets, in those areas which were in the earlier years dominated by the Deccan silk industry.

To return to Yeola and Poona, we note that during this period the features marked in the earlier period were intensified. Yeola increasingly produced silk fabrics of strong quality and of different traditional designs popular amongst the cotton growers of the Central Provinces, Berars and Hyderabad Deccan. Poona, with the increasing use of aniline dyes and cheaper gold thread and fashionable designs, produced more and more for the non-agricultural urban population both of middle and upper classes.

With this change in the types of production, a change was going on in the economic position of the weavers. By 1900 the silk weavers had gone under the control of the capitalist, who supplied the weavers with credit. This was probably due to the poverty of the weavers. Silk and gold thread accounted for the major portion of the costs of production and the financial position of the average weaver was not such as would enable him to purchase the raw materials without the aid of the capitalists. Another difficulty which drove them under the control of the capitalist was that the stages of manufacture involved a consider-

able length of time, during which the weavers could not manage to finance themselves without substantial advances from some credit agency. This growth of the capitalist control expressed itself in two systems of work *viz.*, (i) the karkhana work and (ii) the out-work.

The silk was bought on credit, which extended over a period of one month, by the Yeola and Poona weavers from the local silk merchants, who imported the silk from the wholesale market in Bombay. The silk was either from China, Bengal, Persia or Bangalore. The raw silk was bought in weight by the weavers if they worked independently, but if the weavers worked on contract for a dealer, the dealer supplied the silk in weight after it was dyed and bleached. Gold thread was bought according to the types of the fabrics to be made, from the gold thread merchants. The small independent weavers and the karkhandars gave the raw silk for loosening, dyeing, bleaching, etc., to the reelers, dyers and bleachers. After dyeing and bleaching, preliminary processes were undergone, in the house of the small weaver or on the premises of the karkhana since these were not a special branch of the industry in silk weaving. This naturally involved a considerable length of time and had an adverse effect on the earnings of the weaver. The actual weaving was carried on by the weaver with the help of two assistants at a speed of 9 inches per day of 9 hours on cloth without designs and of 4 inches per day on cloth with intricate designs. The cloth was sold in the local market to the export dealers and from the realization of the sales the obligations were met. The resulting wage came to annas 8 to annas 10 per day in Poona and slightly less in Yeola.¹

Four sub-types of persons were engaged in this industry in these two centres:—

- (i) small independent weaver—a rapidly vanishing class,
- (ii) small contract weaver working at home for a dealer or a rich weaver,
- (iii) karkhandar and
- (iv) wage-earner-weaver working in the karkhanas on piece wages.

A study of the types of product would easily indicate that at

¹ Monograph on silk fabrics, Bombay, 1900, p. 25.

no time did Poona or Yeola attempt to weave cloths worn by rich Parsi, Bania or Mohamedan communities of the Deccan. These relied on the flowered silks imported from Italy, France, China, etc. The Deccan weavers, further, did not attempt at any time to meet the demand in other provinces.

Woollen Industry :—In the blanket and felt industry no broad changes took place either in the economic organisation of the industry or by way of the extension of the markets. The only noticeable feature was a little concentration of the industry in centres like Junnar (District Poona) and Mhaswad (District Satara), which were occupied with the production of blankets. Centres like Virldhel in Khandesh continued to manufacture rough felt primarily for saddles, demand for which came from saddlery industry in Poona, Amalner, Dhulia, etc., but the felt industry had from now onwards to encounter competition from the superior Burmese and foreign felt which was preferred for harnesses and saddles of superior quality. With the gradual concentration of the industry there appeared a class of Dhangar weavers, who originally used to obtain the raw material from their own sheep, but who now depended upon the wool supplied by specialised dealers of raw wool or by a few Dhangars whose business did not extend beyond the collection and sale of wool, from different wool producing districts like Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Poona, etc. This new class of weavers spun and wove the short staple wool with the help of the members of their families and sold the blankets in the weekly markets, to the itinerant dealers or directly to the consumers. In well-established centres like Ahmednagar, Mhaswad, etc., the sale was more organised in the hands of the wholesale dealers who exported the blankets to big consuming centres like Poona in the Deccan and Ratnagiri and Thana in the Konkan. It must also be noted that by this time the demand for the kambilis from the middle and upper classes had to a certain extent fallen off on account of the introduction of superior woollen coverings (Dhabli) from Gujarath and rugs and blankets from the United Provinces in India and from Europe. This resulted in the restriction of the sphere of the industry to the production of the cloths mainly for the agricultural population and thus even the urbanised sections of the industry came to depend almost entirely upon the rural demand.

The decline of the *Zora weaving* industry of Khandesh was due to the series of famine years in the nineties of the last year.

By 1907 Kasoda was the only important centre where zorars were woven on a larger scale. In that year there were about 150 looms in Kasoda which manufactured zorars.¹ These were sold as dhurries, chawals (cotton bags) and zuls. The manufacture of the zorars in the form of dhurries had decreased owing to the competition of the genuine dhurries as a result of which, the demand for these zorars (used as dhurries) was restricted to the agriculturist and the middle classes of Khandesh and the borders of Berar. This left Kasoda with the production of chawals, zuls, etc., which from now onwards formed the larger portion of the total production of Kasoda.

To summarise the position of Textile handicrafts, in general the following broad features may be noticed :—

- (1) The emergence of the karkhana system. Rise of out-work system as a result of the closer capitalist control ; increasing economic dependence of the weavers on the capitalist financiers owing to the insufficiency of capital resources.
- (2) As a result of the intensification of the external and internal competition the sphere of the textile handicraft was restricted, in some branches, to the production of articles which were outside the competitive groups. Further, there was a deterioration in the quality particularly in artistic branches owing to the preference shown by the consuming areas for cheap and tawdry goods. In the production of the staple articles, as a result of the shifting of the demand area to the rural parts, a tendency towards seasonalisation of production was evidenced.
- (3) In the conditions of securing raw material, the increasing dependence on the Indian and foreign mill-made yarn, except in the case of woollen handicraft, made the textile handicraft susceptible to the fluctuations in raw material prices. All branches, except silk, became more and more dependent on the cheaper imported chemical dye stuffs, in an attempt to reduce the cost of dyeing yarn. Another result of the importance of the raw material market, was the rise of a wholesale yarn dealer (except in the case

¹ Twigg, Monograph on carpet industry, Bombay, 1907.

of wool), who controlled retail prices in the centre of production.

- (4) In the marketing of finished product, as a result of the improvements in communications and the opening of the interior markets of the districts, a regular chain of middlemen intervened between the producer and the consumer, with a wholesale export dealer in the centre of production, a retail dealer in the centre of consumption with or without a sub-dealer, extending his operations over one or more talukas.

Metal Handicrafts

Brass, Copper and Bell-metal Industry:—The tendencies marked at the end of the first period were further intensified during this period. Poona and Nasik, which were the only two centres, had by this time divided between themselves the major supply of this metal-ware in the Deccan. Ahmednagar, Satara and other smaller centres dwindled into insignificance, Poona having captured the whole of their trade in copper and brass-ware of larger types. The only branch in which Ahmednagar and Songir (Khandesh District) showed some activity was the production of bell-metal-ware largely for the rural demand in the two districts.

Between Poona and Nasik, however, the competition which we noticed at the end of 1884 became further intensified to the detriment of Nasik, which was practically ousted from the southern parts of the Deccan. In consequence it had to depend upon the Northern Districts of the Deccan and Hyderabad and to a certain extent the Central Provinces and Berar. This restriction of markets for the Nasik industry was compensated to a certain degree by the increased local demand by the pilgrims on the Godavari Ghats. Here too, however, Poona was not slow in taking its share in the sales. Thus restricted in its sphere of production the Nasik industry declined. Its major trade in big beaten and a small portion of its trade in small polished wares passed on to Poona and to a certain extent to Sangli, which by this time had acquired Deccan-wide fame in the production of high grade polished wares. In consequence Nasik retained the production only of small varieties of polished vessels and cast-ware,

Poona by dint of its superior organisation and close division of labour, it is said, succeeded in maintaining its position and in adding to its markets, though it had, during this, time, to reckon with serious rivalry from Sangli and Bombay in the Deccan markets. In addition to the existing division of labour, Poona introduced mechanical methods. By 1908—10 Poona had introduced English lathes for polishing vessels, improved instruments and machines for designing and cutting the copper sheets and melting furnaces for the cast-work. This necessarily resulted in economising labour and improving the finish of the articles. But this also meant the rise of the centralised workshop and therefore involved the loss of independence of the master brass and copper-smiths. In 1910 even power-driven machinery was found in one or two workshops in Poona, in whose case the factory conditions of work and work-control had begun to appear. The industry in Poona as a whole was dominated by the Bania dealers who controlled the purchase of metal sheets and the exports of finished products.

The Nasik industry was dominated by the rich kasars, whose profits were estimated at 6 pies to annas 4 per rupee of the prime cost and were even higher in the case of artistic ware.¹ These kasar dealers continued to give out-work to the master workers of Nasik, who employed copper and brass-smiths on piece wages varying from annas 4 to Re. 1 per maund of finished articles. The daily wages of an experienced copper-smith or brass-smith came to annas 8 to Rs. 3 though the higher limit was reached by very few.² The unskilled workers who performed some minor operations like bellowing, cleaning, polishing, etc., got annas 3 to annas 8 daily. Thus both the skilled and unskilled workers as well as the master craftsmen were in a fair position.

Both these centres, as also the centres in other parts of India, had to face a common rival which appeared during this period, in the form of increasing imports of enamelled-ware and aluminium-ware and manufacture of the latter in some parts of the country, notably in big cities like Madras, Bombay, etc. Both these types of metal-ware had gradually found their way into the

¹ Report, 1912 Bankipore Industrial Conference, p. 34, paper by P. G. Shah, on copper and brass industries in India.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

middle-class households and were proving a menace to the lighter types of brass and copper-ware. This was more the case with regard to the demand from the Mohamedan community, who, till the introduction of aluminium and enamelled-ware largely patronised copper-ware. Brass followed copper after a lapse of time as aluminium was slowly patronised in the Hindu households.

The Bell-metal industry never throve in the Deccan on a large scale as it did in Bengal and Madras. In Nasik and Poona, it was carried on to a very small extent, but was comparatively more prominent in Ahmednagar and Songir. These two centres supplied the demand of the rural parts of the Ahmednagar and Khandesh districts. With its simple and primitive organisation the industry produced rough, unpolished, unattractive and cheap articles main among which were bell-metal dinner plates (Tats), cups (Vatis), cymbals and bells. The latter two varieties had a comparatively wider demand than the first two, a demand which came from both rural and urban parts of the Deccan districts to which Ahmednagar and Songir exported these cymbals and bells in small quantities. The first two varieties depended exclusively upon the agricultural demand and had sales in the weekly markets and fairs over and above the sales by itinerant and petty sellers in the villages of the Ahmednagar and Khandesh districts.

Gold Thread Industry:—Being practically monopolised by Yeola and Poona, it continued to depend upon the local demand in the silk industry, without any attempt to secure outside markets. On the contrary Poona had begun to import cheaper gold thread from Bombay and Surat, for cheap and tawdry silk fabrics and the Poona industry in superior gold thread had suffered much. As a result of this change in the local demand, Poona gold thread manufacturers had begun to show some amount of adaptability to the changes in demand. They produced the inferior gold thread, for which they had begun to employ machinery only for flattening the wire. With the exception of this machine and the employment by the Poona wire-drawers of winch in the place of windlass, all other processes continued to be hand processes as in the earlier times. The difference between Yeola and Poona product had during this period become perceptible, as Yeola continued to manufacture gold thread of a superior quality with a higher percentage of the yellow metal. It was still preferred by the local silk weavers and silk cloth dealers. In Poona, production of cheaper and inferior gold thread was now undertaken.

Barring the slight changes in the technical methods, which in Poona involved the centralization of the flattening process, all other processes of production and economic organisation in Poona and Yeola remained practically unchanged.¹ The wages in the industry appeared to have fallen as compared with those in the previous period, in the case of bar-drawers, wire-drawers and beaters. Winder's wages appeared to have slightly risen. The fall in the case of wire-drawer was considerable; from 9 as. per day the wages went down to 5 as. per day.²

Leather Handicrafts

In both branches *viz.*, foot-ware and leather articles of every day use, saddlery, etc., no appreciable changes took place during this period. The district towns continued to provide the foot-ware and other leather articles for the agricultural and non-agricultural demand. Towns like Ahmednagar, Satara, etc., supplemented the village Chamhars' production. The non-agricultural demand was satisfied entirely by the urban Chamhars, who from centres like Poona, Ahmednagar and Dhulia, sent to several inter-district markets, foot-ware both of English and Indian patterns in addition to satisfying their own district demand.

This period between 1884 and 1907-10, witnessed an increasing production of European foot-ware in which cheaper and rough varieties formed the major portion of the total production. The increase must have been considerably helped by the increasing manufacture of chrome tanned leather in the United Provinces and Madras. The superior tanned leather was imported from the wholesale European leather market of Bombay.

Manufacture of European foot-ware was in the hands of Mochis who were the 'highest class of workers in leather' as in Dhulia and Poona.³ The manufacture of Indian foot-ware (chadhavas, jodas and chappals) was in the hands of the Deccani Chamhars as in Poona and Ahmednagar, while the Dhors in less important centres, combined tanning with leather work and agriculture.

¹ For details, see J. Nissim, monograph on wire and tinsel, Bombay, 1909.

² *Ibid.*

³ Martin's monograph on tanning and leather working in Bombay, 1903, p. 25.

The economic organisation of the European foot-ware branch was of the workshop type except in Dhulia where, from its inception, the industry has been carried on by independent Paradeshi shoe-makers. There was practically no change in the economic organisation of the Indian foot-ware industry. The saddlery industry of Poona and Amalner expanded during this period owing to the rise in demand of a special type which could not be satisfied from other parts of the Deccan. In Amalner, owing to the improvements in communications and increase in horse carriage traffic in the Khandesh District, demand had risen for saddles of special type, which were not produced elsewhere.¹ Amalner, therefore, came to establish a monopoly in Khandeshi-saddles and harnesses. Poona saddlery industry likewise increased and a few workers controlled the Poona market; but this expansion was gradual and limited and did not extend much beyond Poona.

Another notable feature of the leather industry of the Deccan was the rise of Portmanteau and leather bag industry in Sholapur during this period. In 1903 in Sholapur City, there were 6 workshops owned by Chamhars. These workshops employed 5 to 6 workers each, on piece wages and manufactured Portmanteaus, leather suit cases, hand-bags and money bags. Each workshop made 2 to 3 bags per day. The earnings of the master came to annas 12 to Re. 1 per day and of the artisans, annas 8 to annas 10.² These bags commanded a wide sale and the bags travelled even to Gujarath, Central Provinces and Berar on the North and Dharwar and Bijapur in the South. As the local tradition affirms, some Chamhars had been to Surat in 1910 and had secured a single substantial order for about 500 bags. This was the record year in the history of the industry.³

Paper Dyeing and Calico Printing

Paper Industry:—By 1908 Nasik and Poona had completely decayed and hand-made paper was produced in Junnar (Poona District) and Erandole only (Khandesh District). About 100 men in Junnar and 50 in Erandole were engaged in paper production. There was no change in the types of products. The karkhana as a unit of work prevailed. The out-work was given in the finish-

¹This is based on oral information.

²Monograph tanning and leather works, Bombay, 1903, p. 21.

³Based on oral information.

ing processes which were hitherto carried on in the karkhanas. The raw material, viz., machine-made and hand-made waste paper, was as before pounded with Deghi and pulp was prepared. Wages in Erandole for different types of workers varied from 2 as. to 8 as. Paper makers got 8 as. per 240 pieces; Paper setters (women) 4 as. for the same amount of work; sizers 2 as. and polishers 6 as.¹ In Junnar, Paper makers got 4 as. to 6 as. and the Paper setters 2 as.

Dyeing and Calico Printing Industry:—This industry lingered on only in those centres where yarn dyeing still continued. The leather dyeing carried on to some extent in Satara, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, etc. partook of the nature of yarn dyeing and remained dependent on leather industry.² Similar was the case with cloth printing and as A. Coomaraswami says, the industry had become "either quite degenerate or greatly reduced in prosperity by the cheap European goods and wholesale piracy of Indian designs."³ The result was that many dyers and printers abandoned their trades and took to hand-loom weaving. This would partly explain how some weavers dyed their own yarn during this period.

Even the great centres of dyeing in Khandesh had now decayed. Malpur, Shahade and Jalgaon had completely lost their importance and only a few workers were found working in an isolated fashion. Calico printing by the end of this period had only a little significance in a few far-off centres in Khandesh depending solely upon the local demand.

This brief review of the Deccan handicrafts during a period of 25 years or so reveals:—

- (1) Decay of many of the old-time handicrafts like zora weaving, paper making, dyeing and calico printing etc.
- (2) Stationary condition of some like cotton, wool and silk weaving, etc.
- (3) Comparatively prosperous condition of brass, copper and leather handicrafts preceded by weeding out of unfit units and centres of work by stronger ones.

¹ See monograph on paper making in Bombay, pp. 6-8.

² See monograph on dyes and dyeing in Bombay, p. 30.

³ A. Coomarswami: Arts and crafts of India, 1913, p. 199.

- (4) Persistence of the seasonal character of almost all handicrafts and increased dependence on the rural demand which was subject to violent fluctuation during famine years.
- (5) Prevalence of hand methods and absence of modern mechanical devices in almost all of the Deccan handicrafts.
- (6) The period witnesses an emergence of karkhana or work-shop system in the handicrafts like textile, accompanied by a regime of domination by capitalist merchants, resulting in the loss of independence of many of the handicraftsmen. This was the transition of the handicrafts as a whole from 'Retail' to 'Wholesale' stage. The wholesale trader, however, in the decadent handicrafts disappeared leaving the marketing of products in the hands of the retail dealer or the small producer himself.

SECTION III

1910-30

The general position of all the handicrafts had not materially changed before the Great War in 1914. We can, therefore skip over the period between 1910 and 1914. We might only note that in cotton hand-loom industry, by about 1912, small scale power-loom factories like the Tikekar Textile Mills at Sholapur, and Gajanan Mills at Sangli, had sprung into existence and had begun to produce sarees of superior varieties called Patals with or without silk borders. From now onwards the Deccan weavers and hand-loom karkhanas had to reckon with this competition also. Both the small weaver and the karkhandars were hard hit by this new type of organisation.

After 1910 fly-shuttles were gradually being introduced particularly in the cotton hand-loom industry. The Padamsali and the Momin weavers were the first amongst the Deccan weavers to adopt them. The tendency towards the specialisation of the preliminary processes constituting a subsidiary industry, which we noticed earlier, asserted itself more prominently than before in Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Malegaon, Sangamner, etc.

In the brass and copper-ware industry, we may note the introduction of power driven machinery in Poona and Nasik be-

tween 1910 and 1913.¹ The leather industry obtained facilities of securing superior tanned leather from the Indian leather markets, owing to the changes in the methods of tanning in the large scale tanneries in Bombay, Madras, Cawnpore and Calcutta. This helped the production of superior foot-ware and leather articles for which a demand was steadily rising due to influences of changed demand. In the rest of the handicrafts no prominent changes were visible. Their position as a whole was decadent, the decay being more rapid in the case of paper, dyeing and printing than in the rest.

Outbreak of the Great War in 1914 had its effects on the handicrafts in India as much as on the large scale industries.

Cotton hand-loom industry :—During 1914-18 the number of looms is said to have increased in many centres.² The inability of the Indian cotton mills to expand rapidly to supply the increased demand owing to difficulties of securing mill machinery and stores from abroad kept them preoccupied with production of war necessities and some portion of the civil demand. Their competition with cotton hand-looms, therefore, temporarily ceased particularly in the branch of women's garments. But this absence of competition did not mean a free expansion of the hand-loom industry. The difficulties of securing yarn and chemical dyes and their unprecedented high prices made the hand-loom weaver incapable of financing himself and he went under the control of the capitalist dealer. The karkhandar was equally underfinanced and had to depend upon the mercy of the wholesale yarn dealers. This resulted in the introduction of contract system on a still wider scale notably in Sholapur and Ahmednagar.

In Malegaon and Dhulia, we are told, the failure of the karkhandars to raise the piece wages of the weavers who worked in their karkhanas, or in their own houses for the karkhandars, in sympathy with the rise in prices, brought about the disruption of the karkhana system followed by a re-emergence of the independent artisan in these centres. A diametrically opposite movement, it is said, was set up in those centres, where previously the independent artisan existed. In Malegaon production rose from 3,000 sarees per day in 1912-13 to 5,000 in 1914-15³ and continued

¹ Oral information.

² These and further remarks are based on oral information.

³ Oral information.

at that level to the end of the war. Similarly in Sholapur output increased, giving an impetus to the system of stocking. A large number of stockists with extensive business operations appeared in the Sholapur wholesale market.

The statistics prepared by the Department of Industries, Bombay, in 1926,¹ showed a phenomenal increase in the production of hand-loom cloth in India in general and the Deccan industry presumably shared in this rise. This hand loom production of cotton cloth was supplemented by the power-loom factories referred to earlier. They were expanding their business during the war period.

The wages in the hand-loom karkhanas did not increase as much as the general level of prices. The piece wage rose from 8 as. or Re. 1 to 12 as. or Rs. 1-8-0 according to the quality of the cloth. The position of the independent weaver was better than the wage earning artisan weaver. The former got better returns than the piece wage secured by the hand-loom karkhana weaver. This would explain the alleged disruption of the karkhana system in those centres where wages in the karkhanas lagged considerably behind the war prices.

Silk Industry :—Yeola silk industry experienced a period of temporary expansion² and rise in demand. In Poona on the other hand the industry dwindled to half of what it was in 1904-06.³ This opposite movement in two centres was probably

¹ Table :—*

Year	Yarn available in in million lbs.	Cloth manufactured on hand-loom in India in million yards
1909-10	224	896
1912-13	260	1,040
1914-15	296	1,184
1917-18	203	812

* R. D. Bell, Notes on Indian Textile Industry, 1926, p. 14.

² If the Settlement Reports are correct to any degree the number of silk looms in Yeola appear to have increased from 600 in 1904-05 to 2,030 in 1916. The sales and exports in 1916 were Rs. 4,68,000 approximately. This figures is arrived at after interpreting the settlement report details in a particular way, viz., 'cloth' in the columns of the report mean cotton cloth and 'silk' means silk cloth. The usual meanings attached to these words would lead us to wrong estimates. See Yeola Settlement Report, 1917, p. 207.

³ Ansonge E. C., Enquiry into silk industry of India, 1916, Vol. II, p. 34.

largely due to the fact that Poona in the pre-war period had been producing cheaper and fashionable varieties which had to face competition from more organised centres in India and from China and Japan who enjoyed an advantageous position e.g., cheap raw silk, lower reeling charges, lower wages, longer hours of work, etc.¹ Though Yeola had to depend on imported silk, it was supported for the major part by the demand from agricultural classes and had very little competition to face from abroad. In spite of this temporary advantage to Yeola the average weaver did not show any improvement in his economic condition and the control of the capitalist was further tightened in times of insufficient finances and war prices of silk and dyes. The independent silk weaver, therefore, gave way to the karkhana system which came to establish itself as a unit of work in Yeola during this period.

Other branches of Textile handicrafts viz., wool and zora weaving (only important branch of the cotton carpet industry) reaped full benefits of war conditions.²

Copper and Brass-ware Industry :—Owing to their exclusive dependence on foreign countries viz., Germany, Austria, Belgium and England (all belligerent nations) for raw material, both the copper and brass industries received a considerable set back. There was a fall in imports³ of metal sheets and abnormally high prices prevailed. The wages had increased by about 100%.⁴ It was estimated that in the Nasik and Poona industry, the rates at which the work was distributed to the master workers varied from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per maund. The assistants were paid by the master workers at Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per maund. With one day's work on 1½ maunds of copper or brass beaten-ware by a group of 3 workers, each worker used to get Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3-0-0 per day. While in the Ahmednagar bell-metal industry, the karkhandars who worked on contract for the local dealers, took orders at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund and paid the labourers at the rate of Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per maund. Dealings took place between

¹ *Ibid.*

² Based on oral information.

³ Imports of copper and brass fell from Rs. 416 lakhs in 1913-14 to Rs. 25 lakhs in 1916-17. Statement of the Trade of British India, 1917.

⁴ These and the following details are based on the oral information.

the dealers and the karkhandars (master workers). The work was more to order than for direct sale and the system of contract work gained ground as it suited the war conditions which prevented small master craftsmen from buying sheets at rates, fluctuating from day to day. With the temporary suspension of competition from aluminium and enamelled ware, the industry stood without a rival; but on account of the high prices of raw material and high wages the industry did not expand and had to face a curtailment even of usual markets.

The *gold-thread industry* of Poona and Yeola also suffered from scarcity prices of gold and silver. The decadence of the Poona silk industry during war times, threatened the Poona gold-thread industry. But the temporary absence of the competition from the foreign countries gave room for Poona to organise itself. Improved tools were introduced for the major processes of wire-drawing and beating and the manufacture of cheaper gold-thread largely for export increased after 1918.¹

Yeola was protected from extinction by the flourishing condition of the local silk industry in 1916, which was its high watermark. During war time, the Yeola production was estimated at 2,500 tolas per day. The decline of the silk industry after 1916, however, seriously affected the gold-thread industry and by 1918 the daily output was reduced to 2,000 tolas. In Yeola, with the exception of wire-drawing, all other processes came to be centralized in the work-shops owned by karkhandars.²

Leather Industry :—This received an impetus owing to army demands which were taken up by the contractors who gave the work to the leather workers. Due to the war demand for leather, tanning methods had improved and tanning by chrome processes gained considerable ground in Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore, etc. Superior tanned leather was thus made available both for high class and ordinary boot and shoe manufacture. The indigenous foot-ware industry was similarly affected. It could, from 1918 onwards, use chrome leather for chappals, chadhavas etc. Poona saddlery expanded during this period due to the fact that the imports of the harness were at their lowest point. Poona supplied the needs of the vehicular traffic in those parts of the

¹ Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1930 Evidence. Vol. ~~B. M.~~
Antarkar's evidence.

² Based on oral information.

Deccan, where horse carriages of the improved types were in use. The portmanteau industry of Sholapur also flourished during the war period and there were about 10 to 15 work-shops which manufactured bags, trunks etc., and sold them as far as Gujarat in the North. In addition to this, during the war time, the Sholapur mills had placed large orders for the mill belting with some rich karkhandar chamhars and these work-shops in addition to bag manufacture had carried on belt-making.

The wages increased by 50% in the case of the indigenous foot-ware and cent per cent in the case of European foot-ware. The Poona shoe-maker (English shoe) got Rs. 2 per pair instead of Re. 1 in pre-war days ; but the wages of the makers of jodas and chappals rose from annas 12 and annas 6 to Rs. 1-4-0 and annas 10 only. With war-time prosperity, thus, the leather industry flourished and gave larger amount of wages to the workers than the textile handicrafts did.

Paper Industry :—This did not reap the benefits of the war period high prices. The decay in Erandol and Junnar was proceeding in the absence of any organisation and extension of markets and changes in the types of production.

The dyeing and calico printing also continued to decay though it was relieved to a certain extent by war conditions. The virtual elimination of the German dyes from the Indian markets left unemployed the new groups of dyers who were dyeing yarn etc. with chemical dyes and this gave a slight impetus to a few of the indigenous dyers who dyed in vegetable colours. The calico printing industry of Khandesh centres and of Malegaon (Nasik District) was left unaffected by the Great War beyond a certain amount of rise in prices and wages.

