

Gandhian Ideology, Swadeshi and the
Working of the Handloom Industry in
Coastal Andhra region
c. 1900-1950


A Thesis Submitted to the
University of Hyderabad
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
History

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled *Gandhian Ideology, Swadeshi, and the Working of the Handloom industry in Coastal Andhra, 1900-1950*, carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Atlury Murali. Reader. Department of History. School of Social Sciences. University of Hyderabad, is original and this has not been submitted for any other degree either in part or in full to any other University or this University.

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This is to certify that the thesis entitled *Gandhian Ideology, Swadeshi and the Working of the Handloom Industry in Coastal Andhra, Region c. 1900-1950*, submitted by N.K. Meera. in total fulfillment for the award of the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy in History*, is original and the work has been carried out under my supervision. The thesis or parts thereof has not been submitted for any other degree in this University or any other University.


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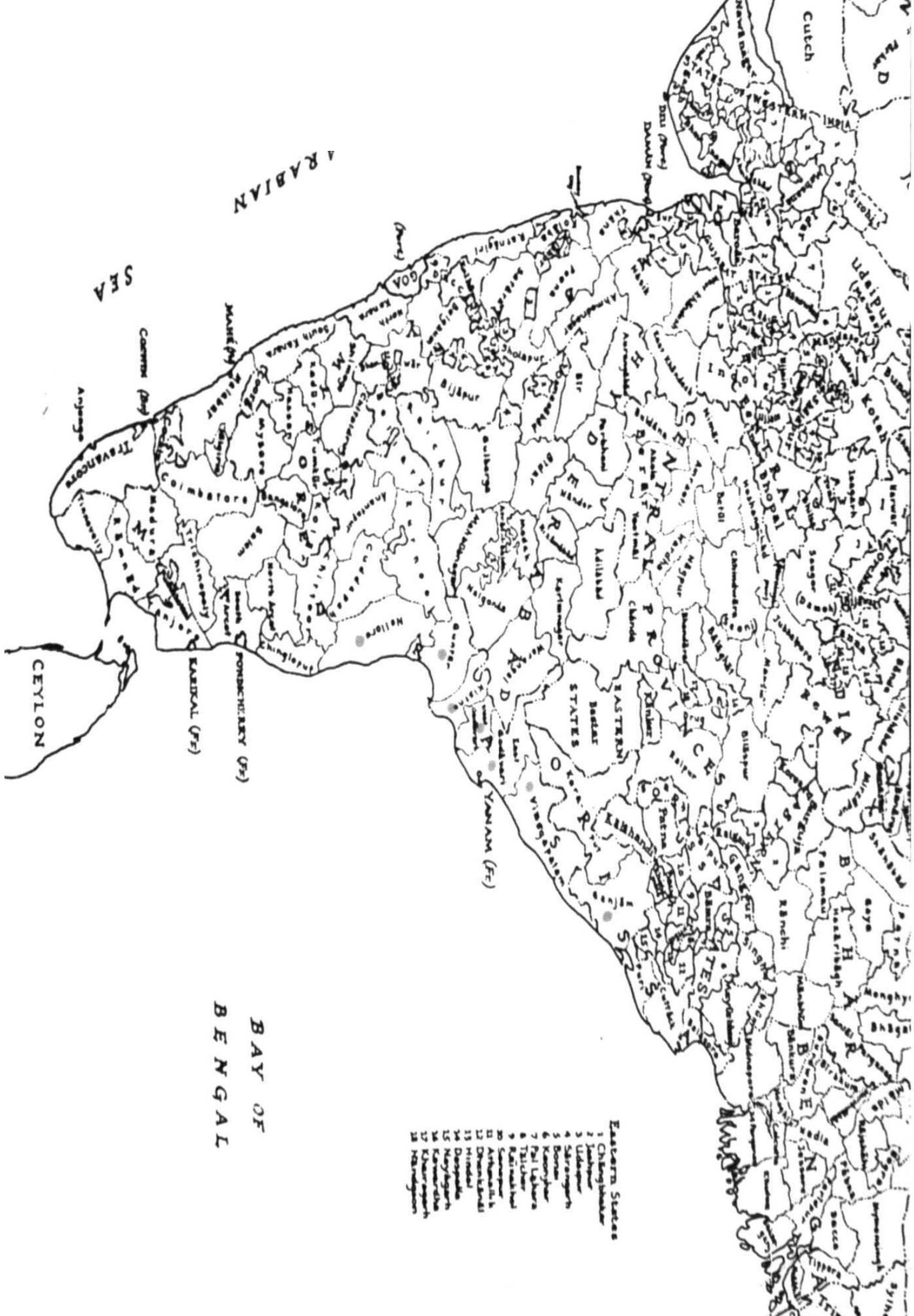
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BAY OF
BENGAL

- Eastern States**
- 1 Chhottanagpur
 - 2 Jharkhand
 - 3 Uttaranchal
 - 4 Bihar
 - 5 Orissa
 - 6 West Bengal
 - 7 Jharkhand
 - 8 Bihar
 - 9 Jharkhand
 - 10 Bihar
 - 11 Bihar
 - 12 Bihar
 - 13 Bihar
 - 14 Bihar
 - 15 Bihar
 - 16 Bihar
 - 17 Bihar
 - 18 Bihar

Abbreviations

AICC	All India Congress committee
AISA	All India Spinners Association
AIVIA	All India Village Industries' Association
APSA	Andhra Pradesh State Archives
CDS	Centre tor Development Studies
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
CW	Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi
Devl. Dept.	Development Department
EEC	Enquiry committee
EUR	Economic History Review
FFC	Fact Finding committee
HFS	Highlights of the Freedom Struggle
IESIIR	Indian Economic and Social History Review
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JPS	Journal of Peasant Studies
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
MIDS	Madras Institute of Development Studies
NAI	National Archives of India
NMML	Nehru Museum and Memorial Library
PBOR	Proceedings of the Board of Revenue
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
PA PHC	Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress
P & P	Past and Present
Rev. Dept.	Revenue Department
SS	Social Scientist
TNA	Tamil Nadu State Archives
USSF	Under Secretary's Safe Secret Files

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The theme of economic exploitation and oppression by the British colonialism has been a fundamental part of the rhetoric of Indian nationalism. It is generally argued that the Indian poverty was due to the interference of the British empire. The destruction of village industries, especially the Indian handloom through European competition and the failure to establish modern industries were pointed out as the most prominent of the consequences of the British rule¹

This study is an attempt to examine the impact of these historical processes and the ways in which the handloom weaver coped with it. The aim therefore, is to trace the changing history of the weaver community in the light of the changing patterns of the handloom industry with particular reference to the coastal districts of Andhra² belonging to the erstwhile Madras Presidency.

This study analyses the impact of historical processes relating it to the Gandhian ideology and its powerful impact on the material culture of the weaver community in the twentieth century.

¹A massive debate was sparked off by Daniel Thorner's refutation that deindustrialization resulted in a decline in the handicrafts sector and continued well into the twentieth century. Also this was not compensated by a sufficient rise of modern industry and as a consequence the Indian economy became more and more agricultural. See Daniel Thorner, "De industrialization in India, 1881-1931", in Alice and Daniel Thorner, *Land and Labour in India*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 70-81.

²Earlier known as the northern Circars, coastal Andhra is one of the three regions of Andhra Pradesh. It consists of Srikakulam, Vizagapatam, east Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, and Nellore districts. The northern Circars consisted of Ganjam, Vizagapatnam, Godavari which was acquired by the Nizam in 1766, Krishna from the Nizam in 1759 and 1768, and Palnad and the Nellore district from the Nawab of Carnatic in 1801. See S. Srinivasaraghaviangar, Inspector General of Registration, *Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of the British Administration*, Madras, 1893.

The genesis, growth and the economic aspects of *Swadeshi* have been reviewed with the specific purpose of understanding its transformed role under the guidance of Gandhi, particularly after 1905. How, during the last phase of the *Swadeshi* movement, i.e., in the Gandhian phase (1920-1948) the Congress became "truly national in its complexion and its composition changed from that of a Western educated minority group to a mass organization with *swaraj* as its only and ultimate goal", has also been discussed in detail.³

This study seeks in-depth to examine the influence of the Madras Government's policies, and how it evolved in the twentieth century and influenced the handloom weaver, both in the urban and the rural settings. In our study, in addition to the changes taking place within a society, consideration will also be given to the wider concerns of the external imperial power. Local economic and political institutions could and did respond in a rational manner to the expanding commercial opportunities. Further how did the small scale sector and its ancillary units succeed in adjusting textile output and trade to new demands within a new economic system in a relatively short span of time? In this study this is precisely what has been explored.

This study focuses on the Telugu speaking coastal districts (of the erstwhile Madras Presidency) which had a high concentration of handloom weavers and a long rich history of textile production. It was also a region in which the national struggle assumed a militant form. It is also suggested here that the handloom industry in this region was stronger than elsewhere perhaps due to the relatively more prosperous economy in which it

³ Krishnaswamy, "The north and the south in Indian history during the national movement" cited in S. P.Sen (ed), *The North and the South in Indian History: Contact and Adjustment*, Calcutta, 1976, pp. 194- 95.

was located. The coastal districts of the erstwhile Madras Presidency, i.e., Guntur, Nellore, Krishna, East and West Godavari and Vizagapatnam districts are taken as the best representative region for our study here, rather than the whole of south India, as it otherwise would get unwieldy.

The Madras Presidency is chosen for this study for several reasons. It was here that the ryotwari system of collecting land revenue from the individual cultivator was introduced in full rigour. Moreover the rates of revenue collected by the British were much higher in this Presidency than in any other part of India. Moreover, it was in south India that the caste system was particularly different compared to north India. Some historians even argued that, the strength of the caste system provides one method of estimating the number of agricultural labourers.⁴

A note on the cotton textile composition is necessary here. They compose a large group consisting of mill products as well as the textiles produced in the decentralized sector'. The mills are of two kinds-spinning mills which produce only yarn and composite mills which produce both yarn and cloth. The decentralized sectors are the ones (which we are here concerned with) consisting of handlooms, powerlooms and *khadi*.⁵ Yarn requirements of

⁴ For further elaboration on this see, Sharada Raju, *Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency, 1800-1850*, Madras, 1941. For information and statistics on landless labourers being the highest in the 1960s in the south, in relation to the total population in India, see Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India: Agricultural labour in the Madras Presidency during the Nineteenth century*, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 180-85.

⁵ *Khadi* means coarse spun yarn. According to the Cottage Industries' Act, the words 'khaddar' and 'khadi' whether in English or in any other Indian vernacular language when applied to any woven material would be deemed to be trade description within the meaning of the Indian Merchandise Marks Act 1889, indicating that such material is cloth woven on handlooms in India from cotton yarn handspun in India. This Act was passed by the Indian legislature and received assent of the Governor General on 13 March 1934. Refer to the *Act for the Promotion of Cottage Industries Industrial Legislation*, All India, The Khaddar (name protection) Act, 1934.

handlooms and the powerlooms are wholly met by mills which emphasize the close link between the two.⁶

In coastal Andhra cotton weaving could be divided into two classes: weavers weaving white cloth and those weaving coloured cloths. In the Krishna, Godavari, Vizagapatnam and Ganjam districts there were two distinct varieties of coloured cloths: the first was made at Chirala and Vetapalem and the other place was in the Krishna district. The specialty of these places was a well known and finely dyed cloth worn as *lungies* by Muslims throughout the northern Circars. The second variety of coloured cloths were woven at Rajam in the Vizagapatnam district. Regarding the material and manufacture they were generally superior in quality and the contrast of the richly worked bordered ends with the main background being very effective. These two classes of weavers were common to nearly all districts here.⁷

The handloom industry was pursued in almost every district of the Madras province particularly in West and East Godavari, Krishna, Nellore, Guntur and Vizagapatnam. The main castes employed in it being the *Kapus, Harijans, Padmasalis, Velamas, Telagas* and *Odayars*. The raw material for cotton was either grown by the spinners or bought and then ginned on a country gin called the *raatnam* carded with a bow and slivered usually by the *dudekulas*. The yarn was then spun on the *charkha*⁸ the wheel being

⁶D.U. Sastry, *The Cotton Textile Industry in India*. Madras, 1948, p.48.

⁷E.B. Haveli, "The Industries of Madras" (extract), *The Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. iii, Nos. 25 - 32, London, 1890.

⁸*Charkha* was formerly a tiny machine with only one spindle. A new *charka* was made in Bardoli with certain modifications in the old ones. The wheel in it was kept big to increase the speed of spinning and it had brass bearings in it to ensure smooth movement. The whole buildup was scientific and made strong to avoid rocking in action. The new modifications removed the defects of the old *charklia* namely the slipping of the belt and the rocking in action. The new modifications removed the defects of the old *charkhas*, of the spindle and the movement of the wheel and minor other imperfections. Gandhi carried on experiments with these *charkhas* during his incarceration in 1930-32, preferring

crude and primitive in many part of the districts. Some spinners spun it on the takli/spindle.⁹ The count of yarn spun varied from 6s to 120s and the finest was being spun at Ponduru, Chicacole in the Vizagapatnam district. The yarn was obtained from the cotton grown in its hilly tracts. The wages paid for ginning, carding and making sliver were more or less the same as in the adjoining districts of East and West Godavari. On an average it was estimated that each woman worked about 4 hours a day and spun about 5 *tolas* or 1000 yards of 8s to 10s earning about 4 *pics* a day and the monthly earning of an average spinner came to about 1 rupee per month.¹⁰

These Telugu speaking districts, it is emphasized were of a distinct strand in the fabric of India's national heritage. Prior to the First World War these handloom spinners did not face the increasing problems relating to high competitiveness, and accumulation of stocks or capital needs. But the first half of the twentieth century witnessed various economic and political influences by which the handloom workers faced increasing unsteadiness of yarn supplies.

the flat *charkha* to the vertical one. When the All India Spinners' Association decided to pay special attention to their efficiency and to improve their yarn quality, they kept this in mind. The *Yerawada charkha*, *kisans charkha* the *magan charkha* all were designed to improve the spinning output by 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 times. Among the mechanical *charkhas* Sri. Kale Kirloskar deserved special praise for introducing these new innovations. However, the mechanical *charkha* that was introduced by him, were not in accordance with the *khadi* principles and were soon withdrawn.

9 This was the easiest and the cheapest instrument for spinning. The discs of the old *takli* were made of stone and the spindles made of bamboo. They were improved subsequently and brass discs of correct weight and iron spindles were used later on. Yarn of fine and coarse, uniform and durable could be spun with the *takli*. Even though the speed of the *takli* was somewhat less than that of the *charkha*, it was the best instrument for attaining self-sufficiency in cloth.

¹⁰ See N.G.Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, Madras, 1930; D.Narayana Rao, *Preliminary Report of the Survey of Cottage Industries in the Vizagapatnam District*, Madras, 1929, p. 2.

To understand the various economic and political influences that came into operation a background of the growth of British rule in India and its impact on the cotton handloom industry is given below.

After the arrival of the British in India the cotton industry went through three broad phases. The first phase was where India exported a great deal of cotton goods to Europe and imported very little. In the early years of the British East India company (which virtually monopolised India's foreign trade after ousting the rival Dutch, French, Danish and Portuguese traders), exports from India consisted largely of calico and spices while imports into India consisted very largely of bullion. Protests from England condemning the East India Company's activities towards the end of the seventeenth century on the draining of bullion from England led to the imposition of heavy import duties on India's calicoes and even to complete banning of imports of certain varieties. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the textile revolution, in England enabling that country to produce finer cotton cloth at comparatively low prices which completely reversed the nature of India's trade with England within the next few years.¹¹

England commenced the export of yarn to India regularly from 1817 and touched the south Indian market in the twenties. Imports of yarn rose sharply in the 1830s and by 1845 they reached a million rupees. Imports into the Madras Presidency after 1850 reached a value of two million rupees and quintupled in the following two decades in terms of value as well as in quality. In the all India frame the south Indian yarn imports were only of secondary importance. However the share of Madras Presidency

¹¹See for further details, Dhires Bhattacharya, *A Concise History of India*, Calcutta, 1972, Chapter II, "A History of India's foreign trade and trade policies", pp. 135-45.

in total yarn imports continued to rise to almost 50% in 1889. In the districts of northern Coromandel coast famous for textile production the English yarn was not used much and was moreover, only restricted to certain localities. For example much more foreign yarn was used in the vicinity of the Madras port than in the distant areas.¹²

This state of affairs changed from the middle of the nineteenth century. Since then onwards, import of cotton piece goods represented about half the total imports of foreign merchandise into India. At the same time that the Indian cotton handicrafts were being ruined by competition from British factory goods, raw cotton from India marked a distinct niche in the British market, aided by the fact that Britain had become eager to reduce her extreme dependence on American sources of supply of cotton. Two major factors helped in the expansion of export of raw cotton and other raw materials from India: (i.) opening of the Indian countryside after the construction of railways, and (ii.) the shortening of the sea route to England by about 3,000 miles after the construction of the Suez canal (1869). Also the emergence of newly industrializing countries like Germany and Japan added to the demand for Indian raw materials. The last phase witnessed in the second half of the nineteenth century saw the growth of a mechanized cotton textile industry in India. The Indian factory textile industry began its swift growth in the early 1870s. While many of the early mills installed some looms, the primary emphasis was on the production of cotton yarn for handlooms.¹³

¹²Konrad Specker, "Madras handlooms in the nineteenth century, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, (hereafter, *IESHR*), Vol. 26, No. 2, 1989, pp. 131- 66.

¹³See A.K. Sen, "The pattern of British enterprise in India 1854-1914: A causal analysis", cited in Rajat Kanta Ray (ed.). *Entrepreneurship and Industry in India*, New Delhi, 1992, Chapter IV, pp. 109- 26.

Throughout the nineteenth century British producers sold only medium and fine count yarns in India never below 25s counts of yarn. Thus, the vast bulk of yarn required by Indian weavers that was used in the production of coarse count yarn was probably still being produced by hand as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Indian mills started by producing coarse count yarns which did not require them to compete with British mills; but with the local hand spinners. The cost structure was such that cheap labour made it impossible for the British mills to penetrate the coarse yarn market. Therefore, the situation such that, fine count yarn came in from abroad and coarse count yarn was produced by Indian mills.¹⁴

However the point to be noted is that the last decades of the nineteenth century saw a relatively faster expansion of the weaving section as opposed to spinning. Also the cotton textiles was a field which was largely developed by Indian capitalist enterprise. But by then, the mechanized cotton textile industry, in Lancashire had become powerful enough to compete successfully with the Indian handspinning and hand weaving industry. This resulted in a drastic decline of Indian exports, a sharp rise in Indian imports and a definite setback to the Indian pre-mechanized spinning industry.¹⁵ By the first half of the twentieth century, the industrial capitalist mode of production¹⁶ became dominant in the British empire (this aspect will be developed later on in this chapter).

¹⁴*ibid.*, pp. 109-26.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 109-26.

¹⁶In its most narrow sense the term "mode of production" refers here to the forces of production. That is, the natural resources, tools, scientific and technical knowledge and the human labour that puts them to use. The term "mode of production" is used specifically to refer to the extraction of surplus value by capital from wage labour utilising industrial forms of technology.

Therefore, what is perceptible is that in the nineteenth century, British industrial monopoly and domination of the world market began to weaken in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. In India the decline was far slower because the stranglehold was tenaciously held with the aid of political sovereignty. Even up to the war of 1914, Britain held fast to nearly two-thirds of the Indian market against the rest of the world. Yet even in India, the decline was slowly and steadily perceptible from the end of the nineteenth century onwards.

During the First World War, Indian mills consumed more of the yarn they previously sold and this forced a reduction of handloom activity during the boom period. What happened between the end of the First and the Second World War, is a matter of considerable debate. There is no doubt that the handloom share of the market continued to decline on an all India scale. The disagreement is over what happened to absolute output and this depends on how one estimates the supply of free yarn' available. The Fact Finding Committee, appointed to look into the conditions of the Indian mills and handlooms, concluded that yarn available to handlooms continued to rise so that in 1936-39 the supply averaged nearly 37% more than in 1906-07.¹⁷

S.D.Mehta on the other hand estimated that free yarn' supplies available to the non factory sector stagnated.¹⁸ But Mehta's conclusions follow from his choice of triennial periods for comparison. Using S.D.Mehta's data differently J. Krishnamurthy estimated that, the handloom output rose from an annual average

¹⁷*Report of the Fact Finding Committee* , (Mills and Handlooms), Ministry of Commerce, Delhi, 1942

¹⁸S.D. Mehta, *The Cotton Textile Industry: An Economic Analysis*, Bombay, 1953.

of over 965 million yards in the period 1902-03 and 1912-13 to 1,068 million yards in the period 1930-31 and 1937-38.¹⁹

Therefore what is emphasized is that, by the 1920s, Great Britain was definitely losing its hegemony which it enjoyed in the nineteenth century. From a peak of 24% in 1870, Great Britain's share of world trade had fallen to 14% before the First World War . In addition, its control over the international monetary system was also declining. Its problem in returning to and maintaining the gold standard in the twenties and its final abandonment of that system in 1931 signaled its loss of influence.²⁰

This found its echo in India in the 1930s and 1940s when Britain's financial and trade stakes in India rapidly declined, a process especially accelerated by the Second World War. The need to protect those elements of Britain's imperial position disappeared and there appeared a new rapprochement between Britain and Indian business and one which favoured Indian dominion hood. This argument is supported by recent writings by economic historians who argue that an economically and militarily depleted Britain was caught up in a vortex of unpremeditated and unpreventable forces and this forced it to accede its control over India. With this background it is easier to understand the growth of the Indian economy and its consequences on the handloom industry in India.

The biggest nationalist critique was, as is well known, propounded over issues of colonial economy which lie in the (i.)

¹⁹

J. Krishnamurthy, "Deindustrialisation in Gangetic Bihar during the nineteenth century: Another look at the evidence" in *IESHR*. Vol. XXII, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1985, pp.399-416.

See Helen Miller, "Trading places: Industries for **free trade**", *World Politics*, Vol. XL, July 1988, pp. 349-376. Elaborating further Wendy Takacs explains that: (a.) the cyclical state of the economy and (b.) the country's competitive position internationally were the principal determinants of the degree of protectionist pressure.

the drain of wealth, (ii.) de-industrialization and (iii.) the lack of indigenous capitalist development.

First, in exploring the concept of the drain of wealth, the core of the argument, i.e., is that a portion of the national product of India was not available for capital formation or consumption by her own people but was drained away to England for political reasons without getting an adequate economic, commercial or material return. The drain took the form of an excess of exports over imports - the difference between exports and imports being a broad measure of the drain. Economic drain had two aspects - external and internal. External drain occurred through a unilateral transfer of goods to England and would have been impossible without an internal drain. In order to meet the external drain commodities such as food grains and raw materials were exorted from the rural areas by oppressive land revenue, irrigation and other levies which compelled the cultivator to sell their crops which were in turn exported.

This happened mainly during the depression of the 1929-30 when large quantities of "distress gold" flowed from the rural to the urban areas where it flowed out again to England. Just as there was the unilateral transfer of wealth from India to England so was it a transfer **from** the poorer rural regions to the relatively affluent urban areas. This was the internal drain. Though scholars are in broad agreement on the existence of the drain what is contested is that, "it did not consist of the total sum involved" ²¹ or that it was exaggerated or overestimated.

Interrelated to the issue of the drain of wealth was the concept of de-industrialization. Notwithstanding a lot of debate

See Vera **Anstey**, *Economic Development of India*, London, 1957, pp. 601. Also see, Theodore Morrison, *Economic Transition in India*, London, 1911, pp. 188-92; **Sumit Sarkar**, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908*, New Delhi, 1973.

among historians and basing their conclusions on various quantitative analysis about the degree and extent of development of deindustrialization, what has emerged is that **deindustrialization** was definitely a fact with variations over different items and regions. It was part of a large scale socio-economic disruption that came about as a result of the "integration of the local economy with the commercially and industrially powerful economy of the metropolis."²²

Writing in the context of India in contrast to the other parts of the world which was experiencing the industrial revolution the English records termed this period variously as of, 'arrested development', 'de-industrialization', 'ruralization' and 'peasantization'.²³ The Board of Revenue recorded that there were countless references to a situation where the weavers were groaning under poverty and indebtedness mainly due to the very thin margin between the production cost and the sale price of their products.²⁴ This claim is contested in our study: we not only exposed the falsity of this but also offered evidence on the expansion of the secondary sector of the coastal Andhra regions in the twentieth century.

Industrialization, as J. Krishnamurthy defines it, means a rise in the share of manufacturing in total working force. But a rise in the ratio of workers in manufacturing to total workers is neither

²²For the larger debate on Wallerstein's concept of the working of the metropolis in relation to the local economy see, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World Economy 1730-1840*, San Diego, 1988 and Cambridge, 1975. Also see, Gyanendra Pandey, "Economic dislocations in the 19th. century U.P.: Some implications of the decline of the artisanal industry", cited in Peter Robb (ed), *Rural South Asia: Linkages, Changes and Development*, London, 1983, pp. 89-129.

²³The word peasantization was used in, *The Problem of India*, London, 1940, p. 89, and 108-109, cited in Alice and Daniel Thorner, "De industrialization in India", in their book, *Land and Labour in India*, Bombay, 1962'

²⁴*Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, Madras presidency, Madras, No.317, 6 Nov., 1896. See also its *Enclosure*, No. 1.

a necessary nor a sufficient condition for industrialization in any theoretical sense. By the same token a decline in manufacturing output per capita constitutes **deindustrialization**.²⁵

Though works by Morris D. Morris, Alice and Daniel Thorner, Amiya Kumar Bagchi, and Marika Vicziany have increased our understanding their prejudices have also to a large measure impeded our understanding of the contribution of this industry to the total output. Most of their arguments are based on quantitative data. Thorner pointed out by using census data that this de-industrialization thesis could not be sustained.²⁶ Subsequently in an elaborate study J. Krishnamurthy substantiated this conclusion.²⁷

It was given a fresh lease of argument by Amiya Kumar Bagchi with the population data compiled by Hamilton Buchanan's for Bihar and Bengal in the years 1809-13.²⁸ Comparing the Buchanan data for these years with the all India census data of 1901 for the same regions, Bagchi argues that there was a 10% drop in the secondary industry employment and almost 50% fall in the absolute number of such labourers."⁹ This was refuted by Alastair Orr and Marika Vicziany by arguing that the data of Hamilton

²⁵ J. Krishnamurthy, "Changes in the composition of the working force in manufacturing sector 1901-1951, *IESHR*, Vol. 4, No. 1, May 1967, pp. 1-16.

Morris D. Morris, *et al*, *Indian economy in the Nineteenth Century*, New Delhi, 1969.

J. Krishnamurthy, "Deindustrialization **revisited**", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (hereafter *EPW*), Vol. 26, No. 26, June 1976.

D. H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, New York, 1939.

²⁹

Refer to A.K. Bagchi, "Deindustrialization in India in the nineteenth century: Some theoretical implications", *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. xii, No. 2, January 1976, pp. 135-64.

Buchanan was highly suspect and therefore cannot sustain the above argument.³⁰

The debate on de-industrialization remains inconclusive for this period. Later on in an elaborate manner Colin Clark presented a table purporting to show that from 1881 to 1911, the proportion of the working force engaged in manufacture and construction fell from 35% to 17%.³¹ But Konrad Specker in his recent work on the handlooms remarked that what the classical debate about the fate of the Indian textile sector of the nineteenth century has overlooked was the quantitative product and region wise specific dimensions of the developments.³²

The attempt here is to demonstrate that in the twentieth century an analysis of changes in the working force engaged in manufacturing must take into account the changes in the pattern of output and degree of capital intensity in manufacturing . But this hypothesis can only be tested with data on output in manufacturing and the share of total output in economy. This is precisely what is done here keeping the larger arguments in the background but testing it on a micro-level.

Production is of course only one index of measuring prosperity. When British officials and Indian nationalists talked about decline of the handloom industry they had in mind more visible evidence, i.e., the decline in living standards. This was especially true of central Bihar where the weavers expended much

³⁰Marika Vicziany, "The deindustrialization of India in the 19th. century: A methodological critique of A.K. Bagchi", *IESHR*, Vol. xiv, No. 2, 1979, pp. 105-146, and see. A.K.Bagchi, "A reply", pp. 147-61.

³¹Referred to by Daniel Thorner and Alice Thorner, "Deindustrialization in India", cited in Alice and Daniel Thorner, *Land and Labour in India*, pp. 70-81.

³²Konrad Specker, "Madras Handlooms in the 19th. century", *IESHR*, Vol. 26, No. 2, April-June 1989, pp. 131-66.

more labour per pound of material on weaving of fine cloth than those weavers who produced coarse cloth.³³

There is evidence at least in the late nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century that available yarn consumed by the handlooms was on the increase - though evidence for the inter-war period is less certain. Morris D. Morris is of the opinion that handloom production at worse must have slightly diminished or conversely it might have increased significantly.³⁴

For the nineteenth century, Morris D. Morris argued that Manchester exported both cloth and yarn. While British cloth was competitive with Indian handloom production, machine made yarn seems to have strengthened the competitive position of the indigenous handloom sector despite the fall in cloth prices. Therefore, the demand for cloth in India seems to have been fairly elastic. Second, there seemed a shift away from inferior fabrics to cotton. The handloom weavers were "at least no fewer in number and no worse off economically at the end of the period than at the beginning".³⁵ However Bipan Chandra debates this contention of Morris D. Morris. The debate centres around the identification of the demand curve and at a later stage the measurement of its elasticity. However the particular problem that is faced here is that while one has data on imports of British cloth into India and their price, there is in comparison very little information on the domestic

In 1918 the Indian Industrial Commission gave the following examples of manufacturing costs (i.e. the cost of labour per lb. of yarn):

Fine turbans: Rs. 4-3-8

Intermediate quality of cloth for *dhoties*, Rs. 1-2-4

Coarse cloth: 7 *annas* per LB. (1 rupee =16 *annas*)

Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, Calcutta, 1918, Appendix I, p. 394.

³⁴ For an extended debate on this see also, Colin Simons, "Deindustrialization, industrialization and the Indian economy, c.1850-1947", *Modern Asian Studies* (hereafter *MAS*). Vol. 19, No. 3, 1985, pp. 593-622.

Morris D. Morris, "Towards a reinterpretation of nineteenth century", *IESHR*, Vol. V, No. 1 March 1968.

cloth industry as to the output, price and even the number of weavers in the nineteenth century. This is the main issue that Bipan Chandra argues upon when he remarks: "How can one identify the demand curve for cotton textile let alone estimate its elasticity or its shift, given the little information about the weavers of the nineteenth century"?³⁶

The relationship between cotton to yarn to handloom cloth is direct for the first half of the nineteenth century. For the second half of the nineteenth century the Indian factory production of yarn and cloth has to be taken into account. Furthermore, Morris D. Morris argued that cheaper cloth prices, increasing population, changes in cotton and a shift away from inferior fabrics so raised demand that "at worst, the vast expansion of British cloth exports to India skimmed off the expanding demand. The handloom weavers were at least no lower in number and no worse off economically at the end of the (19th. century) than at the beginning".³⁷ This bold formulation of Morris provoked a set of responses criticizing his approach with varying degrees of intensity.³⁸

Comparatively, the proportion of the population when compared to the total industrial population of all India figures, fell from 62% in 1801-13 to 15% in 1901.³⁹ Further small scale producers, manufacturing cotton, silk and woolen textiles, declined from 2.4 million in 1911 to 2.2 million in 1951. However as machine

³⁶ Bipan Chandra, "Reinterpretation of nineteenth century Indian economic history", *IESHR*, Vol. V, No. 1, March 1968, pp. 35-75.

Morris D. Morris, "Reinterpretation", p. 9.

See for their specific criticism, Tapan Raychaudhuri, "A reinterpretation of nineteenth century Indian economic history?" pp. 77-100, Toru Matsui, "On the nineteenth century Indian economic history- A review of a "reinterpretation", pp. 17-33, and Bipan Chandra, "Reinterpretation of nineteenth century Indian economic history", pp. 35-75, in *IESHR*, Vol. V, No. 1, 1968.

See A.K. Bagchi, "Deindustrialization in India in the 19th. century: Some theoretical implications", pp. 135-64.

spun yarn supplanted handspun yarn and as the fly shuttle replaced the throw shuttle in parts of India, output per worker in handloom production must have risen. The all India handloom production rose from 965 million yards in 1902-03 and 1912-13 to 1068 million yards in 1930-31 and 1937-38, proving that this major traditional activity was marked by rising output per worker. But taking the entire manufacturing sector into account, its share in total employment did not decline if we rely on the figures for males. But if estimated in total, i.e., along with females and males, figures show a decline from 9.6% in 1911 to 8.7% in 1951.⁴⁰

Although the overall effect on Indian economic activity was small two qualifications have to be kept in mind. First, the absolute numbers were not insignificant. Employment in cotton and jute industries in India was on a very large scale when compared to employment in the same industries in foreign countries. Second, factory employment tended to be concentrated in specific districts and probably had a somewhat greater effect than all India figures might suggest. Employment grew at different rates and in relative importance it declined in (speaking in context of one of the oldest industries) cotton textiles and jute industries. None of the important newer industries ever provided employment on such a massive scale as the cotton handloom industry of the rural areas.⁴¹

Whatever the ultimate implications, the direct impact of the industrial developments of the colonial period on the occupational distribution of the Indian labour force was minuscule. After nearly a century of growth of the modern factory activity, the average daily employment in registered factories, though increasing to more than five fold between 1900-01 and 1946-47 from 5,39,000 to

Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste*, pp. 644-45.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 644-45.

2,654,000 still amounted to less than 2% of the Indian labour force in the latter year.⁴² Therefore, the argument of Konrad Specker that to talk about a flourishing handloom textile market buckling under its pressure or getting deindustrialized is too simple an answer to the complex changes that were occurring in colonial Indian economic life seems to be reasonable.

Recent studies provide information on the rich variety of the economic system of markets of exchange that flourished within the textile economy. There is evidence at least in the late nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century that was brought to light on various studies on the handloom industry at a micro-level/regional basis. For the present century, N.K. Kulkarni's study of Ichalkaranji's handlooms, Peter Harnetty's on central Bihar, M.S.Khan's on Coimbatore mills, Sujata B. Patels on Ahmedabad handlooms, and P.C. Mahopatra's on Orissa looms, studies by Raghuvir Sahai on the weaving of cotton in the Nizam's dominions and Ruma Chatterji's work on the Bengal handlooms all speak against the simplistic view that the Indian economy was dichotomous- the traditional versus that of the modern- or the vast rural countryside against the urban.⁴³ Another recent study summarized that in the twenties and the thirties of the twentieth century the weavers were forced to adapt themselves to changes in

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 642-43.

