

Andhra Economic Series No. 3.

THE ECONOMICS OF HANDLOOM

(Being a study of the Social and Economic conditions of
Handloom Weavers of South India.)

BY

Prof. N. G. RANGA, B. LITT. (OXON.) M. L. A.,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

PACHAIYAPPA'S COLLEGE, MADRAS.

For sometime, special officer for Economic survey,
Madras Government, and Secretary to the
Economic Enquiry Committee, Madras.

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To
THE BELOVED MEMORY OF
Sir P. THYAGARAYA CHETTI, K.C.S.I
AND
THE VOICELESS WEAVERS OF INDIA.

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WEAVERS OF INDIA SHALL NOT DISAPPEAR

Prof. N.G. Ranga belongs to that rare breed of human race which always engages in the fight for freedom. His head and heart were always at work for the upliftment of farmers and farm labourers who used to exhibit greater concern for the development of society. Rain or drain, their love for labour remains the same.

Prof. Ranga's father wanted to see his son as an ICS Officer soon after his return to the native land. As a supporter of nationalism, N.G. Ranga did not like to get trained for civil services and chose to study Economics at the university of Oxford. Thus he thwarted his "Fight For Freedom" while his political guru was "Experimenting with Truth"!

Books written by persons of Rangaji's calibre need no introduction. Such thoughtful and thought provoking leaders get introduced themselves in their thought process. I don't know why my friends were anxious to publish my introductory note for the study made by an Oxford student. I am neither an economist nor a politician. It is true that I studied Economics and politics as part of my undergraduate studies. By now billions of students of that sort might have come out of the portals of the universities all over the world. Interestingly, the gentleman who has made me write these few lines is Sri Anne Sambasiva Rao, a retired Electrical Engineer! Of course, Prof. Ranga's autobiography was rendered into Telugu by me. Autobiographies are critical-creative narratives of the lives of great people. Such narratives need introduction to connect the missing links. But Prof. Ranga, as an author, was habituated to provide introductions to his books personally. Similarly we do not find introductions of others in the books penned by Dr. Sanjeeva Dev.

I enjoyed translating the autobiography of ^{of Prof. Ranga} an alumnus of Oxford University. Though he prefers long sentences, his diction and depiction are found to be marvellous. His guru, Bapuji had great fascination for short sentences. The sentences may be short or long it is the style that attracts us most.

Prof. Ranga, no doubt, carried on his fight for the uplift of the farmers and farm labourers through his political career. But he never stopped at that. Next to that was his interest in uplifting the weavers. "THE ECONOMICS OF HANDLOOM" remained a valuable study of the social and economic conditions of handloom weavers of South India. This was a part of the thesis presented by him to the University of Oxford. He conducted this survey for about six months in the Academic year 1925-1926, meeting people connected with weaving activities in different parts of South India. He covered 18 out of the 23 districts of the then Madras Presidency.

The main reasons for the depression in handloom weaving industry according to Prof. Ranga were:

1. Cotton weaving was replaced by silk weaving
2. Silk weaving was substituted by artificial silk weaving
3. Weaving on rough cotton yarn was given up in almost all places and its place was being taken up by fine yarn, silk and artificial silk weaving.
4. Fall in the purchasing power of the masses
5. Removal of Cotton Excise duty which has led to the cheapening of mill cloth.
6. The workers were mostly unskilled and inefficient
7. There were no cooperative purchasing and selling societies.

shown considerable deficits. He wanted "The weavers in general to give up their wasteful habits of expenditure, to abstain from drink and the disproportionate expenditure upon raw Sufari and tobacco and to increase their consumption of such commodities as dhal, ghee, buttermilk, vegetables, mutton and if we desire that they should wear better clothing, shave themselves more frequently and enjoy oil baths," to promote better and cleaner living for every centre of handloom weaving.

In the considered opinion of Prof. Ranga it was not mere food that the weavers want. Their desire was for "a rise in the standard of living, the raising of wages and a greater and fuller life." To achieve such an ideal, he firmly believed that technical training is the only foundation. It was his advice to Government to start a Weavers' Bank and a Spinning Mill and a Commercial School for weavers as experimental steps.

Prof Ranga was not one with those who feared that the handloom weavers of India must someday disappear. With abundant forethought he emphasised that one should not "overlook the fact that what resulted in England may not happen in India and conditions in India are different from those of England." The hereditary weavers are extraordinarily loyal to their ~~own~~ cast occupation and they do not like to leave their profession however bad the conditions may be.

Let us hope that the "Make in India" movement will embrace the weavers of India too. Who knows what is hidden in the mysterious womb of tomorrow? Chief Ministers like Sri Chandrababu Naidu may establish Weaving High Schools and colleges, if not universities.

Ravela Sambasiva Rao
Registrar (Rtd.)
Acharya Nagarjuna University.

GUNTUR }
5-5-2017 }

PREFACE.

This volume is a part of the thesis presented by me to the University of Oxford. This survey into the economic and social conditions of the Handloom Weaving Industry was made in 1925—1926 when I toured for a period of six months in the different parts of South India. I was able to visit Salem, Coimbatore and Guntur Districts again in 1928, when I was deputed by the Madras Government to make an economic survey of villages and to assist the Special Officer for the survey of cottage industries. I got another opportunity of acquainting myself about the conditions of handloom weavers of Kristna, West and East Godavaries, while I was working as the Secretary of the Resettlement Economic Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Madras Government.

Although the main thesis was written in 1926-27 what is embodied in it will still be found to be applicable to the conditions prevailing at present in this very important industry and some of the main changes that have since come upon this industry have been fully incorporated in this thesis.

The substitution of silk weaving by artificial silk weaving has been effected in many places, while in other places, cotton weaving has been replaced by silk weaving. It is largely true to say that weaving on rough cotton yarn has been given up in almost all places, its place being taken up by fine yarn, silk and artificial silk weaving.

The removal of the Cotton Excise Duty, the fall in the purchasing power of the masses, and the progressive cheapening of the mill cloth have all contributed much to the present depression in handloom weaving industry.

Although the earnings of weavers have gone down by at least 10 per cent since 1925, the fall in general level of prices has slightly helped them and therefore the standard of living of weavers has not very much altered since 1925. The recent boom of Sarada marriages has contributed not a little to the mitigation of the effects of the depression in this industry.

The survey of cottage industries organised by the Madras Government has added but little to our knowledge of the conditions of this and the kindred industries; instead of trying to study the conditions of employment, the nature of the relations between employers and employees, and the standard of living of workers and their masters, the special officer has confined his attention to the kind of work done and the nature of cloths manufactured. The suggestions made and the recommendations advanced by the special officer will be found to have been anticipated by me so long ago as 1925, apart from other solutions and recommendations suggested in this thesis.

Besides many other aspects of this industry, the following need the immediate and paternal attention of the State.

There is everywhere a crying need for more and more credit and unless special banking facilities are

provided, this industry cannot be properly financed. The present organisation of this industry is very primitive, uneconomical and inefficient and the only way by which it can be improved is by introducing better skilled and trained employers who are adequately financed by the special banks to be organised in future. The workers are mostly unskilled and inefficient and if their earnings are to be increased considerably, a proper system of apprenticeship must be provided. Most of the workers are to-day being hopelessly exploited by heartless and inefficient employers and a proper system of Trade Boards is urgently needed to safe-guard the interests of the workers, to improve their conditions of work, to increase their remuneration and to facilitate the introduction of new methods of work. Better Living Societies are urgently needed to improve the standard of living of weavers and to prevent such abuses as the consumption of toddy, Ganjai, Opium and the expenditure upon cock-fighting and gambling. The improvement of the status of women and children of weavers is an urgent need. If a better fitted sizing machine were to be introduced, their women can be induced to take to weaving and their children can profitably be left in the schools. The last but not the least important need of the weavers is the introduction and popularisation of co-operative methods of organisation.

It may not be out of place here to remark that in spite of the fact that much good work has been done by the Textile Departments of the various Provincial Governments, not much attention has been bestowed upon any of the above needs of this industry. I sincerely

hope that the newly constituted Cottage Industries Committee of the Madras Government will try to remember the elementary fact that a study of the weaver's life is not exhausted by an examination of the implements used and that a large number of activities lie beyond their implements.

I take this opportunity to thank Dr. Gilbert Slater D. Sc. (London) M. A., (Cantab), formerly professor of Economics in the University of Madras, and at present, Lecturer in Indian Finance at the London School of Economics, for the very valuable help, he has rendered me, when this thesis was being prepared. I must also thank my friend Mr. L. V. B. Chondary, B. A., (oxon.) Bar-at-Law, who has kindly undertaken the thankless task of proof reading. But for the valuable, willing and sincere co-operation of many hundreds of humble weavers, many of whom, I am very sorry to say are to-day starving for lack of food, I could not have collected the materials presented in this report. I am much obliged to Mr. G. V. Subbayya, a student of the Pachaiyappa's College for preparing the Index.

This book is dedicated to the late Sir, P. Thyagaraya Chetti, the former President of the Madras Corporation who was largely responsible for the introduction and popularisation of the fly-shuttle and who rendered invaluable help to the weavers and also to the voiceless but industrious weavers of India.

Pachaiyappa's }
College, }
15—4—1930. }

N. G. RANGA.

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CHAPTER I.

THE HANDLOOM WEAVING INDUSTRY.

The Handloom Weaving Industry of the Madras Presidency is second in importance only to Agriculture. There are nearly a million people supported by this industry. Many big towns are specially dependant upon it and people of many castes are brought up as weavers from their childhood. Factories and a considerable development of capitalistic organisation are found in this industry. Among the workers, skilled wage-earners, independent artisans, small employers as well as unskilled coolies are all to be found in it in great numbers, and many of the evils of industrialism are manifest.

In view of the fact that the Indian public is aroused to the dangers of western industrialism and the Nationalists are anxious to re-organise the cottage industries, a study of this industry becomes very necessary before any constructive scheme of industrialising the country can be developed. There are many misconceptions prevalent among the Nationalists about the condition of this industry and it is quite essential that they should be cleared away. For instance, it is generally believed that all weavers are independent artisans, that there are no capitalists, that there is no such thing as a factory system, and there is no such exploitation of the workers by

the employers as we find in the Western Countries,¹ and so on. It is my purpose to give a truer picture of the conditions prevailing in this industry.

According to the Census returns, the number of looms in use in the Presidency has been :—

Year.	No. of Looms.
1871	386,561
1881	360,000
1891	365,112
1901	381,132
1911	368,509
1921	169,403.

The decline shown of over 50% in the number of looms between 1911 and 1921 is so great as to arouse our suspicions as to the correctness of the figures for 1921. The report could not account for this fall. It remarked however, that "it is obvious there has been a considerable drop which cannot be altogether accounted for by factors such as the existence of the famine conditions in certain districts of the presidency at the time the Census was taken. As to whether the economic conditions of the hand-loom weavers have deteriorated during the last ten years it would be hazardous to express any decided opinion from the clear indications in certain urban centres of greater prosperity". Sir Alfred Chatterton observed in 1911 that "in the last 40 years the number of handloom weavers has remained stationary"². How could there be such a drop in the last decade?

1. For instance, Radhakamal Mukherjee "Foundations of Indian Economics", Pp. 369-376, 377-91 and 152-172.

2. Madras Census Report 1921 Vol I P 196

The war created an exceptional demand for the handloom weavers' cloth. The post-war boom in the cloth market lasted until 1921. Secondly, the Non-co-operation movement created a big demand for the cloth manufactured by these weavers during 1919 to 1923. Thirdly, the Kiles trade became more important in the last ten years than before, while the Madras handkerchiefs, the petu border cloths of Pedena and Ambazepettah centres and the silk industry of Peddapuram and Uppada, grew very much in importance in the same period. Fourthly, the widespread adoption of the fly-shuttle by the weavers in the Northern Circars brought many more people into the industry, since better wages became possible than before when the old loom was in use. Lastly, the Mill-industry could not have captured the work lost by the weavers as it consumed only 13,642,000 lbs. of yarn on the whole as against, the 54,220,500 lbs. used up by the handlooms in 1921. As a matter of fact, these looms consumed nearly as much yarn in 1921 as they did in 1911, that is, 59,857,333 lbs. of yarn. Though this industry has not kept pace with the additional prosperity of the people and the increase of population during that decade, it is safe to assume that so revolutionary a drop as is indicated in the Census returns, could not have occurred.

There is another consideration in support of the above conclusion. It is generally known among the weavers that there are on the average one man, one woman, and two children supported by one loom and this fact is borne out by the statistics of occupation of the Padmasale community. There were in 1921, 203,506 dependants for the 136,425 actual workers or

nearly 2 dependants for every worker. Therefore, if we take 3 persons as depending on one loom, then, we should have 20,963 looms in the Vizagpatam district in the hands of the Padmasales themselves, in addition to many more worked by the Devangas. But the estimate of the Census Report for the whole district comes to only 7,432 looms. There are two possible explanations for this divergence. (The Karanams who had very little knowledge of economics might have classed most of the Padmasales as agriculturists, since they happened to own also some land. Many Padmasales might probably have styled themselves as ryots because of the additional social status it gives them.) My own impression formed after an extensive tour in the centres of handloom weaving is, that every Padmasale and Devanga of this and other districts has a loom in his house, and works on it however rich he may be. Therefore, the Census estimate is thoroughly un-satisfactory for this district and the same observation holds good for other districts.

The Department of Industries at Madras estimated in 1922 that there were a million people dependant upon this industry. These people should have among them at east 333,000 looms. This figure is sure to be more correct than the Census estimate and it stands in far better relation with the 1911 figure.

Hereditary castes of handloom weavers :—*

Caste	Number of persons in 1921.
Kaikolans	406,638
Padmasale	339,931
Devangas	288,836
Togatas	69,723
total	1,105,128

* 1921 Census Report.

Even if we suppose that only a million of these people are still dependant upon weaving we get 333,000 looms. But there are many more thousands of Muham-madans, Sourastras, Barbers, and many people belonging to other Castes as well, who are engaged in this industry and so our figure is sure to be much lower than the actual number of looms in the Presidency.

We shall study the problems of this industry by grouping all the Ceded Districts and Chittoor into one group, the Circars into another, and the Southern districts into a third group. The five districts of the first group have much more in common with each other than with any districts of other groups. The important centres of these five districts are engaged in producing rough cloth which is chiefly exported to the Mysore and Nizam dominions and also to the Mahratta country. This cloth comes into competition to a greater extent than that made in the other two groups with the mill-made cloth. The Circars are famous for the Kile, Head-rumal and petu-border cloths. These cloths do not come into competition with those of the mills. They satisfy the special demands of the consumers and here the mills are at a disadvantage. The Southern districts differ from the above two regions in that, the weavers there, have, being mostly Tamilian a different standard of living from that of the Audhra weavers of the Northern Circars.

The government has conducted several enquiries into this industry to ascertain approximately the number of looms in the different centres, the kind of cloth manufactured, the places to which they are exported,

and, most important of all, the kind of machines used. Neither the Government nor any private enquirer has gathered any information about the economic organisation, the relations between the employers and the employees, the wages or earnings of the weavers, or their standard of living. It is attempted in this enquiry to shed some light upon these and other problems of this industry.

The writer has been able to make a detailed study of the conditions of handloom weaving in fifteen districts and to collect some valuable information for three more districts out of the 23 districts of the Presidency. Difficulties of language prevented the author from getting a detailed information about the Tamilian country. Hundreds of weavers have kindly helped him and he has given the names of their leaders in the list he has given in the appendix. In many places the weavers were afraid that the author was a Government spy and many merchants feared that if they gave information about their business they would afterwards be taxed. He had many times the experience of being pursued by crowds of weavers who wanted to drive away the hated Government spy. Several times the Magistrates of the places kindly extended their protection to him. In spite of these difficulties the writer was often able to win the confidence of the leaders of the weavers and so he could get the information, most of which he has herein presented to the public.

Adoni Centre. There are about 700 looms in the Adoni Municipality besides another 200 which are enga-

ged in manufacturing the "Adoni carpets" and kumbals.¹ These looms are employed in the following way.

No. of looms.	Kind of Cloth Manufactured.
250	rough white cloth.
200	sarees of 16 to 20s
150	middle class sarees
100	semi-silk sarees.

There are further 250 looms in the neighbouring villages which are engaged in manufacturing rough white cloth. This cloth as well as sarees of 16s to 20s find a very good market in the Ceded Districts. Sarees with silk borders and silk mixed in the fabric which cost Rs 10 to 20 each and are mostly worn by the middle classes, as well as sarees and ravikas which contain as much silk as cotton, are all exported to the Mysore Dominions. The carpets manufactured here are exported to all parts of India and have won an unrivalled fame which their quality so richly deserves.

Yarn Market. Yarn of 10½, 12, 20, 24 counts is imported into Adoni from Warrad, Jammu, Juna, and Lakshmi mills of Scholapur. Yarn of 24s and 30s is also bought from the Buckingham and Carnatic mills in Madras while the Choolai mill, also in Madras, supplies mostly yarn of 20s. The Hubli Spinning Mills supply yarn of 10, 12, 20, 30, 40 counts and yarn of 6½, 10, 12, 20, 24, and 30 counts is got from the Gokak Spinning and Weaving mills. Only very little Japanese yarn is imported into this centre. Mercerised cotton

¹ Cumbals are wollen rugs, which are used mostly by shepherds for use in winter.

yarn is imported from London and Japan through the Madras and Bombay merchants. Dyes are got through the agents of the Bombay Co. who have their own agents in Adoni. Indigo which is used on a large scale is bought from the ryots who go there from Proddatur and Vellore. Now a days synthetic indigo is coming from Germany.

Silk. The silk which is used in this centre is mostly imported from Mysore provinces, namely Kollegal, Bangalore, Chennapatnam, Madhur and Chikkabholpur. Sometimes it is imported from Japan especially during September, October, November and December when the silk produced in Mysore is not sufficient for the local consumption. The Chinese silk which comes to Adoni through Bombay is exported from Kakdia, Kubeen and Lachum. A dye locally called Kapalee but which is also known as "Kamala powder" is imported from Germany and other countries, for use on silk.

There are about 20 merchants in Adoni who deal specially in selling yarn to and buying cloth from capitalist employers. Many of them are Marwaris¹ who have become in recent years very important in the yarn market of this place. Each of these merchants has invested from twenty to fifty thousand rupees. These merchants compete with each other and yet according to one of them, they realise at least 15% profit on dyes, and 5 to 6% on yarn. They are also able to make profits on their trade in cloths.

¹ Marwaris came originally from the Marwar and they are to be found everywhere in India. They are very enterprising and successful business people and they specialise in money lending.

There are about 20 capitalist employers who buy their own yarn and themselves sell their cloth. Each of them has 50 to 200 workers directly under him, together with 10 to 20 petty employers. Each of these petty employers has again 5 to 10 people in his workshop, and he is dependent upon the capitalist employer to give him credit. Sowcargee Bhingee, an Adoni capitalist employer, assures me that a man who invests Rs. 10,000 in importing yarn and silk, manufacturing cloth out of them and exporting the cloth, will be able to make at least 50% profit per year. *

More than half of the weavers of this place work in their own houses. They get yarn from the capitalist employers, make it into cloth, give the employers the cloth and get paid in return the piece-rate wages. The capitalists have to give a loan of Rs. 50 to 100 free of interest to each of their workers, in order to persuade them to work. Such a worker is usually advanced petty sums in addition, to buy his provisions while working. Besides he is indebted to his employer to the extent of Rs. 50 to 200 which he may have borrowed either to celebrate his marriage or perform a religious ceremony or for some similar unproductive purpose. There is no interest paid on these sums and so there is no incentive for the workers to clear these debts.

If any of these workers dies without leaving a son, the employer loses all his advances to him; if a son happens to live, then, he is made to work under the same employer until the debts are cleared. As there is no chance of clearing such debts, these workers and their descendents automatically become economic slaves

and they are treated as such by their employers. In spite of all this, these workers are in a position to threaten their employers that they will leave Adoni for the Assam plantations or some other distant place and coerce them into advancing more money from time to time, because the latter are unwilling to lose their employees and the advances.

About 15% of the total number of artisans are independent weavers, but unfortunately the number of these has recently been decreasing because of the continuous slump in the market for over two years. Most of them are leaving the town for Cuttack, Belgaum, and Hubli in search of employment. During the last year more than 1000 people have left Adoni in this way. A leader of these weavers says "There is no one to give them help, no one to advance them money on interest and every capitalist has his own difficulties in satisfying the needs of his own employees. It appears that it will not be long before all these weavers of this centre are absorbed among either the wage earners or the emigrants from the town." It is very unfortunate that there should be none to help them and they are so conscious of their independence and are habituated to face the employers as equals. They are generally superior to the cooly weavers because they take risks well and wisely and market their own goods in the best market. They can get themselves employed but they hate to become employees. They are emigrating at great risk to their health and lives. It was only in August 1924 that a thousand workers of this district, many of whom were weavers went to the Assam Tea Plantations to find that the wages were only Rs. 8 a month. As a protest, they

wanted to leave for their own place which was 2000 miles away and having no money to go by train they decided to walk the whole distance. Many of them perished on the way through Cholera and starvation. But emigration seems to be the only salvation for most of them.

The cooly weavers own neither their houses nor the looms. They live in rented houses and work in their employers' workshops. It is this helpless labour which the petty employers try to exploit. These coolies are never given higher advances than those that are just sufficient to buy their weekly provisions. They are paid piece-rate wages but they are cheated most unscrupulously in the rates paid and the measures used.

Yemmiganurn, Gudikkal and Kosigi have each about 200 looms, and most of the weavers are under employers. They work longer hours than those in Adoni, but earn much less. The merchants of these places buy yarn in Adoni and sell the cloth in the local and Adoni markets.

Commercial Organisation. Adoni cloth is exported to the Mysore Dominions and to the Northern Circars. The Adoni merchants do not keep their agents in the different markets to which they supply their cloth and it is very seldom that they send any travelling agents to find new markets. The buyers from different consuming centres go to them and buy the cloth. The only agent they ever send out is instructed to collect the arrears from these buyers, and to get orders from them.

The responsibility of finding new consumers for their cloth falls thus upon the merchants of these consuming

centres. But these merchants are susceptible to the relative prices of different kinds of cloth and they show but little loyalty to any particular kind of cloth if something else pays them. Yet Adoni depends upon this very risky basis of its industry for its very livelihood. In other countries, the merchants on the spot would have had their own agents in all the markets to push the consumption of their goods and to popularise their cloth with newer and better designs.

Oravakonda Centre. We have an entirely different atmosphere in Oravakonda. The whole trade is controlled by a few Marwaris who monopolise the business in yarn in this centre. They give credit to all the employers in the town, and they charge 18% interest from the date when the employers buy yarn on credit, and this by itself is a lucrative trade apart from profits from the sales of yarn. They buy yarn in Sholapur and Bombay from their fellow Marwaris who charge them only 7½% interest as against their charges of 18% for the local merchants. If other merchants go to the Bombay merchants they are charged 18% interest, and it is to this invidious difference shown towards the Marwaris that the latter owe their great success. For instance Mr. Ahma-gee who came to this place only four years ago with Rs. 10,000 in hand is now lending Rs. 35,000 and the difference, of Rs. 25,000 is the profit he has made in the last three years. It is not easy to understand to what extent the employers of this place are exploited by these Marwaris.

The employers, who number about 300, differ from those in Adoni in that they are not capitalists as well

and they do business with borrowed money or on credit. Each of them has 20 to 50 workers under him and 5 to 15 in his own workshop. It is very difficult to say whether any of these employers would be found solvent if his accounts were to be examined to-day. They are losing very heavily, and yet they continue to work lest they should be declared insolvent by their creditors. Every year there are two or more insolvencies. But they are themselves partly responsible for their present unenviable position because they are very bad organisers and great drunkards. They are too lazy to apply themselves to their work and they depend mostly upon the labour of their women for their livelihood.

The total amount of capital that is said to be invested in the trade of this centre amounts to Rs. 100,000. The cloth manufactured here is exported to the Mysore Dominions, and the neighbouring districts. The Kandupan sarees in different colours and borders which are manufactured in this centre are worn by the women of the Deccan. The imitation silk, Melulakhi, Khirudalaki, Nimbavalanchu, Parrot beak border, Mukku anchu, ¹ Yarn silk karri vallalu are some of the varieties which are manufactured in Oravakonda. These sarees are usually worn by women employed on the tea and coffee plantations of south India.

There are about 1500 looms in this town and another 1,000 in the neighbouring villages. Most of the workers are wage-earners working in their own houses on their own looms, but with the yarn advanced by the employers. They are paid piece-rate wages. They

1. 'Anchu' is an Andhra word, meaning border.

are all given Rs. 20 to 200 each as an advance free of interest by these employers and very few of them are able to clear those debts. They stand in the same relation to their employers as those in Adoni except for two facts. They are more demoralised and their employers are less able to support them during times of slack trade than those in the other town. They drink very heavily and they are hopelessly lazy. They are most untrustworthy and so the employers are trying their best to increase the number of workers in their workshops. Since they cannot help it, the workers have become by this time quite accustomed to working in employers' workshops. Unfortunately for the employers, neither the number nor the size of their factories can be increased because of the congestion of housing in the town.

There are about 500 looms worked by independent artisans who borrow money and yarn from the Marwaris and sell the cloth to the merchant that goes to them. They have of late become very heavily indebted and they are charged 18% interest and they can therefore be considered as helpless as the wage-earners.

It had been a common practice in this town for the employers to invoke the aid of the 'Breaches of Contract Act' which was happily repealed in April 1925, to bring back the workers who run away from time to time to other places, because they (the workers) could not pay back the advances given to them. The treatment accorded to the workers is really inhuman, unbearable and disgusting. The workers are supposed to be a sort of

serfs of the employers. They are thrashed brutally and sometimes they are even imprisoned with no food. I was informed by the Secretary of the local Co-operative society on whose evidence I can rely, that once there was a worker who, when he was brought before a Magistrate on a charge of having run away from his employer and asked by him whether he would prefer to go to his employer or jail, quickly replied that he would rather go to jail. If the employers treat the workers very badly, the latter refuse to work and any amount of scolding and thrashing will not induce them to return to work.

Commercial Organisation. The employers do not advertise their cloth. The buyers go to Oravakonda and pay 3% commission to the employer who sells them cloth worth Rs. 100 to 150 at a time, on three months credit free of interest. The employers often try to cheat the buyers by passing a cloth as broader than it is, thus hoping to make three annas per saree or about 5½% in all. Through this bad practice, the good name of the market is suffering. The co-operative society charges only 1% commission and does not follow the bad practices of the employers. But it sells for ready cash. It has advertised its cloth in all the chief consuming centres but relies mainly upon the present practice of selling on commission.

Mungani System. In Karnool, Tadpatri, Praddatur and Nagari centres, the Mungani System of organisation is generally prevalent. There are three parties under this system:—the capitalist, the actual employer and the workers. The Capitalist advances yarn at the

market rate to the employer and sometimes lends him some money. The latter agrees in return to sell the cloth of equivalent weight to the same capitalist at the market rate prevalent on the day of delivery. This employer engages one to ten workers to work for him. Some workers are allowed to work in their own houses, while others are obliged to work in the employer's workshop.

The capitalist always tries to sell a box of yarn at a higher price than the market rate and he can do so, because the employer is in dire need of supplies of yarn to carry on his work and to keep his employees working. The employer on the other hand attempts to sell the cloth, manufactured from the yarn so advanced, to other merchants when prices are much higher than those which his own capitalist is ready to offer. It is evident that such employers have to bear the brunt of fluctuations in both yarn and cloth market; for a fall in the price of cloth, when no compensating factors are present, is enough to ruin them. At the same time this system creates chances for hundreds of pushful artisans to rise from the ranks through thrift, organising capacity and skill in risk taking. But employers of ordinary skill quickly lose their places whenever any violent fluctuations in prices occur and descend to the ranks of employees again.

The weavers who have their own houses and who are trusted by the employers are allowed to work in their own houses with the yarn given out by the employers. They receive piece-rate wages, when the cloth is finished. But the other weavers who are in a greater

number than the former are not trusted with the materials and so have to work in the workshops, on the looms supplied by the employers. The employers advance the monies, whenever needed, to their workers of all kinds. The workers usually have to borrow, whenever they have to celebrate a marriage or a feast or to pay a doctor. The employers can easily compel these workers to go without some enjoyment or to postpone a marriage.

*Kurnool Centre.**

Kurnool is the third big centre upon which more than 20 villages are dependent for the supplies of yarn and for the disposal of cloth. The weaving business of this centre is controlled by a few yarn merchants and a host of small employers. Nayapatlu Sarees, ¹ Ravikas, Susis, ² rough Dhoties and ordinary dyed sarees are manufactured in this centre apart from the very important silk weaving industry of Kodumudu, a village about 20 miles away from the town of Kurnool.

The weavers of this centre are either independent artisans or Mungaui workers. The former belong mostly to the neighbouring villages, while the latter predominate in Kurnool town. Mr. Sale Subbanna of Kurnool

** Kurnool Centre:—*

Place	No. of looms.
Kurnool	675
Maddigara	100
Kallur	100
Jolapur	150
Kodumudu	750
Total	1775

1. Made of imitation silk. 2. Worn by Musalman women.

says that there are only 50 looms in the town which are worked by independent artisans. These independent artisans get yarn on credit from the local merchants and pay a high rate of interest on the credit given. But they are free to sell to whomsoever they like. They usually have some lands and some credit with the merchants. But 90% of the weavers of this centre are Mungani workers. As usual, these are poor, heavily indebted and devoid of all credit.

The lot of the employers of the town is very unenviable indeed in view of the fact that the workers have become very mobile, impatient of any control over them and unwilling to pay back the advances given to them. Being devoid of all sense of honour, having no property, possessing no good name to lose, these workers are becoming very untrustworthy, and the employers find it quite impossible to carry on their trade under this Mungani organisation. Before long these employers may be reduced to the state of mere independent artisans, if not coolies, and then will commence the trouble for the workers at large, because the market will be thoroughly dislocated. The capitalists will then be obliged to begin to give out work to the workers at large, on a piece-rate basis, as is the practice in Adoni and Oravakonda.

Mr. Baburao, an employer in Kurnool, said, "we used to have 18 looms under us, but most of the workers went away without paying the advances given because they feared they would never be able to clear them. We have now only 5 looms working, two of which are worked by my brothers, and the rest by weavers, who have rented each loom at 4 as. per month. We have lost

nearly Rs. 2000 because of this bad faith on the part of the workers." This can be said a typical instance of the position of the employers. But it is wrong to conclude that the workers are altogether demoralised because in most cases such debts were contracted by their forefathers and were accumulating under the onerous rates of interest and the artisans do not feel bound to clear them. The workers, however, stand to lose through this practice in the long run. It is true that they labour under many disabilities and are glad to run away from the town. But it would serve them better if they organise themselves well and if their leaders put their case before the employers and the country. However, the organisation of the market in the surrounding villages is not so demoralised and the Mungani System is still the rule there. The cloth produced in these villages is sold locally to ryots and the agricultural workers.

Commercial Organisation. The Muhammadan lungis and susis are exported directly to Madras. The 100 employers who deal in silk cloth export their goods to Belary market. They usually go themselves and sell them in that market. The rough cloth is consumed locally.

Tadpatri Centre. Tadpatri is another very important centre of handloom weaving and Yadaki is its weaving suburb. Peddapappur is quite a big centre, which is controlled to a very great extent by Tadpatri merchants. All the neighbouring villages, are dependent upon Kurnool and Pedapappur. There are 12 Marwaris in these centres but they have not yet monopolised the yarn market, and a few Vaisyas play quite an important part in it. The Marwaris as well as the Vaisyas advance

yarn to employers and make at least 15% profit on such sales, and the former charge, 18% and the latter 12% interest on the purchases of yarn, from the day of purchase. These people do not deal with Mungani employers.

There are in addition about 12 capitalist employers who engage many Mungani employers. One of them gives the following account of his business. "We buy all our yarn in this market from the Marwaris because we find it more profitable than to import directly from Bombay Marwaris. Then we get the yarn dyed by our workers. We have four workers to do this and we pay three of them at Rs. 18. each and Rs. 8. to the other as he is a boy of 18 years. We use Alizarine, Nepthal and Congo colours, which we buy from companies in Bombay and Madras. We dye yarn at Rs. 6/-per 10 lbs. About 20 people are buying from us 300 boxes of 10 lbs. each of dyed yarn per month. In this business we get about 4 annas per bundle as profit. Cuddapah, Kamalapur, Janmalamadugu, Proddatur merchants are our customers. We have 25 Mungani employers, to whom we give out about 100 boxes of yarn in a month. They come mainly from Tadpatri, Bodapalle, Erragudi and Sammalur. The people of all other villages buy yarn on one month's credit free of interest and they sell their cloth independently. But they have to pay 12% interest for the period that elapses after the first month. They take yarn worth Rs. 30 to 50 each. The 25 Mungani employers usually give Rs. 20 to 30 as advance to each of their workers and get them to work regularly in their own workshops if possible, otherwise in the houses of the workers themselves." A Vaisya merchant complains that the mill owners of Bombay sell yarn to Marwaris at

special prices and charge only 6% interest and give one or two months credit, but they insist upon ready cash if the Vaisyas want to buy.

The dying business is organised into another branch and is mostly controlled by small men who have each a capital of about Rs. 2000 and who work with the aid of 5 to 10 people. The employers and the merchants give their yarn to these masters in dying and pay them according to the number of yards dyed. The dyers have to buy the dyes and maintain their workers. The employees in this business are usually paid monthly salaries ranging from Rs. 8 to 15 a month. Only very highly skilled workers are paid Rs. 15/- each per month. There are 15 big houses and 20 small ones in this branch.

The Mungani System claims 90% of the workers and the rest are coolies working under the artisans engaged by the Mungani employers. The Commercial System does not differ from that prevalent in the Kurnool centre. Most of the cloth manufactured here is exported to the Mysore Dominions.

Proddatur Centre. Proddatur and Jammalamadugu form an independent centre and almost the same conditions as are found in Kurnool prevail here. Here is an account of the extensive business of Mr. Nagumayya of Proddatur. He imports yarn from Madura, Madras, Bombay, and Hubli. He says "We borrow money at 9% and invest it on yarn. We sell yarn worth one lakh of Rupees in a year, out of which we give out yarn worth Rs. 50,000 to merchants of the neighbouring villages and the rest of the yarn is given directly to our

Mungani employers. There are 150 Mungani employers under us, and each of them takes yarn worth Rs. 100 to 150 at a time. He also takes five to six Rupees from time to time before clearing his debts. According to our special system of Mungani, we agree to take sarees at fixed prices, thus lessening the risk borne by our Mungani employers." This special Mungani System is very advantageous to the weavers, as it lessens the fear of fluctuations in prices of cloth.

Most of the merchants of this town complain that they find it unprofitable to give work under this special Mungani System as the quality of cloth brought to them by the Mungani employers is very inferior and they are obliged to take even such cloth according to this system. The employers do not take the cloth to the merchants just when it is in great demand but sell it in the market to small hawkers who pay higher prices. But when the market is dull, they find it more profitable to take as much cloth as possible to their regular merchants. Naturally, the merchants do not like this bad faith and it is no wonder that some of them like Mr. Nagumayya have begun to deal with the independent artisans and other weavers directly without the intervention of these Mungani weavers. And yet another reason for this tendency is that the merchants are unable to secure for their well woven cloth better prices than those realised by the hawkers for cloth which is much inferior.

Lotus Lines, Larkky, Bounty Lotus, Maheswari, Tilakampetu, Paris Petu, white border are some of the varieties manufactured in Proddatur.

Jammalamadugu Centre. Jammalamadugu is the chief centre for the Jammalamadugu Taluk and there are nearly 1500 looms in the town. Most of the employers of this town used to depend upon the Proddatur merchants and Mr. Nagumayya himself has to-day 60 to 70 thousand Rupees of yarn business with the merchants of this place. But three years ago, some of these merchants became insolvent and so the Proddatur merchants gave up giving credit to them. Mr. Nagumayya depends upon the Mungani System in his business with this town, in which there are at present only four merchants who import yarn independently and carry on a big business.

The commercial organisation does not differ in its essentials from that prevailing in Adoni. Mr. Nagumayya says, "When we sell our cloth we give our customers long time credit for 3 to 4 months free of interest." The cloth of this centre is exported to Dharwar, Hubli, Belgaum and other parts of the Bombay Presidency. The merchants here get their orders usually through letters from their regular customers. Ever since the competition of the Sholapur mills these merchants have been obliged to give such long and free credit but formerly they used to charge 12% interest from the day of purchase.

*Nagari Centre :—*Ekambrakuppam, Nagari, Puttur, Proddaturpettah and Amnavarikuppam, all form another centre which controls most of the weaving industry of the Chittoor District. There are 8 big merchants in Nagari, who import yarn directly from Madras. They give yarn on credit to the merchants of the neighbouring villages. Puttur has eight big merchants who

import yarn from Madras, Bellary, Nagari and Madura. They sell Rs. 2000 worth of yarn per week. Half of the money invested on yarn comes back within a week after the sale is effected and the other half during the second week. These people are doing very little business owing to the recent slump in the cloth market. But in normal times, each of these merchants is able to earn Rs. 300 to 400 a month, after realising 12% interest on the money invested. Most of the merchants say that they are able to make Rs. 4 per month on each of their workers, during normal times. Mungani System is specially prevalent in the Nagari and its neighbourhood. But piece-rate wages are paid to most of the workers in Puttur and its neighbourhood.

The cloth manufactured in this centre is exported to Kalahasti, Gudur, Nellore, Mysore Dominions and Conjeevaram. The kiles are sent to the Madras merchants. But most of the cloth produced here is rough dhories and sarees and is locally consumed.

The Commercial Organisation of Silk and 'Lace' Weaving Centres. Rayadrug, in which silk sarees are produced on a large scale, sends out no special agents to advertise its manufactures. The capitalist employers, who predominate in this town, keep their stocks of cloth in their own dark and squalid houses, which can only be reached with very great difficulty through crooked lanes in the most insanitary part of the town, and wait for the merchants of the consuming centres to go to them and buy their cloth. There is a Thursday market in the town but they think it beneath their dignity to offer their sarees in it for sale. Even those

who manufacture cotton cloth do not exhibit their cloth but sell it to some three people who resell it in the market. Everyone of these merchants has some customers in different consuming centres, to each of whom he advances Rs. 500 to 1000 worth of goods on free credit expecting to be paid back in a month or two.

In Bellary, the merchants keep their stocks in very attractive rooms close to the high road and display their sarees in the most alluring way in glass cases. The Rayadrug and Bellary silk sarees are exported to the Mysore Dominions. The excellent silk sarees, manufactured in Dharmavaram are exported to Madras, Bangalore, Mysore, Kumbakonam, Srirangam, Trichinopoly and the Northern Circars. The merchants of these places go to Dharmavaram and buy the stocks. There are only five big merchants in the town and they sell their sarees at the same prices, since they understand that it is in their interests to do so. They give 2½ months credit to the buyers who each take 20 to 50 sarees costing Rs. 1000 to 2000 at a time and it will be 3 months before the money is collected fully. Very often the Dharmavaram merchants are obliged to send their agents to collect the arrears. The Madhavaram laced goods are exported to all parts of the Circars, Mysore Dominions, the Ceded Districts and the Tamil Country. The employers of this place send their agents to see their customers; collect the arrears and secure fresh orders. The buyers also come to Madhavaram, during the marriage season.

Pullampettah. Mr. N. V. Subbiah, the most prominent capitalist employer of Pullampettah says: "Our

advertising branch is very ill developed. Only small merchants go and sell their cloth in other places. The rest stay here, get orders from their customers and export the cloth to them. They send agents to canvass for orders among these customers. They give cloth on one month's credit, free of interest and say that they will charge 12% interest afterwards. But actually no such interest is charged. There is no competition between Madhavaram and our place. Every-thing depends upon the customary prices and wages. Through a peculiar development of the industry, some of our merchants deal only with the Circars, some others with the Tamil country and so on and they never encroach upon one another's sphere of influence."

Competition. The Sholapur mills are coming into competition with the cloth manufactured in Oravakonda. and Adoni and the handloom weavers are losing very heavily in their exports to the Mysore provinces because of this competition. Mr. Ramdas, the Secretary of the Co-operative Weavers' Association of Oravakonda said in April 1925. "The mills sent their agents in groups to every village some ten years ago and they took our samples and helped the mills to prepare for the competition. They began to advertise their new cloths and after a high stage of development, the agents were stopped. Now the mills keep only wholesale dealers." The mill-made-cloth is fast in colour, exactly 8 yards long and its weaving is far better. All the handloom weaving places are adversely affected by this competition because their cloth is four annas dearer than the mill-made-cloth. Before the war, weavers were not used to weave white cloth but during the war many people took to wearing

white garments and so there had sprung up a great trade in this centre. After the war, the demand for these white clothes has fallen because of the foreign competition. Weavers can only sell at 8 to 9 As. a square yard and though there is another kind of white cloth at 4 to 5 annas a yard it shrinks. The Chinese grey cloth is sold in this place at 6½ As. per yard. So it is impossible for them to compete with the foreign as well as Indian mill-made-cloth. Oravakonda weavers have to compete with the manufactures of handlooms of other places, for instance, Kosigi sarees, Conjeevaram sarees, Pappur sarees are all sold much cheaper than the Oravakonda sarees. They are all losing in this competition because they merely want to get rid of the stocks on hand. The handloom weavers of all these places are producing more and more to lessen the prices but indirectly they are only competing with each other and bringing their disaster, nearer and nearer through this short sighted, cut-throat competition.

The Tadpatri cloth also is coming into conflict with the Indian-mill-made cloth in its supply to the Mysore market. Day by day, the weavers find it impossible to stand before the competition of the mills. Everything depends upon the experiments that are being made by the Textile Department to bring out their sizing machine and to get it exploited by the handloom weavers because it is in this direction, economies of manufacture can be effected in the handloom weaving industry. Unless the organisation of the industry is bettered in many respects it is impossible for it to hold its Mysore markets any longer. Within the Mahrattas

country, the hand-loom weavers of the Proddatur centre have had a practical monopoly¹ in the past but the Indian mills have gradually begun to compete more successfully and before long the Proddatur centre will be put in the same helpless position as that of Oravakonda, Adoni, and Tadpatri.

If the handloom weaving industry were to make any progress at all and if it were to give employment to more people at better wages and under better conditions, it cannot afford to go on with this very defective commercial organisation. Nowhere in the whole of these five districts can any of these merchants find any accommodation with any bank whatever.¹ Every one of them is obliged to keep 5 to 10 thousand rupees locked up with their customers free of interest for a period of 3 to 4 months. Nowhere in the whole of the presidency can we find any big shop corresponding to the Whiteaway Laidlaw or Chellaram to advertise the production of the handlooms. If the handlooms were to compete with the mills with any advantage, there should be regular travelling agents who would go on advertising the goods of different places. There should be appointed Trade Commissioners both in the Nizam and Mysore Dominions to gather information about the present and prospective demand for the goods of the handlooms, the position of the mill-made goods compared with the handloom goods

¹ 1. The Imperial Bank of India has branches in the 4 Capital towns of the Ceded Districts but its charter does not allow it to give credit without collateral securities or to finance industry. The merchants are often unable to provide such securities and those who can give them are unable to persuade the English Agents of the Bank to trust them. The Co-operative Credit movement is not even able to help the ryots who control it and is not willing to help weavers.

in the same market and in short the condition of the market for the hand-woven goods of these provinces and to publish it in such a way as can be understood by the handloom weavers. The Government should establish a commercial intelligence department which would be publishing Periodicals in which the condition of the cloth market, the position of the handloom woven goods and the possible ways of competing with the mill-made goods would be demonstrated for the advantage of the weavers. It is also necessary that practical hints should be given to introduce new designs, and to popularise the use of better machines among the weavers. Everyone of the centres we have discussed, needs more than 10 lakhs of Rupees and some of them like Adoni and Madhavaram want 20-30 lakhs of Rupees to finance their respective businesses in cloth. But if their business were to be developed to its maximum capacity, nearly 6 times as much capital is needed and it is not necessary to produce any great proof to say that such money is not available at present in any of these centres. Therefore, we need a special bank in the Ceded Districts to finance the weaving business. The bank would also be able to realise very high dividends in view of the fact that there is an extensive credit business done in this industry and that very high rates of interest prevail at present which are only an outward demonstration of an unsatisfying and unsatiated demand for money.

CHAPTER II.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ORGANISATION.

Northern Circars. We have ten big handloom-weaving centres in the Circars, namely Kalahasti and Venkatagiri centre, Chirala and Vetapalem centre, Bhatiprolu centre, Pedana centre, Ellore and Pentapadu centre, Palakole centre, Ambajeepeettah centre, Peddapur and Uppada centre, Vizianagaram centre, Chicacole, Santa Bommali and Ichhapur centre.

The most important kinds of cloth produced in these districts are¹ kiles, ¹ head rumals, ² dhoties and sarees which are consumed locally and also petu³ and silk cloths.