The war period prosperity of the major handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan showed their capacity in certain respects to supplement the production of modern industry. The cessation of hostilities and return to peace economy removed the temporary impetus which the handicrafts had received and they were once more on the path of decay.¹

¹ The inauguration of the non-co-operation movement in 1920-21, the revival of Khaddar and Handspinning and preference for Swadeshi and its beneficial effect on handweaving in general served as an encouragement to the handicrafts till about 1924 after which these artificial conditions ceased to have any appreciable effect,

The post-war failure of some of the Bombay mills and the continued labour troubles in them over the reduction of wages and war-time bonuses, kept the Indian mills out of the competitive ring in the production of women's garments. The *cotton hand-loom industry* in the Deccan, therefore, continued to consume increasing quantities of yarn for saree production.¹ The preference for hand-loom production during 1921-23 might have given added strength to the demand for the product. In the quinquennium 1920-21—1924-25, hand-loom production had gone up to 29% of the total available cloth for consumption in India as against 27% in 1896-97, and in 1922-23 it stood at a record figure of 1,341 million yards.² This country-wide rise in hand-loom production must naturally have been shared by the hand-loom weavers in the Bombay Presidency. Though no definite statistics are available for the Deccan hand-loom industry, a conclusion, based on the impression formed during the personal survey, is that, during the post-war period when more yarn was made available than during war period, the Deccan hand-looms must also have increased their production. But in the high count saree production there was some abatement in prosperity, owing to a gradual change in fashions prevailing among upper middle class women who felt a fascination for plain white saree in the wake of national preference for home-spuns.

By about 1923 the influence of cheap and shining German dyes was considerably felt in this industry. Sholapur and particularly Malegaon began to manufacture sarees of cheap and shining colours which were said to be in demand among the labouring classes in Bombay. The independent artisan of Malegaon, took full advantage of this and henceforth Malegaon became known for the cheap thinly woven sarees with fleeting colours, which enabled that centre to undersell mill sarees sometimes.

This increased production between 1920-25 was further helped by the widening of the use of the fly-shuttles. By 1921 in 40 important centres of the presidency, there were about 33,700

¹ Quantities of yarn available in million lbs. for handlooms were as :—

1913—14	..	267
1916—17	..	204
1920—21	..	287
1922—23	..	335.3

See R.D. Bell's Notes on Indian Textile Industry, p. 14.

² R. D. Bell, Notes on Indian Textile Industry, pp. 12-14.

throw-shuttles and 20,390 fly-shuttles.¹ The efforts of the Department of Industries, since 1919 were directed towards improvements in the preliminary processes. This had an imperceptible effect on the industry and a few educated and enterprising karkhandars particularly at Sholapur and some independent artisans of Malegaon introduced beam and frame warping which was a more economical device than peg-warping. Ahmednagar and Sangamner however showed no signs of improvement and further Dhulia, Parola and other centres ceased to be of any considerable importance.

In this period of increased production the prices of loom-sarees were falling more slowly than the wages. This difference between the prices and wages of the weavers in the karkhanas and of the out-workers accounted for the acceleration of the process of decentralization of the karkhanas particularly in Malegaon, Dhulia and Parola.

In Sangamner and Ahmednagar karkhanas owned by the Padamsali weavers had become entirely seasonal. These Padamsali karkhanas employed Telegu weavers on piece wages, during brisk seasons only, i.e., generally between December and April. They were given advances ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 and were maintained as an emergency labour force by an agreement between the weavers and the masters according to which they were given preference by the karkhandars whenever extra labour was required.² This new phase in the development of the karkhana system had an adverse effect on the permanent establishments generally owned by Deccani weavers, Salis, Koshtis, Khatris, etc., because the prices of the product of the new type of karkhanas were generally lower than those of the products of the establishments run by Deccani weavers.

After 1925 there was a sudden fall in the production in the Deccan, due to the fact that after 1925 on account of the severe competition from Japan and Lancashire in high and medium grey piece goods, some of the mills had turned their attention more to the production of Deccani sarees. The Bombay mills and more particularly the Sholapur and Amalner mills were best suited to manufacture these. Further, the change in the import

¹ Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, p. 129.

² Based on oral information.

duty on yarn in September 1927 from 5% *ad valorem* to 5% *ad valorem* or one anna six pies per lb. whichever was higher, (compensated by a reduction in the revenue import duty on artificial silk from 15% to 7½% *ad valorem*) made the English and the Japanese yarn, on which the hand-loom industry was partly dependent for high and medium count fabrics, dearer.

Investigations in 1929-30 and 1930-31 by the Department of Industries, showed that, with the exception of those cloths, (cloths of minor description, etc.) which do not enter into competition with mills, a very heavy fall in prices and wages, in general was noticeable. But there was no uniformity in this fall. The Sholapur prices and wages had fallen less than those in other centres.¹ An internal cause for the fall in prices and wages appears to have been the considerable rise in the number of seasonal karkhanas, particularly in Ahmednagar and Sangamner.²

The *Silk industry* of Yeola, once more, began to decay after 1918, while the Poona industry continued its fall from year to year. The cause for the depression in the two centres was different. In Yeola the fluctuations in the cotton crops of Khandesh, Central Provinces and Berar, rendered unstable the demand for silk fabrics; while the Poona fabrics, were being ousted from their place by Surat, Benares, Coimbatore and by China and Japan.³ The depression in the silk industry was arrested for a while by the marriage boom in 1928-29 which occurred prior to the coming into operation of the Child Marriage Prohibition Act. The greatest effect of the increased demand was visible in Yeola, a result of the tremendous rise in the number of child marriages which took place before the law came into operation. It was estimated that nearly 1,000 to 1,500 looms were at work during 1928-29 with a total production estimated at Rs. 17 to 20 lakhs worth.⁴ Poona, however, was comparatively less affected by this boom as in the upper-classes, for whom Poona mainly produced, there was no such sudden rush of marriages to avoid the Act.

¹ The Annual Reports 1929-30, 1930-31 pp. 29-30 and p. 33 respectively.

² Based on oral information.

³ Based on oral information.

⁴ Oral information collected by Prof. R. V. Oturkar, in Yeola. See also his article on Yeola Silk Industry (Marathi) in *Loka Shikshana*, Vol. 1932.

The *brass and copper-ware industry* witnessed a brief extension of the period of high prices and wages till about 1925,¹ though the level of war prices and wages had no doubt, slightly sunk down. From 1925, except the year 1928-29 the fall in prices and wages became intense in Poona and Nasik industry as a result of the flooding of the markets by the machine made brass and copper-ware from Bombay, and cheap aluminium and enamelled-ware from countries with depreciated currencies.

In *gold-thread industry*, the tendency towards mechanisation in Poona and of the centralization of processes in Yeola, was accentuated during 1920-25. By 1925 the number of karkhanas in Yeola had fallen on account of the fall in demand in the silk industry. By the same time the external markets with which Poona had developed some trade were lost.² This was due to the competition from Surat where the mechanisation of the gold-thread industry had taken place largely after 1922. The increased imports of gold-thread and copper lametta into India from abroad must have also affected the Poona trade with external centres of gold-thread consumption. These tendencies were accentuated after 1925. In 1930, Poona manufactured only Rs. 2 lakhs worth of gold-thread as against Rs. 8 lakhs worth in 1923-24.³ In Yeola also the imports of cheap gold-thread mainly for turbans and butties were increasing and were estimated at Rs. 40 thousand worth on an average per year. The local industry, with the exception of 1928-29⁴, continued in a decadant condition, along with its sister industry, viz., silk industry. The wages had fallen further in both the centres and the daily wages did not exceed annas 6 to annas 8 in the case of any worker, who henceforth became a wage earner in the karkhanas both in Poona and Yeola. Due to the incomplete mechanisation of the industry, the out-work system prevailed. It was to be found in wire-drawing in Yeola and silk reeling in Poona.

In the *Leather handicrafts*, after 1920 the prices and wages had begun to fall. In Sholapur and Amalner a definite decline had set in in the portmanteau and saddlery industry respectively. In the first case it was due to the increasing competition from tin-

¹ Based on oral information.

² Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee, Evidence Vol. II, p. 470.

³ Ibid p. 471.

⁴ In 1928-29 production of gold thread in Yeola was estimated at Rs. 5 to 6 lakhs worth.—Prof. Oturkar's estimates. See his article on Yeola Silk Industry (Marathi), Loka Shikshana, Vol. 1932.

trunks and hand-bags, which were being favoured by the middle classes of the Deccan. The extension of the motor transport in the Khandesh Districts, which made it unnecessary to maintain horse carts or riding ponies, was probably responsible for the fall in demand for Amalner saddles. From 1925 onwards European and Indian foot-ware was comparatively less hit than the other industries or the other branches of the leather industry. This was due to the fact that the market for European fashion shoe of cheaper varieties had been extended to agricultural and urban labouring classes. The brahmani shoe, (Joda) as it fell increasingly out of favour lost its old position and with the exception of 1928-29 there was a continuity of depressed conditions in respect of that item. The whole of the foot-ware industry in the Deccan had, however, from 1929-30 onwards to face a severe competition from cheap Japanese crepe, canvas and rubber shoes, generally favoured in the cities.

Paper-making in Erandol and Junnar further diminished in importance. In 1923 there were 10 families in Erandol and 2 or 3 in Junnar in 1920. The annual production of paper at Erandol had dwindled to 1,000 reams worth about Rs. 5 to 6 thousands. In Junnar it was still more negligible.¹

Dyeing and calico printing witnessed a further set-back owing to the influx of reparation dyes in and after 1923. The indigenous vegetable dyers either found themselves unemployed or earning smaller amounts of wages, if they dyed yarns and cloths in imported dyes. The calico printers like-wise found themselves in a dilemma. They had either to use cheap imported fleeting colours and spoil the reputation of their cloths in the rural areas or to suffer the loss consequent upon the use of indigenous vegetable dyes which meant higher cost of printing and lower range of earnings in the period of falling prices. After 1925, there is nothing special about any of these industries that deserves our notice. The process of decay had further accelerated.

This detailed study of the economic history of the handicrafts of the Deccan for the last 50 years and over has brought into relief the main characteristics of the Deccan handicrafts. We have seen how their organisation has been more or less uniform in all the branches. We have also seen how that organisation has

¹ Erandol Settlement Report 1923, and Junnar Settlement Report 1920,

been changing from time to time. Their seasonal character and dependence upon the agricultural custom have been indicated. The influence of competition has also been traced. The rise of new factors like mechanical devices in some of the handicrafts and also the changes in size of the handicraft unit, giving birth to a closer capitalist control have also been accounted for. The economic consequences of the war-boom and post-war depression, have also been noted.

The conclusions that emerge from this review are therefore :—

- (1) Persistence of the handicraft with varying strength as a system of manufacture in the industrial life of the tract.
- (2) Seasonal character of the demand and therefore of the handicraft leading to seasonal unemployment and under-employment.
- (3) Local importance of the handicrafts.
- (4) Presence of external influences like competition having a dominant hold on the conditions of the handicrafts.
- (5) Presence of internal difficulties and defects like faulty organisation, lack of modernisation, inefficiency of the personnel, under-financing, mal-adjustment of demand and supply, etc.

A note on Industrial Census

The 1921 census for Bombay presidency gives figures for the 'Home-workers' (which must be understood as a term referring to handicraftsmen engaged either in their own houses or in handicraft work-shops). It is a well-known fact that the occupational census figures are incorrect in India. They cannot be relied on owing to faulty enumeration and to their compilation on different principles at different times. A comparative study of the industrial census figures of 1921 and of the preceding decades is, therefore, impossible. The 1921 census figures, which are the only figures giving detailed classification of industrial workers, would also appear to be incorrect in many places. We take the figures for 'Home-workers' in different handicrafts in the Deccan districts and point out how no reliance can be placed on them.

The following is a table of 'Home-workers' in the different handicrafts in the Deccan districts prepared from the 1921 Bombay Census. It was only at this census that a special industrial census which included handicraftsmen was attempted,

Statement showing the number of Home-workers in the different handicrafts in the Deccan Districts

Industry	Group No. per census for the statement	Total Deccan	Poona	Satara	Sholapur	Ahmed-nagar	Nasik	E. Khandesh	W. Khandesh
Cotton sizing and weaving	27 (a)	27,737	1,060	3,577	11,675	1,482	7,927	1,247	1,061
Woollen Blankets	32 (b)	3,961	12	1,456	956	1,094	240	125	278
Woollen Carpets	33 (a)	3,347	...	...	...	1,664	1,025	654	14
Silk Weavers	35 (a)	892	2	2	...	844	17	26	...
Calico Printers	37 (b)	69	24	...	...	63	...	...	...
Embroidery makers	38 (a)	3,514	175	190	176	673	591	1,561	138
Insufficiently described weavers	38 (b)	2,241	166	...	...	396	7	1,503 (all women)	179
Makers of leather articles	40	1,117	476	91	77	205	30	...	24
Brass and Copper workers	49	2,247	725	285	204	1,264	143	985	340
Shoe and boot makers..	78	16,957	1,287	3,931	2,956	2,023	2,270	3,359	1,171

Far from being correct guides these figures are exaggerated in some respects and underestimated in others. The defects in the practice of enumeration of census details are too well-known to need any comment. Taking the hint of Mr. Sidgwick,¹ in reading the statistics for the silk weavers, which according to him fall under groups 35 (a), 38 (a) and 38 (b), the total of the silk weavers for Ahmednagar District which comes to 1913, appears to be clearly an exaggeration when we remember that there has been no record of the silk weavers in Ahmednagar in support of this comparatively huge figure. Under embroidery, again, 1,561 workers are shown against East Khandesh and 175 against Poona. This is apparently an incorrect figure as in the whole of Khandesh, there has not been any centre where embroidery is said to have been carried on to any extent. Further the total of 38 (a) and 38 (b), for East Khandesh, which represents a part of the silk industry and which comes to 3,064 is much in excess of the similar figures for the well-known centres, viz., Poona and Yeola. Under calico printing no worker is shown against East and West Khandesh though as a matter of fact calico printing is almost exclusively a Khandesh industry even to this date; and against Ahmednagar which is not known to be a calico printing district 63 workers (or 75% of the total workers for the whole of Deccan) have been recorded. Another illustration of inaccuracy is that the entry of brass and copper workers for Nasik-District which is 143 is ridiculously low when we remember that in Nasik town alone even now as many as 200 to 300 workers are engaged in this industry; against Ahmednagar which ceased to be of any importance long ago 1,264 brass and copper workers have been shown which is nearly double the figure for Poona. One more example is the entry of woollen carpet workers against Nasik, which is 1,025. This can hardly be substantiated by any record of carpet production in Nasik. Examples of gross inaccuracies can be multiplied. This brief examination of census statistics would justify our neglecting the census statistics as far as possible.

¹ Bombay Census Report, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 229.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC POSITION AND ORGANISATION OF THE URBAN HANDICRAFTS OF THE BOMBAY DECCAN

SECTION I

Present Position and Organisation

Many of the essential aspects of the Deccan handicrafts had been neglected in former enquiries. It was thought that an independent private enquiry would supply some valuable new data in many respects. With that end in view a personal investigation was carried out in about twenty important handicrafts centres in the Deccan, in the early months of 1932. The following details are based on this survey. We made an attempt to approach various grades of persons engaged in the handicrafts and details were accepted—only after instituting checks and cross-checks. As private enquiries of this sort are full of difficulties the present enquiry has remained incomplete in some respects; but an attempt is made here to give as reliable an account as possible.¹

Textile Handicrafts

We now take the handicrafts in the order in which they have been reviewed in the last chapter and study their conditions in detail.

(1) *Cotton Hand-loom Industry*:—The main centres of production in the order of their importance are Sholapur, Malegaon, Ahmednagar and Sangamner while the smaller ones are Parola, Dhulia, Poona, Nasik, etc. A comparative study of the official estimates of the number of hand-looms in the different centres² and our estimates, arrived at after investigation in some of the above centres, would show that there is a wide divergence be-

¹ This Chapter deals entirely with the conditions as found in the early months of 1932. The present tense used through out the Chapter refers to that year.

² S. V. Telang's Report on Hand-loom Weaving Industry in the Bombay Presidency 1932, p. 21. The figures are for 1928.

tween the official estimates and those of ours in some cases. The following table would indicate the extent of the difference :—

Centre	Approximate No. of looms according to	
	Official estimates for 1928	Estimates after investigation in 1932
Sholapur	6,200	7,500
Malegaon	4,000	5,500
Ahmednagar	900 ¹	*3,500
Sangamner	2,000	2,800
Parola	1,700	2,100
Dhulia	1,600	600
Nasik	...	200

The estimates in column 3, are based on the information collected from local enquiries in the respective centres. Though there were considerable variations in the local estimates, they have been accepted after checking and cross-checking them and therefore are not likely to be far from being correct. Mr. Telang's estimates were arrived at in 1928. Except in the case of Dhulia, our estimates would appear to be higher than those of Mr. Telang. This cannot be easily explained particularly when we definitely know that since 1928, the industry is in a depressed condition. The sources of Mr. Telang's calculations are not known. The difference between these two estimates emphasizes the great difficulties involved in framing estimates and their uncertain character. Judged from the number of looms, the industry is still important in all centres except Dhulia and Nasik.

If we now see the numbers in the different groups engaged in the industry, we will be able to judge what type of unit of organisation dominates the industry at present. The following table will indicate the strength of different groups.

Groups	Sholapur	Malegaon	Ahmednagar & Bhingar	Sangamner	Parola
Yarn dealers	50	100	20 to 25	10	5 to 6
Power-loom factories	1	...	...	...	...
Hand-loom Karkhanas					
with 5 to 10 looms	300	100	25	20	60
" 11 to 20 "	100	15	5	20	...

¹ Bhingar only.

² Including 1,000 in Bhingar.

Groups	Sholapur	Malegaon	Ahmednagar & Bhingar	Sangamner	Parola
Hand-loom Karkhanas {					
with 21 to 40 " ...	...	...	5	10	...
" 41 to 50 " ...	50	...	...	5	...
Out-work distributors ...	30 to 40	...	...	...	...
Artisans with 1 or 2 looms ...	...	3,000	2,000	1,500	1,500
Out-workers with 1 or 2 looms ...	1,200	...	...	...	...
Dealers in finished products ...	75	75 to 80	25	15	6 to 10

The table though incomplete and at best a rough estimate shows the present position in the different centres and broadly indicates the predominance of one type over the other. It would appear that the karkhana system prevails in Sholapur to the virtual exclusion of the independent artisan. In Malegaon on the contrary, large karkhandars are absent and the independent artisan weaver with 1 or 2 looms is, the dominant group of workers. The same is the case in Parola whereas in Ahmednagar and Sangamner both the types of work-units are found, though in both the places the number of karkhanas with more than 20 looms is much less than in Sholapur. In Sangamner, the independent weaver accounts for the greater part of the total production. In Sholapur, a group of entrepreneurs who exclusively give out-work and receive the finished product is seen working, while in Sangamner and Ahmednagar out-work is given by the karkhandars to a small number, in addition to the work in their premises. Nearly 50% of the karkhanas in Ahmednagar and Sangamner are seasonal karkhanas and work on the lines shown earlier.¹

Yarn and its purchase :—Both the karkhandar and the independent artisan depend upon the local yarn markets for their raw material. Owing to constant fluctuations in yarn prices, they buy yarn in quantities just sufficient for one warp per loom, the yarn for the weft being bought on cash payment as required. The average karkhandar thus buys yarn for weft, for 10 to 20 sarees and the independent artisan for 1 saree at a time. In Malegaon the independent artisan weaver buys yarn for the warp on credit and the yarn for the weft from time to time for cash.

The karkhandar naturally gets more credit than the independent artisan who gets credit for yarn sufficient for only one warp and has to pay the amount off in 10 to 12 days. In almost

¹ Ante, pp. 71 and 92.

all these centres the yarn is sold by the dealers after getting it dyed locally, Turkish red being the only colour in which dyed yarn is imported from the wholesale markets. For all large centres the wholesale yarn supply is from Bombay, except in Sholapur where local yarn is consumed on a very large scale. In Sholapur, imported yarn is invariably either Japanese or English high count yarn. Artificial silk thread is also imported in varying quantities in all the large centres. Enquiries revealed differences in yarn prices from place to place and in centres where there was little demand for high count yarn, the prices appeared to be higher.

The independent artisans as in Ahmednagar and Sangamner get their yarn dyed either personally or by a dyer of their choice. In Malegaon, however, the independent artisan gets the dyed yarn from the dealer. The dyeing charges differ from centre to centre as can be seen from the following table :—

Malegaon	... Rs. 0-7-6 to Rs. 2-8-0	per lbs. 10 of yarn
Dhulia	... " 0-8-0 to " 3-2-0	Do.
Ahmednagar	... " 0-10-0 to " 3-4-0	Do.

It was possible to obtain information regarding dyeing charges in these three places only. Only in Malegaon and Sholapur, considerable varieties of colours of different shades and qualities are in use. In Malegaon, which has become well-known for cheap coloured sarees, as many as 50 to 60 different varieties of colours and shades, which change from year to year and season to season are in use ; while in other centres, a very few types, which do not change very often, seem to be in vogue. The dyeing charges in these centres are higher than in Malegaon or Sholapur.

The following table would approximately show yarn imports in a few centres and consumption of yarn per loom. This latter is calculated on the basis of number of looms estimated earlier.¹

Centre	Value of yarn imports Rs.	Consumption per loom per year Rs.
Sholapur	... 400,000 ²	173
Malegaon	... 1200,000	218
Ahmednagar	... 450,000	130
Sangamner	... 300,000	107
Dhulia	... 96,000	160

¹ Ante, p. 100.

² The consumption of local mill yarn is estimated to be Rs. 9 lakhs worth.

The figures in the above table are approximate calculations made by the yarn dealers in different centres. They were verified by reference to the different yarn dealers before they were accepted. Though the figures lack accuracy they may be provisionally accepted for purposes of the present study. The low imports of Sholapur are accounted for by the fact that Sholapur imports only mercerised and artificial silk and to a little extent high count Japanese and English yarn. The rest of the yarn consumed is from the local mills. The total annual consumption of yarn of all kinds in Sholapur is estimated at Rs. 12 to 13 lakhs. From the value of the yarn consumed in the different centres and the number of looms recorded for them it can be generally said that the average value of yarn consumed per loom during that year was Rs. 150. The figure was higher for those centres where high count yarn was used to a considerable extent. We have excluded the consideration of the hand-spun yarn and the looms which consume it as no enquiry was conducted in this branch.

Preliminary Processes :—Before the warp is put on the loom, the yarn passes through several preliminary processes, e.g., loosening, winding, sizing, warping, etc. These and others like making the harness, twisting the ends etc., are done either by a different set of persons who are paid by piece wage or are done by the weaver himself with the help of outside labour. In Malegaon and Sangamner the preliminary processes are altogether a different branch of the industry. But in other places these processes are carried on on the premises of the weaver. Some karkhanas in Sholapur, Ahmednagar and Sangamner have introduced new methods of sizing and warping, which are carried on in the karkhana itself.

The processes of the independent artisan are generally primitive. Those of the independent artisans of Malegaon, however, (a small percentage of whom carry on their own preparatory processes) are much improved. The Malegaon weavers use bobbin frames while preparing the warp, whereas in other centres women are seen carrying the sized yarn from one end of the street to the other. They often mix ends, making it necessary to disentangle and loosen yarn at intervals.

Preliminary processes in the different centres can be classified as follows :—

- (1) Processes a specialised industry—In Malegaon, Sangamner and to some extent in Sholapur.

- (2) Improved processes carried on by weavers and karkhandars :—In Sholapur, Malegaon and Sangamner to a certain extent.
- (3) Old processes carried on by weavers :—In Sholapur, Sangamner, Ahmednagar, Parola, Dhulia, etc.

Though warping and sizing is a specialised industry in the hands of the half skilled women and men in some places and a part of the weaver's work in others, pirn winding for the weft is uniformly done in the house of the weaver by members of his family. They supply him the necessary bobbins in addition to the help in other processes and the usual household work, even if he has two or more looms.

In the karkhanas also, the pirns are wound on winding wheels, by the wives of the weavers who work in the same karkhanas. This is more particularly seen in the karkhanas owned by Telegu weavers, who employ weavers on piece wage and also provide them with living tenements. The wives of these weavers work in these karkhanas in the winding section and earn a small wage during their spare time. In a few karkhanas of Sholapur, (e.g., the hand-loom branch of the Tikekar concern) winding is done on hand driven machines, specially constructed for the purpose and four women and two men manage, at a time, 24 to 36 bobbins between them. These winders become mere operators and earn a daily wage varying from annas 3 to annas 6 according to the count of the yarn they wind. The earnings of the women winders in karkhanas not employing such mechanical appliances come to annas 4 to 5 per day at pies 3 per bobbin. Here one woman can wind the bobbins necessary to feed 3 to 4 looms.

The Loom :—The major portion of the fixed capital in a karkhana or in an independent artisan's, or an out-worker's establishment is invested in the loom. In all these types of establishments the system of working looms on hire is totally absent, due to the fact that the whole framework is neither extraordinarily expensive nor is it one which requires considerable repairs. Moreover, once it is installed it is permanently fixed and if properly handled runs for 20 to 25 years. The loom costs from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 varying with the additional expenses on dobbies for designs and wire combs, etc. In the karkhanas, the average cost of a loom comes to Rs. 20 to Rs. 22 and the loom lasts less as

it is liable to be misused by the weavers. The loom most in use is the pit-loom except in the improved karkhanas like Tikekar's hand-loom factory, where improved frame-loom are installed on the upper stories of the karkhana.

The pit-loom without beam warps occupy a larger space. In the karkhanas as in Sangamner and Sholapur where pit-loom are found, they are arranged so as to economise space. In a room of 30 feet by 20 feet nearly 15 looms are seen working, each loom occupying a space of about 8 feet by 5 feet. Whether in the karkhana or in the house of the small weaver the pit-loom involve a waste of time in loosening and fastening the warp and winding over the woven fabric on the bar called Tur in the vernacular. They also tell upon the efficiency of the weaver, as with his feet working on the treadles he has to sit upright in a steady position, which unnecessarily strains his spinal column and tires him out after 1 or 2 hours of uninterrupted work.

All these defects of the pit-loom are to a certain extent counter-balanced by the use of fly-shuttles which have become general in almost all the Padamsali karkhanas and in the houses of the momin weavers. Yet for high count weaving, the throw-shuttle is largely used even by the karkhanas and the momin weavers of Malegaon, Dhulia, etc. The Deccan weaver, whether a Sali or a Koshti, as at Ahmednagar or Sangamner, has been very slow in taking up the fly-shuttle. He is wedded to the belief that the fly-shuttle results in over-production and fall in prices and wages. That is why even where the fly-shuttle had been introduced, it was abandoned by a majority of Salis and Koshtis during the present depression.

Economic conditions of the small weavers: We find the following types of small weavers engaged in this industry:—

- (1) The independent artisan weaver.
- (2) The out-worker weaver, working either for a karkhandar or for a raw material dealer and the seller of finished articles.
- (3) Worker on piece wage employed by the karkhandar or by an independent small weaver (having 2 or 3 looms) throughout the year or for particular seasons only.

By far the most prosperous are the independent artisans of Malegaon. Their numerical strength has not been reduced in

spite of the present depression and they continue to produce as much as they did in the pre-war and war period. The only change that has taken place is in the types of production and in the wages which they used to get. From Rs. 1-8-0 or Rs. 2 per saree in the war period, the wages of the Malegaon weaver have come down to annas 8 per saree, which he can earn in a day with the help of his wife and children. His methods are comparatively improved and he has effected a change in his production in conformity with the change in the demand. He produces only cheaper varieties and therefore, finds an easy sale for his product. In the brisk season, however, he employs outside labour on annas 6 per piece and increases his earnings by a couple of annas. From the proceeds of his sales, which range from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 6 or Rs. 10 according to the count of the yarn and the pattern of the product, he buys his daily bread and the yarn (for the weft). Though he has very little or no education, he has thorough practical skill in weaving. Without any organisation of his class the momin weaver of Malegaon, has been able to hold his position against mill competition. Quite contrary is the case with the independent artisan weavers of Sangamner, Ahmednagar, Dhulia and other places who due to their higher cost of production and extreme conservatism in methods and types of production, have a bare subsistence wage.

Indebtedness is almost universal and in Malegaon, though the indebtedness per family of the weaver does not exceed Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 on an average, the rates of interest vary from 12 to 75%. The latter rate was disclosed in a case (January 1932) against a momin weaver in the local civil court. This extraordinary high rate of interest is due, it is alleged by the local sowcars, to high risks of default. In other centres the rates of interest range between 12 to 25%.