⁴³For their regional specific studies see, N. K. Kulkarni, "The weaving industry of Ichalkaranji", *Artha Vijnana*, Vol. v, 3, No. i, 1961, pp. 1-9; Peter Harnetty, "Deindustrialization revisited: The handloom weavers of the central provinces of India, c. 1800-1947", *MAS*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1991, pp. 455-510; Ruma Chatterji, "The Tasar silk industry and its decline in Bengal and south Bihar: 1872-1921", *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. xvii, Nos.1-2, July 1990-Jan. 1991, pp. 174-92; P.C. Mahopatra, *Handlooms in India, Economics of Cotton handloom Industry in India*, New Delhi, 1986; Raghuvir Sahai, *Report on the Survey of the Handloom Weaving and Dyeing industries in H.E.H. -the Nizams' dominions, Hyderabad-Deccan*, Published, 28 Feb. 1933.

Government policies, major structural changes in the industry, and influences on their indigenous technology.⁴⁴

During the First World War, owing to the shortage of shipping space, the shipment of the low quality piece goods to the Indian market from Britain was curtailed by the decision of the British Cotton Control Board. The import duty on cotton piece goods was raised from 3 1/2 % to 7 1/2% in 1917, but the excise duty on cotton piece goods remained unchanged at 3 1/2%. The import of yarn on which handlooms depended fell because of diversion of resources in Great Britain due to the war effort and because of shortage of shipping. The combined effect of all these developments, resulted in a fall in imports of piece goods and yarn, a fall in the outlet of handlooms and a rise in the output of cotton piece goods by mills. The relative fall in the price of raw cotton also helped the output of cotton piece goods in the Indian mills. The War also led to the invasion of the Indian market by Japan producers of cotton goods. It is certain that the War hastened the process of displacement of Manchester piece goods in the Indian market by the products of Indian and Japanese mills. However, the increase in Japanese exports to India was due to the fact that the Japanese mills were overtaking and surpassing the Indian ones in efficiency.⁴⁵

The tariff policy of the Government of India in relation to the cotton textile industry after First World War was formulated, keeping in view three major considerations: (i.) the need to raise revenue during the years immediately following the war, (ii.) the

⁴⁴Haruka Yanagisawa, "The handloom industry and its market structure: The case of the Madras presidency in the first half of the twentieth century", *IESHR*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 1993, pp. 1-27.

⁴⁵Arno S. Pearse, *The Cotton Industry of India: Being the Report of the Journey to India*, Manchester, 1930, pp. 172-74.

necessity of protecting Indian produce and the exports from Great Britain to India from Japanese competition and (iii.) the need to preserve a large section of the Indian mill industry from extinction during the thirties. Japan became a far more serious competitor of Indian mills than Lancashire because (a) many Indian mills enjoyed an advantage over Lancashire mills (in respect of wage-cost per unit of output) whereas the position was reversed with respect to Japanese mills and (b) Japan also sold the coarser kinds of cloth in which the Indian mills specialised before 1930.⁴⁶

Christopher J. Baker's study on the handloom weaving industry in Tamil Nadu showed how far its development ran counter to the apparent all India trends.⁴⁷ The handloom weaving industry in Tamil Nadu began to expand in the nineteenth century precisely when it should have gone into decline in the face of the ever growing competition from Indian mills. In fact, the handloom sector grew faster than the factory industry and by 1939, supplied 60% of the market for cloth in the Madras Presidency. This expansion was based in part on the home market, but export to South East Asia quadrupled between the late 1880s and 1920's. Production was organized through various forms of putting out while many families looked upon the manufacture of coarse cloth as a form of social security. They required working capital and the problems of marketing cloth were sufficiently complex to require specialised knowledge precisely because many fly shuttles turned to handloom weaving when the local economy was depressed,

⁴⁶See, Arno S. Pearse, *The Cotton Industry of India: Being the Report of the journey to India*, pp. 172-74. Also for a comparison with Japan costs see, *The Report Regarding the Grant of Protection to the Cotton Textile Industry*, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 112-13 & 206; D.H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, New York, 1934, (Reprint), London, 1966.

⁴⁷See, C.J. Baker, *An Indian Rural Economy, The Tamil Nadu Country side*. New Delhi, 1984, pp. 393-413.

there was a continuous risk of overproduction and the demand for and supply of both labour and cloth had to be carefully Co-ordinated between the two World Wars.

The internal economy of the Presidency was subjugated to violent fluctuations of prices and demand arising from its relationship with the international economy. The cost of production for handloom workers as well as the price of cloth also tied to unstable agricultural prices which were highly vulnerable to internal and external fluctuations. The effects of these conditions were registered in a growing emphasis among handloom capitalists upon coarser goods, an increasing concentration of control over the working capital in the industry, the development of largely and more loosely organized production system or the emergence of large putting out networks and a shift of location of the industry, towards the towns.⁴⁸

This instability did however, encourage the handloom capitalists to diversify their interests in buying lands, trading in the mill made piece goods and investing in film industry.⁴⁹ The decline of the export trade in the fine goods had undermined the master weavers engaged in luxury production and restricted the independence of the skilled independent weavers from the traditional weaving communities, like the Devangas, Kaikolars and the Padmasalis. As the number of weavers producing coarse cloth increased their incomes fell and the extent of regular employment which was available declined. Many were forced to seek work elsewhere, turning to agricultural labour or service employment in towns. A recent study also points out that, consequently in the

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Carol Boyack Upadhyay, "The farmer capitalists of coastal Andhra", EPW, Vol. XXIII, No. 27, July 1988, pp. 1376-82.

Madras Presidency, the industry was becoming more part time than permanent. By the year 1948, it was declining due to mainly the pressures from factory competition.⁵⁰

Indian mills tended not to improve the range of products to compete with Lanchashire imports, but to remain specialised within a wide variety of low count yarns and cheap piece goods. In areas of Madras, a partial shift to higher counts was achieved. The barriers to finer goods production, Lanchashire's domination of domestic marketing channels, the lack of suitable long staple cotton for finer yarns (when a large percentage of domestic long staple cotton was exported from Madras), the insecurity of tariff protection under the colonial state, the lack of skilled technical and managerial personnel and the incapacity to mobilise sufficient capital all tended to contain Indian production within the coarser varieties.⁵¹ Also the immense complexity and fragmentation of the rural cloth market gave marketing a dominant position within this industry.

The Non co-operation movement launched in 1920 and its programme of boycott and *Swadeshi* contributed to the definite strengthening the position of the weaver in coastal Andhra. What is investigated is the position of weaver in this complex interplay of economic forces where the switch over from machine spun yarn (a part of the survival technique) adopted by the weavers and then again re-switching to weaving of coarse *khaddar* under the influence of Gandhi resulted in the development of new networks of credit and marketing. The changing demand in quality standards,

⁵⁰Christopher J. Baker, *An Indian Rural Economy, The Tamil Nadu Country side*, pp. 402-13.

⁵¹See, Amiya Kumar Bagchi, *Private Investment in India 1900-1939*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 235-36.

technical innovations and the co-operative movement offered alternatives, thereby strengthening the resolve of the weaver.

From the beginning, the controversy that evolved over what kind of industrial development would suit India was handled not from the economic angle alone. Due to the singular circumstances of traditional India, social and ideological issues also had to be taken into account. Indian thinkers began to be conscious of the social and economic disadvantages that would accompany the coming of a large scale industrial West. Therefore, a search had begun for the particular path that would preserve the virtues of an Indian traditional society but combined with methods that would solve its economic problems.⁵²

The solution to this was given in *The Dawn* of April 1900 which explained that the remedy lay first (i.) in organizing most of the industries on a family handicraft basis confining large scale capitalist industry to only a few exercises like engineering projects, railways, etc., and second (ii.) by organizing a corporate ethical life. "By giving to each class a fixed reorganized and independent place in the social organism but all cooperating in such ordered-ordination as to work for the advantage of whole as to further the spiritual evolution of each ascending grade and of the whole Indian society."⁵³

It was this nascent *Swadeshi* movement, that was encouraged and given momentum by the entrepreneurs mainly to counteract foreign industrial interests. With the spread of English language a middle class consisting of men of commerce, bankers,

⁵²This point is borrowed from Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, p.104.

⁵³Satish Chandra Mukherjee, (Editor), "The Indian Economic Problem", *The Dawn*, April 1900, p. 265-266, cited in Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India 1880-1905*, New Delhi, 1982, p. 14.

doctors and other professionals had emerged more powerful than in any other time in the past. The commercial activities had also forced the foreign concerns to train the Indians in technical subjects and even employ them at a senior level to run their activities. Apart from other factors it was the *Swadeshi* movement that encouraged and acted as a catalyst to the Indian social groups to contemplate on the development of an industrial sector in India itself.⁵⁴

Though the ideas of boycott and *Swadeshi* were advocated earlier in the writings of M.G. Ranade, extremist leaders like Aurobindo, Balagangadhar Tilak and Bipan Chandra Pal gave it more comprehensive meaning. Boycott was to be passive resistance on four major fronts: economic, educational, administrative, judicial and to a lesser extent religious.⁵⁵

The *Swadeshi* spark also ignited the movement towards the artistic revival of indigenous crafts and to protect the rich traditions from the onslaught of the burgeoning mill industry and chemical dyes. All the stirrings of an idealist philosophy of social progress, stressing the integrity of a community depending on self help was evidently the theme stressed on time and again by art critics. Ananda Coomaraswamy is a case in point.⁵⁶ Attracted by the rich tradition of aesthetic patterns of the traditional handicrafts, art lovers, like, Sir George Birdwood and Edgar B. Haveli pressurised the Government to encourage and preserve the Indian art and handicrafts to a large extent.

⁵⁴G. K. Shirokov, *Industrialisation in India*, New Delhi, 1980.

⁵⁵Amala Tripathi pointed out that through boycott the extremist leaders helped to strike at the root of the British prestige. "The psychological reaction to benevolent despotism was to be benevolent indifference." For further discussion on this see, Amala Tripathi, *The Extremist Challenge*, Calcutta, 1967.

⁵⁶Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Art and Swadeshi*, Madras, N.D., pp. 3-5.

The role of Government in advancing or impeding economic growth had been a major theme in relation to the twentieth century especially in the context of colonial intervention in countries like India. From 1877 onwards, it cannot be denied that the British Government had actively participated in almost all spheres of economic activity and made many attempts to introduce various commercial crops including the establishment of experimental farms, the grant of advances to cultivation and rewards for excellence in production and the distribution of new varieties of seeds. These measures were taken up for nearly all cash crops but more particularly and rigourously for cotton.⁵⁷

As a result of the efforts of more than half a century a tremendous increase in the output of cotton was effected. While in 1805 the imports of raw cotton into the Presidency, amounted to Rs. 20,00,000 and the exports to Rs. 1,00,000, the imports rose to the value of Rs. 19,709 and exports rose to Rs. 58,22,790 in 1850-51. But interesting to note is the fact that in spite of all the exertions of the Government on the quality of cotton, the methods of cultivation and the implements used by the ryots remained practically the same throughout the nineteenth century.⁵⁸

Coming to the twentieth century, the colonial rulers (basing on the doctrine of *laissez faire*, prior to the First World War) held that the Government was not equipped to further industrial development by direct action and that all matters should be left to private enterprise. Therefore, before 1914 the state assistance to industry was meager and took two forms: (a) a wholly inadequate provision for technical education and (b) a half hearted attempt at

⁵⁷ See Sharada Raju, *Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency*, Chapter VI, on Crop Production, pp. 96-101.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

commercial and industrial information.⁵⁹ This situation changed after the First World War.

However, it was not until the year 1920 when the Indian Industrial Commission (appointed in May 1916) put forward definite recommendations and the section of the state sent despatches recommending that, "in future the Government should directly participate in the Industrial development of the country and the Government should be provided the necessary administrative infrastructure, i.e., the scientific and technical advise and equipment that was needed". On 15 May 1920, the Governor of Madras Presidency convened a conference and the Board of Industries was created in the Presidency. It was attended largely by the commercial and industrial interests of Madras region as well as the members of the Legislative Council. The Presidency was divided into 5 divisions for organisational convenience. It had the main head quarters at Bezawada, Bellary, Coimbatore, Madurai, and Madras. (Bezawada division had the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatnam, Godavari, Guntur and Krishna). Each division was duly placed under the supervision of an Assistant Director whose duties were mainly, the collection and dissemination of commercial and industrial intelligence and the supervision of weaving parties within his jurisdiction.⁶⁰

The pioneering factories which were run on commercial lines approved by the Director of Industrial and Technical Enquires was consented to with reluctance. The British business community regarded the efforts of the new Director who was appointed, i.e., Alfred Chatterton, as unfair competition calculated to drive private

⁵⁹ Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism*, p.113.

⁶⁰ *Annual Report of the Department of Industries*, for the Year ending 31 March 1921, Madras Presidency, Madras, 1922, pp. 1-2.

enterprise from the field. Their fundamental objection was articulated invoking the general principle that, the Government should restrain itself only to governing and not to indulge in silly schemes".⁶¹

However, this was not the opinion of all India Government's advisors on industrial policy. Many of them were sympathetic to Indian cottage industries and its handicrafts than factory based ones. They tended to see the principal function of an industrial policy as that of excluding protection as a defense of the handicrafts especially the art industries against the rise of factories. These fundamental disagreements over the best path to encourage industrialisation and the kind of industry to be adapted were never properly resolved. These found its echo in the Congress ranks and persisted beyond the fifties.

The attack by the nationalists over the drain of wealth' was defended by the Britain on grounds that the railways, plantations, irrigation, etc. were after all 'modernising' India. However, recent studies have proved that this modernisation theory requires several qualifications, for it did not always lead to genuine capitalist farming.⁶² Shahid Amin in his recent work on Gorakhpur demonstrated elaborately that a simple enlargement of market or arrival of small peasant production did not strive to

See, *Papers relating to the Industrial Conference held at Ootacamund*, Madras, 1908; See also the note by A. J. Yorke, Chairman of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, 14 Sept. 1908, pp. 194-96.

⁶²Recent reviews debated that thriving handicraft manufacturing centres by no means guaranteed a smooth transition to industrialism. Proto-industrialization in south Asia as in other areas of the world fueled the industrialization of the core of the world economy without establishing the basis for the region's own industrial transformation. To simplify, the term 'proto-industrialization, as a general concept, is used here to locate the origins of industrialization in a particular analytical configuration of a rural industry, an agricultural specialization, presence of merchant capitalism and a household organization. In theoretical orientation, the term of reference varied. See Geoff Eley, "The social history of industrialization: Proto-industry and the origins of capitalism", *Economy and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 4, November 1984, pp. 519-39.

change or capitalize the mechanics of small peasant production.⁶³

An interplay of internal tensions and external pressures began to create the India of the twentieth century. The change that was wrought was not dramatic but a continuous transformation and adaptation by the traditional institutions and groups of people. The handloom weaver in this scenario, chose new techniques that seemed more profitable and moulded it to achieve economic benefits. The complex pattern of rural and urban re-distributive system and the demand in both internal and external markets created conditions which necessitated the weaver to change the quality standard of cloth and to come out of their seclusion and be linked up with a wider market network.

However, the transition was not a very smooth one for the weavers, speaking in context of south India. Alfred Chatterton, writing in the first decades of twentieth century found that the handloom weavers being, the most difficult of the artisans of south India he had work with. Though he did not attribute their conservatism solely to the Indian conditions these weavers he remarked, when faced with competition from the powerloom, worked longer hours for a small income and preferred to face famine at close quarters rather than surrender their way of life.⁶⁴ Chatterton also observed that the willingness of the weavers to accept innovation varied from place to place. In large centres such

To use the general argument, Shahid Amin's study points out that, on the contrary, the newer systems of trading and credit took advantage of the peculiarities of the processes of small peasant production already existing and further deepened the dependence of small peasants by superimposing themselves upon the existing structure. This was what was increasingly being recognized in the context of colonial India in which- exchange and production relations assumed their full significance only in the context of their role and place within the processes of production and the economic conditions of peasantry in a given area. Shahid Amin, *Sugarcane and Sugar in Gorakhpur- An Enquiry into Peasant Production for Capitalist Enterprise in Colonial India*, Delhi, 1984.

⁶⁴ Alfred Chatterton, *Industrial Evolution in India*, Madras, 1912 p. 252-53.

as Conjeevaram, Madurai and Salem he achieved no success in popularising the fly shuttle. In Guntur and Krishna districts the weavers were more responsive and by the end of 1911 nearly 11,000 fly shuttles were being working in the coastal districts. A probable cause for this difference in adaptation of new techniques could be the greater rigidities of the caste system in the urban centres of Conjeevaram, Madurai and Salem compared to the coastal districts of Andhra.⁶⁵

One can infer from this fact that Telugu districts were more receptive to outside ideas. On the other hand the three principal weaving castes of the Tamil areas like the Devangas, Padmasalis and Kaikolars, had developed a very high degree of dependence on middlemen as early as the Vijayanagara period and this aspect continued for the next few centuries in one form or the other. This it is suggested, could have affected their ability to respond to technical innovations.⁶⁶

Hamza Alavi and others emphasized that in the nineteenth and twentieth century Indian economy was colonial/peripheral capitalist production and not metropolitan like in England. Elaborating further, Alavi explains that though generalized commodity production came to characterize Indian economy, it was disarticulated internally as a large proportion of India's commodities were sold in Britain, while most of the manufactured goods purchased in India were made in Britain. In essence, Alavi argues that India's commodity production and exchange were deeply impoverishing the weaver, the profits from both commodities sold abroad and those brought from abroad to India

⁶⁵See, Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste*, pp. 45-47

⁶⁶See, Richard Frasca, "Weavers in pre-modern south India", *EPW*, Vol. X, 1975, pp. 1119-22.

went mainly to the British firms and were eventually remitted to the metropolis. It is this well known drain of capital that kept the Indian economy in a condition of partial industrialisation. Therefore, he emphasises, there is a distinct separation of the colonial mode of production from the capitalist mode as a whole and the colonial economy was extricably linked with metropolitan capital but in a subordinate position.⁶⁷

What is relevant to note in our study is that production relations were not identified with those in the metropolitan industrial countries. By and large as the old technology and methods of labour continued to be used, so also the extraction of surplus value was mainly that of absolute rather than of a relative surplus value. This aspect was seen in the handicrafts industry and in fields such as weaving for local consumption which employed pre-industrial technology for most part and did not increase in any significant way in the basic composition of capital.⁶⁸

Amiya Kumar Bagchi has demonstrated that although there was animosity from the manufacturing interests in Britain and their

The internal disarticulation of a large proportion of India's commodities resulted in the profits being eventually remitted to the metropolis. To elaborate, in the metropolitan economies the surplus value that is generated contributes to capital accumulation in them. On the other hand the extraction of surplus value from the peripheral capitalist societies by metropolitan capital results in corresponding accumulation of capital and rise in organic composition of capital not in the economy that generates the surplus value but in the metropolitan economy that appropriates it. Here again, the structural conditions that determines the peripheral capitalist structure is completed only by the virtue of the link of the peripheral capitalist society with the metropolis. In the light of the distinct ways in which these two crucial conditions are fulfilled and recognizing that both are capitalist, Alavi has shown that they both fulfill the conditions of the capitalist mode of production. Finally he concludes that the structure of the peripheral capitalism and the dynamics of its development by virtue of these differences are quite distinct from those of the metropolitan countries. See Hamza Alavi, "Structure of colonial formations", in Utsa Patnaik, *Agrarian Relations and Accumulation: The mode of production' Debate*, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 165-80.

⁶⁸See Hamza Alavi, "India and the colonial mode of production", EPW, Special number, August 1975, and Kathleen Gough, "Mode of Production in south India", EPW, Vol. XV, No, 5, 6 & 7, Feb. 1980, pp. 337-65.

agents in India to make any concerted effort for industrial development, the real handicap lay in the system which would permit the smooth transfer of resources from India through the traditional sources of land revenue and home charges. The magnitude of expenditure necessary for industrial development in the colony would have jeopardized the flow of surplus capital to the metropolis and therefore funds for it were meager and tightly controlled in the Presidency.⁶⁹

Another view projected is that, it was during the Civil Disobedience movement that the Congress (with its branches **operating** in the deltas) found support in its agitations among the cream of the local society. Wealthy landholders and prominent traders particularly those involved in production poured in funds for the Congress: the Rice Mill owners Association of Guntur financed the local Congress, the Masulipatnam Grain Association provided a free mess for Congress volunteers and the Reddi Grain traders of Nellore and the Cotton merchants of Bezawada led Congress agitations in the coastal regions.⁷⁰

In the towns of east Godavari, the civil disobedience was the work of a handful of prominent lawyers and merchants who resented the pervasive influence of the Raja of Pitthapuram in the local politics.⁷¹ In these and other Congress demonstrations the butt of the campaigns was not always the *raj* but also those who had profited from the political circumstances of the 1920s. It was this that had in part made the campaigns more intense in the deltas and in the towns, for in these areas there were many people who

Amiya Bagchi, *Private Investment in India*, See Introduction.

⁷⁰See *The Hindu*, 31 Mar. 1930, 11 Nov. 1930, 3 April 1930 and 16 Mar. 1931.

⁷¹See *The Hindu*, 9 Sept. 1930.

could not find a satisfactory niche in the local Government.⁷² This is another view that is projected. Therefore, what is suggested is that though various responses and motivations to the *khadi* movement by various groups participating in it may have been different, the rich industrialist and the poor weaver alike was equally involved in it.

Lastly, to elaborate on the lack of indigenous capitalist development, there are studies that have categorised the Indian capitalist class as undergoing rapid spurts of growth especially during the depression and during the Second World War when the ties of the colonial economy with the metropolis had considerably weakened. However, the dependent position of the Indian capitalism was maintained as the " structural aspects of colonialism were at no stage shattered or transformed ... the result (being) merely industrial growth and not industrial revolution".⁷³

However, it can be concluded that while on the one hand the Indian capitalist class fought for the expulsion of foreign capital or at least for keeping it out the key industries, on the hand it was compelled to seek assistance from foreign capital and even allowed for direct investments though controlled and regulated by the state. This, Bipan Chandra argues, is an aspect of the dependent nature of Indian capitalism and did not reflect fully the attitude of the capitalist class.⁷⁴ Most interpretations have attributed the unsatisfactory performance of the Indian economy and the limited

⁷²See Christopher J. Baker, *The Politics of South India, 1920-1937*, Cambridge, 1976, pp. 169-244.

Bipan Chandra, Presidential Address delivered at the Indian History Congress at the Modern Indian History section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 32nd. session held at Jabulpur, December, 1970, p. 21.

⁷⁴Bipan Chandra, "Capitalist Class and Imperialism", Paper read at Seminar on 'Imperialism, Independence and Social Transformation in the Contemporary World', held at New Delhi, March 1972. For an elaboration on this also see his book, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 144-70.

scale of modern industrial development either to British policy which inhibited local initiative or to the Indian value system and social structure which diminished entrepreneurial drives.

It cannot be denied that the British Government had actively participated in almost all spheres of economic life to facilitate trade, transport, commerce, building of canals and agriculture, improvement schemes, etc. But how far had it improved the economic condition of the masses and if succeeded/failed why or how had it all come about? Why the sudden interest at all in developing the countries indigenous industrial forces and in the lower forms of industry? It should also be remembered that the general tax payers had been saddled for years passed with extra taxation by way of import duties on cotton cloth beginning with 3 1/2 % in 1896 to 1946 with countervailing excise duty which was as high as 100 % or more in case of competing fabrics.⁷⁵

As regards to the impact of the colonialism on the fragmentation of the Indian economy two facts bring this out: the narrowly allocated areas for modern industry in the colonial period and the disastrous impact of colonial policies on the availability of food grains. D.R. Gadgil, D.H. Buchanan, W. Mandelbaum, Alice and Daniel Thorner among others outlined the salient features of the Indian economy in the nineteenth century: it opened up to the forces of the international trade; witnessed simultaneous opening of internal transport systems; expansion of primary production and the subsequent development of raw material based industries such as cotton textiles and plantations. The industrial expansion due to the impact of the World Wars and the tariff protection particularly to steel, cement, paper and sugar are well known. These descriptive studies pinpoint the narrowly allocated regions for each industry

⁷⁵See the Editorial, "The Government Textile Policy", *The Hindu*, 3 Oct. 1946.

primarily based around port towns and the raw material supply centres.⁷⁶ A recent study has the view that commerce and colonialism created 'enclaves' of prosperity and that a great deal of physical investments reinforced enclavist tendencies by serving the sectors which created narrow spheres of affluence.⁷⁷

In exploring themes in the context of social history of colonial south Asia, the school of subaltern studies have provided a most provocative and interesting intervention in recent years. According to them the whole national movement is seen as an elitist struggle with its classes mainly being two: the *Zamindari* and the rural strata. The latter have an autonomy of their own and based on this autonomy they contested for power with the imperialist forces whereas the elite merely benefited from the struggle of the rural strata, and instead of transferring power to the subaltern groups transferred power to themselves. What is interesting to note is setting the role of the weaver in this schema. By treating the subaltern group (here assuming the weaver) as an autonomous category, would be then denying the *charisma* of Gandhi on them and no social historian can really deny the far reaching ideological influence of Gandhi on the vast masses, especially the handloom weaver.⁷⁸ In the historiography of the

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Refer to DR Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution in India*, Bombay, 1954, (fourth edition); D.H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India*, 1966, W Mandelbaum, *Prospects of Indian Development*, London, 1962 and Alice and Daniel Thorner, *Land and Labour in India*, Bombay, 1967.

Thirthankar Roy, "The role of the state in initiating Development: A Study of south and south east Asia", *IESHR*, Vol. 33, No. 4, 1996, pp. 374-401.

For Gramsci, "The subaltern classes by definition are not united and cannot unite until they able to become a 'state'.... The history of the subaltern social groups is necessarily fragmented and episodic. There undoubtedly does exist a tendency (at least in the provincial stages) of unification in the historical activity of these groups, but this tendency is continuously interrupted by the activity of the ruling groups.... In reality are merely anxious to defend themselves". Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, New York, 1971, pp. 52-55. But according to the subaltern historians, the middle agricultural castes or the poor weavers are always striving to improve their ritual status by forming caste associations or by various methods of self improvement.

subaltern studies, leaders do not constitute the national experience. They remain combatants but not contestants in the struggle for hegemony.⁷⁹

During the period under study Gandhi's name, his anti-imperialist policies and innovative methods of preaching and mobilising to the masses symbolize the political consciousness and political life of India. The task of awakening and articulating the political consciousness of the handloom weavers (in particular) was undertaken by Gandhi on a scale far greater than had been performed by any other leader in modern India. This was certainly his greatest achievement and in essence here lay the root of the whole liberation movement.⁸⁰ "Though such men are innovators and acknowledge their role as pioneer it should be seen that their roots and strength of their greatness lie in epoch or more concretely -- the ethos of the period which just precedes them. They are not disciples of men but children of momentous period of material and cultural history".⁸¹ Gandhi's image conjured up before us has been that of national leader, a saint or an idealist who did not face the

If this being the case can we try to explain in the later years, the association of the handloom weaver with the Gandhian ideology and the weavers' centrality in the *samagra seva* movement by which he tried to consciously or otherwise assert his definite position in society?

"Shashi Joshi and Bhagwan Josh, in their recently published three volumes, provide an interesting argument. According to them, the history of Indian people's struggle against imperialism was ideologically over-determined because of the fully structured colonial ideology of the ruling power and the corresponding evolution of a nationalist ideology which sought to replace it-aiming at overthrowing colonialism. This ideological over-determination was even more pronounced due to the fact that the struggle between the congress mass led movements and the British imperialism was fought on the terrain of hegemony, over which ideology was bound to play a major role. (The term ideology was used in the sense of being a material force and an objective basis for political action). See for an elaboration, Shashi Joshi, *Struggle for Hegemony, The Colonial state, The Left and The National Movement*, Vol. I, 1920-1934, New Delhi, 1992; Bhagwan Josh, *Struggle for Hegemony, 1920-1947*, Vol. II, 1934-1941, New Delhi, 1992; Shashi Joshi and Bhagwan Josh, *Struggle for Hegemony, 1920-1947*, Vol. III, 1941-1947, New Delhi, 1994.

⁸⁰This has been suggested by Rostilov Ulyanavosky, *Present Day Problems, in Asia and Africa*, Moscow, 1980, pp. 163-94.

⁸¹Rajabh.au Gawande (ed.), *Towards Understanding Gandhi*, Bombay, 1975, p.11.

cruel realities of life. The effort here is not to make him appear as a charismatic leader or a remote super-human saint. The concern throughout this study has not been in analyzing the attributes of Gandhi's personal charm or *charisma* but how his interpretation of *Swadeshi* registered in the consciousness of the weaver community.

The economic changes under colonial rule were not only limited in scale and scope but they also inevitably generated contradictory features. All this will be kept in mind as we examine the fluctuations in the small scale sector. Therefore, what is examined is that, though various responses and motivations to the *khadi* movement by various groups participating in it may have been different, the rich industrialist and poor weaver alike was equally involved in it.

While it is difficult to disentangle the ideological motivations from the purely material, this study seeks to demonstrate that economic conditions constitute the field in which ideology operates. The hypotheses put forth is that are large scale industries the only source of dynamism or adapters of change in an economically developing country? The attempt is to argue otherwise. Small scale and cottage industries are small in name only, actually they make a giant contribution to the economy. During the twentieth century especially during the World wars, we see it doing precisely the same. All those factors which went against this industry should have necessarily eliminated it or at least handicapped it. Likewise what were those counter factors that helped it to steady and indirectly resuscitate it? As discussed in the above paragraphs on the all India level figures itself, there is a debate on whether there was a decline in handloom production in the early years of the twentieth century. Whether this was so or not, one has clear evidence at the micro-level to prove that in

coastal Andhra there was an increase in production and sales value of handlooms. Specific questions are answered in the following chapters:

Chapter II elaborately explains the historical perspective of the handloom industry in coastal Andhra and its transition in the twentieth century. The changes in the organizational mode and the various options open for the production shift allowed by the cloth market are explored here keeping in view the regional dimension. While drawing on the theoretical basis contained in the earlier studies the investigation treads on a different path in two unique ways: (i.) it focuses on a region which hitherto has not been explored in detail and (ii.) relatedly seeks to locate the handloom weaver not only in the regional economy but within the framework of nationalist politics.

Chapter III deals with the definition of *Swadeshi* and its transformation in the early years of twentieth century and the working of Gandhian politics in coastal Andhra region. The handloom industry was affected not only by the economic changes, but perhaps more significantly by the nationalist politics and in particular the Gandhian ideology. This study is an attempt to define the concept of *Swadeshi* and its new *avatar* under the leadership of Gandhi which struck resonant chords in various elements of the handloom industry.

Chapter IV details, the fluctuations and fortunes of weavers and their movements in wages, rate of industrialisation, and their role in getting integrated in the world economy. Did these societal institutions possess enough resilience and vitality to absorb the changes brought about by the foreign rule? How did they react to changes in technology, indigenous or Government sponsored? Interesting changes were witnessed in Government policies and an

increasing dependence on the merchant capital as a result of product diversification.

It is also demonstrated that from the point of view of profitability alone, handlooms in India did enjoy certain advantages at the beginning of the century: coarse handloom cloth was considered by the average Indian villages to be more durable than mill made cloth. Handlooms produced multicoloured sarees which the Indian mills could not imitate, at least before the First World War. There were also local specialties in which the individual skill of the weaver was the critical factor. In any case the cotton mills had still to learn to weave, bleach and print the finer varieties of cloth. The workers in handlooms also enjoyed the advantage of working with low cost capital and with family labour so that the family (rather than the wage labour alone) formed the economic unit. They also enjoyed the special advantages of sizing the yarn. Lastly, what was the impact of technical changes introduced by indigenous and colonial enterprise? The concluding chapter summarizes the tentative findings and research done in the study.

Lastly, a word on the difficulty in relations to this industry is the inaccurate statistics collected. For the study of this particular industry one is very much handicapped by the lack of requisite data such as investments in the case of handloom industry. The yarn that goes into the handlooms or even the actual yarn consumed by mills is not recorded correctly. The Fact Finding Committee appointed in 1941 to study the conditions prevailing in the handloom sector in comparison with the mill industry, observed that the total produce in hand weaving could be gauged out by first obtaining the total amount of mill yarn available for consumption in India, adding the imports but minus the exports.

Then an estimate of the total amount consumed by the Indian mill industry would have to be made and the balance be likely to be made available to the looms - and this one knows, is no easy task. Second, the level of output in the cotton spinning industry is directly related to the counts of yarn spun. The production per spindle measured in terms of weight is significantly lower for finer counts than for the coarser cloth. Added to this is the fact that yarns from different counts are non-homogenous and cannot be added together without first reducing them to a standard count of say 20s to 30s. It is only such a figure that can be validly used for measuring productive activity in the cotton spinning industry.⁸²

Thus this study found that there is no universal constant in the investments that goes into the handloom industry and the true relative cost of capital and labour cannot be inferred simply from the price of each. In fact in textiles, it varied within rather narrow bounds. It should also be noted that much of the literature dealing with the handloom weavers treats them as an undifferentiated group but it is important in this study at the outset to state that this was not so and that the fate of different groups within the broad category of 'handloom weaver' was not similar. Besides there is this vexing problem of tracing the source material associated with studying social groups who left few written records of their own and were mere objects in the inquiries of external observers especially in the colonial records.

There have been published sources though not exhaustive, but it has been of immense help in providing thought provoking arguments. Articles by N.G.Ranga, B.S. Baliga, Konrad Specker, Thirthankar Roy, Christopher J. Baker, Brian Stoddart,

⁸²*Report of the Fact Finding Committee, (Mills and Handlooms), Ministry of Commerce, Delhi, 1942.*

Carol Boyack Upadhyay, David A. Washbrook, David Arnold, on south India. On an all India basis studies by Morris D. Morris, Amiya Kumar Bagchi, Daniel and Alice Thorner and N.H. Thakkar, among a host of others have given extensive in-depth analysis of the handloom industry and its progress.

Gandhi's complete volume of his Collected Works give us a comprehensive view of his otherwise paradoxical ideas on the Telugudesas and its people. The study here is mainly based on sources like the Census reports, Development records, Reports of the Department of Industries and the vernacular newspapers like *Krishna Patrika*, *Andhra Patrika*, *Vahini*, *Bliarati*, etc. The information secured from these sources was supplemented by oral interviews with a number of people actively associated with the handloom industry in the coastal districts of Andhra.