With regard to kiles, Kalahasti, Venkatagiri, Chirala, Vetapalem, Ellore and Pedana have all the same kind of organisation. Merchants buy the yarn in Madras and they sell a part of it to smaller merchants and both these give the yarn out to weavers, to be worked into kile pieces. Both the big and the small merchants have to go to Madras to sell their cloth. Only for a fortnight,

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1. Kiles is the name given to Muhammadan clothing. Susis are worn by their women and lungis by men. Both susis and lungis are called kiles.
 2. Head Rumals are clothes worn by Deccanese as turbans. They are plain white clothes with very common borders.
 3. Petu border cloths are dhoties and upper-cloths with borders in which intricate designs are woven. They are worn in the Circars by Brahmins and higher middle classes.

just before Ránjan, ¹ the Madras Merchants go to these merchants in various places to get the number of pieces they want. At all other times of the year, it is the merchants of the manufacturing centres who go to Madras and canvass for orders. Very often they are obliged to stay for long or dispose of their goods at dead cheap rates, owing to the temporary or permanent dullness of the market, and the merchants in Madras are masters of the situation and dictate their own terms. Having speculated upon the markets of Madras and having gone to Madras with all their money in the form of goods, these merchant-employers are at times compelled to sell at very low rates, in order to buy new stocks of yarn to get things going at home. The kiles are exported to Singapore, Penang, Saigon, Aden, East Africa for the Muhammadan emigrants of India and the export merchants of Madras are paid in foreign money. If the exchange turns against the trade, as it has done in the years 1925-27 then for the same amount of cloth, a less amount of money in rupees is got and so, the wages paid to the workers are correspondingly reduced. The appreciation of the rupee in relation to other monies, is against the interests of these weavers.

There is not much fear of foreign competition as regards kiles, for, it is a special kind of manufacture and there are so many different designs and patterns for each of which there is only a small demand. And so it would be practically impossible to manufacture it on machine looms. The Germans tried to produce them just before the war and succeeded to some extent. But the Singhalese found that mosquitoes could bite through them

1. A festive period of a fortnight for the Mussalmans when most Muhammadans buy most of their clothing for ensuing year

and so they preferred the kiles of our looms, which are mosquito proof. No other attempt has been made till now to produce kiles on machine looms. Though skill is not well remunerated by the work on the kiles, industry is better paid in this work than in anything else, except in the case of the head runals and the Madras handkerchiefs. The more a worker produces, the more he is paid and it is more easy to produce greater quantities of kiles than any other cloth. So, there is just that margin of remuneration between a lazy and an industrious worker which is lacking in the manufacture of sarces. Men and women can work on this, so light is the work. The fly shuttle is handy and the loom is very light and easy and can therefore be worked even by young people, both boys and girls.

Rao Saheb Baidla Bapayya of Vetapalem is the only merchant of moffisil who ventured into international trade and organised the market in Singapore. He made a lot of money and helped Vetapalem weavers to get better wages. All other merchants rely upon the Madras exporters and are therefore subject to all kinds of handicaps.

Head runals are manufactured in the Palakol and Ambazeepettah centres and are chiefly exported to Bellary, Adoni, Raichur, Hyderabad, Sholapur Bagalkot, Poona and other places up to Bombay. These runals are squares $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ yds. each, costing according to the quality from 12 annas to 24 annas in 40s, and Rs. 2-2 $\frac{1}{2}$ as. each, in 80s. The wage paid per piece of 48 yds. is Rs. 9. Out of this, warping costs Rs. 1 and oil and canjee a piece. A weaver can produce two pieces a month and can therefore earn Rs. 14.

Just the same kind of lack of foresight and organisation which are common features of the Ceded Districts are to be found here, in these merchants. They pay more attention than they ought to, to the prices of yarn, but they neglect the marketing side of their cloth. The merchants are concerned about the profits they can make out of their sales of yarn and they do not seem to mind much, if they cannot make any profit on the selling of the cloth to the distant wholesale consumers. They give credit to these wholesale dealers, free of interest and try to recover the money as soon as possible. They are fortunately not obliged to send their agents, as is the case in the Ceded Districts, to collect their arrears and their customers are rather prompt in paying. It is very difficult to see why the mills can not produce such rough runals, as most of these are. The weavers themselves are unable to give any explanation, and yet they seem to be utterly ignorant of the danger of competition which may begin any day.

The weavers who are manufacturing white, dyed, and rough cloths, are faring very badly in the Godavari District because they depend upon the local consumption, which is very elastic owing to the merciless competition of mill cloth. The prices of Kora-sine ¹ of 40s have gone down, from 20 to 24 Rs. in 1919 for 38 yards to Rs. 12. in 1925, or nearly by 50%. On the other hand, the hand-woven 5½ Yds. cloth is sold for Rs. 2 to Rs. 2—2—0. or a cloth of 38 yards sells at Rs. 14 to 14—14—0. To manufacture 38 yards of cloth, 14 lbs. of yarn at 12 as. a pound, is necessary and so the yarn comes to Rs. 10-8-0, sizing costs Rs. 2, while oil and canjee come to 10 as., which make a total of Rs. 13—2—6. Supposing the

1. It is a grey cloth, worn by poor people in India.

whole piece is sold at the maximum price of Rs. 14-14-0, then, the weaver is left with only Rs. 1-12-0. per piece. If the price of yarn is less or the price of cloth more, the remuneration of the weaver increases. If the costs of sizing come down, then his earnings will rise. For instance, a worker, who gets his sizing done by others, can prepare a piece in a week and so he earns Rs. 7 per month, while another, who does his own sizing, can prepare only 3 pieces a month but can earn Rs. 10-8-0, a month. That is why most weavers do their own sizing and their co-operative method of preparing the sizing, by mutually helping each other, enables them to earn something more than they would, if sizing was done by others.

The grey goods, produced in Bhattiprolu, Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts, are worn by the people in the villages and so they depend upon this special demand. The people of Repalle taluk have developed a taste for hand-woven goods ever since the Non-co-operation movement, but we cannot be sure how long this special demand will last, and so the Bhattiprolu weavers may probably have to face the same disaster as those of Nagari and Pentapadu centres. The people of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts have not yet lost their liking for rough and coarse cloth manufactured there and so the weavers there, can hope to enjoy a stable demand for some time to come.

Petu border cloths are a new introduction whose story is given in the fourth chapter. They are produced in the Pedana and Ambajeeputta centres and are consumed mostly in the Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts. There is a great future for the manufacture of these cloths but the merchants should advertise their

goods far more energetically and directly than they do at present.

Venkatagiri and Kalahasti. There are ten merchants in Kalahasti who import and supply yarn to the weavers who work in and around the place. There are as many in Venkatagiri and five in Mallapettah. They pay piece-work rates. They export the cloth to Madras and other places. These merchants import grey yarn from Madras and dyed yarn from Madras, and Madura. Some of them engage hundreds of workers on piece-work rates. But most of them sell their yarn on credit to smaller merchants who have each 50 to 100 workers under them, and charge them 24 to 36 per cent compound interest from the date of delivery. They are all making enormous profits through this kind of transaction. Usually, they buy the cloth from these smaller merchants and make some profit in that way also.

There are about ten merchant-employers in Kalahasti and Venkatagiri who have 50 to 100 weavers under them. Each of these, has invested not less than Rs. 20,000. Half of their capital is their own, and the rest is borrowed at 12%. They get yarn from the Madras merchants on credit, and so, they have to pay Rs. 10-2-0. for a box of yarn when the market rate is only Rs. 10. in addition to the 12% interest from the day of purchase.

Kalahasti is noted more for its sarees of higher counts than for its kiles. There is a great demand for the sarees manufactured there and so, the workers feel more secure than those employed on 'kiles.' As an intelligent worker said, the trader in kiles cannot be said to

be so secure nor is his trade so permanent. It is hard to foretell what competition or substitutes, these kiles may have to face. But in the trade in sarees, there is no such serious risk of having to lose all, and every worker knows the condition of things prevalent in that business. But, where there is risk, there is a chance for bigger profits. As a matter of fact, Venkatagiri owes its prosperity to the introduction of the kiles business, which has existed there for the last twenty years.

There are five merchants who deal specially in sarees and all of them do their business with their own money. They buy yarn in Madras, advance it to weavers, get the cloth woven, and pay piece-rate wages and sell these sarees in the country around Kalahasti. All the 200 looms in Mallapettah of Venkatagiri are employed in manufacturing 'kiles', and they are controlled by three important merchants, Kasayya with 100 looms, Kasa Muniyya with 30 looms and Kottavari Veerayya with 30 looms. There are a few petty employers who engage between them 40 weavers to work the other 40 looms. The first three merchants purchase their yarn in Madras, while the petty employers buy it in Venkatagiri. They all give out yarn to the workers who work in their own houses. The Kiles, when ready, are sold in Madras. ✓

Therefore, practically all the workers, those employed on sarees as well as those working on kiles, are ultimately dependant upon the capitalist employers, who advance money and yarn to the small employers. There are a few scores of these small employers, who buy yarn worth Rs. 100 to 200 at a time and they borrow that money for a week or two if they have not taken the yarn

on credit. Each of these employs five to ten workers. They sell the cloth in the market. Every thing depends upon the business capacity, organising skill, marketing methods and the cautious yet daring spirit of the capitalist merchant-employers. If they are prosperous and bring more yarn and money into the trade, then, there will be greater employment for the workers and better living for their families.

This state of things has its risks and advantages. If the merchants have a substantial capital and are courageous and if they have humane feelings as is the case in Mallapettah, then the workers under them, can struggle through a period of trade depression more easily than they can under the Mungani System. For instance, Kasa Kasayya who has invested Rs. 100,000 has lost 20,000 this year and yet he is reputed to be supporting the hundred families that are dependant upon him, by giving them some work. Such a thing is impossible under the Mungani System.

Chirala, Perala, Vetapalem, Pandillapalli and Ipurupalem are five important places in which more than 6000 looms are worked and a profitable and extensive dyeing industry is carried on. Chirala and Perala are the marketing centres for these places and Chirala is the most important place in the district for handloom weaving. The weaving population of this centre consists of communities, the Padmasales and the Devangas, the former predominating in Perala and the latter in Vetapalem. There are ten big merchants in each of these two places, and most of them are Vaisyas. There are also some Padmasale and Devanga merchants but they are not so rich and the Vaisya merchants are becoming richer and more

numerous. The Vaisyas who monopolise the business of importing yarn from Madras and Bombay, sell yarn to other Vaisya, Devanga and Padmasale merchants. Most of these Merchants, big and small, give out yarn to the scores of weavers dependant upon each of them and pay them piece-work wages. There is also another kind of employers who simply buy yarn from the big importing merchants on credit and who give out yarn to weavers and get cloths woven on exactly the same conditions. Kiles, ordinary sarees, dhoties, the sarees woven with fancy borders and patterns and white, fine cloth, are manufactured in this centre. Nearly 70% of the workers are working on piece work rates and they are given an advance of Rs. 100 to 200 each, free of interest. The merchant-employer would like to deduct something from the price of every saree or kile piece woven by the weavers, towards the clearing of the debt, but he never can do that, because he is not allowed to do so by the weavers who are always begging him for further advances. And so, the weavers are ever in an enslaved condition and they can never hope and have no incentive, to clear those advances and to become independent.

There are also independent weavers who form 30% of the total weaving population. Their work is considered to be more profitable and healthy but they cannot hope to depend upon merchants or employers when bad times set in and therefore they must have some money in store. The number of these weavers is increasing and almost half of their present strength has risen from the ranks of piece-workers during the last twenty years. It is from these independent weavers that the small employers and the petty merchants are rising.

The method of remuneration is very simple. A certain quantity of yarn is taken out from the employer and so many yards of cloth are promised in return, for which a particular customary wage is paid to the worker. Whenever there is a difference, the parties arrange things by mutual agreement. There is a "Weaving Committee" to safeguard the interests of the business as a whole on which both the weavers and the employers are equally represented and to which every dispute which is not settled by mutual agreement is referred for final settlement. Whenever a new design or pattern is adopted or invented, then, the wages that are to be paid are settled by the weaver and the merchant between themselves and those wages become the standard of payment.

In Bhattiprolu centre, there was a big kile business about eight years ago but it had to be given up because of the fall of the good name of the cloth manufactured there, owing to the bad practices of the workers. Being assured of a continuous demand and big profits, the weavers believed that they could do what they liked and so they decreased the number of threads in the width and spoiled the designs of the cloth and the texture of the warp. This naturally told against them in a few years and soon the Bhattiprolu cloths could not be sold at all, and so the merchants and workers were compelled to turn their attention to the manufacture of white cloths of 60s to 100s. They find this business very profitable at present. The ten to fifteen years boom in the kiles business, was sufficient to enable most of the weavers in Bhattiprolu and Peteru towns to clear the debts to their employers and to become independent artisans. They

were also able to save small sums of money which have ever since helped them to buy yarn and to maintain themselves while working and to survive unfavourable times. It was also in this period of boom that most of the employers made their riches which they subsequently invested in land as they found the dealing in their traditional business unprofitable, owing to the greater independence of the workers. Thus 90% of the present independent artisans who form 80% of the total weaving population of the centre, rose out of the ranks of the enslaved.

But, it is doubtful how long the independent weavers can retain their hard-won freedom, for, they are dependent upon the rural demand for white cloth and the moment that demand is satisfied by the mill made cloth, their fate will be sealed. They cannot safely rely upon such an insecure demand and yet they are obliged to do so at present as the good-will in their kiles trade has gone. Having no control over them and being moved purely by personal considerations rather than by the interests of the whole centre, they are gradually lowering prices for their particular cloths and this is affecting the market very unfavourably. A perfect anarchy of business conditions prevails now and this kind of short-sighted independence is far worse than controlled capitalism. Their independence of employers and debts, is unlinked with co-operative efforts in the interests of the whole community; and the social advantage of the existence of a number of independent artisans is neutralised by their present condition of ignorance, business incapacity and lack of social responsibility. The workers of Peteru, Vellaturu and Kolluru are all dependent upon the

Bhattiprolu market and they all get their supplies of yarn from Bhattiprolu. The old merchants are still carrying on their business in yarn but they have given up manufacturing of cloth.

Kistna Dt. Pedana is one of the most important and prosperous centres of the handloom weavers of the Kistna District and it is only next to Jaggayyapeta which is also a silk weaving centre, in the Bezwada Taluk of the same District. Three-fourths of the workers here are independent artisans. There are only 100 weavers who are employed on piece work and their employers number 10. These employers also sell yarn. Each of them has invested 5 to 10 thousand Rupees or Rs 50 to 100 a worker. But they realise the money so invested in four months and so, they do, in a year, Rs. 1500 to 3000 business on each worker. The employers, as well as the independent artisans of this place are more enterprising, pushful, enlightened and educated than those in other centres and in business capacity, they have very few rivals among the weavers of the province. People from far and wide places go here, with the hope that in such a big village, some kind of supplementary work at least will be found and that they will be better off here than in their own places. The Munsiff says "Our population has increased by leaps and bounds after the railway came."

The great prosperity of this centre may be due more to the 'petu' borders of their cloths. A very extensive 'kiles' trade is also carried on. These weavers work harder and more efficiently than those in Chirala. There is on the whole more intelligence displayed in the

work done here than elsewhere. Also the purchasing capacity of the people of these districts is higher because most of the peasants have been benefitted by the Krishna and Godavari irrigation projects. The higher prices ruling for rice have brought them new prosperity and consequently their tastes in clothing have increased which are more carefully studied here in Pedana, than elsewhere.

Ellore Centre. Cloths of 20s, 12s, 14s, 6s, 10s, and 40s are woven in Ellore and (Pentapadu Centres.) The yarn needed in Ellore is imported from Ahmedabad, Madura, the Gokak Mill, Madras and Pandalapaka. Here, threefourths of the weavers are independent artisans and they buy the yarn from merchants and weave the cloth and sell it in the market for ready cash. They sometimes get yarn on credit and pay 12% to the merchants from the day of the purchase. The merchants compete with each other and so there is not much margin left for them. It is to the advantage of weavers that there should be such competition.

There are about 300 looms engaged in the manufacture of kiles and all the workers engaged on them are employed by some of the cloth or yarn merchants mentioned above, on a piece work rate basis. But the number of these workers is always liable to fluctuations, as they move quite freely between the manufacture of the country saree and that of the kiles, and this naturally helps them to insure themselves against the fluctuations in either trade. Those who are independent artisans and who are able to buy usually yarn worth Rs. 25. with their own money, form a quarter of the total number of

the weavers. The others have to get yarn and provisions on credit. But usually money for food is borrowed from merchants other than those who deal in yarn or cloth. It is often the rice mill owners, who advance rice at 12% interest. There are 300 looms working on kiles, and one fourth of the weavers are wage-earners, who are paid 10 annas out of the 15 annas remaining to their employers on a pair of clothes after all the other expenses have been met. Thus, while they are paid 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, the employers get as much as 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent merely because the workers have not got their own houses or looms or capital. The women of such workers can somehow earn 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ annas per day. And so with the help of a wife, a wage earner can earn as much as an independant artisan, who can make only 8 as. 5 pies per day because his organisation is defective.

But conditions in Pencapadu and its surroundings are much more gloomy and discouraging. One of the biggest merchants of the great Pentapadu market one Mr. Rao, said in April 1925, "More people are using the foreign cloth and we have been facing depression for the last two years. Upto then we had been able to sell yarn worth about Rs. 2000 a week and it has come down to Rs. 1000 and for the last six months we have not been able to sell yarn worth more than Rs. 600 a week." All the yarn sold in this market is for cash. The chief centres for the trade of this cotton yarn and cloth are Dwarapudy, Rajahmundry and Pentapadu, Rajahmundry serving as the chief local market for cotton yarn. There are three more merchants in Pentapadu but their business is on a small scale and they get their yarn from Ellore. Most of the yarn sold by Mr. Rao is imported

from Madras, Bezwada, Dwarapudi and Cocanada. There are no cloth merchants, as all the cloth produced, is sold in the weekly market to the local consumers. There is not even one employer who is ready to employ workers. The capitalists do not find it profitable for them to employ weavers. And so almost all the weavers depend on their own scanty resources. If they buy yarn and produce cloth, they find that more often than not, they can realise not even the capital invested. I have actually seen families, living solely upon "Sollu" ¹ a very poor cereal, and the stories of woe of the families whose budgets we shall discuss are heart-rending. The bread winner of the first family is able, after working day and night, with the help of his very industrious and loyal wife, to earn only $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day. The "Sollu" food they were going to take when I visited, was very unpalatable to me and it had a very unwelcome look about it, being dark brown in colour. The second family is going through virtual starvation. The third family is unemployed and the two able-bodied men belonging to it cannot find any work. They are all living in their employers' houses and are paid 4 annas a day for field work for which 6 annas is usually paid.

The weavers in Sringavriksham work for 11 hours but they cannot earn enough to live an ordinary life with sufficient food. Things in Bheemavaram are much worse than in Pentapadu. T. Tatayya used to be a weaver, but because he could not make his living by weaving, he became a doctor. S. Lakshmilingam could

1. Sollu is a cereal which is akin to 'Ragi' in colour but is much more dull looking and poor in food value.

make only Rs. 1—5—0 per month, even though he worked at the rate of 11 hours a day, and produced 96 yards of cloth. So he had to give up the work altogether. He is now living upon the proceeds of the sale of his house and does not know what to do. A. Kotilingam, a piece worker under Kasa Bhogayya, who has invested Rs. 50,000 is faring far better, because he earns Rs. 8 a month. It is indeed an irony of fate that the weavers whose forefathers lived upon Rice and Cholan and got on comfortably even during the disastrous Guntur famine of 1830, are now reduced to utter penury, helplessness and grim misery. It is indeed very unfortunate that their sad condition should be overlooked by both the government and the people.

There are, in all, four thousand looms depending for their work upon the Palakol market. A glance at the table given in the appendix suffices to show us that the industry is not so centralised as it is in the Ceded Districts, but that it is scattered in all the surrounding villages. Industry in these parts is entirely rural in character, because there are here many well organised and well known markets, in which it is very easy to sell any amount of cloth.

The merchants who deal in both yarn and cloth, are able to sell yarn worth Rs. 15,000 a week in the weekly market. Imports of 6s. to 150s. of yarn are coming but mostly yarn of 20s to 40s is sold in great quantities, each kind selling 10 bales a week. Dyed yarn also is got from outside, as there is no separate dying industry in Palakol.

The outstanding feature of this centre is that the yarn merchants do not employ many weavers. The

weavers themselves buy the yarn on the market day with the money got by the sale of their cloth and they produce plain white or coloured sarees which are consumed in the country around. Some of them take the yarn on credit but that practice is becoming rarer, because some of the weavers do not like borrowing and some employers are unwilling to advance on credit. The weavers are therefore dependent upon the yarn merchants and are also at the mercy of market fluctuations. It is these people who have suffered most in the present depression.

The weavers who are employed upon manufacturing head rumals or short turbans, are mostly dependent upon the yarn merchants. They are given yarn and are paid according to the quantity of cloth woven. The Palakol merchants are not the only people who advance materials to these weavers. We find a few merchants in every place where there are more than 50 looms, and these people not only advance materials but also give money now and then to help the workers to maintain themselves while the cloth is being manufactured. In Ambazeepettah, there are as many merchants as we find in Palakol, to finance the business of head rumals. In addition to these merchants, who, by the way, buy their yarn and sell their cloth in Palakol and Ambazeepettah markets, there are many petty employers who employ two to five workers, to work along with themselves in their own houses on their own looms. The system of monthly salaries is not in favour with either party and the 60% of the weavers who are wage earners in these two centres, are all piece-rate workers.

It is not difficult to see why, while the trade in sarees is entirely left to the weavers, the business in

head rumals is centralised like that of kiles, in the hands of the merchant employers. The demand for sarees is not so great nor is it so stable. The saree market is constantly harassed by foreign and Indian Mill competition. Naturally, the capitalists are not interested in it except to the extent of supplying yarn and making what little they can, out of that single transaction. Also the merchants who deal in sarees have no other intermediary merchants, who can share with themselves the risks of the trade and so they have to bear the whole burden of an adverse competition. But, in the case of the head rumals or Kiles, there are merchants who cannot deal directly with producers, and they give orders on a large scale to the yarn merchants of Ambajeeputta and Palakol for these Rumals and to the merchants of the various places, for the Kiles. And so these local merchants depend upon these distant wholesale consumers for their business. To meet the orders thus placed with them they should have weavers under them who are always ready to manufacture a certain quantity of cloth by a fixed date or in a certain period. This has given birth to the wage system in the manufacture of head rumals and kiles. Ambajeeputtah market has one characteristic of its own, which is not shared by that of Palakol, namely, the greater supply of fine bordered sarees and rumals. These cloths are usually made by independant artisans, who as a matter of fact, owe their freedom to this special manufacture, which is much more remunerative than that of ordinary sarees or rumals. But these weavers number only a hundred or two in this centre. In this connection the story of the decay of Narasapuram, cannot be out of place. There used to be 25 Master weavers, who

employed 2 to 8 workers each. They have all given up their business owing to the lack of profits. The only dying industry which was carried on in this neighbourhood, was carried in this place. It was monopolised by one Master Dyer, Akasapu Guravayya, who used to have, upto 1924, 35 looms working for him, with the yarn dyed by himself. He used to export his cloths to Madras, Rangoon, Secunderabad, Millore, Cocanada, Berhampore and Cuttack. Until 1922 he used to supply the 350 looms of Narasapuram with his dyed yarn and so his business was really carried on, on a very large scale. But the price of a saree was formerly Rs. 3-12-0 while the present price is only Rs. 2-8-0. This has affected his business to such an extent that on every saree he manufactures, he loses 5 annas. So he lost the whole of his Rs. 5000 capital and has dismissed all his workers, and is now living upon loans, advanced on his house, which is the only property remaining to him. So, the number of looms that are worked in Narasapuram has gone down to fifty, and the former employers have themselves become ordinary weavers and they are now trying to make their living out of weaving. This is only one instance of many such disasters that have befallen many a centre of handloom weaving.

Uppada. There are four hundred looms in Uppada, half of which are engaged upon silk weaving and the other half upon cotton weaving. This centre is in a decaying condition as regards the cotton weaving and nearly 100 families have migrated to more prosperous centres, such as Peddapuram and Pedana. There used to be only 50 looms engaged on silk but their number

has since increased. Uppada used to be a famous centre for 'lace work' or gold thread work, and its articles used to be exported to England and elsewhere. But now the workers are finding it wiser to abandon the manufacture of cotton goods. This is entirely due to an abnormal fall of prices and the failure of the weavers to adjust their standard of living to the changed conditions. Fifteen years ago, a box of ten pounds of yarn used to cost 35 to 40 annas; its price rose to 200 annas during the war; it went down to 100 annas after the war; and now it has come up again to 140 annas. Fifteen years ago, a pair of rumals¹ for which Uppada was famous was sold at Rs. 2½; during the war at Rs. 5; and again four years ago at Rs. 3 and during March 1925 the marriage season at Rs. 3—6—0. Thus being pressed from both sides, higher prices for yarn and lower prices for the manufactured cloths the earnings of weavers dwindled and they were left helpless. Many changed to silk weaving and others decided to migrate. The atmosphere in Uppada is now charged with despondency.

Uppada produces these rumals to be sold during the marriage seasons and so, is obliged to keep a large quantity of cloth in stock, thereby locking up many lakhs of Rupees. When employers were better off and capitalists more prosperous, it was found that large stocks of cloth should be bought and reserved for the marriage season. But now there is no one to undertake this risky task. So, the trade is in a serious danger of dying out. All the employers have reduced the number of their employees and one of the richest and most humanitarian employers said in March 1925, "I used to

1. Rumals is an Andhra word, meaning short upper cloths.

employ 100 weavers until nine months back. Now I have only 40 looms to work." This gentleman applied for Government help in the way of a loan at 6%. Mr. Amalsad, the Government Textile Expert went to that place and made all possible enquiries but nothing material has yet resulted. The merchants there, are ready to give all their properties as securities for such a loan and they only want sufficient capital for stocking the rumals until the marriage seasons commence, when all the cloth available, can be sold. What is more, the employer referred above has offered interest to pay at 12 as. 9 ps. per Rs. 100 on the 20,000 Rs. loan he asked for. If the Government can see its way to help such employers or to finance the co-operative Societies which try to finance such seasonal demands, much assistance can be rendered to the weaving populations of Uppada and such other places.

The tendency to substitute silk weaving for cotton weaving which we have observed to have worked itself out in Dharmavaram, is also manifest in Peddapuram and Uppada. It was in 1913 that silk weaving was commenced in Peddapuram on only 3 looms, by Messrs. Somaraju Brothers. As the war progressed, there arose a boom in the silk trade and the Brothers found it very profitable to carry on their trade on a large scale. By 1920, the number of looms under them was increased upto 300, but after the war, foreign competition began and so the trade slackened. They are now able to employ only 150 looms. They were getting during the war 6% profit excluding the 12% interest on the capital outlay. At one time, this centre was chiefly devoted to cotton weaving and the Brothers used to have 400 weavers

working for them. They persuaded most of them to become silk weavers. The weavers of cotton goods do not get enough to make their living, and so they are glad to send one or two members of their families to work in the local silk factory of the Brothers. They could all work on silk if the employers would employ them, but the latter are not enthusiastic about taking any more workers because of the present depression. In Uppada and Peddapuram, all the weavers are entirely dependent upon capitalist employers, and if the Government does not finance the latter these weavers will have to migrate to other centres in search of a living.

Weaving is carried on entirely as a rural industry in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. Anakapalli is the centre for the industry of Anakapalli, Garavasireddi, Bolugonda, and Viravalli Taluks of the Vizagapatam district. All the cloth produced in the last two Taluks is sold in Balijapalle, which gets its supplies of yarn from Anakapalli. G. Krishnamoorthy, the biggest yarn merchant in Anakapalle, said in May 1925 that he had been able to sell only 60 to 70 bales of yarn in 1921 and previous years, while he was able to dispose of 125 bales a month, during 1924, owing to the boom caused by the Gandhi Movement¹ in favour of Khaddar and Swadeshi.² Yarn of 20s, 30s, 40s and 11s is mostly sold in Anakapalle and the rough cloth manufactured out of this yarn is worn by 80% of the people who have been used to this kind of cloth from immemorial times. The same merchant Krishnamoorthy says that on the Rs. 50,000

1. *Gandhi Movement* is an other name for the Non-Co-operation Movement.

2. Swadeshi is a Hindi word which literally means manufactured in the country.

invested by him, he is able to realise 18% profit. There are six more yarn merchants in this centre who sell in all 600 bales a month. Most of the village weavers are independent workers and they themselves sell the cloth in the local markets. There are a few master weavers also, who employ a few coolie weavers.

Vizianagaram. There is one employer in Vizianagaram called A. Appanna who is said to be the acutest and the most unscrupulous merchant of this place. He employs more than a hundred weavers, whom he exploits mercilessly. He has his agents in Ichhapur and Rajahmundry and through them, he sells his cloths at far cheaper rates than those prevailing for the cloths locally manufactured. He is prospering well though his cloths do not last longer than 6 months. By his evil methods he is able not only to strave the weavers of Vizianagaram but also to deprive the weavers of Rajahmundry and Ichhapur of their only means of livelihood. If only honest employers can show as much ingenuity and enterprise in organising their industry as Appanna does, the weavers would be far better off. This Appanna has two concubines, one in Ichhapur and another in Rajamundry and these women are able to force up the sales far better than his male agents. Indeed he has become a wholesale merchant in Ichhapur and the Devangas and other merchants buy cloths from him and sell them in the local markets. This man pays his weavers only Rs. 13-4-0 for weaving 3 sarees which usually take a week to make, and so a worker and his wife get only Rs. 14 a month. One such exploited worker exclaimed, "Our caste Devangas are also as great exploiters of our labour

as the Vaisyas. The so-called communal sympathy does not count when economic gain is the goal."

Most of the weavers of this city are wage-earners who are ruthlessly exploited by their employers. But the weavers of the surrounding villages are all independent workers and they come to the city to buy yarn and sell their cloths on the market day. They buy yarn on credit from the merchants in the city at 18% interest from the day of purchase. Most of these village weavers have some lands of their own and they are very good agricultural workers. Those who have no lands, get employed in the fields and they get agricultural work for 14 weeks in the year. Some of these weavers enjoy Inam¹ lands, in return for certain duties to be performed at religious festivals. These village weavers are satisfied if weaving can enable them to buy at least all other necessities, though not food.

There are 7 Bombay Muhammadan merchants in Vizianagarain who have invested about 8 lakhs of rupees in this business. There are in addition 15 yarn merchants, each of whom has invested from 5 to 50 thousand rupees. Yarn of 20s and 11s is mostly consumed in this centre and as much as 200 bales of yarn is sold per week in the Sunday ² Santa of the city.

Ponduru has again become famous for its very fine hand-spinning, because of the Gandhi movement. But weaving used to be a more profitable calling a few decades back, because the weavers here were then the

1. Inam lands are those for which only a quitrent is paid to Government and which were at one time granted by Hindu Rajahs etc., to Brahmics.
2. Santa is an Andhra word, standing for a market.

only people who were able to manufacture cloth within the Petu borders, and also because there existed an immense trade in those days with Guntur, Madras, Chandranagar and other distant places. But after the advent of the railway the art of weaving Petu bordered cloths was soon learnt by many people of different places and so Ponduru lost its pre-eminence in this business. Ponduru is known at present only for its fine spinning and for the most expert hand-spinners in the whole of the province.

About sixty years ago there used to be in Chicacole a very big industry in cloth, organised by some English merchants. These merchants used to give out yarn to weavers, get the cloths manufactured and export the finished goods to other countries. But they discontinued their business suddenly about sixty years ago and the weavers who were then left without any work, had to take to some other occupation. They however continued their time-honoured practice of handspinning and hence their excellence in that art.

Seventy per cent of the cloth trade of Chicacole centre is confined to rough cloth. The peasants have not yet taken kindly to mill made cloth, and so the weavers have been enjoying continued prosperity. The weavers of Ichhapur, Santa-Bommali and Berhampur have had their fair share of prosperity which has resulted from the Gandhi Movement. The merchants of these places depend for their supplies of yarn upon Vizianagaram and Berhampore and their business is only to deal in yarn, as the weavers are mostly independent workers who sell their cloth in the local markets.

Berhampore is noted for its silk weaving. The weavers of this place manufacture mainly such silk cloths (madipanchalu) as are worn by Brahmins, Vaisyas, etc., when they take their food or worship their Gods. But this centre like that of Peddapuram is going through a serious depression of trade in silk cloth. The market is controlled by a few big merchants who sell raishmi¹ on credit, free of interest and they buy the cloth from the weavers. Many weavers are piece-rate workers and very few of them have sufficient capital to be able to work with their own raw materials. Those who have any capital and have developed thrifty habits, find it more profitable to employ two or three workers also and to produce more cloth for the merchant-employers than it is to work by themselves.

Those weavers who produce cotton cloth number about 150 and those who produce silk cloth number 400; but the former are all poorer and more helpless than the latter. The general tendency for the former is to change into silk weavers and many of them actually have taken advantage of the last boom in silk trade and have given up the weaving of cotton cloth. The number of those who thus manage to change their work depends upon whether the merchants have sufficient belief in their 'weavers' solvency and good faith so as to advance them silk on credit.

Mr. Nalla Sivayya, a municipal councillor and the biggest merchant of Vizianagaram says. "We give our raw silk to weavers on credit, free of interest, on condition that the cloth shall be sold to us. We get a profit

¹ Raishmi is the Telugu word for silk thread which is in a fit condition for weaving.

of Rs. 3 when raw silk is sold to and as much more when the cloth is bought from our weavers. Thus we make at least Rs. 4 on every Rs. 20 invested. But the cloth is usually on our hands for 6 months and so we cannot expect to get on the whole more than 12 per cent interest on our capital, including profit." 'There are 25 merchants with Rs. 4000 to Rs. 5000 capital, seven with Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 and one with Rs. 75,000. None of these borrows money at more than 9 per cent interest but a weaver has to pay more than 12 per cent interest whenever he borrows. 'The trade in silk cloth of Berhampore is carried on with 3 to 4 lakhs of rupees and with, at the most, two turnings of the same money in a year.

We have seen that in the Ceded Districts the future progress of handloom weaving lies in the direction of introducing more capital and efficient and better trained employers into the industry and the same conclusion applies to the conditions of these districts also. Though Mr. V. Bhavanarayana of Chirala has three looms, all worked by members of his family, he is able to earn only Rs. 28—8—0 per month because he is unable to make any of the five women in his family either to weave or to employ themselves more fully than they do at present. He could have engaged three coolies, whom these women could have helped with warp and weft and then he could have made at least another Rs. 12 per month. Mr. V. Subbarayudu of the same place has 4 looms of which 2 are worked by coolies and he is able to make Rs. 17-8-0 on these and another Rs. 35 on his other 2 looms, making a total income of Rs. 52—8—0 per month. His wife and daughter help him with all the warp and weft neces-

sary for the weaving. Mr. Guddanti Jagannadham of Chirala has six looms, out of which four are worked by coolies, whom he pays only half the money he receives for the weaving of a piece. He goes once a month to Madras with 25 pieces and realises through their sale at least Rs. 12—8—0 more than he can get in Chirala. He buys a box of yarn in Madras 4 annas cheaper than in Chirala and so he makes another Rs. 12—8—0 on the purchase of yarn. His expenses come to Rs. 12—8—0 and therefore he is left with a net profit of Rs. 12-8-0 on his trip to Madras. He gets Rs. 30 on his two looms and Rs. 10-8-0 on each of his four workers and so he makes in all Rs. 84—8—0 per month after meeting the interest at 12 per cent upon the Rs. 800 he borrowed in the form of yarn from his merchant in Madras. Thus this employer with 6 looms, earns nearly twice as much again as Mr. Bhavanarayana, who has 3 looms working in his house, and Rs. 30 a month more than Mr. Subbarayudu who has two coolies under him and who buys yarn and sells cloths in Chirala.

Marketing. As far as the weavers are concerned, Godavari, Krishna, Vizagpatam and Ganjam Districts have more numerous markets with better business than the Ceded Districts and the Tanjil country. The great Pentapadu Santa and the equally famous Palakol and Ambajepettah santas are well-known in these districts and on the market days, these towns look like big cities with their busy crowds, and thousands of shops. Each week, a business worth from 5 to 12 lakhs of rupees is done in all kinds of things in each of these

centres, and most of the people of the neighbouring villages come from a distance of 15 miles to buy food stuffs, clothes, and other things. Yarn and cloth merchants of the villages of these Districts find Santas on every day during the week, in some place or other within a radius of 15 miles and they invariably go to every one of these santas, either to sell their cloth or to buy yarn or to find about the market conditions. For instance, the Bandaranka merchants have six important markets within a distance of 32 miles, which they can easily reach either by boat through the Godavari and its canals or on foot. Kottapettah santa comes off on Monday and is 12 Miles distant; Palakol market is on Saturday and is 24 miles away; Dwarapudi Santa is 32 miles away and is held on Wednesday; Draksharamam market is held on Monday and is within 24 Miles distance; the Penugonda Santa is held on Wednesday and is within 24 miles; while the Pentapadu Santa is within 32 miles and is held on Sunday. There are in addition the Bheemavaram Santa which is held on Wednesday and Mori market on Sunday and the Jaggannapetta market on Monday and the Ambajeepttah Santa on Tuesday. Mr. Ch. Narasimham, a big merchant of Jaggannapettah says. "On the whole, we have markets on every day. Very seldom do our merchants find it necessary to go to places like Bezwada and Guntur to sell their cloth." We find Santas also in Peddapuram, Uppada, and Pithapuram but very little cloth is sold in these Santas because the local Devangas have developed a peculiar idea of dignity and do not like to hawk about their goods in the market. But the Santas of Vizianagar and Anakapalli are as great markets as any in the Godavari district. The Vizagpatam

and Ganjam districts further abound in a very large number of markets, scattered throughout the country, in which the independent artisans are able to sell their goods more easily, quickly and on better terms. In spite of their great markets, Pentapadu and Bheemavaram, cannot provide their weavers with any decent living because the kind of cloth manufactured there is not easily saleable and comes into direct competition with mill made cloth. They are at present able to earn at least Rs. 10-8-0 per month more because of the excellent market facilities than because of the intrinsic value of the cloth manufactured. Also the numerous markets help the weavers in the Ganjam and Vizagpatnam districts, to dispose of their goods quickly, to realise ready cash, to buy yarn, to start working again and more than anything else to be independent of the employers and the yarn merchants.

The Peddapur merchants have not yet appointed any agents to canvas for orders for the silk sarees they manufacture and yet they grumble that there is depression, that there is Japanese competition and that Government does not help them and so on. The first principle of any industrialist should be to try his best to help himself by so perfecting his organisation, as to give him the best possible argument when the Government help is asked for. It should be realised, first of all, that the Japanese success is as much due to better organisation, cheap wages and longer hours as to the bounties given by the Government of Japan. The Somaraju Brothers of Peddapuram also have begun to advertise their goods in the Andhrapatrika. They also advertised their business during the Congress week of December 1927.

The Berhampur merchants also are strangely ignorant of the many advantages of vigorous, careful and well planned advertisement and organisation of agencies. They export their goods to all parts of the southern India, not to speak of Northern India, and though they come into competition with Benares and Japanese. "Madipanchalu" ¹ they are not anxious to send out agents or to advertise on a sufficiently large scale.

1. Madipanchalu is an Andhra word, which literally means Sacred Cloths. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Valsyas wear these short, silk loin cloths when praying or eating.

CHAPTER III.

EARNINGS AND WAGES OF WEAVERS IN THE CEDED DISTRICTS.

The following is a survey of wages and earnings of weavers and their employers respectively, in the Ceded Districts. With regard to weavers, we find that in Nandyal, Kurnool, Yadaki, Tadpatri, Prodduturu, Adoni, Yemmiganuru and Rayadrug, a weaver helped by his wife earns on an average Rs. 16 per month, but in Oravakonda he gets only Rs. 8—0—0. A hard working weaver with an equally hard working wife can earn in Nandyal as much as Rs. 25 a month. But it is very rarely that such a combination is found. In Tadpatri, the earnings of a husband and wife can rise to Rs. 20, but the majority of the weavers are able to earn only Rs. 7 to 13—8—0. per month, as can be seen from the accounts of three employers which I have examined. Even in the decaying centre of Pamidi, the weavers have on an average a family income of Rs. 15-0-0 a month. But in Nagari centre, where the worst possible depression is raging, a weaver and his wife earn on the average only Rs. 8—12—0. a month.

It is to be noticed that there is no wide margin between the highest and the lowest earnings of a weaver's family. This indicates that there is little chance for

even very energetic, and competent weavers to rise above the ranks. There is however, a possibility of increase in the earnings of weavers under the Mungani System. The first of the three Mungani employers in Tadpatri whose accounts are given below, earns Rs. 24—1—0. per month by engaging two coolies and working 3 looms. The second one earns Rs. 40—8—0, by having two coolies and 4 looms working, and the third one, who is thoroughly inefficient, is yet able to earn Rs. 20—2—0 per month by employing two coolies on his 3 looms. Probably, if a competent man were to engage coolies and work 10 to 15 looms in a large enough house he could earn Rs. 100 to 150 a month on a capital of Rs. 200 to 300. Such an employer, then, could afford to make less profit per cloth. If the efficiency of organisation is increased, there will be a chance for both employers and workers to make more money.

But the tendency, which is becoming very strong in the Tadparti, Proddatur and Nagari centres, is for the capitalists to revert from the Mungani system to the 'piece-work' method of the Adoni and Yemmiganuru centres. It will be, if it becomes general, an unmixed evil, because the capitalists cannot have any personal knowledge of most the workers and also the weavers will be left to themselves in hard times. During periods of dull trade, it becomes impossible for weavers so employed to get credit from the capitalists. It may be claimed by some that this tendency will only eliminate some of the excessive middlemen and so will render a service to the industry. But under the present disorganised or ill-organised condition of the market, even this cannot be

expected. Instead of eliminating Mūngani employers, it is necessary that they should be better organised, and that larger workshops and more efficient methods of work should become general.

Adoni Centre.

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Kinds of cloth.	Cloth produced in a month.	Rate of remuneration.	Monthly earnings.
Dhoties	30 pairs of 8 yards each.	Rs. 8-10-0 a pair	Rs. 15 to 18-12-0
Dhuppatties	300—450 yds.		Rs. 11-4-0 to 15
Silk sarees of 8 yards each	45—60 yds.		Rs. 15 to 22-8-0
Sizing	50 lbs.	Rs. 1-4-0 to 1-8-0 per 10 lbs.	Rs. 6-4-0 to 7-8-0

Weavers in Adoni itself work from 8 to 10 hours a day while those in the neighbouring villages labour for 10 or 11 hours. Most of the women in this centre work for only 5 hours a day because they have to look after their household duties, but the full-time female workers labour as long as men do.

Women in Adoni have some work or other all through the year and they earn on an average 2 to 4 annas a day. Many women and almost all widows weave and earn as much as men. Those who do the preparatory work needed for weaving earn 2 to 3 annas a day, and those who do the sizing get more. This work

is considered to be degrading for women, and it is more difficult and less wholesome than other work done in connection with weaving.

Yemmiganuru. An average weaver in Yemmiganuru is able to earn from Rs. 15 to Rs. 16 a month and his wife earns another Rs. 3 to 5. This and other villages have not suffered to any great extent from mill competition, because in that part of the country, no women other than widows wear the white clothes which the mills supply. All other women wear coloured sarees of local patterns, which the mills have not yet begun to manufacture. Hence the weavers of this village, Nagaladinney, Kosigie and some 15 other villages of the surrounding country are fairly prosperous.

Rayadrug. In Rayadrug, only very poor weavers, who work on their own weave the indigo coloured and cheaper cotton sarees which sell at Rs. 3 each. They buy the yarn, weave the cloth and sell it to the three merchants who have the monopoly of the market. An average weaver can weave one saree per day and so he can earn as much as 10 annas a day. His wife working on preparatory processes, earns Rs. 1—4—0 a week. But there are also weavers who are in still lower grade. They become wage earners and are paid 8 annas per saree. The six girls who are below 10 years of age and are employed by Mr. Anjanappa, the owner of the Warping Machine, are paid each one rupee a week.

Pamidi. In Pamidi, a typical weaver, Mr. N. Venkatappa is able to earn only Rs. 3 per week on a loom, with the assistance of his father-in-law, while the two

women of his family who do work at warping, prepare two wraps a week and get a rupee, and thus a family of two men and two women is able to earn only Rs. 4 a week. The three bleachers, who are paid Rs. 4 for working on 50 pieces earn at least Rs. 1—4—0 each a day. The printers are paid 3 annas a piece and are able if they work hard to print as many as 20 pieces each and earn 60 annas each per day. An ordinary printer is said to earn 42 annas a day, and the dullard can earn 30 annas. Every employer has 4 or 5 people under him for carrying out the finishing and certain bleaching processes, and he pays 10 annas a day to each of them. But it is impossible for the Padmasale¹ and Muhammadan weavers of this place to get employment in printing or bleaching, because it is a close preserve of a caste, the Bahusar Kshatriyas, who came from the Maharatta country and who speak a Mahratta dialect. One weaver in Pamidi, Silas Saheb by name, who has to support a big family sold his wife's silver bangles and went to Bombay in 1923, in the vain hope of finding a job. There he could not find any work, so he returned in March, 1924 and had to borrow on his house, spending at least two rupees per week, in spite of the reduction to a minimum in the expenditure on food and clothing and so he began to sink deeper and deeper into debt. If he were allowed to do even the unskilled work in printing or bleaching he could earn much more than by weaving.