The average artisan has no house of his own and lives in a hired tenement paying a rent from Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per month. In Malegaon the rents are lower than in other centres. As against Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per month per tenement in Malegaon the rates of rent in Dhulia, Sangamner, Sholapur, etc., range from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5. In these small insanitary houses, which allow in the 'sunlight through the chinks that time has made,' the weavers work from morning till 5-0 in the evening with 2 to 3 hours of rest for the midday meal. Though he is nominally at the loom for 9 to 10 hours, his effective work does not amount to more than 6 to 8.

Hukka or tobacco chewing is a great drag on his working time. In addition to these short respites at intervals he has his mid-day rest. The above will explain why the out-put in relation to hours of work is low. This drives some artisans to night shifts and nearly 75% of the weavers in Sangamner, 60 to 65% of the weavers in Malegaon and similar percentages of weavers in other centres, are seen working late at night often upto 11-30 P.M. After 5 in the evening the independent weaver has to go out for the sale of his product in the local market. And in doing so, he has to move from one shop to another. This system of Gujari sale gives him a certain amount of independence of sale.

A sub-group of these independent artisans, but less independent than the former are the small weavers working on contract for the karkhandars or for the dealers. They work with their own tools, in their own houses, with yarn purchased from the dealer, either on credit or with cash, paid out of the advances received with the orders. In either case the contract runs for a period of about 6 to 8 months and for a certain number of sarees at fixed prices. The weaver has no real freedom to fix the prices. In a very small percentage of the contracts the price fixation is postponed to the day on which the goods are ready. In the rest of the contracts the prices are previously fixed. This type of work is found in those places where the karkhana system prevails, or the Gujari sale is less in vogue and where the small weaver has little financial stability or credit with the raw material dealers. This system prevails to a greater degree in Sholapur than in Sangamner or Ahmednagar. In Sholapur, nearly 60% of such business is between the karkhandars and the stockists on the one hand and the quasi-independent weaver of the above type on the other. This is locally called the Asami system and is confined to the small weavers with one or two looms. In Sangamner and Ahmednagar such contracts are made not only between the karkhandars and the weavers but between dealers and weavers as well.

The establishment of such a weaver is on the family basis. He does not employ outside labour, unless there is a rush of contracts at short notice from the dealers or unless the contracts are unusually big in volume. Generally such contracts range from 8 to 10 warps of 7 or 8 sarees each in Sangamner and Ahmednagar to 12 to 15 warps in Sholapur. The earnings of such weavers in Sangamner and Ahmednagar would appear to be much lower

than the earnings of the Asamis of Sholapur, which are slightly higher even than the earnings of the purely independent artisans of Malegaon. At a liberal estimate the earnings of these contract weavers cannot be put at higher than annas 5 to annas 6 per day.

In spite of these lower earnings, the working conditions of the contract weaver are not essentially different from those of the independent artisans. In some cases they are more miserable. Without sufficient credit facilities and freedom of bargaining he has been completely controlled by the capitalist dealer. As many of such weavers were some time back, full-fledged independent weavers and as almost all of them, particularly in Sangamner and Ahmednagar are becoming more and more out-workers pure and simple, working for a piece wage, they may be said to represent a stage in the degradation of the independent artisan. With the increasing loss of the economic independence of the weavers this contract work, may become a permanent essential feature of the cotton hand-loom organisation of the Deccan.

The out-worker is the lower rung of the ladder and follows the contract worker. An out-worker may belong to one or other of the following classes:—

- (1) Working for the karkhandar, big or small, with the raw material given by the karkhandar, with his own loom or the loom provided by the karkhandar in the worker's house, with or without outside labour, more generally the latter; piece wage being fixed from time to time.
- (2) Working for raw material dealer, having also business in the finished product or for a dealer having business purely in the finished product, but one who manages to give him raw material on his own account; the piece wage being fixed as in the first case.

The position of the out-worker is inferior to that of an independent artisan but superior to that of the "factory wage earner" in point of working conditions and surroundings. The karkhandar gives to the out-worker yarn, sufficient for 8 to 15 days' work, ready-made warp being given, if in the karkhana there are warping arrangements. Both these types of out-workers are found in varying numbers in several centres of the Deccan.

In Sholapur, out-workers for karkhandars are larger in num-

ber than the out-workers for the dealers, for in Sholapur, the raw material dealer and the dealer in finished product are separate entities. The former has no interest in getting the fabric woven from the weavers as he specialises in yarn dealing only and the latter (the dealer in the finished product) does not generally find it necessary to give out-work even in the rush season, owing to the presence of the stockist who warehouses large stocks of woven fabrics. The largest percentage of out-workers are, therefore, working for karkhanas, generally owned by Padamsalis, who deal with these workers on a large scale during the brisk season. In addition to these karkhandars, there are in Sholapur a few distributors of out-work,¹ who buy raw material on credit and give it to the out-workers on piece wage. The karkhandars give out ready-made warps of 7 or 8 sarees to these out-workers and after a period of 10 to 12 days receive back the finished sarees woven by the out-workers according to the patterns and designs required by the karkhandars. During this period of 10 or 12 days, the workers get advances often upto 50% of their piece wages per warp and the rest is given on the day of the completion of the order. When ready-made warp is not supplied, the preparatory processes are left to the out-worker, wages for which are included in the piece wage. When the distributors get back the finished product they sell it either to the stockists from whom they have taken contracts or sell it direct to the exporters. In Sangamner and Ahmednagar, in addition to the out-work for karkhandars, some amount of out-work is recently being done for some dealers of the finished product who maintain yarn shops in addition. There are 2 or 3 such dealers in Sangamner, who give out only the yarn, the preparatory processes being carried out by the out-work weaver himself.

The working conditions of the out-worker are inferior to those of the other types already discussed by us. Their wages are lower than the other two types of the weavers and even lower than the wages of the weavers who work in the karkhanas. The only freedom the out-workers enjoy, is the absence of any time-restrictions on their working day and the avoidance of factory conditions of work. The out-workers who have to carry out the preparatory processes on their own account obtain the advantage of being able to employ the labour of members of their family.

¹ See Ante, p. 101.

In addition to the low piece rate, the out-workers, more particularly those working in the Sholapur karkhanas and in the Seasonal karkhanas of Padamsalis in Sangamner and Ahmednagar, are as a rule, subject to varying degrees of intermittent unemployment and under-employment, which is more intense in the rainy season, due to the slackness of the demand and of the production. This evil of seasonal unemployment is the greatest in Sangamner and Ahmednagar, where the karkhanas themselves are on a seasonal basis. These out-workers are a reserve labour force to the hand-loom karkhanas in general and to those of Sholapur in particular. This is an important asset to the cotton hand-loom industry and in spite of its evils, it continues to play an important part as a type of organisation for production. But with the increasing depression in this industry in recent years, there is a tendency for the displacement of the present out-workers. They are compelled to become mere wage earners in hand-loom karkhanas. Similarly workers from the higher groups are being removed to the group of out-workers. These continuous shifting movements have imported a measure of uncertainty in the credit and production structure of the industry.

The last and the lowest rung of the ladder is the wage earner weaver, who works in the house of the independent artisan or in the karkhanas, on piece wages, which depend upon the count of the yarn and the length and breadth of the fabric.

The wage earners who work with the independent artisan, work under the care and supervision of the master and put in as much effective work as the master himself. Such workers are largely found in Malegaon establishments and in Sholapur where the Asamis employ them on a lower wage than they themselves can get from the contract work. These workers in small establishments have homely surroundings of their own classes and castes, though not of their own family and have larger amount of freedom than the factory wage earner. On an average they nominally work for 8 to 10 hours with the master, but their rest period does not synchronize with that of the master. Though they are inferior in position, they freely mix with their masters. They enjoy as many holidays as the employer does and their earnings on an average come to annas 4 to annas 6 per day. They are generally employed by the small weavers during the seasons of heavy demand and are therefore as much liable to seasonal unemployment as the out-worker.

Wholly different from and more miserable and indigent than these wage earners are the wage earning weavers in the handloom karkhanas of Sholapur, Sangamner and Ahmednagar. As we have noticed elsewhere,¹ these wage earners are for the greater part labourers, bound by an agreement between themselves and the Padamsali karkhandars. In Sholapur, for instance, the karkhandars agree to give the immigrants from the Nizam's dominions, advances for marriages and other ceremonials and make them work in their karkhanas on piece wages, from which the debt is recovered at a flat rate of about 20% of the wages. 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, by courtesy called rooms each 8 feet by 4 feet in area. In these 'rooms' the wife and children of the weaver and the weaver himself are lodged for the nights and during day time, all excepting the small children, are huddled in the work-shed from morning till evening. 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 an article embodied in the agreement, which empowers the karkhandar to keep back as a security, certain portion of the weavers' wages. Thus nearly 20% of the piece wages is cut for the recovery of the advances, 10% as security against future default and the rest is handed over to the weaver either monthly or fortnightly. In some cases a further deduction for wastage of raw material, breakages of the looms and for advances in the form of daily rations, etc. is made. In the majority of cases, these agreements are observed to the letter. In the course of the investigation in Sholapur it was found upon a close enquiry that in a karkhana employing about 40 weavers, 2 or 3 women and their children were working in the karkhana for the last six months, without their husbands, who had gone to their native places for some private reasons. When asked as to why they did not go, the reply was that the agreement did not allow them to do so.

¹ See Ante, pp. 71 and 92.

In Sangamner and Ahmednagar, in addition to such agreements with the Telegu weavers for the permanent labour force, the Padamsalis make agreements with other Telegu weavers employed during brisk seasons. The agreements with these seasonal labourers include among other things an article by which the signatories agree to give preference to these weavers when supplementary labour force is required. The article regarding advances lays down the amount of advance having an eye on the temporary nature of the employment and does not exceed Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 per weaver. The Sangamner and Ahmednagar agreements for the supplementary labour force are with the individual artisans as in the case the agreements for the permanent labour. It was only in the case of one karkhana in Ahmednagar that it was found that the agreement was more or less a collective agreement signed by a karkhandar and about ten weavers from a village in the Hyderabad Deccan. The reason for such a collective agreement was given to be, on further enquiry, that the ten weavers and their families were related to each other and had gone to Ahmednagar after having been excommunicated by their villagers for the infringement of some local custom.

In the karkhanas owned by Salis and Koshtis and other sub-castes of Maratha weavers, the agreement takes other forms and usually covers the period of a year. The weaver does not stay on the premises of the karkhana but stays in a rented house and is usually a local inhabitant for generations together. He is offered piece wage rates slightly higher than those in the karkhanas of the Padamsalis. If the Telegu weaver in the Padamsali establishment gets on an average Rs. 10 per 8 to 10 sarees, the Maratha weaver in a Sali or Koshti establishment gets Rs. 12 to Rs. 13 for the same number of sarees. But due to slow work and lower efficiency his daily wage comes near to that of the Telegu weaver and is sometimes even lower. The Telegu weaver labourer generally works with a swift fly-shuttle at times with double box, while the Maratha weaver works with a single box and fly-shuttle, but for high count weaving he invariably uses the throw-shuttle. This has an adverse effect on the efficiency, not only of the individual but also of the karkhana as a whole.

One mixed power and hand-loom enterprise organised on factory basis which we investigated has given rise to a type of weaver labourer with an absolutely new type of status and economic position. In this factory, weavers are employed on piece

rates, which are slightly higher than the piece rates prevailing in other karkhanas. They work in the premises of the karkhana from 7-0 A. M. to 6-0 P. M. with a recess of 2 hours at midday. They worked originally as out-workers for the karkhana, but due to the irregularity in the supply of the finished work, they were given an alternative of working in the factory and a higher piece rate than the out-work piece rate was offered to them. These weavers work regularly for 8 to 9 hours per day and with an average out-put of 20 to 25 sarees, earn Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per month. The conditions under which they work are more sanitary and improved than in other karkhanas. They are financially better placed than the other weavers and are well-dressed and well-fed.

The Karkhana :—We now proceed to the present conditions of bigger units of works, viz., the karkhana. We have seen the comparative position and importance of karkhana system in the Deccan hand-loom industry during the present times.¹ Compared to the out-put of the small establishments, the total production of the karkhanas accounts roughly for 30 to 40% of the total hand-loom cotton cloth production in the Deccan centres. Sholapur occupies by far the most important place as a centre of karkhana production and Sangamner and Ahmednagar follow suit. We have seen how the karkhanas of other centres like Dhulia, Malegaon, Parola, etc. have disappeared simultaneously with the increase in the karkhana movement in the three aforesaid centres. Two broad distinctions, however, must be drawn between the karkhanas of these three places. The Sholapur karkhanas are more or less permanent establishments whereas the Sangamner and Ahmednagar karkhanas are seasonal, growing in size in the brisk seasons. In all these places the majority of the karkhanas are owned and run by Padamsalis who have a preference for factory work and discipline and also by their superior financial position are more able to run them than the Deccani Salis or Koshtis. A majority of these karkhanas, employ the old processes. A few karkhandars who have had some general education and an ambition to get rid of the dealers' control have initiated improvements not only in the processes but also in their business methods. As a general rule, however, all these karkhanas are completely dependent upon the credit given by the

¹ See Ante, Table on p. 100.

yarn dealer and upon the orders from the exporters. In Sholapur the control of the dealer is removed by one link, with the intervention of the Stockist with whom almost all karkhandars enter into contracts for forward deliveries. In Sangamner and Ahmednagar the dealer has direct relations with the karkhanas. The extent of his control can be gauged from the fact that karkhanas with a total of nearly 250 looms in Sangamner had contracted in 1932 to work continuously for a year or more for these dealers. This type of work has increased since the beginning of the present economic depression. The dependence of the karkhanas on the dealer is largely due to the fact that there has never been any healthy organisation of the karkhandars of any place for joint purchase and sale. There are certain unwritten understandings between the karkhandars regarding the employment of weavers, their holidays, types of production, etc., but they are ineffective and during times of over-production every karkhana has to devise its own means of restricting the production, which generally take the form of dismissals, lowering of piece rates and slackening the close supervision over the work of the weavers. There has neither been any sound organisation to meet external competition nor to remove the control of the export dealer. An unsuccessful attempt in this direction was made in 1930 by the karkhandars of Sholapur when the export dealers demanded a higher rate of discount, *viz.*, 8 to 9% over the cash prices offered by them for the finished articles; whereas the karkhandars agreed amongst themselves not to accept a rate higher than 3%. This tentative agreement worked for a year or two, but owing to the dishonesty of a few, the organisation collapsed and the dealers began to dictate their own terms. Another activity of this short-lived organisation was an attempt to improve the sales organisation and investigate into the possibilities of extending the markets, but this too bore no fruit due to mutual distrust. There has thus been no effective organisation of the karkhandars and in its absence the whole trade has been practically in the hands of the financier-dealers.

Typical of the latest development in the Deccan hand-loom industry is the Tikekar textile mill running on the basis of a joint-stock company. The enterprise maintains two sections, *viz.* hand-loom and power-loom. The hand-loom branch with Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 8,000 as the fixed capital, manufactures sarees (Tikekar Patals), by employing skilled weavers, whose working

conditions we have studied earlier. There are about 25 to 30 hand-loom of the improved types and these have enabled the company to increase the efficiency of the karkhana. This branch owes its success also to the opening of a power-loom section at a place 5 miles distant from this karkhana, fully equipped with modern machinery for sizing, warping, winding, etc. The hand-loom branch is thus enabled to have a steady supply of ready warps fed by the power-loom section in addition to maintaining another set of warping etc. of its own. This has resulted in the elimination of a waste to the extent of 25% according to the estimates of the managing agent of the mill.

The power-loom section referred to above is in fact the mainstay of the company. This section is equipped with machinery for all processes from the winding to the weaving. The gas engine with 35 H. P. supplies the power mainly for weaving which is done on Hattersley iron looms. The cost of running the power plant is approximately Rs. 1,000 as against Rs. 1,900 till 1928, when only a 9 H. P. engine was providing the power. The power-loom number about 10 and the total investment on the power-plant and the looms is about Rs. 50,000. The looms are operated by the weavers who were originally hand-loom weavers. The power-loom turn out twice the product turned out by the hand-loom section. The annual consumption of yarn, silk, gold-thread and dyes, in the two sections together is Rs. 64,000.

The technical distinction between this and other section is not only in the structure of the appliances and machinery, but also in the quality of the product. The power-loom section confines itself to the medium count production while the hand-loom section does both the low and high count work. Further distinction between these two sections is in regard to the skill of the manual labour employed. The hand-loom requires a superior type of industrial skill, while the power-loom can accommodate weaver who has even an elementary knowledge of weaving. An experiment by the company in the direction of shifting the hand-loom weaver to the power section gave an interesting result. The weaving on power-loom by a competent hand-loom weaver proved to be superior to that by an ordinary operator.

Both these sections in total, manufacture sarees worth about Rs. 2 lakhs and more per year, which are exported to all the Deccan districts. The marketing of the product in and out of

the Presidency, has been made possible owing to a staff of agents and canvassers maintained by the company. This superior organisation for the purchase and sale, expert technical direction, adequate finance, and power-loom enterprise in production have been the main advantages of this concern, which enable it to compete with the hand-loom industry as a whole and with the hand-loom karkhanas in particular.

The sale of finished product:—As a general rule it can be stated that nearly 50 to 60% of the high count production of the Deccan is the production of the small weaver, whether independent or dependent. According to the estimates of big exporters in some centres like Sholapur, Malegaon, Ahmednagar, etc., and considering the low consumption of the high count yarn in the Deccan centres, it can roughly be stated that sarees above 50s or 60s account for 20 to 25% of the total production of cotton sarees of the Deccan. Medium and low count production occupies the major part of the karkhana production as well as the small establishments of the weavers of various grades. Though the different types woven cannot be ascertained, we can say that in Sholapur, medium count production accounts for a large portion of the total production of the centre. The low count sarees are now produced on a very small scale and probably do not account for more than 15 to 20% of the total production.

Several types of sarees are produced in the Deccan centres.¹ The yarn used generally, is 16s to 32s for rough types, and for finer varieties 40s to 60s are used along with mercerised yarn and artificial silk for the border. In the production of readily marketable designs Malegaon has shown considerable adaptability. The weavers there produce cheap and shining copies of the time-honoured patterns, which are exported in large quantities to Bombay where they are said to be in demand among the labouring classes. Even Tikekar saree which is generally understood in the market as a fabric of superior variety is manufactured by Malegaon and sold at cheaper rates among these labouring classes. All centres except Malegaon have a limited sphere of production and the prices there are considerably higher than the Malegaon prices. This would explain why Malegaon has been able to

¹ E.g., Mirani, Tingomi and Chargomi Karwat, Band, Salwat, Gunja, Pokali, Tikekar, Ilkali, Maheshwari, Chandrakala, etc.

maintain its position and compete successfully not only with the other hand-loom centres but with organised enterprises like Tikekar and Sangli. The competition offered by Malegaon with centres like Ilkal, Nipani, Shahapur, etc. is not so much in the counts of yarn as in the designs and patterns with fleeting colours.

The following table gives the average volume and value of the annual exports in a few centres as estimated in the beginning of 1932, with the help of the local exporters in these centres.

Name of centre	Volume in Lakhs of Sarees	Value in Lakhs of Rupees
Sholapur	... 12	48
Malegaon	... 18	36
Sangamner	... 2	6
Ahmednagar	... 3	9.5
Dhulia	... 70	2.12

From this table the dominant position of Sholapur and Malegaon as the only big centres of cotton saree production is once more emphasised. If we further take into consideration the fact of local sale, the total out-put of Sholapur and Malegaon with nearly 14 to 15 thousand looms between them, will be seen to account for 50% of the production of sarees in the Deccan, if the value of the total out-put of the whole of the Deccan is put at 1.5 crores of Rupees, an estimate made by the Department of Industries, Bombay.¹ Without, however, depending too much on these vague figures we may say that Sholapur and Malegaon have substantial share in the production of the Deccan cotton hand-loom industry.

Exports of this enormous volume of sarees is solely in the hands of dealers. They effect the purchases of sarees in the following ways :—

- (1) First and by far the most wide-spread method is the direct purchase of sarees from the manufacturers both independent weavers and karkhandars. The dealers buy the product every evening and periodically export on credit to the dealers to the consuming centres.
- (2) The second type which is exclusively found in Sholapur is the dealing with the Stockists who stock goods when

¹ Annual Report, Department of Industries, Bombay, 1930.

low prices prevail. These stockists by their ability to warehouse goods are in a position to absorb the day-to-day production of sarees in Sholapur and serve a useful purpose by maintaining the fluctuations in prices within a narrow range.

- (3) The third type of dealing is by making advances to the weavers and placing orders for goods at agreed prices. This type of dealing is found in those centres where the independent artisan is economically depressed.
- (4) The fourth and the last type of dealing is giving work to out-workers for piece wage.

While the Sholapur dealer makes purchases largely from the stockists, in Malegaon they are mostly made directly from the weaver. In Sholapur discount on cash transactions is $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8%. For credit transactions the prices are only 1 or 2% higher than the cash prices and the period of credit demanded by the dealers from the karkhandars or the stockists is 30 days and in some cases 2 months without any charge of interest for that period. In other centres like Malegaon, Ahmednagar, Sangamner, etc., cash transactions prevail. The methods of business with the outside merchants who place orders with these dealers are also on cash and credit basis. The commissions charged by them on these orders vary from 6 to 12%. If the outside merchant pays cash he gets a discount of 3 to 4%. Every export firm has its own custom in the consuming centres and every exporter deals with a limited number of merchants and supplies the goods to limited areas. But certain large firms have a wider area of dealing and often maintain some travelling agents, who canvass orders from centre to centre. The direct result of this is that the smaller firms suffer when the demand falls off in their restricted area and having no means to resort to alternative consuming areas they have to depend upon local sales or on sales to the large firms or on the small markets in the surrounding villages. The large firms on the contrary, on account of their wide area of business, have always a steady flow of orders and a fall in the orders from one area is likely to be offset by a rise in the other. Due to the present depression, however, all the firms whether large or small have a much smaller volume of sales and purchases.

In no centre have the dealers been able to organise them-

selves on any sound basis nor have they lent any strength to the hand-loom industry. This absence of organisation and the failure to undertake the responsibilities properly their own explains the absence of the organised advertisement of goods, vigorous propaganda in favour of the loom-sarees and the systematic search of new markets. They are, therefore, responsible for the failure of the Deccan cotton hand-loom industry to weave modern cheap and fashionable designs prevalent not only in the Presidency but in other parts of the country as well. We are told that their refusal to buy and sell new types of fabrics, if any enterprising weaver manufactures them, has hindered all attempts at progress in modernisation of the industry and resulted in the stagnation of the industry in recent years.

Competition :—The possibilities of the further intensification of mill competition in the Deccani low count sarees seem limited. While mill production has taken fullest advantage of the existing economics of technical production the cost of production in the hand-loom is still capable of being reduced by improvements in the processes of manufacture and business methods.¹ Secondly there is even at present a decided preference among agriculturists for hand-loom sarees on account of their close weave, durability and comparatively full lengths.

(2) *Silk Industry* :—The industry to-day exhibits in an intensified form all the tendencies noted at the end of the earlier chapter. In Yeola in the beginning of 1932, i.e., during the slack season there were 200 to 300 looms actually working. It was estimated that the number would rise upto 600 as a result of the increased demand in the marriage season. In Poona, in the brisk season in April, there were about 400 to 500 looms working in silk fabrics. The karkhana system of Yeola has disintegrated and the average size of the Poona karkhana is reduced. The independent artisan whose rise can be traced as far back as 1927 has again come into prominence in Yeola, while the karkhana system is yet largely found working in Poona. There has been no change in the methods of production or in the types of production as compared with the 1925-30 period.

The independence of the Yeola weaver is nominal as he is practically working to order for the export dealer, who gives him

¹ For a detailed exposition of this subject, see R. Gregg, Economics of Khaddar.

financial help for dyeing, preliminary processes, etc. The silk dealer gives him a credit for 2 months. The small artisan buys at a time silk and gold-thread for 4 to 6 pieces of cloth. With a loom worth Rs. 20 to Rs. 25, 2 or 3 throw-shuttles and a small establishment for preparatory processes, the weaver works for 8 to 9 hours a day, with the help of his family and earns from annas 12 to Re. 1 per day or Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per piece of cloth with ordinary designs and Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 for pieces of higher classes. The largest portion of his time is spent in preparatory processes. An average silk weaver with the help of his wife and children takes 31 to 81 days to prepare a warp of 4 to 6 pieces of silk cloth.¹ The average indebtedness of the weaver's family is estimated at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500, and it is alleged that a large part of this is due to the extravagant habits of the weavers. The weaver depends upon the local dealer for his sales which generally take place once a week as on Tuesdays in Yeola. But owing to increased contract work the weaver has practically become a piece wage worker.

The position of the karkhanas in Poona is slightly different. They carry on all the preliminary processes by employing women and children gaining thereby a definite advantage over the small weaver. The karkhanas can thus employ the weaver whole-time exclusively for weaving. The wages paid to the weaver differ according to the patterns and designs of the fabric and range between Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 to Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 per piece in the case of Pitambaras and Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 in the case of Paithanis and Shalus.² The karkhandars do not give out-work as they suspect that the weavers would adulterate the costly silk and gold-thread. The karkhandars like the small weavers have to depend upon the dealers both for the purchase of the raw material and the sale of the finished articles though they are in a better position to strike a favourable bargain with the dealers owing to their greater credit—worthiness and staying power. A few rich karkhandars, however, have their own sale organisation and sometimes directly deal with the outside merchants. The Poona and the Yeola karkhandars have not got any organisation of their

¹ Prof. R. V. Oturkar's estimates in his survey of silk industry in Yeola, Loka-Shikshana, July 1932.

² Shalu is a silk fabric richly embroidered with gold thread and is used by high class Deccani women like a Shawl on ceremonial occasions.

class to control the industrial and working conditions, or the conditions of purchase and sale.

In the absence of any such organisation the dealer dominates the local market and controls the export trade by regulating the prices in accordance with the seasonal demand. The Yeola dealers have a guaranteeing Board called the "Yeola Pitambar Panch," which certifies the quality of the finished articles and the percentage of the gold-thread, before they can be put for sale on the local market. This Board charges anna 1 to annas 1-6 per piece, as a fee for the label, which is attached to the fabrics; without this label they would have no market in Yeola. The Board is dominated by the mercantile groups, the karkhandar and the small weaver being wholly unrepresented on it. It is suspected by the local karkhandars, that a few of the powerful dealers import cheaper silks from other places and export them under the Yeola label to the consuming centres in Berar, Central Provinces, Khandesh, etc. Due to the extreme conservatism of the dealers, Yeola has not been able to change its character of production, as Poona seems to have done; and thus, Yeola has failed to exploit alternative markets.

The present depressed conditions in the industry are due to the recent remarkable fall in prices. The fall is greater in the case of medium and lower grades of cloths than in the higher grades; for, a large part of the demand for the former grades came from the rich agricultural classes particularly from Berar and Central Provinces, in whose case the reduction of purchasing power has been very considerable. Another factor which has influenced this fall in prices is the competition in low and medium grades by external centres like Coimbatore, Warangal, Benares, etc., Poona being affected by it the most. The position of Yeola when compared with that of Poona would appear to be a bit better. In the natural course of things Poona ought to have benefited by keeping pace with the changes in the demand; it could not do so on account of the external competition, and also on account of the internal defects in the processes and the organisation of the industry.

(3) *Zora Industry*:—This is typical of Khandesh and has been investigated with special reference to the condition in Kasoda, a village few miles away from Erandol. This is the only centre where zora weaving is carried on to any appre-

ciable extent and where some organisation is visible. This industry has now become purely seasonal. There are at present about 400 looms all of which work in the brisk season, i.e., from July to September, after which they are closed down and the sale operations begin. During the slack season only 150 to 200 looms are seen working. At present there are 15 to 20 persons with 6 to 8 looms each, 50 with 2 to 4 looms each, the rest of the looms being in the single loom establishments. These single loom workers are seasonal workers and are mainly responsible for the addition to the number of active looms during the brisk season.

The karkhanas employ momin weavers on piece wages. They buy their yarn on credit from Amalner or Bombay mills. The cost of transport of the yarn is very heavy, being Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per bale. The small artisans who work with the occasional help of the weaver-labourer depend upon two or three local yarn dealers, who supply them yarn partly on credit and partly on hypothecation of the finished goods. In the latter case 50 to 60% of the price of the finished product is given in the form of yarn and cash which is necessary for the payment of wages in the preliminary processes. These come to annas 4 per 10 lbs. for winding and annas 3 per 10 lbs. for twisting. Yarn used is between 2 and 6s.