There has been considerable work on the cotton mill industries in general, prior to 1950. The earliest studies however were mainly historical, institutional and descriptive concentrating mainly on aspects such as the managing agency systems, location, size and integration of units in the industry. For example, P.S. Lokanathan, *Industrial organization in India*, London, 1935, M.P. Gandhi, *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry in India, 1851-1950*, Bombay, N.D. (but internal evidence suggests 1950), N.S.R. Sastry, *Indian Cotton Industry*, 1943, S.D. Mehta, *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry: An Economic Analysis*, Bombay, 1953 and M.M. Mehta, *Structure of Cotton Mills in India*, Allahabad, 1949.

In all these studies the handloom industry was sketchily touched upon until recently. As with all the unregistered industries in India the material from official sources on the looms is not very exhaustive particularly, when it comes to understanding the strength and characteristics of the industry in terms of the

number of several employed, the districts among rural and urban areas by districts and different types of productional units. However as efforts are now being made empirical work and new data is continuously being unearthed and the need to update the information on the weaving community becomes pertinent to pursue.

Finally to conclude, the history of industrialization in the West is taken primarily to mean the evolution of the factory from craft industry, generally presupposing the prior developments of a market economy the social differentiation of the peasantry and the changing legal and social structures. In India all these forces were working together at the same time and if some showed signs of acceleration in the late nineteenth century (as seen in the case of Andhra), that development usually had long historical roots, predating the imposition of colonial rule.⁸³

In other words, no simple evolutionary schemata of social change and economic development can be readily applied to the Indian evidence and this micro-level study therefore becomes necessary. Though a general theoretical discussion in the scope and regional differentiation of the deindustrialization model and its critique is undertaken the observations in various aspects of development and explaining why rapid economic growth occurred in particular places and not in other regions is attempted here by substantiate evidence.

This study devoted itself throughout to Gandhi's ideology having deep linkages with the production, development and use of the handloom sector of Andhra as an economic and ideological instrument to achieve *swaraj* during the tumultuous twentieth

⁸³Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, "Industrialization in India before 1947: Conventional approaches and alternative perspectives", *MAS*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1985, pp. 623-68.

century. To throw off the yoke of imperial rule the cult of *Swadeshi* as used by Gandhi centered chiefly around *khaddar* and extended to everything that could be produced by India and its villages. Hence the attempt in the following chapters has been a case study of coastal Andhras economy and in connecting the three seemingly unrelated subjects mentioned in the title.

CHAPTER II
**HANDLOOM INDUSTRY IN COASTAL ANDHRA:
THE TRANSITION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

CHAPTER II

HANDLOOM INDUSTRY IN COASTAL ANDHRA: THE TRANSITION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The decades between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the First World War were the most eventful with long term economic consequences on the growth of Indian economy. The rapid and radical economic changes occurring in India and the interaction of nationalist politics, the rapid expansion of the Indian capitalist and the needs of a war economy impinged in many significant ways upon the handloom industry of India in general and that of the Madras Presidency in particular. The handloom industry of the Telugu speaking areas of the Madras Presidency was also caught up in this complex interplay of economic and political pressures. What were the major consequences of this? To answer this, it is necessary to explore the complex and intricate relations that existed between the handloom weavers and the economy in which they operated.

This study is on the handloom industry's transition in coastal Andhra that rapidly overcame constraints and expanded rapidly. Changes in organizational mode and the various options for product shifts allowed by the cloth market are explored keeping the regional dimension in context. Statistical evidence for Andhra proves that weavers moved from periods of high instability to a relatively stable growth in the twentieth century, the sensitivity of demand and supply to price and cost of financing and to the technological basis of growth, all contributing to the latter's state of

stability and expansion, which is attempted to be explored in this chapter.

While drawing on the theoretical basis contained in the earlier studies, on this subject- this investigation treads on a different path in two ways: First, it focuses on a region, the handloom industry which has hitherto not been explored in detail. Second, it seeks to locate the coastal Andhra handloom weaver not only in the economy of the region but within the framework of nationalist politics and the Gandhian ideology.

The hypotheses put forth here, is related to the question of industrialization in coastal Andhra. The earliest form of the ongoing debate on de industrialization in India was initiated by Daniel Thorner and Morris D.Morris in the sixties with the help of existing historical evidence present on the impact of colonialism in south Asia. To understand what de-industrialization means, it is necessary to understand a definition of what is the meaning of industrialisation is.

Industrialization, as J. Krishnamurthy defines it, means, "a rise in the share of manufacturing in total working force in total manufacture or a decline in manufacturing extent per capita constitutes de-industrialization".¹ There is evidence at least in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that the available yarn consumed by handlooms was on the increase, though evidence for the inter-war period is less certain.

Morris D.Morris is of the opinion that the handloom products at worse must have slightly diminished or conversely it

¹ Krishnamurthy, "Changes in the composition of the Working Force in Manufacturing 1901-51- A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis", *Indian Economic and Social History Review* (hereafter *IESHR*), Vol. 4, No. 1, May 1967, pp. 1-16.

might have increased significantly.² In his well known work Colin Simons presents a table purporting to demonstrate that during the earlier century the work force in manufacturing and construction fell by half from 35% to 17%.³ Konrad Specker in his recent study remarked that what the classical debate about the fate of Indian textile sector of the nineteenth century had overlooked was the quantitative product and region wise specific dimensions of the development.⁴

One however agrees with Specker that to talk about a flourishing textile market coming under the influence of the imperial penetration and buckling under its pressure or getting de-industrialized is too simple an answer to the complex changes that were occurring in colonial Indian economic life. However, despite an initial setback, this industry, i.e., handlooms, maintained a steady growth from 1900 onwards.

What were the particular institutional changes that industrialization in crafts brought about is more interesting to probe for the twentieth century than the theoretical debates on de-industrialization. Treating a regional experience is more interesting a study to pursue, as is done here in this chapter.

The table provided below, demonstrates that the handloom industry in India maintained a steady equilibrium in Indian economy supplying about 25% of cloth consumed. Indeed it has been argued that between 1896-1939 the output of handmade cotton fabrics even increased, if only marginally.⁵ In the coastal

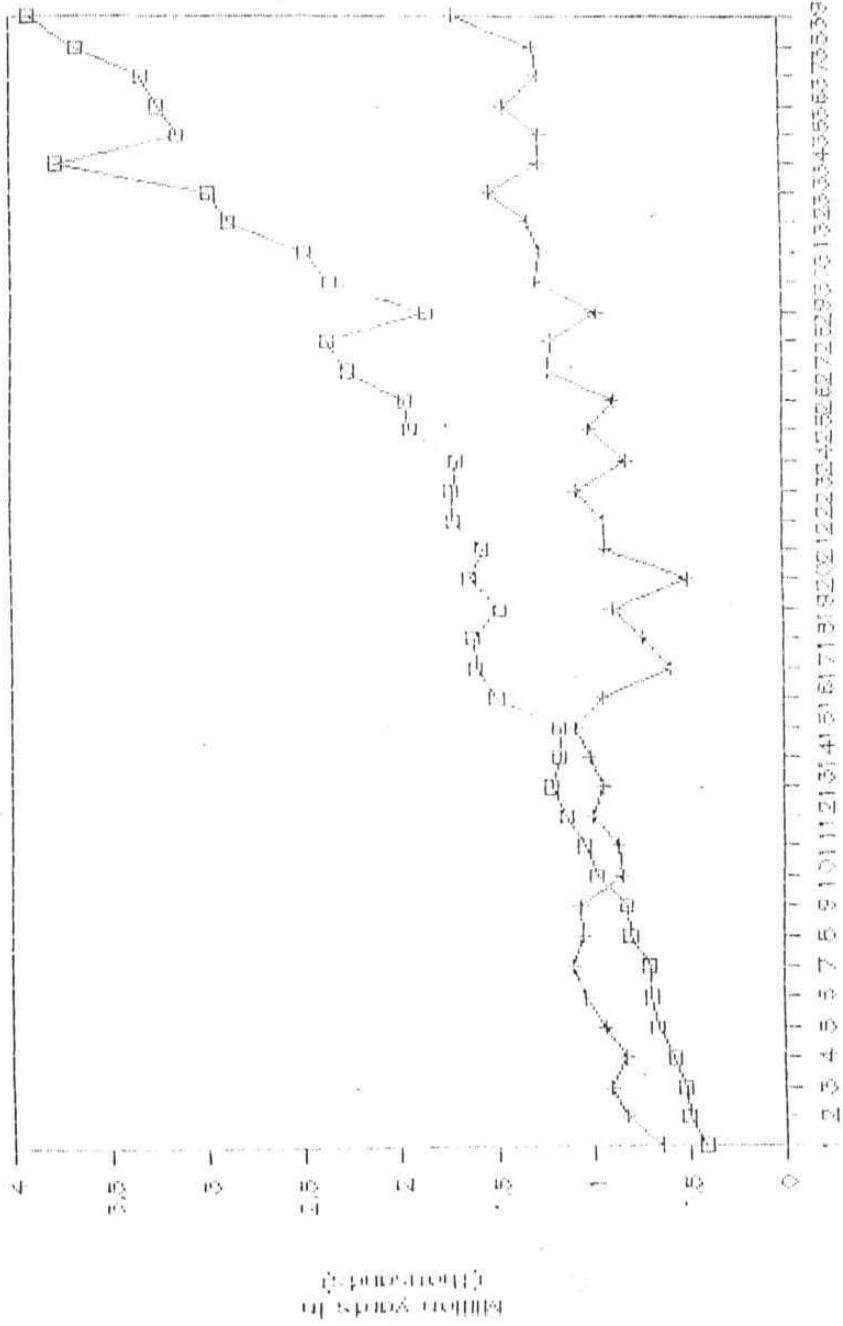
²For details see, Morris D. Morris, "Trends and Tendencies in Indian Economic History", *IESHR*, Vol. III, No. 4, Dec. 1968, pp. 318-89.

³Colin Simons, "Deindustrialisation and the Indian Economy, c.1850-1947", *Modern Asian Studies* (hereafter *MAS*), Vol. 19, No. 3, 1985, pp. 593-622.

⁴Konrad Specker, "Madras handlooms in the Nineteenth century", *IESHR*, Vol. 26, No. 2, April- June 1989, pp. 131-66.

⁵Christopher J. Baker, *An Indian Rural Economy 1880-1955, The Tamil Nadu Countryside*, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 393-413.

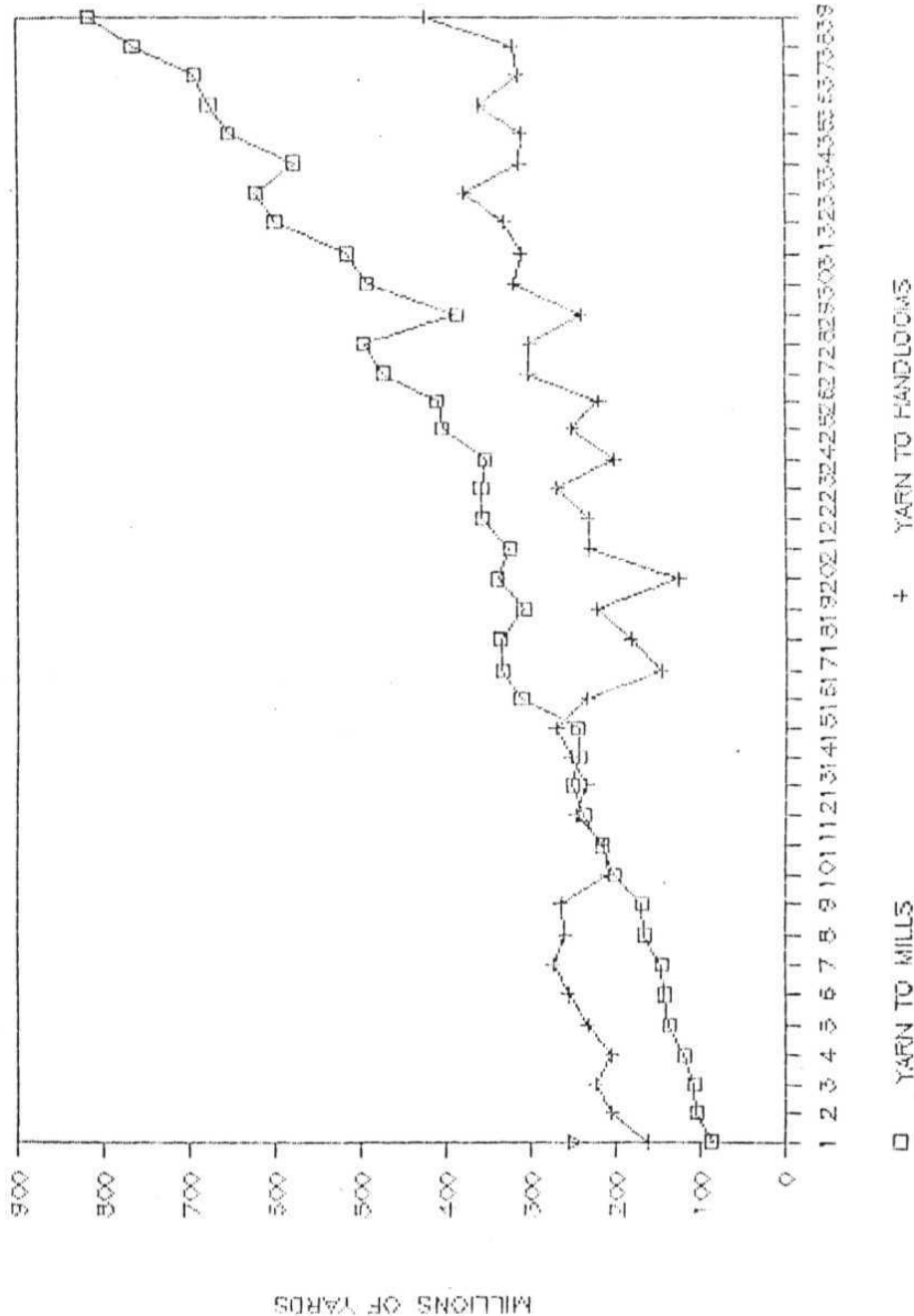
PRODUCTION IN MILLS & HANDLOOMS 1900-39



□ COTTON MILLS

△ COTTON IN HANDLOOM

CONSUMPTION IN MILLS & H-LOOMS 1900-39



□ YARN TO MILLS + YARN TO HANDLOOMS

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39

Andhra regions the handloom industry not only held its own but in fact grew more rapidly than factory production.

Table 2.1

Progress of Mills and **Handlooms (1900-1939)** All India Figures ⁶

Year	Mill production (in million yards)	Proportion to total production in India	Proportion to total cloth available for consumption
Mills			
1900-02 to 1905-06	593	40%	14%
1921-22 to 1925-26	1,805	66%	41%
1934-35 to 1938-39	3,433	71%	61%
Handlooms			
1900-02 to 1905-06	906	60%	26%
1921-22 to 1925-26	948	34%	24%
1934-35 to 1938-39	1304	29%	25%

Theoretically speaking, it is seen, that without technological innovations, increases in yarn consumption suggest either an expansion in the number of workers or increase in full time employment of weavers or both.⁷ Therefore, one sees, competition coupled with the advances of capitalism transforming some village industries and urban handicrafts into small scale commodity production and then into the lower forms of capitalist industry- a simple-operative and manufacturing system developing in the handloom sector in the period under study.⁸

In Andhra the main reasons for an expansion in the handloom sector can be attributed to the adoption of new technology, the Government's role (with their initiative to

⁶*Report of the Fact Finding Committee, (Mills and Handlooms), Ministry of Commerce, Delhi, 1942, p.157.*

⁷See for further details Morris D. Morris, "Trends and Tendencies", pp. 319-89.

⁸G.K. Shirokov, *Industrialisation in India*, New Delhi, 1980, p18. Also for further details refer to Morris. D. Morris, "Trends and Tendencies", pp. 319-89.

introduce new technologies) and the Gandhian ideology that enabled it to raise output per capita of handloom cloth and so enable it to generally retain its market value.

It is also attempted here to examine the ways in which the relations between the capitalist economy and the expanding Indian industry transformed the complex and varying production processes, their relation to social classes and the state and the methods in which these retailers shaped the level of technology, income and political conflict. The immense complexity of the rural cloth market gave marketing a dominant *Swadeshi* ideology within the productional process. This is linked with the question of how Gandhi himself devolved the idea of *khadi* gradually. What was the primary and final impact of technology on the Andhra economy on a political and ideological level ?

This study therefore attempts to reconstruct continuity and change in structural processes under a dominant state intervention. The handloom industry in the Madras Presidency like elsewhere depended on two major sources for its yarn supply. One, the developing mill sector, and the other were the large segment of rural economy involved in hand spinning.⁹

An analysis of the economics of yarn supply is necessary here for a wholesome understanding of the handloom industry.

Before going into further details of yarn spinning, it is necessary to broadly understand the various classes of cotton piece goods consumed in the country. Cotton goods can be divided into the following four classes: (i.) Very coarse goods using 6s to 16s

⁹The level of output in the cotton hand spinning industry is directly related to the counts of yarn spun. The production per spindle is measured in terms of weight and this is significantly lower for finer counts than for coarser counts. Yarns of different counts are non-homogenous and cannot be added together without first reducing them to a standard count of say 20s or 30s. It is only such a figure than can be validly used for calculating the weaving productive activity in the cotton spinning industry.

counts of warp and upto 20s yarn for weft, (ii.) Coarse medium 20s to 26s warp and 20s to 40s weft, (iii.) Medium 26s to 40s warp and 30s to 50s weft and finally (iv.) Fine and higher than 40s warp and weft spun cloth.

See Table 2.2 below:¹⁰

Class	Warp counts	Weft counts	Indian H.L. supply	Indian mill supply	Foreign imports	Total consump.	% share in total
coarse	6-16s	6-20s	900	60	300	1,260	26%
coarse med.	20-26s	20-40s	150	500	1,100	1,750	37%
medium	26-40s	30-50s	450	40	750	1,240	26%
fine spun yarn	40s+	40s+	150		350	500	11%
		Total	1,650	600	2,500	4,750	100

The bulk of the very coarse variety of cloth was woven on Indian handlooms from Indian mill yarn. This yarn was made from very inferior cotton and was not given a proper twist for warp. This cloth was very thick, warm and durable and made everywhere in the country for local sale. Therefore this class was considered as coming within the absolute sphere of the handloom. The main bulk of the coarse medium class was made up of imported shirting and Indian mill made shirting, *chaddars* and T. cloths. This class formed over one-third of the total cloth consumption of the country and the supply was almost equally divided between the Indian and foreign powerlooms in grey goods while bleached and coloured goods of this class came mostly from the United Kingdom. The medium class consisted mainly of *dhoties* and sarees consumed by the large body of the Indian middle class. Indian cotton was unsuited to produce warp yarn of this class while the weft yarn produced by the Indian mills was used up in weaving cloth of the coarse medium class by powerlooms.

¹⁰ The supply and consumption of yarn is calculated in million yards. See, *The Report on the Industrial Conference held at Calcutta*, December, Madras, 1908, pp. 83-92.

Competition in this class was between the foreign looms and Indian handlooms, both using foreign yarn. Cheap availability of implements, cheap home labour and the production of stronger cloth on account of proper dressing of yarn went in favour of the handloom workers. Moreover, the powerlooms could not work so fast on this yarn as on the coarse medium variety. The production of the fine class was restricted to handlooms and foreign powerlooms. As the speed at which the powerlooms could work on fine yarn being further restricted, the handlooms were supreme in this class of work.¹¹

Coming to the Madras Presidency handspinning was mainly carried on in the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, **Ramnad**, Madura, South Arcot, Chittoor, Kistna, West and East Godavari, Coimbatore, Nellore Vizagapatnam, and Ganjam. In the Guntur district almost all its villages were self contained and in almost every house of the nationalists one or more *charkha* was working in the 1920s. Sattenapalli, Palnad, and Narasaraopeta *taluks* accounted for about 75% of the number of *charkhas* at work.¹² In the Kistna and Godavari districts there were 5,000 hand spinning wheels at work in the late twenties of which Nandigama *taluk* alone had about half the number. Bezawada *taluk* possessed about 500, Divi *taluk* 200 and Tiruvur division had 300. On the average a worker worked for 3 to 5 hours or spun about 1000 yards of yarn of 20 counts a day earning 6 *pies* to one *anna*. About 60 to 70 *tolas* or 30,000 yards a was produced every month in the district of Godavari itself.¹³

¹¹D.U.Sastry, *The Cotton Textile Industry in India*, Madras, 1948, p.48.

¹²D.Narayana Rao, *Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in the Madras Presidency*, Part II, Madras, 1929, See, *Guntur District* (henceforth *Report on the survey*), pp. 4-5.

¹³D.Narayana Rao, *Report on the survey*, West Godavari and Krishna **District**, p. 2.

Speaking of the Vizagapatnam district it is observed that, the yarn was being spun by *pattusali* women in Pondur, Siripuram, Bonthalakoduru, **Allinagaram**, Suravaram, Tamada and other villages outside the radius of 20 miles of Ponduru. It was known as *Pattusali nulu* or the silk weavers' thread and was as fine as the imported 60-120s counts though the country *charkha* was in usage. It was generally believed that the silk yarn woven here outbid the yarn spun elsewhere in this Presidency in respect of its fineness. The production of cloth in Vizagapatnam made of mill yarn engaged the bulk of the weaver.

The chief centres were at Ponduru, Chipurapalli *taluk*, Nakkapalli, Payakaraopeta and Guddicherla in *Sarasasiddi taluk*. Jami in Srungavarapukota, Vizinagaram in *Vizinagaram taluk*, and Anakapalli, in *Anakapalli taluk*. Ponduru, Rajam, Nakkapalli, Siripuram, Boddam, Payakaraopeta, were the principal centres of this industry. Mill yarns of counts ranging from 20s to 60s were generally employed. Higher counts upto 120s were used for cloth made up to a special order in the six principal weaving centres numerated above.¹⁴

See Table 2.3 for the population of the total workers and dependents in the districts of coastal Andhra vis-a-vis, the rest of the British territory, for cotton sizing, spinning and weaving:¹⁵

¹⁴D.Narayana Rao, *Report on the survey, Vizagapatnam District*, pp. 2-3 & 8.

¹⁵J.Chartes Molony, *Census of India 1911*, Vol. XII, Madras, Part II. See specifically, "Imperial and provincial tables", Madras, 1912.

Table 2. 3

	District/State/City	Cotton sizing , spinning, a weaving (Total number of workers dependents)
1	British territory	1,114,890
2	Vizagapatnam	61,228
3	Agency Vizagapatnam	14,875
4	Godavari	45,479
5	Agency Godavari	1,346
6	Kistna	42,065
7	Guntur	72,279
8	Nellore	51,456

The Andhra spinners depended largely on rather traditional technology continuing the use of more traditional *charkhas*. The raw yarn produced by the spinners commonly distinguished into three kinds: *khadelu*, *chuttalu* and *varalu*. The diameter of the spindle had no fixed measurement and varied from region to region. Dattamandala and the Nizam's dominions produced 40s counts of yarn that were of two kinds: *Kapurtamulu* and *Mullaratnamulu*. Comparatively the Vizagapatnam and Ganjam areas produced stronger threads known as *Pattusali* and *Vellamanu* of 40s-100s and 20s-40s counts respectively. Miliyaputti Ponduru and Bonthalakoduru reveled in producing the 100s counts of yarn. Srikakulam, Urtam, Padipaka, Ponduru, produced as high as 200s counts in cloth and were renowned for their muslin quality.¹⁶

The names of the cloth produced here were given as **hamsa** pattani', 'layaru chowki', piladugu', 'Amurakani', Chandrakasi', **Bibica**', 'Godavari **pulinamu**', Tarangani', Triveni **Sangamu**'.

'Battahathi', etc. The approximate value of a *magam* was Rs. 10/- worked on it by each family.¹⁷

The major source of cotton for the spinners could have been local as cotton was grown in the Presidency. The cotton cultivation was largely carried on in Nellore, Godavari, Kurnool, Vizagapatnam, Bellary, Cocanada, Cuddapah, and Anantapur districts of the Madras Presidency. The varieties of cotton (pathi) known in different districts as 'Kailashapatnam garuvu pathi', 'Kailashapatnam mishrana pathi' (mixed), Kailashapatnam telupu pathi, 'Ampolu vellama pathi', maddulapathi', 'Bonthalakoduru pathi', 'Devaka upasapathi,' Srikakulam vellama pathi', 'Sarvakota Konda pathi', etc.¹⁸

The area under cultivation of cotton in the Presidency during the year 1906-07 was over 1,833,000 acres and formed 6% of the total cropped area of the province. Although no formal industrial surveys were undertaken in the Madras Presidency in 1900, such information regarding its leading industries (especially cotton and jute) had from time to time been collected and found in the monographs written by, Edward Balfour, E.B. Haveli, Alfred Chatterton, Edgar Thurston, Holder, Harris and others in the articles on Madras Presidency in the Imperial Gazetteers and in the district Gazetteer edited by W. Francis.¹⁹ Also the population involved in the mill and hand industry showed a predominance of

¹⁷See, Suryanarayana Shastri Garu, "Neta **Parishrama**", *Andhra Patrika, Varshika sanchika* (annual volume), *dundhubi*. 1922-23.

¹⁸On varieties of cotton in the region, See *Bharati*, Vol. IV, 1932.

¹⁹For further details see, Edward Balfour, *Cyclopaedia of India 1885*, Vol. I, p. 171; Edgar Thurston, *Cotton Monograph on Fabric industry of the Madras presidency*, Madras, 1897; Edgar Thurston, *Monograph on Woolen Fabric Industry*, Madras, 1898. See also the case put forward by Alfred Chatterton, "The Memorandum on the encouragement of indigenous industries in India", G.O.No. 563, Revenue Department, 11 March 1901 and Alfred Chatterton, "The industrial problem", G.O.No. 3220, Revenue Department, 1 Oct. 1910.

the total population involved with the hand industry rather than with the mill sector in 1900.²⁰

Table 2.4

Census of 1901

Major Heads	Minor Heads	Actual workers	Females	Dependents	Total
	<i>MillsIndustry</i>	Males			
Cleaning Ginning and Pressing	Owners managers Superior staff	32	0	80	112
	Operative and other Subordinates	1,929	147	2,651	4,757
Cleaning ginning and pressing	Hand Industry	10,682	11,269	16,502	13,453
	Total	12,643	11,446	19233	43322
Spinning and weaving	Mill Industry Owners, Managers, superior staff	60	0	181	241
	Operative and other Subordinates	6,791	0	2,186	17245
Spinning and Weaving	Hand Industry	3,83,132	1,63,036	5,17,711	10,63,879
	weavers, sizers, spinners yarn beater	6,414	59,456	15,216	81,086
	Total	4,03,506	2,28,564	5,55,197	11,87,267

The area under cotton cultivation had advanced about 30% during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Nearly 60% of the area under the Presidency in which cotton was grown lay in the four major Deccan districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, and Coimbatore, Madurai, and Tirunelvely. In the east coast cultivation of cotton was extensively grown and was generally on the increase during the years 1901-1906 at the following districts

See below Table 2.5,²¹

Actual area under cultivation in East coast

District	1901- 02	1902- 03	1903-04	1904- 05	1905- 06	Average for	Actual
						quintal	area
						Average	Cultivation
							in
District	1901- 02	1902- 03	1903-04	1904- 05	1905- 06		1906-07
Vizagapatnam	10,798	9,505	9,040	9,265	7,394	9,201	6,520
Godavari	5,019	3,945	3,469	3,372	4,739	4,109	6,826
Kistna	1,69,204	1,91,169	2,41,392	55,363	48,870	2,18,218	54,287
Guntur							1,93,202
Nellore	17,337	22,031		2,10,487	1,74,584	..	18,038
Total	2,04,135	2,28,194	21,744	9,994	15,771	17,375	230,247

The above statistics not only give us the importance of the industry in the Madras Presidency but also show that quality of cotton deteriorated due to many reasons: mainly due to the mixed seed and poor methods of cultivation.

In appendix A figures are given intending to show the relative importance of the various places about cotton weavers and their particulars recorded at the turn of the country.

According to the census of 1921, as far as cotton weaving was concerned, in West Godavari district had a population of 1,046,382 of whom 25,956 were engaged in weaving and the processes connected with it. There were 6,000 looms distributed all over the districts Narsapur, Tanuku, and Ellore *taluks* possessing the largest number." Compared to West Godavari, Kistna district had only 6000 looms weaving only coarse *khaddar*. Cotton weaving in west Godavari district can be divided chiefly into two categories: (i.) Coarse cloth of handspun *khadi* and (ii.) cloth of various degrees of finesses of imported mill yarn. The

²¹Compiled from, Revenue Department, G.O. No. 410, 30 Mar. 1906, G.O. No. 436, 3 Feb. 1907, G.O. No. 2179, 30 Aug. 1907.

²²D. Narayana Rao, *Report on the Survey, West Godavary and Kistna Districts*, Part n, p. 9.

production of the second class of cloth imported mill yarn engaged the main part of this industry. Imported mill yarn ranging from 20s to 60s were generally being exported. Higher counts upto 80s in Bhimavaram *taluk* and 150s counts in Palakolu and the surrounding villages were only used for cloths made to order.²³

The country weaver however had one advantage which the hand process had given him and that was, his cloth being more durable was preferred to the cheaper machine goods. Weaving in the district of Nellore though could not be compared to the quality and finish of the other districts. They had their own category of weavers settled in the delta tracts spinning fine yarn and lace catering to their tastes of the landed aristocracy of Bucchireddypalem and Yellarajayapalem.²⁴

Speaking of the next important coastal district of Guntur, handloom weaving it was recorded that it had been engaging 47,533 people among a population of 1,809,574. The total number of looms reported by the Census of 1921 had been 14,974 which was the highest number recorded. The statistical atlas of the district compiled in 1923 showed an increase in the number of looms over 4,000 the total being 19,035 distributed all over the district, Bapatla *taluk* possessing the largest number. As there were no silk weaving here all the looms were engaged only in weaving cotton cloth.

Cotton weaving here may be divided into two major groups (i.) coarse cloth made of hand spun yarn (ii.) and cloth made having degrees of **fineness** of imported and mill yarn. 75% of the *khaddar* cloth was woven in this district and with the exception of a few all of them were fitted with fly shuttle slays.²⁵

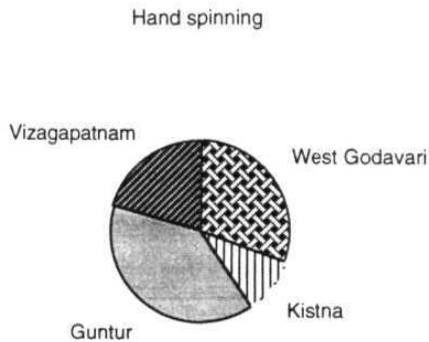
²³*Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁴D. Narayana Rao, *Report on the Survey, Nellore District*, p. 5.

Report on the Survey, Guntur district, pp. 5-6.

In Vizagapatnam district the average annual production of coarse *khaddar* cloth in 1929 was about Rs. 50,000 of which 85% was taken over by *khaddar* organizations for local sale and export.²⁶ See below: Table 2.6²⁷

District	Hand spinning wheels	Population	Hand Loom weavers
West Godavari	15,000	10,46,382	25,956
Kistna	5,000	10,86,632	26,262
Guntur	19,035	18,09,574	47,533
Vizagapatnam	10,000	22,31,874	71,491



The cloths produced at Chirala and Vetapalem were dyed with *seruver* and sold about Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3-8-0 or Rs. 4/- to Rs. 6/- per pair according to the fineness of the colour. *Rajam* coloured cloths varied greatly in price according to the fineness of the thread or quantity of lace from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 25/- each. Chicacole muslin which was also very popular (with coloured spots or stripes) was ordinarily made of three qualities. (i.) a piece of 12 yards long and one yard wide of English thread sold at Rs. 6/- to Rs. 5/- and Rs. 4-

²⁶D.Narayana Rao, *Report on the Survey, Vizagapatnam District*, pp. 3-4.

²⁷Compiled from D.Narayana Rao, *Report on the Survey of the Cottage Industries in the Madras Presidency*, Part II, Madras 1929, and the *Census Reports* for the year 1921, for the coastal districts of the Madras presidency.

0-8 according to the fineness of the thread (ii.) A similar piece woven from country threads cost Rs. 10/-, 9/-, and 8/- when specially ordered cloths of extra fineness were made of country thread costing upto Rs. 25/- (iii.) the thin cotton cloth for European wear made at the same place sold at about Rs. 1-12-0 to Rs. 2-4-0 per piece of $10 \frac{3}{4}$ yards. (Silk cloths were sold by weight only). One *seer* for Rs. 8/- to 13/- according to the quality of silk for one man/woman's cloth was 7 yards long and $1 \frac{1}{2}$ wide and weighed at about 2 to $2 \frac{1}{2}$ seers.²⁸

There was not much fear as far as *kiles* were concerned as it demanded a special kind of manufacture with so many complex and varied designs and patterns that it was practically impossible to manufacture it on machine looms. A fluctuation in price and earnings of the handloom weavers was witnessed by late 1930s. The weavers who were manufacturing white dyed and rough cloths were faring badly in Godavari district because they mainly depended on local consumption that became elastic owing to the merciless competition of mill cloth. The prices of *kora sine*²⁹ of 40s counts lowered from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 24/- in 1919 for 38 yards to Rs. 12/- in 1925, i.e., nearly by 50%. To manufacture a cloth of 38 yards (sold at Rs. 14 to 14-14-0) 14 pounds of yarn at 12 *annas* a pound was necessary and so the yarn pieces came to Rs. 10-8-0, with sizing costs of Rs.2/- while oil and *kanjee* came to 10 *annas* which make a total of Rs. 13-2-6. Supposing the whole piece was sold at the maximum price of Rs.14-14-0 then the weaver was left only with Rs. 1-12-0 per piece. If the piece of

²⁸Report submitted by Mr. Haveli during the year 1885-1888 on the *Arts and Industries of certain districts of the Madras presidency*, Madras, 1909. See the Section on- 'Prices'.