Oravakonda Centre. The earnings of the workers in Oravakonda are smaller than those of the weavers in Adoni, Yemmiganuru and Kosigi, because their efficiency is lower and their productive capacity smaller. While

1. One of the two chief Telugu weaving castes.

only 2½ as. are charged in the latter places for getting 1/6 of bundle of yarn (10 lbs) sized, it costs 3½ as. in the former place. The working costs of sizing upon "Ragulu" etc. are more in Oravakonda, than in Adoni where workers can size yarns of different colours at the same time.

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Description of weaver.	Monthly production.	Rate of payment.	Monthly earnings.
Weaving:—			
1 worker independent worker	16 sarees	As. 6 a saree	Rs. 6
2 „ an employer	24 „	„	Rs. 9
3 „ employee	24 „	„	Rs. 8
Sizing	180 lbs.	As. 62/3 per 10 lbs.	Rs. 7-8-0

The working employer earns more by weaving than the employee, in addition to getting profit as an employer. Sadhu Narappa gets Rs. 1—8—0 profit per month upon each of his employees. Most of the weavers get their preparatory work done by their own women, and so a weaver's wife does not get any outside earnings. The earnings of an average weaver and his wife amount to only Rs. 8 a month.

Nandyal Centre.

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Weaving sarees.	Time taken to prepare a saree.	Rate per saree.	Monthly earnings.
Skilled worker	7 days	Rs. 5-8-0	Rs. 22
Ordinary „	10 „	„	Rs. 17-8-0
Preparatory work	3 „	As. 8	Rs. 5

There are very few such efficient weavers, as can earn Rs. 22 and most of the weavers in Nandyal are able to earn each only Rs. 17—8—0 a month. There are some women who can earn Rs. 6 a month on preparatory work but they work from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M. with only an interval of an hour at noon. Thus the average earnings of a weaver and his wife amount to Rs. 22½ a month.

Karnool Centre.

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Kind of work.	Amount of work in a month	Rate of payment.	Monthly earnings.
Weaving			
In Karnool	15 sarees	1 Re. a saree	Rs. 15-0-0
In Kalluru	7½ pieces of kiles	1 Re. a piece	Rs. 7-8-0
Preparatory work			
In Karnool	60—90 lbs.	anna a lb.	As. 60—90
In Kalluru			Rs. 2-7-6
In Maddigara			Rs. 3-12-0

Dyers paid by the month, earn Rs. 12 a month each. Others who are piece-rate workers are able to earn at least Rs 15 a month. An average family gets about Rs 20 a month. About 10% of the women of Karnool are able to weave, but it is considered derogatory for a Padma Sale woman to weave.

Tadpatri Centre:—

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Place.	Work.	Who & How.	Work done in month	Rate of payment	Monthly earnings
Tadpatri town	Weaving	Boy of 17 yrs.	30 sarees of 6 yds.	3½ as. a saree.	6-9-0
	Palghat saree	Adult weaver	45 „	6½ „	18-4-0
		Adult weaver on old loom.	40 „	8 „	20-0-0
Yadaki	Weaving	skilled	30 sarees of 8 yds	8 „	15-0-0
		ordinary	15 „	8 „	7-8-0
Pedapappur	Weaving		30 Dhoties of 7½ yds.	8 „	15-0-0
Yadaki	Warping	11 warps		2 as a warp	1-6-0
„	Sizing	30 „		2 „	3-2-0
Pedapappur	Sizing	75 lbs.		14 as per 10 lbs.	6-9-0
„	Preparatory work				3-2-0

The same wage is paid in these 3 places, for warping and preparatory work. The weavers of Tadpatri are generally more skilled and earn better wages than those in the neighbouring villages. This may be due to a great extent to the higher profits made by merchants of these villages. We have to observe that it pays better for these weavers to weave the cloths consumed locally than to manufacture kiles.

Mr. Rameswararao, a master-dyer of Tadpatri, has three workers under him and they are paid Rs. 25, 15, and 12 respectively. There are also two employers in Tadpatri with 4 and 6 looms and 3 and 4 coolies respectively and these workers are paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas less per day than those who are allowed to work in their own homes.

Out of the 400 looms in Yadaki, only 50 are worked by independent artisans, who are very poor and very much indebted. The other weavers, who are coolies, are not given any advances, by their employers, because, they are apt to run away. The local industry is going through a process of decay. It is found by weavers to be profitable to be employees than to be independent workers and so the number of the latter is fast decreasing. Mr. Mahboob Saheb, an independent weaver, for instance, earns with his wife's help only Rs. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ per month, whereas a wage earner and his wife earn Rs. 16—6—0.

The following are the accounts of production and earnings of three employers who are employed on the Mungani system by one of the biggest merchants of Tadpatri. In two months i.e., from the 28th of October to the 30th of December, 1924, the first employer produced 33 cloths, which were priced at Rs. 185 while the yarn given out on the 28th October was valued at Rs. 129—5—0. So, there was an income of Rs. 55-11 0, for the two months, on the manufacture of cloth. He however employed two coolies and so he was able to make only Rs. 24—1—0 in those two months. But the merchant tells me that he should have got many more cloths made in the same period and that he probably did so and sold them else-

where. It is probable that he is able to earn Rs 24-1-0 per month quite easily.

The second employer has four looms working in his house and in addition to his son and himself he engages two coolies. Between 28th August and 21st October, a period of seven weeks, there were woven over 69 cloths, which were sold at Rs. 278-8-0 and the yarn for which was bought at Rs. 165-4-6. So, his gross income on these cloths was Rs. 113-3-6 or about Rs. 64 per month upon his 4 looms. But he had to pay Rs. 23 8 0 to his two employees and hence his earnings were not more than Rs. 40-8-0 a month, but each of his workers got only Rs. 11-12-0 per month.

The third employer took on credit Rs. 162-0-0 worth of yarn on 13th September and by October 28th, he returned 35 cloths which were priced at Rs. 228, and so he made Rs. 66 in 6 weeks or Rs. 44-0-0 per month. He had three looms and two coolies working for him and he was able to earn himself as a weaver about Rs. 14-10-0 and as an employer Rs. 5-8-0. So, on the whole he got an income of Rs. 20-2-0 per month. These weavers could have woven more cloths and earned more, but this season was specially sacred for the Hindus and so there were many holidays.

Another side of the "Mungani System" can be seen from the example of one Mr. G. Ramayya, who deals with a merchant in Prodduturu. He took out yarn from his merchant which was priced at Rs. 210 and he was given periodical advances which amounted to Rs. 100. He promised to return 'Paris Border' sarees of 9 yards

each at 8 Rs. each and 'Paris and Mysore' Border sarees of 9 yards at 7 Rs. each, which would in all come to Rs. 300. The date, by which the transaction should be complete, was not fixed. The merchant charged him Rs. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ per box of yarn, while the then prevailing market rate was only Rs. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. yet Mr. Ramayya was obliged to take that yarn, in order to carry on his work.

At the same time, this employer enjoyed the advantage of being able to sell his cloths at the comparatively high prices of Rs. 7 to 8 Rs. each, since the merchant is bound according to the agreement, to buy them at those prices. When I saw him last, he was selling some of his sarees at one rupee less per each, to an independent hawker in the Bazaar. He said that he realised, even then, 4 annas profit per saree, because the price of yarn was down at that time and he could buy yarn again and weave the cloth and give it to the merchant. If he gave the same cloths to his employer, he would be forced to buy yarn again at considerably higher prices and lose thereby. But on the other hand, the merchants are at a disadvantage owing to this bad faith on the part of weavers, because just when they badly want cloths, they cannot get them in sufficient quantities. This special Mungani System leads to ill-feeling and produces no satisfaction to either side. At the same time, the merchants are able to make at least 8 as. per saree or cloth, supplied by their regular clients, while the latter in their turn get 4 as. profit on every cloth woven by their workers; and both these classes together are able to squeeze as much profit as possible out of the labour of the helpless workers.

Proddatur Centre.

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Kind of work.	Amount of work done in a month.	Rate of payment.	Monthly earnings
Weaving	13 sarees of 9 yds each.	1½ Rs. a saree.	16½
skilled worker.	15 „ „	1½ „	18¾
Warping.	15 „ „	5 as. „	42—11—0.

The following is an account of a Mungani worker N. Subbayya whose family budget is given in Chap. VI. "I got mungani two months ago for 100 Rs. from Gurram Papanna, at Rs. 12 per box of 10 lbs. of yarn when the market rate per yarn was only Rs. 10. He agreed to take 30 sarees at Rs. 6 each. I have already given him 20 sarees and I have sold in addition 15 sarees to others when I found it more profitable to do so. I get 4 to 8 annas per 2 sarees produced for me by each of my three workers. I never give them any advances as I am not rich enough to do so." From this it is evident that there are many workers who have no credit, and who will therefore work without being offered any advances and that it is these workers who can most easily and ruthlessly be exploited.

Nagari Centre.

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Work.	Amount of work done in a month.	Rate of payment.	Monthly Earnings
Weaving.	18 sarees 14-7 yds.	1—2—0 per 3 sarees	6—12—0.
Sizing of	73½ yds. 15/4 sizes.	6 as. a size.	1—6—6.
Preparatory.	3 sizes.	10¾ as. „	2—0—4.

A set of 8 people work on one warp of $73\frac{1}{2}$ yds. long and size it in two hours between 7 and 9 A.M. Weavers who can spare time work in this way on warps supplied by employers or other weavers and each of them earns thereby 3 as. a week. In Putturu, the co-operative method of working upon each other's warps is in favour, so that, no one need pay anything to get his sizing done.

In Prodduturpettah, the independent weavers are failing badly, because, the yarn merchants charge Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ more for 10 lbs. of yarn than the Nagari prices. A worker earns on his loom only Rs. $18\frac{1}{2}$ out of which he has to pay Rs. 14 to his assistants, and so it pays better to be a wage-earner than to be an independent weaver.

Silk Weaving. We see from the following tables that in Rayadrug, Bellary, and Dharmavaram, apart from Adoni, the silk weaving industry is at present in a prosperous condition. Mill competition has scarcely entered this industry. The silk cloth manufactured in these places, answers a special demand and it will be a long time before machine looms can produce the kind of sarees made in these places. When compared to the cotton weaving industry of the Ceded Districts, this industry seems to hold out better prospects for the workers.¹

¹ These conclusions were arrived at in 1925. But subsequently the manufacture of artificial silk sarees has become very popular and widespread and many people who formerly wore silk sarees have taken to these new sarees, which are made with the same designs as those of silk sarees.

Rayadrug Centre.

WEAVER'S EARNINGS.

Kind of work.	Amount of work in a month.	Rate of payment.	Monthly Earnings.
weaving-	3 sarees of	6—0—0.	18—0—0.
Ordinary worker.	8½ yds. each.		
Skilled worker	4 „	6—0—0 per saree	24—0—0
Putani Indrani			
Preparatory work	30 warps	4 as. a warp	7—8—0
Some women	60 warp „ „		15—0—0

In most cases, a weaver and his wife go to work in the employer's house. The others are allowed to work in their own homes but the employers visit them to see that they work properly. The earnings per month of a weaver and his wife in this place amount to about Rs. 25½.

Bellary Centre:—

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Kind of work.	Monthly production	Rate of payment	Monthly wages
Weaving, working hard.	4 sarees.	6—0—0	24—0—0
Preparatory work	30 warps.	4 as. a warp	7—8—0

The average monthly earnings of an independent weaver and his wife are about Rs. 31. But the weaver who is very poor and is obliged to go with his wife to work in his employer's factory gets only Rs. 24 in all per month. His employer makes about Rs. 6 from the labour of himself and his wife.

Dharmavaram Centre:—

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Kind of work.	Monthly production.	Rate of paying.	Monthly earnings
Weaving.—			
Knitted, double Sided	3 sarrees	7—0—0	21—0—0
One sided	4 „	5—0—0	20—0—0
Adi Sarrees ¹	2 „	14—0—0	28—0—0
Skilled	3 „	7—0—0	21—0—0
Ordinary	2 „	„	14—0—0
Warping skilled	8 „	³ / ₄ Rs. a saree	6—0—0
Average	6 „	„ „	4—8—0

Adi saree is difficult to weave needing craftsmanship and attention on the part of the weaver. So this is the best saree the best skilled artisan can weave. There is a difference of Rs. 8 in the monthly earnings of the best and ordinary weavers, and this difference is found to be sufficient to induce most of the youngsters to try to acquire the best skill possible.

* The best artisan who is allowed to work in his own house earns nearly twice as much as a factory worker.

There are usually fewer women who can weave silk cloth than those who can produce cotton cloth. There is only one woman, Mrs. Venkatasubbamina, who can weave

1. *Adi Saree is the most artistic production* I have ever seen in this Presidency, as far as the handloom weaving is concerned. It has beautiful borders into which figures of snakes, elephants, horses or parrots are interwoven. In addition to this, the whole body of the cloth is one big piece on which a most attractive and elaborate design of flowers, birds, creepers and animals is worked with such delicacy of touch and artistic display that one cannot take off his admiring eye from it.

a very good saree and she is rightly famous for her skill in the whole of the town. She earns Rs. 15 a month with the help of an old woman in addition to Rs 15 earned by her husband.

It is a noteworthy fact that some thirty years ago the weavers of Dharmavaram were mainly engaged in producing cotton cloths and it was only in the last twenty years that the silk industry has made such large strides in that town towards monopolising the hand-loom weaving there, to the entire exclusion of cotton manufacturing. Formerly when mostly cotton cloths were produced, the total monthly production of the local weavers was valued at 4000 Rs. while the present production of the silk handloom weavers alone is worth Rs. 30,000, out of which the workers get about Rs. 7,000 as remuneration at 10 Rs. per saree. We can say that on the whole the weavers of silk are earning twice as much as those of cotton, and four times as much as they used to earn when they were manufacturing cotton goods thirty years ago.

Lace Weaving Industry.

Weavers of silk and cotton mixed or of cotton cloth with lace borders, are said to be employed in the lace weaving industry. Only very high counts of cotton yarn, 60s and upwards, are usually utilised for this work, though 40s also are sometimes used.

Madhavaram Centre:—

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Kind of work	Monthly production	Rate of payment	Monthly earnings
Weaving:—			
Goranchu kandi kaddianchu.	3 upper cloth	8 as. each	15—0—0
Benares petu Moggapetu	30 sarees	14-16 as.	28—2—0
Kamalam petu	20 upper cloths	Rs. 2—4	Rs. 40—60
Laced saree worth Rs 5 to 8	15 sarees	Rs. 1-8-0	Rs. 22-8-0
Saree worth Rs. 8 to 10	10 „	Rs. 5	Rs. 50
Laced saree worth Rs 20 to 40	6-7½ sarees	Rs. 8—10	Rs. 48—60
Warping	15 warps	6 as. a warp	5—10—0
Sizing	30 warps conjee	Rs. 12-2-0	18—12—0

Seventy five workers of this place are wage earners and the rest are independent artisans, and both these classes seem to be equally prosperous. This place and Pullampettah are famous for their cloths in the weaving of which much artistic skill is displayed.

The upper "lace" cloths, manufactured in Pullum-pettah centre, are of $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ yards and the sarees are of $2\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ or 16 or 18 cubits¹ in size. White cloths are manufactured there, out of 40s to 200s yarn and coloured cloths out of 40s, 60s and 100s yarn.

¹ Cubit is equal to half yard.

Upper Cloths:—

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Length	Breadth.	Counts.	No of days taken to weave	Wage	Monthly wages
White 21 yds	54"	40s	6	4-8-0	22-8-0
" "	"	60s	"	5-0-0	25-0-0
" "	"	100s	"	6-0-0	30-0-0
Coloured 18 yds	45"	40s	3	3-0-0	30-0-0
" 21	"	60s	4	3-8-0	26-0-0
" "	"	80s	"	4-0-0	30-0-0
" "	"	100s	4½	5-0-0	33-0-0
Fine White 21 yds	54"	150s	10	10-0-0	30-0-0
" 21 yds	45"	"	10	8-0-0	24-0-0
" "	"	200s	12	10-0-0	25-0-0

From the above table we find that the maximum that a weaver working on coloured and laced cloth of 21 yds of 100s with 54" breadth can earn Rs 33—0—0 a month apart from the three to four rupees which his wife earns. While an unskilled worker earns Rs. 25 a month, a skilled worker can earn as much as Rs 36, and so there is a margin of Rs. 10 per month between the wage of the least efficient and of the most efficient workers of this centre. Though this industry is not, on the average, as well established as the silk industry, it is equally well paying.

Sixty years ago, the Pullempettah centre was mainly devoted to weaving rough cloths which were consumed locally. But somebody brought the art of weaving, with

gold and silver thread intermixed, from Madhavaram which is much the older centre for lace weaving. Ever since, it has flourished, and has transformed the economic conditions of this centre.

If this industry, as well as that of silk manufacturing, can be organised on constructive lines outlined in chapter VIII, there will be ample scope for many more thousands of workers to be profitably employed in them rather than in the manufacturing of cotton goods of very low and medium counts. All that is necessary for these workers is to get about one year's training to become able to weave "lace" cloths or the ordinary kinds of silk sarees.

The Apprenticeship System:—

In Dharmavaram which is celebrated for its silk industry, an elementary system of apprenticeship exists. If a father has only one son, he himself trains him. If he has three or four boys, he trains one of them, and the rest are sent to other weavers to learn work. While under training, these boys are not paid anything for six months, in which period they are expected to learn their trade. After the elapse of the six months, they are paid one rupee each per month until they become good workmen. When the time comes for the boys who are usually 15 years old to think that they have learnt the work, they would like to go to other employers to earn the ordinary wages paid for adults. Their fathers then consult both the old and the prospective employers and if they are certain that the youngsters can give satisfaction in their work and at the same time

can earn enough money, they allow these young men to work as adult weavers. When these young employees have saved enough from their earnings, they buy their own looms and set up as weavers. The average price of a loom is Rs. 15 and the other necessary things cost another Rs. 5 and so, by the time a boy becomes a weaver, owning his own loom, he usually has attained the age of 17 and has realised to some extent the advantages of thrift.

In Madhavaram, the system is similar, but boys from 12 to 15 years of age get Rs. 2 to 5 per month. Some live with their employers.

In Pullampettah, boys of 10 years of age are sent to begin as assistants to other weavers and they are expected to help in the manipulating of the dobbies used for manufacturing petu sarees and are paid a rupee a month during the first year. The next year, they are paid the same wage but are taught to handle warps that are going through the preliminary processes. When they are between 12 and 15 years of age, they are trained in weaving but are paid the same wage. From the 15th year, they are fed and paid Rs. 2—8—0 a month since by that time they will have learnt also to weave. Those who do not live with their employers are paid Rs. 7 a month. The same wage has been paid to the apprentices for the last three generations.

There is not even a semblance of apprenticeship in Rayadrug among the weavers who work both on silk and cotton. The parents of the children are the latter's teachers and it is expected that every son of a weaver will become a weaver. The weavers in Bellary also

train their own children. But those children who are found unruly are sent to merchant-employers who train them and pay them a rupee a month each after the first six months.

Almost the same deplorable conditions prevail in Adoni and other centres where neither the employers nor the capitalists have anything to do with the training of the boys of their workers. In the absence of regular discipline, the boys grow up into disorderly youths and men, predisposed to drunkenness and brawls. The technical skill of workers is generally at a low level in this centre.

Only a very few weavers are able to invent new designs and patterns and the number of those who adopt the methods and designs of others is also small. The great majority follow blindly the customary and traditional methods, patterns and designs. Where exceptional skill is shown, it is not well remunerated. The defects of the system of domestic training are aggravated by general illiteracy and the absence of any state system of compulsory education, either elementary or technical. The percentage who can read and write varies in different castes from 8 to 12.

Technical Training.

A beginning for provision for technical training has, however, been made. The Adoni Municipality started a school in 1913, but it was abolished in 1920, because the Municipality was prejudiced against Non-co-operators who urged that hand-spinning and khaddar weaving

should be introduced into the school. There are two "Weaving Schools" in Adoni Taluk, managed by the Adoni Taluk Board, one at Yemmiganuru and another at Kosigi. The Yemmiganuru School was started during 1922 with one teacher on Rs. 25 a month. In that school, cotton weaving is being taught. Boys are recruited from the elementary school of the same place and there are at present only 14 students in it. The cost of running this school during 1924 was Rs. 480 and out of this amount, Rs. 300 went for salaries, Rs. 60 for house-rent and Rs. 120 for fixed contingencies. Therefore, the schooling of each student costs over Rs. 34 per year to the school. There was also a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 200.

The Kosigi School was opened on the 27th August 1924 with a teacher who was paid Rs. 25 a month, and the total expenditure upon this school amounted to Rs. 480 in 1924—1925. There was also spent Rs. 200 for the non-recurring items. The Government gave an initial grant of Rs. 1390, to the Taluk Board, out of which only Rs. 960-7-0 was spent, the balance being refunded to the Government. The Taluk Board has met half the annual expenditure upon these two schools, while the government met the other half.

The following machines, which cost nearly Rs. 700, were supplied to each of these schools.

Frame looms	3
Horizontal Warping Mill	1
Pit looms	3
Roller Shuttles	9
Plain Shuttles	8

Drawing Hook	1
Pirns	500
Varnished Healds	6 sets
Healds Shafts for Sample	2
Bamboo reeds 5 for 72 pirns	
Timplets	2 „
Bamboo reeds 1 set of 15 pinjams	
Tin Bobbin	1
Charkas	2

Boys from 8 to 14 years of age are taught in these schools how to weave checks, towels, carpets, the ordinary rough cloth and cloth of finer quality. It is not known exactly how many students there are in the Kosigi School.

Rev. B. J. Rockwood, the manager of the J. Ackerman Coles Industrial School, has very kindly furnished me with the following information about his School in Kurnool. There are 42 pupils in the weaving section of the school, and carpentry and gardening are also taught there. "The maintenance of the school cost of Rs. 5000 in 1924; out of which the Government gave a grant of Rs. 2,500 and the balance was met by the American Baptist Mission." But this budget does not include the salary of Rev. M. Rockwood. If we suppose that the carpentry section of the school cost as much as that of weaving, then, there was spent only Rs. 2,500 for weaving. There were 42 pupils in the weaving section, so, about Rs. 60 were spent on every pupil.

The business side of much schools should not be given too much prominence, though the purchasing of

yarn and the marketing of the cloth produced, should be carefully organised. Mr. Rockwood says: "This is a School, the business side of which is immaterial to us. We are teaching boys with a view to their education. By this I mean, these boys are looked upon as students and we are teaching them weaving just as we also teach them Telugu and mathematics. It is to develop the all-round man that we are after." Though the present practice of the Adoni Taluk Board Schools, of getting the students of the elementary schools to come and learn weaving in the school is not bad, it would be better if all the children of hereditary weaving castes in the elementary schools, were taught to weave. Then, the training given would be far more efficient and would cost much less. It is hoped that in a few years, training in dyeing also will be given, in view of the fact that Adoni is a great centre for the industry. It is a hopeful sign that the Adoni Taluk Board proposes to open another school in Nandavaram, and it is to be hoped that other Taluk Boards also will follow its example and render as much service to the weaving industry. If the future prosperity of this industry were to be ensured, there should soon be established a weaving High School, in which all kinds of advanced methods of interweaving new patterns, and of printing with new and better blocks, more fascinating and original designs, are taught, and which may produce Master Weavers, Dyers, Printers and Bleachers. These men will in time set up as independent employers, employing 15 to 25 workers each in their small factories. Such a 'High School for weaving' should be set up for every three or four districts and students must be taught in these schools, not only technical methods of weaving,

and dyeing etc., but also the elementary principles of industrial and commercial organisation of the weaving industry. The history of the industrial developments of other countries of the world, with reference to both technical improvements and factory and market organisations should be studied. Such High schools will then be the breeders of pioneers of industry.

CHAPTER IV.

WAGES AND EARNINGS OF WEAVERS

II. The Northern Circars.

The Districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari,
Kistna, Guntur and Nellore.

The average earnings of a weaver and his wife exceeds Rs 20 per month in Chirala, Pedana, Bandarlanka, Ponduru, Chicacole, Ichhapur, Peddapur and Berhampur. In Ellore, Palakol, Mori, Jaggannapettah, Chintalapalli, Vizianagaram and Santabommali most of the weavers are scarcely able to earn Rs 15 a month. These weavers who produce kiles and head-remals are earning more than those who are engaged in producing sarees, but less than those who produce petu cloths and khaddar.

It is only in Mori that special arrangements exist to get warps sized by professional sizers. Everywhere in the Circars, men do the sizing, while in the Ceded Districts, it is women who do such work. Employers in the Northern Circars are able to exploit the workers in the manufacturing of kiles and head rumals as ruthlessly as those in the Deccan. Independent weavers are faring much worse than wage earners in all but two places which are Mori and Ponduru. There is no one to lend them money at low rates of interest.

The silk weaving industry of Peddapuram, Uppada and Berhampur is more prosperous than the cotton weaving industry of the Circars. But the present organisation of this industry is very defective and it can be bettered through co-operative societies.

WEAVERS' EARNINGS.

Venkatagiri Centre.

Kind of employment	Amount of work done in a month	Rate of payment	Monthly earnings
Weaving—			
Sarees	6 to 7 pairs	2-6-0 a pair	14-4-0 to 16-10-0
Kiles	8 pieces	1-0-0 a piece	8-0-0
Sizing—	30 warps	As. 8 a warp	15-0-0

Among the Padmasales of this place some are independent weavers and most of the others have looms of their own. But the local Muhammadans have no looms of their own and they work in the factories of the place and are paid 8 annas a yard. They are mostly engaged on sizing and 5 to 6 of them get together and finish 6 to 7 warps in a day of 8 hours.

Kalahasti Centre.

Kind of work weaving.	Monthly production	Rate of payment	Monthly earnings
Weaving sarees	3½ sarees	Rs 4-8-0 a saree	15-12-0
Kiles	6 pieces	2-2-0 a piece	12-12-0
Sizing	30 warps	As. 8 a warp	15-0-0
Preparatory work upon dyed yarn	30 „	As. 3 „	15-10-0

The earnings of a weaver of Kalahasti and his wife average about Rs. 21-9-0 a month. A wage earner, working in his employer's house is paid Rs 12 a month and 12 annas per month is deducted from his earnings towards rent of the loom and the room where he works. The employer makes Rs. 1—4—0 profit upon his work. Usually such wage-earners are bachelors and they mess in the houses of their employers, who are able to make a profit, by catering for them, of about Rs. 2 month per head.

Chirala Centre.

Kind of worker	Kind of work	Monthly production
Skilled	sarees of 60s	120 yards
Ordinary	„ „	105 „
„	„ 80—100s	88½ „
„	„ 40s	150 „
„	„ 20s	172½ „

A weaver of this place is not employed on the average for more than 7 hours a day while his wife works for nearly 14 hours, if her work in the family also is taken into account. He is paid Rs. 2—8—0 a saree of 10 yards of 80—10Cs and decreasing prices for sarees of lower counts. He is, on the whole, able to earn about Rs. 22—8—0 a month in addition to a certain amount of yarn which the employers give him. He is given 4 lbs. of yarn more for a saree of 10 yards than it would be necessary to weave such a saree. I am told both by the merchants and weavers that most of the weavers save more out of this extra yarn than through direct wages. A weaver makes at least Rs. 9 a month through this yarn.

The money wages paid to the weavers show a tendency to increase as prices rise. Ten years ago, only Re. 1 was paid for weaving a saree for which Rs 2 are paid at present. Formerly only 2 lbs. of yarn were given extra for such a saree while 4 lbs. are given to-day. Thus, the remuneration of weavers has risen proportionately with the rise of prices in the last decade, a phenomenon that is not noticed anywhere else in the Presidency.

On the other hand, the petty employers exploit the wage earners who cannot get credit from the merchant employers and who have no houses or looms of their own. Bitra Ramulu, for instance, weaves $3\frac{1}{2}$ pieces and the proper prices are Rs 7 per each piece. But he is paid only Rs 3 per piece. Moreover, such workers are usually bachelors and stay in their employers' houses, paying the employers usually Rs. 8 a month for their board and lodging, out of which the latter make another Rs 2. So while the workers get Rs 8—8—0 net per month, the employer gets Rs 16—8—0 out of every worker. The same deplorable conditions prevail in the Bhattiprolu centre. P. Ganapati who weaves a piece of 12 yards in 4 days, earns only Rs 17—13—0 a month for his $7\frac{1}{2}$ pieces, while his employer gets as much, just by undertaking the responsibility of employing him. The independent artisans who work in that centre usually earn Rs. 25 a month.

Pedana.

There is an attempt in this place to introduce dyeing industry and Mr. Pichhiga Kumaraswami is one of the three merchants who started dyeing works here. The

three gentlemen borrowed Rs. 1000 at 14 per cent interest. They did not, in the beginning, understand well the processes of dyeing and so most of their chemicals got spoiled. They are gradually learning through experience the ways of production of dyes and so their business is becoming more profitable. They have a worker who can dye well, and he is paid only Rs. 11 per month. They are anxious to advertise their business in Madras and other centres, but they have not enough capital. Travelling Agents, they admit, will be of very great use, but they require money. Some such effort to manufacture dyes is being made in Pullampettah also, but the masters of that place have also to learn their work through very costly experience. Weavers also are interested in the experiments because the experiments might lower the costs of dyeing and leave a larger margin for themselves.

An average weaver of Pedana can weave 4 pieces of kiles and can thereby earn Rs. 18 a month. It should not be forgotten that his employer gets at least another Rs. 2—8—0 per piece or Rs. 10 per month. Such workers work in their own houses. The demand for the cloth woven in Pedana is greatly due to their better repute and so the employers are content with making only Rs. 10 upon each worker. Because of the general prosperity of this centre, most of the wage-earners have their own houses and looms and are to a small extent more independent than those in Chirala and Vetapalem. It is interesting to compare this Rs. 18 monthly income from the work on kiles, with the Rs. 20 got by many workers from the weaving of cloths with 'petu' borders.

If an assured market in India itself for cloth consumed in the country is found, more can be earned evidently from work on petu cloths than from work on kiles exported to other countries. The independent artisans can earn from 8 to 12 annas more per saga or 4 sarees, and so they can get Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a month more than the wage-earners. Preparatory work fetches 1 anna per box of yarn and a woman can do 2 to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ boxes a day and so she can earn from Rs. 5—10—0 to Rs. 6—9—0 per month.

Winding 5 lbs. of yarn costs	Rs. 0—2—6
Taking the yarn and winding it	0—2—6
Warping	0—1—4
Taking it to the hanks	0—2—6
Sizing it	0—8—0
Canjee	0—3—4
Oil	0—2—8
	Rs. 1—2—10
Fixing the warp to the loom	0—4—0

Weaving alone of a saga costs Rs. 5—2—0 while the whole work on yarn sufficient for a saga, i. e., 10 lbs. costs Rs. 1—8—10.

Pedana Centre.

Kind of work	Monthly production	Rate of payment	Monthly earnings
Weaving:—			
kiles	4 pieces	Rs. 4-8-0 a piece	Rs. 18
Fine sarees	12 sarees	Rs. 7 per 4 sarees	Rs. 21

Ellore Centre.

Kind of worker.	Kind of work.	Monthly production.	Rate of payment.	Monthly earnings.
Inde- pendent	Dhoties of 20s	10 pairs	As. 14-6 a pair	Rs. 9-1-0
Wage- earning	„	„	As. 10 a pair	Rs. 6-4-0
Woman	Preparatory work	20 pairs	As. 2-9 a pair	Rs. 3-4-6

The weavers of Pentapadu and Bheemavaram could weave twice as much cloth with the fly-shuttle loom as with the old loom, but they weave for only a small part of their time, because there is scarcely any demand for their cloths owing to the dreadful depression that has set in. They are mostly homeless and they are housed by the ryots, who employ them in agricultural work. They are paid for this work as stated in the second chapter less than other agricultural labourers, because they are considered to be less skilled than others. They have to face the seasonal fluctuations that are associated with the agricultural work. There is indeed a gloomy future for them, if Government takes no prompt steps to relieve their distress. They cannot get even one good meal a day, and I can state from personal knowledge, that they are slowly declining in physical strength and in moral character. ¹

1. The above account was written in 1925. Nothing has yet been done by Government till now (1928 June) to help them. The Aid to Industries Act does not seem to be intended for the benefit of such workers. These workers can be helped effectively, if they are persuaded to weave cloths of finer count.

Palakol Centre.

Place.	Kind of work	Rate of payment	Monthly production	Monthly earnings
Palakol	Grey cloth	Rs. 2-15-0 for 48 yards	192 yards	Rs. 10-12-0
Raya-kuduru	Dhoties		20 dhoties of 40s of 6 yards each	Rs. 12-4-0
Palakol	Dhoties		20 dhoties of 80s of 6 yards each	Rs. 18-10-0
Poduru	Bonnu border sarees		120 yards of sarees each 6 yards	Rs. 11-4-0

The weavers who produce sarees and dhoties in this centre are all independent artisans. They are all anxious to become wage-earners but there is no one to employ them. The following figures show that the wage earners producing head rumals are better paid than these people.

Kind of work	Rate of payment	Monthly production	Monthly earnings
Head rumals	Rs. 9 per piece of 56 yards 40s	2 pieces	Rs. 18
„ „	Rs. 6 a piece of 24½ yards 60s	4 „	Rs. 24
Sizing	As. 12 for 24 yards grey warp Rs. 1-8-0 a warp of 56 yards head rumals		

The wage paid for a piece of head rumals includes the charges for sizing and so the monthly net wages of these head rumal weavers fluctuate between Rs. 16-8-0 and Rs. 22-8-0 depending upon the kind of cloth woven. The earnings per loom rise as the number of looms in a family rises because the women in a family are more fully employed as the number of looms rises upto a limit.

Mori centre.

Kind of work	Kind of worker	Rate of payment	Monthly production	Monthly earnings
Weaving sarees	Ordinary		120 yards	Rs. 9
„ of 120s sarees	Skilled		80 yards	Rs. 12
Sizing		Rs. 4 a piece of 40 yards	3½ pieces	Rs. 13
Warping		As. 3 a warp	9 „	Rs. 2-5-0

We find many professional sizers in Mori. They earn more than many weavers do, because, sizing is a very unpleasant work and it is, in all its kinds, very highly developed in this place. A set of four people working together can size 1½ pieces of 40 yards each, in a day of 8 hours. During the marriage season each of these workers can earn 8 annas a day, besides a rupee a week earned for special kinds of work.

Ambajeepeettah centre. The weavers of the Ambajeepeettah centre could earn much more than they do at present, were they able to work on petu cloths throughout the year. To enable them to do so, there should be a co-operative society to organise and finance the industry more efficiently.

Jaggannapettah.

No. of looms in the families selected	Kind of work	Kind of worker	Amount produced	Monthly earnings
1	Sarees	Independent		Rs. 18
1	Rumals 150s	Wage	2 pieces	Rs. 11
1	"	"	3 "	Rs. 10-8-0
1	"	Independent	3 "	Rs. 7-14-0
1	"	"	3 "	"

We see from the above figures that it pays better to be a wage earner than an independent weaver.

Chintalapalli.

Kind of work	Kind of worker	Rate of payment	Monthly production	Monthly earnings
Weaving— Sarees	Wage earner	Rs. 4 a piece of 40 yards	4 pieces	Rs. 16
"	Independent		6 "	Rs. 15
2 rose colour sarees of 60s				Rs. 9
" of 20s				Rs. 5

Mr. Ch. Ankamma is able to earn only Rs. 19 a month on three looms or just a little more than a single wage earner. Ch. Kabhojilingam has two looms, one engaged on petu sarees and another on ordinary 40s sarees and makes Rs. 22 a month. Ch. V. Bhadrudu gets Rs. 32 on two looms engaged in weaving ordinary sarees but he can earn twice as much if he can get petu work, as the weavers in his family are very highly skilled in that work.

Bandarlanka.

Kind of work	Rate of payment	Monthly production	Monthly earnings ordinary	in special emergencies
Weaving—				
Petu sarees	Rs. 9 per piece of 5 sarees	2 pieces	Rs. 18	
Dyed ordinary sarees	3 „ „	4 „	Rs. 12	
Plain sarees of 7 yards	Rs. 3 per piece of 80s.	4 „	Rs. 12	Rs. 16
	¹ Rs. 4 „ „ of 100s	5 „	Rs. 20	Rs. 24
	Rs. 6 „ „ of 150s			
Sizing	² Rs. 3-4-0 per 30 yarns each	4½ „	Rs. 14-10-0	
Warping	As. 12 per 18 lbs. of yarn	72 lbs	Rs. 3	

We cannot be very sanguine about the special wages because the employers are coming to realise that it is possible to avoid paying such special wages. They get ready as much cloth as possible during the ordinary months at usual wages and make no special demands for work upon the weavers during the marriage season when the demand for the petu cloths makes itself felt all of a sudden. Most of the weavers complained that they

1 A worker who can produce so much is considered to be one of the best. Ordinary weavers can produce only 4 pieces.

2 A sizer has to spend 12 annas out of th's on canjee and oil, per piece.

were not paid any special wages during 1924 as the employers were completely successful in regulating the demand for weavers during the year.

The business accounts of some independent weavers.

	Mori.	Chintala- palli.	Jaggana- pettah.
Yarn per piece	16 lbs.	16 lbs.	14 lbs. 100s
Price of a lb. of yarn	As. 13	As. 12	As. 12
Total cost „	Rs. 13	Rs. 12	Rs. 10-8-0
Sizing	Re. 1	As. 14-6	Rs. 2-3-0
Oil and conjee	As. 5	As. 5	
Warping	As. 5	As. 7	As. 7
Togaru	As. 5	As. 5-6	Re. 1
Jamullu			As. 8
Total costs	Rs. 14,10-0	Rs. 14	Rs. 14-10-0
S. P.	Rs. 21	Rs. 16-8-0	Rs. 17-4-0
Remuneration for weaving and risk taking	Rs. 6-6-0	Rs. 2-8-0	Rs. 2-10-0
No. of pieces woven in a month	4	3	3
Monthly earnings	Rs. 25-8-0	Rs. 7-8-0	Rs. 7-14-0
Wage earner	Rs. 20	Rs. 11-4-0	Rs. 12-12-0

The women in an independent weaver's house are engaged on the preparatory work and so do not earn anything extra. The monthly earnings shown above are in the case of Mori for the marriage season which lasts for four months. During the rest of the year, an independent weaver in Mori earns on an average Rs. 18 per month, and a wage-earner Rs. 17—8—0 per month. On the other hand, in Chintalapalli and Jaggannapettah an inde-

pendent weaver earns much less than a wage-earner. The figures given for Chintalapalli and Jaggannapettah were also collected during the marriage season, namely on 25th April, 1925. But during that year it was a specially unfavourable season for them, wages not rising above the level for the rest of the year. Ordinarily, during the marriage season independent weavers earn Rs 2 more per month.

We have seen that wherever petu cloths are produced, better wage become possible. But, in most of the families of weavers of Mori and Jaggannapettah, only one loom out of two or more is engaged in producing petu cloths. This is due to the fact that the demand for such cloths is only seasonal and that the demand varies with the number of marriages celebrated in the District. In 1924, there came what was called Mudham, a period of three months in which no Hindu should marry and so the demand for these cloths was very negligible during that year.

The chief marriage seasons are (1) March, April and May (2) a fortnight in June and (3) a fortnight in January. "Mudham", lasting for 3 months, comes once in every three years in consequence of unfavourable conjunctions of the planets. The religious prohibition of marriage during Mudham does not apply to Mahammadans and Christians. In March 1926, the year Akshaya, the last year of the Telugu cycle of sixty years began and during its course no Hindu married. The prohibition also extended to the first months of the following year. This was a time of great hardship for weavers. Such prohibition is sure to be strictly observed.

Vizag. District.

Place	Kind of work	Kind of worker	Rate of payment	Monthly production	Monthly earnings
Vizia-nagar	Sarees	employee independent	1-7-2	24 sarees 13 pairs	14-0-0 18-13-0
Golagamu	Dhoties	"		40 lbs.	7-8-0
	Sarees ¹	10s "		"	5-4-0
Puriti-penta	Sarees			12 sarees or 30 lbs.	8-0-0
Koniche	Sarees ²			80 lbs. 11s	21-0-0
Bondapille	Sarees ³			40 lbs. 10s	10-8-0
Puriti-penta	Dhoties		9 pies a cubit	180 yards	16-14-0
Ponduru	Dhoties	120s ⁴		45 "	32-9-0
		Wage earners			10-0-0
		"			18-0-0
Ponduru	Sizing	"	As. 8 a warp	15 warps	7-8-0
	Spinning	"	As. 2 a tola of 30s	24 tolas	3-0-0

We see from the above figures that the weavers who produce khaddar cloths are able to earn much more than the weavers who do the ordinary work. But these high wages are due to the special demand for khaddar which is a result of the Non-co-operation movement.

1. The Golagamu weavers can produce as much as those of Koniche but there is less demand for their cloths.
2. The Koniche weavers owe their better wages to the big local demand. Koniche is a small town.
3. The Bondapille workers get 8 annas more per saree during the four months of the marriage season.
4. The Ponduru worker who produces Khaddar cloth is assisted by a coolie who is paid Rs. 12 a month.

GANJAM DISTRICT.

Place	Kind of work	Kind of worker	Rate of payment	Monthly production	Monthly earnings
Chica- cole	Khaddar sarees 40s	Wage Inde- pendent	As. 4 a yd. Rs. 4 a piece	120 yds. 3 pieces	30-0-0 12-0-0
Santa- bommali	Sarees	„		120 yds.	10-0-0
„	„	full time		30 sarees	13-14-0
Ichha- pur	Ganan- cha dhoties	Inde- pendent		192 yards	20-4-0
	Khaddar	„, worker		175 yds.	27-8-0

In Santabommali and most of the other villages of Ganjam District people who have lands produce 30 sarees a month for 7 months and only 5 sarees a month, during the rest of the year when they go to work on their lands. Every weaver does the warping and sizing himself with the aid of his wife and so the woman in his family gets no special wages.

All these weavers are also skilled agricultural workers and so they get employment in the fields for 14 weeks in the year and earn enough from field work to get food to last them for half the year.

ICHHAPUR.

A weaver of Khaddar, Mada Lingaraju of Ichhapur is able to earn as much as Rs. 20 a month but the following figures show that his average earnings are only Rs. 17-6-0 per month. The amount of a weaver's earnings should be to some extent, qualified by the consideration that, after

all, he is a human being and is subject to chills, fevers, laziness, holidays and dislike of the work etc. His output is sure to vary from time to time.

THE FOLLOWING IS A RECORD OF HIS PRODUCTION
AND EARNINGS.

Date on which he took yarn and returned cloth.	Yarn taken	Wages paid per cloth delivered.
11 March 1924	30 seers of yarn	Rs. 8—7—0
26 "	17½	4—14—9
3 April	18	5—1—0
12 "	17½	4—14—9
30 "	31½	9—2—6
9 May	19½	5—6—3
18 "	12½	3—7—0
5 June	27½	7—11—9
17 "	19	5—5—3
2 July	40	11—4—0
17 "	36½	10—3—0
29 "	7	1—15—6
9 Aug.	6½	1—13—3
16 "	34½	9—10—1
28 "	33½	9—7—0
6 Sept.	14½	5—0—3
14 "	14½	5—2—4
27 "	28½	8—0—3
6 Oct	14½	4—0—1
15 "	19	5—5—6
5 Nov.	31½	8—12—7
10 "	6½	1—14—3
26 "	32	9—0—0
2 Dec.	11½	3—4—9
10 "	15½	4—4—3
24 "	43½	12—3—9

Time taken about 9½ months. Total Rs. 165—11—1

Average per month Rs. 17—6—0.

From the above table, kindly furnished by the Khaddar organisation of Ichhapur, we learn that he earned only Rs. 17—6—0 a month on an average, his earnings varying from about Rs. 13 to Rs. 21 per month.

SILK WEAVING INDUSTRY.

Peddapur and Uppada.

In Peddapur and Uppada, there is silk weaving, which is more prosperous and better paying than the ordinary weaving with cotton yarn. But not long ago, these places were engaged in producing cotton goods, and they have now become silk weaving centres because, higher remuneration is available in silk weaving. In Peddapur, the average income of a family engaged in silk weaving comes to Rs. 19—8—0 and this income is decidedly higher than that of the cotton weavers. Bulliyya produces 90 yards of turban cloth in 2 months, and is paid Rs. 13 per piece of 30 yards by 1½ yards. S. Veeraraju, produces in a month 2 pieces of rumals of 30 yards each on his two looms and gets Rs. 40: K. Kannayya gets on the average Rs. 75 a month on his 2 looms but pays Rs. 14 to his employer and so earns Rs. 61 net a month. Messrs Somaraju Brothers of Peddapur have supplied the following figures of one Kannayya bearing on his work and earnings.

From	Dates on which cloths were delivered	Pieces
9—7—1924	23— 7—1924	1 piece
	6— 8—1924	1 „
	21— 8—1924	1 „

12— 9—1924	1	„
30— 9—1924	1	„
11—10—1924	1	„
30—10—1924	1	„
18—11—1924	1	„
2—12—1924	1	„
15—12—1924	1	„
26—12—1924	1	„
25— 1—1925	1	„

About 6½ months. 12 pieces

Wage per piece Rs. 20.