With the horizontal loom and the crude methods of weaving by the throw-shuttle the karkhanas and the small weavers, weave four different types of rough cloth differently known as zorās, dhurries, chawals and zools. Dyed yarn is used for all types except the zora. The wages in the karkhanas are 25 to 30% lower than the earnings of the independent artisan. For four distinct types of products varying from 5' × 3' to 13' × 5' in size, wages are from annas 12 to Rs. 2-4-0 per piece or per pair in the case of the karkhana weavers and the earnings of the independent artisans are from Re. 1 to Rs. 2-12-0.

All these types of cloths are sold by the karkhandars and the independent artisans in three different ways:—

- (1) By far the most wide-spread system of sale and one which accounts for nearly 75% of the total sale operations is the system of direct sale in the consuming areas, e.g., in some parts of Khandesh and Berar. During the period of October to December the weavers and agents of

karkhandars visit consuming centres with their product to effect the sales directly to the agriculturists.

- (2) Another system is the sale to the outside merchants who frequent the shops of the yarn merchants in Kasoda with whom the finished goods are hypothecated for the period between the finishing of the article and its actual sale. This system accounts for 15 to 20% of the total sales.
- (3) Less common than these two systems is the sale to the local yarn dealers who purchase the finished product for retail sale. In this case the sales do not amount to more than 5 to 10% of the total sales.

The present prices (1932) of Kasoda products, are said to have fallen by about 50% from the level of 1925.

75% of the total production are zorars. Dhurries do not account for more than 15% and the zools and chawals are each 5% approximately. High quality zorars, dhurries and zools are made to order. The rest of the production is for stock and sale. From these approximate percentages it may be seen that the cotton bag (chawal) production has in the recent years ceased to be of any considerable importance. In the face of the fly-shuttle dhurries from Karnatak, Madras, United Provinces, etc., the production of the dhurries and zorars is hit hard as can be seen from the fact that the karkhandars and artisans manufacture only the low and medium qualities for stock, to the extent of 75 to 80% of the total production. The annual production of all these varieties was estimated at Rs. 1 lakh in 1932 as against Rs. 1.5 lakhs in 1928 and Rs. 3 lakhs in 1923. The largest single market for this product is Berar, which buys 80% of the total production. Khandesh buys 10 to 15% and the rest is consumed by north-eastern parts of Nasik.

At present, the industry is free from the domination of the export dealer and has to a certain extent been helped by a co-operative yarn purchase and hypothec society. It had nearly 100 members in 1932. The society (with a temporary liquidation in 1927-28) dates from 1920-21. The society mainly engages itself in the supply of yarn to its members. The yarn is imported from Bombay and Amalner. The yarn prices charged by the society are lower than those charged by the dealers. The product is hypothecated by the members to the society which allows members credit to the extent of 50 to 60% of the ruling price of the product.

In spite of this the general position of the industry is not much improved; nor has it relieved the small independent artisan from his indebtedness. This is estimated at Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 per family at a rate of 24 to 32%.

Metal Handicrafts

(1) *Brass and copper-ware industry*:—The Poona and Nasik industries have both suffered from the competition of the Bombay industry, which is completely mechanised and run on factory lines. It is believed that in addition to ousting Nasik from the southern parts of the Deccan, Poona has now been competing even in the Nasik local market (on the river ghats) where 20% of the total sales are of Poona products. Of the total sales on the river-ghats, Nasik industry, it is said, has a share only to the extent of 5 to 6%. The rest of the Nasik product is exported to the northern parts of the Deccan, Berar and Central Provinces. The total Nasik production is estimated at Rs. 5 to 6 lakhs worth. Against this the production in Poona is estimated at Rs. 8 to 9 lakhs. Poona has a wider market and exports its products even to Bombay and some parts of Konkan.

In Nasik and Poona the work-shop system prevails. 8 karkhanas of Poona and 3 to 4 in Nasik use mechanical power and have assumed the size and nature of small scale industries. They employ 20 to 30 men each. These machine karkhanas involve a fixed capital varying from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and employ power driven machinery for cutting, designing, casting, filing, etc. They are owned by rich capitalists who also maintain local shops for sale and have export business with the outside merchants.

The labourers, who were originally small independent master-craftsmen, having small work-shops, have now become completely dependent, and work in these factories on monthly wages varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 40. They are reported to be in debt to the extent of Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 on which they have to pay interest at the rate of 24 to 60%. Owing to a considerable division of labour, each worker works on a specialised process for the whole of his working period which extends from 9 to 10 hours a day.

The working conditions are insanitary, due to the presence of the poisonous gases, which arise from the use of tar-dust, generally used for filling up the cavities of the mould in the casting branch and also due to the work near high temperature furnaces.

The general health of the workers deteriorates after 2 or 3 years of strenuous work and they suffer from respiratory diseases, which keep them off work for almost a month in a year. The incidence of sickness is comparatively less in the advanced stages of the casting branch and in almost all the stages in the other branches of production, e.g., beaten and polished-ware. But here the high percentage of accidents (particularly in sheet-cutting and filing and lathe work) is again a great evil.

Next in importance are the karkhanas, owned by the less independent craftsmen. These are smaller in size and do not employ any power driven or hand-driven machinery. Such karkhanas in Poona and Nasik, out-number the mechanised karkhanas. These small karkhandars belong to the castes of brass and copper-smiths and are master-craftsmen working on their own responsibility. They buy the sheets on credit either from the local dealers or import them from Bombay. These karkhanas employ 7 to 10 men each in Nasik and 10 to 12 men each in Poona. Here all the processes are carried on by hand with the usual appliances, over which each workshop spends Rs. 100 to Rs. 150. The time involved in the several processes is naturally excessive and the work for the most part is in beaten ware. The largest portion of the time in production is spent on beating the surface by hand with the help of an ordinary hammer and an anvil. The master himself works in the shop and the artisans he employs work under his direct supervision and instruction. The artisan assistants get piece rates varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per maund of the finished goods. They work in trios or in groups of 4 or 5 and earn the wage in group which is divided amongst them according to the nature of the work put in and the skill employed by each member of the group. The head-artisan, (the first assistant, to distinguish him from the master-craftsmen), who carries out the major processes like beating and joining gets the largest share of the piece wage and earns Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 per day. The polisher, who is generally an apprentice in the trade gets the least amount, earning Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 10 per month. The artisans midway between these two who carry on the processes of cutting the sheet, soldering, etc., get annas 12 to Re. 1 each per day. The average lot of these artisans is, therefore, better than the workers in the mechanised karkhanas.

The third type of establishment found in this industry is the 'contract work-shop,' as we may call it to distinguish it from the

small master's work-shop. The difference between these two is more in respect of the economic dependence, than in that of technical structure. The masters in the contract 'work-shops,' take in work on contract from the big local dealers at rates varying in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2-8-0 per maund (13½ seers) of the finished articles of copper and Rs. 3-12-0 per maund of the finished articles of brass. In Ahmednagar where this contract work is the only type of work the rates are Rs. 5 per maund of bell-metal-ware, Rs. 4 per maund of brass-ware and Rs. 3 per maund of copper-ware. Orders for 10 to 15 maunds are given at a time by a dealer who advances the sheets and also some money to defray the costs incurred by the contract-master, for the different processes of manufacture. This master employs 3 or 4 artisans under him on piece wages varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-4-0 for copper-ware, Rs. 3-4-0 for brass-ware, and Rs. 4-8-0 for bell-metal (in the case of Ahmednagar). These workers earn from annas 10 to Re. 1 per day. After the articles are finished they are returned weight for weight to the dealer, who insists on the filings and cuttings being returned to him, failing which a deduction amounting to annas 8 per lb. of the filing and cuttings is made from the balances to be paid to the contract worker. The net earnings per day of such a small contract master come to Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 1-6-0 in Nasik, Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 1-12-0 in Poona and Re. 1 to Rs. 1-6-0 in Ahmednagar.

In spite of these comparatively high wages the masters and workers are heavily in debt, the average liability per family amounting to Rs. 200 to Rs. 400. This debt is contracted not only for ceremonies and funeral rites, but in some cases it is the result of the higher standard of life to which the brass and copper-smiths were accustomed during the war and post-war boom and which cannot now be easily reduced. These debts are further augmented by the caste dinners which every member of the caste has compulsorily to give on some special occasions. This is specially noticeable amongst the Gujarathi Tambats of Nasik and Poona. Due to depression the contract work in beaten-ware is now reduced by the karkhandar dealers and it now accounts for only 10% of the total production in Nasik and 20 to 25% in Poona. Excepting the product of few mechanised work-shops and of a few small karkhanas, the entire metal-ware is marketed by the dealers who have to depend on the orders from the outside merchants with whom they have credit dealings as in the other handicrafts.

(2) *Gold-thread Industry* :—The industry in Yeola and Poona stands at a very low point, the former with its 10 or 12 karkhanas and the latter with 8 to 10. The difference between the products of the two centres appears to persist. The mechanisation of the processes is gradually proceeding in the beating and wire-drawing branches in both the centres. In Yeola, however, out-work continues to be given in wire-drawing to a few out-workers. This is largely due to absence of the improved processes of wire-drawing. In Poona, silk reeling for winding the gold-wire on, is out-work mainly among women reelers. Gilding is almost entirely absent in both the places and old methods of oxidisation and hot-plating, are still adopted. Workers in Poona karkhanas are paid 6 as. to 12 as. per day of 10 hours and have to complete the daily task of 25 tolas; whereas the wire-drawers of Yeola, who take in work at Rs. 5 to 6 per bar, secure an earning of 9 to 10 as. per day after defraying the expenses.

Leather Handicrafts

In Dhulia there are nearly 40 to 50 Paradeshi Mochis who are independent artisans manufacturing foot-ware of the European types. They work in their own houses with the help of outside labour and of the members of their family, the latter generally helping in the final processes. These independent workers purchase the leather on credit from the local leather dealers. The period of credit extends to 30 days after which interest is charged at the rate of 7 to 10%. They prepare shoes and slippers from the rough leather and sell to the local Bohora merchants, or to the customers in the neighbouring villages at the rates of Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3-8-0 per pair and earn a daily wage of Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4-0 with 9 to 10 hours of work. Some of these workers work on contract for the local merchants. Each contract order gives them work for 3 or 4 days at a time and they earn annas 12 to Re. 1 per day. They live in a group in decent and well-ventilated houses which they have built for themselves by the side of the river on the outskirts of the city. They are remarkably free from indebtedness, as a general rule. They deserve a special notice as they have cultivated a taste among the rich Khandesh agriculturists for wearing these cheap shoes and slippers. Their economic position would be even better if they were not, it is alleged, addicted to drink.

The Indian foot-ware industry in other centres is not quite

separate from the European foot-ware industry and both of them exist side by side in almost all the District towns of the Deccan. By far the most important centres to-day are Poona and Ahmednagar. Deccani Chamhars and Paradeshi Mochis of different castes are found working in the aforesaid centres. Like the organisation in other handicrafts, this industry has three main types and systems of work., viz., the independent artisan, the out-worker, and the karkhana with piece-wage earning artisans. The independent workers with the help of the members of their family make all sorts of foot-ware. They manage to sell their product either to the karkhanas (who stock goods at low prices during slack season) or to the dealers in the finished goods (mostly Bohora merchants) or sell independently to the chance-customers. Some of them have direct relation with the consumer from whom they take orders, for special kinds of ware. To this extent they represent a type of retail handicraft.

There are other types of workers who secure orders from the karkhandars or the dealers and work for them on piece wages which vary from product to product. The piece-rates are annas 4 per pair of chapples, 14 annas per pair of jodas, Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4-0 per pair of slippers and Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 per pair of European shoe. They work at home and hand over the finished product on the days previously fixed. Their conditions are inferior to those of independent artisans. They work longer hours and in more insanitary conditions.

The karkhana organisation deserves some special notice. The karkhanas are owned by rich Chamhars and Bohora merchants, who maintain shops for local sales. These karkhanas manufacture all varieties of foot-ware, European foot-ware accounting for nearly 60% of their total production. They are better placed in regard to the purchase of the raw material as they command higher credits and have dealings with the specialised markets in the large cities like Bombay and Madras. These small karkhanas employ 5 to 10 men each, most of whom are Paradeshi Mochis highly skilled in the manufacture of European foot-ware. The karkhanas work on modern lines by employing sewing machines, lasts, special leather cutting and designing instruments, etc. Their consumption of leather is worth Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 each, per month and they have a circulating capital of about Rs. 500. The workers work under one master-craftsman, who is also employed

on piece-wage. The piece-wages of these workers are higher than those of the out-workers.

Poona sends European foot-ware particularly to Sholapur, Satara and Belgaum in the south. There is also some export of jodas which are still famous in other markets though in Poona, their strong-hold they have lost a considerable ground. Ahmednagar on the other hand exports Nagari jodas, a variety inferior to the Poona product, to some parts of Nasik and Khandesh in the north and Sholapur in the south, where they are popular generally among the agricultural classes.

A factor which is seriously disturbing the position of the Indian and European foot-ware industry, since 1929 is the heavy influx of Japanese canvass and rubber shoes which have been dumped on the urban markets of the Deccan and which have found an easy favour in those areas. These shoes in spite of the heavy customs duty are sold at very low prices from annas 14 to Rs. 1-6-0 and are preferred to chapples and slippers. This has naturally hurt the position of the average artisan. The effect of this competition is more noticeable in the Poona foot-ware industry than anywhere else, Ahmednagar being next to suffer.

One more factor which must be noticed is that in Poona, Ahmednagar and other smaller producing centres the foot-ware from centres outside the Deccan is increasingly imported and consumed. This has, naturally, affected the local production. In Poona for example foot-ware from Kolhapur, Belgaum, Karwar, Konkan in the south and from Bombay, Cawnpore, Agra in the north, is imported, on a considerable scale, the southern imports being for the most part of Indian foot-ware and the northern imports of European and semi-European types.

The remaining two industries can be dismissed with a few general remarks. The *paper industry* of the Deccan has at present reached a very low point and it continues to produce a small amount of paper in a few karkhanas in Erandol and Junnar. The paper production is exclusively dependent on a miniature seasonal demand. As long as the demand from the Indian merchants for the tough paper of peculiar sizes continues, the industry in both the centres will have a seasonal life. Similarly the *calico-printing industry* in a few centres like Chirne Malpur, Raver, in Khandesh and Malegaon in Nasik, continues to produce on a restricted scale traditional designs which still have a small demand among the

agriculturists of Khandesh. It yields an average daily income of 8 as. to 10 as. to the small printer and Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4-0 to the contractors who provide work to small printers during winter and summer. In Malegaon we may notice the presence of a few karkhanas producing similar designs, and working to order and for stock. Most of the Malegaon product is locally sold.

Now it is possible to summarise in general terms the present economic organisation and economic position of the handicrafts in the Bombay Deccan and also the economic conditions of the persons engaged in them. It will also be possible to state in general the handicaps under which they suffer and the problems they have to face.

In the producing centres, three divisions of the handicraft organisation are to be found, viz., (1) organisation for the purchase of raw material, (2) organisation for production and (3) the organisation for sale and export.

The wholesale dealer and the retail dealer are the only agencies which supply the raw material to the manufacturing units. At times the bigger manufacturing units can have direct access to the sources of raw material. The raw material is imported by the dealers from the wholesale raw material markets and sold mostly on credit to the producers. After the date on which the bill for the material is to be paid by the producer, interest at rates varying from 6 to 20%, is charged both by the retail and the wholesale dealers. Their control over the industry is complete where the costs of raw material are considerable and also where the costs of transport are heavy. Such for instance is the case in Sangamner and Pathardi. Both of these centres are in the interior of the Ahmednagar district, away from the railway track and not easily accessible in the monsoons.

The only alternative method of raw material purchase in the Deccan is purchase and sale by a very few co-operative societies, particularly in weaving. Parola, Kasoda and Dhulia, for example, have co-operative societies which do this business on a small scale only. In most of the Deccan handicraft centres this agency is entirely absent. Here the dealer becomes indispensable. His presence, however means high prices of raw material, high profits and general prevalence of monopoly conditions. This raises a problem whether his monopolistic position cannot be affected by the creation of alternative agencies.

In the organisation for production we can have four broad types of persons, *viz.*, (i) the independent artisan, (ii) the capitalist entrepreneur or the karkhandar, (iii) the out-worker and (iv) the wage earner.

The small independent artisan with a very small establishment and the raw material secured on credit works in his house with or without the help of his family and outside labour. He sells his product on his own account to the local dealer or directly to the local consumer. He has no direct access to the outside markets either for the purchase of raw material or the sale of the finished product. He is financially dependent on the credit he gets from the raw material dealer and cash advances from the dealer in the finished product.

Another system of work is the karkhana system. The size of the karkhana is midway between that of small artisan's establishment and that of large scale industrial establishment. It depends to a certain extent upon available improvements in tools and appliances and the financial condition of the karkhandar. With comparatively greater personal and private capital and higher credit in the local money market, he is able to run a big establishment. He is entirely dependent upon the local purchase and sale organisation, excepting in such instances as those of some capitalist manufacturers in Nasik brass and copper-ware industry or some educated and intelligent karkhandars in hand-loom weaving.

The third system of production is out-work. Its presence is due to the absence of centralised processes, close division of labour and of employment of improved machinery. The seasonal character of most of the Deccan handicrafts makes it necessary for every handicraft to have a labour force which can be employed in seasons of brisk demand. This is possible under the out-work system. Further, convenience in distributing work, without maintaining large establishments which in urban areas means higher rent charges induce the karkhandars to adopt this system. Low wages at which workers are prepared to work at home is also a factor helping this system; this is interesting in view of the fact that this system is subject to considerable fluctuations in employment. Out-workers naturally depend upon the work supplied either by the karkhandar, the independent artisan or by dealers in the finished products, who give these out-workers ad-

vances in cash or kind or both. The out-worker either enters into a contract on fixed prices or has only a wage contract. In either case he has very little independence and that too in the matter of working conditions only. The terms of his wages or prices, character of production, etc., are fixed by the capitalists who give the work. The chances of improving his wage conditions are therefore slender indeed.

Lastly we may consider the ordinary wage-earner. He may exist (as in the case of the textile handicraft) as a person to whom work is given for certain processes to be carried on for a wage, *viz.*, the preliminary processes where he is partly an out-worker; or as in the majority of cases he serves as an ordinary labourer on piece or time-wage.

At the other end of our frame-work, we have the dealers wholesale and retail, engaged in the purchase and export of finished product. These dealers in the different handicrafts have a dominating influence over the conditions of production. They serve as a link between the centre of production and the centre of consumption. Their relations with the producers are different from those with the merchants who place orders with them. To the producers, they are able to dictate terms and to control the prices at which they would purchase. They secure discount on cash payments which in our tract varies from 5 to 8%. They have also credit transactions with the producers and demand a credit which in practice extends from 30 to 45 days. With the merchants who place orders with these dealers, they deal on equal terms as the interests of both of them are interdependent. To these merchants, he charges commissions ranging from 5 to 7%. On cash transactions with outside merchants he gives discount of from 4 to 5%. In the present organisation, with the exception of a small amount of co-operative marketing and financing business, the dealers in the finished product are the only marketing agency. Though indispensable at present, it is a costly agency. Its substitution therefore becomes another problem for consideration.

The present economic position of the handicrafts is one of general depression which varies from group to group. The textile and leather handicrafts can be said to be in a comparatively good condition. The brass and copper-ware and gold thread industries come next in order, and paper, dyeing and calico printing are quite decadent. Though as a general rule all these handicrafts

have benefited to some extent as a result of the introduction of modern methods of transport and of production, the amount of improvement in the processes of manufacture is negligible. This has naturally resulted in high costs of production, waste of time, labour and capital. The excessive cost of production, absence of the employment of mechanical improvements, comparatively antiquated business methods and insensitiveness to the changes in the requirements of the markets have all combined to place the handicrafts in a position of disadvantage in relation to large scale industries. As a result of this, almost all the handicrafts are not only in a depressed condition but have become seasonal in character due to their dependence on seasonal markets to which they are restricted.

The competition which the Deccan handicrafts have to face manifests itself in several forms. It is in the lower costs of production as in mills versus hand-loom. It is also in quality. Further it is felt in the manufacture of substitutes, e.g. Japanese crepe, canvass shoe which is fast becoming a substitute for slippers and chapples. These three forms of competition have their origin in large scale industries and in handicrafts in and out of India. In the face of this competition the Deccan handicrafts have suffered considerably. To add to this the present world economic depression has swept over the whole handicraft field in India in general and in the Deccan in particular where the effect has been greatest owing to their unstable character. To relieve the intensity of the manifold competition is a problem to be solved, in the immediate future. This resolves into several problems which can be summed up as (1) Reduction of the cost of production; (2) Improvements and changes in the types of products; (3) Improvement in the organisation of manufacture by scientific management of work units and (4) Improvement in business methods.

The seasonal character of the handicrafts involves the great evil of seasonal unemployment. Further the independent artisan as a class is nowhere organised. There is absence of guild control or Trade Union action, which keeps the artisans in isolation. The caste organisation and the caste ties have very little industrial or economic significance and sometimes the organisations act against the best interests of the artisans. Illiteracy, further, breeds extreme conservatism, superstition, mutual distrust, pessimism, etc. The position of the present out-worker and wage-earning artisan is still worse. Here the problem of wages assumes an

acute form. They are liable to seasonal unemployment. They are unorganised and have an isolated existence. All these three main classes of handicraft labour present problems which can be classified up under the following heads:—

- (1) Efficiency of the handicraft labour
- (2) Heavy indebtedness
- (3) Wage conditions
- (4) Working conditions
- (5) Organisation of the handicraft labour
- (6) Removal of the general personal drawbacks.

The present position of the karkhandars or the workshop masters, is somewhat different. They get comparatively better returns for their investments and are socially and economically better-placed. This does not mean that they have no problems to face. Along with the general difficulties arising from the present-day economic organisation and also the present conditions of the handicrafts, they have to face problems of their own making. In the absence of an attitude of enterprise they are not able to reduce the cost of production or to effect the changes in the size so as to make it an economic unit of work. With them as with the artisans, the methods of accounting are faulty. Moreover, there is no organisation of the karkhandars as a class.

With them the following problems would appear to demand some solution:—

- (1) Improvement in the processes and the tools and appliances.
- (2) Improvement in the purchase and sale organisation.
- (3) Organisation of the karkhandars for industrial and economic purposes.

For the sake of convenience, we would bring all the problems together. They can be grouped as follows:—

- (1) Enabling the handicrafts to meet outside competition, under which may be put
 - (i) Reduction of the cost of production.
 - (ii) Changes in the types of production.
 - (iii) Rationalization of the handicrafts.
 - (iv) Improvement in the business methods.

- (v) Organisation of the handicraft, *viz.*, guild and chamber.
- (2) Improvement of the economic conditions of the handicraft personnel under which may be considered
 - (i) Industrial efficiency.
 - (ii) Wage and working conditions.
 - (iii) Heavy indebtedness.
 - (iv) Removal of personal drawbacks.

SECTION II

The future possibilities of the Deccan handicrafts

We have raised a few problems which need a solution. A question would arise, whether, the Deccan handicrafts have any future possibilities and also whether it is worth the money and labour involved in any scheme of development.

First handicrafts as a whole give employment even at present to a considerable proportion of the Deccan population and are next to agriculture in importance. Their disappearance would lead to considerable unemployment adding to the pressure on land. Assuming, further, that there would be safeguards in the interest of handicrafts and that there would be development on sound lines, the future of some of them appears to be full of great possibilities. Let us take the three major handicrafts of the Deccan.

The textile handicrafts, particularly the cotton hand-loom industry would continue to supply the major portion of the demand for women's garments. If well-financed and well-organised the industry may extend its operations to other kinds of textiles. Further, the industry would be able to stimulate more demand for its cheap and rough wares particularly in those areas where the population is at present insufficiently clothed. Similarly improvements in the efficiency of the weavers and improvements in the processes of manufacture would enable the Deccan hand-loom weaver to manufacture the high count sarees which are mostly supplied by the centres outside the Deccan. The changes in the present types of production may also enable the weavers to recapture the lost markets and exploit new ones. In general there appears to be a good future for the cotton hand-looms. We are however doubtful about the future extension of the Poona and Yeola

silk industry. But even here, Poona and Yeola hand-loomers may be able to yield decent incomes to the silk weavers, provided these two centres carry on intensive specialisation of the products and effect internal economies. In the woollen industry kambli weaving stands unrivalled and as long as the slow moving agricultural custom exists there is no danger of its extinction in the near future. The zora weaving in Kasoda if properly organised will continue to supply the needs of the Khandesh, Berar and C. P. It will also be able to expand itself if the markets in the southern parts of the Deccan are properly exploited.

The brass and copper-ware industry of the Deccan has at present to face competition from aluminium, enamelled-ware and China glass in varying degrees. This competition will increase only within certain limits, as it has got to reckon with certain handicaps of its own. In the Deccan as in the other parts of the country there is still some religious prejudice against using aluminium-ware particularly on holy occasions. Further it is not a good substitute for brass or copper in cooking, water carriage, storage, etc. For certain types of durable copper and brass pots there would always be a regular demand. The enamelled-ware and China glass has entered the houses of the rich only. In a poor man's house the first cannot be properly used and the other cannot be properly handled. The demand for brass and copper-ware from the rural population and the poorer classes in the cities and towns, at least, would thus be as great as ever. The gold thread industry of Yeola and Poona being subsidiary to the silk industry in both the places will always have to depend upon the demand from the silk industry. If the silk industry recovers as a result of some improvements in its organisation, the gold thread industry *pari passu* will recover the ground if it is properly re-organised.

The future of the foot-ware industry does not seem to be gloomy. So far as Indian foot-ware is concerned, we are of opinion that it will continue to have a substantial demand. Many of the writers of the provincial monographs and of the surveys, Mr. Latifi, chief among them¹, in the present century have subscribed to the view that the decay of the Indian foot-ware industry is at hand. We, however, need not entertain such pessimistic doubts. The major portion of the population which yet stays in

¹ See Litifi's Industrial Punjab, 1911.

villages is bare-footed and has a bias in favour of the country shoe. Foot-ware of the European type has not yet penetrated the rural market to any considerable extent. There are also possibilities of an increase in the local manufacture of European type of foot-ware with the increased facilities for securing leather tanned by European methods. In view of the fact that the Indian mochi is not less efficient than the western shoe-maker, the demand for European type of foot-ware can be met by him, even if there is going to be a distinct tendency towards increasing use of European foot-ware. Hence in the Indian and European foot-ware industry there is no fear of a fall in demand and if the industry is well-organised and placed on sound footing, a successful career for the leather handicraft may be legitimately expected.

With regard to the minor handicrafts, under which we put paper, calico printing, dyeing, etc. etc., a change in the types of production may save them. The manufacture of artistic and other varieties of paper may give increased employment to the few paper-makers of the Deccan. The printing of improved designs on cloths, may also improve the position of the Khandesh calico-printers. The dyeing industry, which at present is subsidiary to the hand-loom industry, may also thrive in future, with the increased activity in the hand-loom industry.

A solution of the present problems and the removal of present handicaps which the Deccan handicrafts are subjected to can, thus, be profitably studied. We would indicate the general lines along which the development should proceed. Before this is done it would be better if the activities of the Government in this direction, so far, are reviewed in brief. This would give us an idea as to what the achievements of the State have been so far and would enable us to see what remains to be done in this respect.

CHAPTER IV

REVIEW OF STATE POLICY TOWARDS HANDICRAFTS

(With particular reference to the Bombay Presidency.)

SECTION I

Policy of the Central Government

It should be noted that the provincial governments were given full powers with regard to the development of the industries in their respective provinces, only after the 1919 Reforms were inaugurated. Before that time the Government of India dictated the policy for the provinces. Only a small measure of responsibility with regard to the industrial policy was given to some selected provinces. It must also be remembered that till 1919, the Government of India themselves had no freedom with regard to industrial policy and had to carry out the dictates of the Home Government, who really laid down the fiscal policy for India. The year 1919 marks a definite change at least so far as the policy towards the handicrafts is concerned.