²⁹It is a grey rough cloth worn by the poor rural population.

yarn was lesser or the price of cloth higher, then the weavers earnings would also simultaneously increase.³⁰

In Vizagapatnam district the weavers who produced *khaddar* cloths in the 1920s were able to earn much more than the weavers who did ordinary work as seen from the figures given below:³¹

Place	Kind of work	Kind of worker	of Payment@	Monthly production	Monthly earnings
Vizinagaram	sarees	Independent	Rs. 1-7-2	24 sarees (13 pairs)	Rs. 14-0-0 Rs. 18-13-0
Golagamu	dhoties & sarees (of 10s)			40 lbs.	Rs. 7-8-0
Puritipenta	sarees			40 lbs. 12 sarees (or 30 lbs)	Rs. 5-4-0 Rs. 8-0-0
Koniche	sarees			80 lbs of (11s counts)	Rs.21-0-0
Bondapille	sarees			40 lbs. of (10s counts)	Rs. 10-8-0
Puritipenta	dhoties		9 pies a cubit	180 yards	Rs.16-14-0
Ponduru	dhoties of 120s	wage earners		45 yards	Rs. 32-9-0
Ponduru	sizing spinning		8 <i>annas</i> a warp 2 <i>annas</i> (<i>tolas</i> of 30s)	15 wraps 24 <i>tolas</i>	Rs. 7-8-0 Rs.3-0-0

From the above figures it is seen that the weavers who produced *khaddar* cloths i.e. in Ponduru, were able to earn much more than the weavers who did the ordinary work. He was assisted by a coolie who was paid Rs. 12/- per month. But these high wages could be explained as a response to the special demand for the *khaddar* movement and its immediate response in the Vizinagaram and Srikakulam districts.³²

³⁰For instance a worker who had his sizing done by others could prepare a piece in a week and so he earned Rs. 7/-per month while another who did his own sizing could prepare only 3 pieces a month. That is why most weavers did their own sizing and their operative method of preparing the sizing mutually helping each other enabled them to earn something more than they would if sizing was done by others. See, N.G. Ranga, *The Economics of Handloom*, Chapter I, Madras, 1930.

³¹See, N.G. Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, Madras, 1930. Chapter IV, "Wages and Earnings of Weavers".

³²N.G. Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, pp. 101-103.

Weaving was carried on entirely as a rural industry in Ganjam and Vizagapatnam districts. Anakapalli was the centre for the industry of Anakapalli, Bolugonda and Viravalli *taluks* of the Vizagapatnam district. All the cloth produced in the last two *taluks* was sold in Balijapalle which got its supplies of yarn from Anakapalle. G. Krishnamoorthy the biggest yarn merchant in Anakapalle remarked that, in May 1925 he had been able to sell only 60 to 70 bales of yarn in 1921 in the previous years but he was able to dispose of 125 bales in a month during 1924 owing to the boom caused by the sale of *khaddar* and the *Swadeshi* propaganda.³³

In the neighbouring Ganjam district, Santabommali and most of the other villages people who had lands produced 30 sarees a month for 7 months, and only 5 sarees a month during the rest of the year, when they had to work in the fields. Every weaver did the warping and sizing himself with the aid of his wife and family and so the women and family got no additional wages. In Peddapur and Uppada there was silk weaving which was more prosperous and better paying in terms of wages than the ordinary weaving with cotton yarn.³⁴

The organization of the handloom industry had numerous forms of which four were important. In the first and the most predominant form the independent weaver was the main authority. He owned his loom and other smaller instruments of production, bought yarn and the raw material directly and pursued in general, his trade as an independent craftsman. He sold the finished product in the open village fairs or *santas* and bore all the risks due to fluctuations in prices of yarn and cloth. In the second type of organization, the master weaver was the central authority

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

supplying yarn and other material to the group of weavers working under him and collected the cloth woven by them and sold the cloth in the best market he could choose. As the weavers working under him were paid only wages at specified rates their earnings were not affected by changing market conditions. The factory system was the third type of organization: the West coast being the stronghold. While big factories employing hundreds of weavers were few in number in their region, it was filled with small ones employing five to ten weavers.³⁵

The fourth type and the last in the rung of this organization was the coolie weaver who worked under another and ordinarily received Rs. 3 1/2 or Rs. 4/- per month according to his skill. A coolie weaver at Rajam and Ponduru weaving the finest cloth of the country or foreign thread received Rs. 5/- to Rs. 6/- per head per month compared to him a cotton weaver family (man-woman-child) making the coarsest weaving of white cloth of country cotton collectively earned on the average of Rs. 2 to 3 *annas* per day.³⁶

The cotton weaver were perhaps worse off than most of the other occupations for though an ordinary carpenter or blacksmith received no more wage than an average weaver his wife and family were at liberty to work in the field or as coolie and thus add to their earnings, whereas a weaver's family was wholly occupied in giving assistance as preparatory work for the smooth running and the sizing of the loom etc. In the 1930s it was recorded that there were ten weavers in Kalahasti who imported and supplied yarn to the

³⁵B.V. Narayana Swamy, 'Handloom Industry in India', in MR Gandhi (ed), *Indian Cotton Textile Industry in India 1851-1950*. Bombay (undated but internal evidence suggests 1950), pp. 121-28.

³⁶*Selections from the Records of Madras Government*, New (Revenue survey) No. IV, Madras Presidency, Madras, N.D., TNA, pp. 28-30.

weavers who worked in and around the region. They were paid piecework rates. Most of them sold their yarn on credit to smaller merchants who had about 50 to 100 workers under them and charge them 24% to 36% compound interest from the date of delivery.³⁷

There were about 10 merchant employers in Kalahasti and Venkatagiri who had approximately 50 to 100 weavers working under him. Each of them had invested Rs. 20,000 with half the capital being their own and the rest borrowed on a 12% interest. Kalahasti was known more for its saris of higher counts than for its *kiles*.³⁸ About 200 looms of Mallapettah of Venkatagiri were employed in manufacturing *kiles* and they were controlled by three important merchants: Kasayya with 100 looms, Kasa Muniyya with 30 looms and Kottavari Verayya with 30 looms. These merchants purchased their yarn from Madras while the petty employers bought it from Venkatagiri. They all gave yarn to the workers who used to weave it at their own homes.³⁹

The *kiles* were generally sold at Madras. See details below for the places where *kiles* were manufactured and the number of looms each area possessed: ⁴⁰

³⁷These merchants were making enormous profits through this kind of transaction as they usually bought cloth from smaller merchants and made some profit in that manner too. See, N.G. Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, pp. 35-37.

³⁸*Kiles* is the name given to the stripped piece of cloth woven by the muhamadans as loin cloth. They were made in pieces of 18 cubit by 29 inches out of which two cloths of 4 1/2 cubits in length are made by cutting it into four pieces and stitching together two and two lengthwise.

³⁹N.G. Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁰D.Narayan Rao, *Report on the Survey, Nellore district*. See the Chapter on "Handloom Weaving".

Places where kiles were manufactured:

Nellore <i>Taluk</i> :	Looms
Mypad	150
Indukurpet	50
Narayanareddipet	150
Mulumudu	20
Mopur	20

Kovvur *Taluk*:

Kowur	300
Yellayapalayam	60
Bucchireddipalayam	100
Patur	100
Gungavaram	20
Inanadugu	200
Vegur	30
Idavalur	20
Utukur	50

Gudur *Taluk*

	Looms
Chennur	200
Madavanur	40
Manabolu	30
Vindur	30
Zammavaram Yedral	100
Tatiparti	30
Araveti Zanagalpalli	40
18 other villages ranging from 3 to 20	

Nellore *taluk*

Kandukur	10
Singarayakonda	2

All of the above were fitted with fly - shuttle slays

Therefore what is observed is that all workers though unemployed on saris as well as those working on *kiles* are ultimately dependent on the capitalist employers who bought yarn worth Rs. 100/- to Rs. 200/- at a time and borrowed that money for a week or two if they had not taken the yarn on credit. Each of them generally employed five to ten workers. The finished product was then sold in the *santas* by hawking in the weekly village bazaar or the village fairs. Everything depended on their business capacity organizing skills, marketing methods and the willingness to take risks into accounts by the capitalist merchant-employers. The craftsman survived competition not by reproducing the same

patterns or designs but by making different products and innovating different pieces.⁴¹ Chirala, Perala, Pandilapalli, Ipurupalem, were the five important places which more than 6,000 looms were working and a profitable and extensive dyeing industry was carried on.⁴²

While markets did create opportunities for accumulation, their utilization depended on variable factors which went into influencing the facility with which the craftsmen could meet the new forms of competition. Case studies not only help us to generalize on what these common factors were but also how their effects were mediated on a specific product (here cotton), the social relations bearing on production and by the market value carried on by its consumers. As far as the weavers were concerned, Godavari, Krishna, Vizagapatnam, Ganjam, districts had more numerous markets with better business than the ceded districts or the other districts of the Presidency. The great Pentapadu *santa* and the equally famous Palakolu and the Ambazeepettah santas were well known in these districts.⁴³

On an average, a business worth Rs. 5 to 6 lakhs of Rupees was done including the yarn and cloth merchants within the radius of 15 miles attending to either buy yarn or to sell their finished goods at the *santas*. For instance the Bandaralanka merchants, had six important markets with a radius of 32 miles which they could easily reach by boat through the Godavari river or by foot. Kottapettah *santa* was held on Mondays and was 12 miles distant, Palakolu market was held on Saturdays which was

⁴¹**Finer** weaving and skill intensive product involving complex post-weaving processes contributed to the handloom craftsman's sales. See Thirthankar Roy, *Artisans and Industrialization: Indian weaving in the twentieth century*, New Delhi, 1993, p.5.

⁴²N.G Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, pp. 37-38.

⁴³*Ibid.*, See chapter II, "Industrial and Commercial organization".

about 24 miles away, Dwarakapudi *santa*, Draksharama, Pentapadu, Bheemavaram, Mori, and the Jagannapeta, markets were held only once a week and were in close proximity to each other. The *santas* of Vizinagaram, and Anakapalli had as great markets as any in the Godavari district. The Vizagapatam and the Ganjam markets were famous for their independent artisans who were able to sell their goods more easily, quickly and on better terms.

In spite of the large markets, it was noticed that in Pentapadu and Bheemavaram, standard of living of the weavers deteriorated in the thirties mainly because the kind of cloth manufactured there was not easily saleable and came into direct competition with mill made cloth. Though they earned at least Rs. 10-8-0 per month, more mainly because of the excellent market facilities than from the intrinsic value of the cloth manufactured.⁴⁴

To sum up the position of handspinning and the hand weaving in different districts of coastal Andhra statistics are given in appendix B. This information has been provided to emphasize the fact that coastal Andhra towns had a density of handspinning and hand weaving. Another interesting fact that can be deduced is that handspinning towns were with slight variations, different from that of the hand weaving towns. Despite the cultivation of cotton in the region its supply to spinners, was it would seem limited. One reason why less cotton was available to the spinners was that cotton was now being consumed also by yarn mills- the other major supplier of yarn to the handloom weaver. A

⁴⁴ The Japanese competition and the depression raging outside, affected the weaver indirectly and the Government's preoccupation with the war, fluctuated the market conditions. However, the numerous *santas* in the neighbouring districts helped the weavers to dispose their goods quickly, realize ready cash and to buy yarn. More than anything else, to start earning and be independent of the employers and the yarn merchants. See, N.G Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, Chapter II, "Industrial and Commercial Organisation".

comparison of the average under food grains and under cotton during the years 1892-1925 will reveal the disproportionate extent of growth of cotton areas.⁴⁵

See Table 2.8 below:

Year	Cotton	Food grains (in Acres)
1892-'93	8.945	186 761
1920-71	15.318	199 667
1924-'25	26.48	210.000

However, the fact that cotton crop fetched high prices for years and helped in no small measure in forcing up a proportional rise in prices of food grains should also be considered.

Roughly 2,50,000 acres of land was undertaken in the Presidency for cotton cultivation and the normal yield annually fetched 5,00,000 sales of 400 lbs. each. Broadly speaking the cultivation of cotton in its value passed through considerable fluctuations as seen from the table 2.9 given below.⁴⁶

Year	Value of cotton (in Rs)
1921-22	1,87,80,048
1922-23	2,29,92,384
1923-24	5,86,05,811
1924-25	6,73,68,368
1925-26	7,92,101,359
1926-27	3,07,58,119
1927-28	2,44,89,351
1928-29	3,31,03,503
1929-30	4,52,43,773
1930-31	1,63,96,260

Meanwhile the cotton mills founded in India in the second half of the nineteenth century rapidly grew specializing in the production of yarn which was sold to the weavers rather than in making fabrics and to a large extent the weaver displaced the

⁴⁵Putambekar and N.S. Vardachari, *Handspinning and Handweaving*, Ahmedabad, 1926, p. 119.

⁴⁶M.W.M.Yeats, *Census of India 1931*, Volume XIV, Part I, Madras, 1932.

booming handspinning industry and became the adjuncts of the yarn mills. In 1854 and within the first decade as many as 13 mills were in full force. See table below:⁴⁷

Table 2.10

Year	No. of mills	No. of spindles	No. of Powerlooms
1865	13	2,85,000	3,500
1876	47	1,100,000	9,100
1886	95	2261,000	17,500
1896	155	3,933,000	37,200
1905	197	5,163,000	50,100

Table 2.11⁴⁸

Number of cotton mills

Year	Madras Pres.	Cochin	Travancore	Pondicherry	Total cotton mills	Jute mills (Mds. Pres.)
1922-23	15	1	1	3	20	4
1923-24	15	1	1	3	20	4
1924-25	22	1	1	3	27	4
1925-26	22	1	1	3	27	4
1926-27	21	1	nil	2	24	4

In turn the mills too began to depend on the weavers since it was through them that they expanded and accumulated capital. Interestingly (as seen from the earlier statistics), till the outbreak of the First World War more yarn was consumed by the handloom weavers than by the textile mills. In the decade 1900-1910 mills consumed 1,398 million yards of cloth whereas the handlooms consumed 2,309 million yards. But once the war broke out taking advantage of the cessation of imports, the textile mills made furious attempts to increase production and to capture the home market. The rising prices during this period increased the margin of profit

⁴⁷Vithaladas Damodar Thackersey, "Indian cotton industry", cited in *The Congress and Conference of 1905, Being a collection of all papers read at the Industrial Conference at Benaras, Madras, N.D.*, pp. 68-70.

⁴⁸G. O No. 977, Development Department, 30 June 1927.

of piece goods over yarn. The mills therefore increased their consumption of yarn. Since yarn imports were limited the amount of yarn available to handloom weavers was drastically reduced. This was one of the reasons why handlooms production fell from 1,088 million yards in 1914-1915 to 506 million yards in 1919-1920. Within three years however i.e., 1922-1925 handloom production reached the figure of 1,084 million yards.⁴⁹

While the progress in productive capacity appears steadily rising upwards the production from year to year fluctuated violently reflecting the considerable variations in fortunes experienced by the industry in the first three decades. General progress of the cotton mill industry of India had been that of an from an industry producing chiefly coarse yarn, primarily for domestic consumption to one which became an important exporter.⁵⁰

Table 2.12⁵¹

Export of Cotton Twist and Yarn (1900-1942)

Year	Value (in Million lbs.)	Value (in million Rupees)
1901-02	2,72,468	93,167
1910-11	1,83,425	86,241
1921-22	22,043	77,146
1931-32	22,043	12,786
1941-42	89320	73,037

Exports nearly doubled during the first two decades of the twentieth century. This expansion mostly took place during and after the First World War as seen from the table below:⁵²

⁴⁹D.R.Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times*, Delhi, 1972, p. 257.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹N.S.R.Shastrri, "A statistical study of India's industrial development" ref. in N.S.R. Shastrri, *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry*, in M.P. Gandhi (ed), *Indian Cotton Textile Industry 1851-1950*, p.88.

See N.S.R.Shastrri, "A statistical study of India's industrial development" ref. in N.S.R. Shastrri, *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry*, in M.P. Gandhi (ed.), *Indian Cotton Textile Industry 1851-1950*.

Table 2.13

Years of expor	Value of exports of price goods from India Value of goods (in Million Rupees)
1901-04	118
1911-22	201
1928-32	219
1934-37	77
1943-46	447

During 1930's the country required protection against foreign imports even in the home market and therefore exports dwindled except in some varieties of specialization in which India had an advantage, for example Madras 'kerchiefs and *lungies*. Till the outbreak of the First World War the level of sea borne exports throughout was below one hundred million yards per annum; a figure which was nearly attained in 1910-'11. A contemporary source of trade statistics in India revealed that in 1904-'05, production of cloth by the hand weaving industry was probably double than that of the Indian mills.

At this rate the handloom production would be 31.74 crore lbs. or 134 crore yards. The yarn imported to India was 2.75 crore lbs. and the yarn produced by the Indian mills was 57.84 crore lbs. This amounting to the total of Rs. 60.59 crores was re-exported and the exported yarn which was deducted amounted to Rs. 25.01 crores (in yards). Therefore, the yarn consumed annually in parts of India amounted to Rs. 35.38 crores (in lbs). This figure compared to the other statistics available proved fairly accurate and the total cloth production of the handlooms may be taken to as not more than 150 crore yards. This divided among the 27 lakh weavers gave an average output of 555 yards per weaver, per annum or 5 1/2 feet per day at 300 days in the year. This seemed

such a miserable return that further enquiry into import duties was urged on behalf of the weavers to the Government.⁵³

The great war gave the first stimulus to the Indian textile exports which reached the then peak figure of 263 million yards in 1916-17. In the early thirties the volume of sea borne exports declined again to well below two million per annum due to the depression. However, Indian exports recovered fast and were on the increase in 1937-38 and exported 241 million yards which and was 60% more than in 1928, even though the world index compared with 1928 stood at about 80%.⁵⁴

What is deduced is that at the beginning of the present century India depended for nearly two thirds of its requirements of cotton piece goods on foreign imports and the Indian mills supplied only 15% and the balance was the handloom manufacturing piece goods either from yarn imported or supplied by local mills. The end of the First World War saw a reversal of this trend with the share of imports falling on Indian mills. But with the grant of protection of the mill industry the share of imports came to 15% with the Indian mills increasing to 50%. Thus, within, a period of 35 years, their position were reversed. See the graph (p.t.o.) on this for an clearer illustration of the cotton yarn consumed and cloth produced. Appendix C gives the actual figures of consumption and production of cotton yarn in handlooms and Indian mills.

The Government's attitude towards India's industrial development was professedly *laissez faire*. In practice its

⁵³This was appealed to by Mr. Robertson, The Congress and Conference of 1905 being a collection of all papers read at the *Industrial Conference at Benaras*, Madras, N.D., p. 10.

⁵⁴L.K. Jha, "A Half Century of Textile Export" in M.P. Gandhi (ed), *Indian Cotton Textile Industry in India 1851-1950*, pp. 39-40

commitment to discriminating intervention survived the appearance of an ideology of industrialization among Indian nationalists as well as any symptom of bureaucratic deviation. But the excise duties imposed on cloth and yarn in 1894 and 1896 had acted as a catalyst engendering ill feeling during the **first** wave of the *Swadeshi* movement and rankled upto 1901. The Indian owned mills were especially handicapped with excise duties in order to protect Lancashire and continental manufactured cotton goods. The consequence was the flooding of the country with English, German and Japanese, piece goods made out of Indian cotton to the "deadly injury of the Indian cloth made by her nascent industries". The attitude of the Government was deplored in the national newspaper.⁵⁵

The abolition of the import duty (cotton duties) at a time when exchange was falling and military expenditure was increasing could only mean that India would become bankrupt or that duties must be increased, or that England must bear a part of the expenses of the Indian administration.⁵⁶

By 1910, the nationalists were more vociferous in their arguments: they declared that it was improper on the part of the authorities to impose countervailing the duties levied on cotton goods imposed from England of the free trade fame.⁵⁷ It was argued, that Japan that does not grow cotton at all was trying to capture the cotton trade of India. On the other hand is it not necessary for India which produces cotton in abundance to bestow some attention on improving her trade in this commodity? But, while on the one hand the Japanese Government advanced the

⁵⁵For example, see, *The Common Weal*, for the week ending, 3 Dec. 1915 and *The Mail*, 2 May 1917.

⁵⁶*Native newspaper reports for the fortnight ending 15 November 1895*, p. 352

⁵⁷See, *Deshabhimani*, 30 April 1910.

necessary capital for the development of this industry, and also offered to let it recoup from its initial losses, the home Government had on the other hand increased the duties on mills. It was appealed to the Government to (i.) reduce the duty on mills and (ii.) levy a duty of 5% on the value of all imported goods.⁵⁸

The impact of the war on the Indian economy dramatically transformed the situation integrating rural India into a world economy. This was done through tremendous developments and the colonial mode of production destroying the "inner and spontaneously growing and operating ties between agriculture and industry based on the international structure of social relationships."⁵⁹

To understand the changing market structure and the manufacturing work force in coastal Andhra it is imperative to have a clear perspective of the impact of economic transformations raging outside, forcing the handloom weavers to involve themselves in the vortex of the changing price fluctuations of a world market.

In the Andhra regions, one sees the handloom industry along the coast being more prone to external influence, entrepreneurship and trading connections. In the interior or central areas the local or feudal tendencies at play would have had a stronger hold on the weaving community and "its economic structure being probably more inclined to specialized markets."⁶⁰

The term 'market economy' has been defined by Karl

⁵⁸ For further reference see, *Varthika Miltran*, 19 December 1915; and *Veerakesari*, 1 December 1915.

⁵⁹ G.P.Mishra, "Dominant Agrarian Relations: Class Basis of Rural Development", *State and Society*, First Quarter, 1982, p.18.

⁶⁰ See Thirthankar Roy, "Urbanization in South India 1900-1945, Vol. II, April 25-27, 1988, *Seminar on South Indian Economy. c. 1914-1945, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum*, pp. 1-25.

Polayani as *an economic system controlled, regulated, and directed by markets only* (emphasis mine).⁶¹ This definition has been brought out here to emphasize the fact that later on this very law of supply and demand would be the major impetus to the handloom industry in the later part of the twentieth century. In Andhra, a new business class developed during 1860-1930 and with it new commodity markets for agricultural products emerged locally, mainly in the fast growing trading and transport towns of Vijayawada, Guntur and Kakinada where urban based mercantile groups entered rural trade and money lending.⁶²

During this period of development of railways, trade, emergence of permanent markets, migrant traders oppressed by the *mungani* system or perpetual indebtedness and outsiders from the north or central parts emerged to enter the weaving community and later came to dominate it.⁶³

This happened mostly in Andhra coastal and southern towns more than in Tamilnadu because the major weaver castes in Tamilnadu had retained control over trade thus delimiting the chances of immigration or independency.⁶⁴ It possessed a multi-tiered system where a large number of producers were dependent on one main producing merchants and many of whom had entered this trade since the extension of the railways, which helped the enterprising traders to connect strategic and long distance trade points.⁶⁵

⁶¹Karl Polayani, *The Great Transformation*, Boston, 1957, p. 68.

⁶²For further details on the position of economy during the depression see D.A.Washbrook, *Emergence of Provincial Politics: Madras Presidency 1870-1920*, Cambridge, 1976, p. 513; Carol Boyack Upadhyay, "The farmer Capitalists of Coastal Andhra", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (hereafter *EPW*), Vol. 23, 1988, pp. 1376-82.

⁶³N.G Ranga, *Economics of Handloom*, p. 38.

⁶⁴Thirthankar Roy, "Urbanisation in the South", p. 23.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 13.

The expansion of trade and communication in turn, led to the integration and monetization of the economy of the deltas. Agriculture now became increasingly commercialized and labour force relatively free and mobile, payment done in cash and employment on a daily basis became the norm. What was increasingly witnessed was the fact that, the weavers gave up the system of buying yarn from the local shops and hawking of the cloth at the weekly village fairs. The weaver also began entering contracts with large traders or a large producer who tied yarn and cloth into one transaction. Therefore by 1930s what is observed is, the reduction of independent weavers to 'dependence' on large production. As Andhra regions prospered these new market towns increasingly became the focus of political, cultural and social movements in which the main participants were the *nouveau* rich and the educated urban dwellers.⁶⁶

The total number of industrial establishments in the Madras Presidency in 1921 was 2,105 out of which textiles and its ancillary units constituted a greater number, exemplifying the fact that the textile industry dominated throughout the Presidency. Private capitalists both Indian and European owned about 358 out of the total number of 441 textile industries. What is significant to note is that the Indian capitalists alone had under their ownership 322 out of the total 358. The fact that was glaring was that native capitalism had definitely made inroads by 1921 into the cotton industry of the Madras Presidency.⁶⁷

M.N. Srinivas speaks from the geographical point of view when he argues that, the inhabitants of coastal regions especially

⁶⁶D.A. Washbrook, *Emergence of Provincial Politics: Madras Presidency 1870-1920*, Cambridge, 1976, p. 513.

⁶⁷ *Census of India 1921*, Vol. XIII, Madras, 1921, pp. 224- 27.

close to the fast growing port towns were favourably situation undergo primary Westernization, a hundred years or more before interior areas such as the Punjab. The former, clearly showed a sensitivity to the new commercial, educational and other opportunities. Likewise, merchants and bankers found in the British administered areas not only security of life and prosperity but also freedom from arbitrary exercise of political power.⁶⁸ This statement can be further elaborated as "the growing middle class in port towns was thus primarily non-Muslim. Western education gave them opportunities for associating with the ruling elite, prospects for jobs in Government and business, enhanced social status and better commercial contacts with the growing foreign firms."⁶⁹

When one compares the southern Andhra towns with the coastal Andhra regions it is observed that the former had a larger loom size in 1899 but the ranking reversed by 1940 reflecting in the overall population of weavers and in the technological progress that was now being increasingly made available:⁷⁰

See Table 2.14 :

Regional distribution of handloom centres

	Coastal Andhra		Southern Andhra	
	1899	1940	1899	1940
No. of towns:	1	15	6	10
Average size of towns (having medium size towns).	256	5808	9,962	20,485

The above table gives the number of looms in the coastal and southern Andhra towns and the proportional rise in the

⁶⁸M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Madras, 1966, p. 62.

⁶⁹Shanti Tangri, "Intellectuals and Society in the Nineteenth century", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. III, No. 14, 1961, p. 376.

⁷⁰Thirthankar Roy, "Urbanisation in South India 1900-1950". Also see Thirthankar Roy, "Structure and size of handloom weaving in the mid-thirties", *IESHR*, Vol. 25, 1988, pp. 1-24.

average size of medium sized towns. What can be deduced is that at the turn of the twentieth century, coastal Andhra towns came to enjoy a highly lucrative and commercial position along with an intricate market economy. An increase in employment in coastal Andhra towns in cotton textiles was absolute and not relative. There were 3,340 persons in 1911 and the figures increased to 4,159 persons by 1961. In relative terms it was 29% in the year 1911 declining to 23.3% in 1961.⁷¹

A number of hand weaving establishments which were not classed as mills were set up in which organized work was carried on. Five of these works were taken up during 1908 under the supervision of Bassel German missions and were located on the west coast. Two establishments at Niddavolu in the Kistna district which did weaving and knitting and employed 75 hands daily. A few years earlier the Krishna Jute and Cotton mills Company Limited was established by Messers. Mothey Ganga Raju and Mothey Subbarow and were desirous that the whole of the shares that were to be issued should be taken up by residents in the town or neighbourhood of Ellore in the district of Krishna. With a nominal capital of Rs. 5,00,000 the sum subscribed locally came upto Rs. 4,48,500.⁷² By 1926 the progress of the mills can be seen as

in the Table 2.15 below:

Ellore (Godavari district, The Krishna Jute and Cotton mills Limited)				
Capital authorised	Paid up (in lakhs)	Debentures	Looms	Spindles
5,00,000	4.51	..	86	1908

Employed: Men-367, women-195, children-31, Total = 593

The Krishna Cotton and Jute Mills registered on 18th. July 1904 and the Guntur Cotton and Jute mills company registered on

⁷¹See, Gujjula Rajaiah, "Structure of Work force under Manufacturing Sector: A Study of Coastal Andhra 1911-1961, *Seminar on South Indian Economy*, c. 7974-1945, Vol. II, April, 25-27, 1988, Trivandrum, pp. 1-16.

⁷²Somerset Plavne, *Southern India 1914-15*, N.D., p. 616.

20th. Sept. 1904 began to take interest in jute especially catering to the demands of the war for gunny sacks and gunny cloth. A number of private hand weaving factories were established operating the fly shuttle looms. There was slight improvement in the labour supply as higher wages were offered and this attracted workers. In order to popularise fly shuttle looms (experimental work was done at Salem), six centres of the weaving school were established throughout the Presidency and to attract hereditary weavers attempts were made to improve on the traditional methods of sizing cotton yarn.⁷³

See Table 2.16 :

A glance at the early mills established in coastal Andhra.⁷⁴

Province	No of mills	Place of working	Normal share capital	Paid up Share	Debenture	No. of Looms	No. of Spinde
Cotton Yarn:							
Madras Province	1	Pandalapaka Ramachandra-Puram Taluk Godavari Dist. established 1915 Private Ltd.	2,51,877	1,09,691	2,51,877	0	2,700
(Average daily members of people employed M-74, F - 24, C -76. total = 174)							
Madras Province	1	Vizagapatnam District Chittivalasa Bhimilipatam Taluk established 1867	All were Joint Stocks Companies and information on capital share: -not available-	0		138	3,576
	1	Ellore Established 1904		5,00,000	4,48,500	86	1908
	1	Guntur Established 1912		6,00,000	2,50,442	50	1056

(Producing gunny bags and gunny cloths)

⁷³G.O.No. 977, Development Department, 30 June, 1927.

⁷⁴G.O. No. 976, Development Department, 10 July 1923, See, "Report on the statistics on cotton and jute mills, 1922-1923".

Table 2.17:

Revised statement of the Cotton and Jute mills (in specifically the Godavari district):⁷⁵

Name of the mill	No. of cotton mills	Spindles	m	w	c = T	Capt. authorised (in rupees) R- A-P	Paid total R-A-P
Sri. Suryanarayana Spinning and Weaving mill (Pandalapaka)							
Ramachandrapuram—1		2,700	71	26	71=168	2,49,275	2,56,753-4-0
							68,034-15-0 (borrowed money on interest)
Ramachandrapuram (in 1927)—1		2700	62	18	18=109	4,00,000	2,49,275
The Godavari Spinning and Weaving mill Pandalapaka Ramachandrapuram . . . — 1		3,000	47	12	10=69	1.87.9%	33,793-2-0
Total—2		5,700	118	38	81 = 237.		

Gujjula Rajaiah has come to the conclusion that the demand for cotton mill made cloth might have grown partly over the period replacing the hand-woven/handloom cloth. However, it was seen that the demand for silk woven on handlooms appeared to have increased in the Andhra region (as mills did not produce silks until recently), reflects the increased demand for stitched or ready made clothing for males and females. This increase obviously outweighed the decline of all the other textile groups of coastal Andhra and the net result was the increase in the overall share of textiles employment in total manufacturing sector.⁷⁶

Meanwhile in England bills were introduced in the parliament which appealed to the Government to (i.) levy an import duty from 11% to 15% and ii.) cloth coming to England from other countries should be taxed further more by 5%⁷⁷. As England was passing through a bad phase of economic depression, which in

⁷⁵Compiled from GO No. 977, Development Department, 30 June, 1927.

⁷⁶Gujjula Rajaiah, "Structure of Work force under Manufacturing Sector: A Study of Coastal Andhra 1911-1961", pp. 1-16.

⁷⁷N.C. Bhogendernath, *Development of the Textile Industry in Madras* (up to 1950), in R. Balakrishna (ed.), Madras University Economics Series, Published by the Madras University, Madras 1957, p. 19.

turn had generated a lot of unemployment, it was imperative for India to help England in recouping its financial resources.⁷⁸

A vituperative answer was given to this in the Andhra newspapers by the nationalist Chavalli Venkata Hanumantha Rao arguing that the taxes that were imposed were not only unnecessary but India did not deserve to be burdened by the deficit budget of the colonial Government. Moreover, with 70% of our cloth exports being exported to Japan and increasing the subsidy of goods to England, would worsen the Indian economic situation financially thus losing irreparably in the exchange.⁷⁹

The reports of the Tariff Board on the grant of protection for cotton and silk industries was published after four years. As regards the cotton industry, for which the commerce member had moved the cotton textile bill in the legislative assembly the main recommendations were as follows:

In the case of white and bleached goods six *annas* per pound,

In the case of bordered grey five and a quarter *annas* per pound,

In the case of fabric woven with coloured yarn six *annas* and four *pies* per pound and

In the case of yarn the board recommended a reduction of specific duty of one *anna* per pound.

This protection was proposed for a period of ten years.⁸⁰

With the growing protest in the vernacular papers over the imposition of harsh duties on cotton, an Indian Bureau was

⁷⁸See for the answer given to George Schuster, Member of the Economic Council, by the fiery nationalist Chavali Venkata Hanumantha Rao, 'Battala Parishrama', *Bharati*, Vol VII, No. 9, 1930. For a detailed discussion on the history of cotton tariffs imposed on India since 1818, see. Govinda Raju, Venkata Krishna Rao, "Angla Vartaka Rakshana Padhati Leka: Imperial Preference", *Andhra Patrika*, (microfilm, APSA), 1922.

⁷⁹*Bharati*, Vol. VII, No. 9, 1930.

⁸⁰For further note on this see, *Indian Review*, Vol. xxxv, No. 3, March 1934, p.207.

established at Craven St. London with the main objective of acquainting Britain at first hand with India's economic problems. A deputation of Indian industrialists went to the India Office to urge a better deal for indigenous cotton and the cultivation of longer staple cotton, particularly seeking the direct assistance of the Indian Agricultural department.⁸¹

The Report of the Indian Cotton Committee impelled the Government to appoint the Indian Central Cotton Committee by giving it a legal status by the provisions of the Indian Cotton Cess Act of 1923. Three of these members were appointed by the Government of India of whom one was the agricultural advisor to the Government of India who was the ex-officio President of the committee. Nine members were the representatives of the provisional agricultural department. Seven of them were cotton merchants and ginnerers, six cotton spinners, seventeen cotton growers and six members from the Indian states. The work of the committee fell under four main heads but it was mainly concerned with the improvement of cotton marketing and curbing of malpractice both by the legislative and by constructive action. The Indian Cotton Central Committee was therefore charged with the promotion of all measures which would tend to further the improvement of cotton growing in India.⁸²

Simultaneously, several mills in south India had taken the initiative towards common protection by forming associations. The earliest impetus however came from Mr. Arno Schmidt, Secretary of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers Association founded in 1904 at Zurich. Schmidt came to India with the specific aim of enrolling mill owners in his

⁸¹F. Desouza, *House of Binny*, Madras, 1969, p. 167.