Total earnings on 2 looms—Rs. 480 or about

Rs. 74 per month.

Because of the various festivals, the Devanga Sabha¹ and Vanasantarpanam, only one piece was produced in the month between 26th December and 25th January. Otherwise, one saga in every fortnight is produced on each loom on the whole. So, by producing 2 pieces a month on a loom, one can earn Rs. 40 a month. Supposing there are about 300 looms in Peddapur engaged in silk-weaving, then 600 pieces or 18,000 yards of cloth is produced. There are 200 looms in Uppada, producing another 12,000 yards of silk cloth and so 30,000 yards of silk cloth is produced every month in these two places. All this cloth and much more can be sold in any of the towns of the Andhra country and there are immense

1. It was the conference of the Andhra Devangas held in Peddapur.

2. It is an Andhra word, which means eating in common in a garden. The eating is done in honour of God and to please Him.

possibilities for this manufacture if only the foreign competition is minimised. The silk turbans, rumals and sarees that are produced here, will generally find a good market in the Telugu country, but the market there is congested with Japanese goods. In order to with-stand the Japanese competition, much can be done towards lowering the prices of these cloths, by better organisation of the weavers and their work and by facilities of better marketing. And so, if all or most of the weavers of this part of the country can be induced to work on silk and if there is some co-operative effort made among them to supply silk at cheap rates and on cheap credit and to sell the cloths produced, at better prices, much good can be done to them and their posterity. ¹

Berhampur.

This place is also better known for its silk weaving than for cotton weaving and the demand for its silk cloth is almost a steady and inelastic one as the people who generally wear them are Brahmins who are not a large and growing community. But the demand varies in different seasons of the year, as the purchasing capacity of the people mainly depends upon the success or failure of crops. Of late, Japanese competition is affecting the trade in sarees and turbans, but the merchants are of opinion that foreign competition cannot have

¹ The silk-weaving industry of Peddapuram and Uppada is very badly affected by the competition of the artificial silk industry, which has sprung up almost in every important handloom weaving centre. Sarees of the same pattern and petuas those of silk are manufactured at dead cheap rates with artificial silk and so the silk weaving industry of the Presidency is seriously threatened with failure.

much effect upon their trade.¹ During the boom that prevailed in 1919—1924, a weaver used to get Rs. 50 a month on his loom, while the capitalist employer was able to make at least Rs. 10 a month on every worker. Owing to the present depression, which is due to lower purchasing power of the people and Japanese competition, the earnings have gone down considerably and a weaver can earn only Rs. 20 a month. Every weaver is complaining that he has not enough work; that his capitalist is not advancing 'raishmi' as freely as before, and that his cloths are not sold as quickly as in the last boom and that he is therefore obliged to produce fewer and fewer cloths. Y. Surayya produces 4 sagas. A saga consists of 2 Runals or a saree and measures 8 yards and so this weaver produces 24 yards a month, with the help of a boy who is paid Rs. 4 a month. He is an independent artisan as most others are in the sense that he takes the risk of the fluctuating prices. But he takes 'Raishmi' on credit from the capitalist and is always heavily indebted to the latter. During the last boom, he used to earn Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 per piece and thus make Rs. 45 to Rs. 50 a month, including the Rs. 4 for the coolie; but now he is able to earn only Rs. 28 a month.

¹ But since 1925, the production of 'Madi' cloths, manufactured out of artificial silk has adversely affected this industry also. The only saving feature for the weavers is that whereas the silk cloths last for a long time, the new sarees of artificial silk cannot last for more than 6 months of daily wear.

APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

It can be said that the system of apprenticeship prevailing in the handloom weaving industry of this part of India is not very different in its essential characteristics from that of the Deccan. It is not a compulsory system, and there is no specific standard of skill which an apprentice should attain before he can begin work as a trained weaver. Boys learn from their parents as far as is convenient and where a father has more than two sons, he himself trains two sons and sends the others to some other weaver who volunteers to teach them the work. A weaver's son is expected to become a good weaver in his turn and since there are not many occupations in which a weaver can get his children trained, every weaver's boy is initiated into the mysteries of weaving even from his childhood. This is why we find scores of unskilled and unfit weavers in every place, who are obliged to plod on their miserable way of life. The very existence of these people must deteriorate the condition of the industry. If they could be eliminated by a humane system of providing them with a more suitable employment, the efficiency of an average weaver would be higher; the average cost of production would be lower; and then the hand woven goods could compete more successfully with the machine made cloths and the weavers could find a bigger market for their wares.

A boy of ten is sent in Palakol centre to the master for one year to work without wages. Then he is paid Rs. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0 per month for the second year. During the third and fourth years Rs. 4 a month is paid.

When he has acquired enough skill he starts weaving on his own and begins to earn about Rs. 6 per month. In Mori every father who has more than one son to be trained, trains one of them himself and sends the rest to other weavers who have no children to train and who are in need of the assistance of boys. Better wages are paid to the apprentices, because of the weaving of the 'petu sarees' of Mori, Chintalapalli and Jaggannapettah. An apprentice is paid Rs. 2 a month during the very first year of his training when he is usually 14 years old. During the second and third years he is paid Rs. 3 a month. But he is paid Rs. 4 a month in the fourth year and by the end of the fourth year, he is usually considered to be a full blown weaver and so he finishes his apprenticeship. Then he starts weaving cloths of 80s and is paid Rs. 3 per saree, and after five months, he is allowed to work on sarees of 100s and is paid Rs. 6 a saree. But some boys, who have not become sufficiently skilled at the end of the fourth year, are allowed to work on 60s yarn only.

The usual practice in Bandarlanka is, as elsewhere, for fathers to train their children from their twelfth year. But there are 50 boys in this village who are employed by weavers to assist them in their weaving 'petu sarees'. They are paid monthly salaries of Rs. 1, 2, 3 and 6 each, according to their age and skill. When a boy attains the age of 16, he begins to earn full wages. In the Peddapur and Uppada centres, children are usually trained by their parents. And if some children are sent to learn from other weavers, they are not paid anything because the master has to take more pains in teaching them to weave silk cloths than he does in the case

of cotton weaving. In Chirala, Bhattiprolu and Pedana, much the same kind of system prevails, though apprentices are not paid, because there are too many of them. In Ellore, Pentapadu, and Bheemavaram, the industry is in a decaying condition and so the sons of the weavers are learning agricultural work with more care than they bestow upon weaving. In the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts, a weaver is both an agriculturist and a weaver and no special attention is paid to either, in schools. As for Kalahasti and Venkatagiri the system that is in vogue in Pullampettah is to some extent favoured. But everywhere, little importance is attached to this part of the organisation of the industry. Technical skill of a superior quality is not valued to any great extent.

Though weavers also pay Rates in Vizianagaram Peddapur, Palakol, Ellore and Chirala Municipalities, Pedana, Vetapalem, Iachapur, Chicacole, Koniche, Anakapalle, Venkatagiri and Kalahasti Unions, not even one 'Spinning and Weaving School' is established either by the Municipalities or by the Unions. Weavers also pay a professional-tax in Chirala and Palakol, and the Venkatagiri Taluk Board has decided to levy a professional-tax and yet, they propose to take no steps to do any good to weavers in return for this tax. Machilipatnam has been famous for centuries for its Kalankari¹ printing and Chirala and Vetapalem for their dyeing industry and we search in vain to find any interest

1 Kalankari is an Andhra name given to very beautiful and fascinating designs printed in different colours on white cloth. The Kalankari cloths are mostly manufactured in and around Machilipatnam, from which the East India Company used to export these cloths to Europe.

among the responsible citizens of the places mentioned to establish a Technical School to give better training on more scientific and modern lines, to the children of the workers. It is high time that something is done towards satisfying the crying need for Technical Schools, and it can be said with all emphasis that the cotton industry can never make any progress without such schools.

It is unjust to levy professional-taxes upon weavers, who are in most cases unable to earn even 15 Rs. a month and who can get only 20 Rs. with great difficulty. It is only in exceptional cases and during short periods of greatest demand that they can hope to realise about Rs. 30. As we shall see in the chapter on the standard of living, these weavers earn scarcely enough money to provide themselves with sufficient, wholesome food and clothing and it is nothing less than plundering the starving humanity to levy such an undesirable-tax on them. Moreover, this has certain other unfortunate and troublesome effects upon the family happiness and utility of the weavers. It tends to break up families into those of one or two looms alone, so that they can avoid paying this-tax. Again this impost, according to the rules, should be levied only upon those who have a monthly income of Rs 30 or more. It is extremely difficult for a Board or a Municipal Council to know whether a weaver gets Rs 30 or less a month. It so happens in Adoni and Palakol at any rate that the tax is raised on everyone without any distinction, the weavers being expected to protest and get rid of it, where unjustly levied. But as everyone in India knows, it is impossible for these ignorant weavers to get rid of it, once it is levied upon them.

What is more, these weavers are very much afraid of officers and so they prefer to pay to incurring their displeasure, by protesting.

Men and Women.

The famished parents exploited very often, the labour of their small children, when the textile industry of England was going through the Industrial Revolution and the handloom weavers had to face the increasing competition of machine-made goods. In many a case the same charge can be levelled against these handloom weavers of the Andhra Desha. If only chances are offered to get their children employed with some profit, most weavers will be ready to send their children of six and more to be employed as long as is necessary during the day. Even now, they prove very hard task masters to their children, who are unusually docile, business-like and serious for their age. These children are used to carry this and that from the mother to the father, from the preparatory workshop to the pit so many times during the day of 10 hours, or more, that they have scarcely any time to play and enjoy themselves. The apprentices are also worked for ten hours a day in most cases and they cannot hope to enjoy any freedom after that, as their parents will have some work or other waiting for them. The humdrum toil goes on without cessation and even the six to eight hours sleep a boy or a girl gets is disturbed by the tip tap noise of the blessed loom. The parents are indeed veritable exploiters of child labour and this exploitation, however merciless, inhuman and unjust, is shielded by so-called parental authority and filial devotion. The evil decreases in its intensity and

barbarity as the earnings of the families increase. For instance, it is much less in the Northern Circars than in the Ceded Districts, more intense in decaying centres like Pentapadu and Bheemavaram than in Palakol and Ambajeepttah centres, very little in Peddapur and Berhampur, but pretty bad in Itchapur and Chicacole, and so on. This exploitation is an abomination in the weavers and a curse upon poverty ridden India.

As for the position of women, one cannot be as pessimistic about them as about children, but they are surely harnessed mercilessly to the heavy cart of the burdened life of the weavers. A woman works from the morning till the next morning, with a short break of five to six hours. Her childrer, her charka, the hanks she must prepare; her possibly drunken husband, or husband with many concubines, and her unkind neighbours; all cause her immense anxiety; in addition to the tiresome work of cooking, feeding, turning the winding wheel and preparing the warp she has to do. Her life in the Deccan is worse than that of a donkey, but she differs from that animal in her power of speech. She goes on cursing, grumbling, murmuring and muttering abuse and receives reproaches and blows from her husband many a time during the day. In many a case, she is as addicted to drink and drugs as her husband. The weaver's wife is more careful in the Northern Circars and enjoys greater freedom, wears better clothing, and adorns herself with more ornaments. She is of course less hardworked and better treated, in Chirala, Pedana, Palakol and Peddapur, as the conditions of weavers are better there than elsewhere. What she earns in money, she has no bank to

deposit in; she has no insurance fund to put by money against bad times; and there is no iron safe for her to keep her belongings. Every penny she earns is given to her husband, and though she has some voice in deciding the family budget, the husband has the final say. Out of the margin of income which a weaver may spend as he likes, it is the man who enjoys all and the woman practically nothing. The few annas spent on festivals and the few pies expended on sweets are the only moneys she is free to handle. It is these facts that our nationalists who deny the better organised factory system, should recognise. It must be recognised that only through greater economic freedom of women, which results from a better organised system of industry and a raising of standard of living, can the family life of the weavers become wholesome and happy.

The inventive capacity of the Weavers.

The inventive capacity of the handloom weavers varies in direct proportion to the general average technical skill of the weavers. As the Technical Schools become sufficiently numerous, as every weaver acquires a certain technical skill and efficiency, and as there are more and more chances for people of new ideas to experiment and to succeed, the inventive capacity increases. The chief peculiarity with the handloom weaving industry of this and other provinces is that those people who manufacture looms, shuttles and other mechanical instruments are entirely different from those who weave. The former constitute a separate caste by themselves, usually the Viswa Brahmins in the Telugu Districts and the Kammalars in the Tamil Districts, and so there is

very little chance, if any, for the weavers to get into touch with this branch of the industry and to change the instrument with which they work, to suit the changed economic circumstances. So the weavers have not been able to interest themselves in new inventions, except for the solitary instance of Paramakudi of Ramnad District.

We have therefore to deal with the changes that are made from time to time in the designs, patterns and modes either through inventive skill or knack of adaptation and imitation. In Adoni, Rayadrug, Kurnool, Tadpatri and Patturu and all other important places of Ceded Districts, weavers have been very quick in giving up the vegetable dyes which they used to get from different places of the Mysore Dominions and in taking to foreign synthetic dyes. They realised long ago, that the latter are brighter, and are better liked by the people and so they had no hesitation in giving up Indian dyes, which are, moreover, more costly, and more difficult to work with. Madura is the most important centre for dyeing yarn in the Presidency. Madras and Chirala Salem and Kumarapalayam of Salem District come next in leading the way in introducing foreign colours. Nationalists may have good reasons for deploring this change, but the weavers have done a wise thing, so far as their own interests are concerned. Still considerable quantities of indigo and some other Indian dyes are used in Adoni, Prodduturu and Dharmavaram, but they are used, not because of any sentiment in their favour, but because of their greater suitability and cheapness for certain kinds of cloth. In Tadpatri, Kurnool and Adoni, the dyeing industry is organised as a special branch, but in all other

places, the master weavers or capitalist employers dye their own yarn. In Pullampettah, Pedana and a few other places, attempts are being made to introduce this branch of industry; so we can consider that these colours have come to stay.

In Machilipatnam and Pamidi, calico printing is carried on, on a very large scale. The Kalankaris of the former town have been famous in the whole of India and in other countries and many of their beautiful prints were given by Havell in his "Art Magazine". There have not been many additions in recent years to the number of patterns in use and if there has been any change at all, it is for the worse. The tastes of the people have changed so thoroughly by the introduction of foreign fashions, and foreign cloths with less artistic but more gaudy colours and designs, that this excellent Kalankari printing has received, in the opinion of everyone in Machilipatnam, a set back. Many printers became weavers, and many master printers were reduced to the level of wage earning weavers. Happily, the Gandhi Movement has furnished the much needed encouragement to this printing. As the tastes of many people have almost completely been changed by this movement, we now find these cloths in many a middle class home. The printers have not yet had enough time to invent any large number of new prints. Yet there have been some new prints, such as "spinning wheels" and "Mahatma Gandhi" in letters, so it can be said that the printers of this town can effect changes in their prints, though slowly,

if they are given a chance to do so.¹ As for Pamidi, the same thing holds good, except for the fact that this centre has had a fair share of continuous prosperity all the time. The five capitalists in this place are intelligent and quick witted people and they have not been slow to follow the lead given by Lancashire and Bombay. They have been imitating some of the Japanese prints. The prints they have invented are not many, but they are very important, in that they are more suitable to the tastes of the people. But the capitalists themselves say that they do not consider the study of the changing tastes of the people as their most important duty and that they are usually satisfied with working on the traditional prints and designs.

In Prodduturn, Pullampettah, Madhavaram, there has been no change in the designs of the cloths woven for a very long time, but there has been an addition to the kinds of cloths woven in Adoni, Bellary, and Venkatagiri. The introduction of kiles into Kalahasti, Venkatagiri, Chirala, Bhattiprolu and Pedana has been a noteworthy one, and the progress, its manufacture has made in the last twenty years, has been marvellous.² The manufacture of head rumals of the Palakol and Ambajeeppettah centres is again a new introduction and it has also attained a great prominence. Putturu and Madha-

1 Art Exhibitions such as those held in Rajahmundry and Machilipatnam in 1925-26 and the Indian Home Exhibition held in March-April 1928 in Adyar and the All India Khaddar and Industrial Exhibitions held in December 1927 would help printers to a great extent.

2 These centres are now (20-6-1926) suffering from acute economic distress because of an unprecedented depression in the kiles trade. The merchants at Madras have huge stocks of kiles cloth and they are unable to sell them. The weavers of Pedana complain that the kiles manufacture may have to be given up.

varam have converted themselves from cotton weaving places into 'Lace and Fine Yarn' centres; and Peddapuram and Uppada from cotton weaving centres into silk weaving places.

I have been able to get more definite and useful information about the changes that occurred in the market of Chirala. There is a lot of competition from foreign cloths, to the coloured and plain grey sarees with borders, that are woven here. The 'Matsyagandhi, Lakkanchu' pieces are competing with them. Ravika cloths called 'Pavadas' used to be manufactured on a large scale in this place and girls in and around Jaggayyapettah of the Krishna District used to wear them, as a social habit, until they were married. Tastes changed and the demand for these pavadas declined and the fifty looms that then were engaged in producing them had to turn to other work. Some weaver invents a new design only slightly different from the one or ones that are prevalent but which is more attractive and he sells it himself directly to the consumers; others soon follow him, and make as much profit as they can. Before long, another design is brought forward by some other weaver or weavers and the change in the work upon the looms goes on constantly in this way. Also, the weavers are very quick in following the designs displayed on foreign cloths or cloths of other parts. The following are some of the many new designs that created a stir in this big market. Namalanchu, Kornalanchu, Lakkanchu, Balamani Sarees, Raitanchu Sarees, Dupsa, Mabbuchaya, Bulgu, Puthani, Karnatic. Mr. Ramakantam, who won a Medal in the 1908 Madras Textile Exhibition says "We have sufficient

number of people who can hit upon new designs and fashions, and who can help us to keep our trade always up-to-date. Our people are quick enough to see through the advantages of the changes and so we react quickly to the new changes and tastes. It is quite usual with every one of us to work upon several designs in a year or a couple of years. Mr. Ande Subbarayudu of Bhattiprolu is a great artist and can weave shirt without any knitting on the loom itself and he was trained in this place. Our family and two others, used to weave cloths in competition with the calico checks, and our cloths were equally valued. We were also able to sell for higher prices for a time. But we have given up that work, because prices have fallen."

'Petu Saree' manufacturing which is carried on, on such a large scale in Mori, Jaggannapettah, Bandarlanka and Pedana of the Krishna and Godavari Districts is a new innovation, which has a romantic story. There is a weaver in Chintalapalle, brother of B. Pedakotilingam, who is the hero of this story. He stole his way somehow into the Rajahmundry Silk Mill and learnt the way to weave the petu cloths. He understood how to use the Dobbies, which are of great use in weaving these cloths. Then he came back to Mori and set up his workshop, in which he produced these cloths. It was a new thing in this centre and so the demand for them was very great. He was getting Rs. 100 a month on his two looms and Rs. 60 on his two employees and he went on like this nerrily for several months. The weavers of all the surrounding places wanted to learn the secret, but our hero jealously guarded it. But one day he went to attend a marriage ceremony in his village, Chintalapalle,

which is only eight miles away, and that was the chance the Mori weavers were clever enough to seize. They broke into his workshop, examined everything and found out the secret. And from the next day onwards there sprung many weavers, attempting to weave these cloths. Soon this industry spread to Jaggannapettah, Chintalapalle, and Bandarlanka. Pedana people learnt the work from their relatives in these places and so now the weavers are able to earn their livelihood more easily. From the above facts, it is evident that the weavers are pretty quick in adopting new colours and designs, if only they are convinced that they will pay.

But it is necessary to establish Technical Schools for teaching the children of weavers, spinning, weaving, dyeing, printing, designing and, the science of invention by ocular demonstration, for which a study of the psychological effects of colour shades is necessary. As long as we are, as at present, with no organised system of training, our handloom weavers can never hope to stand before the competition of the mills. It is not mere food that is wanted for weavers but it is a rise in the standard of living, the raising of wages and a greater and fuller life, that are desired. To achieve such an ideal, technical training is the only foundation. Moreover, we shall have to recognise that it is the handloom weavers who should become the pioneers of new designs, fashions, and *prints, which* will be in time taken up by the mills, *when they reach* the stage of standardisation. To increase the inventive capacity of weavers, technical training is the only means.

CHAPTER V.

The Economic Organisation and conditions of Working in the South

Chingleput district is an important centre for hand-loom weaving because there is in it that ancient manufacturing city, Conjeevaram which has been well known for its Towels, Dhoties, Shirtings, Handkerchief. Dhuppatis and Sarees. Silk Sarees, Silk Ravikas, laced and petu bordered Sarees and Uppercloths are also manufactured here on an extensive scale. The rough sarees manufactured here are chiefly exported to districts in the South as the poor people in this tract wear these clothes more usually than the mill made ones. Brahmins wear silk cloths that are produced here and in Salem and Madura. In the South hand-woven cloth is worn because it lasts longer and also because after repeated washing, it acquires a light brown colour which the ryots like and hence the continuous demand for these sarees. Before the war, foreign sarees of beautiful designs with more gloss, used to compete with the sarees woven here, but probably owing to the higher costs of manufacturing, they are not now imported in such large quantities and so the weavers here are faring somewhat better than they would have done otherwise.

The Secretary of the Weaver's Co-operative Union of this place is of opinion that demand for the cloths

manufactured here will depend in future upon the purchasing power of the people and the ability of the weavers so to organise their trade as to enable them to compete on better terms with the mill-made cloth. Most of the men in the South who do manual work in the open air wear scarcely enough clothing to cover their bodies and the women of the same class, and many others, wear sarrees only and no bodices. This is so, not because they are unwilling to clothe themselves more fully though indeed there is no need to do so, but because they are not able to buy any more clothing.¹ And so, if the economic conditions are bettered, there is much potential future demand which our weavers can exploit.

Merchants import yarn from Madras and sell it to the weavers mostly on credit. Most of these weavers are independent artisans with a capital of Rs. 10 to 20 each and they all buy their yarn in the city itself. They all sell their cloth in the open Bazaar and one can see them in hundreds any evening, with a few sarrees before each, awaiting the buyers in the garden-like High Street of Conjeevaram. They are all therefore at the mercy of the fluctuations in prices of the yarn and cloth markets and they can ill afford to face such extreme and rapid fluctuations as have become the rule after the war.

The merchants in this city get their orders from Tinnevely, Ramnad, Trichinopoly, Tanjore and other places in the South, and they export the cloth which

¹ We must however, recognise that the women of Vellala, Vaddar and Thevar castes think it wrong to wear bodices. But the number and the length of the sarrees, worn by these women have shown an appreciable increase in the last twenty years.

they buy from the independent artisans. When the market is dull, the merchants make their best profits because they can dictate their own terms to the weavers who are anxious to secure some money wherewith to live.

The manufacture of Lungis is in this city mostly in the hands of the Muhammadans who inhabit 'Ali-Muhammed-pettah' in which alone there are 650 looms out of a total of 1010 looms in the city engaged in manufacturing the kiles. There are three merchants who have Rs 3,000 each and they do business on an ordinary scale. Two other merchants have Rs 25,000 each, who employ hundreds of smaller workers. The Muhammadans of this pettah are all independent artisans and they own all the looms on work in this quarter; only a hundred of them weave and the others supervise merely their workers. The employees are mostly recruited from the Hindus, as the latter have not enough money to start on their own. The Muhammadans know all the intricacies of the trade better than the Hindus, as it is mostly for the Muhammadans who wear the kiles. Yet, some of the Hindu workers have learnt it well and have begun to work independently and hence we find 350 looms among the Padma-Sales (Telugu weaving caste) of the city.

These weavers, as a whole, have no inventive power; they have been working on the same old patterns for many generations. Even the 'Dobby' work was a failure in this city. Unless new patterns are demonstrated and forced upon them, they do not adopt them. But once they see the monetary advantage of new designs, they are quick enough to adopt them. For

instance "Vellakolambu", a new design on kiles, was introduced into the city, and a cloth with that design was selling at Rs 6-8-0 at first. Soon all people began producing the same and the price fell suddenly and many employers lost heavily.

The merchants who deal in the kiles deduct $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per piece from the prices paid to the weavers, and they pay it in their turn to the Madras merchants who buy from them. These Madras people profess to spend that sum, upon charity, as the merchants for Cotton and Silk cloths in this city itself do, but no one knows how much they really appropriate for themselves.

There are many capitalist employers in the Silk trade, who give out silk yarn to weavers and pay them piece work rates. Among them, Mr. Krishna Sa, a Sourashtra¹ merchant, is the most prosperous one, and he employs more than a hundred weavers.

Wages and Earnings. (Typical Cases).

Ragahavasa earns Rs 13-4-0 net per piece of silk coating cloth of 12 yards and he gets monthly Rs 26 8 0 by producing two such pieces. He is a 'Mungani' worker under Mr. Krishna Sa. Another employer, has two employees, who produce 20 yards a month and on whom he makes a profit of Rs 2-8-0 a month. His son, working on a loom earns another Rs 15-0-0, his younger son gets Rs 3-8-0 and his daughter who lifts the 'Dobby'

¹ "Sourashtra" is an old name for Gujarat. The Sourashtras of the Madras Presidency are a caste of silk weavers who emigrated from Gujarat in consequence of Muhammadan invasions, and after many wanderings settled in Madura and other towns of the extreme south. They claim to be Brahmins.

gets Rs 4 0-0, while his wife and daughter-in-law earn Rs 2-0-0 each by working on the preparatory processes. Thus, by organising his family members systematically, he gets Rs 31-8-0 a month in addition to Rs 5-10-0 he makes from selling sweets. He also gets Rs 2-8-0 from house rents. Another employer who does not care to work hard, pays only Rs 10 for a piece that is prepared in a month by each of his two workers and gets Rs 2 upon each of them. The women in his family earn another Rs 4 by their work. A third family having one loom working on dhories and another on kiles, gets Rs 15 on the former and Rs 11-4-0 on the latter, while the woman of the house gets Rs 3-12 0 per month by working on the preparatory work for silk. Thus, it has a monthly income of Rs 30. There is one called Setti who is an independent artisan and he has two looms working on silk. He and his son produce $1\frac{3}{4}$ yards a day and earn Rs 1-1-6 or Rs 31-13-0 a month. On the other hand a wage-earner, working on silk, is able to produce only one piece of 25 yards in a month and can therefore earn only Rs 12 8-0. Another wage-earner working on dhories gets only Rs 7-13 0 a month, after producing 25 pairs of short cloths of 3 yds. a pair. An employer makes $3\frac{1}{4}$ as. on every piece produced and therefore he makes Rs 3-0-9 upon each of his workers, while the two members of the family earn Rs 36-1-6 by their own labour. Another weaver gets Rs 39-12-0 per month on his three looms working on silk sarees. A weaver weaves in two months five Indira Colour Sarees of 8 yards or 5 Tenipattu ¹ Sarees of 9 yards and gets paid Rs 11 per pair or Rs 13-4-0 a month.

¹ It is the local name for a particular kind of silk used.

The work on kiles pays better than that on rough cloths, and if one can engage employees, the work on silk is the best paying. Weaving fine sarrees with lace borders comes next but since that work is in the hands of the employers, there is as great an exploitation here as we find elsewhere. The weavers are poorer here than in the Guntur and Krishna Districts, while the industry is not so well organised, except for kiles, as in Peddapur.

Indebtedness.

Two thousand and eight hundred rupees is the total debt of the 15 budgets we have collected and so the average debt is Rs 186-10-8 per family. The total amount of interest paid is Rs 324 and the average family has to pay an interest of Rs 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ a year. Four families out of the 12 indebted do not pay any interest on the debts they owe to their capitalist employers. Twelve out of the 15 families considered are found to be indebted. The average family income per month is Rs 35-3-8 and if all this money were to be used for clearing the debt, it would take 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ months to clear it.

Housing.

Eleven out of the 15 families selected, own houses, while the other four rent them. One family pays in rent Rs 2-8-0 a month and the rest pay each Re. 1 a month. The houses in Conjeevaram are all tiled and well built, but they are the most hopelessly congested houses the present writer has ever seen among the weavers in the districts visited and it is a great wonder how human beings can live in such close and stuffy rooms and

filthy verandahs. The city's town planning is the best in the Presidency but the homes of the weavers are the worst. But the weavers in Pulle Palayam and Valli Muhamod Pettah enjoy excellent housing conditions, surrounded as they are with the orchards, gardens and the shades of the most wonderful temples of the neighbouring city. Their quarters are almost garden cities, with their exceptionally wide streets, and avenues of coconut and other trees that decorate the streets on either side. But the population is increasing, and as Mr. Shaik Waina Saheb puts it, 50 padies of rice was enough 35 years ago to give a meal to all the Muhammadans in their quarter while now 150 padies are needed to feed them all.¹ And no effort is being made to house these people more systematically and on better lines than at present. But one thing these weavers need to learn is how to keep their houses clean, and they might learn much in this direction from the women of the weavers of Ganjam District and those of Vellalas of Salem District.

Salem District.

We find most of the Kaikalan (Tamil) weavers in the Ammapettah quarter and Devanga (Telugu) weavers in the Guhai quarter of the Salem town. Weavers of these two castes are employed on both cotton and silk weaving; while gold and silver thread work is common to them and the few Padmasales who live in the city.

¹ Among both the Muhammadan and the Telugu weaving communities of Conjeevaram it is the custom as elsewhere for each family to feast the whole community when celebrating marriages or funerals

Names of the Sarees woven	Price at which Employers sell	Merchants' price	Length Cubits	No of days taken in weaving	No of people working	Wage paid per Saree	Amount of profit made by the employer
	Rs	Rs					
Kasikudi	35	40	6	6	2	5-0-0	8 as per yard
Jaganmohan small	33	37-38	6	5	"	4-8-0	" "
Jaganmohan	22	25-26	"	3	"	3-0-0	" "
Hansam petu	24	30	"	4	"	4-0-0	" "
Parrof petu	25	30	"	4	"	4-0-0	" "
Three Figurs	32	37	"	5	"	5-0-0	" "
Arasikodi	21	24	"	3	"	3-0-0	" "
Tutipetu	90-95	105-110	16	10-12	"	15-0-0	" "
Anasikodi	40	45	14	8	"	7-0-0	" "
Anasi	15	17-17½	14	5	"	3-8-0	1 Re. per cloth
Kodipavu	18	21	14	6	"	4-0-0	1½ "
Taganmohan	18	21	14	6	"	4-0-0	1½ "
Taganmohan	7	8	6	2	"	11-3-0	1 "
Kasikodi	7	8	6	2	"	11-3-0	1 "

From the above table, we can gather that a weaver working with the help of a boy, who is paid Rs 2 to 4 a month, can earn anything between As. 10 and As. 24 a day. For six kinds of silk sarees, a weaver gets rupee a day and so we can take this sum as the average amount of money a weaver can get per day, but he has to pay the wages of his boy, and so his net monthly earnings come to Rs 27. But when he is working on cotton cloth of high quality, he gets As. 9 a day on the average or Rs 16-14-0 per month. His net earnings will then be only Rs 13-14-0 a month, which is not sufficient to maintain him. The weavers working on both yarn and silk will be getting Rs 3 to 4 more per month, during (Sankranti, Deepavali, Chaitra and Vaisakh) the festive occasions which cover a period of four months.¹ The average employer has 3 to 7 looms under him, working in his own

1 Salem was revisited again in April 1928. Though the earnings of weavers have gone down to some extent in the last three years and the introduction of the weaving of artificial silk sarees has worked havoc in the market for silk cloths, the basis on which the industry has been organised was found to be the same as in 1925. The relations between employers and employees; employers and yarn and cloth merchants are just the same. There is no competition, between one employer and another in paying the wages of workmen. Advances to weavers are still the rule in the wage market. The indebtedness of the weavers has grown still worse. The method of fixing the wages paid to workers is the same and the place of the independent weaver has become almost untenable. The old loom is still used on a large scale in the manufacture of petu bordered cloths. The only relieving feature is that the fashion for Salem dhoties, upper cloths and sarees has become more widespread and intensive and so the demand for the Salem cloths has been increasing steadily for the last five years.

house. The system under which the workers are allowed to work in their own homes is also prevalent to some extent in cotton weaving of this town. Employers do not trust their silk, gold and silver thread to weavers working in their own houses, and hence the greater prevalence of the factory system here.

Each employer in the Annamettah quarter invests at least Rs 4000 in his business. He usually borrows money at 12 per cent interest. Such employers buy silk and gold, silver thread as well as yarn from the bigger merchants in the town. These merchants import these materials from Madras, Bangalore and Bombay, and make very high profits. They also give out these materials on credit, charging 12% interest after a month has elapsed from the date of purchase. They charge at the same time higher prices; for instance, they sell 120 tolas of silk of which the cash price is 40 Rupees for Rs 42 to 43 Rupees; and gold thread of which the market cash value is Rs 48 for Rs 50 and so on. But yarn is sold only for cash because the trade in cotton clothing is considered to be very risky and as the employers in this manufacture are very poor and untrustworthy.

The yarn merchants of this town who are all Sourashtras number about 240. Each of them has invested at least Rs 10,000. There are 15 Silk Merchants, each having Rs 10,000 capital and 20 merchants dealing in gold, silver thread, each of whom has invested nearly Rs 10,000.

There are 100 'Javali' or cloth merchants, who buy the cloth from the weavers, and each of them has from

Rs 30,000 to Rs 100,000. They are usually commission agents. They take 2 as. per Rupee from the employers who sell the cloth and another as. 2 from the final purchase. The whole sale merchants from other places go here, pay commission and buy the cloth. When there is a brisk demand, these merchants give orders to the employers and take commission upon the goods delivered. Sometimes they stock and then sell. There are between 60 and 70 commission agents in Guhai itself. Five of them have invested Rs 60,000 each, with only one turn over in the year, another ten Rs 20,000 each, doing a business of Rs 80,000 a year and 40 other merchants about Rs 10,000 each with a turn over of Rs 30,000 each per year. Those who invest only Rs 20,000 have a better 'turnover' on their capital than any other group of merchants while those who deal per cash only have a better turnover than those who deal on credit.

Employers who sell their own cloth directly are able to do four times as much business as the commission agents. There is an employer who has 200 looms working under him, but has invested only Rs 20,000 and he manages to get along because he sells his cloth oftener in the market for cash. Now he has reduced the number of his looms because of the depression in the trade. These employers usually give advances of Rs 50 to 100 to each of their workers and most workers are unable to clear their debts. It was not uncommon for employers to take action against weavers for 'breach of contract', for not paying these advances and for running away.

A commission agent, who is one of the richest in Guhai, assures me that in his experience of 35 years of

the trade in this town, he finds that the general tendency is for the workers to become independent artisans, and that the latter are getting better and better off. But an average weaver is able to earn only Rs 20 a month, while in some exceptional cases specially skilled weavers do earn Rs 60 a month as independent artisans. A worker does his best work between the years 20 and 30 and during that period his efficiency rises, but from that age onwards, his power to work for as long and as skilfully falls gradually. Nine-tenths of the wage-earners are unable to rise above the ranks.

Kinds of cloth.	Amount of capital needed for an independent artisan.	No. of looms.
Saree high quality	Rs 100	2
Kalabattu white cloths	Rs 100 to 300	1
Goranchu dhoties	Rs 20	1

There are in 1928, 5000 looms in Guhai. But 30 years ago there were only 3000 looms. There used to be then only 350 independent artisans, and now there are 1200 of them. There are only three women weavers in Guhai and unluckily, people think it bad to allow women to weave. Among the Kaikalans of Aminapettah and the neighbouring places one quarter of the weavers are women.

The following account is given by the same big commission agent. "I buy cloth from weavers at fixed prices and get As. 2 per rupee as my commission. Then if purchasers from outside are ready to pay me cash, I take only $\frac{1}{2}$ anna from them and give back $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas to the weavers. Generally I give them 2 months credit

free of interest and take the two annas as commission for myself. But there are some agents who take commission from both sides."

That the weavers in the silk trade are very much exploited is indicated by the table of wages. Almost in every case the employer gets 5 per cent profit on every saree marketed and the merchant makes 18 per cent profit out of it in addition to securing commission from both the buyers and sellers. Thus, more than 25 per cent goes to the employer and the merchant; and the weaver gets only Rs 27 a month, after working for more than ten hours a day. If we could secure figures for the profits made by the merchants who import cotton and silk yarn and gold and silver thread, we should probably be able to find that at least one third of the price of a saree goes to these many middlemen, who are no doubt serving a useful purpose at every stage but at an excessive cost.

No. of emp-loyers.	No. of looms employed by each.	Capital each of them has invested.	Selling or not.	Independently.
5	200	20,000 to 50,000	Yes.	
10	100	"	"	
20	50	20,000	"	
10	25	10,000	No	
20	10	1,000	"	
25	5	500	"	

*30 master 25 2575 10000 are thus engaged by 90
employers or 3575 looms are thus engaged by 90
employers and this shows to what extent the weaving
industry of Salem is on a wage basis.*

Apprenticeship System.

From the age of 8 to 12, boys are employed to assist a weaver and they sit on his right side and manipulated the dobbie or help otherwise. Then they take the left hand side and learn to work on cheap cloths. A boy becomes an efficient worker by the time he is 20. Most of the boys are trained by employers themselves, who pay them from Rs 2 to 5 each per month. There is a great demand for child labour in this centre, because of the gold thread work and silk sarees. So great is this demand that employers will give an advance of Rs 100 to Rs 150 to a boy's father in order to secure the boy's services. No interest is charged but the advance is regarded as a debt due from the boy. The boy is paid only Rs 2 per month till he becomes a competent weaver. He then earns ordinary wages but he is held liable for the debt. He invariably fails to clear it, and is tied to the employer who gives the advance. The parents when questioned as to what they did with the money advanced, said that they used it to clear their own debts similarly contracted.¹ By this system it becomes possible for a thrifty weaver to make money out of a large family, and to accumulate capital by selling the labour of his sons in advance. The need for regular and rigorous apprenticeship is more urgent to the weavers of such a place than to those of any other place because the average skill needed for its manufactures is greater. The constant introduction of inefficient workers into the industry

¹ This kind of economic slavery finds its parallel in the manner in which a chuckler (Audi Dravidas) of Kumrapalayam, Tiruchengodu Taluk, piles up his debts in the confidence that his children will clear them.

causes the quality of the cloth woven to deteriorate and this brings ruin upon the centre itself by shattering its reputation for quality.

SIZING.

Length & counts.	No. of men working.	No. of hrs. of work.	Expenses for oil & conjee gas.	Wage paid.
25 yards 60s	4	5 hrs.	„	Rs 2
80s		6 A. M. to	„	3
		11 A. M.		
100s	6	„	„	5

A professional sizer earns from As. 6 to 12 a day and gets on the average As. 9 a day. A woman earns Rs. 1-9-0 by winding the woof of 25 yards in three days; she earns thus As. 8½ a day. But she can get only As. 4 per day on the average if she works on preparatory work. The weavers of this place work for at least 10 hours a day, while women work for longer hours.

Tiruchengodu (Salem District)

There are 1000 looms in this place, and there are 5 Mudaliars¹ who buy yarn in Coimbatore and Madura and sell it to the workers here. The agents of the Kaleswarar, Ranga Vilas and Radhakrishna mills of Coimbatore are selling large quantities of grey yarn in the Tiruchengodu yarn market. Excepting the agent of Ranga Vilas all the agents sell their yarn on credit to the weavers of the neighbouring villages of Tiruchengodu. The agent of Radhakrishna imports a large num-

¹ A Tamil weaving caste.

ber of bales of dyed yarn from Madura and Bombay and he sells it to the weavers of the town, who mostly manufacture coloured goods. There are also many petty merchants and employers who buy grey and dyed yarn from these big merchants for cash or on credit and who sell it to the weavers. Mr. V. V. S. Iyyar has invested a lakh of rupees in this business. Most of the weavers of this place are independent artisans and sell their cloths in the weekly market of the town, to which people of the neighbouring villages go for their weekly purchases. So these weavers are dependent upon the purchasing power of the ryots in the villages. Bad monsoons during the last five years in the Salem District have impoverished these weavers to a very great extent and most of them have consequently become heavily indebted. But luckily 1928 promises to be a more favourable year both for ryots and weavers because the April and May showers have come in at the right time.

Kind of cloth.	Counts.	Days taken to weave.	Yarn taken.	Length.	Cost of yarn.	Merch- ants S. P.
Saree	20s	1½	3½ lbs.	8 yds.	Rs 15 per 20 lbs.	4-6-0
Dhotee	30s	1	3½ „	5 „	Rs 6¾ per 15 lbs.	3-4-0
Dhotee	40s	„	2¼ „	5 „	Rs 8 per 20 lbs.	2-9-0

A weaver gets scarcely more than As. 12 a saree and an average weaver can prepare only 4 sarees a week.

But an employer makes As. 5 profit upon each of his workers, while his employee is paid only As. 11 a sarree or Rs 11 a month.

Exactly the same conditions prevail in the neighbourhood of Tiruchengodu, where cloths that are consumed by the poor people in the country, are manufactured.

Kumarapalayam of Tiruchengodu Taluk is another equally important centre of handloom weaving. There are more than 1000 looms and the weavers are mostly Devangas. But there are a few Mudaliars, Potters and Audi Dravidas who are interested in weaving. There is a big dyeing industry also in this place. The most important business of this place is done in exporting silk and other sarees to Mangalore for about six months in the year. There are about six merchants each of whom has invested more than Rs 50,000 in this business and they employ more than a hundred weavers each for producing cloth. There is a merchant who specialises in exporting sarees in small parcels to Colombo, Kandi and other places in Ceylon, Singapore and Penang. One of his partners is in Ceylon to push up sales. Many of these merchants produce kiles also and they keep their agents in Singapore. These agents are paid Rs 500 per annum plus food and housing accomodation in Singapore. Artificial silk has successfully captured this centre and sarees of many designs for which silk sarees are famous are produced in large numbers and are sold at very cheap rates. Many of these merchants get their sarees finely worked up with lace work and the designing

is done by one Devanga who has learnt that work in Salem and who has taken the Government Diploma for designing etc.

The commercial organisation of the handloom weaving industry of Salem District is very defective and the fact that the merchants of Salem charge commission from buyers is evidence enough for this. No attention is paid to advertisement and the sales are left to take care of themselves. Mr. Gopichetty says "The Advertisement methods are very ill-developed. Merchants from other districts come here and buy from us. We never go out and advertise our goods. A few merchants who have only from 60 to 100 looms, and who are pressed for money, go about to sell their wares. But it is an unprofitable business, as expenses are often too high." Fortunately their laced and silk cloths are almost immune from all sorts of competition.¹ They are very costly and only very rich people can buy them and so a paltry difference in price does not matter to these consumers. These cloths do not come in competition with the cheaper laced goods of Pullampettah and Madhavaram; or with the inferior silk sarees of Dharmavaram and Rayadrug. Japanese competition does not affect this industry at all. Encouraged by this immunity, these weavers are neglecting their commercial organisation.

Coimbatore District:—

It was written in the District Manual of 1891, of this District that ² "weavers have not been driven out of

¹ But there is at present (1928, July) serious competition from cloths woven out of artificial silk

² Coimbatore District Manual P 160

their occupations, as is so often alleged by the competition of Manchester goods." There were then 77,000 people who were directly dependent upon weaving. There are now considerably more people in this industry and the general conditions of weavers are far better here than in Salem, because of their greater proximity to the Spinning Mills of Coimbatore.

Tirupur.

Rough palampore and other chintzes in addition to rough white Dhoties are produced in great quantities in Tirupur. Of late, it has become a famous centre for Khaddar production, and more than a hundred looms are engaged in producing Khaddar for the Congress Khaddar Board and several other Khaddar Companies. Pariahs and Madaliars are the hereditary castes engaged in weaving, and many of them are employed by the Khaddar Companies. The Khaddar Board deals in Drills, Calicoes, and other coatings and these cloths find a great sale in the south. A weaver is paid from 24 pies (2 annas) to 33 pies (2 annas 9 pies) per yard of cloth of from 40" to 50" width and he is paid 3 as. per yard of cloth of 54".

A weaver gets 14 as. 15 as. 17 as. for cloths of 10 yards of 20", 30" and 38" width respectively and 16 as. per cloths of 12 yards with the width of 20". An average weaver can produce 40 yards of 45" to 54" width, 50 yards of 36" to 45" or 30 yards of coating in a week. Ordinary weavers of average ability, by producing Khaddar, rough Dhoties of hand-spun yarn can thus earn on the average Rs 20 a month each, while those

who produce similar goods with mill yarn are able to earn Rs 17-12-0 a month each. The difference is due to the organisation of the sale of Khaddar by the Congress Khaddar Board.

The commercial organisation of Khaddar is excellent. All the Congress organisations, the Khaddar Depots, and all the Nationalists, are the advertising media for these cloths, and the Newspapers compete with each other in freely advertising the goods of the Tirupur Khaddar weavers. Hence the great demand on such an organised scale for these cloths, though the manufacture is comparatively a new one. One can get Tirupur Khaddar in every town of the Madras Presidency. So the weavers, the spinners and the merchants engaged in this trade, are prospering. Indeed the weavers have become so independent and prosperous after the advent of this manufacture that they successfully agitated for higher wages in May and June of 1925. It was the first time in the whole of this presidency for handloom weavers to be able to threaten to strike and also it is the first time for the Newspapers to agitate in favour of a rise in the wages of the weavers. Because this industry is in the hands of a few Capitalists and Companies, and because the weavers are better organised this has been possible and the attention of the wider public has been drawn to the bad conditions and low earnings of the weavers. Those who inveigh against factory system and a strong organisation of the industry should carefully ponder over this symptom, however faint it may be.