We need not recount at any length the 'Colonial Policy' of the early British period. The main features of this policy were the forcing of the British manufactures on Indian markets and shutting out from the English markets the Indian products by heavy customs tariffs. The 'ruthless destruction of the Indian industries' for the promotion of the British industries was the natural expression of this policy "by which the whole manufacturing population of India was held in thralldom by the Company and their servants."¹ The Minutes of Evidence on the "Affairs of the East India Company" (1813, 1833, etc.) bear testimony to these trends of the British policy. Having completely ruined the Indian industries, it was in the interest of the British manufacturers and merchants and their representatives in both the houses of the Parliament, to regard India as a purely agricultural country. This was clearly seen in the report of the House of Commons Select Committee, 1840, on the Indian affairs. This

¹ R. C. Dutt, *Economic History of British India*.

Committee was appointed to report on the petition made by the East India Company to remove the invidious duties which discouraged and repressed the Indian industries. The die-hard members of the Committee argued that the destruction of Indian industries was a '*fait accompli*' and therefore it would not be wise to rejuvenate them at the expense of the English industries. The Committee recommended equalising of duties only on articles which had ceased to be exported from India in appreciable quantities.

Then followed a very long period of '*Laissez Faire*' which held the field right into the first decade of the present century. The Government allowed the already emaciated indigenous industries to die a slow death in the face of the fierce machine competition from abroad, and viewed the decay with indifference. Behind this Free trade doctrine, to which India was asked to conform by the Home Government, there was the dominant 'larger interest' of the Empire and it was in the fitness of things for the Indian Government to have no interest in the Indian handicrafts, beyond 'predatory interest' with a view to dissiminating information about Indian handicraft products in England, so that suitable cheap wares might be produced in England either on machines or in the handicraft establishments.¹

The series of wide-spread famines in the last quarter of the 19th century and the consequent unemployment in the major handicrafts like weaving directed the attention of the Indian Government to at least one stage in the decline of the handicrafts. The Royal Commission of 1880 on famines pointed out that in an agricultural country like India, which has to depend for its prosperity on the vagaries of the monsoon, the importance of developing subsidiary handicrafts, as alternative means of earnings, is supreme. As a practical step towards that end the Commission suggested that the handicraftsmen who were affected by famines, should be given a relief in their own trades, not only with a view to provide 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." This recommendation was accepted only in a half-hearted fashion and relief was organised by some provincial Governments for the weavers only in their own

¹ A. K. Connel, *Economic Revolution of India*, 1883, p. 52.

trade. The Bombay Government, *e.g.*, gave relief to weavers in their own trade on a very meagre scale. This was due to the exaggerated idea of the Bombay Government regarding the difficulty and the cost of organising relief to weavers 'in their own craft.' As an alternative the Bombay Government resolved to encourage the Municipalities to undertake relief works, for which the Local Self-Government Act was amended. Yeola and Sholapur Municipalities in the Deccan and the Gokak Municipality in the Karnatak undertook the relief "which was cheap and acceptable to the people and avoided the risk of breaking the connection with their hereditary trade." But this small relief had very little effect on the weavers in the Presidency and in 1890—92 no less than 13,324 craftsmen had to resort to general relief work. As compared with this the Madras Government spent Rs. 11,49,095 on relief work in the Weaving trade and Central Province spent Rs. 1,26,412.¹ The 1898 Commission pointed out that a relief in trade, was to be always preferred to relief in general works and pointed out that it would also not prove very costly as in the Central Provinces the cost of relief in trade per capita was 2.8 pies as against annas 1.8 per capita in general relief work. No heed was paid to this recommendation of the Commission. The 1901 Famine Commission again recommended a wholesale relief in trade, but without any tangible results.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the Government of India ordered the provinces to carry out investigations in the economic conditions of some important handicrafts. Between 1884 and 1908, a series of monographs was written; but nothing further was done. Along with these monographs, some provincial Governments had carried out surveys of handicrafts, on their own initiative without leading to any practical measures. These monographs and surveys could be of value only if used as the basis for a scheme of handicraft development.

In 1903 the Industrial Education Committee was appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the conditions and progress of technical and industrial training and to suggest ways and means of spreading it. The recommendations of the Committee were all pigeon-holed. Only a few progressive provinces like Madras, Bengal and United Provinces increased their acti-

¹ Report, Famine Commission, 1896, p. 217.

vities in the direction of industrial training. Further, exhibitions like the Coronation Durbar Exhibition, the peripatetic demonstrations of the improved processes in some handicrafts, like weaving and dyeing etc. were carried on by the progressive provincial governments in the wake of the general desire for improvement.

All these efforts however, were not much appreciated by the Home Government who tenaciously clung to the doctrine of '*Laissez Faire*' and when in 1907 the Madras Government sought permission from the Home Government to start a Department of Industries, ayowedly with a view to help the handicrafts of that province, the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, unceremoniously rejected the request.

This policy persisted right up to 1914 when the world-war brought about a complete change in the attitude of the Home Government. The war period proved the necessity of developing Indian industries at least with a view to supplement the British industries, which were pre-occupied with supplying the war demand. The remarkable efficiency with which Indian industries provided the sinews of war to the allies also influenced the government. At the instance of the Imperial Legislative Council, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the conditions of Indian industries and to suggest ways and means of developing them. The Commission, among other things, took notice of the Indian handicrafts and being convinced of their importance in the economic life of the country, recommended a series of improvements in finance, marketing, technique, etc. of the handicrafts, along with the improvements in other directions. The Commission suggested the establishment of the Department of Industries in every province, which would be competent to tackle the problems confronting the handicrafts of each province. The 1919 Reforms, which gave a small measure of responsibility to the provinces, created the Department of Industries in every Governor's province and transferred it to the popular control, administered by a minister. This period, therefore, marks a new era, as each province was left to itself to carry out the improvements as best as it could and the Central Government from now onwards paid special attention to all-India questions like the protection of the Indian industries by tariff.

By way of bringing the account of the policy of the Indian Government up-to-date, we may notice that in 1915, according to the

recommendation of the Maclagan Committee on Co-operation, the Imperial Government pointed out to the provinces the necessity of concentrating on non-agricultural credit and non-credit movement with a view to giving financial facilities to the handicrafts and other small scale industries. Then in 1921 and 1922 the Central Government brought about conferences of the Directors of Industries of the different provinces to co-ordinate the efforts of the different provinces and to secure inter-provincial co-operation. These conferences, afforded facilities to the Directors to get themselves acquainted with the detailed improvements carried out by the respective provinces and also with the views of the different Governments on the development of the handicrafts.

With the advent of 'Fiscal Autonomy,' the Government of India appointed a Fiscal Commission in 1923. After a close investigation, the commission recommended 'discriminating protection' as the basis of India's fiscal policy and left the measure of protection for particular industries to be determined by a special Tariff Board. As a result of this, cotton textile, iron and steel, sugar, match, paper and gold-thread industries got protection; the scale of duties differing from industry to industry. This protective tariff with the exception of the tariff for gold-thread industry was primarily meant for large scale industries and the handicrafts in those branches could secure very little advantage, if any.

The tariff on yarn, helped the spinning industry in its competition with foreign countries, but the hand-loom industry stood to gain very little.¹ The recent 50 p.c. *ad valorem* duty on gold-thread has no doubt helped the industry in places like Surat and Benares. It is, however complained that as a result of the higher prices of the gold-thread, the silk weavers in some centres, have suffered. Their case does not seem to have been considered by the Tariff Board. In some cases, the protective tariff has gone definitely against the interest of the handicrafts. For example, the 5% *ad valorem* duty on imported yarn in 1922 and its further increase, in 1927, though beneficial to mill spinning in India, has affected the cotton hand-loom industry to a very great extent. The recent investigations by the Department of Industries in the wages and prices in the hand-loom industry of the Bombay Presidency, have shown that the duty on yarn of higher counts has worked

¹ Report, Madras Textile Conference, 1928-29, p. 3.

against the interests of the weavers.¹ A similar complaint was made by the Madras Textile Conference of 1928-29, which suggested that the duty on 40s and over should be removed. This would show that as a result of the protective tariff, the handicrafts have been rarely benefited and that on the contrary, there is a definite set-back in some cases.

In recent years, the Government of India seem to have interested themselves in the solution of the problems of the handicrafts. With a view to explore the possibilities of extending the facilities for handicraft finance and to improve their working conditions the Government of India had directed the Banking Enquiry Committees, central and provincial, to make some specific recommendations regarding handicrafts. The Royal Commission on Labour was also directed to consider the problem of the labour in the unorganised industries (handicrafts); the Commission brought under their examination, the problem of the conditions of labour in the work-shop handicrafts like carpet and biri making industries.

The Government have further revived the Directors' Conferences. In 1934, the conference of the ministers for industries was convened to enable Government to utilise and distribute properly the grants for Industrial purposes which were to be made out to the provinces from the surpluses in the central budget. The Industrial Research Bureau has been organised from the funds and it would be the business of this institution to conduct industrial research and help the industries. The usefulness of this institution to the handicrafts is yet to be demonstrated. From the same surpluses a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs has been made on provincial basis for helping woollen cottage industry. This is as a result of the recommendations of the Tariff Board on Indian woollen industry.

SECTION II

A Comparative Study of the Policy of the Government of Bombay towards the Handicrafts

We may now examine the policy of the Bombay Government towards the handicrafts. We have already seen that the Provincial Governments were given full powers with regard to their

¹ Annual Report of the Department of Industries, Bombay, 1929-30, p. 30 and 1930-31, p. 33.

policy towards the handicrafts in 1919; and it is from this year onwards that the policy of the different provinces can be correctly judged. As a basis for this discussion, we would indicate the main recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission with regard to the solution of the problems of, and the development of the handicrafts in the Indian provinces. We would then examine how far the Government of this Presidency has been able to carry out into practice the recommendations of the Industrial Commission as also what the other Provinces have done in this respect.

Being convinced of the vitality of the Indian handicrafts and the necessity of preserving and developing them, the Industrial Commission as a first step in this direction recommended the creation of the Department of Industries for each province, with an expert staff to deal with the problems of industries whether large or small. With regard to handicrafts, the Commission recommended that the Department of Industries should undertake three distinct types of functions, viz., (1) Handicraft finance, (2) Technical assistance and (3) Commercial assistance in purchase and sale.

Under these three headings the detailed recommendations of the Commissions were as under:—

(1) *Finance*:—(a) The Provincial Governments through the Department of Industries should give financial help to the various handicrafts by way of industrial loans, wherever the Industrial Co-operative Societies do not exist or are not in a position to adequately finance the handicrafts.¹

(b) Wherever possible the Department of Industries in co-operation with the Department of Co-operative Societies should encourage Industrial Societies to finance the handicrafts. In the Urban areas particularly, the Commission opined that the establishment of the Co-operative Societies of the 'Schulze-Delitsch,' type should be encouraged by the two departments to enable the handicrafts to secure capital on easy terms.

(2) *Technical assistance*:—(a) The Department of Industries should carry out research in the processes of different handicrafts and encourage the use of improved tools and appliances among the artisans by peripatetic demonstrations and by main-

¹ Report of the Commission, p. 196.

taining Demonstration factories with the object of giving industrial training to the artisans and of "improving the local industrial practices."¹ To enable the handicraftsmen to make the best use of improved tools and appliances, the Commission suggested the introduction of the 'Hire-purchase system' similar to one in force in Mysore State from as early as 1916.

(b) The Department of Industries, it was suggested, should maintain in large urban centres of handicrafts, central auxiliary factories employing machinery to carry out some of the processes, particularly the elementary ones, which require much time and labour when carried out by hand.²

(c) The industries department should also encourage the use of electric motors in urban areas in handicrafts in which it is possible to carry out certain processes by the employment of power, without necessarily resulting in the transference of handicrafts to the class of small organised industries.

(d) The department should also give free technical advice and commercial information to those who seek to invest capital in handicrafts and should help the owners of small plants in maintaining them in good condition.

(e) Lastly the department should undertake the industrial training of the artisans on a sound basis and adjust the instruction to the needs of the handicrafts.

(3) *Commercial assistance*:—(a) The Commission emphasised the need of reorganising the distributive aspects of handicrafts and recommended that the department should give a close attention to the purchase of raw materials, the selection of designs and the sale of the product. The proper step in this direction, the Commission pointed out, was that the Demonstration factories should be made a commercial success and should show the artisans the best methods of purchasing raw materials and selling the finished products. The improvement of designs, the Commission suggested, should be secured by co-ordinating the work of the Art-Schools and the Central Handicraft Institutions carrying out research in handicraft problems.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 159-160.

² *Ibid.* p. 161.

(b) The Commission further demonstrated the need of exploiting new markets for handicrafts; and the Department of Industries was charged with the work of organising exhibitions, maintaining emporia, canvassing orders and linking the handicraftsmen with the markets.

These were the main recommendations of the Commission. As a first attempt in implementing these recommendations all the Governors' provinces started Departments of Industries and amended the co-operative laws to cover the field of handicrafts. The provinces which were financially solvent carried into effect many of these recommendations. The Bombay Presidency however did very little. We do not necessarily mean that the other provinces have done all that they could, in the various directions of developing handicrafts. We only emphasise the comparative position which Bombay occupies.

We consider the policy of the Bombay Government under the following heads:—

(1) Financial assistance to the handicrafts, by industrial loans, subsidies, grants, etc.

(2) Technical assistance through demonstrations, introduction of improved processes, research, supply of improved tools and appliances on hire purchase system and free technical advice, etc.

(3) Help in purchase and sale, arranging exhibitions, canvassing orders, maintaining emporia, etc.

(4) Industrial training.

(5) Expenditure of the Government on the Department of Industries as an index of Government policy.

(6) Help in the spread of handicraft co-operation of credit and non-credit types.

In the Bombay Presidency till now no financial assistance of any kind has been given by the Government through the Department of Industries. On the contrary in almost all other important provinces and in some Indian states like Mysore, the passing of the State Aid to Industries Act, has made it possible for the Government to give loans to small industries. In the Punjab the Act was passed in 1923 and came into operation in 1926; in Madras it was passed in 1922; in Bihar and Orissa in 1923; in Central

Province and Bengal, no acts have yet been passed, though bills to that effect had been introduced. Even so in Bengal, industrial loans have been granted as also in the United Provinces. Similarly in Mysore an Act has been in force since 1923. But in all these cases, it must be remembered that the loans, have been mostly to industries other than handicrafts. Small artisans like a weaver or shoe-maker have received very little or no benefit, except probably in the case of the Punjab, where out of the total loans of Rs. 185,000 from 1926 to 1930, Rs. 62,000 have been for weaving, Rs. 5,000 for durrie-making, Rs. 15,000 for cutlery and Rs. 5,000 for calico printing.¹ In Mysore and Madras on the other hand, the loans have been granted to such industries as saw mills, rice mills, sandal-wood concerns, leather tanneries, etc. In Madras particularly though the Act was designed primarily to help the cottage workers, in practice, they were hardly benefited. The non-official opinion was always in favour of restricting the application of the State Aid to Industries Act to the small artisans primarily, while the Cottage Industries Committee and the Department of Industries were generally in favour of extending the operation of the law to industries other than large scale industries irrespective of the economic or financial dependence or otherwise of the personnel engaged in them. The actual disposal of the applications for loans seems to have been largely influenced by the views of the officials. By far the biggest amounts of loans have been made by the Mysore State as can be seen from the following table:—

Table of industrial loans in some provinces and states.²

Province	1924—25	1925—26	1928—29	1929—30
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Punjab	...	...	108,000	100,000
Bengal	...	44,104	92,177	98,954
U. P.	91,900	20,000	...	...
Mysore	...	983,984	...	12,25,593

¹ The Punjab Banking Enquiry Committee, Evidence Vol. II, p. 39.

² This is prepared from the available Annual Reports of the different Departments of Industries. Uniform latest statistics are not available. This table is incomplete owing to the lack of data. We have not included the figures for Madras as they are not available through the Reports of the Department of Industries. Even in the Reports of other Provinces, we do not find the figures for each and every year. An attempt was made to approach the Departments of Industries in different provinces, but with the exception of Mysore, all the provincial departments were unable to supply the figures and they pointed to their annual reports, which proved to be insufficient in this as in many other details.

It is sufficient for our purpose to point out that Bombay has done nothing in this respect till now and it is idle to expect that a State Aid to Industries Act would be forthcoming in the near future. The only instance that occurs readily to our mind in which Government gave financial help to indigenous industry was a small scholarship of Rs. 5,000 to Mr. Shastri, a representative of the Gouri Shankar Gold Thread Factory of Surat, who found it possible to proceed to the continent to study the improved processes in gold-thread industry and to examine the possibility of introducing them in Surat. This took place in 1921-22. Mr. Shastri later on published a report of his survey of the continental gold-thread industry. With the exception of this small help the Bombay Government has rendered no financial assistance either to the small machine industries or to the handicrafts. There seems to be a slight change in government policy with regard to handicraft finance since 1934. In the Fifth Industries Conference held at Simla in 1933, the principle of State Aid to handicrafts was unanimously accepted. With a view to bring this into practice Bombay Government made a token demand of Rs. 10 in the 1934 July Session of the Legislative Council. The demand was carried and the department engaged itself in framing rules and regulations for industrial loans. It, however, seems that the scheme for these industrial loans is not yet finally shaped. It remains to be seen how far the Government go in the direction of handicraft finance.

With regard to technical assistance in the form of research, improvements in processes and the introduction of improved tools and appliances, the Bombay Department of Industries has not gone beyond giving some demonstrations, in improved processes especially in weaving, in the preliminary processes and fly-shuttles, and in the improved processes of dyeing. Over and above this, the department has tried to popularise the fly-shuttles and has devised suitable cottage sizing and warping machines. In 1925-26 there were about 13 demonstrations of improved weaving, sizing, etc., in the whole of the Presidency. Out of these 6 were in the central division. Similarly in 1934-35 out of 21 total demonstrations, 6 were held in the Central Division.¹ These demonstrations move from place to place and attempt to introduce sizing machines of cottage-type and also fly-shuttles. But the results of

¹ Annual Reports of the Department of Industries, 1925-26; 1934-35.

these demonstrations in the textile and dyeing handicrafts have been negligible. The demonstrations in improved sizing machines for instance introduce 2 to 4 sets of the improved machines per year. In beam-warping not more than 20 to 30 beams are introduced per year. The failure of the dyeing demonstration in Malegaon and Sholapur to which we have referred earlier is also another example of the inability of the department to introduce any improvements on an appreciable scale. From the reports of the activities of the department it will be easily seen that weaving alone receives the attention of the department while the other major handicrafts like metal and leather, have so far been neglected. Hitherto only a small report on the tanning industry in the Bombay Presidency has appeared; but it is learnt that the department is now thinking of opening a tanning section for undertaking research in tanning.

No financial help is given to artisans to buy and use the improved machinery, a fact which may also be responsible for the negligible progress of improvements in the processes and the technique of the handicrafts.

In other provinces, the Departments of Industries have done something tangible to popularise the improved processes and to render financial help to buy improved appliances, by the introduction of the system of hire purchase which is worked out in those provinces where a State-Aid to Industries Act is in operation. These provinces by maintaining Research Institutes carry on research in improved processes and appliances and also give help to artisans to improve their processes and install new machinery, by giving technical advice. For instance, the George Town Textile Institute in Madras, produces and supplies machine-made warps to weavers; demonstrates new methods in weaving; devises, manufactures and demonstrates improved handlooms; and undertakes yarn testing, etc.¹ The Saunder's Amarapura Weaving Institute in Burma and the Government Demonstration Weaving Factory in Mysore also do similar work. Over and above this, research is carried on in the handicrafts like leather, silk, metal, etc., in Madras, Bengal and U. P. directly under the guidance and care of the Departments of Industries.

¹ Report of the Department of the Industries, Madras, 1923-24, p. 28.

These departments have been successful in carrying the improvements to the artisan population on a greater scale than in Bombay. In Central Provinces for example, between 1915 and 1929 not less than 25,000 fly-shuttle looms have been introduced and thus more than 50% of the looms in C. P. have now become fly-shuttle looms.¹ Compared with this the attempts of the Bombay department would appear to be meagre.

With regard to the assistance in marketing the finished products of the handicrafts of this presidency, the department has done practically nothing. It takes part in the Annual British Industries Fair and also in the Empire exhibitions. But the results have not been very encouraging as can be seen from the sales and orders secured by Bombay during the 1921 British Industries Fair.²

		Cash sales in Rupees	Value of orders secured in Rupees	Total Transactions in Rupees
U. P.	...	5,340	33,105	38,445
Punjab	...	10,305	12,915	23,220
Burma	...	1,020	8,235	9,255
Bombay	...	465	...	465

(The original figures are in £, they are converted into rupees at the exchange rate of 1 s. 4 d. to the rupee.)

For subsequent years, no figures are easily available. But the history of these years shows that no expansion of the foreign markets with regard to Bombay handicrafts, must have been secured at the hands of the Department of Industries. The figures in the table above show that Bombay benefited the least by the British Industries Fair. This is accounted for by the fact that foreign markets for Indian handicrafts, are only in the realm of artistic handicrafts and luxury products like carpets, artistic and engraved metal pots, costly embroidery, muslin, etc., products in which United Provinces and Punjab excell. Similarly Burma famous for artistic pottery and bamboo work also stood to gain. Bombay Presidency is backward in art-ware industries when compared with the other provinces and has very little to display by way of artistic production.

¹ C. P. Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1930, p. 228.

² Journal of Indian Industries and Labour, Vol. II, p. 549.

In addition to the help through the British Industries Fair the departments in other provinces are in direct touch with the foreign markets and avail themselves of the presence of the Indian Trade Commissioners in foreign countries. They also depute their own representatives to investigate foreign markets. Madras, for instance, sent an expert in lace industry on the continent in 1923—24, to investigate the nature of the demand for lace in those countries. Miss Tweedle who was deputed to report on the possibilities of expanding lace trade of Madras, submitted a report on which the department acted by starting training in lace-making of improved designs and also by requesting the Trade Commissioner in England to secure orders from America. The Bombay Department of Industries could have similarly tried to exploit for instance, the African markets for calico printings of cheaper varieties by deputing a special expert to study the African demand. Nothing of that kind was done.

With regard to the exploitation of the inter-provincial markets and the interior markets of the Bombay Presidency the department has done nothing. It has not encouraged the handicraftsmen to exhibit their products at big fairs in other provinces nor has it secured any orders from other provinces and got the articles produced according to the order. If the Bombay handicrafts have been represented in the All-India exhibitions, it is because of the work of non-official agencies, rather than because of the conscious efforts of the department. Similarly within the province itself in the exhibitions like the Annual Industrial and Trade Exhibitions and Swadeshi Bazaars at Poona, Bombay, etc., the Bombay handicrafts were represented on the initiative of the educated handicraftsmen. The department no doubt took part in some of the local exhibitions but this was restricted to the demonstration of improved hand-loom and preparatory processes.¹

¹ It is learnt that since last year the Department has appointed a Marketing officer for hand-loom products. It remains to be seen how far the hand-loom industry is benefitted by this new activity of the department. The department has also started 5 district co-operative industrial associations in the Presidency for the sale of hand-loom products, out of the funds allocated to Bombay by the Central Government from its budget surpluses. Considering the present position of co-operation here we are doubtful about the immediate usefulness of this scheme. In other provinces the grants are, we think, more judiciously and appropriately spent. Madras, for example, it was recently announced is going to spend its grant in improving the processes and the purchase and sale organi-

Compare with this the efforts in other provinces. The Cawnpore Art Emporium in the United Province has since its inception, served as a sales agency and also as an agency to secure orders from abroad for the artistic handicraft products of United Provinces. The Mysore Department of Industries with a view to give the artisans an opportunity to study the markets first hand and to improve their methods of marketing and advertise the goods widely, deputed some expert artisans to other provinces where similar articles are reported to be manufactured on a large scale.¹ The Saunder's Amarpura Weaving Institute in Burma, and George Town Textile Institute in Madras, serve as permanent museums for hand-loom products and help the artisans and artisan co-operative marketing societies to find the markets for their products. In the Punjab again, the Mayo School of Art, serves as an emporium for the Punjab products.

Now we come to industrial training, the most important function of the Department of Industries in any province. Even before the departments came into existence, Government had in almost all the provinces established art schools which had been giving training in designs, drawing, painting, pottery, etc. The results of these art schools had not reached the artisan industries as in the majority of schools the students were largely recruited from non-artisan classes. Similarly the technical training through workshops was for the benefit of those who in future looked for a career in large scale industries or in industries where mechanical skill was always needed.

The real demarcation between industrial training and technical education was made for the first time by the Simla Education Conference of 1903. Industrial instruction, thenceforth came to be defined as a system which excludes instruction in fine arts, and technical training as one which gives training other than that required by artisans and agriculturists. Industrial instruction or training comes therefore, to mean training in handicrafts and it is this meaning which we have attached to this term, throughout our work. The Technical and Industrial Instruction Com-

¹ Report of the Department of Industries Mysore, 1925-26 p. 10.

sation of the hand-loom industry and in reducing the cost of production. Bengal also would spend some money in carrying out a survey of the hand-loom industry or lines suggested by the two British economists, Dr. Bowley and Mr. Robertson in their report on the reorganisation of the economic intelligence of India.

mittee of 1903, accepted these definitions, and on their strength gave the figures of industrial schools in different provinces for 1903.

The Table of Industrial Schools in different Provinces in 1903

Madras	..	19
Bengal	..	28
Punjab	..	15
Bombay	..	28
Central Provinces	..	20
United Provinces	..	13

It will be seen that in 1903 Bombay and Bengal had the highest number of industrial schools. Madras, Punjab and United Province were backward in the spread of industrial training though in all these provinces handicrafts have figured prominently in the economic activities of the people. In the Bombay Presidency out of the 28 schools, 10 were in the Deccan; out of these 10 schools in the Deccan, 6 were in Poona district, 2 in Ahmednagar, and 1 each in Sholapur and Khandesh.

Between 1903 and 1920 no appreciable progress was made in the spread of industrial training. In 1920 there were 32 industrial and technical schools, excluding the Engineering College and J. J. School of Arts.¹ Of these, 9 schools were for women and girls, 5 were Government schools, 8 Local Board and Municipal schools, 7 Aided Industrial and Technical schools including V. J. Technical school; and 3 were unaided. Out of the 32 schools, 12 for males and 5 for women, were to be found in the Bombay Deccan. On all these schools about Rs. 5,00,000 were spent out of the expenditure of Rs. 10,77,603 on vocational education. Compared with the total expenditure on education of all sorts (Rs. 2,63,42,659) in 1920, the expenditure on vocational training would appear to be low. Considering the number of students taking industrial training (1,566, out of which 321 were in V. J. T. school and 348 girls and women) the expenditure per boy was Rs. 140 per year approximately. The position in the central division was that out of the total 17 Industrial and Technical schools, 5 were for women and girls; the total expenditure on these was Rs. 19,000, the Government having contributed Rs. 4,090. Out

¹ Final Report Bombay Committee on Technical and Industrial Education, 1921-22, pp. 7-9.

of the remaining 12 schools in the Deccan, 5 were in Poona District, 3 in Ahmednagar, 2 in Sholapur and 1 each in Satara and Khandesh. The total number of boys undergoing training in these 12 schools was 491 on whom Rs. 49,434 were spent in all. These figures would amply show how the training had not reached the average artisans nor had the Government made any serious effort to tackle the problem of training in this Presidency.

As a step in the right direction the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee in 1921—22 under the chairmanship of Sir M. Vishweshwaraya. The Committee was asked to examine the then existing conditions of industrial training in the province and to recommend a scheme for the development of industrial instruction. The Committee recommended:—

(1) Three experimental and demonstration stations in close association with industrial and technical schools.

(2) Twelve middle industrial schools, each accommodating 250 pupils at an annual cost of Rs. 5,00,000.

(3) Hundred lower industrial schools with an out-lay of Rs. 7,00,000.

(4) Supplementary classes and courses associated with the technical and industrial schools for short intensive courses in trade and occupations in which the artisans of the locality are engaged. These classes were proposed to be attached to lower industrial and primary schools. The Committee proposed such classes for 7,000 pupils in urban areas and for 10,000 pupils in rural districts.