⁸²Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Bombay, 1928, *passim*.

federation. The Madras and South India Mill Owners' Federation thus came into being in which the seven founder members were the three Binny mill companies, the Coimbatore Spinning and mill company limited, the Dargah Spinning mill company limited, Qilon, and the New Madras Spinning and Weaving Company limited Madras. The last company being Indian owned by Richard Lee of Binny's was elected secretary. A wide spectrum of interests was chalked out by the South Indian Chamber of Commerce founded in 1909 with a membership, exclusively Indian claiming to represent Indian commerce, trade, industries and banking in all the adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency. The Chamber specifically registered trade marks, surveyed goods and undertook arbitration of disputes.⁸³

The Andhra Chamber of Commerce were not far behind in this process of forming their own associations of interest. It consisted of one hundred and fifty members and began its affiliation with the Central Delta Chamber of Commerce at Amalapuram in Godavari district. Registered in 1928 under the Indian Companies Act the membership of the Andhra Chamber of Commerce as open to merchants, bankers, industrialists of the Andhra districts. The Andhras were a strong element comprising of about 60% of the mercantile community of the Madras Presidency, in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and in the International Chamber of Commerce at Delhi. Though its position was strong and it was vitally interested in all the problems relating

⁸³Read C.V.V.E Cotton, *Handbook of Commercial information for India*, Calcutta, 1919, p. 33. Also see for an introduction to this in the *Proceedings of Madras Chamber of Commerce*. See, B.R. Bhat (ed), *Bhat's All India Year Book*, Coimbatore, 1943.

to cotton, it was handicapped for want of representatives on the provincial cotton committee.⁸⁴

An increase in employment in coastal Andhra towns in cotton textiles was absolute not however relative. It is also significant to note that out of the seven districts of coastal Andhra the share of textiles employment in total manufacturing for persons increased in case of east and west Godavari and Srikakulam whereas, it declined in the case of Guntur, Vizagapatam, Krishna and Nellore. The overall increase in textile employment in these districts may be concluded to be due to the increase in the production of commercial crops like cotton, jute and other fibers.⁸⁵

To cope with the vortex of changing economic situations the handloom industry in the Madras Presidency diversified its products. As demonstrated, over a period of time, the number of handlooms that were employed in weaving coarse goods rose faster than the number of weaving of fine goods in the districts of the Presidency. But the reversal after 1930 was obvious when the Indian handloom industry began to diversify towards finer and costlier products.

For a better understanding of the position of the cotton industry in the Madras Presidency with the names of the owners and the Names and Marks for the season, 1939-40 is provided below to give a better understanding of the growth of mills in the different districts producing yarn and cloth.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Development Department (misc.) No 467, 11 March 1941.

⁸⁵See Gujjula Rajiah, "Structure of work force under manufacturing sector: A study of Coastal Andhra 1911-1961", pp. 1-16.

⁸⁶Index to the *Trade journal*, Vol. cxxii, Jan.-Mar. 1939, p. 1185.

Guntur district:

Sri Narasimha press Co. Lmtd.

(Managing Director-Mr. R. M. V. Narasimha Rao Bahadur)

The Guntur Merchant's cotton press LTD.

(Managing director-Mr. T. **Nagaratnam**)

Guntur taluk :

Volkart's United press

(Messers. Volkart Bros.)

Prospect Press and Mill Lmtd.

(Messers. MR. Cutsetji and J.R. Cursetji -Managers.

The Deccan Pressing and Gin Factory

(Mr. J.D. **Byramji** -Agent)

Palnad taluk- Gurazala

Sri Krishna Cotton press co Lmtd.

(Managing Director-Mr. **Uppal** panchu **Venkataratnam**-)

Krishna district:

Bezawada *taluk*, **Bezawada**

Sri Tripura Sundari Cotton press co. Lmtd.

(Mr. Addepalli Venkatapayya)

East Godavari district:

Cocanada *taluk*, Cocanada

The Godavari Baling Press Society

(Messrs. **B L. Narayana Rao** , P.V. Subba Rao **Bros.** and **Audinarayana Bros.**)

Cocanada (Handpress).

Therefore to conclude, the change in the handloom weaving products in Andhra was the cumulative result of many factors including changes in Government policies, organizational structure of the industry, changes in the income of the handloom weaver and the influence of technical changes. The Fact Finding Committee's (appointed for Mills and Handlooms) indicated that severe competition between mills and handlooms existed and was mainly keen in the weaving of medium counts in 21s to 50s counts of yarn in the thirties and forties of the twentieth century.

The major weakness of this industry (handloom) had always been its decentralized pattern which isolated it from the advances of all textile labours and yet had to keep in touch with the rapidly

changing patterns and demand for raw material and tools. Secondly the road to the weavers' salvation lay in the total elimination of the influence of the *sowcar*/middlemen who exploited them not only at the village level in the metropolis but also throughout the districts and in important centres of industrial and commercial banks either on a co-operative basis or on a joint-stock principle which was the need of the hour.

Along with the Government initiative of providing technical assistance to weavers on Co-operative lines the entrance of Gandhi, contributed considerably in widening the social and the political horizons of the weaver. The social distance and the relation existing between the weaver and the master craftsman reduced to a large extent with the weaver gaining an awareness of the changes ensuing in the non-local scenario and the centrality that cloth as an economic and political symbol played in the world economy.

There are studies contradicting this view point. According to some scholars development in the external forms of proto-capitalism of credit capital and markets should be seen during the late nineteenth century as not being in consequence to an equivalent development of mentalities. The level of demand for loom cloth was not only conditioned by economic factors such as price or income but also due to cultural factors preserving a set traditional industry.⁸⁷

However, though this argument may be true of the nineteenth century the present century saw definitely a response to expansion characterizing different parts of the industry. What can be authoritatively proved is that varied response was visible in different districts as weavers acclimatized to change with different

⁸⁷C.A. Bayly, "The origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society 1700-1930", in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Origins of Things: Commodities in Cultural perspective*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 285-321.

degrees of success. This industry was given an added impetus by the introduction of the technology in the form of the fly shuttle and the frame looms introduced by the German Mission Bassel and Company.

The internal market for feminine clothes had also been preserved in the south probably because costumes were more uniform and tradition firmly entrenched here. Economic compulsions appear to have encouraged innovations in technology: for example the Gujerati *charkha* utilized an iron handle and ball bearings and in consequence it became twice as productive as the ordinary *charkha*. New *charkhas* were indeed later introduced into Andhra called *Jeevana charkhamulu*, *Birilu charkhamulu* and *Kali raatnamulu*, costing Rs. 10/- to Rs. 30/-. The main reason for this appears to be that the older *charkhas* were easier to rotate, more pliable and better for spinning the 40s to 100s counts of yarn.⁸⁸

The weavers of Uppada and deeper south of the Madras Presidency, i.e., in Salem, Kornadu, and Madura by keeping abreast with the latest trend of feminine fashion, towards multi coloured hand-woven indigenous patterns for the blouse and saris, sought an assured market. According to C.A. Bayly, the poor weavers', rejection of the European styles and British goods transcended purely practical policies or simple economizing which was not the issue.⁸⁹ Further to quote, George Watt: "throughout India certain localities were famed for the qualities, design etc. of their goods. The merchant must ascertain the next size, shape, the particular quality and colour in demand in each locality. The mere

⁸⁸In fact when in 1905 *charkhas* improved and were widely used Andhra saw no such development here. For further information on this view see, Tallapragada Suryanarayana Panthulu, "*Raatnam-Khaddaru*", *Andhra Patrika, Varshika Sanchika*, (Annual Volume), 1922-23 and also Melly Solingar, "*Khadi Parishrama*", *Bharati*, II, Vol. 9, 1932.

⁸⁹C.A. Bayly, "The origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930", pp. 285-321

fact of offering a superior quality of goods is no inducement to trade. Few countries in the world are more conservative regarding their garments than the various races and castes of India."⁹⁰ Here in conclusion, this chapter has stressed a case for an expanding handloom sector especially in the Andhra region due to internal factors such as *Swadeshi*, rise of business classes, tariff policies and the external factors (of the war) playing a major role in rejuvenating this industry. The Gandhian movement coming as it did during the twenties, held the political stage in India and constituted largely to resetting the pride of the Indians in their domestic industry and set the young men to villages to establish their primary relations with the soil. How this was worked out exactly, is discussed in the following chapter.

⁹⁰Refer to George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, London, 1908, p. 616.

CHAPTER III
Swadeshi Ideology and the Working of Gandhian
Politics in Andhra

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Swadeshi Ideology and the Working of Gandhian Politics in Andhra

One of the questions that arises in any discussion on the handloom industry in India is the impact of foreign competition particularly the British on Indian handicrafts. This question is sought to be answered in this chapter by a detailed examination of the data relating the Andhra handloom industry. This sector was affected not only by cataclysmic economic changes that were wrought in the first half of the present century but also significantly by the nationalist movement and (in particular) the Gandhian ideology. This study is an attempt to explore the linkages between the Gandhian ideology, the Indian economy and the handloom production in Andhra.

The concept of *Swadeshi* as developed by Gandhi to become a major weapon in his anti colonial strategies had both political and economic dimensions. For Gandhi, *Swadeshi* centered around handspun *khaddar* and extended to everything that could be produced indigenously by the rural masses.

Swadeshi as a concept has been defined aptly by Sumit Sarkar in its specifically economic aspect as "a sentiment closely associated with many phases of Indian nationalism— that indigenous goods should be preferred by consumers even if they were more expensive than or inferior in quality to their imported industries and that it was the patriotic duty of men with capital to

pioneer such industries even though profits initially might be minimal or non-existent.”¹

As against this definition, an imperialistic definition terms *Swadeshi* to mean anything from the perfectly legitimate and commendable encouragement of Indian industry to the complete exclusion of foreign and especially English goods by a national and often forcible boycott as part of a political campaign against British rule.²

The concept of *Swadeshi* had a dual aspect to perform under the leadership of Gandhi: One, an ideological aspect and another an economic one. The problem of handloom industry although in essence was an economic one, had in reality two components: One 'human' and the other 'functional'. The human element consisted in fact, of a large number of people who were solely or mainly dependent on the hand-woven industry for their livelihood and were suffering from certain disabilities and hardships. The functional aspect was concerned with the situation wherein methods of producing handloom fabrics and their marketing during the nationalist phase became increasingly, uneconomic, unprogressive and was generally seen as unorganized.

This is linked up with the question of how Gandhi himself developed the idea of *khadi* gradually. Earlier, his aim of providing only employment which would earn the weaver a minimum of three *pies* a day, to the final stage of the weaver forming the **apex/pinnacle** of the *samagra seva* movement, is discussed in detail. What was the primary and final impact on technology or on the economic sub-structure and finally what was the ideological base

¹Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal: 1905-1908*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 92.

²For further details see, Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, Delhi, 1979, p. 254.

of Gandhi's 'charisma'? How did he resolve the various contradictory forces and their interplay during the period 1920-50? For example, the complex competition between the mills and the handloom, the All India Spinners' Association (hereafter AISA) Vis-a-Vis the Co-operative societies and between the *dallals*, middleman and the Congress ?

With Gandhi's entry into Indian politics after the First World War, a gauntlet was thrown not only to Hindu orthodoxy but also to the British authority. But shrewdly, he stressed political issues when he launched his *Satyagraha* campaigns against the imperial rule and raised social issues during periods of political dormancy. The *khaddar* movement also was in its full swing and had its most lasting impact during the periods between the two major movements, (i.e., Non Co-operation and the Civil Disobedience). Therefore, what is observed is that both for his political and social reform campaigns Gandhi tried to reconstruct tradition so as to the cause of reform. This could be mainly achieved, primarily due to his deep understanding of the nature and mode of discourse and structural constraints of the Hindu tradition.³ Traditional concepts such as 'satya', *Swadeshi*, 'bramhacharya' were imparted new meanings by Gandhi and thereby redefining the traditional institution. This transmutation of traditional concepts enabled him to make social and political campaigns intelligible to the teeming masses who could scarcely have been reached by an entirely new rationalist or modern terminology. Some of his interpreters claim that as a method *Satyagraha* itself contain positive elements of coercion'. The tools of Non Co-operation, boycott and strike which

3 For a discussion on Gandhi as an essentially social and political reformer with a deep vein of humanism for whom ideas were merely tools for achieving certain given ends within a certain ethical framework, see, Bhikhu Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political discourse*, New Delhi, 1989.

were used in *Satyagraha* involved elements of compulsion which may have affected a change on the part of the opponent which is actually against his will.⁴

Recent studies by the subaltern historians on Gandhian politics stress that, 'local subcontractors representing the lower middle class used long standing ties of domination to assemble the subaltern, that the peasants who responded to Gandhi's message put their own interpretations to it, and that their agitations and protests often threatened to go far beyond effective control of Gandhian leaders.'⁵ Modern historiography has increasingly revealed the fact that the masses had their own politics, their own ways of resisting British rule and it was within these limits that they tried to adopt the message of Gandhi, with the variations over geographical and social space.⁶

Weavers as a social community in parts of the subcontinent had their own images and interpretations of colonial authority and myriad ways in which these workers moulded their actions and dynamics of functioning. This is precisely what is explored in this chapter. What is significant to note is the meticulous details of the methods in which Gandhi was able to forge political linkages on local and on regional levels. Recent writers stress that Gandhi was able to fuse the traditional Hindu image of saintliness with the

4 J.V. Boundurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of conflict*, (revised edition), Berkeley, University of California, p.9, cited in Thomas Weber, "The Lessons from the Disciples: Is there a contradiction in Gandhi's Philosophy of Action?", *Modern Asian Studies*, (hereafter *MAS*), Vol. 28, No. 1, 1984, pp. 195-214.

5 Further information the fears of the business community that Gandhism could not control the worker unrest see, Claude Marcovitz, *Business and Nationalist politics 1931-'39: The Indigenious Capitalist class and the Rise of the Congress party*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 155-75. Also see Sumit Sarkar for his views on the failure of the congress in disciplining the no-tax campaigns and urban boycotts and the fear it inspired in bourgeois interests. Sumit Sarkar, "The conditions and nature of subaltern militancy: Bengal from Swadeshi to **Non-cooperation**, c. 1905-1922", *Social Scientist*, Vol. III, 1984, p. 273.

6 Refer to, Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *The Penguin Gandhi Reader*, New Delhi, 1993.

modern role of a *political broker*,⁷ and this seems to remain a standard for studies on Gandhi as a political actor.

Another view projects Gandhi's modern values as being ensconced in a traditional garb, "a re-reading of Indian culture in a totally ahistorical way, but extremely creative fashion."⁸ Ashis Nandy takes the argument further to explain Gandhian views by saying that his stress on austerity and pacifism did not come so much from the traditional Indian principles of renunciation and monism as from a deep seated early Christian belief in the superiority of the culture of the victims of oppression and from an effort to identify with the more humane cultural strain within a oppressive system. "All his life Gandhi sought to free the British as much as the Indian from the clutches of imperialism and the brahmins as much as the untouchables from caste system". He concludes that such a position was very much akin to forms of Marxism and Christianity.⁹

Having argued that the decay of indigenous industries lay at the root of Indian poverty, the nationalists naturally made reorganization, rehabilitation and modernization of handicrafts an important part of their programme for checking further regression

⁷ The author refers to Susanne and Hoerber Rudolph's essay on, *Gandhi: The Traditional Roots of Charisma*, Chicago press, 1963, in Mark Jurgensmeyer, "The Gandhi Revival" a review article cited in, *Journal of Asian Studies* (hereafter IAS), Vol. xiii, No. 2, Feb. 1984, pp. 293-98.

⁸ For further reference on this see, Irfan Habib, "Gandhi and national movement", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 23, Nos. 4-6, April-June 1995, pp. 3-15.

⁹ There is another facet to this argument. In retrospect, we see that Gandhi innovated a novel technique of revolution with which on one hand he undermined the might of the imperial *raj* and at the same time preached love to this imperial opponent. This thought of Gandhi can be traced back to his early foundations built by his reading of the *Bhagvad gita*. Though it is observed that some of his views also stemmed from western thought, Gandhi was thoroughly disillusioned with western civilization and all that it portrayed. Gandhi's views on this were set out in one of the articles in the *Hind Swaraj* in 1909 and *Indian Opinion*, 2 October 1909; See his *Collected Works*, (hereafter *CW*), Vol. X, p. 389. See also Ashis Nandy, "Oppressed and Human Liberation: Towards a post Gandhian Utopia", in Thomas Panther Kenneth Deutsch (ed.). *Political Thought in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 347-59.

in the material conditions of the people and for the economic revival of the country.¹⁰ Gopal Rao Deshmukh of Poona was the first Indian public man to advocate as early as 1849 in the columns of the *Prabhakar* the use of Indian products in place of imported ones.¹¹

By the 1870s the concept of *Swadeshi* started gathering a momentum- with emphasis on the promotion of the use of indigenous manufactured goods. In 1872 M. G. Ranade delivered a series of public lectures at Poona on economic issues propagating the use of goods produced in one's country even though they may prove to be dearer or less satisfactory than finer foreign products.¹²

This agitation for *Swadeshi* was given a fresh lease in 1896 when the whole country protested against the countervailing excise duties on Indian cloth and received a fresh impetus after the partition of Bengal in 1905. The view stressed was that Indians should unite irrespective of their religion or other differences and "wake up to the national cause by abjuring the use of Lancashire cloth."¹³ Interesting and significant to note, was the fact that the notion of protecting indigenous handicrafts against the severe competition with native machine manufacturers found no place in this phase of *Swadeshi* agitation.¹⁴

By 1907-08, the emphasis on *Swadeshi* efforts was beginning to shift away from industrial production towards banking, insurance and inland trade where profits seemed much easier to make and capital correspondingly less shy. Therefore, *Swadeshi*

Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, New Delhi, 1966, p.64.

¹¹Ram Gopal, *Lokmanya Tilak*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 15-16, cited in Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, p. 123.

¹²D. G. Karve, *Ranade the Prophet of Liberated India*, Poona, 1942, pp. xx, cited in, Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, p. 123.

¹³Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, p. 129.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

ideas as propagated from mainly the economic point of view did not gain the support of every sector. The industrialist class for example, was opposed to these ideas of *Swadeshi* clashing with their entrepreneurial needs and they found it to be an unnecessary waste of public energy and this discontent found expression in their lack of total support to the movement .¹⁵

The nineteenth century therefore increasingly witnessed the demand for rapid industrialization as a compensation assuming national proportions all over the country. No single newspaper or public worker denied the advantages to be gained by promoting Western technology in India.¹⁶

As early as 1900 there was only one voice raised against this mad rush to industrialize. Satish Chandra Mukherjee the Editor of the *Dawn* had the foresight to visualize that it would produce small, highly organized minorities of the capitalist class that would reduce the millions of workers into mere machines and wage slaves and lead the workers to combine in gigantic labour organization that were bound to be permanent social and political dangers in a country as vast as India. The remedy lay, he propagated, in organizing villages on a corporate basis confining it to a few enterprises like engineering projects, mines, railways, etc.¹⁷

Along with these indigenously sprouting ideas, the War of Independence of the U.S., and the French revolution inspired the youth of India to react more strongly on the corroding effects of colonial rule on the national character.¹⁸

This was also a period in which the three major potential streams emerged: Moderates following constructive *Swadeshi*,

¹⁵Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal: 1905-1908*, p. 131.

¹⁶Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, p. 90.

¹⁷Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, p. 100.

¹⁸Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi: The Early Phase*, Vol. I, Ahmedabad, 1965, p.188.

political extremists using extended boycott and side-by-side the growth of the terrorist movement. By July 1905, the creed of *atmasliakti/self* reliance filled the air of Bengal. With *Swadeshi* schemes of textile mills, improved handlooms, river transport concerns, match and soap factories, earthenware factories, tanneries, etc., national education through muffassil schools (Aug. 1906), the Tarakanath *Palit Society* for the promotion of technical education and efforts to translate Rabindranath Tagore's *Swadeshi samaj* into practice became the highlights of this age.¹⁹ The chief centres of economic thinking were founded by Gopala Krishna Gokhale, the *Servants of India Society* and in Bengal, *The Dawn Society* which inspired not only a first class institute for higher technical education at Jadhavpur near Calcutta, but was known for its pioneering works in modernized industry and commerce. This gave an added impetus given to this movement.²⁰

One of the most appealing arguments used by the Indian nationalists to defend and popularize the concept of *Swadeshi* was that since the Government of India had refused to give them the much needed protection to the growing industries of India, the people themselves should undertake to provide protection through the vigorous campaigning for *Swadeshi* goods.

Therefore to sum up the nationalist attitude prior to 1905: was one of a "compound of general indifference, positive hostility to measures as the factory acts, which were felt to be threatening the interests of the nascent Indian bourgeoisie and sympathy for Indians working in British owned factories, mines and

¹⁹Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, p. 33-36 .

²⁰Shib Chandra Dutt, *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 12.

plantations.²¹ Coming to the 1905 *Swadeshi* movement, one sees, its economic aspects had two national objectives: (i.) economic self reliance and (ii.) employment for the people.²²

On Aug. 7, 1905 the leaders of Bengal assembled in a public meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall under the presidentship of Maharaja Mahinder Chandra Nandy. It was resolved to declare a "general boycott of British goods as a practical protest against the proposed partition," after the manner in which the Chinese boycott of American goods had been done.²³ "We" wrote Surendranath Banerjee in 1906, "must be *Swadeshi* in all things, *Swadeshi* in our thoughts and ideas and aspirations- *Swadeshi* in our educational methods and development."²⁴

The genesis, growth and economic aspects of *Swadeshi* have been reviewed with the specific purpose of understanding its transformed role under the influence of Gandhi after 1905. It was during the last phase of the *Swadeshi* movement - Gandhian phase (1920-47), that the Congress became truly national in its complexion and its composition changed from that of a western educated minority group to a mass organization with *swaraj* as its only and ultimate goal.²⁵ A search had begun for a particular path that would preserve the virtues of an Indian traditional society but combined with methods that would solve its economic problems.²⁶

The solution to this was given in *The Dawn* of April 1900

See Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, Chapter on 'Labour'.

See B. N. Ganguli, *Gandhi's Social Philosophy, Perspective and Relevance*, Delhi, 1973, p. 281.

Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi: Early Phase*, p. 152.

²⁴ Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *India's Fight for Freedom*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 198.

A. Krishna Swamy, 'The north and the south in Indian history during the national movement', cited in S.P. Sen (ed.), *The North and the South in Indian History: Contact and Adjustment*, Calcutta, 1976, p. 194-195.

²⁶ This point is borrowed from Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement*, p. 104.

which explained that the remedy lay (i.) first in organizing most of the industries on a family handicraft basis confining large scale capitalist industry to only a few exercises like engineering projects, railways, etc., (ii.) second by organizing a corporate ethical life. "By giving to each class a fixed reorganized and independent place in the social organism (sic) but all cooperating in such ordered CO-ordination as to work for the advantage of whole as to further the spiritual evolution of each ascending grade and of the whole Indian society."²⁷

To put this very theory in practice came Gandhi, entering the threshold of politics in the first quarter of this century. His rise to power was made possible by events that put an end to the isolation between the different layers of politics. The situation that was prevalent was, where various groups were not longer satisfied with political or the economic mode which they were accustomed to. The years between the World Wars saw the breakdown of various such barriers, making it both possible and profitable for previously latent groups to erupt and give their support to Gandhi in Indian politics.²⁸ Simultaneously the earliest terrorist organization in south India also sprouted in Bezawada, established by M.C. Nanjunda Rao, a close associate of Subrahmanya Bharati. They not only provided financial assistance but also vociferously wrote in a journal 'Bala Bharata', (Young India) an English language monthly that was edited by Bharati.²⁹

²⁷Satish Chandra Mukherjee (ed.), 'The Indian Economic Problem', *The Dawn*, April 1900, pp. 265-266 cited in Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, p. 14.

For details see concluding chapter of Judith Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power; Indian Politics, 1915-22*, Cambridge, 1972. See the chapter "Conclusion", pp. 352-360.

²⁹See, Madras Secret Police Abstract of Intelligence, Madras, 1910, Para 21, P. 14.

Gandhi not only helped the masses to find a standard living wage but also an opportunity for cultivating self-respect by throwing off the symbol of slavery from their backs and gave the craftsmen "a creative joy through the exercise of his credit which forms the true index of civilization."³⁰

Khadi therefore was a programme implemented by Gandhi, a programme remarkable as much for its political importance, as for its continued contemptuous dismissal of foreign domination on economic grounds. It was the first of a series of steps to rehabilitate the under employed rural masses. The role of *Swadeshi* and all that it entailed, i.e., from its finer finish, quality and colour of domestic cloth to a pride in its productive system and in its own land and culture were all highlighted, thus giving a major impetus to this domestic industry.

Just as centralization and divisions of processes were the law of a large scale industry, the effective centralization and integration of processes was the key note of the institution of the All India Spinners' Association (AISA) established in 1925 under the leadership of Gandhi. The concrete work of AISA could be noticed under several heads: (i.) Production and sales, effective marketing of the products by hawking and exhibitions (ii.) Improvement in the quality of raw material and cloth, and lastly, (iii.) reduction in the cost of making and its price.³¹ *Khadi* presented a competition in three phases. One of spectacular flourish, one of sad decay and one of optimistic revival. Each of this coincided with a major historical period. The revival of the *charkha* took a different meaning altogether during the modern period. Converted into a symbol of

³⁰PattabhiSitramayyiah, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, 1885-1935, Bombay, 1935, p. 611.

³¹Richard Gregg, *Economics of Khaddar*, Madras, 1931, p. 177.

Swadeshi, it represented the willingness of the people to labour and sacrifice for national freedom.

In Andhra, a number of Gandhian *ashrams* were set up and functioned up to the late fifties through the All India Spinners' Association. (The Andhra branch of the Spinners' Association had its head quarters established at Masulipatnam). The main ones which carried on active propaganda were the *Pinakini Satyagraha ashrama*, at Pallepadu in Nellore district, *Gautami Satyagraha ashrama* at Sitanagaram, of east Godavari district, *Ananda Niketan ashrama* at Chalgallu in west Godavari district, *Gandhi swaraj ashram* at Polavaram, of west Godavari, *Gandhi ashram* at Komavallu of Gudivada, Krishna district and the *Grama Swarajya peetham*, at Jogganapalem of the west Godavari district.³²

Active efforts to throw off the yoke of slavery in Andhra were initiated by stalwarts like Kandukuri Veereshalingam, Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham, Unnava Lakshmi Narayana, Maganti Bapineedu and others who worked in ameliorating the lot of the masses in rural Andhra. On his visits to Andhra in 1921, Gandhi was overwhelmed by the enthusiasm of its people who seemed to be breaking all past records for displaying courage and a genuine patriotic spirit. The real glory of the people lay in the skill and the deftness applied to the handicrafts and especially to the manufacture of exquisite textiles, cotton and silk fabrics. Confessing that upto 1908 he had no chance of seeing a handloom at work or a spinning wheel, he insisted that, "one needed a

³²The Pinnakini *Satyagraha ashrama* was started by Digumarti Hanumantha Rao, on the banks of river Penna at Pallepadu in Nellore district. Earlier, he was a member of the *Servants of India society* but resigned their membership to begin this *ashram*. See for further details, Jaya Annapurna, *The role of Gandhian Ashrams in the Indian Freedom Struggle with special Reference to Andhra Area 1920-1947*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, O.U. 1988.

weaving expert to teach us to weave before we could work the looms".³³

At Bezawada, where the All India Congress Committee met at 1921, Gandhi discovered that in Andhra women grew cotton in their backyards, cleared, carded it ³⁴ and spun it with slivers. He also discovered that in Andhra the marriage custom required a yoke to be placed on the shoulder of the bridegroom. Besides a *charkha* was presented as gift to the bride. These customs symbolized that the bride and the bridegroom were to plough the land and spin the yarn. Figuratively they implied that the two co-existed. Gandhi was elated when he made this discovery for it confirmed his definition of *khaddar*.³⁵

Giving his clarion call at Kakinada, Gandhi proclaimed, "the spinning wheel, its revival constitute notice in England, France, America, Japan, and other country that India cannot be subdued for its exploitation. It sends across the seas a message to the other nations of the world that India is determined to be absolutely self-contained and independent for her food and clothing."³⁶

In the *taluks* of the prosperous delta regions most of the protest emanated from regions which were subject to the rising

³³See S.R. Bakshi, *Gandhi and Ideology of Swadeshi*, Delhi, 1987, p.43.

³⁴Carding is a process next to ginning. The big carding bow was in use in the initial stages, but in the *Sabarmatiashrama*, a new type of carding instrument was designed which was not only an improvement on the bigger one but also had the advantage of being of medium size. Carding and making slivers was possible with this instrument at the rate of 10 *tolas* per hour. During the 1930-32 movement when workers began to propagate carding and spinning, a smaller and easily portable carding instrument was needed. The medium carding instrument had to be hung from a bow while carding, and this also required considerable space. Therefore, another smaller carding instrument was made which could be held in the hand while carding. The carding capacity of this hand carder was about 5 *tolas* per hour in the 1940s, spinning yarn upto about 30s to 40s counts of yarn

Further details are given on the phases of the working of the Congress Working Committee in 1921 and 1935 in, *The Khadi industry, Report of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting*, Publications division, New Delhi, 1966, p.5.

³⁶**M.K. Gandhi**, *CW*, Vol. X, 19 Nov. 1921 and 20 Nov. 1921, p.502.

economic pressures. Bhimavaram, Tanuku, Narsapuram and Tadepalligudem *taluks* of the west Godavari district, Ramachandrapuram and Amalapuram *taluks* of the east Godavari and Bandar, Divi and Gudivada *taluks* of the Krishna district were most prone to nationalist activity. Simultaneously popular demand for land aggravated the land prices and population increase in these *taluks* acted as a catalyst to the existing economic problems. The apparent post war prosperity attracted people from upland areas to flock to the deltas causing unprecedented density in the coastal regions of Andhra in the 1930s. Economic and social conditions further reduced the average size of land holdings in the district and further depressed the conditions of the local landholders. To represent and to ameliorate the present economic conditions Prakasam and Danda Narayanaraju voiced discontent on the land revenue issue by advocating the use of peaceful and legitimate methods to combat the land revenue proposals.³⁷

Simultaneously, another alternative view to this group was also gaining support in the Andhra Congress camp. Konda Venkatapayyiah and Venneti Satyanarayana whose influence was strong in the Godavari district of Andhra believed in indulging in agitational politics as a means to gain their ends.³⁸ Andhra *khaddar* offices were later torn between rival groups loyal to Venkatapayya and Pattabhi Sitaramayya.³⁹ Venkatapayya also stressed on resolving ways and means of pushing the spinning franchise laid down by the Congress. Out of Rs. 50,000/- allotted by the All India

³⁷See K. Prakasam, *NaJeevita Yatra*, Hyderabad, 1927(translated from Telugu).

³⁸ *The Hindu*, 10 July 1928, reported that at the Andhra provincial congress committee, Konda Venkatapayya spoke vociferously for organizing a vigorous no rent agitation in the **Kistna-Godavari** on the lines similar to the one organized at Bardoli.

³⁹ See M.Chenchu Subba Rao, *Myself and Sitaramayya*, (autobiography), Part I, p.9, cited in C.J. Baker and D.A. Washbrook (ed), *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940*, Meerut, 1975, p. 135.

Congress Committee for this purpose, the Andhra leaders decided to ask for a contribution of Rs. 5,000/- out of it.⁴⁰

Gandhi planned that for every ten new spinning wheels introduced there must be one additional handloom pit or improved fly shuttle supplemented at the same time and this should be done without any loss of time. Otherwise there would be so much of pressure on the existing handloom that hundreds of *khandies* of handspun yarn would be heaped on the handloom weaver who naturally preferred mill made yarn - it being easier to weave.⁴¹ Thus with all the advantages of capitalist production went all the problems of capitalist competition.

Konda Venkatapayyah proposed to begin the experiment in the Sevagram village by first commencing with the youth in the village and then trying to develop all other activities of the village as a whole later on. He proposed to create facilities for every qualified yarn produced in the village to secure the following articles in exchange for a hanks of yarn (640 rounds) as per the following scale.

Table 3.1

Articles to be given in the exchange for a hank of yarn

Rice	60 <i>tolas</i>
Wheat	60
Red gram	60
Black gram	60
Green gram	60
Millet	60
Jowar	60
Paddy	80
Ragi	80
Salt	120

The yarn thus received was to be converted into cloth and exchanged at eight yards per each paddy bag at two railway

⁴⁰See 'Spinning franchise accepted', *The Hindu*, 20 Jan. 1925.

⁴¹See M.K. Gandhi, 'Spinning versus handspinning', *CW*, Vol. IX, 1921, p. 93.

maunds or its equivalent local production.⁴² The vernacular writings emphasized Professor Prafulla Chandra Ray's ideas in vernacular writings where he stressed on the need to making money through *gruha raatnams*. He spoke saying that, even a feeble woman or poor person could ply it and barter goods especially clothes to the elite in the villages thus in turn emphasizing the need for domestic industries.⁴³

The *khaddar* movement that swept India in the first quarter of the twentieth century awakened industrial and commercialisation in India and gave a fillip to the promotion of *Swadeshi*. The realization of the fact that the nation was sustaining enormous losses by the import of cotton goods from Britain and other foreign countries as advertised in the vernacular papers compelled the weavers of Andhra to pay particular attention to its indigenous industry. Its appeal depended on certain advantages, for example, it neither required large capital nor costly implements to put into operation. The cost of setting up a modern yarn mill of 20,000 spindles in India cost approximately Rs.1,660,917/-. This sum if invested in *charkhas*⁴⁴ at Rs. 5/- each which would provide 3,32,183 hand spindles instead of 20,000 mill spindles and the production of yarn would be at least eleven times greater than that of the mill production.⁴⁵ It did not require any higher skills of intelligence than the poverty ridden masses of India possessed, required very little exertion and needed no fresh introduction as it was the traditional sector existing since so many years. It was also

Jamnalal Bajaj, *Khaddar work in India*, Bombay, not dated, (internal evidence suggests 1930), p. 93

Refer to **Prafulla Chandra Ray**, *Akhila Bharata Khaddar Pradarshana Prabhandoth Sarvam*, Kakinada, 1924, pp. 180-186 (translated into English).

For the description and working of the *charkha*, refer to fn. no. 7, Chapter I, Introduction.

Reported in, 'Mills versus the spinning **wheel**', *Young India*, Sept. 1925.

independent of monsoon conditions and not opposed to social and religious susceptibilities of the people.