There are five big merchants in Tirupur, each of whom employs more than two hundred weavers. Indeed one of them has as many as seven hundred workers. These merchants give out yarn to be worked up into cloth and pay their workers piece-rate wages, varying with the kind of cloths woven. There are very few weavers in Tirupur town itself and almost all the weavers who depend for their earnings upon these merchants live in the neighbouring villages of Tirupur, Somanur, Avanachi, Pollachi and Palladam. Each of these merchants has invested about a lakh of rupees. These merchants buy their yarn from the agents of Coimbatore mills and resort to the local shandies to distribute to their weavers. They have such a reputation for solvency that the Marwaris of Erode and Coimbatore, who charge 10 per cent to cotton merchants are prepared to advance them money at 12 per cent only. This highly specialised capitalistic organisation is at one extreme and the loosely knit organisation of the handloom weaving of Salem and Conjeevaram is at the other, in the evolution of industrial organisation.

The wage-earning weavers of the Tirupur and Erode centres fare very much better than those of Salem during slump and slightly worse in a boom. They are free from the risks of fluctuations in prices and the general tendency for many independent weavers is to revert to wage-earning life. The weavers of Mettupalayam, in Gobichettipalayam Taluk, who were all once independent workers, are all now wage-earners and they seem to be happier at present. They are able to earn from Rs 15 to 20 a month and they do the sizing

co-operatively with one another's assistance. There are warping machines in most of the villages and four or five weavers co-operate in buying and working a machine. The few independent weavers whom we find in Erode, Gobichettipalayam and Palladam Taluks resort to the Tirupur, Pollachi, Palladam, Somanur and Sulus shandies and sell their cloths to dealers who later in the day sell these cloths in the same shandies and buy yarn from the merchants who go there from Coimbatore and Tirupur.

The Christian weavers in the villages of Savari-palaiyam, Morattuppalaiyam in Edore Taluk in Sedapalaiyam near Karur, and other villages near Somanur and the manufacture of shirting cloth has been carried on by them for a long time on the methods of the Babel Mission of Malabar.

The goods that are produced in all other places of the district are ordinary coarse pieces of little individual value. Cotton carpets of excellent quality and colour are made by a few families at Bhavani, and there is a great demand for them. An average weaver is able to earn as much as Rs 40 a month by working on them. There are only a few families engaged in this work and other weavers cannot get into this trade, because the artisans guard their secrets jealously. These carpets were exhibited at Madras in 1883 and they were given the first prize. The river water is said to be specially excellent for the colours used, which are chiefly country made vegetable dyes. It is a pleasure to note that the foreign dyes have not yet been able to gain any

hold in this manufacture.¹ There is an excellent co-operative weavers association run under the auspices of the Bhavani urban co-operative credit Bank. This association paid 20 per cent dividends to its members. It produces carpets, table cloths, silk sarees, artificial silk sarees, all of fine quality. The weavers of this association are complaining that the District Co-operative Bank is not lending them money as freely as is needed. But if a Technical High School is started here and more weavers are trained to produce these carpets, with more skill and better workmanship, the weaving industry of this district would receive much needed encouragement.

Tinnevely District.

"Wide streets, lined up with double rows of trees to give shade to the workers at the long line of outstretched warp are the familiar signs of a settlement of weavers and in many taluks, it is seldom necessary to go far to find one."² One's mind flies back to Ponduru, Santa Bommali in the North and the beautiful shady gardens of Nagari and the extensive garden of Putturu, when one finds these settlements of weavers in this district with their 'wide streets' and 'double rows of trees' and 'long line of outstretched warps'. Weaving in this district is not now as profitable as it once used to be, and large quantities of cotton cloth manufactured in Conjeevaram, Salem and Madura are imported into this district. Only when one finds Brahmin capitalists in a strong

¹ But subsequent to 1924-25, the foreign dyes have made serious inroads into this branch of the industry also.

² *Tinnevely Gazetteer*, P. 2.5.

position and ready to invest their money, does one find any big weaving centre at all, with continuous production of wearing apparel. In the Ambasamudram Taluk, rich Brahmins of Kallidaikurichi, have their Taragans or brokers who advance money on their behalf to the local weavers and buy the finished products from them. They always pay comparatively low prices to these weavers, who are entirely dependent upon the advances given and the cloths bought. The brokers make a decent living and the Brahmin capitalists make big profits. They borrow money at 12 per cent interest if the capital they have is not enough and they reckon to receive the same interest for their money and whatever return is got over and above this rate is considered as profit.

There are more than a thousand looms in Kallidaikurichi and more than 400 in Seramadevi, and the Brahmin capitalists of these places control the whole trade. They have set up small factories in which there are 5 to 15 workers and they find them quite profitable. These weavers who are thus employed earn much less than those working in their own houses. The Ambasamudram weaving industry is also controlled by Brahmins; and the few attempts made by the richer Kaikalans to replace the Brahmin monopoly by introducing their own brokers, have unfortunately ended in failure. There are many hundreds of Muhammadan weavers in Eruvadi of Nanguneri Taluk, Tenkasi and Kadaiyanallur of Tenkasi Taluk, who are in the hands of the Musalman capitalists of Melappalaiyam. 'Kiles and Susis; ¹ are produced by these Muhammadans and

¹ Dresses for Muhammadan women

are exported to Singapore and Ceylon. The Muhammadan capitalists have been making big profits, since most of them directly export their goods unlike those in the Circars, to the consuming centres. Sarees and rumals are manufactured by all the weavers in the District. The capitalists in Kallidaikurichi export their rumals most extensively to Travancore. Sarees of very cheap quality are produced mostly by Iluvans ¹ and Kaikalans, while 'finely laced Sarees', which are worth from Rs 10 to 30 each are produced by the Padmasales of Sermadevi, Viramenathur and Kallidaikurichi. In the manufacture of these silk sarees, capitalists play an important part. They advance small sums of money and give out silk to be worked into sarees, and pay the workers piece-work rates. These costly sarees are exported by the Brahmins to the west coast where they are worn. Where the capitalists do not take any interest in the industry, the weavers are all independent, but poor. They produce only rough and cheap cloths which are all consumed in the district itself and mostly in the neighbouring villages of the weavers. There is also a great demand for these cheap sarees on the estates of Ceylon. The yarn used by these weavers is supplied by the mills of Ambasamudram, Tuticorin, Madura and Koilpatti. I learn from a recent enquiry made by the Government of Madras into the conditions of handloom weavers of this District that there is a company, in which about 20 fly shuttle-looms are set up and that weavers are made to work on factory lines. It appears that this experiment is quite successful so far. The weavers of this District are also very heavily indebted.

¹ An untouchable paddy-cultivating caste of the South-west coast.

Though they are all anxious to improve their conditions, many of them are still satisfied with the old pit loom, on which they can produce only $\frac{2}{3}$ of the number of cloths they can make on the fly shettle. The commercial organisation of the industry in this District is very defective though a few Muhammadans and Brahmins have their agents in Singapore, Penang and Ceylon.

Ramnad District. Paramakudi Town.

There are more than 2,000 looms in Paramakudi town and in Rameswaram village, which is only 2 miles away. The weavers of this centre are mostly Sourastras, who are reputed to be a high caste people.¹ Half of the weavers are independent artisans who work on their own designs, with their own capital and themselves sell the cloth. Their number is not increasing. One fourth of the Sourashtras do not work but employ coolies by giving out looms and yarn. Nearly as many are employed in the masters' houses. Most of the employers have two to five looms, and some have from 10 to 20 looms in their own houses. There are five thousand Sourashtra families in this place and 10 per cent of these people are masters. There are more than 300 families which are engaged in employing other weavers while the members of their families do the supervising and preparatory work. Most of these employers have only got to prepare the warps and bobbins and set up the looms, and the masters prepare everything else. Only novices or beginners do this work in the master's house

¹ It is said that they were brought to the South by the Rajah of Ramnad about 200 years ago. They are very enterprising people and they dominate the industrial organisation of the Madura District. See also Dr. Saunders 'Sourashtra Community',

to learn the work properly. The masters try to get as many apprentices as possible because the wages are lower and more work is turned out. These young workers are paid full wages by their masters when they become good weavers.

There are many weavers who are employed by rich Sourashtras. The latter know how much yarn is needed for a certain quantity of cloth and they give it out to the weavers and pay an agreed amount of wages. This practice is generally prevalent in Kumarapalayam also. There are many weavers who are too poor to secure looms of their own. They borrow their looms from capitalists and pay a loom rent of As. 8 for weaving one cloth of 45 yards. These people form 10 per cent of the total number of weavers. The looms so lent out are cheap and flimsy. They cost only Rs 5 or 6 but last only long enough to weave 15 to 20 pieces. Rich merchants have as many as 100 looms each and many ordinary employers have 3 or 4 looms each which they lend out.

An ordinary weaver weaves three 'pavus' (warp) with the fly shuttle and one "pavu" with the old loom in a month and he gets from Rs 6 to 10 per "pavu" as his wage. So he gets from Rs 18 to 30 with a fly shuttle and from Rs 6 to 10 with the old loom per month. It is a strange thing to find that only clever and courageous people adopt the fly shuttle loom because it is considered to be more dangerous to work with.¹ But every young

¹ Similarly the weavers of Kelamangalam of Salem District feel that it may need more strength to work a fly-shuttle loom than necessary to work the old loom.

boy in the Circars knows to ply this shuttle with ease and dexterity. Ordinarily only Sarees and Dhoties are produced on the fly shuttles. Costly cloths like rumals, laced sarees and silk cloths are produced with the old looms. ¹ Out of the 250 looms that are engaged in producing cotton goods, only about 50 are fly shuttle looms.

Silk work.

Sagundalaor Paplec, Jodu Paplec, Japan Visiree, Kurai, Ratna Paplee, Seer Jodu which is bounded by thin lace, are some of the many kinds of silk designs that are manufactured here. Dhuptas or upper cloths of various designs and very often with 'petu' borders are also manufactured here on a large scale.

"Petu" work with all kinds of letters interwoven in the borders was invented ten years ago by Mr. Anna of Madura and he got a patent for this. Many Madura workers began producing such sarees with 'petu borders' and the Paramakudi weavers have learnt this work from those of Madura. All these weavers manage to make use of the invention without paying anything to the inventor. This centre used to be famous at one time for its Mysore gemanchulu, shawls, dhuptas, baskanas, squares, patu pairs, kamala karai, all made of cotton, but the foreign competition became so keen and successful that more than three quarters of the weavers of this place were obliged to give up their hereditary work on yarn and turn to silk weaving.

¹ A practice which is said to be prevalent in the silk weaving centres of Trichinopoly District also.

Sizing.

There are no sizing machines in this place. 'Sizing' is done by hand, by people of a particular caste called "Naikars". The weavers pay $1\frac{1}{2}$, 2, 3 or 4 annas per pavu, the wage varying according to the number of yarn threads. A sizer can turn out in a day 4 to 5 pavus, working from 6 A. M. to 10 A. M. and 4 P. M. to 6 P. M. i.e., 6 hours a day. And so he earns on the average Rs 30 a month. These people do not work on New Moon days or any of the Hindu Festival days. Sourashtras, who never used to size, are gradually learning to do this work, as the Naikars are demanding higher than the customary wages. The wife of a sizer collects canjee from house to house, paying 2 to 3 pies a day at each house, and spends 1 to 2 annas a size worked up by her husband. The sizers need the help of a boy or girl, and usually their own children help them. Otherwise boys of Ahambadiyas and Naikars are employed.

Warping.

Warping is done by machines, which are made locally and which were introduced a few years ago from Madura. Thirty years ago people used to walk up and down threading the warp yarn on poles stuck in the earth. They gave up that method in preference to the small warping machine on which women work. A woman without the machine can turn out only one warp in two days; on the machine 5 or more prepared in a day. The cost of warping has therefore come down. Now their women are engaged in preparing silk for warping. An industrious woman, working for 10 hours

a day can earn from As. 4 to 5 a day. The women in the well-to-do families also work on this kind of work. These new warping machines are owned by Sourashtra merchants. A machine costs from Rs 75 to 100 its price depending upon the size of the machine. Ten to 12 warps on the larger machines and from 5 to 6 on smaller machines can be prepared in a day. These merchants make decent profits, getting from Rs 4 to 5 a day during brisk trade and from Rs 60 to 70 a month during ordinary times.

Inventive Skill.

We have already seen how slow these people have been to adopt the fly shuttle looms. They have however got accustomed to changes in the methods of warping and also in weaving petu bordered cloths. These people always follow the lead of Madura, and have no time and capital to make their own experiments. The following account of a local inventor was given to the writer by Mr. G. K. Venkatrayudu Ayya, Ex. President of the Union Board. "There was one weaver called Sokkalla Ramayya Ramaneswaram, who invented about 25 years ago a weaving machine by which three cloths could be woven at the same time by a single weaver. He was a bit of a carpenter and prepared every part of his machine himself. He wanted Rs 2 or 3 per loom, and the weavery grudged paying so much. There were then no Railway and the Madura merchants did not know anything about his invention. The local weavers feared that if his loom came into general use, there would be greater production which would lower the prices and consequently their remuneration. So, one day they set

fire to his house and destroyed the fruit of his labours which was carefully guarded. He lived till 1914 and died in misery and poverty. He was a tall and lean man with a broad and big head. He was very well liked by his neighbours, but his peculiar love for something new caused them uneasiness. He had a good heart and his only fault was his poverty. He was a fair brown looking man and I knew him very well." Whether his machine was really capable of enabling a weaver to weave three cloths at the same time or not, it is an uncontested fact that he had something new to give to the weavers and that he made an invention. This instance shows that the weavers in the South possess a latent ability for invention, but they are not given any technical education to make it expressive or fruitful.

No apprenticeship system is prevalent here. Boys of tender age are engaged for a small wage by the employers, who teach them how to weave and when these boys think they have learnt their work, they leave the employers. Apart from this, the weavers get practically no technical training, which is essential to make them efficient, skilful and original, craftsmen.

Madura.

The working conditions of the handloom weaving industry of Madura are much the same as those of Paramakudi, the only difference being that the industry is carried on in the former place on a larger scale. Madura is the biggest city in the Presidency after Madras and according to the popular belief, there are more than three thousand looms, worked by handloom weavers.

There are all kinds of castes among the weavers, Sourashtras, Padmasales, Patnulkarans, Kaikalans and Devangas. The Sourashtras are the most intelligent, and enterprising among them all. They are all vegetarians and they observe the Brahminical practices and claim to be Brahmins.

Petu bordered sarees, laced cloths and silk sarees of all kinds are manufactured in this city. The cloths produced in Salem and Conjivaram are also manufactured here. The capitalists of this place are in a stronger position than those of Tirupur because they force the weavers to bear the risks of fluctuations in price. But in the manufacture of silk cloths wage-earning is the rule, because the cloths manufactured are very costly and an artisan needs more than Rs 300 to set up as an independent weaver. There used to be many hundreds of looms engaged in manufacturing cotton goods but the foreign competition obliged most of these weavers to turn to lace bordered and silk sarees and rumals. The rest of them who were loyal to cotton weaving took to weaving fine cloth and fortunately for them the Madura mills began to sell yarn of sufficiently high counts more cheaply than the Bombay mills. So the transitional stage was made more bearable and less ruinous than it has proved in many other places.

There are 40 employers each of whom employs five to ten weavers engaged on silk. Only five of them buy their silk and yarn and the rest are dependent upon 'Javili' merchants for their raw materials. A saree (silk) is usually sold for Rs 75 and the raw materials cost Rs 50 leaving a margin of Rs 25 to the employer. But he

pays only Rs 15 to 20 to his worker per month and Rs $1\frac{1}{2}$ for warping and so he gets a profit of at least Rs 8 per worker. He makes all his employees to work in his own house, keeping four weavers at work in a space of 15×12 sq. ft., because he cannot trust them with his materials.

In addition to this silk manufacturing, there is a vast production of yarn goods, most of which are sold in the local markets. It is said that there are as many as 2000 weavers engaged in producing these cloths and about a thousand of them are mere wage-earners. These weavers can earn only 8 to 10 annas a day for six days in the week. Their women are employed either in Red Factories,¹ where each of them earns 4 annas per day or in tying knots for silk warps, when they get about 2 annas each per day. Many well-to-do and middle-class women also seek to earn a few annas a day through this work.

The Sourashtras have in all about 10,000 acres of wet land and about a score of them own about 2,000 acres. Many Sourashtra men and women find work in the fields in the transplantation and harvesting seasons. But the existence of the spinning mills has not in any way bettered the economic conditions of these people because most of them do not know Tamil well and their women are too shy to work in the company of other caste people. The population of these people is increasing; the avenues of work and wages are not growing fast enough; and so they are finding it more and more difficult to maintain their meagre living. In fact most of them are to-day very poor and miserable, in spite of appearances of prosperity and many writers have mistaken the

¹ Dyeing factories.

skill, energy and organising capacity displayed by a few big successes among them for general prosperity. But actual economic conditions do not warrant any such happy conclusions.

Dyeing.

Madura is also known for its dyeing industry and the amount of yarn dyed in this city amounted to 10 million pounds in 1911, and a local merchant estimated that in 1925 more than twice that amount was dyed. The change that came over this city when Indian dyes were abandoned for imported synthetic dyes, was described at length by Howell in his 'Art Magazines'. Instead of deploring the change, as Howell does, Chatterton applauded it¹ and it is through this change that the handloom weavers have been able to sell their cloths cheaply and compete with the mills more successfully. Mr. Tulsi Ram, the original initiator of the change said "The origin of the industry (dyeing with Alizarine dyes) in Madura dates from the casual visit to Madura of a student of Professor T. K. Gajjar of Bombay, who explained to me the method of dyeing cotton yarn with Alizarine on a large scale. I then visited the dyeing laboratory of the Badische firm at Bombay and developed the industry."² This change has caught the imagination of the master dyers and soon the old vegetable dyes were replaced by the cheaper, more brilliant and synthetic colours.

The industry is at present in the hands of many hundreds of small capitalists, each of whom has invested

1 Chatterton 'Industrial Evolution of India', pages 133 and 228.

2 *Ibid.* page 132.

anything from Rs 1000 upwards. The yarn dyed here is exported to all parts of the Presidency and a fairly large trade is done with Ceylon and other countries. "The typical shade is a brownish red, not a particularly good colour but one which suits the taste of the people. The dyers are by no means experts in their trade, but they know how to produce the particular shade required by the market." ¹ A traveller who cares to look out of the railway carriage will find numerous open spaces, in which tons of dyed yarn is exposed to the sun to get dry. But this new industry has not entirely replaced some of the old dyes. Indigo, Crimangi seed and Yellow powder, manufactured from vegetables in hill countries are still used in large quantities both in Madura and Paramakudi. German colours are preferred merely because they are more brilliant and cheaper.

There are about 2000 Colour Factories (all colours) and 2500 Red Factories; and about 100 big factories with both Alizerine and colour dyeing, all but a few being controlled by Sourashtras. The Factory Act does not apply to these factories because in none of them are more than twenty workers employed for more than a few days at a time. But in many of them workers labour for more than 11 hours a day on most occasions and when it is said that the stagnant odours of dyes(mordants) the chemical effects of the solution upon the limbs of workers and the general atmosphere in such factories are all inimical to the health of workers, one can realise what these long hours of work may mean to the life of workers.

¹ Chatterton, *Evolution of Indian Industry*, page 132.

There are about 1000 Sourashtras who carry on both weaving and dyeing in their own houses and many of their workers are obliged to ringe the yarn dyed with Nepthal colours and get their skin burnt and eaten up. The lot of the factory workers is much better than that of these people. There are only a very few who take yarn from merchants and dye it for wages. All the others depend upon their own resources to buy yarn and dye it themselves. But they sell the dyed yarn to the few big merchants who export it to other countries. A few take their dyed yarn to the local markets and sell it to weavers.

The wages earned by the dyers differ according to the different colours used, varying from Rs 1 to 8 per a bundle of 5 lbs. A average dyer who dyes different dyes from time to time is said to earn about Rs 20 per month. But skilled workers are paid in a factory from Rs 23 to 31 per month. The wages paid in big and capitalistic factories are very much higher than those paid by small dyers or the money earned independently by domestic workers.

Technical Training.

"The more intelligent among the dyers have been asking for the provision of technical instruction and it is now probable that, within a comparatively short time, a tinctorial Laboratory and an experimental dye-house will be established which will afford the chemical and technical knowledge which the dyers recognise they are in need of." ¹ So wrote Sir Alfred Chatterton in 1911. The Madura District Board Technical School was taken up by the Government in 1911 and the dyeing section was opened during the war. The children of the dyers

¹ Ibid, page 132.

were at first sent to the school but soon left it. The dyers say that their children get paid during their period of apprenticeship to the other dyers and weavers, while nothing is paid in the school. So not many dyers' boys went to the school and the Government abolished this branch a few years ago. The dyers are to be blamed for one thing, because they did not realise the benefits that could be derived by their children from the scientific training given in the school. The Government should have offered to pay these students the customary wages because their parents could not afford to go without such income. Moreover the Sourashtras require a more specialised and highly technical training in the manufacture of dyes, dyeing and printing than was available in that school.¹

Mill competition.

Hitherto, there has not been much competition from the local Mill industry to the weaving industry of the city. The "Meenakshi Weaving Mills" was only an unusually large factory where handloom weavers were assembled as in the hundreds of small establishments of the same type in the city. The Madura Mills came as a great boon to these weavers and later the Meenakshi and Pandya mills also were supplying them with cheap and suitable yarn. So the weavers are at a very great advantage when compared with those of other places. But the Madura mills organised a weaving section about two years ago and the weavers of this

¹ The Presidents' Speech at the Sourashtra Community conference held in 1927.

tract have every reason to fear that thereby they will be deprived to some extent of the means of their livelihood. More than 75 per cent of the Sourashtras are heavily indebted, the main causes for the growth of their debts being Brahminical habits of wasteful expenditure on ceremonies, food and cloths and the gradual decrease in income.

Recently a few Sourashtras began to cut down the marriage ceremony to one day thus greatly to lower the costs of marriages. But the recognised leaders are still foolish enough to deplore this happy development and it may be hoped that this diparture would grow in popularity and save these intelligent and business like Sourashtras from economic insolvency. Another parasite on their community is the drink evil, which is growing more and more intensive. The Sourashtra caste organisation is not strong enough to check this evil.

Co-operation.

There is a 'co-operative purchasing and sales' society among the weavers of Madura. There are many co-operative credit banks, which serve the public at large, but there is only one small bank which specialises in financing the weaving industry and it has a lending capacity of only Rs 25,000. It actually lent out only Rs 15,000 in March, 1928.

A weavers' co-operative society was formed by Mr. G. K. Venkatrayudu Ayya in Paramakudi and it worked well during the first year of its existence and quite an appreciable amount of profit was realised. But the money lenders threatened most of the members with

all kinds of penalties with the result that the Union has ceased to function. If there is a big bank in Madura, which finances the central 'Weavers' Purchasing and Sales Society', which in its turn finances such societies as those of Paramakudi, an immense amount of good can be done to the weavers of this tract.

Commercial organisation..

N. V. Kuppa Ayyar and Kemba Perumalla Ayyar and Sons of Paramakudi have started to import silk directly from China and Japan for the last ten years, with the help of their agent in Tuticorin. The merchants in Paramakudi and Madura do not have any agents in other places to sell their goods and to advertise their designs. The merchants of other places, such as Proddutur, Kurnool, Venkatagiri, Madras and Conjeevaram and Tinnevely in the South and Penang, Singapore, Malaya, Bombay and Pondicherry, send orders for their cloths, and these people simply export their cloths to them, very often on credit system. The buyers are charged 9 per cent interest from the date of delivery, and they return the money usually in 6 months time. The foreign business for Paramakudi comes only twice in the year at Deepavali and at Varshaprapu, and everything depends upon the particular tastes and the purchasing power of those in other countries. In a centre like Madura, one would expect a better organised system of advertising, but there is the same apathy in this as in many other things. The Madura dyeing merchants export their yarn to all the important towns of the Madras Presidency but they do not keep their agents in

those places to increase their sales. They receive orders from the merchants of the consuming centres and they export their yarn on credit basis, charging however 12 per cent interest from the date of sale. But the dyeing industry of Madura is slowly but effectively threatened with the competition of many towns like Salem and Madras and small places like Kumarapalayam and Chirala and unless the Madura merchants brace themselves up; adopt more scientific and highly capitalistic methods of production and develop better methods of advertising their manufactures they cannot hope to withstand the competition of many young and growing places.

CHAPTER VI.

STANDARD OF LIVING OF WEAVERS.

One hundred and eighty family budgets of people in the handloom weaving industry of the Madras Presidency were collected. Fifteen of them are chosen as typical budgets and are given in this chapter, to show the differences which exist between different families of different centres, and to support some of the conclusions arrived at.

The writer is aware of the fact that a different standard of computing the food consuming capacity of women and children is adopted by certain authors.¹ Yet he has adopted the following standard because weavers of every centre visited, are unanimous that it is truer to their conditions. Ryots and agricultural labourers of the Guntur District have also assured him that it also represents the actual standard of consumption among them. It is assumed that a woman needs the same quantity of food as a man and a child half as much. For the purposes of food consumption men and women over 18 years are reckoned as adults, children from 5 to 8 years of age as half adults and children under 5 years are left out of reckoning altogether.

1 Bowley and M. H. Hogg 'Has Poverty Diminished?'
Findly Sherras 'Working Class Budgets of Bombay.'

Particular care was taken to enter all sorts of incomes when the budgets were taken. First of all, a weaver was asked how much he was in debt, how much he was losing, and whether he was able to meet his expenses. His answers to the above questions were kept as a check to all his further statements. Secondly, he was taken to his employer or employers before whom a statement of his incomes was taken down. If he did or could earn more or less than what he stated, his employer used to correct him then and there. Often such employers put their account books before the writer to show the output and earnings of weavers over a period of two to six months. Thirdly, the statements of the employer and the retail merchants from whom his wife bought her provisions were taken to see whether he borrowed any money to meet his family expenditure. Fourthly, the weaver's family expenditure was taken with his help as well as that of the commets of his neighbours, friends and the retail merchants. Fifthly, a surprise visit was usually paid to his house in the evening of a market day to find how much of different commodities was bought. Lastly, the writer was present at least at two meals, to see what kind of food was taken by a weaver. In spite of all these and similar precautions, most weavers' budgets showed considerable deficits; and then a final statement of the weaver, as to how he tried to meet such a deficit, was taken. It cannot be said that the budgets as given here are, word for word, true to the budgets of every day in the year of the weavers, but they represent the average conditions of his family life and taken one month with another, the consumption of any

commodity cannot be far different from that recorded here. The present writer may be pardoned for making a final remark that many of these budgets were collected at very great personal risks, as the weavers were often suspicious of his motives in carrying on such an inquisitorial enquiry. The Devangas of the Godavary District were helpful, but the Padmasales of the Ceded Districts and Ganjam and Vizagpatam Districts and the Kaikalans of the South often welcomed the writer with all sorts of abuse and threats.

AVERAGE FOOD CONSUMPTION PER ADULT PER DAY.

NUMBER OF AMOUNT OF COMMODITIES CONSUMED BY EACH ADULT.

Name of the centres.	Men	Women	Cereals.			Dhal.		Meat & fish.		Ghee & gingly.		Total.	Vegetables.	Annual income per head.
			oz.	lb.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.			
Rayadrug	...	2	2	2	2	24-44	1-20	0-53	1-06			27-23	10-00	Rs. A. P. 72-0-0
Anantapur District...	10	13	9			14-15	0-64	0-45				15-54	3-83	53-5-1
Karnool	...	12	14	8		17-33	0-67	0-30	0-38			18-68	5-36	66-14-6
Proddutur	...	15	14	15		22-14	0-99	0-13	1-13			24-39	3-70	62-5-0
Pullampera	...	10	8	10		22-10	0-72	0-42	0-28			23-52	5-56	50-9-11
Nagari	...	13	12	11		21-54	0-60	0-43	0-30			22-87	3-85	52-3-4
Venkatagiri and Kalahasti...	13	9	8			19-07	0-80	0-33	0-80			21-00	1-06	81-10-4
Guntur District	...	41	38	27		17-20	0-56	0-26	0-35			18-37	4-40	76-1-8
Pedana	...	8	10	12		16-40	1-18	0-08	0-63			18-20	5-90	78-11-2
West Godavari Dt....	60	59	46			13-33	0-80	0-53	0-60			15-23	4-84	62-14-3
Ambazeepeeta centre	46	43	46			12-00	0-80	0-35	0-31			13-46	4-40	55-7-3
Peddapur	...	17	17	13		13-52	0-74	0-46	0-93			15-62	5-72	72-10-2
Vizagpatam Dist.	33	43	16			14-13	0-42	0-22	0-54			15-31	2-60	45-8-4

Ganjam	....	22	26	20	15-10	0-62	1-29	0-63	17-64	4-70	73-4	-9
Conjeevaram of												
Chinglepet Dist....	21	16	20		13-80	0-48	0-30	0-44	15-02	5-37	61-7	-0
Salem	....	17	18	16	13-08	0-49	0-66	0-60	14-83	4-30	66-9	-5
					16-85	0-73	0-42	0-56	18-57	4-73	64-7	-2*

Madras Jail Diet—

Plates Working....	20-0	5-0	0-50	6-0
" others i. e., females etc.....	18-0	4-0	0-50	6-0
Madras Famine Code—				
Diggers	....	27-36		
Carriers	....	22-24		
Dependent Male	....	19-84		
" Female	....	17-44		
Weaver on the margin of				
Starvation	....	16-66		

1 In calculating the average income per head each individual, child or adult, is counted as one.

2 The present writer has conducted intensive enquiries into the economic conditions of agricultural masses of Guntur District and has found out that the average annual income per head of a family of a husband, wife and a child is Rs 51 among Sudra workers and Rs 49 among similar Panchama workers.

3* The average earnings per adult per annum come to Rs 75-6-0 as against the corresponding figure of Rs 64-7-2 per head per annum.

An Indian beggar who goes from house to house in villages for alms is able to get as much cereal food per day as that which can be prepared from $\frac{3}{8}$ Madras measures (20 oz.) of rice. He bears all the signs of poverty, underfeeding and helplessness. He differs from Panchama workers of any village by the fact that he has nothing else to eat with his cereals, that he has no house, and that he has no surety about the morrow's food. Otherwise, he is considered by the villagers as getting more cereals than many agricultural workers. On the other hand, a hard working ryot who has not lost his digestive power needs at least $\frac{1}{2}$ Madras measure (27 oz.) of rice per day. Most of the Kamina people into whose economic conditions the present writer has inquired consume about $\frac{7}{16}$ Madras measures (23 oz.) of rice. The Madras Jail Code fixes the diet for prisoners in the following way. ¹

	Males working oz. of cereals.	Others.
Morning	4	3
Midday	9	8
Evening	7	7
Total	20	18

The male convicts in the Madras Jails who are sentenced to hard labour, thus get 20 oz. of cereals, out of which rice forms only one third. But the female convicts and others who are sentenced to simple imprisonment get only 18 oz. of cereals. If we express these quantities of cereals in one-sixteenths of a Madras measure, we get the following results.

¹ The Madras Jail Code, Page 99

Kind of persons.	Quantity of cereals per day in Giddas. ¹
Indian beggar	6
Hard-working ryot	8
Average Kamma ryot	7
Female and other convicts sentenced for simple imprisonment	} 5 2/5
Panchama worker (No. 16)	4-5

Every one of the hundreds of weavers interviewed in all the centres of handloom weaving visited said that if a person does not get at least 5/16 Madras measures of cereals, distributed in 1/16, 2/16 and 2/16 Madras measures for morning, midday and night meals respectively, he begins to suffer more and more keenly from the under-feeding. Between the very much underfed Panchama worker (No. 16) and the female convict of the Madras Jails, comes in a weaver who gets 5/16 Madras measures (16.66 oz.) of cereals per day. He gets almost as much as the average weaver of our budgets, so, we can safely assume that this weaver is on the margin of starvation i. e., if he gets a little less of cereals, he begins to feel the pangs of starvation. We find from the foregoing table that an average weaver of West Godavari District, Ambazepettah centre, Peddapur and Uppada centre, Vizagpatam and Ganjam Districts and Conjeevaram and Salem centres, gets much less cereals per day than our marginal weaver, and that a Pedana average weaver is almost on the margin of starvation. An average weaver in Rayadrug, Proddutur, Pullampettah, Nagari centres

¹ (1 Gidda is 1/16 of a Madras measure, or 31/3 oz.)

consumes a little more or less cereals per day than a carrier under the Madras Famine Code, while he gets in Venkatagiri centre nearly as much as a dependent male under the same code. He is far above the margin of starvation in the Ceded Districts and Chittoor and Nellore Districts because he consumes Ragi and Cholam which are cheaper than rice, and rice is largely consumed in the Northern Circars, often to the exclusion of other cereals.

We find from the same table that while a female convict of the Madras Jails is given a daily allowance of 4 oz. of dhal, an average weaver of Rayadurg who gets the biggest allowance of it, consumes only 1.20 oz. and the average for all the centres is only 0.73 oz. Our weaver on the margin needs at least an ounce of dhal daily.

On the other hand, the average for all the centres for the consumption of oils is bigger than the half an ounce of oils which is allowed to each of the convicts of the Madras Jails. The average weaver of Karnool District, Pullampettah centre, Guntur District and Conjeevaram centre gets less than a Madras convict. So the marginal weaver should get at least 0.5 oz. of oils for consumption along with other food.

The average consumption of vegetables per adult of all our budgets comes to 4.73 oz. while a Madras convict is given an allowance of 6 oz. of vegetables. But the average weaver of Anantapur, Proddutur, Nagari and Venkatagiri centres and Vizagpatam District, gets less than 4 oz. of vegetables. The marginal weaver needs at

least 4 oz. of brinjals. The Madras convicts do not get any meat or fish. The consumption of meat and fish varies in different parts of the country. Weavers in the Ceded Districts are particularly fond of meat and they eat it at least once a month. Those in the Ganjam, Vizagpatam, Godavari Districts consume a good proportion of fish, while the Andhra-Oriya weavers eat fish on every alternate day. The weavers of the rest of the Northern Circars and Salem and Conjeevaram take meat and fish at least twice a month. So our marginal weaver needs at least 0·25 oz. of meat and fish per day, which is about as much as an average Guntur weaver gets.

Now, our marginal weaver needs daily:—¹

				oz.
Rice	....	....	....	....16·66
Dhal	....	....	....	.... 1·00
Meat and fish	....	....	....	.... 0·25
Ghee and gingelly	....	....	....	.... 0·50
Total daily allowance of solid food				18·41 ozs.
Vegetables	....	....	....	.... 4·00 „

¹ It will be interesting to compare these figures with the following food scale of the marginal ryot of 'Economic organisation of Indian Villages' Vol. I, page 150.

Commodity.	Quantity.
Rice	18·0 oz.
Pulses	1·5 „
Ghee	0·75 „
	20·25 oz. solid food
and vegetables	5 oz.

So, we find that an average weaver in Anantapur District, West Godavari District, Ambazeepttah and Peddapur centres, Vizagpatam and Ganjam Districts, Conjeevaram and Salem centres gets less food than the marginal weaver and so is below the marginal line of poverty.

A Madras convict gets a daily allowance of 0·5 oz. of tamarind, 0·75 oz. of salt, 0·25 oz. of curry powder and 0·5 oz. onions. As the very poor as well as those just above the margin consume usually almost the same quantities of these commodities, it is considered advisable to adopt these as the allowances.

The above standards of consumption for the marginal weaver cannot claim any scientific arrangement. They are arrived at after much personal enquiry into the standard of living of the very poor and moderately poor weavers of all the districts visited and they are quite intelligible and reasonable, if taken alongside with the foregoing table and the budgets given in this chapter. It is quite possible for a weaver to live well without meat and fish but they are so habituated to it and look forward to mutton curry at least once a month with so much eagerness that the consumption of meat is provided for in the budget of our marginal weaver and the same is the case with oils, which form some sort of an accompaniment to the curry or chutney. Such a budget errs, if it does at all, on the side of under-estimating the minimum consumption of different commodities, which are necessary to keep a human being healthy and satisfactorily fed.

The marginal weaver needs at least two dhoties costing Rs 3, two upper cloths costing Rs 2, one shirt costing Re. 1 and the dhuppati costing As. 8 per annum while his wife needs two sarees Rs 4, four bodices Re. 1, a festive saree Re. 1 per annum costing altogether Rs 5 per annum. So an adult in a marginal weaver's family needs to spend Rs 6-4-0 per annum on clothing.

According to the budgets given in the appendices, a family of a husband, wife and a child has to pay on the average Rs 12 annually in interest on debt.

The budget of our marginal weaver is given below:-¹

Commodity.	Weight.	Price.
Rice	15.6 lbs.	Rs 1-11- 2
Ragi	15.6 „	0-13- 7
Dhal	1 lb. 14 ozs.	0- 3- 4
Meat and fish	7½ ozs.	0- 1- 5
Ghee and gingelly	15 „	0- 2- 3
Vegetables	7½ lbs.	0- 2- 3
Tamerind	15 ozs.	0- 0-11
Salt	22.5 ozs.	0- 1- 6
Mirchi and spices	7.5 „	0- 0-11
Onions	15 „	0- 0- 3
Fuel and lighting		0- 4- 0
Total monthly expenditure		3- 9- 7 Rs 43-3-0 per annum.

1 The following is the budget of a ryot who is on the margin of decent standard of living Vol. I page 151-2.

Total food and lighting Rs. 65-11-7

Clothing 29-13-4

Total annual expenditure per adult 95-8-11

Brought over	Rs 43- 3- 0
Clothing	6- 4- 0
Earthen vessels	0- 4- 0
Washerman	0- 4- 0
Cosmetics and barbar	0- 4- 0
House repairs or rent	0- 8- 0
Total	50- 7- 0 per annum.

We have not included the most important items, such as tobacco, pansupari and toddy, in a poor weaver's normal budget. But the writer is convinced that as long as a weaver in the Tamil country can find some money to spend, he would expend it on tobacco and pansupari which are the items of his daily consumption, rather than on food and clothing. He spends at least Rs 3 on tobacco and another Rs 3 on pansupari per annum. The Telugu weaver does not consume so much pansupari and so we may assume that our marginal weaver has to spend only Rs 1-8-0 per annum on it.

Toddy is consumed only on festive occasions and so the marginal weaver may not spend more than Rs 3 per annum. If we include this expenditure, then the annual expenditure of our marginal weaver comes to Rs 58-3-0. The earning capacity of the weavers of the districts visited is only Rs 64-7-8 per head per annum according to our budgets. If the weavers do not spend much more than what they annually earn, their standard of living cannot be much higher than that of the marginal weaver, more particularly as they have, on an average to include Rs 4 per annum for interest on debt.

The following is the standard of consumption of the marginal worker in England, as adopted by Professor Bowley.

Minimum ratio for an adult male per week :—

Bread	5 lbs.
Flour	1.1 „
Oatmeal	3.6 „
Bacon	0.75 „
Meat	2.0 „
Lard	0.3 „
Dripping or suet	0.5 „
Margarine	0.5 „
Cheese	0.75 „
Peas	0.2 „
Potatoes	2.5 „
Vegetables	0.5 „
Sugar	0.32 „

Total 18.02 lbs. or about 2.5 lbs. per day
of solid food.

Milk new	0.8 pints
Milk skim	4 „
Cocoa	0.5 ozs.
Tea	2.0 „
Coffee	0.5 „
Meat and liquor	4.5 pints

The full scale of expenditure per week other than on fuel for the people on the margin of poverty is given below.

Kind of person.	Clothing, cleaning & lighting.	Food.	Together.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Man over 18 years	1-5	7-7	9- 0
Woman „ „	1-5	6-1	7- 6
Lad „ 16-18 yrs.	1-5	6-5	7-10
Boy of 14 to 16 years	1-3	6-5	7- 8
Girl of 14 to 16 „	1-3	6-1	7- 4
Child 5 to 14 „	1-3	3-9	5- 0
Child of 0 to 5 „	1-3	2-6	3- 9
Man over 70 years	1-3	4-7	5-10
Woman over 70 years	1-3	4-7	5-10

The expenditure upon food and clothing of an English worker over 18 years, who is on the margin of poverty amounts to Rs 351 per annum, assuming that a pound sterling is equal to Rs 15 and that of a child of 0 to 5 years comes to Rs 146-4-0. The total expenditure budget of our marginal weaver comes to only Rs 58-3-0 per annum and so is only $\frac{1}{6}$ of the expenditure upon food and clothing of an English adult male on the margin, or $\frac{2}{5}$ of that of an English child of 0 to 5 years.

Table showing the standard of decency in clothing for a man and his wife.

Place.	Dhoties		Upper clothes		Shirts		Sarees		Bodices		Festive clothing		Total.
	No. cost.	Rs.	No. cost.	Rs.	No. cost.	Rs.	No. cost.	Rs.	No. cost.	Rs.	No. cost.	Rs.	
Salem District	4	6-0-0	4	6-0-0	3	4-8-0	4	16-0-0			1	4-0-0	36- 8-0
Chinglepet District	4	9-0-0	4	6-4-0	2	2-0-0	3	15-0-0	4	1-8-0	1	3-0-0	36-12-0
Ganjam and Vizagpatam	6	8-0-0	4	5-0-0	3	3-0-0	6	12-0-0			1	3-0-0	31- 0-0
Deccan (Ceded Dist- riets and Chittor)	4	8-0-0	3	5-0-0	4	2-0-0	3	20-0-0	1	8-0	1	4-0-0	32- 8-0
Nellore, Guntur, Kristna, Godavari Districts	4	8-0-0	4	6-0-0	3	4-2-0	4	24-0-0	6	2-4-0	1	5-0-0	49- 8-0

As can be seen from the family budgets of weavers given in this chapter most of the weavers are unable to provide themselves with so much clothing. The above figures are arrived at after a very careful personal investigation into the standard of clothing to which the members of castes like the Devangas, Padmasales Kaikalans try to conform.

Only a few Devanga and Padmasale women wear Ravikas or bodices in Salem District. Many Padmasale women of Conjeevaram wear bodices. The Padmasale and Devanga women of the Ceded Districts, Guntur, Nellore, Krishna and Godavari Districts wear bodices but those of Ganjam and Vizagpatam do not wear any bodices at all. The Kaikalan women do not wear any bodices. The question of bodices is important because a woman's body is partly bare above her waist if no bodice is worn and the people who wear bodices do not treat those without them as equals. Moreover, the standard of clothing of those whose women do not wear bodices is almost always lower than that of those whose women wear them.

All the people in a caste want to clothe themselves as fully and decently as the middle class families of that particular caste. Whenever there is a feast in any one's house all the members of his caste are expected to go to dine with him and everyone would wear the clothes in fashion in the caste on such occasions. If one of them has no such clothes, he borrows them from his neighbours.

Every weaver tries his best not to miss a dinner as he can then feed to the full, and he rarely gets a chance to do that in his poverty-ridden life. So, every weaver spends all that he can afford, upon clothing. The fact that most of the weavers interviewed in the fourteen districts visited are not able to provide themselves with the customary caste clothing proves their helpless economic condition.

Indebtedness

Twenty-two out of 31 workers whose family budgets we have got for the Deccan are indebted and the average debt per family is Rs 124-2-6; and the interest on it is Rs 8-15-2. Out of these 22 indebted families, 13 families do not pay any interest at all upon their debts. But it cannot be said that these 13 families fare better than the other 9 indebted families, because while there is some inducement for the latter to clear off their debts and to become independent, there is no such inducement for the former. The former are thus, from generation to generation, dependent upon their employers, and the debts made by their fathers weigh upon them heavily and they are little better than slaves. Again, the 9 families which pay interest find it very difficult even to meet the interest. It is not unusual for such weavers to be compelled to sell their houses to clear their debts. In fact, that is the only solution that most of them find.

It is not because the other 9 people are able to keep away from the money-lenders, that they are not indebted, but because they are so thoroughly discredited and poor that no one is willing to advance them any money. It is always very difficult to find workers who are not indebted and almost every one is in the clutches of the money lender or the employer because of the follies of his father or grand father. On an average, a debt of Rs 124-2-6 per family represents the conditions of the workers in these districts, which means that a worker is generally indebted to the extent of one year's earnings.

Indebtedness in the Circars.

District.	No. of families.	Amount of indebtedness.	Interest on the total.	Interest on average family.
		Rs	Rs	Rs
Nellore	9	516	66- 0-0	7- 5- 4
Guntur	21	1125	99- 4-0	4-11- 7
Krishua	6	1290	153-10-0	25- 9- 8
West Godavari	32	2675	287- 0-0	8-15- 6
Godavari	37	3276	415-10-4	11- 3- 5
Vizagpatam	14	860	152- 4-0	10-14- 0
Ganjam	13	1830	270- 7-0	20-12-10
Total	132	11572	1444- 3-4	89- 8- 4

Godavari weavers are the worst indebted people; then come their neighbours, West Godavari and Ganjam workers. Nellore workers are the least indebted, while Vizagpatam comes next best. As for the rate of interest paid, Ganjam workers pay only Rs 17 less than the West Godavari weavers, though the latter owe Rs 825 more than the former. Guntur weavers pay Rs 53 less than those of the Vizagpatam district, though they have borrowed Rs 265 more. But we cannot come to any conclusion on the basis of this, as there are many weavers in Guntur, Krishna and Godavari districts who borrow money free of interest from their employers. There are, in all, 77 families out of the 132 mentioned above which are indebted. Out of these, 25 families do not pay any interest at all on their Rs 1287 debt to the capitalist employers.