The Committee did not recommend any age limit for admission as they opined that the object of industrial training was to make a beginning in equipping the population with the elements of industrial education and efficiency without the cramping formalities which under the present conditions operate as a bar to such equipment.

This scheme suggested by the Committee for a 'Ten-year plan' with an additional out-lay of Rs. 41,00,000 within 10 years and a capital out-lay of Rs. 98,00,000 for buildings and equipment, was considered by the Government as too radical. The Committee emphasised the backward conditions of industrial training in the Bombay Presidency, in support of which they pointed out that in England in 1914 out of per 10,000 persons 148 were attending industrial schools; in Ontario in Canada in 1920 the correspond-

ing figure was 100 per 10,000 ; while in Bombay in 1920 one person per 10,000 attended industrial schools. The Committee, therefore, viewed the postponement of the scheme as detrimental to the progress on sound lines and recommended that other sources failing, the expenditure of the scheme should be met by a provincial loan repayable in 30 years. It was thought that if the scheme materialised the proportion of boys attending industrial schools would rise to 20 per 10,000 within ten years in the Presidency.¹ The Government finding that the recommendations of the Committee were such as to land them in heavy expenditure entirely shelved the proposals.

During the period, 1922 and 1930 there has been slight progress in the industrial instruction, not as a result of Government initiative, but as a result of the Municipalities and Local Boards interesting themselves in industrial training. There are Municipal and Local Board industrial classes, where ordinary training in carpentry, smithy, machine fitting, etc., is given. But industrial training as we understand, through special Trade schools or Polytechnic institutes is not yet found in this Presidency. It is very difficult to collect statistics regarding industrial schools, as there has been no proper classification of the existing institutions. Industrial and technical training is yet mixed up. A comparison of the position in different provinces would have been interesting. The Bombay Annual Reports of the Department of Public Instruction give some statistics regarding their number, etc. ; but the classification is faulty. For 1929—30 the report gives a figure of 23 industrial and technical institutions with 2,180 students undergoing training. This figure includes Engineering and Mechanical schools like V. J. T., carpentry and smithy classes, run by the Municipalities, Local Boards, and institutions like Mission schools, etc. These schools hardly help the major handicrafts.

The only schools which have helped the handicrafts to a little extent are the weaving schools and these alone can be considered as industrial schools, from our stand-point. In 1925—26 there were 8 weaving schools in the whole Presidency out of which 3 were in the Bombay Deccan. In 1934—35 there was no change whatsoever in the number of schools either in the Presidency or in the Deccan tract. In 1930—31 the Central Hand-weaving

¹ Report of the Committee, p. 5.

Institute with an annual expenditure of Rs. 5,000 to be run, as an experimental measure to begin with for 3 years, was started in Poona. The object was to give training in improved fly-shuttle weaving and preliminary processes to boys of the weaving castes, who would later on enter their fathers' trade. These boys are admitted in the artisan classes, where the medium of instruction is vernacular. The opening of advanced courses with English as medium of instruction, was intended to prepare experts in hand-loom technology, who would in future either work as masters in hand-weaving schools in the different districts, or would shoulder the responsibility of a manager of a hand-loom factory. The artisan course runs only for 1 year, while the advanced course extends to 2 years. The experience of the last few years shows that the institute has been able to attract weavers' boys, mainly from Poona city to the artisan course only; while in the advanced course the largest percentage of boys under training is from the non-artisan classes.

For the sake of comparison we give below some figures about industrial schools in other provinces. They would show how Bombay is comparatively far behind the other provinces in this important matter. It must, however, be borne in mind that satisfactory statistical data cannot be easily collected and the table is at best a rough indication of the position.

Table of Technical and Industrial schools and the number of pupils undergoing training in different provinces:—¹

Province	1925-26			1929-30		
	Number of Schools Govt and aided	Number of Pupils	Expenditure from Provincial Revenues	Number of Schools Govt and aided	Number of Pupils	Expenditure from Provincial Revenues
Madras	57	2,256	3,98,538	79	5,658	6,42,260
Bengal	113	6,629	3,36,226	120	6,284	5,38,076
U. P.	98	3,900	...	101	...	9,72,338
Punjab	23	2,787	1,59,592	26	3,968	3,70,517
C. P.	8	350	1,57,556	10	477	2,33,208
Bombay	22	1,813	2,36,727	23	2,180	1,97,635
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	...	28	...	5,48,471

¹ Uniform latest figures for the provinces not available. This table is prepared from the Annual Reports of the Departments of Industries in different provinces. Figures for Bombay have been taken from the Reports of the Department of Public Instruction, which does not clearly indicate whether the weaving schools are included in the figure of the total number of industrial and technical schools.

It will be noticed from the table that so far as the number of industrial and technical schools and the number of boys undergoing training is concerned, Bengal stands first. Further the training in other provinces has been of various types, the main branches of training being textile, leather and metal. C. P. specialises in metal trades. Out of the total 10 industrial schools, in that province 9 are metal schools, the remaining being a leather school. Punjab gives training in weaving, metal and carpentry the last accounting for the largest number of boys under training. Out of the total 3,963 boys no less than 1,447 were in carpentry classes in 1929—30. Madras concentrates more on weaving than on other handicrafts. In 1929—30 for example, 607 boys were in weaving schools, 88 in metal schools, and 155 in leather schools. In Bengal, weaving similarly plays an important part and the growth in the number of weaving schools is phenomenal. The United Province schools give training in artistic handicrafts like embroidery, gold thread, weaving, together with training in utility handicrafts as in the case of carpentry schools in Rai Bareilly District. Together with the variety of training, provincial specialisation conscious or unconscious is also visible. Madras specialises in leather trade school, Bengal in silk weaving training with its Bhagalpura silk institute; Central Province in metal trade training and so on.

Finally it is interesting to note that in almost all these provinces liberal grants are given to industrial schools of grant-in-aid types and also semi-government institutions like Municipal and Local Board schools. The Madras Department of Industries gave Rs. 1,38,568 in 1926, by way of grants and the figure was Rs. 3,51,750 in 1929—30. Even in a small province like the Central Province the grants to aided schools stood at Rs. 33,000 in 1925—26 and rose to Rs. 44,000 in 1928—29. Bihar and Orissa also spends a substantial measure of its total expenditure on industrial training, in grants, which came to Rs. 98,962 in 1929—30 including scholarships. Together with these grants, many provinces give liberal scholarships to students undergoing training in Government and aided schools. In Madras, for example, the scholarships account for Rs. 35 to 40 thousand while the Central Province spends almost about the same sum on scholarships.

We have reviewed the work done by the Department of Industries in connection with handicrafts in the province and have also compared it with the work done in other provinces, where

handicrafts play an important part in the economic life of the people. We have seen that what Bombay Government does is little and insufficient in relation to the existing needs of the handicrafts and considerably less even in relation to what the other provinces do.

The most important cause for this unsatisfactory work of the department is the insufficient grant it receives from Bombay Government and the degree of appreciation the Government show for the schemes of the department. We compare below the expenditure of the Bombay Government on the Industries Department with the expenditure in other provinces.

Province	1920—21	1922—23	1925—26	1928—29	1929—30	1933—34
Madras	8,69,190	10,02,666	8,74,200	13,84,450	18,64,622	15,86,200
Punjab	3,50,912	13,81,769	9,69,000	8,48,698	8,46,200	12,11,000
Bombay	1,45,542	2,39,000	67,457	77,669	1,05,924	3,62,900 ¹
C. P.	2,08,069	2,01,301	2,49,636	2,91,268	2,84,911	2,18,000
Bengal	...	...	9,19,957	7,75,887	7,98,567	12,23,000
U. P.	...	...	10,25,465	11,60,010	14,10,000	10,90,000

The table above speaks for itself, and shows the extremely backward condition of the Bombay Department of Industries, paralysed as it is, by 'financial stringency.' Compared with Madras, Bengal and United Province the importance of the Bombay Department of Industries pales into insignificance. Starting with Rs. 73,000 in 1918—19, the highest budget provision for industries is Rs. 2 lakhs and odd in 1922—23; since then the expenditure progressively decreased and showed an increase only since 1930. In other provinces like Madras, Bengal, etc., the budget provision has been continuously increasing, with the exception of the depression years, which have been marked throughout India as years of deficit budgets and general unsettled political conditions. Madras spends the largest amount on industries, and Bengal stands next while Bombay stands last in the table.

A brief analysis of the expenditure of the department for a normal year like 1926—27, would show what the attitude of the

¹ This increase is due to the transfer of grant for technical education (V. J. Technical School and Grant-in-Aid Institutions), from the budget of the Department of Public Instruction to the Department of Industries.

Government has been towards the development of handicrafts. During that year, the expenditure on different heads was :—¹

Rs. 30,800—Head office charges, direction, supervision, etc.

Rs. 44,100—Weaving staff, schools and demonstrations, etc.

Rs. 9,600—Scholarships.

Rs. 3,700—Experimental work.

43.6% of the total expenditure was on weaving, 35% of the total was spent on the administration of the department and the rest on scholarships, experiments, etc. The sum spent on weaving, both for training and development is negligible considering that in this province hand-weaving is the most important handicraft.² Further the office charges accounting for 35% and more of the total expenditure show that the maintenance of the administrative machinery of the department is much heavier than the cost incurred in fulfilling the object for which the department has come into existence. The expenditure on scholarships to artisans' boys might also appear to be very low (Rs. 9,600), considering that the large number of artisans employed in handicrafts are extremely poor, and that the scholarships are avowedly meant to attract an increasing number of the right type of artisan youths.³

¹ Report, Bombay Industries Committee, p. 5.

² According to the estimates of the department 5 lakhs of people are engaged in this industry throughout the province. See S. V. Telang, Report on hand-loom weaving, p. 2.

³ The latest details of expenditure on different heads by the department would show that the position has not much improved after the Bombay Industries Committee reported. In 1934-35 following sums were spent on different heads of expenditure. Expenditure on technical education and on the weights and measures act which came into operation in 1935, is excluded. (See Government of Bombay Provincial Accounts 1934-35, pp. 259-263.)

	Rs.
Direction ..	31,762
Supervision ..	12,480
(weaving establishment and its allowance)	
Industrial education ..	49,784
Industrial development ..	25,827

Under Industrial education expenditure on weaving schools demonstrations, etc., was Rs. 28,240 and scholarships accounted for only Rs. 7,060, scholarships to weavers amounted to only Rs. 3,440. Under industrial development almost the entire sum was spent on high salaried officers their allowances and contingencies. This is the section of the Industrial chemist. Benefit of this section to handicrafts is doubtful.

Another method of rendering help to handicrafts is the promotion, encouragement and organisation of the Co-operative movement, both for credit and non-credit work like production, sale and purchase. We shall review the achievements of the Bombay Government in the field of handicraft co-operation, judged solely from the growth of co-operative societies of different types and compare it with the growth of handicraft co-operation in other provinces.

The Co-operative movement was initiated by the different Provincial governments after the passing of the 1904 Co-operative Societies Act. Till 1905—06 nothing was done to promote Co-operation among the handicrafts of different provinces. Even in 1905 only a beginning was made in the direction of starting co-operative credit societies for handicraftsmen and these societies were first started among hand-loom weavers. Thus in Bombay, a weavers' credit society was started in 1905—06; in Madras the Conjeevaram Weavers' Society was the first to be started; in U. P. and C. P. the societies came into being in 1906—07. In the former the Benares Silk Weavers' Society was the first to be started, while in C. P. there was one Urban Bank which gave credit to artisans, especially to weavers.

By 1910—11 in Bombay Presidency, especially in Satara district of the Bombay Deccan, a number of societies among leather-workers were started and they promised to play a very important part in the artisan-co-operation of the province, so much so, that it led Mr. Campbell, the then Registrar of Co-operative Societies to remark that "leather may have a future before it."¹ But immediately after their establishment, these societies showed a tendency towards degeneration and by 1912—13 their management came to be characterised as "scarcely with an exception below contempt."²

In 1912, the Co-operative Act was amended in Bombay and this definitely contemplated artisan co-operation for the first time. The preamble of that Act gave facilities "for the promotion of co-operative societies, for the promotion of thrift and self-help among artisans," along with agriculturists and other persons of limited means. In the same year, due to famine conditions the existing weavers' co-operative societies were unable to command credit.

¹ Annual Report of the Co-operative Societies, 1910-11, p. 8.

² Annual Report of the Co-operative Societies, Bombay, 1912-13.

By a special Government Resolution (May 1912), therefore, the Government gave a loan of Rs. 10,000 to weavers' societies of the Presidency, which then numbered 19 in the whole of the Presidency, 5 of which were in the Deccan.

By 1915, the Maclagan Committee on Co-operation, appointed by the Government of India, stressed the importance of developing artisan co-operation, among different handicrafts and all the provinces henceforth began to give attention to this side of the co-operative movement. The following table shows the progress of the weavers' co-operative societies in Bombay Presidency between 1915-16 and 1929-30. Separate figures for the Deccan are not available.

Table of the Progress of Weavers' Co-operation in Bombay Presidency, between 1915-16 and 1929-30

Year	Number of Societies	Number of Members in Thousands	Working Capital Rupees in Thousands	Sale Proceeds Rupees in Thousands	Profit Rupees in Thousands
1915-16 ...	31	2.2	123.9	...	...
1921-22 ...	49	2.8	316	299	10
1925-26 ...	60	3	300	250	7
1929-30 ...	55	2.4	274.5	238.4	3.4
1930-31 ...	52	2.28	267.7	199.9	3.4

The beginning of the war hit the weavers' co-operative societies, more than it did the other types of co-operation. Due to sharp rise of yarn prices and famine prices of chemical dyes, the weavers' societies could not adjust the sale and purchase of yarn, wherever such business was undertaken, nor could they adjust the grants of credit to members according to their needs. Mismanagement and faulty accounts further worsened the position. During April-October of 1918 the yarn prices reached a record figure of Rs. 22 per 10 lbs. and many societies and individual weavers stocked yarn in anticipation of a further rise; but after October the prices fell to Rs. 10 per 10 lbs. and the societies sustained heavy losses.¹ Floods, Famine, Plague and Influenza further drained the weavers' societies.

Judged from the financial position of the societies, their sale and purchase transactions and their profits, the most satisfactory results may be said to have been attained in 1921, when the post-war depression had not made itself definitely felt. By 1925-26;

¹ Annual Report of the Co-operative Societies, Bombay, 1918-19.

the number of societies stood at a record figure of 60 ; but due to post-war depression, the societies were not able to show satisfactory results in their transactions. Since 1930 the number has dwindled and the societies have suffered due to general economic depression. In 1925—26 an attempt was made by the Co-operative Department to market the product of the weavers' societies. A special bazaar¹ was held in Poona, by the department, and a shop was opened in Poona where the cloth of the weavers' societies could be sold. By 1926—27, however, the Poona shop had already proved a failure.

The weavers' societies have mostly assisted members with short-term credits, facilities for purchasing yarn and advancing loans on the security of the finished articles. This, however, is not enough and the societies must, if they are to be successful, undertake purchase and sale business on considerable scale. This business cannot yet be undertaken by the vast majority of the societies on account of its complex character. To add to this general difficulty, the societies suffer from inadequate finance, opposition of the vested interests and disloyalty of members.

The only other important type of societies, which demands our attention is the metal-workers' society, which wherever it came into being has been noted for its reckless career. The leather workers' societies need not detain us, as after 1912—13, they have showed no progress. It was in 1920 that for the brass and copper-ware industry a society was established in Poona, with 85 members and with a capital of Rs. 4,000. In 1921—22 it had a working capital of Rs. 41,000 and profits amounted to the extent of Rs. 6,000. In Satara a brass workers' society was started in 1922, with a share capital of Rs. 2,000. By 1923—24 Poona and Satara societies had a share capital of Rs. 42,000 and Rs. 47,000 respectively. The profits of the Poona society amounted to Rs. 5,000, which enabled the society to declare a dividend of 6% with a bonus of 8%. Satara society however, did not work well and had a profit of only about Rs. 400. From 1925 both these societies began to give unsatisfactory results and in 1926—27, both of them suffered heavy losses due to the slump in metal trade and local opposition, a state which continued right to the end of 1929. By 1932 both the Poona and Satara societies had disrupted. In the

¹ 'Bazar' is sometimes used to signify exhibition of a comparatively longer duration.

same year a society of gold and silver thread producers, was started in Poona ; but it has yet shown very little progress.

The year 1929 saw the establishment of the Maharashtra Industrial Co-operative Agency which is the only of its kind introduced so far in this Presidency, and its idea is to attempt something which was till recently absent in the field of co-operation. The real work of the agency started only in 1931. The institution undertakes to sell the products of its members and finances them on the hypothecation system. It borrows from the Central Bank at the rate of 7 to 8% and charges 8 to 9% to its members. As per its objects the agency has tried to supply raw materials to and to sell the finished products of its members. Though it chiefly concerns itself with helping large scale industries and small scale industries like knitting hosiery, etc., it has also tried to do a little in the field of handicraft. It has, for instance, supplied yarn to weavers particularly to the gold thread weavers' society. The agency however has yet to make a considerable headway before its advantages are demonstrated and realised by the Deccan handicrafts.

These in short are the types of handicraft societies in the Bombay Presidency. All of them at present find themselves working under difficult conditions. Compared with these unsatisfactory conditions of the handicraft societies in Bombay, those in other provinces are in a better position and are successful to some extent. This can be seen from the fact that in Bengal and the Punjab in 1928—29, for which figures are available,¹ there were 449 artisan societies with 9,000 members and 315 societies with 5,500 members, respectively.²

Province	Weavers	Leather	Conch Shell	Cocoon reeler	Other Trades
Bengal	... 290	9	10	83	57
Punjab	... 200	50	...	...	64

¹ Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Bengal, p. 145 and Punjab Report, Evidence Vol. II, p. 327.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145 and p. 327.

SECTION III

Non-Official Efforts at Development and Encouragement of Handicrafts

We might note in broad outlines, the public or non-official efforts at encouragement and rejuvenation of Indian handicrafts in general and in the Bombay Presidency in particular. At the outset, it should be noted that sufficient statistics in this connection are not available; nor, was it possible to conduct any independent enquiry in the field.

It took a very long time before India became conscious of the economic effects of the British rule. The old belief in "Divine dispensation" came gradually to be replaced by a positive disapproval of the economic policy of the British Government in India. This public opinion against state policy was only a preliminary to organised efforts of a positive kind. The first non-official effort in the direction of developing and encouraging Indian industries both large and small was a series of Industrial Conferences from 1905 to 1912. The important outcome of these conferences was that among the educated and literate population of India there appeared a general desire to promote Indian industrial activities. Among the politically conscious classes in India a preference for Indian goods replaced to a small extent the blind dislike of everything that was Indian. This was the seed of 'Swadeshi.' The preference for Indian products, must have helped Indian industries and encouraged them to a certain extent; the effect was remarkably seen in the rise of some miscellaneous industries carried on on comparatively small scale, e.g., soap, scents, oils, toilet, pencils, etc.

The second and the third decades of this century witnessed a growth in the influence of the Indian National Congress. The war and the post-war Indian politics resulted in the inauguration of the famous non-co-operation movement. The main planks of it on the economic side were the promotion and encouragement of the Indian industries in general and hand-spinning and hand-weaving in particular. The boycott and Swadeshi must have helped the Indian industries and handicrafts, to a certain extent. Further, preference for Indian-made goods came now to be definitely recognised as a basis for the rehabilitation of the Indian industrial life.

its position in the sphere of Swadeshi in general and Khaddar in particular. Henceforth All-India Khaddar and Swadeshi Exhibitions became a common feature of the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress. In 1925 the All-India Spinners' Association came into being and took over the Khaddar work of the All-India Khaddar Board which had functioned as a special department of the Indian National Congress. We may also refer to the inauguration of the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1930 and its revival in 1932 and to the intense Swadeshi activity and fierce boycott of British goods and foreign cloth both of which have helped a great deal in revitalising industrial India.¹

The All India Spinners' Association has in recent years served as a valuable adjunct of the Indian National Congress in its efforts to promote hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The latest figures, 1933-34, would show how the All-India Spinners' Association has spread its activities in all the corners of India. The most important province which the association has been able to organise extensively and intensively is the Tamilnad, where its work was facilitated by the local hand-spinning and hand-weaving activity. The association has transactions with approximately 564 Khadi depots, out of which 299 are the depots of the association itself and the rest recognised by the association as independent or aided.² The total production in 1933-34 amounted to Rs. 34,06,380 of which Maharashtra³ contributed Rs. 2,83,923 and Tamilnal and Kerala contributed Rs. 6,90,535.

The following table would give the figures for some provinces for 1933-34 and illustrate the extent of the activities of the association.⁴

¹ Series of articles in the Bombay Chronicle, 1930-31, issued under the heading "Ethics and Economics of Boycott."

² These and the following figures have been taken from the Annual Report of the All-India Spinners' Association for 1933-34.

³ This comprises of the Marathi speaking districts in the Central Division of the Bombay Presidency and the districts of the Central Provinces and Berar.

⁴ Report, All-India Spinners' Association, 1934, pp. 21-30.

and ceases to claim the special immunities and privileges granted to the artisans.

The most advanced legislation in favour of handicrafts has been undertaken by the State in Germany. The 1869 law of the Northern German Federation, recognised the guilds as the only corporations within the sphere of handicraft activity enjoying civic rights.¹

As necessity arose guild activity grew stronger and 1897 saw the beginning of State interference and the passing of the law for the protection of handicrafts. The guilds were given legal rights to enforce their decisions regarding apprenticeship and mastership and since then a series of laws have been passed to strengthen the guild and chamber organisation in handicrafts. The latest has been the issue of regulations in Germany for reorganisation of craft chambers and craftsmen's examination.²

The 1908 law enforced the 'Fitness certificates' and made it compulsory for all craftsmen to pass the apprenticeship, journeyman and mastership examinations, held by the chambers, before they could work as independent masters or take under training any apprentice or employ journeymen. This law was meant to preserve the essentials of handicraft skill and prevent it from being debased.

As a result of the passing of the 1919 legislation, the Empire Organisation of German Handicrafts (*Reichs Verband*) was established.³ It had for its constituents, handicraft and industrial chambers, guilds, handicraft co-operatives, handicraft associations, Handicraft *Bunde* and private handicraft insurance companies. This empire organisation secures the place of the German handicrafts in the economic frame-work of Germany and acts in furtherance of handicraft interests. It is in close touch with the state and its ramifications and has its headquarter in Berlin.

¹ For this and the following enactments see *Das Duetsche Hand-werk*, Vol. I, 1930, and Carl Hauszler, *Das Hand-werk in Staat Und Wirtschaft*, 1930, Chapters on Handicraft Insurance, and 'Handicraft Politics in State and Municipality.'

² Industrial and Labour Information, Jan-March, 1935, p. 176.

³ Carl Hauszler, *Hand-werk in Staat Und Wirtschaft*, 1930, p. 296.

In 1920, by another enactment, the guild membership was made compulsory for all handicraftsmen and by 1930 the membership had risen to 9,69,676 from 4,77,345 in 1907.¹

In social legislation, the 1897 law had already enforced compulsory insurance in some trades and after 1906 private or voluntary insurance at the instance of the handicraft guilds had made a considerable headway. Since then Insurance both compulsory and voluntary for un-employment, sickness, old-age, etc., has been growing steadily among handicrafts. In War time the Government had already prohibited night work in handicrafts (*Schwarz Arbeit*). The 1923 Home-work Act introduced statutory minimum wages in home industries. This was amended in 1933 and conciliation boards and occupational committees for home industries were established.² In 1934 again Home-work Act was amended. This regulates the registration of home-workers, wage lists, hours of work and sharing of available work.³

1924 saw the establishment of a Department of Small Industries in the Federal Ministry of National Economy at the desire of the *Reichs Verband*. This was expressed in a Conference held in 1924.⁴ This was immediately followed by an Act in 1926 which laid down that all government departments and local authorities should enter into contracts for work, particularly in building construction, directly with handicraftsmen without the intervention of any capitalist employer.⁵

In 1928 the 1897 Act was amended to regulate the occupational organisation on scientific basis. The Bill provided for the preparation of lists of craftsmen, which would be useful for the compilation of handicraft statistics. The Bill further provided for the determination of the nature of undertaking and made it possible to maintain correct statistics.⁶

In 1929, a close enquiry was undertaken, in the economic conditions of handicrafts in Germany by a committee. The most important conclusion reached by the committee was that there

¹ Encyclopædia of Social Sciences, Vol. VII, p. 257.

² Industrial and Labour Information, April-June, 1933, p. 321.

³ Industrial and Labour Information, April-June, 1934, p. 71.

⁴ Industrial and Labour Information, April-June, 1930, p. 82.

⁵ Das Duetsche Handwerk, Vol. I, pp. 315-16.

⁶ Industrial and Labour Information, Jan.-March, 1929, pp. 122-23.

Province	Value of Production in Rupees	Value of Sales in Rupees	Number of Khadi Depots	Number of villages touched by A. I. S. A.	Number of Spinners	Number of Weavers
Andhra ...	4,09,647	4,19,944	75	827	53,065	1,710
Bihar ...	2,23,523	2,47,548	55	546	11,585	472
Gujarath ...	20,034	4,08,760	25	3	23	4
Karnatik ...	76,276	2,07,084	36	177	2,151	136
Maharashtra ...	2,83,923	3,31,136	27	347	12,731	1,865
Punjab ...	1,92,667	1,61,031	22	439	89,791	1,432
Tamilnad ...	6,90,535	7,57,060	91	1,633	22,363	1,708
Bengal ...	2,37,868	3,73,900	58	155	1,500	199
Total for India ¹ ...	34,06,380	46,67,125	564	...	...	...

Now going into a few details about the khaddar activities in Maharashtra it should be noted that in the Bombay Deccan there is not a single important centre of production of khaddar run by the All-India Spinners' Association. The entire khaddar production of Maharashtra is concentrated in the Central Provinces and Berar while there are only two independent private organisations one in Malpur (West Khandesh) and the other in Asoda (East Khandesh) which have been recognised by the association as genuine producers of khaddar. In Maharashtra there were in 1930-31 about 12 sale depots run by the association, Poona and Dhulia being the most important.² There is one depot at Jalgaon aided by the association which had a monthly sale of about Rs. 2,000 in that year. The following figures represent the monthly sale of khaddar in different district towns of the Bombay Deccan in 1930-31.³

	Rs.
Poona ..	4,000
Dhulia ..	1,650
Satara ..	650
Ahmednagar ..	900
Nasik ..	500
Sholapur ..	500

The statistics of Khaddar production show that production either under the auspices of the All India Spinners' Association

¹ Figures for the last three columns are not available in the report.

² Latest details and figures about Maharashtra are not available.

³ Latest figures are not available.

or under its patronage, has not yet penetrated or taken root in the Bombay Deccan in a manner in which it has done in some other parts of the country.

We may finally note that the activity of the All India Spinners' association is the only one for which statistical data is available. Nothing could be said about the push given from time to time to handicraft development by swadeshi and boycott movements since 1907. They must have had some stimulating effect. No measure, however, is possible.

SECTION IV

State Policy in Foreign Countries

We may now study in brief, the policy followed by some foreign governments with regard to handicrafts in their respective countries. A complete survey of the policy in foreign countries is out of the scope of this work and is not necessary. We shall review the policy mainly of Germany and some other countries with regard to handicrafts. This will show how the policy in the important foreign countries, is far more enlightened and more suited to the needs of the handicrafts, than it has been in the Indian provinces and more particularly in the Bombay Presidency.

We shall discuss State assistance to handicrafts in the foreign countries, under the following heads:—

1. State legislation on economic, social and political problems of handicrafts.
2. Direct financial and technical help and patronage to handicrafts.
3. Industrial training in handicrafts.
4. State efforts at the spread of the co-operation.

As pointed out earlier,¹ the national laws give a definite statutory recognition to the handicraft structure. They have directly helped the survival and the effective development of the handicraft as a system of production by laying down that above such and such a limit the enterprise ceases to be a handicraft enterprise

¹ Ante, pp. 4-5.

was no longer any question of the decline of handicrafts such as the one that occurred at the end of the 19th century and that in spite of the post-war depression, the handicrafts were strong enough to maintain their position by the rationalisation of technical and commercial organisation. The same year gave a constitutional vote to the handicrafts and their organisations and by their representation in the Federal and State legislatures, constitutional safeguards in the interest of handicrafts were secured.¹

This single instance of Germany, which has consistently recognised handicraft as a definite system and type of work in the economic activities of its people, is enough to show how the state can actively interest itself in the stabilisation and encouragement of handicrafts.