Therefore, what is significant to note was that the spinning and weaving industry not only benefited the weavers socially and morally but also provided a most immediate way of fighting the immediate famines and in the long run the foreign competition.⁴⁶

The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission of 1919 also stated that the tenacity of the handloom is attributable in part to "the great number of types of cloth of which slow moving Indian custom decrees the use, to the fact that the demand for many of these is on a small scale, while the types themselves are so special as to render it difficult for this powerloom to produce them at profit."⁴⁷

The Madras Presidency at the turn of the century catering as it did to the rising new demands for textiles and oil seeds particularly emerged in an extremely favourable economic situation. Agricultural marketing, exports and imports of industrial goods and raw materials, mobility of labour and in fact the supply of essential articles of non-local nature such as yarn to weavers, iron to ryots, kerosene, tobacco to the general population, all had

Emphasis with first hand information on this was given by Subhalakshmi whose village in Andhra Pradesh plied the *charkha* in difficult times in the first quarter of the present century (private interview). To elaborate further on the argument, that famine migration also reveal an increased mobility is argued in the study by David Hardiman, who defers to argue otherwise. According to him, the argument that increased migration during famines reveal an increased flexibility is hard to accept, as, in times of famine the stark choice for the peasant has always only been, between migration or starvation. Therefore, he concludes, the concept of flexibility needs to be worked out more rigorously before it can be applied. See, David Hardiman, "Rejoinder to Neil Charlesworth, The roots of rural agitation in India, 1914-47, A comment on Charlesworth's reply", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3, April 1981, pp. 118-121.

⁴⁷V.G. Kale (ed.), *Indian Economics*, Poona, 1924, P.274. Refer also to his citation of the *Decennial Report of the Moral and Material Progress in India*, p. 155. On the tenacity of the handloom industry in facing sustained competition. See, *Report of textile expert to the Government of Madras, Handloom weaving in the Madras presidency*, Madras, p. 273.

been linked to the availability of good means of transport and communications. Better means of communication and transport opened up wider vistas of trade and commerce and English education by which the educated not only increased their economic and political awareness but also received better access to Government jobs.

This was reflected in their increased participation and active role at the grass root levels in the form of district conferences convened in Andhra from 1892 onwards. Moreover, it held the credit of being the first of its kind in the Madras Presidency. Later on, district conferences were held regularly at Kakinada, Godavari district etc., to discuss the prevailing political and economic issues being primarily attended by the agricultural occupational groups.⁴⁸ With this impetus, production of *Swadeshi* cloth gathered pace as the early *Swadeshi* movement progressed registering by 1907-'08, a 22.64% increase over the total production over the total production for 1905-06.⁴⁹

See below Table 3.2:

Swadeshi cloth production in the Madras Presidency (1905-08)

Year	Production of <i>Swadeshi</i> cloth (in crore yards)
1905-06	53
1906-1907	57
1907-08	65

The All India Weaving Competition that was held at the premises of the School of Arts Madras, showed beyond doubt that except in the case of solid bordered cloth, the Madras fly shuttle handloom were capable of turning out at least double the quantity of cloth that could be woven in the ordinary country loom and the

⁴⁸See V.Ramakrishna, 'A Background study to the emergence of cast consciousness in coastal Andhra Pradesh', article in Suranjan Das (ed.), *Caste, Communal and Politics in South Asia*, Calcutta, 1993. See Chapter V, p. 99-118.

⁴⁹G.O.No. 85, Judicial (Confl.), 20 Jan. 1909.

desired improvement could be woven on the ordinary country loom and that the desired improvement could be affected by attaching the fly shuttle slay to the existing pit looms at the cost not exceeding Rs. 120/- per loom. It was also discovered that there were several labour saving appliances for pirn winding, warping etc. which could be introduced with advantage.⁵⁰

The Government of India for the Madras Presidency while apparently appearing sympathetic to the first phases of *Swadeshi*, vigorously opposed all boycott activities using its might to control all violence which might occur within the boycott movement. The Government also undertook steps to avoid the British goods from being boycotted by altering the trade law so that all articles manufactured outside India were marked by "foreign made"- as an attempt to disguise its origin which was originally manufactured in Britain.⁵¹

Protesting under the caption, *war on khadi topees* (Maulana Azad was arrested at Vizagapatnam) the students in response vociferously protested by wearing *khadi* caps and were suspended on 23 October 1921. At least fifteen of the debarred students took to *Swadeshi* propagation by door-to door selling *khadi* cloth. Vasanta Rao Bucchi Sundara Rao (1887-1937), an active local leader reported this episode in *Young India* fanning Telugu sentiment and pride for freedom. Dr. Nageshwar Rao, Dr. Chodimella Syamala Rao, Dr. M.S. Venkateshwarulu from, Vizinagaram Missula Virvenkata Satyanarayana (Pandaranki), and Rachakonda

⁵⁰R.M.Diwan Bahadur, P. Rajaratna Mudaliyar Avargal, *Note on Industrial Development and technical education relating to the Industries conference held at Ootacamund in September 1908*. See its Enclosure.

⁵¹*Krishna Patrika*, 5. April. 1908.

Venkateshwarulu (Vizagapatnam) etc., were the most important of the freedom fighters of Andhra.⁵²

The Non Co-operation movement led by Gandhi in 1921 encouraged peasants in Guntur and Cuddapah districts to violate the forest laws and to start the no-tax campaigns. In 1921 it was recorded that there was absolutely no sale of loom cloth outside the district of Guntur which incidentally had the highest concentration of *charkhas* and in most of its villages more than 50% more *khaddar* was made by themselves. In some of its villages the percentage was as high as 95% in 1921.⁵³ The Guntur cloth and fair shopkeepers, without any exception signed a statement not to import foreign goods and the weavers not to weave foreign yarn.⁵⁴

A contemporary writing during this period declared, that the "revival and protection of a dead art, the regeneration of lost craft, remodeling of Indian homes, the re-clothing of India by India's own hands -- this is Alpha and Omega of *swaraj*". Further elaborating she wrote, "the battery of spinning wheel alone can bring about a bloodless moral revolution which will withstand the doubly destructive physical and moral machine power of England -- the manufacturing power of India lay not in her looms but in her spinning wheels."⁵⁵

Substantial work was done in Ongole *taluk* in the manufacture of *khaddar*. Kota Vishwanathan and Kappara Narasimham did good work in the propagation of *khaddar* in Chekurupadu, Madduluru and Uppugunduram of the Ongole

⁵²See A.V.D. Sharma, 'Khaddar Movement in Northern Andhra' in *Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress session*, at Guntur, 1986, pp. 181-85.

D. Narayana Rao, *Report on the survey of the cottage industries in the Madras presidency*, Part II, *Guntur district*, Madras, 1929, See chapter on 'Handspinning'.

Refer to, Ramachadruni Venkatapayya's article, Ongole Taluka lo Bahumukha Jateeya Chaitranyamu, cited in Gundlapalli Audinarayana Shashtipurti Sanchika', Ongole, 1972, (Telugu) p. 122 (trans).

⁵⁵Sarla Chaudharani, *At the point of the Spindle*, Madras, 1921.

taluk. In 1922, possibilities of establishing a *khaddar* factory was explored by Prakasam at Ellore (on similar lines adopted by Nalam Brahmarazu of Rajamundry) with a capital of Rs. 50,000 promised by the Motheys.⁵⁶

In Andhra, the movement was started particularly in Palnad *taluk* of Guntur district. The villagers organized social boycott of forest and revenue officials in Palnad *taluk* which was suppressed after the killing of the leader Hanumanthu by the police- thus demoralizing the peasants. The No-tax campaigns at Peddanandipadu of the Guntur district being an important campaigns not only received wide attention but also spread to Krishna and Godavari districts. The Collector of Guntur wrote in his letter dated 10 January 1922, that the village officers were rich and influential men and that, they had their own personal grievance regarding the loss of perquisite resulting from land surveys and settlements and the reduction of village establishments.⁵⁷

Gandhi inaugurating the 'Tilak Jateeya Vidhyalaya' in Stonehousepet in Nellore exhorted the people to concentrate their attention and energy on the attainment of *swaraj*, which could be sought only through spinning and weaving which were the central factors of the Congress resolution.⁵⁸ The AICC which met at Bezawada on 31 March 1921 passed a resolution appealing to the people to concentrate on three items- one of them being the introduction of twenty lakh spinning wheels spread in all its towns. To achieve this objective the Congress leaders of Andhra worked

⁵⁶ For further details on this see, "Prakasam on Khaddar", *The Hindu*, 17 July, 1922.

⁵⁷ *Report of the Cuddapah Collector on the situation at Rayachoti*. See Mamidipudi Venkatarangiah, *Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh*, Vol. iii, 1921-31, Document 65, 10 Jan. 1922, Hyderabad, p. 280.

⁵⁸ *The Hindu*, 12 April 1921.

incessantly with Gandhi at the helm and the response seen phenomenal. Twenty lakh *charkhas* were installed within the scheduled time.⁵⁹ The first half of 1921 itself, the Congress committees were established in many villages with an impressive local Congress membership. *Khaddar* was becoming a cultural and political symbol in the countryside. Even in the remote villages *pracharakas* were engaged to spread the Congress creed among the masses. With this, not only were the peasants drawn into the fold of the national movement but their political consciousness was heightened.⁶⁰

The votaries of *khadi* culture were not limited to a particular area. For example Joshua Appa Ramamurthy a resident of Somapeta (Srikakulam district), rendered remarkable service in propagating *khadi* and boosting sales in the west Godavari district. As if to repay the debt for the cause of national service Gadi Balarama Das (1898-1934) belonging to the west Godavari became a resident of Vizianagaram and spent almost Rs. 25,000 for the free distribution of *charkhas*. Similar was the monetary magnanimity of Yellapanthulu Krishna Murthy (1895-1939) of Srikakulam district.⁶¹ As early as 1922 Andhra's two leading merchant families in Rajahmundry and Ellore both sunk half a lakh of rupees on *khaddar* factories.⁶²

Karunakaran Subba Rao (1898-1943) of *Priya agraharam* Srikakulam district) was a leader who used to spin the yarn

⁵⁹

K. Arunachalam, *Khadi Economics: A Few Aspects*, Madhurai, 1974.

For details see the newspapers, *Jananubhumi*, *The Hindu* and *Andhra Patrika*, 11 March 1921 on the working of the Congress Constructive Programme, cited in Atlury Murali, "Civil Disobedience movement in Andhra, 1920-22: The nature of peasant protest and the methods of congress political mobilization", in Kapil Kumar (ed.), *Congress and Classes: Nationalism, Workers and Peasants*, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 152-216.

⁶¹A.V.D. Sharma, *Khaddar Movement*.

The Hindu, 17 July 1922 in C.J. Baker and D.A. Washbrook (ed.), *South India: Political Institutions*, p. 135.

everyday as an affirmation of his patriotic zeal. If Yeedu Thaviti Naidu (1901-1941) of Lovaru Kola (Srikakulam district) produced cotton in his fields and spun the same on his own *charkha*, Karneni Rama Dasu (1901-1943) of Mamidipalli, Somapeta *taluk* (Srikakulam district) vowed to wear cloth of *khadi* spun by him alone.⁶³ These Congress leaders were not only shining examples in Andhra, but also vastly motivated the teeming masses to the Gandhian ideology. It would seem that the Provincial Congress Committees had many members from the dominant peasant communities who were involved with the *Swadeshi* movement and were mainly the newly commercialised classes, increasingly involved in cash economy and having new access to western education. But this tendency was not universal. For, in some areas the Congress was not considered the vehicle for this class of rural rich communities but the preserve of provincial elite who sat above all; or at all events away from them. In the Madras Presidency, it was on this issue that the Justice party traded in opposition to the Congress in 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁴

It is opined that Non Co-operation was not simply a protest against tax and Government intrusion but was also in response to important factors in local politics. In Bezawada local merchants and lawyers made a bid to destroy the power of a low caste merchant and contractor who had controlled the municipality by dubious mean for a decade. In Ellore the Motheys family which was in command in the town since at least 1860s, were turned out and the municipality machinery was used to attack and ruin the

⁶³See A.V.D. Sharma, 'Khaddar Movement'.

⁶⁴See, D.A. Low (ed.), *Congress and the Raj facets of Indian struggle 1917-47*, New Delhi, 1977, See "introduction". Also refer to Eugene F. Irschik, *Politics and Social Conflict in south India: The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism*, Berkeley, 1969, See Chapter VIII.

Motheys' local empire. Therefore, what is observed is that agitations and faction fights were nothing new in urban politics of Andhra. Urban growth and its concomitant upsurges propelled local politicians from provincial and national level politics.⁶⁵

A vernacular paper reported that even after the Non Co-operation had started in earnest, doubts were expressed by certain groups on adopting handspinning and weaving as forms of boycott and expressed doubts on its credibility in giving freedom.⁶⁶

As if to offset these apprehensions, Gandhi on his visit to the Presidency declared that " under the grinding stones of slavery and foreign language and civilization we have lost our native intelligence to see that this is the only solution of the problem of unemployment". He then exhorted Indians of every caste irrespective of religion or any other barriers, to provide work and food to the numberless spinners and weavers. "I can give you my full assurance that if the whole of India was to take to (sic) alone and carry out the boycott of foreign cloth, there would be no problem of unemployment, a problem, which is engaging the best minds of the country..."⁶⁷

The views presented in the vernacular papers received further leverage when the total circulation for all the Telugu newspapers increased in 1901 from 16,023 to 37,000 in 1911.⁶⁸ Even in the tribal regions publication of a bulk of literature known

⁶⁵ See C.J. Baker, 'Non-cooperation in south India' in Baker and D.A.Washbrook (ed.), *South India, passim*.

⁶⁶ Swaraj by charkha' *Andhra Patrika*, 1922, and *Report on English papers examined by the Criminal investigation Department, Madras and on the vernacular papers examined by the translators to the Government of Madras for the week ending 5 July 1919*, p. 432.

⁶⁷ This was the essence of Gandhi's speech at the inauguration of the *khadi* exhibition which was adjunct to the congress at Madras. See *Indian Review* (henceforth *I.R*) Vol. 29, No. 1, 24 Dec. 1928.

⁶⁸ *Census of India 1911*, Madras, Vol. XII, Part I, See particularly the report on the table on number and circulation of newspapers in Madras presidency, Madras, 1932, p.134.

as "Tribal songs of Gandhian times" advocated not only constructive programme but breathed the spirit of freedom and nationalism. Among the tribals in the agency areas, **Kammayya** of Madugalla was the first man to introduce *charkhas*. Kolluru Satyanarayana Gupta (1891-1938) of Madugulla, Chintikinda Suryanarayana (1888-1947) and Nula Venkamba (1886-1938) of Vizinagaram and Potnuri Swami Baba (1884-1982) of Narasannapeta (Srikakulam district), besides many others rendered yeoman services in the cause of the *khaddar* movement in north Andhra regions.⁶⁹ The leaders did not restrict their activity merely to writing songs but these were sung regularly through the institutions called the *Bhajan mandalis*. For example, this song propagating the weaving of *khadi*:

Dress we in Khadipyjama
tolerate we no servitude
serve we never as Habsis bonded servant
tolerate no servitude
serve we our mother
serve we never our mother in law
tolerate no servitude.

Another poem eulogizing spinning was very popular during the Gandhian phase of nationalist movement and at the tip of every layman's tongue:

Unbroken is the thread from the spinning wheel
broken could be the iron shackles and gold ornaments
thousands of guns could be defeated
*but not this kaccha safar thread.*⁷⁰

⁶⁹

For details, refer A.V.D. **Sarma**, 'Khaddar movement in
⁷⁰ Shiren **Mehta**, 'Social consciousness of history less: A Study of folk literature of tribals of south Gujarat during the colonial period', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 48th. session, Goa, 1987, pp. 467-77.

Andhra had seen the tradition of nationalist literature since the early *Swadeshi* days. Poets like Chilkamarti, Ramaswamy, Magnipudi Venkateshwariah and several others wrote poems on mother India.⁷¹ Garimella Satyanarayana whose prominence as a popular poet in Andhra coincided with the Non Co-operation movement of 1921-22, wrote his famous composition, *maa koddu ee tella dorathanamu..* His fame also grew with his thought provoking songs and poems (*padhyalu*) on boycott of foreign cloth, emancipation of the country from foreign rule, the *raatnam*, etc. See appendix D. Unnava Lakshmi Narayana wrote his novel *Mallapalli* and Gurrām Jashua the first *dalit* poem in Telugu emerged during this period. Their literary genre was used as a dynamite against the Government. Each word was patriotic, sentences and punctuations rebelled and struggled for free India.⁷² Meanwhile, the editorials of the *Andhra Patrika* warned India time and again to be on her guard and stick hard to the vow of boycott of all foreign cloth.⁷³ (See appendix E for an example of *khaddar* publicity which was carried out regularly in the vernacular newspapers). Not only the vernacular writings but poetry, theatre and drama also inspired the masses of Andhra. Also, paintings by prominent nationalists like, N.Venkata Rao from Vinukonda, Gurrām Mallaiah, S. Eswariah from Nellore, Bucchi Krishnamma, Chamakura Satyanarayana, W.Aryadasu whipped national

⁷¹ *Krishna Patrika*, 15 Dec. 1905.

⁷² For details on Garimella see Appendix, on how his poems amplified the patriotic mood of the people of Andhra. See Preeti Kumar (ed), *Garimella's Heart of India*, Hyderabad, 1994.

⁷³ Not only the *Andhra Patrika*, but also the *Krishna Patrika* among other vernacular newspapers carried vociferous editorials in praise of *ahimsa* of Gandhi and compared the *charkha* to 'Raksha tantralu'. It condemned mechanization, colonialism and castigated these as having no roots in the country and which would only lead to '**Atma** Nashana' and 'Ashanti'. See, *Krishna Patrika*, 11 Jan. 1941.

sentiment by their powerful portrayal of Indian traditional crafts and industry (see appendix F).

Fired by vernacular papers an intense agitation was resumed to boycott the Duke's royal visit in 1921. On 26 Jan. 1921, it was reported that the procession boycotting the Duke Cannought's visit extended to about 56,000 people. Most of the shop keepers closed shops and except public offices and English firms there were no response to the foreign visit in the Madras Presidency.⁷⁴ Another meeting of the AICC was held on 25 Jan. 1925 at which Bulusu Anjenayaulu presided. It was decided at the meeting that a fair subscription should be sent regularly and a portion of distribution of the net realization for a fair collection from the district, town and village Congress committee should be fixed in April.⁷⁵

The table below reveals that the main market for Indian yarn was foreign lands (mainly China). In 1902-03, there was an increase in the amount of twist and yarn exported over the previous years. 97% of the amount was consumed by China. India was gradually recovering from the disturbances of 1900-01 with the establishment of normalcy in the country, and likewise Indian trade also began to improve. The next year the exports fell to a rock bottom level. The trade in twist and yarn which recovered in a remarkable manner in 1900-01 was again disorganized by the high

⁷⁴ What was significant to note, was the change in the attitude of the shopkeeper, for example, during the anti-partition agitation in Bengal in 1905, some Bombay mill owners not only charged high prices for their goods but passed off Japanese as 'Made in India'. See *Modern Review*. Vol. xiii No. 4, April 1928, p. 512 and see M.K. Gandhi (ed.), *Young India 1919-31*, 26 Jan. 1921, Vol. iii, Ahmedabad, 1981.

⁷⁵ Krishna congress Committee, yarn franchise **approved**, *The Hindu*, 28 Jan. 1928, p.10.

prices of cotton:⁷⁶ See the all India figures given below for the import and export of yarn:

See Table No. 3.3:

Imports and Exports of Yarn (in lakhs of rupees)

Year	Import	Exports
1902-03	77.97	17.16
1903-04	65.30	5.37
1904-05	82.40	15.44
(period of revival)		
1905-06	89.29	19.95
		(price of raw materials fell and exchange was favourable)
1906-07	99.44	17.06
1907-08	105.99	12.25
1908-09	109.99	17.29
1909-10	76.78	28.16
1910-11	98.86	23.06
		(decline due to competition from China and from both local and Japanese producers)
1911-12	104.49	26.27
1912-13	111.59	33.83
1913-14	122.49	31.04

Speaking of the coastal districts, Andhra, possessed unique facilities for *khaddar* production and stood ahead of nearly all other provinces in production with possible exception of Punjab. In 1922 at Kakinada a Ladies Congress Committee under the leadership of D. Subbamma was established and did commendable work in buying cotton, making slivers and in distributing a number of spinning wheels for yarn. 432s counts of fine yarn, the highest in the country during the Non Co-operation movement was spun by Golla Kota Kamalamani of Rajahmundry. Her achievements were acknowledged by Gandhi and a medal was awarded to her in 1924.⁷⁷

Added to the Gandhian initiative private enterprise also became largely responsible for the progress that Andhra made in *khaddar* production. This was seen especially after the adoption of

⁷⁶ *Annual Volume of Sea Borne trade and Navigation of the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1915.

⁷⁷ 'Account of Khaddar work in Andhra', *The Hindu*, 6 Oct. 1922.

the *khaddar* programme by the AICC at Bezwada where tremendous response was elicited against the colonial rule and unstinting support given to handspinning and weaving in all the coastal regions. The change in the attitude of handloom weavers was seen in their adoption to the 1,17,781 *charkhas* introduced by the Congress Provincial Committee in 1921 all over Andhra which exceeded the number of last year. Their weaving became more close and artistic and the largest width being of 54 inches and the 60s-100s counts of yarn began to be now increasingly woven.⁷⁸

In the Godavari district, the annual production of *khaddar* rose to Rs 16,000/- worth taken from the Congress fund and sold locally by the 14 *khaddar* organizations and depots situated at Ellore, Vasantavada, Dedhuluru, Tanuku, Polanur, Bhimavaram, Narsapur, Yellanilli, Nidadavolu, and Devarapalle⁷⁹ Nellore district did not produce much of cotton and the AISA made alternative arrangements to receive the supply yarn from Kanupur and fifteen other villages a radius of five miles.⁸⁰ The result of all their efforts was a remarkable decrease in the cost of production seen especially in Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Punjab. In 1930 a 50% reduction was witnessed over what it was in 1920 and 25% over what there were in 1922.⁸¹

The immense response could be attributed to the vernacular newspapers which fanned the patriotic spirit in the people, propagating that, the wearing of foreign cloth is a index to show that the wearer is a slave having no manliness.⁸²

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Tuni, from the east Godavari district like the west Godavari had only 600 acres of land under cultivation and therefore not sufficient yarn was made available. D. Narayana Rao, *Report on the survey, Kistna and West Godavari district*, p.2.

⁸⁰ D. Narayana Rao, *Report on the survey, Nellore district*, pp. 2-5.

Richard Gregg, *Economics of Khaddar*, p.177.

⁸² *Vinodhini*, 22 March 1922.

Swadeshi for Gandhi meant as though "the wearer of *khadi* was ... like a man making use of his lungs".⁸³ "It is the greatest delusion to suppose that the duty of *Swadeshi* begins and ends with merely spinning some yarn anyhow and wearing *khadi* made out of it. *Khadi* is the first indispensable step towards the discharge of *Swadeshi dharma* to society. A votary of *Swadeshi* will carefully study his environment and try to help his neighbours whenever possible by giving preference to local manufacturers even if they are inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured elsewhere."⁸⁴

With the imprisonment of Gandhi, the Non Co-operation movement would have decreased, but for the volunteers who set up popularizing the use of *khaddar*. The resolution of the Bombay piece goods with merchants that they would not import foreign cloths any longer, caught the layman's attention inspiring enthusiasm which resulted in an increase in sales of *khaddar*.⁸⁵ Estimates of the value of *khaddar* sold in the districts of Andhra in 1925 are given below reaffirming the point that there was a definite increase in their sales in these years:⁸⁶

Table 3.4

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Sale of Khaddar (value in rupees)</u>
Ganjam	40,000 for one year
Vizagpatnam	17,000 for one month
Kakinada	1,000 for one year
Tuni	70,000
East Krishna	28,000
West Krishna	18,000
Guntur	15,000
Tadipatri	25,000

⁸³. Arunachalam, *Khadi Economics*, pp. 20-22.

⁸⁴ M.K. Gandhi, *Sarvodaya*, Ahmedabad, 1954, p.24.

⁸⁵ Owing to the boycott of foreign cloth in India half the looms of Manchester, (it was reported) were lying idle and the spite of the workmen of England was directed towards the Indian capitalists which was on the increase. See *Krishna Patrika*, 18 March 1922 and 1 April 1922.

⁸⁶ Konda Venkatapayya, 'Khaddaru', *Krishna Patrika*, Varshika Sanchika (Annual Volume), 1925.

The establishment of the *khaddar samasthan* in Andhra founded on 18 April 1927 to carry out constructive work was started by Uppuloori Venkatakrishnayya. It aimed to eradicate untouchability, promote agriculture and indigenous industries of ginning, carding, spinning, weaving, rice pounding and trade to be encouraged on a barter system. However, *khaddar* industry was still not seen as a good business proposition but as a part of the national life. A programme of *khaddar yagnam* to propagate peace and a solution to the question of untouchability commenced from 24 Sept. 1932 in Bezawada. Their main weapons being *ahimsa* as against machine guns and war ammunition prove the point that to a large extent the response was due to mainly the sentiment of patriotic spirit.⁸⁷

The 1926-27 Andhra report for the AISA recorded that improvement in yarn quality and an increase in its demand by larger sections of people who had until then stood unaffected by the movement. To prove this point are the figures of production and sales of *khadi* which showed fluctuations but along with it also witnessed a steady consumer demand. The prices of Andhra were reduced by 9% over the years 1925-76 and 7% to 8% in Tamil nadu, showing local production in the country really increased by a significant two lakhs over last years' production. To inspect and check the handspun *Khadi* cloth brought into the market a *charkha* census was taken:⁸⁸

Table 3.5

Province	Cardages	Spinners	weavers
Andhra	264	11,654	984
Tamil nadu		16,348	1264
India	627	83,339	5,193

⁸⁷ Report of the 25 years of contact with Mahatma Gandhi with the *Khaddar Samasthan*, West Godavari district, 1951, p. 33.

⁸⁸ Annual Report of the All India Spinners Association for the year-1926-27, Part II, Annual Report, Andhra branch, Masulipatnam, 1927.

During this year Sri K Lakshmi Doss Purushottam the leading industrialist toured throughout the Presidency demonstrating the art of spinning and carding by means of improved yarn. Reacting to his tour, Andhra now began putting in extra efforts to improve yarn by constant 'yarn strength tests' -the result being an increase in weaving threads by over 25-35% over last year.⁸⁹ Bezawada, Guntur, Nellore, Berhampore and other municipalities and many local boards took larger interest in the movement during this period and introduced the *charkha* and *taklis* in schools. The Kakinada Municipal Board began giving first priority to appointment of teachers who knew how to spin and weave and also allocated awards to publicize *khaddar* in schools.⁹⁰ The villages served in Andhra by the AISA also showed an improvement over last year's figures:⁹¹

Table 3.6:

Villages toured	1926-77	1927-28
Andhra	295	362
India	2831	2655

Consequent to the Dandi march of Gandhi, *khadi* became even more the symbol of struggle and as a results of phenomenal demand for *khadi* became increasingly manifest. The AISA reported that the demand was so great that there was an unprecedented rush for *khadi* even before the date or week of the salt law was fixed and stocks all over the country were thoroughly depleted. As the arrangement for production and distribution were not adequate to

⁸⁹ The 'yarn strength test' was based on a system of payment of yarn price in accordance with a schedule based as the various grades of strength of the various counts of yarn, *Annual Report of all India Spinners Association for the year 1925-26*, P.12.

⁹⁰ *Krishna Patrika*, 5 July 1924 and 12 December 1925.

⁹¹ *Annual report of the All India's Spinners Association, 1927-'28*, Andhra Branch, Masulipatnam, 1928, p. 12.

meet the new and rising levels of demand, Gandhi advised that *khadi* be sold in exchange for yarn only.⁹²

Table 3.7:⁹³

Khadi statistics	No. of weavers	total monthly output cost per yard			sales price	total monthly charges
		(in rupees)				
Andhra pattusali Khadi weaving Assoc., Pondur, Vizagapatnam Dist. -	50	1,080	1-9-0	1-9-0		Rs.70/-
AISA	28	1,936-6-0	1-6-0 to 0-7-0	1-15-0	1-0-0	Rs. 70/-

For the first time in 1929, the 'back to the villages' movement in Andhra held by the All India Students Conference in Bezawada decided that the youth during their school career itself should go to the villages periodically and try to develop the *khadi* spirit. The *khadi* spirit envisaged three major aims: spinning and weaving and better environment and a patriotic spirit in the village thus promoting a socio-economic outlook. The students participating actively in following the broad guidelines of the Congress ideology tried to adapt it to the rural villages of Andhra and the value of *khaddar* was projected in the following manner:⁹⁴ Table 3.8:

People involved in the process		Value of the Rupee	
Cotton producer	(<i>Pathi</i> <i>Pandagaru</i>)		0-3-0
Cotton seed remover			0-0-6
Beating out cotton			0-1-9
Thread maker (<i>nulu</i>)			0-0-9
<i>Neta</i> (spinning)			0-4-9
<i>Chakali</i> (washer)			0-0-6
Seller			0-1-0
Total	*1-		0-0

*12 *pies* = 1 *anna*

16 *annas* = 1 rupee

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M.K.Gandhi, 'Why Khadi for yarn and not for money' in J.C. Kumarappa (ed.), *Gramudyog Patrika*, Part I, 1939-1946, Madras, 1971, pp. 352-54. The *Krishna Patrika Sanchika* estimated that one *mannugu* (quintal) of *pathi*, (cotton) seeds required 12 hours to be separated and the coolies were paid, Rs. 0-8-0. From one *mannugu* of *pathi*, approximately 13 pounds of *pathi* (cotton) could be extracted/procured and this cost the labourer Rs. 2-8-0. About 12 1/2 pounds of *dudhi* made of 10s counts of yarn and worked for 400 hours cost the labourer 2-6-0. Altogether, if the labourer worked for 420 hours, he earned, 2-6-0 and if 420 members worked for one hour, they earned for 30 days altogether Rs.150. Therefore, the editorial summarized that working on these principles of Gandhi, the people of Andhra were encouraged to spin and publicise the weaving of *khaddar*. Lakka Subba Rao, "Teermanalu", & "Khaddaru", *Krishna Patrika, Sanchika*, Vol. 23, No. 25., July 1924, (Reproduced on 5-7-1924 and 12-12-1925).

⁹³ "Khadi statistics", *Young India*, 9 Dec. 1928.

⁹⁴*Krishna Patrika*, 5 October 1929.

By this estimate it was proposed that the revenue did not go out of the country. If cloth was exported in the form of brocades, the producer received 0-3-9 but, in exchange the other's did not profit but the middlemen got his share. In the Godavari district the official writer of the District Gazettes reported that," in the days of the East India company the exportation of cloth from the district was very large. Some seven lakhs of rupees was paid annually by the company for local fabrics and in some years the figure rose above 10 lakhs and in one year touched 14 lakh of rupees. The abolition of the company's cloth trade had almost prejudice effect on the weaving industry and so on the prosperity of the districts as a whole. But the ceaseless efforts in the face of many difficulties of over a decade and the industry is showing signs of a new life and the past glory of the people is being gradually revived.⁹⁵

Further stimulus was given to the *Swadeshi* campaigns launched by Gandhi and by the grant of tariff protections in the mid-twenties. Between 1900-1947, the next growth of loom capacity greatly exceeded that of spindles. While the stock of spindleage almost doubled, that of loomage increased three fold and more than 150,000 units were added. This structural change in the cotton industry meant that the demand for losses remained relatively high and so also the boycott during the difficult inter-war period.⁹⁶

Gandhi however, was not very pleased with the performance of the Andhra during the later Non Co-operation period. Figures revealed that Palnad in Guntur district where special designs were used in the border called Kuppadam border

⁹⁵See the *Harijan*, Vol. 1, No. 38, 5 Jan. 1933.

⁹⁶This observation was made by three authors: namely Collin Simons, Helen and Robert Kirk, 'Machine manufacture in a colonial economy, The pioneering role of George Hatterseley and Sons limited in India 1919-43, *IESHR*, Vol. 20, 1983, pp. 277-315.

sarees, the weavers used yarn which was admittedly foreign but used in the name of 'pure sarees'. Second, as seen among the 3,3179 persons who were enrolled in the AISA only 1231, i.e, 36% paid their quota of yarn to date. Assam with only 1% full of subscribers came last on the list of Andhra being the next offender with 24% and Burma topped the list with 835 but it was not a surprise, as it had only six members to start with.⁹⁷

Table 3.9:

Province	Enrolled members	Full subscribers	% who paid their quota of yarn
Andhra	455	109	24%
Tamilnadu	501	160	32%
Gujarat	467	282	60%

What can be concluded from the figures is, to sum up, sustained efforts at regularity in spinning and weaving was lacking in the twenties in the Andhra region. However, the fact remains (when we compare the earlier two tables)—that there was rapid development of the AISA organization *per se* in its activity to gather more and more villages under its fold. The figures from 1926-30 indicate on the average, about 100 villages in Andhra were included every year in this organization.

Due to an increase in demand, quality suffered and many new organisations sprang up in competition for yarn and a proper distribution of areas between producers could not be made during these years - the economic depression set about the middle of 1930 had its toll on the fall of cotton and on all agricultural production. Though this encouraged villagers to take up spinning, thus rendering an increase in production, there was a consequent fall in demand thus curtailing any increase in sale value.⁹⁸

⁹⁷M.K. Gandhi, "Tell tale figures", *Young India*, Feb. 4, 1926, and also refer to *Young India*, 26 Aug. 1926.

⁹⁸*Annual Report of AISA for the fifteen months- 1 Oct. 1930 to 31 Dec. 1931*, Wardha, 1932.

Between 1926-30 the produce market lost its extraordinary buoyancy. The full effects of the world wide economic depression began to be felt by Indian peasants and artisans by the middle of 1931, although agricultural prices began to fall from the beginning of 1930. Gundavalli Ramabrahmam, an ardent congressmen and an enthusiast of the peasant movement organized the Andhra peasant protection conference in Tenali -- the seat of the most successful Congress picketing campaign in May-June 1931. This organized resistance was the first of its kind in the whole of India to put forward the revolutionary demand for (i.) a moratorium for all agricultural debts and (ii.) resistance against the unjust imposition of 18 3/4 % enhancement of land revenue in the Kistna Godavari districts.⁹⁹

Therefore, to sum up, upto about 1930, the rural rich had invested excess cash mainly in land, rural money lending and trade and agro-industries etc. were hard hit with the the collapse of the rural credit system and falling of agricultural processes from 1929. This meant that they no longer remained profitable investments. The depression created considerable "impetus for the shift of capital entrepreneurship and artisan skills from country to town". There was therefore a considerable increase in investment in joint stock companies in Madras Presidency in the 1930s and much of this new investment was in agro-based processing industries, but in contrast to the small oil mills built by rural capital earlier, now it was flowing into larger enterprises especially sugar and cotton mills.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Not only this, but the pressure of banks upon rural moneylenders, merchants and big landlords for the repayment of their loans became oppressive and the number of applications to courts for temporary imprisonment of debtors increased alarmingly. See N.G. Ranga, *Fight for Freedom*, Bombay, 1968, p.134.