So, the average debt for a single family in the whole of the tract is Rs 87-10-8; that for a single family among the 77 indebted families is Rs 150-4-7. Average interest per family in the tract is Rs 10-15-1 per year; while that for a family among the indebted is Rs 18-12-0 per year.

The Consumption of Toddy.

The weavers in the Deccan and in the Andhra-Oriya Country (Ganjam and Vizagpatam Districts) drink toddy, not only on festive occasions like in the Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and Godavari Districts, but also on all ordinary occasions. It can be said that a weaver in any of these districts spends on the average Rs 12 a year. There are many who spend as much as Rs 24 each but there are others who spend only Rs 6 each. It is true that the consumption of toddy per person is less where the family incomes are larger. The weavers in the Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and Godavari Districts spend on the average Rs 6 per person per annum. They are alive to the social stigma attached to drinking and so they do not like to give actual figures about their drinking. The Padmasale and Devanga Conferences have been trying to uproot this evil among the weavers and their efforts have not yet been fully successful.

The revenue derived by Government from drink in Oravakonda (Anantapur District) was in 1924-5 Rs 39600 for the auction of three toddy shop licenses, and Rs 3800 for one spirit shop. Assuming that half the money spent by customers is transferred to the state by license fees, the expenditure incurred by 11000 people upon drink was Rs 86,800.

There are many weavers in the Deccan whose only idea of recreation is to go to the local toddy shops and to drink and sing there. Everyday, both in the morning and in the evening, we find in everyone of the centres of handloom weaving, hundreds of weavers crowding to the toddy shops. It is said that the 'Togata' women of Rayadrug get 100 pots of toddy in the evenings and consume it in their homes.

One of the employers in Rayadrug suggested that it would do these people much good if the employers prevented them from going to the toddy shops during the working days and paid them each four annas on the pay-day for drink, in addition to the regular wages. Then the workers would not get drunk so often on the working days and waste their time, and earn less wages. Much good can be done if the caste conferences organise branches in every centre of weaving and agitate against drink.

Tobacco.

The consumption of tobacco varies in different parts of the Province. In the Deccan, weavers smoke only 'beedis' a sort of cigarette of inferior tobacco wrapped up in banyan or other leaves. A few women smoke in every centre but it is considered to be bad for women to smoke. A man spends upon beedis on the average Rs 6-8-2 per annum. But the expenditure upon 'bidis' can rise to Rs 12 per person, per annum, if he can afford it. The weavers in the Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and Godavari Districts very seldom smoke bidis but they spend equal sums upon cigarettes and tobacco. A man spends on the

average about Rs 6-6-0 per annum upon them. But this expenditure can rise up to Rs 20 per person per annum if the economic conditions permit. In the Vizagpatam and Ganjam Districts, men and women smoke excessively and a family of husband and wife spends on the average Rs 15 per annum. Weavers in these districts smoke cigars, which they roll and smoke all the time.

Pansupari.

In Chinglepet and Salem Districts, men smoke as excessively as the Ganjam weavers, but women smoke less. These Southern weavers and their women are fond of chewing tobacco and pansupari. A family of a husband and wife spends on the average Rs 20 per annum on them.

The Deccan weavers like to chew pansupari, but as it is rarely grown in their own districts and therefore very costly, they get very little of it. The weavers in the Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and Godavari Districts are very fond of chewing but only on festive and other special occasions. But the Ganjam and Vizagpatam weavers chew more pansupari than others of the Northern Circars. The weavers in the Tamil country are so habituated to chewing pansupari that they cannot work without it.

Opium.

The consumption of opium as a regular item of daily consumption, appears only in the Krishna, Godavari

Vizagpatam and Ganjam Districts. Opium is chiefly taken by old men who want to work but who are unable to work unless they take it. Again, those weavers who suffer from asthma take it to check coughing. So it has become a necessity for all the old people among the weavers of these districts, and an old man spends on the average Rs 14 on it per annum.

The expenditure upon tobacco, pansupari and opium is a waste. The consumption of such things is harmful to the weavers. But these people delight in consuming such things and they say that they cannot get on without some or all of them. They would rather spend less upon food and clothing than go without tobacco and even if prices of tobacco were to rise, the same quantity of tobacco would be bought. The demand for pansupari by the weavers in the Tamil country is similarly very inelastic and so is the case with opium. So any proposal to raise a tax upon pansupari or tobacco would directly hit these poor people, who would then have to do with less food and clothing than at present.

Travelling.

Most weavers pay at least one visit to their relatives, who generally live in a place, not far away from theirs. Almost all the rural weavers go to the nearest market towns on the market days; and they sell their cloths and buy yarn if they are independent artisans; or they deliver the cloth produced to the employers and get yarn if they are wage-earners. They also buy provisions. These excursions cost them something. Even if they do not spend anything on railways or bullock-carts, they

have to pay for some refreshments at least. Unless a weaver is specially extravagant and foolish, his expenditure upon travelling is never more than what is absolutely necessary.

Medicine.

Many weavers do not make any provision for sickness because they cannot do so. The weavers who were careful enough to state their expenditure upon medicine when their budgets were given, did not really set that sum aside as an insurance but thought that so much might be their possible expenditure per annum upon medicines.

Festivals.

Deepavali, Sankranti, Mahasivaratri, New Year Day, Tadde and Vizia Dasami are the most important festivals and weavers stop all work for one to seven days for each festival. There may be a celebration or two of the local god at one time or other and the caste gods may have to be worshipped by the weavers on one or more festive occasions. At all such times, every weaver tries his best to eat fully, to prepare some home-made cakes and to buy one or two cheap presents for his children. The famished children anxiously look forward for a festival to get these much longed for treats. An average weaver's family has got to spend a rupee for each festival to get the least possible satisfaction. But most of the weavers of our budgets are unable to spend so much for every festival: what they do is to spend nothing at all for some festivals and enjoy moderate luxury at a few.

Subscriptions.

All weavers who own looms have to pay certain sums every year to the common caste fund, which is usually spent in worshipping the caste gods, in paying the cost of one day's celebration of the local god's festival or in giving a common feeding to the caste people and others in a garden in the name of god Rama or for all these three purposes. There are some people like Samayavaru who are the professional beggars for Devangas, Padmasales and Kaikalans. They relate legends of the old heroic deeds which ancient weavers performed as, for example, the assistance given by the Kaikalans of Conjivaram to the god Subramaniani in his wars and they also narrate the history of the origins of such castes. The poor weaver is socially bound to pay for all such communal expenses. He has no choice at all in this matter. If there are a few families whose budgets are collected who do not incur any such expenses, it is either because they are too poor to care for the Society or because they are wage-earners working in their employers' workshops.

Barber

Every weaver in a village has a customary barber. No weaver, either urban or rural, shaves himself. Usually the barbers charge one anna for a shave and so if a weaver has a shave in every month his shaving costs him 12 annas per year. As can be seen from the family budgets given, the weavers in the Deccan and Ganjam and Vizagpatam Districts usually have a shave per month. The weavers of the Nellore and Guntur Dist-

riects have three shaves in two months; most of the weavers in the Kistna, Godavari, Salem and Chinglepet Districts have two shaves in a month. The weaver who has two shaves a month gets much more comfort and satisfaction than the weaver who gets only one shave during that time, because in a hot country like India, a shave is a real relief to workers.

Washerman.

Some rural weavers get their clothes washed by their women. But most of the weavers are obliged to send their clothes daily to the washerman. The expenditure upon dhobie is dependent partly upon the size of the family and partly upon the local custom of payment.

Cosmetics

The Hindu weaver's women wear a red mark on their forehead as a sign of their caste. They smear turmeric powder on their faces whenever they have an oil-bath because they think it is auspicious to do so. But the women of the weavers of Ganjam, Vizagpatam, Chinglepet and Salem Districts use their powder everyday. All the married women wear glass bangles which often break while they are at work. All these things cost something. Some people could not give any definite idea of their expenditure on cosmetics and so no entry is made in their budgets.

Soapnuts.

Soapnuts are as useful as soap. People use them mostly when they have oil baths. But many families are unable to get enough soapnuts and oil baths.

Most of the Deccan weavers are unable to buy brass vessels and so they depend mostly upon earthen vessels. The weavers of the Northern Circars have many brass vessels. So is the case with the Salem and Conjivaram weavers. But most of the weavers store and boil their water and cook their food in earthen vessels.

The average pre-war income per head in the district of Faridpur in the Bengal province was estimated by Mr. J. C. Jack ¹ at Rs 53 per annum, which is equal to about Rs 84 at the 1924 level of price. ² According to the fifteen family budgets of weavers given in this chapter, an average person in a weaver's family gets an annual income of Rs 80-14-9. But it costs each person Rs 80 per annum to maintain himself at the very low standard of living which prevails at present among the weavers. If we look at all the budgets collected we can find that there is practically no surplus income at all for any weaver. So, any tax which is levied upon these people is paid, not out of the surplus income, realised after meeting the expenses of a minimum standard of living, but out of the earnings which may go to the purchase of cereals or other kinds of food or clothing. The salt tax or the proposed tax on tobacco, the professional tax, the house tax are all paid at the expense of food and clothing. The present writer's investigations into the rural life of the Guntur District give a general average income of Rs 51 per head for landless agricultural workers of the Sudra caste and Rs 49

1 'The Economic Life of a Bengal District' by J. C. Jack, Page 137.

2 'The Wholesale General Index' No. is for 1913 143; for 1924 226, 1873 being taken on year

for Panchamas. It is certain that the level of prosperity is considerably higher in Guntur than in the Ceded Districts.

Housing.

Adoni is a very congested and unhealthy town. Usually a Hindu weaver's dwelling consists of a long, narrow workshop, open to the street and a small enclosed room behind. The small room, which is always very dark, and without ventilation, is used as a store room, and the workshop is also used as a living and bedroom. Hence the habitation is in effect fairly airy and clean.

The houses of Muhammadan weavers are much less airy as their custom compels them to keep their women in seclusion. Their houses are not as clean as those of the Hindu weavers since their women lack the incentive to cleanliness which comes from the visits of neighbours. There is a rotten smell around their houses and the insides are a veritable dominion of cocks, hens and fish. But the general notion prevalent among the Hindus, that the Muhammadans are generally dirtier in habits than themselves and that they bathe rarely, is thoroughly wrong and is due to prejudice. It is true that these people care more for food and drink than for their abodes, but they are in their persons as clean as the Hindus.

In Rayadrug the houses of the workers are regular dungeons. They are too small and though provided with many windows they are not airy. One feels like being choked after being in one of the houses for more

than fifteen minutes. The houses of employers in which these workers labour are little better. These houses have tiled roofs and are too long and too narrow and are crowded with half a dozen looms, many charkas, a dozen women and a score of men in addition to an unruly crowd of children, so that in them it is very hard to hear one another speaking. There are of course some houses which are more airy, better managed and with more space for each worker.

In Dharmavaram, the housing conditions are scarcely better, the only difference being that the employers' workshops are better kept. Even there, there is much shortage of housing. One usually finds two or three families living in each house (consisting like those of Adoni, of a room and workshop) and somehow managing to live a family life and to bring forth children without any special provision for privacy. Of course, this kind of living especially in this province where working classes are quick tempered and ill mannered leads very often to constant grumbling and irritation and bad blood.

In none of these three places do we find any capitalist who makes it his business to build houses for letting. Weavers generally engage artisans and build their own houses. The few who rent houses occupy houses so built which have fallen vacant casually. There are a number of homeless workers who are housed free of rent in stables and other out-houses belonging to their employers. They can save the expense of lighting, also frequently as the employer must keep a light in his stable for the cattle.

In Tadpatri, Proddatur and Pullampetta, just the same conditions of housing prevail. The congestion is great and the number of homeless people is enormous, while the rents are fortunately much lower than economic rents. In Nagari and Jammalamadugu, the same deplorable conditions of housing are prevalent. The weavers in the villages are better housed and enjoy better air and more sunshine than those in the towns while village social life is just as congenial as that of the towns. It has not been possible to get reliable vital statistics for weavers, but it is an undoubted fact, and every weaver in these towns is aware of it, that mortality is higher among the urban weavers than those of the rural areas. The house rent in one case in Karnool is Rs 6 per year and the house repair is Rs 3 per year. The average cost of house repair in the Chittoor District is Rs 1-9-10 per house per year. The house rent in one case in the Cuddapah District is Rs 18 per annum, while the cost of house repair is Rs 5 per annum. The house rents or the house repair charges are so small because the standard of housing is low; and many families are crowded in the same building.

THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.—

District.	House repair.	House rent.	House tax.
Nellore	0-4-0	2-12-0	
Guntur	3-1-0		
Kistna	4-8-0	1- 0-0	4-0-0
West Godavari	1-3-0		
East Godavari	1-6-0	2- 4-0	
Vizagpatam	3-9-0	2-14-0	
Ganjam	4-6-0	1-10-0	4-0-0
Total	18-5-0	10-8-0	8-0-0
Average	2-9-11	1-8-0	1-2-7

The housing of an average family of the budgets we have collected for the Northern Circars, costs Rs 5-3-1 per annum.

Rent amounting to Rs 229-8-0 is paid upon 26 houses or Rs 8-13-3 per house per annum. A house tax of Rs 102-4-0 is paid on the 45 houses or about Rs 2-4-0 per house per annum. The repairing charges for 106 houses came to Rs 294-4-0 or Rs 2-12-4 per house per annum. The rents in these districts are higher than in the Ceded Districts. The house tax is heavy enough to hit these weavers. The house repairing charges are not really as low as the above figures suggest, because many weavers could not give any definite idea of their expenditure on repairs and so their repairing charges are not included.

The houses of weavers in Venkatagiri and Kalahasti towns are situated in very interesting, beautiful and healthy localities, far from the congested parts of the towns. There are hundreds of trees and many gardens surround the quarters of weavers. The houses are kept perfectly clean and wholesome, though they are too small for all the manufacturing operations carried on in them. But an average house of a weaver is much bigger, cleaner and more airy than that of either a Brahmin or any other artisan of these two places.

In Chirala and Vetapalem, there is too much congestion in the weavers' quarters and weavers have to pay very heavily in the way of mortality resulting from the attacks of Cholera, Plague, Influenza and other fevers. It is only ten years ago that plague visited these places and carried

away thousands of lives. When the government proposed some 6 years ago, to make Chirala a municipality the residents went out of the town as a protest and spent more than they would have done by paying rates for ten years. At last they gave way and the municipal rates were paid again. These weavers have not yet realised their responsibilities as citizens and so the municipal affairs are hopelessly mismanaged.

Bhattiprolu is a small union with very badly kept roads. There is some housing congestion but not as much as we find in Chirala. The houses are more unhealthy than those in Chirala, because these weavers keep she-buffaloes and goats, in a part of their own houses. The soil of this place is black and rice fields abound around it and so it is damper and muddier than Chirala. The Bhattiprolu people suffer from the absence of any public lavatories, which are a necessity in such muddy places.

Pedana fares best out of these three places. It is as sandy as Chirala and as little congested as Bhattiprolu. It has a union, whose affairs are managed fairly well by the Devanga Chairman. There is plenty of space in front of and behind every house and most houses are fairly well built and neatly kept. All the good characteristics of a house in a village i. e., artistic decorations on the walls and doorways; clean walls and nicely coated floors, are found in the house of a weaver of this place.

Ellore is one of the worst congested places in the West Godavari District. The weavers are distributed in all parts of the town and their houses are everywhere very small and dirty. The oil-pressing industry

and sometimes looms are installed in the verandahs, because of the shortage of space inside.

Peddapur is a big municipality and the weavers there live in a congested part of it. But the weavers do not like to go to any other part of the town to live. No effort is made to house the increasing population more systematically and on better lines than at present although a Devanga is the Chairman of the Municipality.

Uppada is a small village on the sea shore and so it enjoys excellent climate and sea breeze. Houses are bigger, streets wider and lanes fewer than is usual in a village, while the habit of taking walks on the beach is widely prevalent among the Devangas of the place. Wherever there is sand, there is somehow greater cleanliness in the houses which present a better look of artistic structure. The Uppada weaver can rightly be proud of his house.

Vizianagar is the capital of the Maharajah of Vizianagar and as such, it has bigger and wider streets than any other town visited. But the housing conditions of the weavers are the most unsatisfactory in this tract. The houses are like huts and weavers have to bend forward to get into them. In this quarter, there are only muddy lanes full of rubbish. Many villages, seem to be far more healthy than this big city of the Maharajah.

Ponduru is more famous than any other village of the same size and has in it some of the best spinners of the Presidency. Usually a family lives in a one roomed house, which is a part of a row of many houses. A

verandah and a backyard are added to this room. Almost all the belongings are kept upon 'Matchu', a bamboo shelf over the beams, while the pots etc., are kept in the backyard and the loom in the room. The clothing is hung upon a bamboo that is suspended below the beams. The women work in the verandah, which is only 8 to 10 square yards in area. This type of house is found throughout the villages of the Ganjam District.

The weavers of the Badurlapettah of Chicacole have big and wide streets and somewhat larger houses. But they have no detached houses.

In Santa Bommali housing is rather better than in Ponduru. There are a few detached houses. The big street in the centre is so wide as to present the look of a square and it is pleasant to see many scores of workers preparing their sizing in this square. The houses are also kept exceptionally clean and one feels, after seeing these houses that the Oriya women and their Telugu sisters have a special knack in keeping their very small houses very clean.

In Ichhapur the houses of weavers are of the same quality though they are kept less carefully. The streets are pretty wide and the lanes are not many. But this one roomed house is found to be insufficient as the families are getting bigger and bigger. The Berhampur weavers have all tiled houses, with floor about 6 feet above the level of the streets. They have all got only one roomed houses, all attached to one another in a big block and one is surprised to find more than one loom in working order in such a house. Many houses have back-

yards and all kinds of things are done in the street during the night time making the streets very unpleasant in the early morning. House rents are higher, while house repairing charges are lower than elsewhere. These houses are not kept as clean as those in Ponduru.

The housing of the weavers in these two districts is therefore a speciality for this tract. Most of the houses are attached to one another in a row and present a very attractive appearance with their nicely decorated verandahs. The spinners, carders or combers sit in rows in such a verandah and work at their profession throughout the day. The verandah at the back is used for women. Bedsteads are very rarely found and mattresses laid on the floor are generally used by these people to lie down upon and sleep. The floor is kept scrupulously clean and attractive.

Nowhere, in my journey throughout these 12 districts, could I find any trace of any work done by the government or local authorities towards relieving the congestion of housing. Many Municipalities have no Town Planning Schemes. The Government has no housing policy and the people are not educated enough to agitate for better conditions of housing. Everything is left to look after itself and housing is therefore on the whole in a miserable condition.

The housing of an average family costs, according to our budgets Rs 11-15-0 per annum in Chinglepet District. Such a family pays Rs 3-3-2 towards house-taxes and Rs 4-0-9 for the house repairs. The housing costs

a family on the average Rs 9-13-9 per annum in Salem, out of which Rs 4-13-9 is paid towards house taxes and Rs 5 towards house repairs.

There is a very bad congestion of housing in Paramakudi of Ramnad District and in Madura. In Paramakudi I found 6 families inhabiting a house of six rooms and paying Rs 12 rent per room per annum. All their looms are installed in those rooms and their women sit in the Mantapam the meeting of four verandahs with a small open square in the middle and work on the preparatory processes. Many houses in both Paramakudi and Madura are as badly crowded as this house. The houses of the weavers in these two places are very dirty, dingy and unwholesome.

A typical budget of a Oravakonda weaver.

A. B. a weaver employed by Sadu Narappa of Oravakonda in the Anantapur district has one loom. He weaves 5 sarees of 5 yards each in a week and he is paid Rs 2 for this week. His wife does some sizing and preparatory work for other weavers and earns about Rs 5 a month. So his annual family income comes to Rs 156. He has one child aged 10 years.

The following is his family budget as given by him and his wife.

His wife buys in the weekly market :—

Commodity.	Quantity.	Expenditure.
Rice	$2\frac{3}{4}$ m. m. ¹ ($9\frac{1}{8}$ lbs.)	Rs 1-0-0
Cholam	2 m. m. ($6\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.)	0-8-0
Dhal	Seer ($1\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.)	0-3-0
Vegetables	6 seers (10 lbs.)	0-3-0
Tamerind and other condiments		0-3-6
Kerosene		0-3-0
Cocoanut oil		0-1-0
Fuel		0-4-0
Total		<u>....2-9-6</u>

Therefore they have a family consumption of $15\frac{5}{8}$ lbs. of cereals and $1\frac{2}{3}$ lbs. of pulses per week. Assuming that the family is equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ adults for food consumption, we find that a person in this family has a daily allowance of $6\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. of cereals and a $\frac{2}{3}$ lbs. of pulses per week.

Annual expenditure.

Dhoties	2	Rs 4- 0-0
Upper cloths	2	2- 0-0
Banians (shirts)	2	1- 8-0
Sarees	3	8- 0-0
Bodices	3	0-12-0
Child's clothing		1- 8-0
Total		17-12-0

¹ m. m. denotes Madras measures.

Travelling	0- 8-0	
Festivals	0- 8-0	
Barbers	0-12-0	
Dhobie	0- 8-0	
Beedis	3- 0-0	
Toddy	3- 0-0	8- 4-0
Total	26-	0-0

Annual weekly expenditure Rs	134-14-0
Grand total	160-14-0
Annual income	156-0-0
Deficit	4-14-0

This weaver does not get any meat or ghee even once in a month and he cannot afford to get the workers' luxury i. e. butter-milk. In the mornings at about 7 he and his wife eat a little cholam cooked the night before and kept in the rice-water while the boy is given a little chilli powder. At 1 P. M. the dinner is served. This dinner consists of only some cooked rice, a little cholam cooked the night before, and brinjal curry in which not enough chilli or tamerind is put. Then the supper which is taken at 7 P. M. consists of the rice cooked for the dinner and hot boiled cholam and cold brinjal curry. As we shall see elsewhere the quantity of vegetables, tamerind and chillies these weavers get is not enough for having a curry at every meal and so the cereals are taken with only chilli powder. Now it is the wife in this family as in other families of the same economic conditions who has to be contented with cold cereals both at dinner and supper. When I asked the

wife of this worker whether her husband gives her any trouble about food, she said smilingly that he was more difficult to manage than her little boy.

It should also be observed that ghee and butter-milk are necessary not only because they have much food value but also because it is almost impossible to take the food of these weavers with any sort of satisfaction or relish without them.

This worker owes his employer Rs 70 on which he pays no interest. He borrowed Rs 50 for his marriage and another Rs 20 when his baby was born. He finds it so difficult to meet the needs of his family that it is impossible to clear that debt and be free from the clutches of the employer. Again he enjoys a holiday of a month in a year when all weaving operations of his place are stopped and so he has somehow to curtail his expenditure upon food and other things during the rest of the year. Therefore he is scarcely in a position to save even a Rupee to buy his wife a festive saree.

*The family budget of Nellore Narappa of Dharmavaram
Anantapur District.*

Nellore Narappa is a wage earner weaving silk sarees on his loom. He weaves 3 sarees of 8 yards each in a month during the 7 slack months and 4 sarees per month during the 5 busier months. He is paid Rs 5 for weaving a saree and so he earns Rs 15 a month during the first period and Rs 20 during the second period. His wife is engaged on preparatory work for him and so there are no outside earnings. Therefore he has an

annual income of Rs 205 and this employer assures me that he never earned more than this sum in any year.

He has two sons aged 12 and 8 years respectively and so we estimate the family to be equivalent to 3 adults for food consumption.

According to the statements made by the worker, his wife and his employer, the family budget is as follows.

His wife buys in the weekly market:—

Commodity.	Weight.	Money spent.
Rice	4½ m. m. ¹ (13·75 lbs.)	Rs 1-8-0
Cholam	1 „ „ (3½ lbs.)	0-4-0
Ragi	1⅞ „ „ (5·62 lbs.)	0-6-0
Dhal	1½ seers (2½ lbs.)	0-4-0
Meat	1 seer (2 lbs)	0-4-0
Chillies and other condiments		0-5-6
Vegetables (2 seers)		0-1-0
Sweets		0-1-0
Castor oil		0-2-0
Kerosene		0-3-0
Fuel		0-8-0
Total		3-14-6

Annual Expenditure.

Dhoties	2½	Rs 4-0-0
Bunions	4	2-0-0
Sarees	2	10-0-0
Bodices	2	4-0-0
Children's clothing		2-0-0
Total		22- 0-0

¹ m. m denotes Madras Measures.

Travelling ¹	0-8-0
Medicine ¹	1-0-0
Festivals ¹	1-0-0
Subscriptions	0-8-0
Barbar	0-8-0
Dhobie	1-0-0
Tobacco	2-4-0
Pansupari	6-0-0
Toddy	6-8-0
	19- 4-0

Annual weekly expenditure Rs	203- 2-0
Grand total	236-14-0
Annual income	205- 0-0
Deficit	31-14-0

Each of these 3 adults gets a daily allowance of 10·48 oz. of rice, 2·54 oz. of cholam, 4·28 oz. of ragi, 1·5 oz. of dhal and 1·15 oz. of meat making a total of 20 oz. of cereals, pulse and meat.

But the deficit shown above cannot actually exist, as the weaver cannot borrow from any one but his employer who is not lending him any money now as the old loom of Rs 50 is still unliquidated. His employer says that Narappa just manages to balance his budget. He says that the quantities of rice and pulses as stated above is what the weaver hopes to get rather than what he actually gets and it is sure to be smaller than what is stated above. But the expenditure upon ragi, cholam, pansupari, toddy and tobacco is probably correctly stated as they are considered to be absolute necessities. Rice is still a luxury in Dharmavaram.

¹ These items could have been avoided.

Actually Narappa may spend only one rupee a week on rice and only 3 annas on pulses and he may not spend anything at all on travelling, medicine and festivals. If so, the family gets a daily allowance of only about 15 oz. per adult per day.

Narappa is unable to save anything to meet any emergencies. He owes Rs 50 to his employer on which he has however to pay no interest. He made this debt because he had to spend Rs 20 on milk when his second son was born and Rs 30 when he fell ill.

His first son was in the local elementary school for only two years, but the second one has never been sent to school, because the father thought it would pay better to send him early to an employer to learn the work.

Alampur Rangappa of Karnool town is a wage earner weaving sarees of 6 yards each. He has two looms and his wife also weaves. He produces 8 sarees a month and his wife 5 sarees and he is paid one rupee per saree. His wife does the preparatory work for others and earns $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per day or Rs 2-13-0 per month. He therefore gets Rs 15-13-0 per month or Rs 189-12-0 per annum.

He has a daughter of 12 years. So there are equivalent of two and half adults in his family for food consumption.

His wife buys monthly :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Rice	27½ lbs.	Rs 3-0-0
Cholam	53½ „	4-0-0
Dhal	2½ „	0-4-0
Meat and fish	10½ „	1-0-0
Ghee and gingelly	1½ „	0-12-0
Condiments and spices		1-0-0
Kerosene		0-4-0
Fuel		1-0-0

Total monthly expenditure 11-4-0
Rs 135 per annum

Annual Expenditure.

3 Dhoties	Rs 4-8-0
1 Upper cloth	2-0-0
3 Sarees	9-0-0
4 Bodices	1-0-0
Festival clothing	6-0-0
Total clothing	 Rs 22-8-0
Beedis	12-0-0
Toddy	12-0-0
Travelling	2-0-0
Festivals	2-8-0
Subscriptions	0-8-0
Barber	2-0-0
Soapnuts	1-0-0
Total miscellaneous expenditure	32-0-0
Total annual expenditure	189-8-0
Total annual income	189-12-0
Estimated surplus	0-4-0

Rangappa says that he is losing Rs 12 a year and that he made Rs 70 debt in the last five years. His wife assures me that her husband spends at least Rs 2 a month on toddy. If so the figure for toddy would be Rs 24 and would make the budget show the necessary deficit. He came away from Alampore in the Mahrattah country to Karnool some six years ago, because he was unable to clear the debts he contracted there.

This family gets a daily allowance of 17·25 oz. of cereals, 0·5 oz. of dhal, 2·3 oz. of meat and fish and 0·33 oz. of ghee and gingelly per adult, making a total of 20·38 oz. of solid food.

Most of the weavers in the Karnool centre are not as well off as Ranganna. It is very rarely that women in the weavers' families are unable to weave. However hard working a weaver may be, he cannot produce more than 12 sarees a month by himself and so he will get less than this weaver who, with his wife, weaves 13 sarees. Most of the weavers moreover have to maintain bigger families.

Ranganna lives in his employer's house free of rent. He pays no interest on his debt as his employer likes to advance him money to keep him tied to his business.

Gorantla Ramayya of Buddayapalle, near Proddatur in Cuddapah District, is Mungani worker in the employment of Mr. Nagumayya, a Proddatur capitalist-employer. He produces in a month 10 sarees with the assistance of his father and is paid at Rs 3 per pair of sarees. So

he gets Rs 15 per month from weaving. His wife, sister and mother earn Rs 8-12-0 per month by preparing 56 warps at 5 annas per pair and another Rs 2-12-0 by doing the preparatory work. So the family income is Rs 26-8-0 per month or Rs 318 per annum. There are no children and the family consists of 5 adults.

His wife buys monthly :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Rice	36 $\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.	Rs 4-0-0
Cholam	106 „	8-0-0
Dhal	8 $\frac{8}{9}$ „	1-0-0
Meat and fish	3 $\frac{5}{9}$	1-0-0
Condiments and spices		1-8-0
Kerosene and matches		0-12-0
Fuel		1-0-0
Other oils		0-4-0
Total monthly expenditure		<u>17-8-0</u>

Rs 210 per annum.

Annual Expenditure.

		Brought over Rs 210-0-0
4 Dhoties	Rs 8-0-0	
3 Upper cloths	4-0-0	
4 Shirts	6-0-0	
3 Sarees	40-0-0	
12 Bodices	5-0-0	
Total clothing		<u>63-0-0</u>

Beedis	12—0—0
Toddy	12—0—0
Pansupari	6—0—0
Travelling	2—0—0
Festivals	3—0—0
Barber	1—0—0
Washerman	2—0—0
Earthen vessels	1—8—0
Soapnuts	1—0—0
Cosmetics	1—0—0
Total miscellaneous expenditure	41—8—0
Total annual expenditure	314—8—0
Total annual income	318—0—0
Estimated surplus income	3—8—0

Mr. Ramayya says he is not able to save anything but that he does not find it difficult to balance his budget. He has a debt of Rs 150, which was advanced to him by his employe ^{at} interest, to secure his services for himself. His ^{son} have jewels worth Rs 100 and his houses are worth Rs 800. His women do not go to work on fields unlike those of humbler weavers who work when the harvest is in full swing.

Each person in this family gets a daily allowance of $16\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{10}$ oz. about $15\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of cereals, 1 oz. of dhal, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of meat and fish, making a total $16\frac{3}{4}$ oz. of solid food, in addition to a few vegetables which they get free from the ryots

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 15·3 oz of cereals, 0·95 oz. of dhal, 0·38 oz. of meat and fish,

making a total of 16·63 oz. in addition to a few vegetables which he gets free from ryots. Ramayya considers that he could spend Rs 2 more per month upon cereals with benefit if he had the money to do so.

Most of the weavers of the Proddatur and Jammalamadugu centres are rural workers. Most of the hundred weavers interviewed in this centre complained that they were not able to buy as much cereal food as they would like to. They consider that they can make a good meal if they can each get 3/16 Madras measure of rice or cholam. According to this standard of consumption, one should have 1·87 lbs. of cereals for three meals or 1·25 lbs. for two meals. Most weavers agree that it is impossible and also unnecessary to have three meals of 3/16 Madras measures of rice each and that one would be satisfied with two such meals a day. But they consider a rationing of 2/16, 3/16 2/16 Madras measure of rice (231/3 oz. in all) for the morning, midday and night meal respectively will be most reasonable. It is possible for a weaver to feel lazy to work if fed like this, but the weavers look upon this standard as their ideal which they hope to reach when their incomes permit to do so.

Selambu Toppa Naidu of Ekambrakuppam in the Chittoor District is an independent weaver. He has two looms worked by him and his son from 3 P. M. to 7 P. M. and by two coolies from 8 A. M. to 3 P. M. Father and son produce 40 sarees and the coolies 50 sarees per month. Naidu gets a profit of 3 annas per saree, after paying 5 annas per saree to his coolies. So he makes Rs 26—4—0 upon 40 sarees, which he and his son pro-

duce and 9—6—0 upon 50 sarees produced by his workers. He gets thus a family income of Rs 35—10—0 per month or Rs 427—8—0 per annum.

Naidu has a grown up son, a daughter-in-law, his wife and a son of 12 years of age to support. His younger son is learning the weaving from an employer, who feeds him free. So there are four adults in this family to be fed.

His wife buys monthly :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Rice	64½ lbs.	Rs 7- 0-0
Ragi	105 „	7- 0-0
Dhal	6½ „	0-12-0
Meat and fish	13½ „	2- 0-0
Ghee and gingelly	12 „	1- 8-0
Vegetables	53½ „	1- 0-0
Condiments and spices		1- 4-0
Kerosene		1- 0-0
Other oils		0- 4-0
Total monthly expenditure		21-12-0
		Rs 261 per annum

Annual Expenditure.

Dhoties and upper cloths	Rs 28-0-0
6 Sarees	30-0-0
Bodices	2-0-0
Younger son's clothing	12-0-0
Total clothing	72-0-0

Interest on debts	12-0-0
Tobacco	12-0-0
Pansupari	6-0-0
Toddy	24-0-0
Travelling	2-0-0
Medicine	1-0-0
Festivals	2-0-0
Barber	2-0-0
Washerman	4-0-0
Earthen vessels	1-0-0
Soapnuts	1-0-0
Cosmetics	1-0-0
Total miscellaneous expenditure	68-0-0
Total annual expenditure	401-0-0
Total annual income	427-8 0
Estimated surplus	26-8-0

Naidu says that weavers belonging to the Kaikalan Caste give up work from the first of the Tai month of the Tamilian Calender for 30 or 45 days until an auspicious day comes and that therefore his supposed surplus does not exist as he can earn only for 11 months in the year but has to spend for 12 months. He has not been able to clear his debt of Rs 100 contracted when his son was married some six years ago. Naidu weaves his own cloths and has to spend money on yarn. That is why his clothing budget came to only Rs 72 though he has 5 people to clothe.

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 22.55 oz. of cereals, 0.88 oz. of dhal, 1.77 oz. of meat and fish, and 1.6 oz. of ghee and gingelly, making a total of 26.80 oz. in addition to 7.11 oz. of vegetables.

The Kaikalans who are Tamilian immigrants are bigger men and larger eaters than the Telugu weavers of the same district. This fact is significant, particularly when considered along with the fact that Telugu immigrants in Tamil districts are also bigger men than the neighbouring Tamils. The explanation doubtless is that the immigrants are, *ipso facto*, picked men.

Sattela Venkata Subbayya of Venkatagiri in Nellore District, has two looms, on which he produces kiles. He is a wage-earner and his two sons work upon the looms, while he looks after all the other arrangements in the work. He is paid one rupee per piece for weaving, and four annas for sizing it. His sons produce 24 pieces per month and so he gets Rs 30 from this work. Then yarn worth Rs 10 is saved from what is given by the employer and so he has an income of Rs 40 per month or Rs 480 per annum.

He has two sons, a daughter, wife and mother and so there are 6 adults in this family to feed.

His wife buys monthly :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Rice	192½ lbs.	Rs 21- 0-0
Dhal	8½ "	1- 0-0
Meat and fish	5 "	1- 8-0
Ghee and gingelly	3½ "	0- 8-0
Vegetables	53½ "	1- 0-0
Condiments and spices		1- 8-0
Kerosene and matches		0-12-0
Fuel		1- 0-0
Total monthly expenditure		28- 4-0
		Rs 339 per annum

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought over Rs	339-0-0
12 Dhoties	36-0-0	
12 Upper cloths	12-0-0	
10 Sarees	35-0-0	
8 Bodices	2-8-0	
Total clothing		85-8-0
Interest on debt	12-0-0	
Beedis	24-0-0	
Toddy	12-0-0	
Travelling	1-0-0	
Medicine	1-0-0	
Festivals	5-0-0	
Barber	3-0-0	
Washerman	3-0-0	
Earthen vessels	0-8-0	
Soapnut	0-8-0	
Cosmetics	0-12-0	
Total miscellaneous expenditure		62-12-0
Total annual expenditure		487- 0-0
Total annual income		480- 0-0
Estimated deficit		7- 4-0

S. V. Subbayya admits that he and his sons used to spend about Rs 3 per month upon toddy before 1920, when the Gandhi movement against drink swept over the Andhra country and that his Rs 100 debt is due to that inordinate expenditure. His expenditure upon toddy has been diminished as he has to drink it stealthily since his community is opposed to drink. Yet he says he is not able to pay even the interest.

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 17 oz. of rice, 0·8 oz. of dhal, 0·5 oz. of meat and fish and 0·33 oz. of ghee and gingelly making a total of 18·63 oz. in addition to 4·74 oz. of brinjals. Subbayya says that the men in his family get only two meals and the women one fairly good meal and an insufficient night meal per day. They all look ill-fed.

He gets his Dhuppatis and shirts which cost about Rs 8 per year, from the yarn saved.

Most of the weavers in Kalahasti and Venkatagiri, who are engaged in manufacturing kiles, are worse off if there are any children in their families. In manufacturing kiles, a family with two or more looms can maintain a better standard of living than a family with one loom. Seshayya, a weaver of Venkatagiri who has only one loom fares worse than Subayya.

P. Veeranna is a wage-earning weaver of Vetapalem of Guntur District and he produces 16 pieces of kiles of 12 yards each on his loom in a month. He is assisted in his work by his brother. He is paid Rs 2-12-0 per two pieces and so he gets Rs 22 per month or Rs 264 per annum.

He has a child of seven years, a brother and wife in his family making the equivalent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ adults for food consumption.

He spends as follows :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure
Rice	119 $\frac{1}{8}$ lbs.	Rs 13- 0-0
Dhal	2 $\frac{2}{3}$ „	0- 4-0
Meat and fish	1 $\frac{2}{3}$ „	0- 8-0
Ghee and gingelly	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	0-12-0
Condiments and spices		1- 2-0
Butter-milk		0- 7-6
Sweets		0- 4-0
Kerosene and matches		0-12-0
Other oils		0- 4-0
Fuel		0-12-0
Total monthly expenditure		18- 1-6
		Rs 217-2-0 per annum

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought over Rs 217-0-0
8 Dhoties	Rs 12-0-0
4 Upper cloths	6-0-0
2 Shirts	3-0-0
3 Sarees	12-0-0
6 Bodices	3-0-0
Total clothing	36-0-0
Tobacco	9-0-0
Travelling	2-0-0
Medicine	1-0-0
Festivals	4-0-0
Subscriptions	1-8-0
Barber	1-8-0
Washerman	3-0-0
Cosmetics	0-8-0

Soapnuts	1—0—0
Earthen vessels	1—0—0
House repairs and taxes	2—0—0
Total miscellaneous expenditure	26—8—0
Total annual expenditure	279—6—0
Total annual income	264—0—0
Estimated deficit	16—2—0

His employer assures me that Veeranna has no debts and that he manages to balance his budget, but that he cannot produce any more pieces of kiles than what he does now. Veeranna, when questioned how he met this deficit, admitted that he spends about one rupee less on cereals than he said he does and that he may not pay subscriptions and the doctor. So he manages to balance his budget.

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of nearly 19 oz. of rice according to his first statement, and 16·76 oz. of rice according to the more correct second statement, about 0·33 oz. of dhal, 0·25 oz. of meat and fish and 0·5 oz. of ghee and gingelly, making a total of about 17·84 oz. according to his revised statement.

Almost all the wage-earning weavers of Perala and Vetapalem, who depend only on one loom, consume much less cereal and other food than this weaver. But the family of B. Veerayya of Vetapalem, which consists of the same number of people, spends Rs 15 upon rice as against Rs 12 and consumes about 21 oz. per head per day of cereal food.

Panchala Venkataswami of Pedana in Krishna District.

Venkataswami works on kiles as a wage-earner. He weaves $3\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of 27 yards each in a month and is paid Rs 4-8-0 per piece. His wife helps him with the preparatory work. There are no supplementary earnings. So the family has a total annual income of Rs 189-0-0. There are no children or dependents other than his wife.

His budget as stated by him, his wife and the merchant with whom he always deals, is given below.

His wife buys weekly :—

Commodity.	Quantity.	Expenditure.
Rice	41 $\frac{3}{16}$ m. m. ¹ (6·04)	Rs 1-12-0
Dhal	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ seer (1·85 lbs.)	0- 2-0
Vegetables (brinjals) 4 seers		0- 2-0
Tamering and other condiments		0- 3-0
Butter-milk		0- 3-0
Preserved chutnies		0- 1-0
Kerosene oil		0- 2-0
Cocoanut oil		0- 1-0
Fuel		0- 4-0
Total		2-14-0

That is, an annual expenditure of Rs 149-8-0. They have a daily allowance of 18·3 oz. per head of cereals and 21 oz. of dhal, making a total of 20·4 oz. in addition to 7·62 oz. of brinjals per head per day.

¹ 1 m m denotes Madras measures

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought over Rs	149-8-0
2 Dhoties	Rs	6-0-0
2 Upper cloths		5-0-0
2 Shirts		3-0-0
3 Sarees		12-0-0
4 Bodices		3-0-0
Total clothing		29-0-0
Festivals		3- 0-0
Subscriptions		0-12-0
Barber		1- 8-0
Dhobie		3- 0-0
		8-4-0
		186-8-0
Annual income		189-0-0
Surplus		2-8-0

The weaver owes his employer Rs 100 and he has to pay interest at 12 per cent but he is not able to save enough even to pay the interest. He has inherited this debt from his father who was obliged to incur a debt of Rs 600 to support his family.

Most weavers can earn as much as this worker, but most of them are worse off, as they have to support larger families.

D. Mutyalu of Pentapadu in the West Godavari District is an independent weaver. Though he can weave about 240 yards of dhoties, he produces only 120

yards as there is no demand for his cloth. He makes Rs 5 per month at 4 annas per 6 yards. He and his wife go to work on the fields whenever they find work and they are then paid 4 annas each per day and so they earn on the whole Rs 7-8-0 per month through such work. Therefore their total earnings come to Rs 12-8-0 per month or Rs 150 per annum. Mutyalu has no house of his own and is living in the house given free by the ryot for whom he works.

He has three children of 1, 3 and 5 years of age and considering these children as equivalent to half an adult person, we get a family equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ adults for food consumption.

His wife buys every month :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Sollu	30 lbs.	Rs 2- 0-0
Rice	45 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	5- 0-0
Dhal	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	0- 8-0
Meat and fish	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	0- 8-0
Ghee and gingelly	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ „	0-12-0
Vegetables	26 $\frac{2}{3}$ „	0- 8-0
Condiments and spices		0-12-0
Kerosene and matches		0- 8-0
Total monthly expenditure		<u>10- 8-0</u>
i. e., Rs 126 per annum.		

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought over Rs	126- 0-0
4 Dhoties	Rs 5-0-0	
3 Upper cloths	1- 8 0	
4 Sarees	10 0-0	
Children's clothing	2-0-0	
Total clothing		18- 8-0
Tobacco and Pansupari	Rs 10-0-0	
Barber	0-8-0	
Soapnuts	0-8-0	
Earthen vessels	0-4-0	
Total miscellaneous expenditure		11- 4-0
Total annual expenditure		155-12-0
Total annual income		150- 0-0
Estimated deficit		5-12-0

By economising on clothing, Mutyalu manages to balance his budget. But he felt shy of giving his expenditure upon drink. There is no doubt that he spends at least one rupee a month on toddy and this he gets by spending less on food, especially on rice. So probably his family gets only $36\frac{2}{3}$ lbs. of rice per month. This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 7.82 oz. of rice 6.4 oz. of sollu or 14.22 oz. of cereals, 0.95 oz. of dhal, 0.95 oz. of meat and fish, 0.7 oz. of ghee and gingelly, making a total of 16.82 oz. in addition to 5.7 oz. of brinjals. Mutyalu gets only two meals a day, his wife one and a half meal, while their children eat more than half of what Mutyalu eats. All of them look very ill-nourished and dispirited and they declare that they get up hungry in the morning and go to bed hungry at night.

Most of the weavers in the Pentapadu centre are in the same miserable economic condition. Their standard of living is being gradually lowered and they are losing all hope of the future.

(10) Tadichetti Kotayya is a wage-earner of Velpuru in the West Godavari District and he has two looms, worked by his brother and himself. He is helped now and then by his father, who is too old to work continuously. They prepare $6\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of head runals of 36 yards each. They are paid Rs 7-8-0 per piece but have to spend 6 annas upon congee and oil, one rupee on warping and four annas on preparatory work and so they are left with Rs 5-14 0 per piece as remuneration for weaving. Kotayya's mother and wife earn Rs 2 per month by working on the preparatory work. So the total monthly earnings of his family come to Rs 40-3-0 which is equal to an annual income of Rs 482-4-0.