The second method is financial and technical assistance to handicrafts and a State patronage of their products. In Germany direct financial and technical assistance is never given by the federal government, as owing to highly organised industrial and co-operative banking, credit facilities by the State are not found to be necessary. Technical assistance is indirectly given by helping the Berlin Handicraft Research Institute, established in 1919, in carrying on the investigations with regard to economics and rationalisation of manufacture, technical inventions, etc.

The municipalities in Germany encourage and assist handicrafts by supplying power at cheap rates, making advances to handicraftsmen often upto the amount of £300 repayable within five years. In some cases as in the case of St. Johann-Saarbrücken Municipality, small artisans are provided with gas engines and electric motors; while there are municipalities which undertake technical and industrial training.² Another way in which the municipalities have been encouraging handicrafts is by giving preference to the products of local handicrafts, over the external handicrafts, i.e., handicrafts of other communes. But the growth of direct municipal enterprise has acted against this principle in some respects and has often been a matter for complaint in handicraft quarters.³

¹ C. Hauszier, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

² W. H. Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany, 1914*, pp. 242-43 and pp. 324-25.

³ C. Hauszier, *op. cit.* chapter on handicraft politics and municipality.

In Russia between 1905-1914, direct financial help was given to Kustar Industry (handicrafts), by the Government as well as the zemstovs in the form of advancing credits through the establishment of Industrial Bank for Kustar Industry. Technical assistance was given to them by the establishment of technical and industrial schools; patronage was given to them by maintaining a Kustar Museum at Petrograd and running Kustar exhibitions.¹ Even under the Soviet regime, prior to 1928, i.e., prior to the inauguration of the Five-year plan, the Kustars were helped by the Decree passed on 26th April 1918. By that Decree the articles manufactured from materials provided by the State or Kustar co-operatives, were to be delivered to the respective organisations; articles made from materials prepared by Kustars themselves were to be given to State and were subject to general state control in the matter of distribution. The most important aspect of this Decree from the view point of Kustar finance, was that the State kept at the disposal of the Kustars, the raw materials, which were not serviceable for large undertakings and further the Kustars were to be helped actively in the manufacture of articles, purchase of raw materials and elimination of unnecessary processes, etc.²

Another instance of state assistance to handicrafts, both financial and technical is the passing of a bill, 1928, in Belgium³ to guarantee credit for craftsmen's equipment. The Bill provides help to the artisans in the modernisation of their equipment; financial assistance to buy the equipment, was made available by making the Savings and Pensions Banks lend its aid for modernisation, the Government having guaranteed under the Bill, 15 million francs to the Bank. The condition imposed on the craftsmen was that before getting credit from the Bank, they had to underwrite a share of responsibility in the local Mutual Guarantee Society.⁴

¹ M. Miller, *Economic Development of Russia between 1905-1914*, 1926, p. 229.

² Decree quoted by Z. Stencel-Lensky in *Co-operation in Soviet Russia*, pp. 42-43.

³ We may incidentally note that on 11th Sept. 1933 a royal order was issued determining the conditions under which Home workers can be admitted to unemployment insurance. We may also note that on 8th Feb. 1934, a Homework Act regarding wages and hygiene was passed enabling Belgium to adopt the convention for minimum wage fixing machinery. *Industrial and Labour Information*, Oct.-Dec., 1933, p. 241 and Jan.-Mar., 1934, p. 358.

⁴ *Industrial and Labour Information*, Jan.-March, 1929, pp. 123-24.

Quite another type of assistance from the State is the credit given to craftsmen in Jugoslavia. The National Bank had been giving credit to craftsmen prior to the establishment of craftsmen's bank in 1927. In 1923, the National Bank gave loans to the extent of 11 million dinars (Rs. 6.5 millions approximately) while those in 1926 amounted to 43 million dinars (Rs. 25.5 millions approximately). In 1927 the craftsmen's bank was set up with a capital of 75 million dinars (Rs. 44.5 millions approximately). Of this 40% was held by the State and remaining by the craftsmen themselves. In 1927-28 the bank gave credits of 69 million dinars (Rs. 41 millions approximately) to 7,000 craftsmen, each having an average loan of 4 to 10 thousand dinars. In 1929 an equal capital was lent out by the Bank to about 6,000 applicants of whom 5,000 were members of 63 Co-operative Societies of Handicraftsmen.¹

In France we may note that the law of 1922 gave legal recognition to the handicraft as a definite system of production and the artisans were given a constitutional representation. The formation of a parliamentary group of artisans followed this enactment and the representatives of the handicraftsmen sought to secure sanction of the French Assembly for some measures in the interest of the handicrafts. In 1923 a law was introduced with a view to give credit facilities to Petit artisans. The law defined the terms, the big, the small, and the out-worker artisans, and gave the last two, credit facilities and exemption from taxation. The same law prohibited the urban banks from granting credits to agricultural societies and directed them to concentrate on handicraft finance. For the purposes of feeding these banks a producers' bank was established by law exclusively to finance the urban banks and the handicraft societies. Further in 1925 statutory recognition was given to Handicraft Chambers and their confederation was given the position of an adviser to the State in matters of handicraft legislation.²

¹ Industrial and Labour Information, Vol. 30, 1929, pp. 54-55.

² During the present depression, which was very acute in the case of the French craftsmen, a legal provision was made to give unemployment relief to them and sums to the extent of 2.7 crore francs were sanctioned by the French government. Industrial and Labour Information, April-June, 1932, p. 372. By another act in 1931 craftsmen's wages were given a right of priority in the claims on a debtor. The categories of craftsmen specially included were weavers, lace workers, braid makers, etc. *ibid.*, p. 224.

In industrial training, we have seen how the German government has controlled from time to time the apprenticeship system, how the German municipalities have been rendering industrial instruction within their jurisdiction and how even the Tzarist Russia, had given some training in Kustar industries. We may refer to German legislation of 1928, when the Vocational Training Bill was passed, in the preamble of which the importance of handicrafts as recruiting fields even for large scale industries was stressed. The bill made a provision for empowering the master craftsmen to train apprentices if they had passed the mastership examination. In Germany, in 1926, there were 85 handicraft schools, some poly-technic and some teaching special crafts.¹ In these schools there are three types of study—artistic aspect, manufacture and technique and business or commercial skill of the craft. The most important schools among these, are the Locksmith's school of Rosswien in Bavaria, Waerttemberg Precious Metal school, Erefeld Dyeing school, Sieburlehen Shoe-making school, Dresden Tailoring school, etc. These schools have democratised inventions, industrial skill and scientific knowledge among the Germans and as Prof. Sirkar says "...the back-bone of industrial Germany is built up on the nature furnished by theseschools.....which although bearing the modest name of 'schule,' have not failed to maintain a standard of tuition sufficiently high such as may enable the scholars to take charge of factories and workshops as responsible 'fachmaener' or experts....." ²

Russia may be cited as another example, where in 1924, there were 1,408 vocational schools with 110 thousand pupils, 595 short-term courses with 41 thousand pupils and 85 model schools with 3 thousand pupils. The total expenditure incurred by the State was 16 million Roubles (Rs. 25.4 millions approximately) i.e., two-fifth of the expenditure in 1914, when only one-fourth of the number of schools in 1924, were being run by the Government.³ Even under five-year plan an order was promulgated in 1933 regarding the regulation of apprenticeship of craftsmen.⁴

¹ B. K. Sirkar, *Economic Development*, 1926, pp. 221-224.

² *Ibid.* p. 221.

³ *International Labour Review*, 1925, Vol. II, pp. 505-521.

⁴ *Industrial and Labour Information*, July-Sept., 1933, p. 304.

In Japan, where handicrafts have a definite place in national economics, there were 14,953 vocational schools with 1.4 million learners in 1925. These schools over and above the usual courses specialise in lectures on handicraft subjects and on subjects of common interest to handicraftsmen, delivered by experts in the respective handicrafts and industries.¹ Over and above these there are specialised craft schools which prepare skilled labour for handicrafts. Such schools with highly advanced courses numbered 113 in 1932.²

With regard to co-operation in handicrafts, a comparison of handicraft co-operation in Indian Provinces, with the handicraft co-operation in countries, where it has definitely been initiated by the State and been under its control, is alone correct and possible. The obvious reason for this is that in India co-operation has been the outcome of State initiative. We, therefore, take co-operation in Japan, Russia (prior to 1927—28) and post-war Yugoslavia as illustrative of State efforts. Finally as a guiding example we would refer in short to handicraft co-operation in Germany.

Though the Japanese co-operative movement was mainly the result of State effort, the success in alien forms of co-operation was due to the continuous and successful operations over a wide area, of the indigenous forms of co-operation, viz., Mujin and Hotokusha, by which the native genius had solved in the past the problem of popular finance.³ Bearing in mind this distinction between the Indian and Japanese basis of State-initiated co-operation, it is interesting to note that in Japan in 1921 purchasing societies occupied a place next to credit societies in the order of importance. Out of a total of about 13,700 societies, credit societies with other types of business, like marketing, purchasing, machinery, etc., and their permutations and combinations, accounted for 87% of the total of all kinds. Most of the purchasing societies were engaged in purchasing raw material necessary for the handicrafts carried on by the members. The predominant type of the marketing

¹ International Labour Review, June, 1929, p. 856-57.

² Indo-Japanese Trade Bulletin, March, 1932, p. 3.

³ K. Ogata, Co-operative Movement in Japan, 1923, pp. 19, 20, 29 and 53.

society was one with credit and purchasing functions. Out of the purely marketing societies, however, only 150 were industrial societies showing thereby that co-operation had not yet fully explored the handicraft field. Though as a general rule the spread of co-operation was mainly among the agriculturists, many handicrafts, which were and are, even now, subsidiary occupations in agricultural Japan, were not left unaffected both by the indigenous and foreign types of co-operation.¹ In 1930 out of the total 14,082 societies there were 8,366 societies doing sale work and 9,505 doing purchase work in addition to credit work. Artisans account for the 5% of the total members of societies of all types.²

In Russia also before the State assumed control of all industries and sources of production, co-operation had made a speedy progress, at the initiative of the people who formed Kustar Artels and Kustar Co-operatives with a central organisation, for purchase, manufacture and sale of Kustar products. The Kustar Artels were a result of the propaganda during war time and in 1919 there were about 5,000 Artels, which were augmented and financed by Kustar Co-operatives and in which were introduced co-operative principles by the Kustar Co-operatives.³ By the time the Soviet regime took over the wholesale control of all national economic activities, the Artels and co-operatives had become sufficiently strong and thenceforth a close union came to be established between Kustars and the Government by the latter controlling the whole of the co-operative structure. The 1918 decree admitted the desirability of maintaining co-operatives among artisans but in the matter of distribution of collected raw materials and finished Kustar products they were subjected to a general State control. In some special cases, however, the co-operatives were allowed to sell the articles and transport them to any part of Russia. The co-operative structure in recent years stands on a very sound basis, as can be seen from the figures for the value of the Kustar product, realised by the co-operatives. In 1927—28 the co-operative organisation in Kustar industry,

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 94-95.

² I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Industrial Labour in Japan, 1933, pp. 352-55.

³ J. V. Bubnoff, Co-operative movement in Russia, and Stencil Lensky, Co-operative Movement in Soviet Russia.

realised 239 million roubles as against 173 million roubles in 1926—27. This shows how the co-operative organisation even under State control has done a good service to the Kustar industries in Russia.¹

On a smaller scale, the co-operative movement in Jugoslavia, serves as an illustration of the State effort towards encouragement of handicraft co-operation. By 1927, the National Federation of Co-operative Societies, which was established in 1922, with the active help of the Government and the National Bank, had increased its field of financial activities as also its membership which was 3,950 in 1927. Out of these member societies 3,188 were credit societies who had a turnover of one million dinars during that year. The turnover of the co-operative wholesale societies was 2.6 million dinars and that of co-operative supply and marketing societies 9 million dinars. These societies were largely dominated by craftsmen and actively helped by the State both in their management, and in extension of their activities.²

As a sort of guiding example in handicraft co-operation, we may refer to Germany, where the co-operative movement among handicrafts dates long since, and where the movement has spread far and wide without direct State interference or initiative. The co-operation in German handicrafts is most successful in bakery, tailoring, electric installature, shoe-making, cabinet-making, etc. A majority of the societies are purchase societies. The sale societies are largely found among cabinet-makers. Co-operation in bakery is remarkable for its prevalence in the by-products in bakery, e.g., the preparation of condiments and table dishes. Credit societies and producers' societies play a very important part in the German handicrafts. German co-operation has been thoroughly assimilated in the German handicrafts, through its association with the *Handwerk Reichsverband*. The spread of co-operation in German handicrafts can be gauged from the following figures. In 1928 there were 3,611 societies affiliated to the German Federation of Co-operative Societies, of which 1,380 were of Schulze-Delitzsch type, 1,829 purchasing societies and 64 craft

¹ The importance of handicrafts in Russia and the strength of their co-operative organisation continues to increase. See S. and B. Webb, *Soviet communism*, 1936, Vol. I, pp. 220-225.

² *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. 30, 1929, p. 53-54.

chambers and co-operative guilds. The total membership of these societies was 8,00,980 of which no less than 2,00,000 were handicraftsmen.¹

To conclude, therefore, whether it is social legislation, financial help or technical help, industrial training or co-operation, the State is most active in all foreign countries,² where handicraft survivals are considerable.

¹ Industrial and Labour Information, Vol. 28, 1928, p. 219.

² We might also note few other important state legislations in foreign countries, e.g.—

Turkish Bill prohibiting aliens in certain occupations, I. & L. Inf., Jan-March, 1932, p. 88.

Turkish Bill to establish Industrial Bank, *ibid*, p. 267.

Czechoslovak Act for Insurance of Home workers, I. & L. Inf., April-June 1932, p. 12.

Bill to regulate homework in Netherlands, I. & L. Inf., Oct.-Dec. 1932, p. 316.

Austrian decree prohibiting entry of new workers in handicrafts, I. & L. Inf., April-June 1932, p. 339.

Austrian Treaty with Switzerland to secure uniformity in silk embroidery industry, *Ibid*, p. 146.

French decree protecting handloom weavers in Tunisia, I. & L. Inf., Oct.-Dec., 1933, p. 220.

Bulgarian decree on re-organisation of craftsmen, I. & L. Inf., April-June, 1935, p. 45.

Minimum wage legislation for handicrafts in Germany, Austria, France Great Britain, Norway, Czechoslovakia, etc.—I. L. O. Studies and Reports No. 17, Minimum wage fixing machinery, 1927, pp. 138-147—Table of systems of minimum wage fixation in different countries.

CHAPTER V

HANDICRAFT RECONSTRUCTION

SECTION I

Reorganisation of handicraft activity

The problem of reorganisation has to be attacked on four different fronts.¹

- (A) Reduction in the cost of production in the handicrafts.
- (B) Change in the existing types of production.
- (C) Scientific management of the handicraft unit and improvement in the business methods of the handicrafts.
- (D) Guild and chamber organisation.

What therefore are the methods of reducing the cost of production? The following appear to be some of the ways of doing this:—

A (i) Improvement in the processes in the handicrafts and the extensive use of the improved time and labour saving mechanical appliances is extremely necessary. We have seen how in almost all the handicrafts, the processes are crude and involve a disproportionate length of time, having an adverse effect on the wage earning capacity of the handicraftsmen and also on the costs of production per unit of the product. We know that there are at present a few improvements made in the appliances of the major handicrafts; but even then the use is restricted to certain specific branches and for certain processes only. The silk and the woollen handicraft, the zora weaving, the brass and copperware production and the leather production in the small workshops and the artisan worksheds and the paper and cloth printing establishments in their entirety suffer from the handicaps of old appliances and old processes. It is with them that the problem is of first class importance. Before we can expect any reduction in the cost of production, improvements have first to be brought about in the different appliances and processes as for example in:

- (1) Textile—The preliminary processes in hand-loom weaving.

¹ Methods of handicraft reconstruction discussed here can also be applied in general to handicraft problems in other parts of the country.

- (2) Brass and copper—Cutting, designing, soldering and beating tools and appliances.
- (3) Gold thread—Wire-drawing, beating and metal gilding.
- (4) Leather—Shaping, cutting and finishing tools.
- (5) Paper—Pulp making, paper making, paper setting, polishing, etc.
- (6) Dyeing and calico-printing—Dyeing, cloth-printing, block-making, etc.

Now the devising of actual means and of proper appliances must be left to the technical experts in these different branches of the handicrafts. This can be done only by research.

There would be certain centres, where even a centralisation of processes is a necessity and here they must be eventually introduced. We have in view the sheet cutting and designing in brass industry, or wire-drawing, in gold thread industry which would immensely benefit from centralisation. Such central factories have been advocated by various experts.¹ They have been found successful in western countries, e.g., in the Central saw mills in London furniture trade, benchrooms are rented to artisans and certain processes are carried on on payment. The central factories in gold thread industry also, considerably help the western artisans in reducing their costs of production.² If we were to establish central warping mills for instance in Malegaon, Sholapur, and Ahmednagar they would find continuous work.³ What must be borne in mind is that the case of every handicraft must be judged on its own merits. A general policy of wholesale improvement in the processes and appliances might prove beside the mark. This, therefore, contemplates selective research in the processes and appliances.

Further it is necessary to investigate the efficiency of the existing labour and appliances. Investigations are also necessary

¹ Amalsad, Report on hand-loom weaving, Madras, 1924, pp. 53-54 and B.J.G. Shastri, Report on Gold thread industry, Bombay, 1923, p. 16.

² Life and Labour in London, Vol. I, 1889, pp. 321-322 and B. J. G. Shastri, op. cit., pp. 10-17.

³ Their initial cost would not be more than Rs. 8,000. They would supply warps at 2.8 pies per yard of the warp against 7.9 pies per yard of hand-made warp. The basis of calculation are 1924 costs, Amalsad, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

to determine the possibility of the introduction of electric power, of internal combustion engine, etc., as the motive power for handicrafts. Brass and copper-ware and gold thread industries are instances in point.

The cost of improvement is of primary importance and therefore the inventions must be of the cheapest kind which will be readily available even for the small artisan. So far as the agency of this research is concerned, in India private enterprise in such matters is clearly out of question. With a considerable organisation of handicrafts and the enlightenment of their personnel a time may come when the handicraft chambers and guilds might take over to themselves the task of carrying on handicraft research. Till then the State initiative is the only way out. The Central and Provincial Government must both take up this problem of research.

A (ii) The next method of reducing the cost of production is to secure a cheaper supply of raw material in the centres of production. This has to be done by means of better transport facilities, particularly improvements in roads. Another way of reducing the costs of transport is to induce the city and town municipalities to abolish the octroi duties on raw materials like yarn, brass and copper sheets, etc. That they are burdensome to industry is illustrated by the strong complaint lodged against the latter before the Banking Enquiry Committee.¹ In Poona and Nasik the rate for octroi is 6 as. per maund of brass and copper sheet or ware. This affects the local prices of the sheets enhancing the costs of production. In the absence of any rebate on the exports this prevents Poona and Nasik from competing with the brass and copper-ware industry in Bombay. Failing removal of octroi, rebate on exports of the finished products should be encouraged.

A (iii) The third method of reducing the costs of production is the economical use of raw material and the introduction of the manufacture of by-products both of which are neglected at present.

A (iv) Finally, the present division of labour in the handicrafts, where group work prevails, must be substituted by a

¹ Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30, Evidence, Vol. II, Evidence of Rao Bahadur Lallubhai Damodardas, Poona.

scientific division of labour with a view not only to minimise the loss of time in transferring the product from one stage of manufacture to another, but also with a view to make it as simple as possible, consistent with the maintenance of the essential features of the handicraft.

(B) The second method of enabling the Deccan handicrafts to meet the manifold competition is to make a complete study of the existing types of production and classify them into several groups according to their position in relation to different forms of competition. In other words, all the existing types of handicraft products must be classified into competing and non-competing groups, which again should be sub-divided as those facing machine or large scale competition and those facing handicraft competition both foreign and indigenous. Such a classification will determine the direction in which efforts at improvement of the various types of handicrafts can proceed. In the non-competing groups as in the competing groups, it will be necessary to find out the methods of standardisation and specialisation bearing in mind the limits of both, viz., the progressive and excessive standardisation of the types of products "more and more tends to centralisation and mass production" while excessive specialisation even though "giving scope for small master and individual producer" leads ultimately to the rise of uneconomic and unfit units of handicraft establishments, where the struggle for existence follows as a result.¹ Within these two limits, therefore, the handicraft product must be standardised along with specialisation. The specialisation will enable the handicraftsman to evade competition not only from the machine or large scale industry, but it will also enable the Deccan handicrafts to evade competition from other handicraft centres. This specialisation must eventually depend upon the nature of the demand in the Deccan consumption areas. The changes in the character of the demand must be reflected in the changes in the types of production. The specialisation of types obviously demands a thorough previous study of the whole field of competitive production. This study of specialisation must necessarily take account of the seasonal changes in the types in demand and adjust production accordingly. We have in mind the seasonal changes in the types in demand in the

¹ Economic Journal, 1922, Vol. 32, "The survival of small unit in the industry," by I. F. Grant, p. 493.

textile and leather handicrafts. The necessary and possible standardisation must proceed along four lines, *viz.*, "standardisation of quality, standardisation of the dimensions and measures, standardisation of patterns, and finally, standardisation of prices.¹

The theoretical and technical study and research of standardisation and specialisation will naturally be the work of a research institute, but their actual application to several handicrafts must be left to some organisation or other like the guilds. The guilds in particular will have to enforce the standardisation of quality and dimensions, measures and patterns, on its members with a view to enable the handicraft units to compete on equal basis, with external rivals. With this specialisation and standardisation, improvements in the existing types by invention of the new types, patterns and designs must go on in order to improve the marketability of the handicraft product, so that it may meet with ready preference. We may suggest improvements in the Yeola silk patterns; Poona and Dhulia shoe patterns; adoption of new types of hand-made paper for Erandol and Junnar; and brass and copper articles like fittings, pipes and wires, etc., in the building and furniture industry. But all these new types will require a close study of their economics of production and also feasibility of manufacturing them under the present conditions of the Deccan handicrafts. This change in the types of production will make necessary training in the manufacture of improved designs which should be left over to various agencies imparting industrial training.

(C) The third method of combating the competition is to inaugurate the scientific management of the handicraft units. Scientific management is possible only in those handicraft workshops where group work is carried on, or where with improvements it is possible to be carried on; hence before this can be introduced the size of the establishment in each handicraft must be carefully studied. With the exception of the independent artisan and out-worker establishments, the size of an economic unit of workshop must first be determined and examined from the view point of its being introduced in those handicrafts where the economic unit of workshop does not exist. For instance, the size of an economic unit of handloom karkhana must first be determined, together with the initial

¹ Madras Bulletin of Co-operation. Vol. 13, 1921-22, p. 92.

costs it involves before the principle of scientific management can be applied to it.

Further scientific management includes standardisation of tools and appliances in different establishments of the same handicraft in the different centres because it "not only means uniformity of working conditions but it means both the tools and working conditions will be the best under the existing conditions."¹ It should be possible to give to every labourer an instruction card for his guidance while he carries on the processes assigned to him. This issuing of instructions is necessary in those handicrafts where the processes are complex and designs to be worked up intricate, e.g., in brass and copper-ware and silk weaving; brass and copper idols, engravings, moulding, etc., in the former, and intricate and flowered designs in the latter require constant supervision and vigilance of the master-worker in workshops. This can be avoided if instruction cards are issued and if the artisans are taught to use them and work according to them. The popularisation of these instruction cards must, however, be left to the organisations of employers in handicrafts or to the handicraft guilds.

It is a well-known fact that the large scale industries owing to their superior organisation and up-to-date business methods,² enjoy an advantage over the handicrafts whose economic organisation is on uneconomic and unsound basis and whose business methods are antiquated. We refer in particular to the present purchase and sale organisation and the absence of proper accounting, etc. We must first decide whether the dealer of both types at the two ends of the handicraft structure must survive, whether he is necessary, or whether he can be wholly or partially replaced. If he is to be wholly replaced what must be the substitute, if he is to be partially replaced, whether he can be improved and made to function as a suitable unit in the machinery. At both ends of the handicraft structure the middlemen undertake purchase and sale operations and finance the handicrafts but at great disadvantage to them. They need to be radically reformed. Alternative agencies must be established which will carry out their functions.

¹ H. B. Drury, *Scientific Management*, p. 71.

² The same is true of the handicrafts in other countries when they are organised on sound basis, e.g., Japanese export guilds or the scheme formulated by Swedish Co-operative Union for the export of handicraft products, *I. & L. Inf.*, Jan.-March, 1935, p. 300.

The agency which can do this to the best advantage of the handicraftsmen is, the co-operative association.

Another method of financing the handicrafts till co-operative finance is built up on sound lines is the issue of industrial loans to handicraftsmen on very easy terms, through the recommendations of the Department of Industries. This can indeed become a permanent feature of the handicraft finance in future. Along with the Industrial loan the Hire Purchase system must also come into operation in order to enable the handicraftsmen in major handicrafts at least, to take the full advantage of the improved appliances. These at present are not favoured by them due, among other causes, to the lack of adequate finances for the purpose, a factor which has been neglected by the advocates of improved machinery. The necessity of government action in this respect is very clear. A State aid to Handicrafts Act for Bombay must be passed. Exact administration of these loans, their distribution, recoveries, etc., must be left to the Department of Industries, which will necessarily require enlargement of its present staff and substantial increase in its budget grant.

The development of Industrial Banking has also to proceed on sound lines side by side with the transitional measures indicated above. The advantages of Industrial banks to the handicrafts can never be under-rated. Their direct usefulness has been recognised from time to time. The Industrial Commission, the Central Banking Committee and a few Provincial Banking Committees have recommended the establishment of small Industrial banks with District branch banks. An Industrial bank for the Bombay Presidency has been similarly recommended, with the formation of the District Industrial Associations who should finance the handicrafts with the direct financial help from the Industrial bank.¹ We endorse entirely the recommendation made by Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee. This Industrial Bank would also be charged with the task of financing the large scale industries, "provided there are sufficient safeguards to ensure that the interests of the smaller industries are not sacrificed to the needs of the larger." The establishment of a single Industrial Bank for the province, with a view to finance both the large industries and handicrafts, would both be desirable and economical.² In

¹ Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, p. 140.

² United Provinces Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, p. 258.

Europe the Industrial banks have been freely financing artisans on invoices, labour bills or "any prospective claim that is sufficiently recognised."¹ Since in the Bombay Presidency, the artisan has no tangible security to offer, financing by hypothecation of finished goods would be the only alternative.

The possibilities of encouraging Pawn-shops should also be explored with a view to afford additional financial facilities to the several handicraftsmen. This system of Pawn-brokers has been working successfully in Java. On the continent the Pawn-shop has been recognised as the bank of the poor and in France and Italy these institutions are controlled by the State and Municipal bodies. They work as Benevolence Banks giving cash credits at low rates.² In the Deccan the artisans occasionally mortgage their trinkets with the capitalists to raise temporary loans. If the Pawn-shops are established and run on sound lines by the municipalities in the several centres like Malegaon, Poona, Sholapur, Nasik, etc., with the direct help of the government, the handicraftsmen will be able to increase their staying power and secure the necessary finance in the stages of manufacture.

Now we come to the most important aspect of the development of handicraft finance, and handicraft purchase and sale machinery, *viz.*, handicraft co-operation, both credit and non-credit. Co-operation has now been accepted on all hands as the best organisation for the handicraft. It is obvious that in this Presidency the whole co-operative structure needs overhauling in all branches, *viz.*, credit, purchase, and sale and production.³ This necessitates a preliminary investigation in important handicrafts by the Department of Industries and Co-operation. This survey would include a study of the needs of each and every handicraft in different centres and also of the possibilities of co-operative organisation fulfilling them. In this work the services of the Provincial Co-operative Institute will be valuable if it would

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 258-259.