¹⁰⁰ For further details on this see, Christopher Baker, *Politics of South India 1920-1937*, Cambridge, 1976, *passim*. For an elaboration of the depression period in

What is stressed is the fact that the working class, the left leaders and the artisans class were convinced that the national movement was representing the political and economic urges of the Indian people and therefore these classes should in turn, strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle. Consequently, between 1928-39 there was a closer relationship with mutual co-operation between the industrial working class and Indian national movement in the Madras Presidency.¹⁰¹

For the first time since its inception of the *khadi* movement, figures recorded in 1932 showed a decrease in production as compared with the previous year—though there was an improvement in the quality of yarn. The number of threads in the work increased from 32% to 38% per inch for the lowest count yarn and for the higher count it increased up to 40 to 50 threads according to the fitness of the yarn. In Andhra new varieties were introduced in Chicacole, Purtigadda which turned out better medium cloth in 20 counts of yarn and Masulipatnam brought out improved designs of coating and shirtings.¹⁰²

the presidency see C.J. Baker, 'The markets', in Sugata Bose (ed.), *Credit Markets and the Agrarian Economy*, New Delhi 1994, pp. 136-61.

From 1935 onwards three leftist parties became prominent in Andhra. The Communist party, the Congress Socialist party and the Radical Humanist party of M.N. Roy. Puchapalli Sundarayya was the earliest organiser of the Communist movement in Andhra. Literary journals like the 'Udayani', edited by Kompella Janardhana Rao and 'Pratibha', edited by Siva Sankara Sastri created not only a new school of Telugu poetry but also challenged the traditionalists through this *genre* of writing. The Socialist party established its unit at Vijawada in June 1934 with Acharya N.G. Ranga as its president and Madduri Annapurnayya as its secretary. They waged many a successful struggle against the *Zamindars* of the coastal Andhra region. On this issue the *kisan sabhas* of N.G. Ranga, scored a point, as it is seen that in practical politics, the Gandhian leadership was reluctant to take up peasant demands vis-a-vis colonialism as part of the national liberation struggle. But by the end of the 1930s the anti-imperialist issue was the common strand between these different groups of Indian nationalists. See, the various oral evidence of left leaders and of the working classes representatives in Reddy Prasad Reddy, 'Zamin ryots and the Prakasam Committee, An analysis of the context of recommendations', in *Proceedings of the Andhra Pradesh History congress*, iv session, Nellore, 1991, pp. 139-46.

¹⁰² *Annual Report of AISA*, Masulipatnam, 1932, p.19.

The Census of 1931 taken for the Madras Presidency revealed an increase of 15% in the number of handloom here over the figures of 1921. These looms were engaged in weaving Madras 'kerchiefs and *lungies* for export to West Africa and the straits as well as other articles for home consumption.¹⁰³

At the all India level, Mr Bhulabhai Desai added that, in 1928-29, the imports on textiles amounted to 67 crores but in 1930-31 the imports dwindled. During the *Satyagraha* campaigns in 1930-'31, the imports further declined to Rs. 32 crores and it went further down to 24 crores in 1931-32.¹⁰⁴ Administrative reports for the year 1935-36 recorded that exports from this Presidency declined from 26,335 tons valued at Rs 174.35 lakhs in the year 1934-35 to 13,000 tons valued at 9,707 lakhs in the period 1935-36 representing a decrease of 47.6% in quality and 44.3% in value in general.¹⁰⁵

Representing a deputation from Andhra, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sitaram Shastry and Narayana Raju met Gandhi in 1934 and their planning intensively covered the science and economy of *khadi* organization, such as, its introduction at the present stage of the democratic principle of *Khadi* and its production and sale.¹⁰⁶

It was discovered that there were a number of *Harijan* families were subsisting on the spinning of coarse *khadi* and this class was fast dying out. The AISA organization came out to their rescue and the demand for their own use came to be increasingly in demand now.¹⁰⁷ Only the surplus came to be sold outside the

¹⁰³ *Report of the Department of Industries, 1931-32*, Madras presidency, Madras, 1932.

¹⁰⁴ See for further details *Indian Review*, Vol. xxxv, No. 9, July 1934.

¹⁰⁵ *Report of the Department of Industries for the year 1935-'36*, Madras, 1936.

¹⁰⁶ *Harijan*, 21 April 1934.

¹⁰⁷ See Copy of letter dated 23 Dec. 1933 from the District Magistrate, Kistna to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, being a report on Mr.

district of its manufacture and this transformation of thought process of a self sufficient independency within a village directly contributing to reviving nationalist spirit among the weavers community. M.P.Gandhi in his monograph on, "The Indian cotton textile industry" calculated that, out of the total consumption of cloth in India in 1930, the Indian mills contributed 575 million yards of cloth whereas the imports contributed to 16% only. "If the Congress were as determined as it projected itself to be, then it should not prove difficult to produce the 16% of cloth that was imported out of the country."¹⁰⁸

In the *Harijan* of April 27, 1934 Gandhi sought to explain the working and sale of *khadi* manufacturers. According to *him*, *khadi* should be sold in its place of manufactures and not be exported outside the village or district and their sales would be regulated by the demand from town dwellers by the propaganda that it received in other regions. In the long run this would bring about greater bond between ginners, carders, spinners and weavers. But it was also recognized by Gandhi that *khadi* had to work against almost settled prejudices among the villagers, against the unscrupulous competition without the protection and against the prevalent opinion of the so called experts in the science of economics, and against even the demand for *khadi* weavers for progressively cheaper *khadi*. It was therefore it was largely a question of developing a *khadi* mentality.¹⁰⁹

Gandhi's tour in that district', *Under Secretary's Safe Secret Files*, No. 862, 20 Feb. 1934. Also refer to the *Harijan*, 27 April 1934, p. 85.

¹⁰⁸ Referred to in the *Harijan*, 2 Oct. 1937.

¹⁰⁹ Gandhi observed that the fly shuttle bought by Narayan Vanam of Chittoor district was exhibited and enquired of the owner of how much of its worth was bought and sold. In response it was seen that worth only Rs. 50/- to 60/- was ultimately sold. Even though the clothes were of good quality neither the rich nor the educated could be induced to buy it even to mark their appreciation of the *Swadeshi* enterprise! *CW*, Vol. 23, 1922-24, p. 10.

The *Buy Indian League* established at Madras with Mr.T.R. Venkatarama Sastriar as the President, was instrumental during this period in stimulating the spirit of *Swadeshi* in the country. Not *only khaddar* exhibitions but focussing the public attention on the cheap marketing facilities of the products of the cottages industries and rural reconstruction programmes was the major aim of this popular organization.¹¹⁰

Konda Venkatapayya convened meetings above a foreign cloth shop in Guntur and the meeting discussed the need for the use of mill made cloth. Picketing was going on in Guntur as part of the civil disobedience movement and reported to be unaggressive and traders and purchasers were not subject to any form of Coercion.¹¹¹ Picketers dressed in *khaddar* marched along the streets and appealed to customers not to buy any foreign cloth. The class of picketers were not only well behaved but also followed the conduct of picketing as Gandhi had stressed. "It is better that foreign cloth is sold than that, in order to prevent its sale we should break the letter or spirit of the settlement."¹¹²

During the civil disobedience movement Andhra also witnessed the growth of *Paisa* papers: *Janma Bhoomi* published from Madras by S. Ganesan was the most important *paisa* paper published in Telugu. It was published twice a week (sunday and Wednesday) and later became thrice a week with Congress ideology and its economic ideals prominently portrayed. *Gandeevamu* and *Devadattam* were also *paisa* papers in Telugu published from Eluru under the editorship of Munnangi Lakshmi Sarma. These papers were most popularly and widely read in

¹¹⁰Refer to, *Indian Review*, Vol. xxxv, 5 May 1934.

¹¹¹ *Selected Extracts taken from the Secret Files relating to the civil movement in Andhra*, (strictly confidential), Public Department, 21 March 1931.

¹¹²How to conduct picketing', *The Hindu*, 21 May 1931.

particularly the coastal Andhra regions.¹¹³ Vernacular writings, picketing and other scant gestures of defiance were seen and long sustained itself in the face of Governmental repression. Also, the civil disobedience movement quickly became a basis of coalescence between various nationalist groups with a broadened social base for action.¹¹⁴

Steady progress was maintained until 1930 but the economic depression reduced the purchasing power of the people. Whereas, the salt revenue proved to be immune to depression and agitation another item which proved a good income to the governments treasury was obviously very much affected by both these circumstances. The receipts of custom duty on cotton piece goods which amounted to Rs. 57 million in 1929-30, dropped to Rs. 10 million in the following year. The boycott of foreign cloth by the Indian National Congress as well as Japanese competition with

¹¹³. From 63 in 1931 to 46 in 1932 the circulation of the number of newspapers in Telugu declined due to the rigorous ban imposed on them by the Government. However this was no reflection on the decline in the importance of vernacular journalism as people still read surreptitiously. See K. Subramanyam, *The Press in South India*, Madras, 1984.

¹¹⁴

There were a few acts of defiance by the unemployed handloom weavers clashing with the police who were then hard hit by the sudden fall in prices of cash crop, See David Arnold, 'The politics of colasence: The Congress in Tamil Nadu 1930-37', in D. A. Low, *Congress and the Raj, Facets of the Indian Struggle*, New Delhi, pp. 266-69. Simultaneously, the anti settlement struggle of Kistna and Godavari districts in 1931, the forest *Satyagraha* in Venkatagiri estate, the anti-zamindari struggle in Kanur Pendyala culminated in the historic *kisan* protection march in 1937 led by communists *kisan* leaders like N.G.Ranga. From Kanchipuram to Madras thousands of peasants marched through the districts of Srikakulam, Vizagapatnam, east and west Godavari, Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts ~ a distance of 1,512 miles on foot and rallied 4,50,000 peasants in 529 villages and received 800 memorandums from local *kisans*. This was mainly to demonstrate the peasant unrest and draw the newly formed congress government (1937-39) to the imperative need for the abolition of the *Zamindari* system and the need to redress the grievance and inabilities arising out of peasant indebtedness. Peasant school consciousness and school for volunteers was established on a large scale with Komma Reddy Satyanarayan Murthy, Challasari Vasudeva Rao, P. Kottiah, P.Sundarayya, Madhuri Anapurnayya, Bhamarapati Satyanarayana, Kaleshwara Rao, P.Timma Reddy and others worked under the leadership of N.G. Ranga. See, M.P.R. Reddi, *Peasant and State in Modern Andhra History*, Kavali, 1986 and see *Vahini*, 18 December 1938 and 13 November 1939.

British manufacturers contributed to this drastic reduction. In order to slow the tide of cheap Japanese price rates for British products, Indian production encouraged import substitution and the Indian cotton mills which had not been able to utilize their full capacity put in more shifts and increased their output.¹⁵

Some compensations for the loss of customs on the larger quantities of earlier imports were gained by way of the higher rates imposed on the remaining imports. Thus, speaking in terms of the Government, one sees, that after an initial slump in income from duties on cotton piece goods, there was a quick recovery evidenced in 1932-33 when the protective duty yielded a revenue of Rs. 62 million.¹¹⁶

The year 1935 saw pressure from Gandhi, the programme of self sufficiency and a scheme for wage enhancement with the view of making spinning not merely a subsidiary but an independent occupation receiving full impetus. The year marked a distinct transition in the politics of the AISA in the production as well as distribution of *khadi*. The administrative machinery during this year adopted to serve primarily a goal of self sufficiency of a family, village, *taluk*, district and province. Gandhi advocated during this year that the desirability of revising the scale of remuneration for spinning and other services connected with the production of *khadi* so as to ensure to the workers the minimum

¹¹⁵This was mainly as a result of the Commons' debate on the labour amendment dealing with unemployment on Feb. 13, Mr. Clynes referring to the cotton industry declared that the political policy had a great deal to do with the loss of Lancashire markets in India and China. Also, Japanese competition could not alone be accounted for this huge decline of exports of cotton cloth. He urged the Government to make an impartial enquiry to ascertain how far the threatened wage reduction could make any contribution to cheaper production or better markets. *Indian Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4, April 1928.

¹¹⁶Dietmar Rothermund, The great depression and the British finance policy in India, 1929-34', *IESHR*, Vol. 18, pp. 1-17.

requirement of a healthy life.¹¹⁷ Not only this, but the administrative machinery of the Congress, arranged ways and means to keep the organization without malpractices. A Vigilance Committee was appointed to save it from, "cunning, calculating politicians who newly joined the Congress" and "created amongst primary members... to fight election battles". V. Anantha Rao, the Secretary of the Vizagapatnam Vigilance branch appealed for a "cleanse the Congress campaign" in order to maintain the sanctity of the all India Congress organization from petty mercenary groups.¹¹⁸

By 1936, the living wage scheme worked out to be 2 or 3 *annas* per day which came close to the average income of a field labourer.¹¹⁹ The system of issuing machine ginned lint to the spinner was now discontinued in favour of supplying *kappas* (seed cotton) to them. Hand gins were sold at half rates to the spinners and the value recovered in small installments from the workers wages. Similarly, the speed wheels and the spindles were also provided at half the rate to the spinners.

Therefore, the *charkhas* in coastal Andhra, under the new scheme provided not only a supplementary occupation but added in a substantial measure to agriculture and other income and its utility value could not be denied here. Meanwhile, efforts were made to produce long staple variety of cotton in which Egyptian cotton was famous. India produced 40 lakh bales of cotton- mainly the short staple variety -- known as Bengal cotton. In Andhra it

¹¹⁷ *Annual Report of AISA for the year 1933*, p. 23.

¹¹⁸ AICC papers, P-3 (P-II), 1938-39, & AICC papers, P-20, (P-II), 1938-39, referred to in Kapil Kumar (ed.), *Congress and Classes*, pp. 217-58.

Given a satisfactory spinning wheel, and well carded slivers an efficient worker spun at the rate of 400 yards per hour. Taking this as the basic speed of spinning, rates were calculated. This it is seen, enabled the spinner to earn the 2-3 *annas* minimum wage for eight hours of efficient work

was known as *dolaras, umras, salems, cocanadas, Malvas*, etc.¹²⁰ By 1940, largely as a result of the indefatigable work of Indian Central Cotton Committee, the production of long stapled varieties of cotton began to be produced on a large scale.¹²¹

Competition was rampant during the depression period during which the mill industry experienced decline while *khaddar* began to have a fair stronghold because of not being controlled by external factors. This led to consumption by mill owners to fraud in two ways: (i.) producing spurious *khadi* as genuine and (ii.) the dealers used to go to the *swawalambis* and buy their surplus cloth and their yarn producing by paying cash or giving cheap mill cloth in exchange. Gandhi tackled this problem by getting the mill owners too, involved in the *khadi* programme and with a moral sense of trusteeship. They in turn became so attracted by Gandhian philosophy that large funds of donation were given to Gandhi's *ashramas* in the name of practicing business morality.

A comparative statement showing production in value weight yardage and sales figures for nine months ending 30-9-1936 of AISA branches are given in the table below. They show figures which depict value of cotton in 1936 declining to almost half of its productive value compared to the earlier years. The fall in the sales

By 1940 largely as a result of the indefatigable work of the Indian Central Cotton committee the production of long stapled varieties of cotton began to be produced on a large scale. See *Bharati*, Vol. 9 1932. Similar views are also expressed by Frank Noyce, 'India's Economic Contributions to the War', *The Asiatic Review*', Jan. 1940, pp. 31-38.

It is to be noted that the Cocanada cotton especially was grown in small areas of Guntur, Nellore Krishna, east Godavari and Vizagapatnam districts. The name was derived from the port through which this cotton was exported i.e., Cocanada. The cotton was brown in colour and was classified as *Tharlapadu* red, (*cumbum* and Markapur of the Kurnool district). It has a very light colour and is a short staple variety of about 3/4 " and is sown usually in June-July. Due to the fall in exports of the Second World War, the area under this head also declined. It is relevant during this period, to study that this variety was locally consumed for handspinning and *khadi* work and had a special value for its natural colour, strength and dyeing properties.

is seen mainly due to (i.) rise in price and (ii.) difficulties in securing adequate supplies of suitable varieties experienced by the depots owing to the curtailment of private production.¹²² See table:

Table 3.10:

Province	Value:		Weight :		Yardage: S ales:		(inRs)		(in Lbs.)		(in yards)		(in Rs.)	
	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935
Andhra	53,173	1,02,744	35,733	50,704	1,55,117	22,950	76,736	1,41,296						
Bengal	25,771	99,499	21,756	40,806	65,723	125,110	27,134	32,699						
Karnataka	19,720	20,860	11,955	20,342	31,922	57,917	83,882	106,009						
Kerala	17,427	16,877	13,291	16,157	49,400	5,3203	27,085	33,861						
Maharashtra	22,14,858	1,88,814	1,87,317	2,00,735	589,206	5,94,241	291,669	281,567						
Punjab	88,537	80,313	131,655	108,091	320,426	2,38,754	72,639	92,256						
Tamil Nadu	243,370	23,4813	1,41,936	1,96,983	5,35,220	6,56,973	302,729	3,24,863						

Shankar Lal Banker had estimated the total production of hand woven and hand spun *khadi* in the year 1926 for the Madras Presidency was 2,059,835 Sq. yards, valued at Rs 9,16,073, while the sales amounted to Rs. 10,03,365. The number of spinners engaged in the production of *khadi* amounted to 3,64,873 and the weavers wages to Rs 1,90,426. The total capital of the association invested in the Presidency was Rs 7,89,751 of which 5,75,647 lay invested in stocks at the end of the year 1936. Speaking specifically of the Andhra region statistics collected of production and the sales of AISA and other certified organisations for the year ending June 1938 are given below:¹²³

Table No. 3.11

Province	Value		Sq. yards		Sales	
	1937	1938	1937	1938	1937	1938
Andhra:	196967	77317	4394511	61963	117615	
Tamilnadu:	7437822	2931441	544705	655642	383010	

¹²²Compiled from The extracts from the brochure issued by the AICC, *All India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition Guide*, 19 December 1937- Jan. 15, 1938, Congress House Madras, 1940.

¹²³Refer to the *AISA Report for the year 1938*.

Conglomerating Gujjula Rajiah's conclusions (see chapter II.) and the figures given above of a proportional increase in the over all share of textile employment in Andhra, one can in support of this conclusion, attribute it to the response meted to the Gandhian ideology which was the reigning spirit of the age. A basis of 3 *annas* spinning wage for 8 hours sufficient spinning was promoted by January 1939. Due to favourable political conditions and the prevalence of famine in some provinces *khadi* production became quicker and output increased over the year 1938, being as much as 78% in 1939.¹²⁴

Therefore, though one observes that the handloom weavers in Andhra received a certain set back in some years, these workers showed enough resistance and skill to adopt to the changing economic structure. They took advantage of this very fact of **dimunation** of imports to further their interests, consolidate and expand production. The preoccupation of Indian mills geared to the military supplies, with little possibility of adding to mill machinery in any way enabled the handloom industry to expand production especially in the field of women's garments by taking advantage of the cheap and brilliant dyes imported from Germany.

By 1940, the ultimate in the concept of self-sufficiency was seen . Self sufficiency in Gandhian terms were of two kinds. First, working for cloth for their own use as part of their wage and second, real self sufficiency by which spinning is done not for wage but for the spinners' own family use. In 1940, the council defined self sufficient people as habitual and full *khadi* weavers who regularly spin at least 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ hanks of yarn per month for their use.¹²⁵

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵*Annual Report of the year ending 1940.*

The year 1930, as already observed, had witnessed a similar mass enthusiasm for spinning in Andhra though it was short lived. Now as the underlying ideology had entered deep into the minds of the people, they worked strenuously towards the goal of *swaraj*. In evidence see the sales on the occasion of 'Gandhi Jayanthi' on October 2nd 1940.¹²⁶

See Table 3.12 below:

All India Figures on Oct. 2, 1940 (Value in Rupees)

	1940	1939
Andhra	62,410	50,369
Bombay	1,83,555	1,39,034
Bengal	22,358	15,027
Bihar	173,344	1,39,157
Burma	10,762	9,520
Central provinces	56,207	29,576
Gujarat	2,55,670	1,66,563
Karnataka	11,390	12,777
Kerala	7,323	9,059
Punjab	53,896	4,453
Tamil Nadu	19,583	14,000

The *Harijan* in 1940 estimated that 633 1/4 crores of rupees of square yards of cloth was being consumed annually in India, supplied by foreign sources 63 crores, Indian mills 409 crores, handwoven cloth woven from foreign and home mill yarn was 160 crores and woven from *khadi* 1 1/4 crore.¹⁻⁷

Rajat Kanta Ray remarks that it is surprising to note that throughout the depression, domestic market for cloth in India continued to expand from 1897-99 to 1937-39 and there was substantial increase of cloth available for consumption in India. From 3,202 million yards to 5,496 million yards (an increase of 2,500

¹²⁶*Krishna Patrika*, (microfilm), KR-18, Andhra Pradesh State Archives, 9 February 1940 to 11 January 1941.

¹²⁷Adapted from Krishna Das Gandhi's article in, *Maharashtra Khadi Parishad, Harijan*, 8 Sept. 1940.

million yards) which was accompanied by a substantial increase of per capita consumption of 3.4 yards.¹²⁸

Unlike the commencement of the First World War which had a depressing effect, the Second World War saw industries operating under the influence of certain amount of optimism engendered by the memory of the handloom conditions of last year. Yarn and cloth prices rose considerably and quotation of shares on stock exchanges were heavily marked up. Since 1943, profits of cloth mills soared to record heights and the exorbitant prices fetched by yarns and cloth put a great strain on the purchasing power of the public.¹²⁹

See Table 3.13 :

(Jan. to June)

Province	Production	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
Andhra	In sq. yds:	10,17,900	8,97,604	7,86,027	10,12,785	4,8541
	Value (in Rs.):	4,60,551	4,35,950	4,06,020	5,89,417	232,494
	Sales value:	2,93,430	3,12,812	3,46,384	5,00,450	2,43,189
T.N.	In sq yds:	33,04,073	23,85,110	—	17,49,898	23,95,034
	Value (in Rs.)	16,57,472	11,84,987	—	10,46,091	14,21,249
	Sales value	9,83,976	10,88,321	—	10,16,371	11,45,235
All India	In sq yds:	1,25,59,594	11,33,29,964	—	95,51,43	1,20,,39,478
	Value (in Rs.)	54,94,48 6	50,08,416	—	51,36,983	70,37,887
	Sales value	54,98,620	64,84,724	----	77,72,750	96,12,281

The second period, i.e., from the middle of 1942 was a period of favourable but abnormal activity for the textile industry on the whole. Some confusion was perceptible particularly among the people of coastal Andhra where Kakinada and Vizagapatnam were bombed by Japan on October 1942. During this period, this

¹²⁸Refer to S.D. Mehta, 'Textile Industry in India', cited in, Rajat Kanta Ray, *Industrialization in Indian growth and conflict in the Private corporate sector 1914-1947*, New Delhi, 1979.

¹²⁹Vishwanath Tekumalla, "The khaddar industry in war period", *The Co-operative Review*, Vol. DC, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1943, pp. 343-45.

area also witnessed strikes in mills which affected production of yarn and cloth. Facilities for transporting made the problem of distribution rampant, making the daily necessities of life to rise sharply due to scarcity and mal-distribution. The following tables give figures to show the increase in economic contribution of India to Britain towards the Second World War:¹³⁰

Table No. 3.14

Year	Total Expenditure (in crores)	India's share (in crores)	British share (incrores)
1939-40	54	50	4
1940-41	127	74	53
1941-42	298	104	306
1942-43	579	215 (*52)	
1943-44	774	358	(*38) 37
1944-45	894	397 (*60)	439
Total	2722	1198	(*150) 1374

Table No. 3.15¹³¹

Year	Income tax charged in India (in crores)
1938-39	84.51
1939-40	94.57
1940-41	99.88
1941-42	134.57
1942-43	176.88
1943-44	249.95
1944-45	356.88

Circumstances were particularly favourable as a unique opportunity for small spinners and weavers for they could now be sure of high wages. Thus, receiving a boost every artisan began borrowing a little capital to invest it profitably in spinning and weaving. By 1942 mill yarn became as costly as handspun yarn. The former began selling higher so that there was a satisfactory demand for *khaddar*.¹³² Seen from this angle, one deduces that a

¹³⁰Rangayya Bahadur, "Yudha kalam undi Bharada desha ku arthika sthiti", *Bharati*, 1945, p. 434.

¹³¹Rangayya Bahadur, "Yudha kalam undi Bharada desha ku arthika sthiti", *Bharati*, Vol. 9, 1945, Annual Volume, p. 434.

¹³²Testified by an oral interview with Vishwanath Tekumalla, Chief Surveyor, Department of Co-operative Societies, Madras, 1994-95.

very large part of the *khaddar* consumption in the country was determined by economic considerations. The relative prices of mill yarn cloth and *khaddar* were the deciding factor in the purchase of *khaddar* by most consumers during this period.

Since 1943, profits of cotton mills soared to record heights and the exorbitant prices fetched by yarns and cloth put a great strain upon the purchasing power of the public.¹³³ Three factors counted for the impetus given to the *Swadeshi* movement during the period 1944-45. The prospects of an early independence proclamation, presence of economists like J.C. Kumarappa, Sriman Narayan and K.T. Shah and finally the importance of a planning process for building economy on the lines of the Soviet five year plan. This in turn accelerated the cooperation of the efforts of economists towards planning on lines which Gandhi (and the Congress under his guidance) had advocated over the years. The situation engaged M.K. Gandhi, the AISA and all kindred organizations in planning and programming for a new India's economy. In this context Gandhi's theory of *samagra seva* and *samagra sevak* and his elaboration of the oceanic circle loomed large in importance.¹³⁴

At the end of 1945 Victor Sasoon an authority on Textile industry computed that if a yard of mill cloth of 20s counts costs 0-5-6, the same cloth woven on a handloom of same count would cost 1-3-0. Under the *khadi* scheme formulated by the textile department one yard of *khadi* would cost Rs. 1-7-0.¹³⁵ Gandhi's insistence on *Swadeshi* had its ultimate result when the production of *khadi* rose

¹³³ C.H. Bhabha, 'The History of the Cotton Textile Industry in India', in M.P. Gandhi, *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry in India*, pp. 9-15.

¹³⁴ Emphasized by Pragada Kottaiah, (Rajya Sabha member), Private interview at Hyderabad, October 1994.

¹³⁵ 'Economics of *khaddar*', *The Hindu*, 31 Oct. 1946.

to Rs.1.2 crores in 1941-42 and further to 1.4 crores in 1944-45.¹³⁶ In the twenty months since the middle of June 1943, (during which period the scheme of cloth control had been in operation), the problem of the distribution of cloth had been problematic both to the Government and the textile control board. The first six months upto the end of 1943 was only an initial period of preparation for enforcing the control. Accordingly the machinery of control was decided, prices were reduced, dishoarding measures put into force and the movement of cloth standardized in the face of black marketing which had grown menacingly. A major recommendation of the textile control board was to stimulate yarn production through a grant of 10 crores to the AISA, to enable it to survive the scarcity of yarn.¹³⁷

See Table No. 3.16¹³⁸

Year	Total	Raw cotton	Cottonmanufacture	Grain& Pulses
1895-96	1,323	160	72	85
1901-01	1200	154	91	53
1905-06	1,576	229	94	81
1910-11	2,176	414	104	142
1915-16	2,493	174	124	406
1920-21	2249	227	231	22
1925-26	4405	791	296	137
1930-31	3235	164	176	190
1935-36	2,729	97	114	89
1940-41	3231	172	304	

Speaking of the most important change in agriculture since the turn of the century; was the introduction of new strains of cotton plant in the *Cambodia* and *karungani*, increasing the quality and productivity of per acre of cotton grown in the Presidency by

¹³⁶VadilalDagli (ed.), *Khadi and Village Industries in the Indian Economy*, Bombay, 1976, p. 16.

¹³⁷Cloth control', *The Eastern Economist*, Vol. 4, No. 6, 9 Feb. 1945.

¹³⁸*Annual statement of the sea borne trade and navigation of the Madras presidency* for the respective years that are give above (1895-1941). Published at Madras

the mid 1920s, the groundwork for an extensive cotton industry was being laid -with more gins; presses etc. appearing in the countryside and bankers in some of the main towns floating companies to build cotton mills, but these efforts did not bear fruit until a decade later.¹³⁹ In the thirties the volume of sea borne exports declined again to well below two million yards per annum due to depression but Indian exports once again were on the increase in 1937-38 and exported 241 million yards which was 60% more than in 1928 even though the world index compared with 1928 stood at 80%.¹⁴⁰

To conclude, in the earlier years of Gandhian ideology, one has evidence to prove that while Non Co-operation had undoubtedly been a success in south India, Gandhi's specific programme of developing the 'khadi spirit' had gained only a mediocre response.¹⁴¹ Gandhi called for men to renounce their Government titles and offices and to boycott the Government schools, law courts and legislature urging these institutions to be replaced with National schools and local arbitration courts and to promote the production and consumption of handspun *khaddar*. Six out of the Madras Presidency 682 title holders relinquished their titles and in April 1921, 51 persons mostly honorary magistrates and municipal councillor had resigned their offices.¹⁴²

In the later years, the new arbitration courts and new schools flourished best in the towns particularly of western Tamil

¹³⁹V.V.Sayana, *The Agrarian Problems of Madras Province*, Madras, 1949, pp. 24-25.

¹⁴⁰L.K.Jha, 'A half century of textile export' in M.P. Gandhi (ed.), *Indian Cotton Textile Industry in India 1851-1950*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁴¹Gandhi himself was displeased with the poor response to *khaddar* wearing in the presidency towns in the earlier stages of Non Co-operation and voiced this in his *CW*, Vol. xix, pp. 496-565 and *CW*, Vol. XXI, pp. 159-232.

¹⁴²G.O.No. 249, Public Department (misc.), 25 April 1921, in C.J.Baker, *Non-cooperation in South India*, pp. 122-35.

Nadu and Andhra deltas which were being stirred up for essentially local reasons as they were patronised by the rich local merchant patrons. The lower strata were wary in joining the *Swadeshi* movement as unemployment was rampant and they would be risking their jobs if they joined the movement. The partly educated dropouts from schools coming from the lower middle class took an active role in being linkages between the rural artisan (who did not know the disposal aspects of *khadi* and the yarn banks) and the towns.

The objection raised against the handloom movement was that the living wage earned by the spinner was so microscopic that as a occupation it could not attract sufficient number of people to make it an economic success. Gandhi had an answer to this. The *charkha* was not proposed as a full time occupation but as a part or spare time job for portions of the day and used in this way south Indian villages showed itself capable to supply 15% to 66% of family incomes.¹⁴³

Treatment of the *charkha* movement from purely the economic point of view precludes one from describing the moral revolution that had also been brought in the weavers' thought process. For example, temperance and freedom from indebtedness and drink, that came in the wake of the *charkha* movement are as much economic as they are moral issues

Another potentiality of the *charkha* movement was the relief that it gave to the villagers during the famine years. A programme of paddy husking and other forms of relief in the flood and famine

¹⁴³*Young India*, 13 August 1925 and 10 Sept. 1925.

areas (were taken up later to be discarded) but when the *charkha* was tried, it worked to perfection.¹⁴⁴

The concept of *khadi* and *Swadeshi* gradually transformed and reached a higher stage along with the mental growth of Gandhi over the years. Gandhi's impact on the weaver was also seen in the technology, yarn banks and the disposal techniques of cloth which were perfected in later years. His impact on technology however, was limited as he wanted improvement of the individual and not mechanized industry. By the forties, making the weaver the central figure, in the development of all India's economy became a fetish for Gandhi.

His concept of the 'samagra seva' of involving every individual of the community in the production of cloth and his 'oceanic theory' which was planned for the upliftment of the weaver community as a whole was the primary and ultimate objective. However, one should not be unaware of the fact that Gandhi's ideology was not only the panacea to the social problems of upper and middle strata of the society, but an immediate and economic one to the weaver and the down trodden.

The tremendous boost that the World Wars gave the handloom industry prove the point that if they would not have occurred then the progress of this industry would have been a slower one. The shortage and high prices of mill cloth brought about by the war time conditions acted as a catalyst, stimulating the concept of self-sufficiency and drew thousands of people to spinning and weaving besides the traditional community of weavers.

¹⁴⁴This was tried by **Prafula** Chandra Ray in west Bengal in 1923-24, cited in Richard **Gregg**, *Economics of Khaddar*, p. 180.

The importance Gandhi gave to the *charkha* is reflected in the continued interest that he demonstrated in its development for more than 25 years. The *charkha* according to Gandhi symbolized a non violent way of life while, the economics of *khadi* stood on certain fundamental assumptions. For a proper appreciation of Gandhi's views it must be stated that the spinning wheel besides its immediate practical utilitarian aspect symbolized a new system'. It stood for an alternative system for the over centralized factory civilization.¹⁴⁵

Where the symbol of *khadi* differed was, that earlier in the hands of the *Swadeshi* leaders of 1905-10 home spun cloth was the political symbol but in the hands of Gandhi spinning was a *mantra* which was to gradually transform the moral fibre of the nation. The spinning wheel became more than just a means of regeneration of cottage industries or emphasizing the dignity of manual labour. But in the case of spinning wheel something else was added, something beyond economics, sociology or politics a kind of mystical concentration, upon services as a form and to him the pervading form of religion'.¹⁴⁶

As emphasised earlier, one of the major differences between the old *Swadeshi* of Bipan Chandra Pal and the new form given to it by Gandhi, lay in the fact that the former advocated discriminating protection of small industries on the basis of potential advantage and emphasized the indigenous nature of the products, irrespective of the method or the product. But for Gandhi though the indigenous nature of the product was stressed, organized industry was ruled out because he felt that there was no need for it. The

¹⁴⁵M.K.Gandhi, *Economics of Khadi*, Ahmedabad, 1941, p. 18.