Kotayya has his father, brother, wife and mother and two children of 8 and 12 in his family, making the equivalent of 6 adults for food consumption.

His wife buys the following things every month.

Commodity.	Weight.	Money spent.
Rice	165 lbs.	Rs 18- 0-0
Dhal	8·14 oz.	1- 0-0
Meat & fish	4·7 "	1- 0-0
Ghee and gingelly	3·5 "	1- 8-0
Vegetables	53·5 "	1- 0-0
Condiments & spices		1- 4-0
Butter milk		1- 0-0
Sweets		0- 8-0
Kerosene & matches		0-12-0
Other oils		0- 4-0
Fuel		1- 8-0

Total monthly expenditure Rs 27-12-0
Rs 333-0-0 per annum.

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought over Rs	333—0—0
12 Dhoties	Rs	18—0—0
8 Shirts		12—0—0
6 Sarees		18—0—0
8 Bodices		3—0—0
Children's clothing		5—0—0
Total clothing		56—0—0
Tobacco & opium	Rs	13— 0—0
Travelling		2 0—0
Festivals		6 0—0
Subscriptions		1— 0—0
Barber		2— 0—0
Washerman		3— 0—0
Soapnuts		1 0—0
Earthen vessels		0— 8—0
House repairs		5— 0—0
		32—8—0
Annual total income		482—4—0
Annual total expenditure		421—8—0
Surplus income		60—12—0

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 14·66 oz. of rice, 0·8 oz. of dhal, 0·4 oz. of meat and fish, 0·3 oz. ghee and gingelly, making a total of 16·16 oz. in addition to 4·74 oz. of brinjals.

Kotayya is not able to save actually more than Rs 30 a year and so the rest of the expected savings may be spent upon clothing and miscellaneous things. He gave his expenditure only upon dhoties but when asked how

much he spent upon his upper cloths, he could not give any clear idea sence the expenditure is incurred irregularly through out the year, but said that he must be spending at least Rs 12 on them. Almost all the weavers of the Palakol Centre are unwilling to state their expenditure upon drink as they are all conscious of the social stigma attached to drink but there is no doubt that they do drink and spend almost as much on toddy as on tobacco. Kotayya's father will probably spend another Rs 6 upon opium and so, clothing, drink and opium put together may swallow up the stated surplus to the extent of Rs 30-12-0 per annum.

Kotayya has a small house worth about Rs 350. He has no debts and he spent all his savings amounting to Rs 550, which he saved during the boom of 1919-20, upon his brother's marriage.

(11) Billa Gangaraju of Jaggannapettah in the East Godavari District, is an independent weaver. He produces 90 yards of sarees of 10's and gets Rs 2-12-0 per piece of 30 yards during six months and Rs 3 8-0 during the rest of the year. So he has an average monthly income of Rs 10-8-0 and including Rs 1-8-0 which his wife earns by her work on preparatory processes, his annual income will amount to Rs 144.

He has a son of ten years and a baby which is only a few months old. Counting his son as half a person for food consumption, we have the equivalent of $2\frac{1}{2}$ adults in this family.

His wife buys monthly the following things:—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Rice	64½ lbs.	Rs 7- 0-0
Dhal	4·7 oz.	0- 8-0
Meat & fish	3·5 „	0-12-0
Ghee & gingelly	3·11 „	0-12-0
Vegetables	20 lbs.	0- 8-0
Condiments & spices		0-10-0
Kerosene & matches		0- 8-0
Other oils		0- 2-0
Fuel		0-10-0

Total monthly expenditure Rs 11-6-0
 Rs 136-8-0 per annum.

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought forward Rs 136-8-0
4 Dhooties	Rs 6-0-0
1 Upper cloth	1-8-0
Dhuppati	2-0-0
3 Sarees	8-0-0
4 Bodices	1-8-0
	Total clothing Rs 19-0-0
Interest on debts	Rs 36-0-0
Tobacco	6-0-0
Travelling	1-0-0
Festivals	1-0-0
Barber	1-8-0
Washerman	2-0-0
Soapnuts	1-0-0
House repairs	1-8-0
	Rs 50-0-0
Total annual expenditure	205-8-0
Total annual income	144-0-0
Supposed annual deficit	61-8-0

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 13·7 oz. of rice, 0·9 oz. of dhal, 0·7 oz. of meet and fish, and 0·6 oz. of ghee and gingelly, making a total of 15·9 oz. in addition to 4·26 oz. of brinjals. Gangaraju complains bitterly that he is very often unable to get even two meals a day. He looks very weak and hungry. His wife has scarcely strength enough to give milk to the baby which has all the marks of ill-nourishment.

Gangaraju has not been paying the 8 per cent interest on his debt of Rs 300. He borrowed Rs 200 to buy his house and Rs 100 more to meet his family expenses. Even when the interest is not paid, his present standard of living leads him to an annual deficit of Rs 24. He fears that he has to cut out dhal, meat, fish and ghee and gingelly which are the only valuable things his family consumes, to balance his budget, if things were to continue to be as bad as they are at present. Meanwhile his debt will be accumulating with compound interest. His is only a typical case of that of most independent weavers many wage-earners of Jaggannapettah.

(12) K. Veerabhadrayya is a wage-earning weaver of Mori in the East Godavari District. He has two looms, worked by his wife and himself. He produces 3 pieces of sarees of 150s per month and is paid Rs 5 per piece of 40 yards. His wife produces 3 pieces of sarees of 80s and earns Rs 9 per month. In addition she earns also Rs 12 during the marriage season. So he has a monthly income of Rs 25 or Rs 300 per annum. His mother does the preparatory work for his two looms.

He has two children of 5 and 9 years, his mother and his wife in his family, making the equivalent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ adults for food consumption.

His wife buys monthly the following things:—

Commodity.	Weight.	Money expended.
Rice	82½ lbs.	Rs 9- 0-0
Dhal	4·7 oz.	0- 8-0
Meat & fish	4·2 „	1- 0-0
Ghee & gingelly	1·10 „	0- 8-0
Vegetables	40 „	0-12-0
Condiments & spices		1- 0-0
Buttur milk		0- 7-6
Sweets		0- 4-0
Kerosene & matches		0-10-0
Fuel		1- 0-0

Total monthly expenditure Rs 15-1-6
Rs 181-2-0 per annum.

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought over Rs 181-2-0
4 Dhories	Rs 6-0-0
2 Upper cloths	2-0-0
2 Dhupatis	3-0-0
3 Shirts	4-0-0
6 Sarees	22-0-0
8 Bodices	2-8-0
Children's clothing	5-0-0

Total clothing Rs 44-8-0

Tobacco & opium	Rs 30-0-0
Travelling	2-0-0
Medicine	1-0-0
Festivals	6-0-0
Subscriptions	3- 0-0
Barber	2- 0-0
Washerman	4-0-0
Cosmetics	1-0-0
Soapnuts	1-8-0
Earthen vessels	1-0-0
House rent	12-0-0

Rs 63-8-0

Total annual expenditure	Rs 289- 2-0
Total annual income	300- 0-0

Estimated surplus income per annum Rs 10-14-0

Veerabhadrayya earns about 6 annas per month by fixing the warps upon the looms of other people and so he has an expected surplus of Rs 15-6-0 altogether but he spends about Rs 6 upon toddy and other luxuries. He has no debt and he manages to balance his budget, because his wife is also a weaver. Most other weavers of this place are unable to maintain such a standard of living and balance their budget. He finds it better to pay rent rather than buy a house which would cost at least Rs 200 which must be borrowed at 18 per cent. All the members of his family look well fed and sufficiently clothed.

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 17.6 oz. of rice, 0.94 oz of dhal, 0.88 oz. of mat and fish and 0.34 oz. of ghee and gingelly, making a total of 19.76 oz. in addition to 8.53 oz. of brinjals.

(13) Ramakrishna Senapati of Santabommali, a village in the Ganjam District is an independent weaver. He has two looms, worked by his two sons and occasionally by himself and he produces on them sarees of 11s.

He has about eight acres of land, half of which is irrigated. He does all the work needed on his land, with the help of his family. He weaves only 5 sarees of 6 yards each per month during 5 months and 30 sarees per month during the rest of the year when there is no work on the fields. He weaves therefore 20 sarees a

month on the average per loom and produces 40 sarees on his two looms. After all the expenses are deducted he can realise Rs 11-4-0 per 20 sarees as his remuneration for weaving and so he gets Rs 22-8-0 per month on his two looms. But he gets Rs 327 as revenue from his lands per annum. So he has an annual income of Rs 591.

He has in his family two sons, two daughters-in-law, a grand daughter of 10 years of age and his own wife making the equivalent of $6\frac{1}{2}$ adults for food consumption.

He buys monthly :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Sollu	90 lbs.	Rs 6- 0-0
Rice	110 "	12- 0-0
Dhal	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	1- 0-0
Meat & fish	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	4- 0-0
Ghee & gingelly	10 "	1- 8-0
Vegetables	53 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	1- 0-0
Condiments & spices		1-10-0
Butter-milk		1- 8-0
Sweets		1- 4-0
Kerosene & matches		1- 0-0
Fuel		2- 0-0

Total monthly expenditure Rs 32-14-0
Rs 394-8-0 per annum.

Annual Expenditure.

	Brought over, Rs 394-8-0
12 Dhoties	Rs 22-0-0
10 Upper cloths	10-0-0
6 Shirts	6-0-0
6 Sarees	12-0-0
Festival clothing	6-0-0
Total clothing	56-0-0
58	

Tobacco	Rs 36-0-0
Toddy	12-0-0
Medicine	5-0-0
Festivals	8-0-0
Subscriptions	2-0-0
Barber	1-4-0
Washerman	6-0-0
Cosmetics	1-0-0
Soapsuds	2-0-0
Earthen vessels	1-0-0
Travelling	6-0 0
House repairs	6-0-0
Total miscellaneous expenditure	Rs 86-4-0
Total annual expenditure	536-12-0
Total annual income	591- 0-0
Estimated surplus.	Rs 54-4-0

The expected surplus should be about Rs 78-4-0 as he does not actually incur any expense upon fuel which is gathered from his own fields. The butter-milk and curd which his family consumes should cost at least Rs 3 a month, but as he feeds his she-buffaloes with his own straw, he needs spend only Rs 1-8-0 a month out of his pocket. These people hesitate to tell how much money they really spend upon drink and Ramakrishna Senapati says he can save only Rs 50 a year. So he may probably be spending Rs 28-4-0 more on tobacco opium and toddy.

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 16·4 oz. of cereals, 0·72 oz. of dhal, 2·9 oz. of meat and fish

and 0·82 oz. of ghee and gingelly, making a total of 20·44 oz. in addition to 2·2 oz. of brinjals. It is because these people consume sollu and rice in almost equal ratio that they get such a big allowance of cereals per day. In spite of this, Senapati complains that his family could consume more cereals, if he could afford it.

Most of the weavers in the villages of Ganjam District who have some lands are as well off as Ramakrishna Senapati and most of those who have no lands are nearly as fortunate as Senapati, because they all consume a good quantity of sollu, a cheaper cereal than rice. One special peculiarity of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam weavers is that they consume a large quantity of fish and smoke most heavily.

(14) Narayana Swami Ayyar is employed by A. Veerayya. He belongs to Conjeevaram in the Chinglepet District. He is living in a room rented in the house of his employer and works in the same house. He produces $27\frac{1}{2}$ yards of silk rumals and is paid 8 annas per yard. His wife is unable to earn anything as her two sons need all her attention. So Ayyar has a monthly income of Rs 13—12—0 that is, Rs 165 per annum.

He has two sons of 5 and 2 years of age. So there are in his family the equivalents of two and half adults for food consumption.

His wife buys the following things in a month:—

Commodity.	Weight.	Money spent.	
Rice	66½ lbs.	Rs 8-0-0	Per
Dhal	2·3 oz.	0-4-0	annum.
Vegetables	20 lbs	0-6-0	
Condiments & spices		0-8-0	
Sweets		0-4-0	
Kerosene & matches		0-2-6	
Fuel		0-7-6	
Total monthly expenditure		Rs 10-0-0	
			Rs 120-0-0

Annual Expenditure.

2 Dhoties	Rs 3-0-0	
1 Shirts	1-0-0	
2 Sarees	10-0-0	
4 Dhoties	1-8-0	
Total clothing		Rs 15-8-0
Tobacco and Pansupari	3-0-0	
Toddy	6-0-0	
Festivals	1-8-0	
Barber	0-12-0	
Cosmetics	0-4-0	
Soapnuts	0-4-0	
House rent	12-0-0	
		23-12-0
Total annual expenditure	Rs 159-4-0	
Total annual income	Rs 165-0-0	
Estimated surplus		5-12-0

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 14·22 oz. of rice, 0·46 oz. of dhal, making a total of 14·68 oz. in addition to 4·27 oz. of brinjals.

Ayyar looks ill fed and his wife still worse. The two children together are given more food than either of the parents gets. Ayyar complains that unless he gets a few drops of toddy, he cannot go on working when there is no sufficient food.

The demands of his children for food and sweets are so pressing that he spends every pie he can save upon them. So he is left with no surplus income at all.

Most of the wage-earning weavers of this city are almost in the same pitiable condition and there is a considerable number of such weavers here.

(14) Perumai Chittiar is a petty employer of Salem, in the Salem District. He has ten looms in his workshop, eight of which are worked by his employees and the rest by his two sons. He is able to realise 6 annas per saree, and so his two sons earn Rs 18 by producing 48 sarees in a month. He makes about 2 annas profit upon each of the 208 sarees woven by his employees who are paid only 4 annas per saree. And so his earnings as an employer amount to Rs 26 per month. The three women in his family prepare the hanks and do other preparatory work and earn Rs 13-0-0 per month. He has lent Rs 1200 at 15 per cent and so he gets Rs 150 per annum as interest. He gets thus Rs 69-8-0 per month or Rs 834 per annum.

He has in his family three sons, one daughter-in-law, a daughter a wife and two grand-children of 10 and 8 years of age who are equivalent to $8\frac{1}{2}$ adults for food consumption.

He buys monthly :—

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.	
Rice	226 $\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.	Rs 34- 0-0	Per
Dhal	17 $\frac{7}{8}$ „	2- 0-0	annum.
Ghee and gingelly	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	2- 8-0	
Meat & fish	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ „	2- 0-0	
Vegetables	53 $\frac{1}{2}$ „	1- 0-0	
Condiments & spices		2- 8-0	
Butter milk		1-12-0	
Sweets		0- 8-0	
Kerosene & matches		1- 0-0	
Other oils		0- 8-0	
Fuel		2- 8-0	
Total monthly expenditure Rs		50-4-0	
			Rs 603-0-0

Annual Expenditure.

18 Dhoties	Rs 36 0-0
6 Upper cloths	6 0-0
Dhuppatis	5-0-0
8 Shirts	10-0-0
9 Sarees	45-0-0
16 Bodices	6-0-0
Children's clothing	10-0-0
Total clothing	118-0-0

Tobacco & pansupari	Rs 24- 0-0	
Toddy	24- 0-0	
Travelling	10- 0-0	
Medicine	4- 0 0	
Festivals	7- 0-0	
Subscriptions	2- 0-0	
Barber	6- 0-0	
Washerman	10- 0-0	
Soapnuts	1- 8-0	
Cosmetics	1- 0-0	
Earthen vessels	1- 8-0	
House repairs & taxes	20- 0-0	
		11- 0-0
Annual total expenditure		832-0-0
Total annual income		834-0-0
Estimated Surplus		2-0-0

Perumal Chettiar says that he cannot save anything.

This family gets per adult a daily allowance of 14.22 oz. of rice, 1.12 oz. of dhal, 0.35 oz. of ghee and gingelly and 0.56 oz. of meat and fish, making a total of 16.25 oz. in addition to 3.35 oz. of briujals. This family is fairly well fed, and consumes less of cereals but more of other foodstuffs than many families examined in this centre.

But the income of this family would be short of its expenditure by Rs 120 per annum, if it were not for the interest received on the money lent out. Many employers of Salem city, who have to support their families on their earnings from weaving, are confronted with serious deficits in their budgets. They are trying to reduce their standard of living and thereby to balance their budgets. The plight of wage earners can only be imagined.

For the sake of comparison with the above weavers budgets, we add here a budget of a landless Panchama agricultural and general labourer, and another of a small ryot.

(15) Ganjee Dibbadu is a panchama worker of Nidubrolu village in the Guntur District. His family consists of wife and mother only. He works in co-operation with a dozen others at the railway station in loading and unloading Commodities. During May and June when the Ponnur festival comes, he get a rupee a day for about two months. But in the rainy and cold seasons which last for about 4 months, there is practically no railway work. On the average, he gets Rs 10 a month for nine moths in the year by his work at the station. When the trans plantation season arrives in July, he works for 10 days at digging and earns Rs 5. His wife works for 30 days, his mother for 23 days in transplantation, each earning per day two Madras Measures of paddy, worth $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas, making a total wage of Rs 18-13-6. His wife does weeding work in the paddy fields for 30 days and his mother for 15 days and they get Rs. 15-7-6 at the same rate of wages. They go to reap the paddy crop for 20 days and earn Rs 13-12-0 at the same rate of wages. Dibbadu goes to work for ryots in summer to cart manure to field and to do other agricultural work and he earns Rs 12 in addition to his earnings mentioned above. His mother goes to collect the grain of paddy which falls off near the hay stacks of the ryots when they pull out straw to feed the cattle and she gets 120 Madras Measures of paddy in 3 months, worth Rs 20-10-0. Dibbadu goes to Guntur Taluk when the Mirchi fields are ready for

harvest and works there for a fortnight and gets Chillies worth Rs. 5-10-0. He works for his Asami or headitary employer during the harvesting season for 20 days and gets Rs 7-9-0. His mother and wife do all kinds of odd jobs in the rest of the year and earn Rs 30, one of them working for 60 days in a rice mill and earning Rs 15 thereby. So the total family income is Rs 233-14-0 per annum. Each of the workers is on the average unemployed for 3 months in the year.

Dibbadu has two children, aged 10 and 6, his mother and wife, making the equivalent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ adults for food consumption.

His wife makes all the purchases, except paddy and clothes which are brought by Dibbadu. She buys condiments and such other things in such small quantities once in every few days and at such irregular periods that it is thought better to give annual expenditure upon each item.

Commodity.	Weight.	Expenditure.
Rice	12 10 lbs.	Rs 132- 0-0
Dhal	131½ „	1- 8-0
Vegetables	320 „	6- 0-0
Condiments & spices		18- 0-0
Kerosene & matches		4- 8-0
Other oils		0- 8-0
Total food & lighting		Rs 162- 8-0
3 Dhoties & Upper cloths		5- 8-0
4 Sarees		8- 0-0
4 Bodices		1- 0-0
Children's clothing		2- 8-0
Total clothing		Rs 17-0-0

Pansupari	6- 0-0
Tobacco	12- 0-0
Toddy	12- 0-0
House repair & rates	2-12-0
Travelling	2- 0-0
Earthen vessels	0- 4-0
Total miscellaneous expenditure	Rs 35-0-0
Total annual expenditure	214-8-0
Total annual income	233-14-0
Estimated surplus	19-6-0

Dibbadu has no debt but is unable to save anything, as the family earnings are so uncertain and irregular. The estimated surplus of Rs 19-6-0 is lost through accidental failures to make the full earnings stated.

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 15·14 oz. of rice, and 0·18 oz. of dhal, making a total of 15·32 oz. in addition to 0·2 oz. of bringals

The peculiarity of the budget of a panchama worker like Dibbadu is that the life is one of ups and downs and of continual uncertainty. During the three rainy months the women get only one meal a day and the men one and a half; but during the busy agricultural seasons, all eat nearly as much as they like.

(16) Kosaraju Appayya is a ryot of Nidubrolu in the Guntur District. He belongs to the Kamma caste. He has four acres of wet land on which paddy is grown and two acres of dry land, on which tobacco and cholam are raised. He gets an annual income of Rs 412-0-0 from these lands.

The Kammas of this part of the District do not buy the things they need at any regular periods but purchase them twice or thrice a year in the local market at Ponnuru. So we give his expenditure per annum upon all the things consumed. His budget is chosen out of the many which the present writer has collected, because his income is about the same as that of many weavers who work two or three looms, though his family is smaller than that of many such weavers.

Appayya has to sons, aged 6 and 2 and treating them as equal to half a person, we get the equivalent of $2\frac{1}{2}$ adults in this family for food consumption.

He annually spends as follows:—

Commodity.	Quantity.	Expenditure.
Rice	16,00 lbs	Rs 165- 0
Dhal	133½ "	10- 0-0
Meat	20 "	6- 0-0
Ghee	100 "	45- 0-0
Vegetables	840 "	18- 0-0
Condiments & spices		15- 4-0
Buttur milk		18 -0-0
Castor-oil		6- 0-0
Kerosine oil		6- 0-0
Fuel		12- 0-0
Total of food, fuel & lighting		Rs 301-4-0
4 Dhoties		Rs 8-0-0
4 Upper cloth		8-0-0
3 Shirts		4-0-0
5 Sarees		30-0-0
12 Bodices		8-0-0
Children's clothing		4-0-0
Total clothing		Rs 62-0-0

Interest on debt	54-0-0
Tobacco	30-0-0
House repairs	2-8-0
Festivals	4-8-0
Subscriptions	5-0-0
Soapnuts and Soaps	4-0 0
Earthen vessels	0-8-0
Cosmetics	0-8-0

Total miscellaneous expenditure Rs 101-0-0

Total annual expenditure 464-4-0

Total annual income 412- 4-0

Estimated deficit Rs 52-0-0

Appayya does not actually provide his wife and children with clothing which is supplied by his father-in-law from year to year as a free gift to his daughter. So his estimated deficit will be Rs. 10 and he says that he is just able to balance his budget. He cannot earn as much as he does if his father-in-law does not help him in cultivating his lands.

This family gets a daily allowance per adult of 28 oz. of rice 2·34 of dhal, 0·7 oz. of meat and 1·75 oz. of ghee, making a total of 32·54 oz. in addition to 9·42 oz. of vegetables which are more valuable than brinjals. Appayya is a big, strong man and is now getting stout. His wife is a little woman but the two boys are both big for their age.

CHAPTER VII.

RESULTS OF EXPERIMENTS IN CO-OPERATION.

It is proposed to review in this chapter the progress made by some of the important weavers co-operative societies. It will be found by a perusal of the following pages that most of the failures of such societies are due more to the crippled finances, absence of business attitude and the neglect of propaganda work than to the so-called weak morale of the workers and the dishonesty of a few members. It can also be seen that there is nothing inherently wrong in the mentality of weavers or in the organisation of their industry to make the progress of co-operation impossible. Provided there is enough money and good leadership and timely encouragement and assistance from Government, a co-operative society can certainly succeed, as is amply evidenced by Oravakonda society.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY OF ORAVAKONDA.

We have already noticed the Sourastra weavers purchasing and sales society of Paramakudi. There is a similar society in Oravakonda. It is registered as 'The Weavers Cooperative Society, Ltd. of Orvakonda' with a share capital of Rs 8,000. The Ananthapur District Cooperative Bank gives this union a loan of Rs 24,000 at 7½ interest. This union never gives any advance to its

members. It only buys cloth from them at market rates and pays them in cash. It usually gives orders to the members to prepare such and such cloths. They prepare the cloths and get paid. No member offers any cloth which he has prepared independently.

There are 184 members each paying Rs 10 a share and an individual member is allowed to take 50 shares and no more. The union markets its goods almost in the same way as the other merchants do in that place. But its advertising has been scientifically carried out by Mr. B. Ramdoss. While the merchants take 3 Rs commission for every Rs 100 cloth bought, from the merchants who buy from them the society takes only one rupee. And the buyers like to buy more cloth from this society because of the honesty of its methods.

But this society has attached to it 'Weavers Co-operative credit Bank, and the same members are the members of this Bank. Up to 1924 June 31st, the Bank had given out Rs 15,000 which is advanced to it by the Central Bank of Madras. That money was given out to the weavers on an instalment system, the number of instalments depending upon the conditions of individual members. The bank got back Rs 5,000 and there is still Rs 10,000 outstanding. The Bank wanted more money to lend to the weavers but the Central Bank refused to lend any thing, arguing that because this union is a limited society, it could not be trusted and enquired whether the society could give any guarantee. But these weavers cannot give guarantees as they have no property of any value. And the Central Bank said that they gave that first loan just to encourage the union. But Mr.

B. Bandayya says that "unless we give them advances, they cannot buy yarn, feed themselves while weaving and bring the cloth to us. So the number of the cloths that they are bringing to us is falling down very rapidly."

There was a total income of Rs 2,500 in the first year out of which Rs 700 was spent on travelling for advertising Rs 500 for salaries, consisting of Rs 200 to the secretary Rs 50 to the assistant secretary Rs 50 as Common Good Fund and Rs 60 as salaries to the clerks and Rs 400 was paid towards rent and other expenses. There was therefore a net profit of Rs 974. Out of this sum the society decided to pay Rs 200 to the secretary, Rs 50 to the assistant secretary, Rs 230 to the reserve Fund, Rs 50 as bonus to clerks, Rs 25 to the Common Good Fund. So it was left with Rs 414 and a dividend of 9 per cent was declared.

The members themselves have contributed Rs 1,000 towards the share capital during the first year by leaving with the union the several additional two annas they were paid by the union, over the market prices for every cloth woven. So successfully has this union worked that many weavers are daily flocking to it for orders, but in vain.

WE GIVE THE ACCOUNTS FOR 1923—24.

	Purchases.	Sales.	No. of cloths purchased	Cloths Sales.
July 1923	Rs 6,311	Rs 5,615	Rs 1,914	Rs 1,740
Aug.	13,163	13,916	4,177	4,364
Sep.	19,777	20,187	6,251	6,203
Oct.	28,037	25,039	8,811	7,684
Nov.	35,542	26,150	1,146	8,052
Dec.	41,643	33,055	12,996	10,287
Jan. 1924	45,507	37,552	14,182	11,738
Feb.	49,164	42,176	15,489	13,203
Mar.	52,807	47,784	16,738	15,020
April.	55,879	51,863	17,829	16,405
May.	59,356	56,129	18,937	17,885
June.	63,205	59,286	20,072	18,774
July.	7,168	2,995	208	714
Carry over				
Surplus				
Aug.	8,460	5,038	2,358	1,337
Sep.	10,790	8,266	2,787	2,183
Nov.	13,144	13,454	3,548	3,558
Dec.	14,620	14,272	3,866	3,690
Jan.	15,941	15,681	4,429	4,155

At the height of its prosperity, this union bought cloths worth Rs 63,255 and sold goods worth Rs 59,286 per month and in the first year of its working, it has purchased cloths worth as much as Rs 465,000 and the number of cloths it bought were 138,542 and this is a record of which the society can be proud. Yet because there is no special "Weavers Bank" to advance money

to this union, managed by the most capable people among the weavers of this place, the business it is doing has dwindled away. It will not be long before this union also is shut up for business as many others are, unless the Government comes to its assistance by special loans to it, which is only a distant possibility.

Ichchapur.

"In November 1918, the Government opened a depot in connection with the Ichchapuram weavers' Cooperative Society, as an experimental measure of relief for the handloom weavers. The experiment was carried on efficiently to impart the necessary knowledge of the business to the members of the Cooperative Society and on 31st December 1919, the Depot was handed over to the Society. During the nine months the Depot was run by the Government, 3,837 lbs. of yarn was issued to weavers and 8,090 lbs. of cloth were received from them, the balance being the yarn already issued to the weavers to be converted into cloth; the value of this balance was received in the shape of money through the Society."

This is found in the Report of the Department of Industries for 1920. But nothing more is said about this society in the reports for the following years. The president of the society Mr. P. Venkataramayya, makes the following remarks.

"We used to have 70 to 80 members. No member gave us any trouble except when an outbreak of the fire happened. We had to give some remissions to some people and got ^{back} almost all our money. Only in a

few cases had we to go to the courts to reclaim our money. We worked with the Government for a year and we realised Rs 2,000 profit. But when the Government handed over the Depot to us, it kept back the profits, saying that it claimed them *for the services done*. We protested against this unjust appropriation and yet we got back nothing. Then we carried on our work with the Rs 600 given to us as the balance of the past year's work for another year, as we could not induce either the weavers or others to invest money. I was the first to produce Khaddar in the whole of this province and I got khaddar prepared through this Depot. The Cooperation Department had begun to discourage this work because it did not like the khaddar, and I had constant friction with the Inspectors. So I decided to give up the Depot and the society, at the end of the second year. In spite of all these unfavourable things, I was able to make Rs 600 profit on the Rs 600 capital we had. I paid it into the District Central Bank and when I made an application for liquidating the Society, the Government refused sanction. It proposes to give that money to some other association but we have protested again, and the money is still there."

Whenever a public spirited worker belonging to the Congress party attempted to do some useful work for the weavers the Government has some unwillingness to cooperate with him. Unfortunately it is only the congress people who are ever ready to do such useful public work. The weavers here still speak in glowing terms of the wonderful prosperity they had when the Depot was working and they are anxious to work with

such a Depot even at lower rates if only one could be started again. Unluckily for them they are too poor and they expect the Depot to advance them yarn and money as the old Depot did and to take back the cloths, and pay them the wages. They are thoroughly dissatisfied with the risky employment that is available to them.

Berhampur.

Mr. Nalla Sivayya, the president of the Berhampur Cotton Weavers' Cooperative Union gives the following account of his union.

"We established that union during the war and ran it for four years and we did not lose anything, though some outstanding debts were not collected. Messrs. Best & Co., guaranteed that they would supply yarn, but they lost some money in the end. At the same time the weavers were unwilling to work for the union because while the union was paying only 5 to 8 as per cloth they were able to get one rupee per cloth in the market. They did not realise that what they were losing in one way would be returned in the form of higher dividends." The 'divi' fad has not yet caught hold of our weavers imagination in India.

Conjeevaram.

The Big Conjeevaram Weavers' Union was started in 1906 with only 531 members on its rolls, out of whom only 25 per cent were actual weaving members. There are more than 6,000 looms in this city and yet this union could not make much progress for various reasons. The

union was able to do only about Rs 10,000 worth of business during the 1923-24 and it incurred a loss of about Rs 300. The actual figures given in the annual Report of the Co-operative Department for 1923-24 are Rs 8,400 as value of stock bought, Rs 8,991 for value of stock sold to members; Rs 10,266 as working capital; Rs 663 for cost of management, while the loss was shown as Rs 292. The secretary says that his society incurred the loss because of its inability to lower its costs of working and to adjust itself to the changed conditions of the market. The figures for 1924 are a little more encouraging;

Value of stock purchased for distributing among its 123 members	Rs 17,855
Value of finished cloths sold by the union	11,463
Gross profit on the two transactions	1,753
Net profit	335

The chief explanation for the small amount of the transactions of the union is that it has to work with only Rs 11,000 as working capital; that the Government is not ready to advance money at low rates of interest and that the local branch of the Imperial Bank does not take any interest in financing the weaving industry. Mr. Amalsad says that the weavers are dishonest and that the union is not as well managed as it ought to be and that it pays too high a rate of interest on the capital borrowed. To some extent this is correct. But there should also be a cooperative credit society to lend money to the weavers while they are working, and the weavers union should be financed by some 'Weavers' Bank on more liberal terms and the Secretary should be a fulltime worker.

The union held for six months a demonstration of the fly shuttle with the help of the peripatetic party, and all the weavers of the city flocked to the factory to see the looms working. As a result of that, fly-shuttle looms are the order of the day. The Dobby system was introduced and a demonstration was given by the union showing how figures could be woven into the borders of the cloths. And now there are many weavers who are producing such sarrees.

This union has a factory in which there are 20 looms, and in this factory a demonstration of the Sizing Machine was given in August and September of 1925. It is a fortunate thing that the factory is located in the midst of the weavers' quarters so that they can easily go to the factory and see the work done there.

Madura.

The Madura Sourastra Co-operative Society has been doing much good work among the Sourastra weavers of the city.

	Value of Stock bought	Value of Stock sold	Net Profit.
1921—22	265,770	278,355	7,983
1922—23	48,158	50,941	2,298

This fall in its volume of transactions is directly due to the depression that has been raging in the cotton cloth trade. There were in all 35 societies found in the twelve districts in the whole of the presidency in 1922-23. Most of them, especially those in the Krishna and Guntur Districts were started by Non-cooperators to carry on

their Khaddar work and are not at present working and so are not of much importance for the industry at large.

The 1922—23 Annual Report of the Cooperative Department says:—

“The difficulty of organising successful weaving societies is in fact due to the inability of a society with little capital or credit to provide itself with the service of a man with sufficient business knowledge and experience of the market in yarn, dye and cloth.” The Government has not done anything either to furnish the weavers with credit or to train business people to work the cooperative unions. The School of Commerce in Madras is still in its infancy and is not able to produce many people who could be put at the disposal of the weavers.

NEED FOR CHEAP YARN:—

The Government proposes to establish a ‘Spinning Mill’ with 3,600 spindles which may be increased to 15,000 to serve the needs of the weaving industry carried on at the Coimbatore Jail. That the need for such an independent mill should be felt by the Government in a town where there are five cotton mills is evidence enough for the fact that the yarn merchant makes big profits before yarn reaches weavers. It also demonstrates more vividly how much more necessary and urgent it is to establish more spinning mills in all the important centres of hand-weaving to supply them yarn at cost price. Only when such mills are established and yarn is supplied at cost price can the standard of living of the weavers be improved and their wages raised. The Government should shoulder this responsibility and establish spinning mills in different centres of the handloom weaving.

All the moral and material defects of weavers, enumerated in the Amalsad's little book, "The Handloom weaving Industry of Madras" are directly due to the practices prevalent in the market and also to the general poverty of the weavers. One of the reasons for the little headway made by cooperation is the indebtedness of the weavers, and the reluctance of the money lenders to allow their enslaved clients to become free, as can be seen from the experience of Paramakudi Union. So credit societies should be established side by side with the cooperative purchasing and Sales Societies on the lines of the Oravakonda Society.

The purchases of yarn in suitable form has an important bearing on the efficiency of production. It is very difficult for any individual cooperative society to decide when to buy and when not to buy yarn, owing to the great fluctuations in the prices of yarn. Either that a Cooperative Whole sale society should employ experts who would decide and help the individual weavers, while all the unions pool the profits and the losses of all, in yarn purchases and divide the balance left according to the purchases made or the Government should establish a number of spinning factories, which are capitalised by both the weavers, others, and the Government. Even for the successful introduction of the sizing machine of the Government, we need a larger, more stable and cheaper supply of yarn, and that can be obtained most easily through the weavers cooperative spinning mills. The organisations that are necessary to run the Sizing Factories assume the existence of many well organised cooperative societies. Therefore the Government will

be well advised to start a weavers' Bank and a spinning mill and a commercial school for weavers as experimental steps.

CHAPTER VIII.

AN EXPERIMENT IN FACTORY ORGANISATION.

The results of my enquiry into the working of handloom weaving factory are given below to indicate that in it are paid as good wages as, if not better than what are, obtainable in domestic industry, and also that such a factory system has certain undeniable advantages over the Domestic system of organisation.

FACTORY ORGANISATION.—

There are some "Handloom factories" i. e. workshops where handlooms and weavers are brought together, in Malabar, conducted by the Basel Mission, but I have not had the chance of studying the conditions there. The once famous salem factory was closed in September 1910 and the "Meenakshi Weaving Mill" a similar workshop of Madura was also closed during 1915. The Conjeevaram "factory" is more a demonstration ground than a regularly working workshop. So we are left with only one so-called mill, situated in Peddapuram. The "Sri Lakshmi Silk Manufacturing Works" which is located in a fine, big building which is quite airy and open to the big Central Square. This is owned by Messrs. Muppuna Smaraju and Veeraraju and was first started in 1915 with a capital of Rs 70,000 of which Rs 35,000 was spent on the building; and Rs 35,000 on the machines.

All the machines were locally made after the patterns of machines used in Surat. All the machinery is driven by hand. Working capital is also required to the amount of Rs 150,000. Cloths are sold to buyers on credit free of interest and excepted to be paid in one to three months. There is some-times as much as a lakh of rupees (Rs 100,000) outstanding.

The Government weaving Superintendent was in Peddapur for two years to teach the weavers how to weave silk cloths. He was also helpful to them in learning how to use the new machines erected in this Mill. According to Aid to Industries Loan Act of the Madras Government such industrial enterprises can get loans at low rates of interest from the government on giving satisfactory security. These brothers were fortunate enough to convince Sir K. V. R. Naidu who was then the minister for the department of development of the profitable character of their mill and get a loan of Rs 50,000 at 6½ per cent per annum. With that money the mill was extended and it is now in full working order. Though there is a terrible depression even in the Silk cloth industry, owing to Japanese competition, the brothers are able to realise 6 per cent profit, after realising the interest.

In winter the mill starts work at 8 A. M. and works up to 11-30 A. M. It is reopened again at 2 P. M. and is closed at 5-30 P. M. thus working for 7 hours a day. In May, June and July the mill works for longer hours, from August to November for shorter hours; and on the average it works for 6½ hours a day.

No.	Kind of workers.	Pay per each.
8	Maistri carpenters	1 Re. a day
	Carpenters	10 to 11 as. a day
	Young Boys of 14 years	8 as. a day
8	People for attaching threads	6 as. a day
10	People to turn the twisting	7 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ as. a day
45	Carders 'women'	4 as. a day
6	Girls on Reeling machines	3 as. a day
5	Girls on Reeling machines	2 as. a day
10	Girls and Boys 8 to 12 years	$1\frac{1}{2}$ as. a day
10	Girls and Boys	1 as. a day
4	Warping machine workers	7, 8 & Rs 9 a month
1	Bleaching 20 yrs.	Rs 15 „
1	Bleaching Muhammadan 16 years	Rs 10 „
1	Dyer	Rs 30 „
25	Weavers	Rs 20 „
3	Boys to pull Bobbies	Rs 3 to 4 „
8	Preparing weft	4 as. a day

There are in all 156 workers in this Mill.

The thirty-one pate-pullers, who are boys except for two adults, are paid as follows.

Kind of work.	No. of boys.
Boys on Rs 2 a month	6
„ $2\frac{1}{2}$ „	1
„ 3 „	6
„ $3\frac{1}{2}$ „	5
„ 4 „	4
„ $4\frac{1}{2}$ „	3
„ 5 „	3
„ $5\frac{1}{2}$ „	1
Audits 10 „	1
„ 10 „	1
	31

From the age of 9 the boys are admitted into the factory and their wages rise until they are 12, according to the skill and experience they gain in the work.

BENEFICIAL RESULTS FROM SUCH MILLS:—

Now the great importance of the Mill is that it gives employment to members of about 100 weaving families, and that almost all these families are able to subsist on their scanty earnings from their weaving at home with the help of the higher wages earned by one of the family at this mill. If such mills were established in the midst of weavers in all the important centres, then the same advantages would result. Moreover, it is possible for the weavers to get their warps prepared at very low rates in such mills.

Thirdly the mills would furnish women with employment on better pay, for fairly long periods in the year; while children can also earn something in addition to learning their trade. Fourthly, the condition and the manufacturing atmosphere of the mill are far better than those in the houses of the weavers. The regular attendance and systematic organisation which are the special features of such a mill, are sure to have an elevating influence upon the workers. The separation of the home from the place of work is urgently called for in view of the fact that the housing of the weavers is most unsatisfactory; that the home life of the weavers is most confused and unhappy and the congestion of space in the houses is very great.

There is a good discussion in the 'Foundations of Indian Economics' ¹ of Radhakumal Mukherjee on the

¹ Radhakumal Mukherjee 'Foundations of Indian Economics' Page 171.

place of small factories in industrial India and though he is not in favour of multiplying their number, he admits that they will be of great use to the weavers, if organised on proper lines. He fears that the establishment of such factories will introduce the factory system into the cottage industry of weaving. But as a matter of fact we have seen in our chapters on 'Industrial and Commercial Organisation of handloom weaving' that the factory system is not a new thing, that it is widely prevalent throughout the country and that every employer's house is a factory and every weaver's house in which there are more than 2 looms is a factory. We have also seen that wage earners are usually more prosperous than independent weavers and that the present tendency in many places is for independent artisans to decrease and for the wage earners to increase in numbers.

We have also noticed that smaller employers are exploiting their workers more ruthlessly than bigger employers; and that this unrestricted exploitation is due to the attempts of too many employers to make a decent living upon their too few workers. Therefore, we have advocated the introduction of better and more capable employers who engage many more workers and who make smaller profits per employee and yet who can manage to earn a better living for themselves.

The establishment of Spinning Mills is more urgently called for, than that of weaving mills and special care should be taken not to establish any mills which would come in any way in serious competition with the work of the weaver. If only every District Board decides to start a 'Spinning Mill' and a 'Sizing Mill' with the

guarantee of the Government for a certain amount of dividend and with half the capital subscribed by weavers, much good work can be done. Everywhere the crying need of the weavers is for a cheaper supply of yarn.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES.

THE HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES OF MADRAS.

In 1897, Mr. Chatterton who was then the professor of Engineering in the Madras Engineering College, was appointed the temporary superintendent of the Madras School of Arts. He got a small grant in 1898 for experiments in the manufacture of aluminium vessels in the school. By August 1899 the results of those experiments were so satisfactory that the Government of Madras appointed him for three years with the sanction of the Government of India. He had to pay special attention to the development of the aluminium industry, the organisation and furtherance of industrial schools, the development of cottage industries, and the establishment of a manual training class in the college of Engineering. In that period Mr. Chatterton made some important experiments in the introduction of better machinery for hand-loom weaving, centrifugal pumps for lift irrigation and chrome tanning. He was appointed on his return from leave as the supervisor of industrial and technical schools, working under the Director of Public Instruction, according to orders passed in March 1905. The proposal of the Madras Government to establish a Department of Industries with a full-time Director was sanctioned by

Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State as an experiment and Mr. Chatterton was appointed the Director of the new Department which was established in August 1906.

In 1907, an Assistant Director was appointed. Investigations into weaving, well-boring and chrome tanning were carried on. The industrial Conference held in Ootacamund during September 1908, recommended the Government to start pioneer factories. The Government of Madras proposed in March 1909 to establish the Department of Industries permanently to encourage the introduction of new industries in the Presidency. Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India refused to sanction this proposal, so the temporary department was in effect practically abolished and Mr. Chatterton took service with Mysore. The Sixth Indian Industrial Conference held at Allahabad in December 1910 protested against this step. The Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution that the Madras Government should approach the Secretary of State again. By that time Lord Crewe came to the Indian office and new proposals of the Madras Government of a less ambitious character than those inspired by Sir Alfred Chatterton were sanctioned and the Department of Industries as we know it to day came into existence on the 21st March 1914.¹

History of experiments in weaving.

Experiments in weaving were commenced in 1901-02 and fly-shuttle looms were set up in the School of Arts. Certain methods of sizing were also tried. In 1903, the

¹ The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission Page 467 to 406.

looms were moved to the bigger Anjuman buildings. Hank Sizing was soon given up as it was found unsuitable to the conditions of the Presidency. The looms were of the same type as those of the Basel Mission Industrial Schools. Till then no attempts were made to produce native cloths on fly-shuttle looms. At first, Madras handkerchiefs were produced, then Saris and dhoties. It was decided in 1905 to continue these experiments on a commercial scale in a factory and in 1906 the Salem weaving factory was established. The Department tried to get answers to three questions, whether it was possible to improve the conditions of handloom weavers by introducing (1) different machinery for weaving, (2) factory system, (3) improved preparatory processes. In 1907, a complete plant of warping, and sizing machinery was obtained from England but no good results were obtained from it.

The 1902 Exhibition held at Madras showed that the English fly-shuttle loom with necessary modifications to suit local conditions was the most suitable one to the weavers. In this connection it should be mentioned that the late Sir P. T. Chettiar, the avowed leader of the Devanga Community and the Non-Brahmin Party of Southern India made similar experiments in his factory, which he maintained for a long time at a very great cost. Indeed he was as much responsible for the successful demonstration of the fly-shuttle as Sir Alfred Chatterton. Chettiar stated to the Industrial Commission ¹ "Mr. Chatterton did not think well of the pit-loom with fly-shuttle at the time and was not hopeful that the lot of

¹ Indian Industrial Commission Vol. III Page 64.

the handweavers would improve thereby. If he will excuse me, I may say he was even opposed to it". But the successful exhibition of the fly-shuttle in the 1908 exhibition won the support of Mr. Chatterton who from that time onwards did his best to push it into use.

The Salem factory was worked on a commercial scale and its receipts amounted one year to as much as Rs 12,000. Soon the Madras Chamber of Commerce sensed some danger of the State venturing into industrial enterprises and protested vigorously to Lord Morley who abolished the factory which was closed in September 1910.

On the recommendation of the Industrial Conference the Government of Madras decided to appoint a weaving expert and to open a weaving institute at Madura. But up to 1913 very little work was done in this direction. In 1913 the first peripatetic party consisting of a superintendent and five weavers was formed and was sent to work in the Southern Districts. Another was formed in 1914 to work in the Northern Circars. These parties tried to popularise fly-shuttles, warping machines, jacquered looms and dobbies.