² Messrs. Dawson and Graham's Supplementary Note, on Pawn Brokers' Act, proposed by the Burma Banking Enquiry Committee, 1928-30, pp. 261-263; and Hesketh Bell, Foreign Colonial Administration in the Far East.

³ For a detailed discussion of this subject, see the present writer's article on Handicrafts and Co-operation, in Bombay Co-operative Quarterly, June, 1936.

undertake a survey of the handicrafts with reference to co-operation in certain prominent centres like Surat, Ahmedabad, Poona, Sholapur, Nasik, etc.

The question of financing the new societies may be satisfactorily solved, if necessary by opening a producers' bank to undertake the finance of the primary societies. The constitution of this bank should be on the lines of the French Producers' Bank.

The possibilities of promoting societies of producers must be thoroughly examined, as the Indian conditions are not quite healthy for their promotion on a considerable scale. But it should be examined whether producers' co-operation is possible among out-workers, or contract-workers, who work on piece wages or for a fixed price and where sweating exists. In their case it may be possible to organise producers' societies on Italian lines. In Italy workers join in a co-operative guild to undertake the execution of big contracts, and work with the material given by the contract-givers. After the work is finished the wages are distributed among the workers, according to their work.¹

As a start in the right direction Government must change radically their co-operative policy and must give considerable attention to the problem of handicraft co-operation. This will need an addition to the staff specially for the handicraft co-operation; and this has to be done in view of the fact that co-operation in handicrafts is a vital problem to be tackled in handicraft reconstruction.

Another method of combating competition is improvement in the business methods. This means (1) Reorganisation of existing markets and exploitation of new markets for handicraft products and (2) Improvements in the methods of maintaining accounts. These are necessary to place handicrafts and large scale industries on the same footing. In the present competitive regime the latter enjoy the exclusive advantage of modern business methods.

The first depends upon an intensive research in the present and possible markets. The small producer has at present to move in the restricted sphere of the local markets. The weakening of the dealers' power by co-operative agency will render the markets free. In the absence of co-operative organisations and even

¹ Fay, Co-operation at home and abroad, pp. 250-54.

when they come into existence a Commercial Information Bureau should be maintained by the Government under the control and guidance of the Department of Industries. Side by side with this, investigation of new internal and inter-provincial markets must be carried out. This becomes necessary considering that the improvements we have been advocating would lead to increased production.

Improvements in the methods of maintaining proper accounts is immediately necessary in the case of handicraft karkhanas. They should also be encouraged to maintain some sort of elaborate cost accounts, which are entirely absent at present. The other grades of producers in the handicraft structure like independent artisans, out-workers, etc., should also be encouraged to keep some sorts of rough accounts at least, to start with. This would prove highly beneficial to them in the long run.

Handicrafts even when organised as a whole will require advertisement and canvassing to give wide publicity to their products. Occasional exhibitions in big cities have been advocated as the best ways of securing new customers. But they seem to have hardly any effect in the Indian provinces.¹ We think that an exhibition of handicraft products held on provincial basis every three or four years, would be useful, if kept open for six to eight months.

Passing on to the organisation of guilds and chambers for the various handicrafts, it is now an established fact that our handicrafts are without any guild organisation. It must be remembered that the presence of loose, inefficient and industrially powerless caste organisations have only a religious and social importance. If the handicrafts are to be developed along sound lines, they must have strong controlling superstructure which will work in many directions for the reconstruction and stabilisation of the handicraft system.

In foreign countries guild organisation in handicrafts has dated long since and the modern industrial policies have maintained in tact their control over the industrial and economic aspects of handicraft structure. Though in England the trade guilds in the modern times have lost their original strength, in Germany, Italy, Japan and China, the craft guilds are still functioning

¹Industrial Commission, Punjab evidence, Vol. V, pp. 268-70.

effectively in the interest of the handicrafts and are yet a living force. The Chinese and the Japanese guilds have showed a tendency "of changing their character adjusting themselves to the changes of industrial environment. . . ."¹ In China for instance in 1927 craft-guilds accounted for 30% of the total number of guilds the rest being professional and mercantile guilds.² These guilds organise and finance the industries and fix prices and wages. They control apprenticeship as well. Generally the functions of the guilds in the foreign countries have been

- (1) Safeguarding the commercial interests, both individual and collective ;
- (2) Settlement of trade disputes and enforcement of trade regulations ;
- (3) Control of weights and measures and fixation of the commission rates ;
- (4) Securing business honesty ; etc.

In China particularly the guilds have consolidated their position by resorting to boycotts and strikes as effective weapons against offending individuals and recalcitrant craft or mercantile groups.³

In India the guilds which were very few in number disrupted wherever they existed, due to internal chaos, and machine competition. After the fall of the regular craft guilds came the caste control. In our future programme what is really needed is the establishment of genuine industrial guilds with sufficient powers to assert themselves in the interest of the handicrafts. The establishment of the guilds will not offer insoluble difficulties. For this purpose a preliminary propaganda among the artisans is necessary to demonstrate the advantages of guilds and guild control over industrial and socio-economic aspects of handicrafts. A statutory recognition and legal status given to the guilds by the State will make them able to assert their existence. After the guild activity has sufficiently gathered force the guilds will be able to take over some of the activities, we have referred to from time to time, which really belong to them, as also those which the State

¹ Yejiro Ono, *Industrial Transition in Japan*, 1889, p. 57.

² V. S. Burgess, *Guilds of Peking*, 1928, pp. 110-11 and Julian Arnold, *Commercial Handbook of China*, 1919, Vol. I, pp. 485-86.

³ Julian Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

will be performing in their absence. The establishment of the guilds will secure

- (1) Better relations among the various handicraft units ;¹
- (2) Easy adjustment of disputes between the capitalist entrepreneur and wage-earner artisans ;
- (3) Equalisation of opportunities and maintenance of ' group morale,' group standards of conduct and intra-group co-operation ;
- (4) The control of the economic conditions of handicrafts ; and finally
- (5) The politico-economic and socio-political benefits to the constituents of the guilds.

Evils which are inherent in such a guild control ought also to be fully guarded against. For instance, guild organisation may result in extreme localisation, limit individual enterprise and shut up the avenues of increasing production ; or it may result in a lack of economic incentive for improvement or innovation ; or the guilds may specially favour the interests of certain establishments. To avoid these evils the out-look of the guilds must be as broad as possible and they must be taught to look on their respective crafts with the idea of developing and stabilising them rather than as mere fields of monopolised exploitation, either in the interest of a few powerful individuals or in that of a powerful group of vested interests. To make this a practical proposition, the guild should be managed and worked, as far as possible, by the small artisans rather than by the small capitalist entrepreneurs. Elaborate regulations should be laid down by the State which every guild must adhere to, before it is given a statutory recognition, e.g., the decisions of the guilds affecting a particular group of their members, should not be enforced without receiving previous assent of at least a larger proportion of the individuals of that group. Again a regulation made by the guild affecting the entire number of the guild—members, will not be enforced by the law of simple majority, but that measure must commend itself to a large proportion of its members. Such safeguards will mitigate the evils of control to a great degree and the object with which they will come into being will be fully realised.

¹ Burgess, Guilds of Peking.

The handicraft chamber on provincial basis will follow the establishment of guilds and it will be a federation of guilds, co-operative associations and other handicraft organisations as in Germany. This chamber will have branches in the districts. Each district chamber will federalise the craft guilds of that district. These district chambers will look after the handicrafts of the district and will advise the provincial chamber, to tackle the specific problem which the handicrafts of that particular district will, in future, have to face. The provincial chamber will in course of time take over to itself the duties which the State would be performing in the absence of the chamber and will minimise the necessity of State interference. The chamber will :—

- (1) Look to the cultural and intellectual development of the handicraftsmen ;
- (2) Carry on the propaganda amongst the public for the encouragement of hand-work and manual training ;
- (3) Carry out research and propaganda activities in connection with processes, etc., in the interest of the handicraftsmen ;
- (4) Control, organise and direct the system of apprenticeship and assist in the formation and maintenance of industrial schools, and courses ;
- (5) Seek to advise the State as regards legal measures in the interest of the handicrafts ; and
- (6) Organise such movements as trade unions, collective agreements, insurance of different kinds, etc.

SECTION II

Improvements in the Economic Conditions of the Handicraftsmen

To bring about an improvement in the economic conditions of the handicraftsman, his efficiency which has a considerable influence on his out-put and earnings must be improved.¹ What will have a direct effect on the efficiency (industrial skill) of the craftsman is the promotion of industrial training and vocational guidance and selection. In both of these India is notoriously

¹ Balfour Committee on Trade and Industry, 1927, Part I, Survey, p. 18.

backward, partly due to the apathy of the handicrafts and greatly due to Government policy. This has resulted in bad work and inefficient output of the handicrafts. The principle of heredity, though of some advantage does not carry an artisan far. He needs training in order to acquire the requisite skill especially when there is change in the types of production and an adoption of new processes. Similarly his sons need vocational guidance and selection to avoid their being misfits in their craft. Government effort in the direction of industrial training is neither well-directed nor on sound lines. In the words of the Industrial Commission, "The industrial schools offer training which is of little value...as it merely consists of teaching ordinary bazaar methods through the agencies of low-paid mistries."¹ Industrial training through private agencies is only in the form of irregular system of apprenticeship, which is also full of many defects.² A radical reform in this system becomes a duty of the State³ as important as that of giving industrial training. There are three broad ways in which the State can give instructions to artisans. These are :—

- (1) Opening industrial schools with junior and senior courses,
- (2) Trade schools for different trades each having a specialised workshop for the particular trade and
- (3) Continuation classes.

We need not go into the details of each of these types. The requisites of each of these types and the functions each must perform may be indicated in broad terms only.

(1) The industrial schools both junior and senior, in order to be successful, must be run in the respective handicraft centres and must be largely dependent on the handicraftsmen for its recruitment of learners. The course must aim at early completion. Proper arrangements must also be made for the selection of boys who are best fitted to take the higher instruction in theory and practice of the craft.

(2) The trade schools should aim at co-ordination of technical

¹ Report, Industrial Commission, pp. 37 and 110-111.

² See, Report, Industrial Education Committee, 1903, p. 85.

³ Cf. Balfour Committee, Survey, Part I, p. 18. "On a long period view of world conditions as a whole—east, as well as west,—this element (Apprenticeship) in the creation, preservation and transmission of skill is of the highest importance." Also, see *ibid*, p. 136.

training and trade experience and at fulfilment of the speed requirements of handicraft processes. They must also form an essential adjunct of workshop in handicraft. Further the trade school authorities must have knowledge of the status and trend of the handicraft, in the centres in which they are respectively situated so as just to fit in with the handicraft and avoid being either out-of-date on the one hand or too much advanced on the other.

(3) The continuation classes will help to increase the efficiency of the existing craftsmen, by giving them instruction in the improved processes and handling the improved tools. Further, these classes must arrange series of lectures on general subjects, like health, sanitation, mutual aid, etc. Such continuation classes have been found successful not only in other countries but even in India.¹

It is frequently suggested that compulsory hand-work in primary schools would be an alternative to the systems hitherto discussed. We think this sort of manual training is only a part of the full personal development of every boy and that it can never serve as any basis for advanced industrial training.

In the scheme of industrial training the Art Schools in future, will have a definite place. Till now the art schools have proved a failure judged from their influence on the trends of handicrafts.² In future, the art school will have a close connection with the Research Institutes as the latter will always place orders with them for drawing up new patterns and designs for different handicrafts.

There is another method of giving industrial training, *viz.*, apprenticeship in handicraft workshops, a system controlled and

¹ In Raibareilly a centre of wood handicraft (in the United Provinces) the continuation classes conducted by the Bareilly wood-work schools, have been regularly attended by the local carpenters and cabinet-makers and have resulted in raising the individual skill of the artisans in wood-handicrafts and in introducing superior knowledge of design, superior construction and finish. Indian Industrial Commission, Evidence, Vol. I, U. P., p. 37, Evidence of Mrs. H. E. Kinns. Also Vatal, Industrial Survey of Allahabad District, 1923, pp. 111-112.

² Theodore Maller's paper on present state and future prospects of Art Industries of India, read before the Benares Industrial Conference, 1905, pp. 342-343.

regulated, by the State. Apprenticeship, is an essential feature of handicraft economics. Even now it plays an important part in almost all the western countries, more particularly in Germany, Italy, England, etc.¹ The most important point to be attended to while organising the system of apprenticeship in this country is that the period of apprenticeship must be the shortest,² since the parents among the handicraft population look upon the apprenticeship from the view point of its capacity to enable a learner to earn a wage at an early date. Since wage consideration are important, in order to attract a constant flow of apprentices, the wage-rates of the apprentices shall have to be fixed,³ selected master craftsmen being subsidised for this purpose by the agency which would control apprenticeship. The subsidy should be partly in the form of cash and partly in kind, in the initial stages. Since the master-craftsmen of superior qualities in this presidency and more particularly in our tract, are few and far between, a considerable spade-work will have to be done in selecting handicraftsmen as approved masters who would be licensed to take apprentices under training, as is done in Germany. The daily hours of work will have to be fixed, validity of mutual agreements recognised and provision for sickness of the apprentice, etc., secured.

Apprenticeship regulated by the State or guilds and chambers on these lines after complete preliminary study and requisite legislation, would in future play an important part in the scheme of industrial training. It will increase the efficiency of the future handicraftsmen. The maintenance of the increased efficiency will have to be secured by strictly enforcing legislation, preventing a man from practising as a craftsman, without having gone through the stages of apprenticeship, journeymanship and finally mastership, at each stage there being a test organised by the handicraft guilds and chambers. In other words a master-craftsman can practise a trade only after having secured a certificate about his industrial skill and ability to teach the same to others. This, as

¹ Balfour Committee, on Trade and Industry, Survey, Part I, p. 138. For a detailed description of the English Apprenticeship system in the post-war period, see *ibid.*, pp. 136-148, Memorandum by the Ministry of Labour.

² In England the predominant period is 5 years. The actual period differs from industry to industry, *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ In England Trade Unions fix the length, wages and age of entry into apprenticeship. Trade Boards also fix minimum wages for apprentice in Trades coming under Trade Board Act. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

we have seen earlier, is precisely what is being done in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, etc.

The whole scheme of industrial training will have to move round vocational guidance and selection, which will stress the mental and psychological aptitude and the suitability of the boy for the trade. Vocational guidance and selection is a duty of the State in the absence of labour employment exchanges. In the western countries, in the modern times, this is recognised as the best method of a general preparation of a boy for employment in the large and small industries.¹ At present a boy enters his father's trade owing to the constant influences on him of what his father does or his friends say. Very often it happens that there is a genuine ignorance on the part of the father about the possible openings for a boy and his faculties. These considerations make the vocational guidance and selection a most important preliminary duty of the State to fit a boy for the future industrial career.

The improvement in the efficiency of craftsmen will no doubt improve the wage conditions of the artisans. But it will only be a partial improvement. The most important task regarding the improvement of the wage conditions, that lies ahead is in respect of the sweating of out-workers and certain types of workers in karkhanas. Sweating in the Deccan is a result of the domination of the dealer and the capitalist employer, machine competition and of the absence of any organisation of handicraft labour. The first important reform needed is, therefore, in the matter of wage-rates. This we propose to be brought about by establishing Trade Boards to lay down, control and enforce the minimum rates in the handicrafts.² We propose statutory establishment of Trade Boards on English lines.³ Every district should have a Trade Board, which should represent the handicrafts of that district, each handicraft having its representatives of the employers, wage-earners and out-workers. The Government should, also, be represented on the Board by the local authority. They should lay down the minimum

¹ International Labour Review, Vols. VI and VIII, Notes on Vocational guidance and selection.

² Minimum wage legislation in foreign countries is considerably developed in recent years. For details see, I. L. O. Minimum wage fixing Machinery, 1927, pp. 10-11.

³ Number of countries that have adopted the Trade Board system is considerable. France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Norway, etc., also have this system. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

piece-rates for different jobs in each handicraft of the district.¹ These rates would be arrived at after mutual agreement between the representatives of the employers and those of the handicraft labour. The State—if necessary the Central Government—should enact the Trade Boards Act, which should set up the Trade Boards and make their minimum wage-rates enforceable within their respective districts. If and when these Trade Boards are established numerous advantages will result from them. They will, for example, abolish the system of deductions by the employers from the wages. They will also bring about an advance in the piece-rates and change the organisation of the handicrafts. They will, further, weed out inefficient units of production and increase the efficiency of the workers and the karkhanas in the low-paid areas.

Considering these direct and ultimate advantages an experiment in the direction of the fixation of minimum rates by the establishment of the Trade Boards is worth being undertaken. This will mean a decisive step in the direction of improving the earnings of the handicraftsmen. But as the Royal Commission on labour has pointed out, prior to the establishment of the Trade Boards for the fixation of minimum rates a considerable preliminary investigation must be carried out to arrive at the handicrafts which require such fixation of minimum rates. Then the proper machinery can be raised for determining the minimum rates and enforcing them, if the cost of enforcing wage decrees is not ridiculously high.²

Coming now to the improvements in the working conditions of the handicrafts, these will have to proceed along different lines ; viz., regulation of child labour, insurance for sickness, accidents, etc., limitation of working hours, enforcement of the sanitary regulations, enforcement of the law of compensation for accidents, etc. For all these a comprehensive legislation by the Central Government with powers given to the Provincial Government to make detailed regulations to suit the local conditions becomes necessary. This is also recommended by the Labour Commission. The extension of the present Factory Act to the handicraft establishment administered by the Inspectors of boilers and factories, will not

¹ Basis for the fixation should be decided by the State. The chief factors taken into account should be living wage, and capacity of the handicraft to pay. For a detailed discussion of this topic, see I. L. O. Minimum wage fixing Machinery, pp. 27-40.

² Report, Royal Commission on Labour, 1929-30, pp. 212-14.

suit the peculiar conditions of handicrafts. A fresh legislation purely for the handicrafts would be required.

The question of child labour is not so acute in our tract though to a certain extent we find excessive hours of work in bidi factories, tanning, scented stick making (udubatti), etc., all of which are outside the scope of this work. So far as our major handicrafts are concerned the limitation of the hours of work and prohibition of work outside the handicraft establishment for workers in the establishments would be necessary. For instance in the brass and copper-ware karkhanas the work is heavy and is at times carried on in the vicinity of high temperature furnaces particularly in the manufacture of cast-work. Here the working hours will have to be limited. Enforcement of the ten hours day with a compulsory weekly holiday would be the best alternative to start with.

Similarly the sanitary conditions in the establishments require immediate attention. By regulations change must be brought about in the structure of the workshops and handicraft factories, their ventilation, light, sanitation, etc. We have in view the dark and insanitary hand-loom factories and brass and copper workshops. We have indicated in an earlier chapter¹ the evil of poisonous gases in the metal workshops. The sanitary regulations must provide that special arrangements should be made for driving out the poisonous gases by exhaust-pipes and that the workers should be provided with wire gauzes by the karkhandars to prevent the metal and the coal dust from entering the respiratory system through the nose and the mouth.

The brass and the copper industry particularly, where there are chances of accidents to the workers the compensation for accidents, while on work will have to be compulsorily given by the owners of the establishments. A scheme of compulsory insurance against sickness and accidents should be introduced in those handicrafts where on examination it is found that a higher percentage of sickness and accidents is present. In those handicrafts where the evil of unemployment is recurring and on a large scale compulsory insurance against unemployment would be found to be necessary. Insurance for disablement will have to be made compulsory in handicrafts like brass and copper and other industries

¹ Ante, p. 124.

involving heavy work from which the worker has to retire at an early period of his life.

In all these cases compulsion should be on all concerned. The scheme of insurance will have to be originated and worked out by the State as is done in Germany.¹ State initiative is the only probable method by which this can be done in India. In course of time when the handicraft guilds and chambers become sufficiently strong and healthy and adopt a wider out-look about the handicrafts, voluntary effort may be forthcoming.

It is well to bear in mind, however, that in these matters of social well-being and labour welfare State legislation should secure the desired object with the minimum of dislocation and hardship because "the far-reaching changes which involve not only serious economic dislocation but a radical alteration in the social custom, cannot be achieved too drastically or rapidly. . . . If time for adjustment is not allowed the true purpose of Governmental interference is defeated either in paper legislation or in the legislation the very reality of which results in oppression or dislocation. . ."² Bearing this warning in mind the principle of gradual advance should be fundamental of handicraft welfare legislation.

To enjoy the benefit of full-fledged development, handicraftsmen must be able to rid themselves of the heavy indebtedness which has been handed down from the father to the son and which piles up every year due to heavy interest charges and accumulation of arrears. We have seen that indebtedness is a common feature of all handicrafts of the Deccan, and is at its worst in the textile and allied handicrafts. Improvements in the economic organisation of the handicrafts, in the wage conditions of the handicraftsman or improvement in his family budgets, will have no visible effect unless the problem of indebtedness is seriously tackled. This evil will have to be removed by passing a simple Insolvency Act, which would enable the handicraftsmen to get

¹ In Germany, both State and the private Insurance prevail. State Insurance is in operation since the laws of 1886 and 1897, while private insurance dates from 1906 at the instance of the German Handicraft Chamber. For certain industries the insurance against sickness, accidents, unemployment, etc. is compulsory while the private or professional insurance covers the field of capital and life insurance besides sickness, unemployment, accidents, etc. Carl Hauszler, pp. 299-320.

² Report. Royal Commission on Labour, 1929-30, pp. 100-01.

rid of the past debts by easy instalments and low rates of interest. As a safeguard against future indebtedness co-operative machinery will protect the handicraftsmen from the clutches of the Sowers as far as possible. The passing of the Usurious Rate of Interest Act on the lines of the Punjab Act will save them from the heavy interest charges wherever the co-operative machinery is unable to function. The aim of the removal of indebtedness is the ultimate emancipation of the handicraftsman and the strengthening of his monetary position. This is one of the methods to enable him to lead a happy civic life.

Improvement in his economic condition cannot be brought about without improvement in his capacity to labour. The health of the handicraftsmen is notoriously unsatisfactory due to bad habits, disease and mal-nutrition all of which leave him a physical derelict. Drink, and irregular habits give rise to a set of diseases, while bad sanitation, unhealthy housing give rise to another. The total result of this has been low efficiency, lesser number of working days and lower vitality. All these require a radical improvement, but as these defects are not particular to handicraftsmen only, one has to look to a time when public health questions receive a wider consideration.

The whole field of development that we have indicated cannot possibly be traversed only with the partial efforts of the State and the non-official intelligentsia. It requires an effective and willing co-operation of those for whom all these improvements are meant. This cannot be secured without a fundamental change in the psychology of the artisans as individuals and as a class. Without achieving this change the whole scheme is likely to be in the danger of failure. How is this change in the psychology to be brought about? The sovereign remedy is, of course, the general spread of education, which will work for the uplift of the future generations of artisans; but a change in the outlook of the present artisans, both old and young, has to be brought about by the spread of Adult education.

We have tackled almost all the important problems which the handicrafts have at present to face. We have indicated the methods by which the problems will have to be solved. It will be easily seen that the State comes in at every point in this scheme of development and has to undertake a number of duties which devolve on it as a result of the peculiar conditions in our handi-

crafts. We have seen that the State can neither remain inactive and in seclusion nor can it work in a detached fashion. It has to secure the willing co-operation of those for whom it intends to work. In the last chapter we have reviewed the policy of the State towards the handicrafts. What ought to be done has been fully explained here. On striking the balance, it would be clear that what has been done is a mere drop in the ocean. The consideration of financial and administrative difficulties though of certain value have to be relegated to a subsidiary position if our handicrafts are to be brought in line with the handicrafts in other countries.

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

ASSAMI—A system of work on contract for a merchant-capitalist or an entrepreneur by artisans maintaining small establishments. This term is specially used in connection with hand-loom industry in centres like Sholapur, Ahmednagar, etc.

BAZAR—Market.

BEPARI—Dealer.

BOHORA—A Mohamedan trading community.

CHADHAV—A kind of Indian slippers.

CHAMHAR—A caste of leather workers.

CHAPPLE—A kind of sandals.

CHARKIWALLA—A sub-caste among copper-smiths of the Bombay Deccan, engaged in the manufacture of polished brass-ware.

CHAWAL—Cotton bag manufactured in Khandesh used as packing for cotton.

DARJEE—A tailor caste.

DHANGAR—The shepherd caste in the Deccan.

DHOR—A caste of tanners in the Deccan.

DHURRI—A kind of cotton carpet.

GADDI—A bundle of 240 sheets of paper.

GUJAR WANI—A trader caste.

GUJARI—A system of sale of the finished product largely found in the Deccan hand-loom industry, under which the artisan sells his product from day to day to any dealer in the finished product.

JARTAR—Gold-thread.

JINGAR—A caste originally of saddle-workers in the Deccan ; now largely employed in copper and brass work.

JODA—A kind of foot-ware made of red morrocco, generally used in the Deccan.

JULA—A weaver caste among Mohamedans.

KAD—Silk cloth without gold-thread, used by Hindus.

KAGDI—Caste of paper makers.

- KAILI**—A piece of cloth, usually shorter than a dhotee and sometimes coloured; generally used by males in South India, Ceylon, Malay Peninsula, etc.
- KALAIKAR**—A sub-caste among copper-smiths engaged in tinning brass and copper vessels.
- KAMBLI**—A coarse woollen blanket used as a covering by poor people in India.
- KAMATHI**—A Telegu community following weaving among other occupations.
- KARKHANA**—A generic term meaning a workshop or a small factory.
- KARKHANDAR**—Owner of a karkhana.
- KASAR**—A caste of copper-smiths in the Bombay Deccan.
- KHADDAR, KHADI**—A kind of thick coarse cloth woven on hand-looms.
- KHAN**—Coloured cloth with borders used for bodices by women in the Bombay Deccan.
- KHATRI**—A caste of weavers in the Bombay Deccan.
- KINKOB**—Velvet with designs in gold-thread.
- KOSHTI**—A caste of weavers in the Bombay Deccan.
- LUNGI**—A piece of cloth shorter than a dhotee and sometimes coloured, used by males in South India, Ceylon, Malay Peninsula, etc.
- MAHAJAN**—The head of the merchant guild. Also a capitalist financier in the Indian handicrafts.
- MOCHI (Paradeshi)**—A caste of leather workers from Northern India.
- MOMIN**—A Mohamedan weaver caste.
- NAGAR SETH**—Head of the merchant guild.
- NAMADA**—A kind of felt used as padding in the manufacture of saddle and harness.
- NIRHALI**—A caste of dyers in the Bombay Deccan, who in the past, specialised in indigo dyeing.
- ODHANI**—Printed cloth used in some tracts as covering for the head and body by women and children.
- OPANI**—Hone, used in the gold-thread industry.

- OTARI**—A copper-smith specialising in cast-ware work.
- PADAMSALI (Padmasali)**—A caste of weavers.
- PAGOTA**—Turban cloth.
- PAITHANI**—A rich silk and gold-thread women's garment.
- PANCH**—Artisan guild in Gujerat.
- PASA**—Gilded (oxidisation process), silver bar of 40 tolas.
- PASODI**—A thick rough white or printed cloth.
- PATAL**—A kind of sari.
- PATNI**—A trader caste.
- PATEL**—Head of the artisan guild.
- PITAMBER**—Silk cloth with gold-thread border used by Hindu males.
- RAHATKARI**—Silk reeler.
- RAZAI**—A cotton cloth quilt.
- SALI**—A caste of weavers.
- SAREE**—A fabric wrapped round the body as main garment by Indian women.
- SHALU**—A silk fabric richly embroidered with gold-thread.
- SHELA**—A kind of silk fabric richly embroidered with gold-thread.
- SHIMPI**—A caste of tailors.
- SOWCAR**—Money lender.
- SWADESHI**—The 'Buy Indian' movement.
- TAMBAT**—A caste of copper smiths.
- TAT**—A metal dinner plate made.
- TUR**—A bar on which woven cloth is wound.
- UDUBATTI**—An incense stick.
- UPARNA**—Piece of cloth worn round body by males.
- VATI**—A small saucer-like metal vessel.
- WAHANA**—The Deccan sandal.
- ZAZAM**—Printed cloth used as floor covering.
- ZOOL**—Cotton covering for bullocks.
- ZORA**—A thick cotton carpet.

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