The receipts of the experiments made in 1901 to 1916 were Rs 69,969 and the expenditure was Rs 154,947 and the net expenditure was thus Rs 84,978 or Rs 5,311 per annum. In view of the beneficial results which are described in the pages, the cost thus paid for such fruits is indeed very low.

THE RESULTS OF EXPERIMENTS :—

The Department of Industries estimates that a weaver could make Rs 10 per month with the help of

the fly-shuttle as against Rs 7-8-0 with the old pit loom, in which he has to throw the shuttle every time. My enquiries have confirmed this estimate. The warping mill has cheapened 'warping' by more than half. The dobbies have made it easier to weave 'petu' bordered clothes. The introduction of jacquard looms has facilitated the manufacture of 'petu' bordered clothes with very complex designs, without the help of a boy or girl to lift Dobby. So the introduction of any or all of these machines is a great benefit to weavers. It is attempted to show how far these attempts of the Department to introduce these machines have been successful.

THE RESULTS OF THE EXPERIMENTS:—

As we have seen, there are only very few fly-shuttle looms in Paramakudi of Ramnad District. More than half of the looms in Madura are 'old looms' and only those on cotton weaving and a few hundred of those on fine weaving are fly-shuttle looms. All the looms of Kiles in conjivaram, and a greater part of those on fine weaving and a few of those on silk weaving are fly shuttle looms. The local Big Conjivaram Weavers Co-operative Society has done much useful work in the way of demonstrating the usefulness of this machine. In Salem, almost all the looms on cotton cloth, a few on 'lace work' and silk are fly-shuttles, and these new machines have gained the monopoly in Tiruchengode. In the Chittoor District except in Tirupati, where silk work is done, all the looms are of fly-shuttles.

In Pullampettah and Appayarajupettah, most of the big looms are old, because weavers cannot prepare laced

goods upon the fly-shuttle looms for reasons of quality. But all the other looms are furnished with the fly-shuttles. The same remarks apply to the conditions prevailing in Madhavaram Dharmavaram, Rayadrug, and Bellary, where 'Lace and Silk work' is carried on. But there are more old looms on yarn work in the last three places than in Madhavaram, because less demonstration work has been done in those places. In Oravakonda, there are very few fly shuttle looms, old looms are the order of the day. In Adoni, there are many hundreds of looms on Silk and fine Cotton weaving and to a small extent on rough Cotton work. But in Yemmiganuru, Koniche and Adoni, almost all the rough Cotton weaving is done with the fly-shuttles, as they have been popularised by the Adoni Municipal Weaving School. Prodduturn and Jammulamawlu have as many fly-shuttle looms as old looms and the tendency is for the former to increase. Nandyal and Kurnool do not fare as well as the other places, though an Industrial Exhibition was held in Nandyal in January 1921.

Turning to the Circars where we find the greatest number of fly-shuttle looms it is very hard to find any old looms in the great centres of Chirala, Perala and Bhattiprolu, as well as in Venkatagiri and Kalahasti. A few old looms are used in Pedana for preparing the 'petu' bordered cloths; but most of the looms are equipped with fly-shuttles. There are about a hundred old looms in Ellore and curiously enough their number is on the increase again; as more and more 'petu' work is introduced into this centre. Hitherto, it was the fly-shuttle looms which drove away the old hand looms,

because it was then found to be more profitable to work with. So we see that we still need old looms for certain kinds of work, until the fly-shuttle is so perfected as to be useful for that work also and the weavers are convinced of its usefulness. In Pentapadu, Bheemavaram, Palakol and Narsapuram, we find that most of the looms are equipped with the fly-shuttles, though those looms which are worked by the aid of two people and which are engaged on 'Head Rumals' are to a great extent old ones. In the Ambajeepeettah Centre, we find again more old looms, as it is the main centre for 'petu' work. But all other work, except a little silk weaving is done with the aid of the fly-shuttles. In Peddapur and Uppada, there are more old looms than new, because of the silk work. The same thing is true of Berhampur. These weavers on silk believe that the fly-shuttle is unsuited to their work. In Vizianagar City, there are very few old looms because the new looms were exhibited by the No. 11 Peripatetic weaving Parties in October 1920. But in the many villages in which weavers are found in this and Anakapalle Centres, one finds many more old looms than new as very little demonstration work has been done by the Department, in the direction of introducing these new looms. In Ponduru many more old looms than the new are used, because of the Khaddar work, for which old looms are preferred. In Chicacole the greater part of the looms are fly-shuttle looms while the reverse is true as regards Santabominali. In Ichchapur, most of the looms are equipped with fly-shuttles as a result of exhibition work of the Department in this part of the District and the weaving School of the Berhampur Municipality.

There are no 'Hand Driven Warping Machines' in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts. All the warping is done on the old machines in Uppada but on the new machines in Peddapur, as far as cotton work is concerned. In Bandarlanka, Jaggannapettah, Chintalapalli and Mori warping is done on the New Machines.

Weavers of the neighbouring villages of Mori, and Palakole get their warping done on these machines in Mori and Palakole; but all the others have to depend upon the old machines. Bheemavaram and Pentapadu get their warping prepared on the old machine; in Ellore Pedana, Bhattiprolu, Chirala and Venkatagiri Centres, almost all the warping is done on the new machines.

In Pullampettah, Proddutur and Jammulamadugu, we find the new machines; while there is only one in Dharmavaram and none in Pamidi. In Rayadrug, we find a Bobbin Machine also, which is imported from Hubli of the Bombay Presidency, in addition to a warping machine. But much work is done in this place and Bellary on the old machine. In Nandyal and Kurnool and Adoni an ever increasing amount of work is done by the new machines; Yemmiganurn and Koniche are taking to the new methods slowly. Oravakonda gets all its work done on the new machine alone.

Dobbies or *Draw Boy Harnesses*, as the department prefers to call them, are being introduced, wherever 'Petu' and 'lace work' is done. In Madhavaram and Pullampettah, though a few such dobbies have been introduced, most of the work is done with the aid of the old Dobby, which must be lifted at every step by a boy

or girl, sitting at a distance from, but in front of the weaver. The same conditions prevail in Salem, Conjivaram and Tirupati, while the new automatic Dobby has been introduced in ever larger numbers in Madura and Paramakudi. In Peddapur, and in the Ambajeepeettah centres, we find that the new machines have been introduced in increasing numbers owing to the work of the peripatetic parties of the Textile Department. In Uppada, Berhampur, Ponduru and Chicacole, where 'petu' border work and silk work are carried on, the same old machines are used, not because they are preferable but because the weavers have not been shown the advantages of the new machine.

The Sizing Machine promises to revolutionise the economic conditions of handloom weaving of this presidency. In our review of the wages and earnings of the weaver we have seen how machine made warps have lowered the costs of manufacturing and how much more can be done in this direction, if sizing can be done more cheaply and more quickly. In his 'Handloom weaving Industry of Madras' Mr. Amalsad shows that his machine will serve the need of the day. This machine has been exhibited in Oravakonda but unfortunately the weavers there are somehow prejudiced against it. An expert weaver and one of the leaders of the weavers who cannot be styled as an unprogressive and unenlightened man, says, "We are not yet convinced of its utility. It does not take the sizing so very well. For white and rough yarn it works well. But we use six or seven colours, for which it is not so very useful. It cannot be worked for small quantities and small weavers have to wait until the

required quantity of yarn is got together, only capitalists can buy and work it. It does as much work with three workers, as ten people without it. Thus seven people per day per machine are unemployed. So our people are unwilling to see their women thus deprived of their domestic employment." The Secretary of the 'Big Conjivaram weavers' Co-operative Union' is making an experiment upon this machine which is lent to the union by the Madras Textile School and he says that it works well on rough yarn and that it makes sizing much cheaper. But he is dissatisfied with it for one reason, that the warp has to be strong to stand the heat and so it cannot be used for sizing fine yarn. The width of the warp that can be sized is much less than is needed for many kinds of work. But he is of opinion that much advantage can be derived by the weavers if they adopt this machine¹ for preparing rough warps.

The Pullampettah weavers and their leader Mr. N. Subbayya state that they are anxiously awaiting the result of this experiment, as they are willing to introduce the machine into their centre if it is found profitable. But I am afraid they will be disappointed. The Department will be well advised to withdraw this machine from exhibitions and improve it so as to be useful for preparing warps of higher counts and greater widths. A proper study of economic conditions of the presidency would show that the introduction of the fly-shuttle has really conferred a boon, only where 'Kiles Madras Handkerchiefs, Sarees, and Dhoties of finer yarns Head

¹ Recently (1929 April) a Machine with all its accessories was purchased at specially favourable terms by an enlightened and progressive Brahmin capitalist of Mori and the results of this experiment are awaited.

Rumals and clothes with borders are manufactured. Doubts exist as to the utility of the efforts made by the peripatetic parties in the Ganjam and Vizagpatam Districts, in trying to introduce the fly-shuttles. Greater production is not the only goal: cloth should also be sold at rates profitable to the weavers. The direct result of a wholesale adoption of these new looms by those two districts would be to increase the production; to glut the markets; to lower the prices and the remuneration for weaving. For these weavers cannot organise themselves and sell only what is demanded in their tracts and dispose of the rest in other-districts at ever lower rates than cost price. Even if it could be done, looked at from a broader point of view, weavers in those other districts would be ruined. At present the weavers in these districts are dependent for their livelihood upon the strong sentiment of the people here and in the Agencies¹ in favour of rough and hand woven goods and so if once the people are allowed to find out that there is no sacredness in the hand woven goods made on the fly-shuttle, because of their greater resemblance in texture to the mill made goods, then their industry will be ruined. So the proper thing to do is not to introduce the fly-shuttles but to try and persuade these workers to turn to finer weaving and 'petu' and silk manufacturing, while at the same time co-operative efforts are made to market their goods at profitable rates. Our review of the present conditions shows how great has been the contribution of the Government in helping certain sections of the weavers. Everyone should admit that in every district and almost in every centre of weaving, the influence of the Governmental work has been felt.

¹ Unsettled regions in the interior of the Northern Circars

THE OBJECTS OF THE MADRAS TEXTILE SECTION.

(1) Peripatetic weaving parties, each consisting of one head Maistri, one assistant Maistri and three expert weavers, are established to perform all or any of the following duties, whenever possible, in the circles for which they are appointed.

(a) To persuade the local weaver to adopt the fly-shuttle slay *whenever it is practicable to do so* and to carry out the necessary alterations in the country loom to enable this to be done; and to adopt flanged beams on their pit looms where long sized warps can be wound.

(b) To cheapen the cost of warp preparation by the use of hand driven mill warping machines, sizing by machines and dressing machines.

(c) To train weavers who only weave plain cloth to produce towels, bed sheets twill cloths and fancy designs the use of extra treadles or draw boy harness.

(d) To educate weavers to weave finer cloths and cloths of better quality in the manufacturing of which power driven looms cannot compete with hand looms.

(2) A weaving expert is appointed and is expected to carry on experiments upon the present machinery in the industry and more useful and profitable alterations to suit the changing economic conditions of the market.

(3) The Madras Textile Institute of the Government is established to perform the following duties:—

(a) To provide practical instruction in improved methods of handloom weaving.

(b) To provide practical instruction in improved methods of grey and coloured warp and weft preparation by hand.

(c) To provide training in speedier and more economical methods of preparation of warps by power driven machinery.

(d) To provide instruction in the construction and manufacture of various types of improved appliances.

(e) To popularise the use of knitting machines.

(f) To encourage the formation of organisations for the joint purchase of yarns, distribution of ready made warps and sale finished fabrics.

(g) To undertake the manufacture of weaving appliances in bulk and to arrange for their distribution and sale at cost price.

(h) To serve as a permanent museum for the display of the principal types of hand woven fabrics and to increase the demand for improved appliance and weaving accessories.

(i) To undertake experimental work in connection with appliances and to facilitate the manufacture of certain special lines of fabrics; and

(j) Generally to investigate all problems connected with the handloom weaving industry which still await solution.

(4) The Government propose to encourage the establishment of many 'weaving Schools' in all parts of the country; by offering to give 50 per cent grants to all the schools.

(5) The Department is expected to hold exhibitions in all parts of the country and thus advertise the better kinds of manufacture and better kinds of working.

(6) The Government proposes to start Spinning Mills where they are needed and where the private capitalists are ready to interest themselves in such mills.

(7) The Government is prepared to examine local conditions of demand and supply for a kind of manufacture; to prepare the schemes for Mills, and to advise the projectors of such mills in buying the machinery in laying out their capital on different kinds of fixed capital.

(8) And lastly the Government proposes to advance capital at very low rates of interest to mills and factories of whose successful management, it is thoroughly convinced.

An examination of the policy of Government described above, clearly shows that the Department of Industries is directed to work for the welfare of the weavers in every possible direction that has great potentialities in it.

But the peripatetic weaving parties are not sufficiently numerous, nor could they do much work with the five demonstrators each of them has got. The Government has been niggardly in spending moneys in this direction and the pay of the Head Maistri and the Assistant Maistris is very low. There were only five parties working in 1921 and only 119 villages were visited by them in seven districts, Ganjam, Vizagpatam, Bellary, Cuddapah,

Ananthapur, Chittoor and North Arcot. Only 1020 shuttles of all kinds were introduced in these villages or ten in each village.

The present writer has come into touch with the weaving paripatetic parties of Kurnool and Samarlakota and has found a tendency among the weaving superintendents to treat their weaving Maistris with contempt, because they are paid lower salaries, and they come from the weaving castes, while the superior officers are usually Brahmins. The regulation that these Maistris and Assistant maistries should not weave in their own homes, is not beneficial while their pay is as low as at present. The present writer knows one case, where a Maistri was taken to task for weaving in his own house though he was not able to support his family by his pay alone. Unless such abuses are removed, the Government cannot hope to get right sort of people as Maistris.

Till now these parties have been engaged in introducing new machinery only. They have introduced 'silk weaving' in Peddapur and Dobbies into Bandarlanka.

Much more work will have to be done before the sizing Machine can be perfected. But to tackle all the problems of this hand-loom weaving Industry, as far as its mechanical improvements are concerned, not one but many more experts are needed. What was said by one of the greatest statesmen of the South in this connection is of great importance. Sir P. T. Chettiar said.

"I believe that Rs 20,000 or Rs 30,000 or even a lakh of Rupees spent in this direction cannot be considered

as a waste even if the experiment does not prove successful. There is no use in saying that we spent so much money and did not get anything out of it. We must continue the experiments until we bring about the change that is required in hand-loom weaving. If sizing by machinery proves successful it will be said that hand-looms will even be able to cope with machine made goods. ¹

There is a tendency among the weaving Superintendents to take the suggestions of weavers as worth nothing. For instance Mr. B. Bandayya of Oravakonda has given Rs 50 as deposit and asked that certain changes should be made on the Sizing Machine and the Supervisor has flatly refused even to consider the changes suggested by this very experienced, enlightened and educated leader of the weavers. There should be more cooperation in experimenting and freer interchange of views between the weavers and the officers.

Both the peripatetic parties as well as the Textile expert should guard themselves against introducing machinery of whose utility they are not perfectly sure; and also against introducing too many machines to serve the same purpose, as it will disquiet the workers. For instance Oravakonda weavers bought a hundred fly-shuttle looms; at first they did not know how to work them and the machines broke down. Then, when they sought the help of the Department, they were advised to buy better looms. This, of course, they did not like to do. Again they bought Sholapur Dobbies at Rs 3½, 4 and

¹ Amalnad, Handloom weaving Industry of Madras Presidency P 78

5 each from Mr. Krishnan, the weaving Superintendent. The new Superintendent when told that these were not working properly, had advised them to buy new Dobbies, worth Rs 9 each. He has a sample of this new Dobby for the last nine months and nobody offered to buy and use it.

(2) The Madras Textile Institute is established with the excellent objects, which we have quoted above. But at present it is giving training only to those who wish to be appointed as weaving Superintendents, teachers in weaving schools and managers in the weaving factories. There is a junior course also for Maistris in the parties or hand loom factories or demonstrators in schools. The artisan course cannot have much influence, as the school is located in the city, away from other centres and its own centre of weaving. The one great service it may be able to do is to train up teachers of all kinds for the weavers.

But it is left to the District Boards, Taluk Boards, and Municipal Councils to establish 'weaving schools' after the example of Adoni Taluk Board; the American Mission of Kurnool and the Municipality of Berhampur. When the Government is ready to advance 50% of the expenditure incurred it is only just that these local bodies should realise their duties and establish these schools and help the premier industry of the Presidency. after agriculture

The fifth duty is directly connected with the work of the Textile expert. The kind of enquiry the Department has been making till now is on the lines of finding

out the number of looms; the kind of looms; the kind of cloth manufactured, and the kind of weavers in different centres. Though some attention is paid to the economic conditions of the weavers no thorough economic enquiry is made at any time. The little information thus got by the Department is kept a close secret and the public is left with no data to judge the work of the Department or the conditions of the Industry. I was kindly given the information gathered on these lines by the weaving Superintendent at Samarlakota, for the Krishna Godavari, Vizagpatam and Ganjam Districts, but I am bound to keep it confidential until the Government changes its present attitude. Mere technical experiments will not be enough to solve the problems that confront the handloom weavers' The 'Textile expert needs the co-operation and assistance of both experts in economic enquiry and co-operative organisation. It is a great pity that this elementary point has not been realised till now by those who are in power. Even the Special Officer for the Survey of Cottage Industries has neglected this aspect and the results of his survey are of very little use either to the weavers or to the general public as they do not have anything bearing upon the economic and social conditions of the weavers. It is high time that the Textile Experts and Governments should realise the futility of their work as long as they do not try to better the social and economic mode of life led by the weavers and that the weavers need assistance not only in working with better implements but also in supplying themselves with cheaper capital more efficient labour and commercial and Industrial organisation. It is necessary that the Government should be carrying on

commercial and industrial surveys of different centres of weaving and that these enquiries should be published. Practical suggestions about improving the industrial and commercial organisations, all possible information about the conditions of markets in Mysore, the Nizams Dominions, Bombay Presidency, Ceylon, Malay Straits, Singapore, Penang, Kenya and Natal and all other places to which Madras cloths are exported, and suggestions to improve their business, should be systematically given from month to month. Trade Commissioners in those countries should be instructed to send scientific and useful reports upon the possibilities of pushing the business of the hand-loom weavers in all places.

The Industrial Exhibition held at Mangalore in 1920 and that held at Nandyal in 1921 have done much good and such exhibitions should be held at least once a year in every big centre of weaving. For instance, if such an exhibition were to be held in Chirala, the exhibits of 6,000 looms of the place and 1,000 and more looms of the neighbouring villages will be at its disposal, and all the people of the Taluk will gather to buy them. A general exhibition of all kinds of things is more sure to attract people and will result in greater sales for the *weavers*. Thus, such an exhibition will serve two things: one to create a boom for the weavers, to encourage those skilled workers who produce fine goods with a nice display of artistic skill by giving them prizes, and secondly to acquaint the weavers with new designs, new ways of weaving, new machinery and the representations of the conditions of their markets by cinematographic displays. What is more the yarn and dye merchants of

different places such as Bombay, Madura, Madras, and Coimbatore will display their goods and the weavers will then be able to realise the differences in prices and qualities of goods and so decide which to buy and which to use. Collectors, the local members of Legislative Councils and Governor should pay visits to morning and evening Bazaars, should deliver speeches and thus make the weaver and others realise how noble and important the weaving profession is. A new kindling of professional spirit is necessary and that is possible only when responsible citizens take part in such exhibitions.

The Government has prepared the plans and estimates for the establishment of a Wollen Spinning Mill, to help the Ellore and Masulipatam carpet weavers who have been suffering from the difficulties in securing supplies of soft and even yarns. The endeavours of the Government to interest Capitalists in the project failed, because the Government was not prepared to give any guarantee of a certain rate of interest on the capital invested. We have already seen in the fifth chapter that guaranteeing a certain rate of dividends is very necessary to encourage capitalists to start mills and factories. We need only reiterate that argument in this connection. Even Mr. Amalsad who thinks that "Government intervention will not be conducive to its commercial profit" ¹ is of opinion that Government may "in conformity with the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission advance the capital required for purchase of the machinery at a low rate of interest in

1 D. M. Amalsad, "Hand-loom Weaving in the Presidency." P. 47-48

convenient and easy instalments.¹ Therefore some kind of Governmental help is found to be a necessity by all parties. But guaranteeing the dividend is the best thing to do at present.

The last two objects of the government are just in conformity with the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission and if carried out, would be very beneficial. The Government has already shown that it means to do useful work, by assisting the Peddapuram Somaraju Brothers in erecting their mill, and in financing it.

¹ Ibid. P. 48.

CHAPTER X.

THE FUTURE OF THE HANDLOOM WEAVERS.

Many people who have studied the decay of the handloom weavers of England because of their inability to stand before the competition of mills fear that the handloom weavers of any country must also face the same fate. Even to-day there are many economists in India who assert that the handloom weavers of India must some day disappear. But they overlook the fact that what resulted in England may not happen in India and that conditions in India are different from those of England.

First of all, the number of people supported by the handloom weaving industry of the Madras Presidency has not much changed in the last sixty years. ¹ There were 376,561 men in 1871, 360,000 in 1881, 365,112 in 1891, 383,132 in 1901 and 368,509 in 1911 and according to our estimate of the number of looms in the Presidency, 330,000 in 1921. Though it is true that the number of actual (male) workers in this industry has not risen to the same extent as the total population, the industry as a whole has not yet shown any serious signs of decay.

Moreover the Indian mill industry has certain very clear limits beyond which it is very difficult for it to

1. The Census Report of Madras 1911 by Chatterton etc. p. 208.

progress in the next few decades. The general inefficiency of the capitalists and entrepreneurs, the unskilled character of the managerial staff, the lack of initiative in the supervisors, the want of training in the workers and the insufficiency of capital, internal and external economies are some of the many serious drawbacks from which it is suffering. The handloom weaving industry is able to make a considerable amount of progress, in spite of many of its serious defects, merely because it is not so much dependent as its rival upon huge capital concerns and massive industrial organisation and technique, hence while the production of cloth by handlooms has increased by 6·2 per cent on the average during the decade 1917-18 to 1926-27 as against 3·8 per cent during 1896-97 to 1905-06,¹ that by the mill industry has increased only by 2·8 per cent in the recent period as against an increase of 10 per cent in the previous period. That somehow the handloom weaving industry has been able to show not too unsatisfactory a record of progress is indicated by the fact that while population in the whole of India has increased by 7·1 per cent between 1901 and 1911 and by 1·2 per cent between 1911 and 1921, the total production of cloth by hand looms has increased by 3·8 per cent between 1896 and 1906 and by 6·2 per cent between 1917 and 1927.¹

The amount of yarn consumed by the handlooms does not show any signs of serious diminution. The average consumption of yarn per annum in the period between 1910-21 was 59,414,500 lbs. while the maximum consumption in any year was only 65,636,000 lbs. in 1911-12 and the minimum 47,979,000 lbs.

¹ An interesting paper upon "The Handloom weaving Industry" by Mr. B. T. Kale in the Mysore Economic Journal February 1929.

in 1919-20. Though the mills in the Presidency were able to produce nearly twice as much cloth in 1920-21 as they did in 1910-11, they did not evidently encroach upon the work of the handloom weavers. As a matter of fact the local mills produce cloths of very low and medium counts in which very few weavers are interested. "The Indian mill cloth is substituting the foreign imported cloth which has come down from 1932 million yards in 1896-97 to 1728. million yards in 1926-27". In spite of the increase in the total consumption of cloth by Indians the imports of cotton cloth by sea have considerably fallen from 1916-17 and the imports of foreign goods by rail have also shown a serious tendency to decrease. The imports of Indian cloth by rail have increased enormously but mostly at the expense of the foreign imports.

The above examination shows the extraordinary stability of the handloom weaving industry as a whole. There are several reasons for this. (These hereditary weavers are extraordinarily loyal to their caste occupation and they do not like to leave their profession however bad the conditions may be.) It is largely true that even those who give up weaving as a whole time employment depend upon it for subsidiary employment. People who have become peons, punkah-pullers and clerks work one or two looms in their houses. Their women-folk seek to make some money by doing the preparatory work for others. And they are found large numbers in Salem and Conjivaram and Maduraing towns.

Secondly weavers are not so wedded to one particular cloth of one or more particular designs as is usually

supposed and we have shown already how ready they are to go from one make of cloth to another, from one design to another, if only they are convinced that a change would pay them better. It is this readiness to change the mode of work in weaving that is largely responsible for the real vitality of the industry.

Thirdly every centre of handloom weaving is specially dependent upon one or two particular specialities of its own and upon the demand coming from a particular centre or centres of consumption. So the needs of such centres of consumption are carefully studied, however tardily it may be, and the demand is often too small to tempt competitors. Of late, competition among the different centres is increasing but it is not alarming, except in the case of rough cloth.

Fourthly the merchants of the consuming centres are prevented by lethargy and loyalty from abandoning their customary suppliers of customary places and so they create a sort of stability of demand for the cloths of the handloom weavers.

Fifthly some of these handloom weaving centres specialise in particular kinds of cloths which have not yet been produced in the mills on a large scale. Kiles and Head Rumals come into this category.

Sixthly some of them are engaged in producing cloths with gold or silver thread interwoven which are called "solid bordered cloths" or "lace goods". Madura, Conjivaram, Salem, Coimbatore, Madhavaram and Pullampettah owe their continued prosperity to this manufacture.

Seventhly most of them are engaged on the manufacture of cloths of fine counts, ranging from 60 up to 150s. And here the mills, though competing more and more successfully are not able to supplant the handloom weavers. Usually the sort of cloths produced by handloom weavers are of local designs suited to the local public and it does not pay the mills to produce them. Mills can only compete with them indirectly.

Eighthly most of the handloom weavers depend upon special demands coming from small sections of people in the country. It does not pay mills to cater for such a demand. These weavers use the same machinery for most of these cloths of different designs and are ever ready to change their work and so it does not cost them anything to change from one mode of work to another. Such special demand is of very great importance in India where different castes have different standards and fashions of clothing and people of the same caste have different fashions in different parts of the country.

Lastly the fashions in clothing do not in India change so quickly, erratically and mechanically as they do in England. It is the young women of suspicious repute in the more prosperous deltaic districts who usually buy the novel kinds of cloths that come into markets. Often the bulk of any caste does not take kindly to such changes and if it does, it sticks to a certain cloth for a fairly long time. The women of the Ceded Districts and the Vizagpatam and Ganjam Districts have shown little inclination to change their fashions in clothing. The Deccan women are now wearing mostly the mill-made cloths as they are generally poor and are obliged

to look to cheapness. But the Andhra Oriya¹ women are tenaciously loyal to the hand-made goods. It is the weavers of the Northern Circars who have been hit to some extent by the changes in the fashions of clothing. But even here there have come into existence many compensating factors; for instance the increasing economic prosperity of the people has induced them to go in for very fine and thin clothing, in the manufacture of which the hand-loom weavers fare fairly well. The middle aged and old women have no great objection to adopt new fashions as long as those are not very different from the customary patterns and designs and so the impulse to change fashions has created an automatic increase of demand for the weaver's work.

But it is otherwise in the matter of men's apparel. The middle and the upper classes have shown an extraordinary loyalty to the hand-loom weaver, though there was a craze for Glasgow mulls and grey-cloths called 'sine' for a while some 12 years ago. Indeed the tendency among them is to go in for thinner and thinner cloths with ever fresh designs and borders and here the hand weaver comes in with his special advantages. Mahatma Gandhi's influence has also during the last ten years increased the market for hand-woven cloth. But the whole of the working class men of every district have completely taken to wearing mill-made cloth, because of its cheapness. It was just from the field of producing rough cloths that weavers were mostly and so quickly replaced by mills and it was this dramatic change which made many economists exclaim that hand-

¹ women of the Guntur and Vizagapatam Districts

loom weavers must disappear some day or other. As long as Indians do not adopt the nation wide and monotonous fashions of Europe, the hand-loom weavers will find their work remunerative.

The same causes which have been responsible for the stable conditions prevailing in the hand-loom weaving Industry as a whole will ensure its future prosperity. The special demands of particular sections of people will exist even if the caste system is abolished. But the caste system has shown sufficient proof of its vitality to weather the modern changes and to adapt itself to social evolution. So the special demand resulting from its existence will be very important. The position of a hand-loom-weaver in the manufacture of fine cloths is not very vulnerable to the competition of the mills. The manufacture of "solid bordered cloths," silk cloths and 'petu' bordered cloths is not subject to any great mill competition. So if aided by modern methods of organisation and financing, there are indeed bright prospects before the hand-loom weavers.

CONDITIONS FOR THE SATISFACTORY SURVIVAL OF HANDLOOM.

Even if we are safe in assuming that the future prospects of this industry will not be worse than the present situation it is open to doubt whether this industry can afford to maintain the weavers on a better standard of living, shorter hours of work and humaner conditions of work. We have seen in the last chapter that (an average weaver is not able to maintain any higher standard of living, than that of one on the margin of

subsistence.) It is no consolation to the workers and the country if the same miserable conditions were to be the only prospects for weavers in the future. But if the following favourable conditions are created it is quite probable that this industry can offer as good prospects of full and wholesome life to the weavers as any other industry can.

(1) The profits of the yarn merchants should be minimised by organising co-operative yarn purchasing societies and by establishing co-operative spinning mills. The proposed 'weavers Bank' should be ready to advance money at lower rates of interest to yarn merchants and employers to enable them to buy yarn for cash at lower rates from the mill owners themselves. Then the profits made by Marwaries and others who sell yarn on credit at higher rates than those charged by the manufacturers and who charge exorbitant rates of interest to the merchants and employers of the weaving centres, would cease to deplete the profits of the industry

(2) The quality and ability of the employers should be raised by educating them in industrial and commercial organisation. This can best be done by establishing a branch of study in the weaving High Schools which are proposed later on, to teach the science of commercial and industrial organisations. The students who will receive such education will enter the industry and organise bigger factories with greater numbers of workers and better machinery than the present inefficient employers. They will then be able to study the needs, and the psychology of consumers with more alertness and readiness than the present employers. They can

take advantage of any suggestions given from time to time by a 'Government Weaving Information Bureau' which is proposed later on, and organise their work in such a way as to be ready with just the kind of cloth that will sell well and readily. Still another result of introducing such employers will be to increase the earnings of individual weavers as the employers will each expect to make less profit per worker, but considerably more aggregate profit than the present employers.

(3) 'Sizing Factories' should be established in every important centre of weaving on the lines sketched out by Mr. Amalsad in his "Hand-loom Weaving Industry in Madras Province." Then the costs of sizing will be considerably reduced and so the remuneration for weaving will correspondingly increase. The sizing machine, which is now being experimented may have to be subjected to still further examination before it can be introduced into general use. The results of the experiments now being made in Mori East Godavari District, are anxiously awaited by all. It may be quite true, as Mr. Amalsad says, that the hand-loom weaving industry can be placed even in a much stronger position not only to hold its own against mill industry, but also win a march over it. But the establishment and the progress of such factories will largely depend upon the supply of business ability in the managerial staff, which will again result only when 'the weavers High Schools' are established.

(4) (Every weaving centre should have a 'weaving school' in which elementary teaching in weaving would be given.) Every boy or girl who is expected to become

a weaver should be encouraged to study in such schools and unless such apprentices are considered to have become efficient weavers, they should not be allowed to enter the industry and earn full wages.

Children of 10 should be admitted into such schools, for a period of 4 years. The age of the child should be as low as that when beginning the study because weavers do not like to keep their girls in the school after they have reached the age of puberty.

The period of four years is in conformity with the present practice of training available in many centres and most parents will not have any objection to keep their children so long in the school. In addition to the training in the weaving schools, these children should be educated compulsorily and freely in the elementary schools until they are fourteen and until they pass the fifth standard. General and technical training should thus go hand in hand in order to create fairly intelligent, well informed and efficient artisans. As for the work in the weaving school, drawing, knitting and tailoring should be taught in addition to accounting and weaving. By the time such children leave the schools and enter the industry as workers, they should be in a position to understand the qualities of a design, the way to copy it, and work with such designs. Then such weavers will be more ready to change the patterns and designs with which they work than the present weavers who have not got the necessary flexibility of mind. Such students in the elementary school of weaving should not be paid any wages. If it is considered that in most cases their

parents are unable to maintain them so long, such parents may be allowed in the last two years of training to supply their own yarn and other things on which their children may be allowed to work in the school under the guidance of the teachers. This will ensure that the parents will get some addition to their earnings while their children learn their work.

(5) (There should be established a 'Weaving High School' for every two or three centres of Hand Loom weaving.) Students who are anxious to get higher education in weaving, dyeing, printing or business methods should be allowed to proceed to such schools from the elementary weaving school. Each student should be fed freely in the school and a little pocket money should be given during the first two years of apprenticeship according to the output of each student. In this school, the science of designs, patterns, and machines should be taught to those who want to learn weaving specially. But they should also be given elementary training in dyeing, printing, machinery and business methods. Similar training should be given to others who want to specialise in any of these departments. Such a scheme of education will ensure that a weaver, dyer, printer, weaving mechanic or an employer has sufficient knowledge of other branches of his industry so that he can relate his activities in the industry to other branches of work. This high school course need not extend to more than four years as by that time the students will be old enough and sufficiently skilled to look after themselves and to develop the industry on right lines. Moreover to keep them longer at school will cost more than any public body can afford. During the last

two years of his apprenticeship, any student who studies any subject other than business methods should be paid Rs 2 to 4 per month in addition to his food, according to his output and skill. This will create an opportunity for the students to learn the benefits of thrift, and to earn enough to start on their own with some capital to their credit.

(6) A Textile College situated in Bezwada, on the lines of the Madras Textile Institute is necessary for the Andhra Districts and another for the Tamil Districts, located preferably in Madura, but amidst the weaving quarters of the city.

(7) Co-operative purchasing and selling societies should be organised among the weavers and such societies should liberally and freely advance money by the proposed "Weaving bank" whose representatives should be allowed to sit on the Boards of management of such societies. Men who have had high school education in business methods taught in the 'Weaving Schools' should be employed as full-time managers of such societies so that they could be run on the best possible commercial lines.

(8) The Government of Madras should establish a weaving commercial bureau, possibly as a special branch of the Department of Industries. Its work consists of gathering information about the markets for the hand-woven goods, the possible changes in the economic and social conditions of consumers, the new designs which may possibly be introduced with benefit and the better methods of work, better machinery and better organisation of the industry and publishing the information in

the vernaculars to bring it to the notice of the weavers employers and merchants. It should also carry on investigations into the economic conditions of the weavers and furnish the public sufficient information about their standard of living. Two such bureaux should be established, one in Bezwada and another in Madura.

(9) (An Expert in Economics and another in Co-operation need be employed by Government to make periodical enquiries into the soundness of the economic conditions of the weavers and their co-operative societies respectively.) They are expected to organise Better Living societies and co-operative weavers' purchase and sale societies and banks. The Textile expert, Experts in Co-operation and Economic Investigation and the leaders of the weaving communities must co-operate with one another in a whole hearted manner if the hand-loom weaver is to look forward to a bright future.

(10) Permanent Emporiums for the exhibition of the products of the hand-loom weaving Industries shall be established in every important industrial as well as commercial centre so that proper advertisement and publicity can be gained for such products.) Such emporiums situated in Vizagpatnam, Rajahmundry, Bezwada, Chirala, Bellary, Adoni, Madras, Madura, Salem, Conjivaram, Bangalore, Coimbatore, will be able to render immense service to this industry. These will also be the centres from which knowledge of different kinds of products produced by the weavers of different places can be diffused amongst the weavers. One or two such institutions will not be enough to achieve these desirable ends.

(11) (Trade commissioners must be appointed at every important foreign market which takes a prominent interest in the products of the Hand-loom weaving Industry.) It shall be the duty of these Officers to regularly report about the trade conditions in their respective markets and to indicate the lines along which the campaign to capture and retain such markets can be best run. The information thus received from such officers should be distributed among the weavers through the publication of monthly journals in all the principal vernaculars. In view of the fact that this Additional administrative machinery will be very costly, it is desirable if the Government of India comes forward with an annual grant or a percentage contribution to the provincial government.

(12) Monthly Magazines shall be published in all the vernaculars and distributed at less than cost price amongst the weavers. The Emporiums, Weavers' Schools, High Schools and Colleges shall be supplied freely with all the available information gathered by the investigators appointed by Government.

(13) Annual Exhibitions for the products of this industry shall be held in every District and the local representatives of the people in the Council and Assembly shall deem it their duty to attend these Exhibitions, present gifts to enterprising weavers and deliver exhorting addresses. It is only when this aspect of the window dressing of the industry is organised on the lines of the British Industries Fair that there is any chance

for this industry to make satisfactory progress. In fact the same organisation can be utilised for the furtherance of the interests of the other cottage industries.

(14) Women of the weaving castes should be induced to take to weaving as their sole occupation. Women should be persuaded to devote all their time to weaving and to give up the less remunerative preparatory work and sizing. Weavers of Oravakonda, Bhattiprolu, Pentapadu, Vizagpatam and Gajjam Districts and such other places should gradually be induced to give up their rough weaving and to take to fine weaving, Silk weaving or lace work.

(15) Sericulture and linen darning will be the most paying and beneficial as they provide employment to the old folk in a weaver's family. There is a great demand for silk cloths and it is sure to increase by leaps and bounds as the prosperity of the people increases and the number of silk weavers increases. As for linen work, the Kammas, and Brahmins of the Northern Circars have already begun to take a fancy for linen manufactures and there is a great demand for such things in America. So if equipped with proper commercial organisations, weavers will gain much by inducing their old women to turn to such work. Thirdly tapestries have gone out of fashion in the last twenty years, but if produced with sufficient display of artistic skill, there is no doubt that they will come again into fashion. There is a wave of enthusiasm for art and artistic goods passing among the Andhras kindled and formed by the Non-Co-operation Movement and if only weavers can take advantage of it,

they can enrich themselves and beautify the homes of the country. This is not a temporary zeal for art ¹ and so the introduction of this work on tapestries will provide well paying work to many old folk of the weavers.

(16) (We have reason to believe that there can easily be established twenty more cotton spinning mills in the Presidency, all run by Hydro-electric power generated by the various waterfalls.) If the forests of the Presidency were exploited more scientifically than at present, nearly as many more mills could be cheaply run by wood fuel. There is more than sufficient demand for the yarn produced by such mills, if only they could produce yarn of 60s and higher counts. Even if they have to produce coarser yarn for some time, there is large demand for such yarn coming from the weavers of Gaujam, Vizagapatam and such other less advanced districts. If such mills were established amidst villages, they could provide subsidiary employment to the rural people and minimise their inevitable unemployment

1 The writer left India for England in October 1920 and returned in July 1923, and found that the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, who was then in prison was very widespread and tended to revolutionise the social habits and general conceptions of life of the people. The writer returned to India after two more visits to England in June 1924, and January 1925, and visited Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and most parts of the Madras Presidency and found that people everywhere exhibited signs of being permanently influenced by Mahatma Gandhi. Fashions in clothing, decorations of houses and manners of people have to a large extent been re-orientalised. As a consequence, artists, poets, weavers and other artisans are much more respected than before and people demand Indian products.

caused by agricultural seasons. If they are situated in places close to weaving centres, many women and old folk of weavers can find employment. But they benefit more through the increased prosperity of the rural public.

(17) Moreover many such mills could be established by weavers' Co-operative Societies and Local Boards, and the Government might guarantee a certain rate of interest. Weavers will then be able to subscribe half the paid-up capital, while the rest is subscribed by the Boards and public. The chief policy of such mills should be to sell the yarn to the weavers at prices which cover only a reasonable rate of interest and costs of production. With the aid of the Madras State Aid to Industries Act, money could be advanced at moderate rates of interest to many small employers who set up small factories after having had training in the Elementary School or High School for weaving.

(18) A special bank to finance the 'weaving industry' of the Andhra Districts should be established. The Government should subscribe half the capital, the rest being called for from the public. On the Board of Directors of such a bank, the weavers and their employers should be given as much representation as that allowed for the Government, to see that the business of the bank is conducted primarily in the interests of the industry and not solely for realising high dividends. This bank should provide any employer or co-operative association or Local Board interested in weaving with financial help if satisfactory evidence of prospective success of the proposed enterprise is shown. The bank should be represented upon every corporate body which borrows from it and

should be authorised to inspect the books of any employer to satisfy itself that its money is not wasted. For precedents, we have 'The People's Bank of Italy' similarly constituted. Another such bank should be established for the Tamil Districts also. There need be no fear that Government may not be able to secure adequate funds to finance such a bank, for a sum of nearly a crore of rupees is always left in the coffers of the Madras Central Co-operative Bank, not to speak of the occasional large hoardings of money in the hands of the various District Co-operative Banks. All this money can be best utilised in financing this weavers' Bank.

(19) Lastly, we have seen that everywhere the wage-basis of payment is the rule and that most of the weavers are unscrupulously exploited. To prevent such exploitation, to ensure better wages and higher standard of living, a 'Trade Board' constituted on the lines of the 'Trade Board' for the tailoring industry of England is necessary.¹ For the whole of the Andhra Districts, one 'Trade Board' should be established. Each big centre of weaving should have a 'Local Committee' corresponding to the English District committee to look after the special interests of the weavers of all the villages and towns that come within its jurisdiction. On the Board as well as on the committee, all the parties should be represented; i. e. the "appointed members" i. e. Government nominees, capitalist employers, Mungani employers of the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts and such other employers of other districts and the weavers who work on their own looms and the coolies who are employed by Mungani employers

¹ See Appendix 1 on the Tailoring Trade Board.

and such petty employers of Adoni and Oravakonda, Ellore or other places in their workshops. The interests of the Capitalist employers are against those of his customers who again try to exploit their workers in their own workshops and others who have their own looms. So all these parties should be equally represented.

The duty of such Boards should be to determine (1) the minimum time rate for the coolies working in the workshops of the employers, (2) the minimum piece-rate for different kinds of cloths of different designs and of different counts and the minimum time rate for all the workers, fixed on the understanding that the weavers standard of living should never go down lower than that of the weaver on the margin of subsistence. The first rate can be fixed in relation to the number of hours of work allowed per day and the standard of our weaver on the margin. The second rate can be fixed in relation to the customary wage, minimum standard of living, the estimate of the production of an average weaver and the considerations of what the market will bear.

The Local Committees should have authority to visit the workshop or worker of any employer and to ascertain whether the same kind of cloth entered in the books of the employer as being woven by his worker, is worked upon, whether proper wages are paid or not and so on.

There should be appointed an inspector for each centre, who is under the direct control of the Local Committee. He should be daily visiting workshops and workers to see that the orders of the Trade Board are carried out. To supervise the work of such inspectors,

there should be a supervisor for the whole of the Andhra country. Such a big staff is necessary because there is often a great danger of the local officers getting bribed and the employers trying successfully to evade the Board.

Every employer should be compelled to exhibit the rules and regulations passed, the rates fixed by the Board, in a prominent part of his workshop. Every one of his weavers and coolies should be supplied with a copy of such regulations and rates in their respective vernaculars. Every employer should enter in his books what kind of work was asked to be done by a weaver, how much yarn was given, how much wage was promised and how much was paid. The weaver should, in his turn, have a card on which all these particulars are entered. Whenever an inspection is made, these entries would be useful as checks.

STANDARD OF LIVING :—

(20) A study of the family budgets of the weavers of these district discloses the fact that the weavers spend much less money than is really needed and much less than they can usually afford upon cereals and other kinds of food while they spend much more than they should upon such items as tobacco, pansapari, festivities, ceremonies, marriages and, last but not least, drink. Every one of the weavers is anxious to put an appearance that he and his family are well fed and he puts on sandalwood (Gandham) profusely upon his forehead and shoulders so as to show that he is very well fed. But unfortunately he does not exhibit at least half as much anxiety in increasing the total consumption of cereals or the

variety of things consumed. (It is an irony of fate that while the workers in the textile industry of England are anxious to prove that they are obliged to go without sufficient food in order to make the public realize its responsibility towards their industry, our workers are making a pathetic attempt at an appearance of comfort and satisfaction even though they are suffering from under-consumption and under-nourishment, thereby letting the public sleep quietly in spite of the economic slavery and the social degradation of most of the workers in this industry.)

If we want the weavers in general to give up their wasteful habits of expenditure, to abstain from drink and the disproportionate expenditure upon pansupari and tobacco and to increase their consumption of such commodities as dhal, ghee, buttermilk, vegetables and mutton and if we desire that they should wear better clothing, shave themselves more frequently and enjoy oil-baths, we must institute a system by which honorary and official workers are appointed to promote better and cleaner living for every centre of handloom weaving. Without such an organisation it is of no avail to think of raising the earnings or wages of weavers because the real satisfaction and the amount of national welfare resulting from the expenditure of such money cannot be in any way greater than at present. Just as Textile Superintendents and textile experts are needed to effect technical improvements so also social workers are needed to effect all advantages of better living and better house-keeping. It will be a good policy if the Government can decide in favour of encouraging the communal organisations of

handloom weavers to appoint honorary workers, to organize Better Living societies to popularise the results obtained through the experiments made by the Textile Department and to minimise the drink evils by giving grants to such organisations at Rupees for every additional rupee spent by the associations.

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