¹⁴⁶This was claimed by Vincent Sheean with an insight into Gandhi's spirit, *Hind Swaraj*, p. 159, cited in D.S. Chandra Devanesan, *The Making of the Mahatma*, Madras, 1968, p. 384.

production for exports, as seen in the earlier paragraphs, received the last priority and planning mainly concentrated on (i.) agricultural development, (ii.) development of village industries, (iii.) promotion of housing, health and cleanliness, (iv.) spread of education in villages and (v.) promotion of village organizations and encouraging the cultural development in the villages.

It was obvious to Gandhi that rural India could not be transformed without the help of urban intelligentsia. Therefore, to make the country conscious about the villages he advised the Congress committees to hold its annual sessions in the villages. Thus, by this method it is seen that, planning would touch the life of each and every citizen participating in the process of development of state. There should be little scope for the members of the state to exploit their position and they should be paid an allowance based not on the fabulous profits of merchants but on the average earnings of the citizens of the villages.¹⁴⁷

Gandhi's planning for an ideal society was formulated in the social sphere of the *ashram* society where he tried to implement his ideas of economic, society and political awareness. Another noteworthy point is that the *ashram* society had many characteristics in common with Marx's utopia of classless society. The free society which Gandhi strove for and implemented in a rudimentary manner in the *ashram* had the classlessness, the abolition of the division of labour, the removal of the anti-thesis of theory and practise, free time and occupation and the town and country in common.¹⁴⁸

Refer to B.P.Pandey, "Towards a Gandhian approach to planning", *Khadi Gramudyog*, Vol. 35, Jan. 1989, pp. 177-84. The Faizapur congress was the first to be held in a village and Gandhi brought to notice that the session was free from the scramble and hustle inevitable in big towns. See for further information on this see B.R. Nanda, *Mahatma Gandhi, a Biography*, New Delhi, 1982, p. 376.

¹⁴⁸RauHeimo, *Mahatma Gandhi as the Germans see him*, Bombay, 1976, p. 229.

Richard B. Gregg, goes a step further and elaborates that Gandhism is superior to socialism in providing for every person a common daily form of social work/service to help directly towards creating a new social and economic order and as everyone is urged to take part in it, this activities is psychologically wise. Gandhism through the wearing of *khaddar* and the use of the *charkha* attack the old gradations more subtly, directly and powerfully through symbolism, than does socialism.¹⁴⁹

What is significant to note is the meticulous details of the ways in which Gandhi was able to forge political linkages on local and regional levels. By bringing out connections between the cow and *khaddar*, between paddy and *khadi* etc, he brought out the indigenous nature of the whole movement. He agreed with Krishna Rao of Masulipatnam that handspinning should be reorganized as a *dharma* and performed as a *Yagna*.¹⁵⁰ *Sutra yagnas* soon followed and by 29 July 1939, the vernacular newspapers like the, *Krishna Patrika* and *Andhra Patrika*, propagated this idea vociferously. Their target was to enlist at least 1000 volunteers before Gandhi *jayanthi*.¹⁵¹

Thus one observes, Gandhi using a consumer good as an ideological tool to mobilize the masses. His concept of *Swadeshi* is the main calculus of development, while his idea of decentralization is its derivative. The decentralization pattern of agro-based industrial production is very much akin to the doctrine of balanced regional economic development in modern terminology which argues for the adoption of the techniques of planning from below. Therefore, we see his decentralization

¹⁴⁹Richard. B. Gregg, *Gandhism and Socialism*, Madras, 1931.

¹⁵⁰

'Sacrificial spinning in Andhra' in Shankerlal Banker's letter to M.K. Gandhi, in the *Harijan*, 7 Sept. 1939, p. 262

¹⁵¹M.K. Gandhi, *Economics of Khadi*, Ahmedabad, 1941, p. 18.

approach to development refers to the decentralization of economic activity from the village level onwards which however should not be understood as all economic activities as having to start from the village level.

There is flexibility in the Gandhian view to suggest that a group of villages can be considered as a decentralized unit for the purpose of organizing economic activity. His emphasis on village development was guided by two considerations (i.) to focus the attention of the political leaders on rural India where the major part of the population was concentrated and (ii.) to stop the exodus of the rural people to the unplanned towns and cities in search of a living.

Gandhi's idea was that, if the villages were made self sufficient and self reliant the people would not move to urban areas. Second, there was an aura of romanticism of 'city life', which promised the poor **debt-ladden** villager a short cut to economic gains. The sociological implications of the Gandhian view of promoting village self-reliance was that it would perpetuate the existing social, economic inequalities by discouraging social and economic mobility and keep prosperity and education tied down in as narrow a sector as the village and thus not expose the villagers to the challenge of technological development. In the long run it would prove to be anti-rural and result in the creation of dual economies which would make the urban and rural sector separate entities by themselves.¹⁵²

To the critics of the *khadi* ideology, it seemed to be a vain return to the ancient or middle ages but for Gandhi it was a dire

¹⁵²G.Thimaiah, "Studies in rural development", cited in G.Thimaiah (ed.), *Studies in Rural Development*, Allahabad, 1979.

necessity of national existence. 'The *charkha* reflected the will of the nation to be free from foreign exploitation.'¹⁵³

When the question of Gandhi's appeal to the masses arise, one view posed in explaining the heavy response is that it must be sought in the peculiarities of India's economic circumstances that helped to produce a sympathetic audience. The task of re-awakening of the political consciousness of the Indian masses was undertaken by Gandhi on a scale far greater than had been performed by any other leader in modern times. His *khadi* programme was a stroke of genius. It had a political message, it was a social weapon, an economic solution and a national symbol.

To sum up, just as in the late nineteenth century cultural factors helped to preserve a minimum of demand for hand woven cloth, so also in the twentieth century the *Swadeshi* movement favoured one product and rejected the foreign one without much regard for the individual purse- and consequently managed to resuscitate the traditional textile economy. Along with this fact, Gandhi's social ideal of a rural economy based on manual labour in agricultural and handicrafts sector were reflected in an intensely religious life and it became the dominant feature of all those who desired to improve their economic conditions.

Gandhi's image conjured up before us until now has been that of a national leader or a saint's or an idealist who did not face the cruel realities of life. It is not the attempt here to make him appear as a charismatic leader or as a remote superhuman saint. "Though, such men are innovation and acknowledge their role as pioneers it should be recognized that their roots and strengths of

¹⁵³See Nandalal Chatterji, "A century of India's struggle", p. 2.

their greatness lie in the epoch or more concretely in the ethos of the period of material and cultural history".¹⁵⁴

Nevertheless, what this study has aimed at is that, Gandhian ideology and charisma struck resonant chords in various elements of the Andhra handloom economy. The cult of *Swadeshi* manifesting itself in the economic, social and cultural planes shaped the lives of the Andhra weavers in the twentieth century. This it has been demonstrated, had not been as a consequence of an individual power (here Gandhi's) to make history but was a result of a conjuncture of larger impersonal historical forces.

¹⁵⁴RajababuGawande (ed.), *Towards Understanding Gandhi*, Bombay, 1975, p.11.

CHAPTER IV
POLICIES OF A COLONIAL STATE

CHAPTER IV

Policies of the Colonial State:

With response to the introduction and response to new techniques of production in the handloom sector

Three major developments characterized the history of India in the first half of the twentieth century. First, the external events over which neither the British Government of India nor the Indian people had any direct control namely the World Wars and the Great Depression of 1930-'33. These events whose aftermath crucially influenced developments throughout the twenties, thirties and the forties dominated both the economic and political developments of India. Second, a slow but fairly steady industrialization in the economic structure of the country was occurring in large parts as a consequence of the Wars. Third, through a slow rate of economic growth, characterized the preceding half century, India's financial superstructure expanded rapidly in both, relative and absolute terms without basic changes in its institutional framework.¹

An interplay of internal tensions and external pressures began to create the India of the twentieth century. The change was not dramatic but a continuous transformation and adaptation to the changing situation. Traditional institutions and groups of people, one of them being the handloom weavers, chose those novel elements, that seemed more profitable and moulded them to achieve their own material ends. For example, the complex pattern of rural and urban distributive system, and the demand in the change for quality standard, in both external and internal markets, created conditions that necessitated the weaver community to come

¹Raymond W. Goldsmith, *The Financial Development of India 1860-1977*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 66.

out of their seclusion and be linked up with a wider market network. As the Telugu speaking districts of the Madras Presidency were a distinct strand in the fabric of India's national heritage, every weaver had a role to play which was integral to the social and economic fabric of the particular village. Prior to the First World War, these artisans did not face the problems relating to high competitiveness, accumulation of stocks or capital needs. This being due to the people in the villages producing almost all that they needed.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to analyse the fluctuations and fortunes of the weavers, as this was a good index of change for the entire economic structure of the Andhra region. Their movement in numbers, wages, rate of industrialization and their role in getting integrated in the world economy through colonial intervention, changes in the nature of this community are some of the issues explored. It also seeks to throw light on the wider questions of the effect of imperialist rule in the economy of Andhra. Did the societal institutions possess enough resilience and vitality to absorb the changes brought about by the foreign rule. How did they react to change in the technology (indigenous/Government promoted) in the use of their age old time-tested implements?

What is interesting to note is that the change in the handloom weaving products was a cumulative result of many factors including changes in governmental policies, changes in the income of weavers and their increasing dependence on the merchant capitalist as a result of product diversification and lastly the influence of technical changes introduced by indigenous and colonial enterprise.

During the second half of the nineteenth century upto the outbreak of the First World War elements of indigenous

bourgeoisie began to expand into industrial activity and simultaneously sow the seeds for a new basis of their relationship with the British colonial regime. The transformation of indigenous capital into industrial capital and the establishment of indigenous joint stock banks on the foundations of usury capital, one sees, facilitated the transformation of large merchant capital into large industrial capital — though not marking any revolutionary break from its pre-capitalist moorings.²

To do this and widen domestic markets the bourgeoisie wanted state support to mobilize adequate capital for obtaining the requisite infrastructural facilities and keep down risks and above all guarantee that the expanding opportunities did not slip into the metropolitan hands, with which they would then have to collaborate. Therefore, it would appear that the domestic bourgeoisie needed state protection, regulation of multi-national corporations and state investments in setting up financial institutions.³

A study of handloom industry in the twentieth century cannot be comprehensive without a reference being made to the state of the textile industry and the big business men and capitalist involved in it, for, it was the premier industry involved, during the period under consideration. The demands of Indian capitalist voiced with increasing insistence for protection in the legislative assembly were not radically new, as they had been formulated long ago by Dadabhai Navaraji, M.G. Ranade and Romesh Chandra Dutt etc. All Indian political parties too showed themselves in

²Further discussion on this is carried on in Saumitra Chowdhary, "Indian Bourgeoisie and Foreign Capital: A Study of Congress Policy towards Foreign Capital 1931-1961", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 18, 1988, pp. 3-22.

³See Prabhat Patnaik, "Political economy of economic imperialism", *Mainstream*, Vol. 24, 21 Sept. 1985, pp. 19-26.

complete agreement about the necessity of protection.⁴ Though in general, one witnesses colonial rule being hostile to the possibilities of indigenous capital and industrialization, there are distinct phases also through which colonial rule passed (as will be elaborated later on) where the state was seen changing and facilitating developments of modern enterprise and the indigenous capitalist class. This situation however, was seen increasingly during the out break of the First World War.

It had become increasingly clear especially during the First World War that London's influence in the commercial and financial spheres of India was best secured by informal influence by the concession of tariff autonomy and some monetary independence. This was because of a combination of political, strategic and fiscal factors that drove the colonial Government towards seeing Indian industrial development in a more favourable light and therefore the policies that followed marked a perceptible change.⁵ The First World War had convinced Britain that some sort of guided industrialization in India was essential for political economic and military reasons.⁶ British imperialism emerged out of the war much weaker than before.

Internally, in India its effects were seen in the widespread interest among the masses. Though anger and hatred towards the *raj* intensified because of the alarming oppression and exploitation during the war time; among the people it was only demonstrated in sporadic outbursts throughout the country. The *raj* was certainly

⁴Rajat Kanta Ray, *Industrialisation in India 1914-1947*, Delhi, 1979, p. 305.

⁵Claude Marcovitz, *Business and Nationalist Politics 1931-39, The Indigenous Capitalist Class and the Rise of Congress*, Cambridge, 1985, *passim*

⁶For an elaborate discussion on this see, S.K. Ghosh, *The Indian Big Bourgeoisie: Its Genesis, Growth and Character*, Calcutta, 1985, p. 189-94, cited in S.K. Ghosh, 'Indian bourgeoisie and Imperialism', *Economic and Political Weekly* (hereafter EPW), Spl. No. Nov. 1988, pp. 2445-58.

wary of a post war upheaval and it prepared itself to meet the situation by rallying Indian collaborators.⁷ Judith Brown is of the opinion that, concessions were granted to contain the growing discontent, public resentment and attract collaborators who would form a stable foundation for their rule.⁸

This argument has also been explored in R.P. Dutt's, *India Today*. According to him the Indian bourgeoisie entered into a compromise with the British imperial forces sometimes out of fear of people's revolutionary outbreaks -- but was at heart really anti-imperialist.⁹ This has been further argued by V.I. Pavlov that it was during the inter-war period that an antagonistic relationship developed between the two. The World War periods saw new avenues which were rapidly appropriated to monopoly features. For example, the Associated Cement Companies and the Sugar Syndicate.¹⁰ However, it has been argued recently that the Indian big bourgeoisie were not seeking confrontation but a collaboration in the twenties and thirties of the century.¹¹ Another view speaks of the need to evaluate the size and strength of the capitalist class and its role in the Indian economy in terms of whether it surrendered or collaborated with imperialist forces.¹²

Speaking from the point of view of the state granting aid to indigenous industry, on the other hand, a recent study proposed

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 2457.

⁸Judith Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922*, Cambridge, 1972, p.123.

⁹Rajat Palme Dutt, *India Today*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 263-68.

¹⁰This argument is explored in S.K.Ghosh, "The India Big Bourgeoisie", p.263.

¹¹ See, Saumitra Chowdhary, "Indian Bourgeoisie and Foreign Capital", p. 2450.

¹²Aditya Mukherjee reacts to this and elaborating on the capitalist class in India concludes that they had their own strategy and remained distinct from the national movement. See, "The Indian Capitalist Class and Foreign Capital, 1912-47", *Studies in History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, pp. 105-148.

¹³Nasir Tyabji, 'Focusing state Aid in industry: Madras 1921-37', Working paper No. 83, *Madras Institute of Development Studies*, Jan. 1988, pp. 1-57.

that it was not due to any positive inducement to industrialization. The contest which raged around the nature of rules and the definition of eligible enterprises was the form in which the real contest between the rising capitalist administration was reflected sometimes within the administration itself.¹³ For example, during the first half of the century with the various economic and political influences coming into operation the Indian mills made progress rapidly whereas the handlooms were left neglected for sometime resulting in a somewhat static condition.

The prime influences which affected the fortunes of the mills and handlooms during this period were the (i.) tariff policy of the Government and (ii.) the *Khaddar* movement. The handloom industry faced the unsteadiness of yarns' supplies which it had come to depend upon heavily. Progressively it was seen that as the war period was an abnormal time, the Indian mill industry began using up that yarn which should legitimately have been the share of the handloom (this being mainly due to the heavy demand for war supplies) and also tried to capture the domestic market as well. How far was it successful and did the Andhra handloom industry crumble under the death blow dealt by the rapidly expanding mill industry and other sectors of competition (including foreign small single powerloom factories), are some of the issues investigated here. It is the evolution of these contradictory connections making the history of the relations between the mills and small scale weaver that is explored in this chapter. Related to this is the multifaceted conspicuous but slightly ambiguous role that the business class played in the *Swadeshi* movement is also explored here in reference to coastal Andhra.

¹⁴Nandalal Chatterji, "A century of India's freedom struggle", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 35, Part II, April 1957, Trivandrum, pp. 221- 42.

It was during the *Swadeshi* movement at the turn of the century which stirred and encouraged the entrepreneurs to counter act against the foreign industrial interests. With the spread of English language a middle class consisting of men of commerce, bankers, doctors and another professionals had emerged more powerful than in any other time in the past. The commercial activities had also forced the foreign concerns to train the Indians in technical subjects and to run their activities at a senior level. Therefore encouraged by the *Swadeshi* movement these human forces contemplated development of industrial sector in India itself.¹⁴

The Indian nationalist's became wary when industrialization was brought about as a system of economic development in which a major part of the national resources was used to develop a technically up-to-date diversified national industry, capable of assuring a high rate of growth for the economy as a whole and of overcoming economic and social **backwardness**.¹⁵

It cannot be denied that British Government had actively participated in almost all spheres of economic life whether to facilitate trade, transport, commerce, building of canals and agriculture and other improvement schemes. But how far had it improved the economic conditions of the masses and if succeeded/failed why and how did it come about? Why the sudden interest at all in developing the country's indigenous industrial forces or its interest in the lower forms of industry' ?

Lastly after showing both the sides of the British policies which were implemented the reader is open to the question and

¹⁵ See reference cited in, "Industrialisation as a means of Developing and translating the economics of the less developed countries", *UN Economic and Social Council Committee for Industrial Development*, III session, EC, 5/2,17, New York 18, iv, 1963, cited in, **G.K.Shirokov**, *Industrialisation of India*, Delhi, 1980.

faced with the option of, whether the entire thrust of the Government policy was unnatural or inimical to the balanced development of the Indian economy?

The First World War had produced a situation wherein various groups were no longer satisfied with the political or economic mode which they were made accustomed to until then. The war years saw the breakdown of various such barriers. Meanwhile, the prevailing conditions making it both possible and profitable for previously latest groups to erupt and give their support to Gandhi in Indian politics.¹⁶ When Gandhi arrived on the Indian scene in 1915, less than a decade after the *Swadeshi* movement in 1905—06; the movement had petered out leaving behind a rich legacy of ideas of national self respect, national self reliance and organization of the masses for bread as well as freedom.¹⁷

One of the important consequence of the Indian nationalism had been the challenge that was posed to it by the colonial rule and the way in which India slowly adopted modern forms or organisation and communication, finally making a bid to end the parasitical bond. The bid to end the colonialism of the mind proved to be almost a Herculean task in the earlier stages of *Swadeshi* than to break the colonialism of the economic sphere.¹⁸

Coming from large scale industry's position to a predominantly small scale industry, one observes, the handloom industry in the Madras Presidency, receiving no state support for a long **period** of time. Serious circumstances created by war

¹⁶Judith Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to power*, p. 358.

¹⁷For further details see B.N. Ganguli, *Gandhi's Social Philosophy, Perspective and Relevance*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 281.

¹⁸Dietmar Rothermund, *The Indian Economy under British Rule and other Essays*, Delhi, 1983, see "Introduction".

conditions, the economy, depression, pressures of internal competition with the mill industry and the increasingly favourable response to *Swadeshi Iswara* movement all culminated in efforts and experiments to rejuvenate this industry in coastal Andhra.

Attempts were made in 1903 to deal with the problems of the weavers by organizing Co-operatives. These Co-operatives were cast in the classical mould and were self help-do-it yourself organizations owned and operated by members who used those resources to meet their needs. As the problem of weavers had always been one of the disposal of finished goods and to deal with the exploitative nature of the big businessmen and the middlemen, a plan was drawn up to provide for the former. Accordingly, the Co-operatives were entitled to supply yarn to the members and give them a small cash advance to meet any expenditure related with weaving the finished goods. The weavers were expected to weave the yarn and return it to the society which prescribed the rate according to its texture value. The wage production to the weaver was the difference in the yarn supplied and the finished goods bought at the specified price.¹⁹

Alfred Chatterton was appointed by the Government with the title of Director of Industrial and Technical Enquires in 1906, to explore the possibility of opening new small scale industries. Experiments in improved methods of weaving commenced in 1901-02 and a few fly shuttle looms were set up in the School of Arts with the object of providing experience as to their working capacity. The experiments conducted on the Madras kerchiefs and subsequently on other classes of indigenous goods such as saris and dhoties gave results which left no doubt as to the practicability

¹⁹B.S. Baliga, *Compendium on the History of the Handloom Industry in Madras*, Madras, 1960.

of turning out a larger percentage of cloth on a fly shuttle than on the ordinary country loom. Therefore in 1905, it was decided to continue the experimental work at a higher level on a properly organized handloom weaving structure. The main object in view was in the words of Alfred Chatterton, to ascertain by experiment "whether it was possible to improve the conditions of hand weavers in south India."²⁰

In 1908 an Industrial Conference was held at Ootacamund at which representatives of leading industrial interests attended. One of the resolutions passed at the conference was that a permanent Department of Industries should be created under the control of an officer as the Director of Industries. The Department of Industries was sanctioned and came into being in March 1914. Along with it sanction was also accorded for the appointment of an advisory board of industries. This Department viewed all matters of general importance affecting industries or industrial education and laid it before the board ²¹

The Department of Industries tried to get answers to three major questions. First, whether it was possible to (i.) improve the conditions of the handloom weavers by introducing different machinery for weaving; second (ii.) a factory system and third (iii.) improved preparatory processes. The 1908 exhibition held at Madras revealed the fact that the English fly shuttle loom with necessary modifications to suit local conditions was the most suitable one to the weavers.

In this connection a mention of P.T.Chettiar's contribution is necessary. An avowed leader of the *devanga* community and the

²⁰Refer to Padmini Swaminathan, "State Intervention in industrial development: A case study of Madras Presidency", published in the *Seminar on South Indian Economy in 1914-1945*, Vol. ii, April 25-27, Trivandrum.

²¹C.T. Boag, *Madras Presidency 1881-1931*, Madras, 1933, pp. 75-81.

non-brahmin party of south India, he made similar experiments in his factory and maintained it for a long time at a high cost. To quote him, "I believe that Rs 20,000 or 30,000 or even a lakh of rupees spent 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 a change that is required in handloom weaving. If sizing be improved handlooms will even be able to cope with machine made goods."²²

The Department of Industries estimated 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 had to throw the shuttle every time. The warping mill had cheapened '**warping**' by more than half the rate. The *dobbies* made it easier to weave *petu* bordered cloths and the introduction of jacquard looms had facilitated the manufacture of the *petu* bordered cloths with very intricate designs without the help of an assistant to lift the *dobby*.²³

The introduction of these machines were beneficial ultimately to the weavers. The greatest numbers of fly shuttle were found at the large weaving centres for example, at Chirala, Perala, Bhattiprolu, Venkatagiri, and Kalahasti. By 1930 however, there was evidence in the regions which began reverting back to plying old looms for preparing *petu* saris and Pedana and Ellore. Though in Pentapadu, Bheemavaram, Palakollu, and Narasapuram most of the looms were equipped with the fly shuttles, the looms which were used to weave the popular head rumals' were still the old looms. In Peddapuram, Uppada, and Berhampur, weavers realized

²²For details see, D.M. Amalsad, *Handloom Weaving Industry in Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1928, p. 78.

²³N.G.Ranga, *The Economics of Handlooms*, Madras, 1930, see Chapter IX, pp. 260-62.

within a few years of starting the experiment that fly shuttles were unsuited for their work of weaving silk. These regions of Anakapalli and Ponduru had more of the old forms of looms and they began plying it due to the Gandhian influence which preferred *khaddar* work for which the age old looms were better adapted.²⁴

In 1914 the first peripatetic party consisting of a superintendent and five weavers were formed to work in the northern Circars. Their efforts were directed to popularize the fly shuttle warping machines, jacquard looms and dobbies. However it was found that the parties were neither sufficient nor numerous enough to do much progress in the two decades since its establishment. There were only two parties which were working in 1921 and only 119 villages were visited by them in the seven districts of Ganjam, Vizag, Bellary, Anantapur, Chittoor and north Arcot. Only 1020 shuttles of all kinds were introduced in these villages, i.e., about 10 in each village.²⁵

Simultaneously, despite being outside the main cotton tracts Madras province took the initiative in the early development of the textile industry. The first cotton mills were geared to the export of finished cloth and thus were located near the harbour with the raw cotton which was being brought to the cities by road or rail, (formally most of the cotton presses were in Madras and the raw cotton was brought in carts taking months by road). Cotton was

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 262-63.

²⁵ It was evidenced that if in Uppada, Berhampore, Ponduru, and Chicacole, where *petu* bordered work was carried on, on the same old machinery it was due to the fact that the Department had not demonstrated the advantages of the new machines in these regions extensively. See N.G.Ranga, *Economics of Handlooms*, pp. 272-74.

ginned and pressed locally and by 1881, there were nearly 100 ginning mills and cleaning mills.²⁶

See *below* table on the production of cotton cloth on *handlooms*:²⁷

Table 4.1:

Count of yarn	Width of cloth (in inches)	Ends & Picks (in inches)	Production of cloth per 9 Hrs (in yards)	Yards (per Lb.)	Weight of yarn required for 26 days (in Lbs.)
14s	45	16	5.5	2.9	140
20s	45	12	3.5	3.4	90
30s	45	10	2.6	3.9	65
40s	45	8	1.8	4.36	46
60s	45	6	1.08	5.6	27
80s	45	5	0.72	6.9	19
100s	45	4	0.51	7.8	13

A Parsee firm based in Bombay established the first cotton mill at Madras. The financial backing and managerial staff were largely parsee while british technicians provided the technical skills. Before long however, this mill faced financial crisis but in 1875 Gujarati entrepreneurs (also from Bombay) founded the Madras United Spinning and Weaving Mills known as the Choolai mills from their location in the Municipal division of Choolai. This mill had a chequered career and closed down in 1939 amidst a lot of controversy.²⁸

²⁶See Eamon Murphy, *Unions in conflict: A comparative study of four South Indian Textile centres 1918-1922*, Delhi, 1981, p.11. Also refer to the information given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Madras Presidency, Madras, 1908, p.59.

²⁷D.M. Amalsad, *A Text Book on Warp and Weft Preparation (hand process)*, Madras, 1950, pp. 1-37.

²⁸The textile industry did not flourish in Madras until a very old and respectable firm Messrs. Binny and Company promoted the Buckingham mill company with the objective of buying cotton, working a spinning and weaving mill and marketing the finished products. See for further reference on this, Eamon Murphy, *Unions in conflict*, pp. 11-12.

See below the progress of the cotton mill industry in Madras: ²⁹

Table 4.2:

Years	No. of Mills	Looms	Spindles	Hand Employed
1881	3		48,000	1,400
1891	8	555	173000	5,900
1901	11	1,735	2,88,000	12,600
1907	11	1,748	3,08,000	16,740

(on daily basis)

Of the 11 mills working in 1907 the two largest were in the Buckingham and Carnatic mills at Madras which employed between them 8,250 persons daily. the census of 1901 reported that in addition to the organized works, there were 21,951 persons subsisting on hand ginning more than half of these were to be found in Vizagapatnam 4,177, Nellore, 2,812, Krishna 2,436 and Tirunelvelly 21,003 and the work was chiefly done by women.³⁰

The cloth made in these mills was chiefly the coarser kind and largely consumed locally and exported to the straits, settlement China and Ceylon. The volume of yarn sent during the five years ending 1906-07 having been on an average of Rs. 13 1/2 lakhs per annum. Along with these cotton textile mills there were a number of weaving establishments in the Presidency which could not be classified as mills but in which organizational work was carried on. Five of these works were under the supervision of the Bassel German Mission and were located in the west coast. Two of the establishments were a Niddavolu, in Krishna district which were

²⁹G.O.No. 1636, Revenue, 12 June 1908. Also see, *Imperial Gazetteer*, Table XV-A, p. 59.

³⁰See *Census Report 1901*, Table XV, Vol. XV-A, p.289. See also Somerset Playne, *Southern India, 1914-'15*, p. 616 estimated in 1914:

Description of occupation:	m	F	**	Total	Large Factories	Small Factories	cottage industries
Textiles	452081	288372	740453	30	2,4047	79	3,889 712517

*Male

** Female

wholly involved in weaving and knitting work and employed around 75 hands daily.³¹

See statistics given below for cotton and jute mills established in the Madras Presidency :

(i.) 1920-71 & (ii.) 1924-'25.

Table 4. 3³² and Table 4.4: (p.t.o)³³

Name	Employed:					Capital:		in Lakhs	Debture
	Cotton Spindles	Male	Female	Child.	Total	Authorised	Paid Up		
Suryanarayana Spinning Mills, Ramachandrapuram Godavari Dist.	1	2,700	79	22	51	152	2,49,275	2,69,217	46,263
									Borrowed with Interest
Spinning Mills Ltd. Ramachandra Puram	1	2,156	66	24	10	100	3,50,000	39,100	

The magnitude and importance of the cotton industry would be apparent from the figures of import and export trade in textiles and of the production of mills and handlooms in India taken from the Indian Tariff Board. The total consumption of yarns of the handloom weavers in India, in the pre-and post war periods, and the consumption in Indian mills and quantity of cotton yarn exported, calculated on five years average is given below:³⁴

³¹See G.O. No. 1636, Revenue, 12. June 1908, ref. cited in the *Papers relating to the Industrial Conference held at Ootacamund in Sept. 1908*, Madras, 1908.

³²Letter from Director of Industries, L.B. Green to Government of India, No. 1093, Development Department, 28 July 1925.

³³Letter from the Secretary to Government, J.M. Turing to the Senior Superintendent, G.O.No. 1123, Development Department, dated, 23 June 1921.

³⁴Memorandum on the Textile Branch of the Department of Industries, Madras, 1928, p. 2.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Province	No. of Mills	Place of working	Dt. of Est.	Lmt. occupancy, Or Private	Nominal share Capital	Paid up share Capital	Debentures	No. of Looms	No. Spindles
1									
2									
3									
4	Cotton Mills:								
5	1	Pandalapaka Ramachandra-							
6									
7		Puram (Godavari Dist)	1915	Private lmtd.	2,51,877	1,09,681	2,51,877	*	2,700
8									3,576
9									1,908
10									1,056
11									
12	1	Vizagapatnam dist:	1867	Joint stock	N.A.	N.A.	..	158	3,576
13	1	Chittivalasa, in		Company					
14		Bhimilipatnam:	1904	"				158	3,576
15									
16	Jute Mills:								
17	1	Ellore	1904					86	1,908
18	1	Guntur	1904					50	1,056
19									
20									
21	Description								
22	of goods:								
23	Cotton yarn	Men	Women	Children	Total				
24	Jute yarn	52	23	62	147				
25	(Gunny bags								
26	and cloths):	976	285	65	1326				
27	Gunny bags:	512	256	42	810				
28	Gunnies	203	148	33	384				
29									
30									

Source: Letter from the Secretary to Government, J.M. Turing to the Senoir Superintendent, G.O. No. 1123, Development Department, dated, 23 June, 1921.

Table 4.5:

	Before the War Million Lb.s per annum	After the war Million Lb.s per annum
Imported yarn used by handloom weavers:	34 + 294	49 + 248
Indian Mill made yarn available to handloom weavers	214	248
Yarn consumed in the mills	232	381
Yarn exported	201	55

Imports of foreign cloth, the production of Indian mills, the quantity of cloth produced on the handlooms and the net consumption of cotton cloth during the pre war and post war periods are shown below:³⁵

Table 4.6:

	1911-'13	1921-22
	(in million yards)	
Imports of foreign cloth	2,476	1,412
Indian mill made cloth	1,105	1,816
cloth woven on handlooms	991	1,190
Deduct exports of cloth	4,572	4,418
	-126	-193
Net consumption	4,446	4,225

What can be deduced from the above figures is the fact that while imports of foreign cloth had fallen after the war by 1,064 million yards per annum, the handloom products had increased by 15 million pounds per annum. yarn consumed by the handloom weavers also increased by 49 million pounds on a 20 % per annum.

By 1922, weaving was encouraged and technical assistance to weavers on Co-operatives forms were introduced. However, the

³⁵*Memorandum on the Textile Branch of the Department of Industries, Madras, 1928, p.3.*

main problem besetting the Co-operatives was the main problem facing the entire cotton handloom industry namely- increasing competition from the mills. Spinning mills were being rapidly converted to composite textile mills.

To counter this competition, the main objectives of the textile institute at Madras turned to, first, produce and supply of machine made warps and to demonstrate to the handloom weavers the economy of such warps. Second, the attempt was to manufacture various types of handlooms and hand driven warp and weft preparation machinery for the requirements of the several classes of weavers and to serve as a central distributing factory for the supply of improved weaving appliances and accessories connected with the handloom industry including special warp and weft preparation machinery.³⁶

The Table : 4.7 (p.t.o) sizes up the average cost of the warps produced by the weavers by the indigenous methods which were in force. It also estimates the cost of the warps produced by machinery per week (of 54 hours) for four special counts of yarns, of 20s, 30s, 60s and 120s. It is also observed from the statement that in spite of the present high prices of machinery there was an estimated saving of 65% to 70% sustained due to the in the loss of manufacture of machine sized warps compared to those produced by the weavers. See the statement showing the cost and relative efficiency of preparatory processes by hand and by power:³⁷

Problems confronted the handloom Co-operative societies as a whole; the entire quantity could not be sold locally and finished goods accumulated. Second, the problem of some members taking

³⁶G.O. No. 668, Development Department, 9 May 1922, See iii, Official Memorandum, No. 2389, ii /21-2, 27 Oct. 1921.

³⁷G.O.No. 668, Development Department, 9 May 1922, See iii, Official Memorandum, No. 2389, ii /21-2, 27 Oct. 1921.

Manual Preparatory Process:

Count of Yarn in 'S'	No. of Threads	production of sized Warp (54 Hours)	sheet per week:	No. of operations required			Total
				Wt (lbs)	Cost per yard winding	warping		sizing
20	2400	94	13.3	10.5	1	1	2
30	3600	80	11.5	14	1	1	2
60	4500	72	6	18	1	1	3
120	5400	46.5	2.6	29	1	1	4

Machinery Preparatory Process:

Count of yarn in 'S'	54 hrs	42" wide (weight)	Cost per yard	winding			Total	Reduction of cost by Machine sizing
				warping	sizing	sizing		
20	20,000	2857	3.2	8	1	2	11	69
30	13,000	1927	5	8	1	2	11	65
60	10,000	893	6.4	8	1	2	11	65
120	7,500	402	8.6	8	1	2	11	70

*Total No. of operatives out an equivalent production to that of power

Compiled from, Development Department
No. 668, 9 May 1922, See, Enclosure
Statement A.

the yarn but not returning the woven finished good but selling it to others or in the markets individually always existed. As the number of such defaulters increased, the result was that the society was depleted its funds and did not possess enough money to carry out its proceedings. Further several of its defaulters had to be proceeded against in the civil courts.³⁸ A number of representations were made to the Industries Department and in the Legislative Council where, questions began to be formulated not only with regard to hand spinning but also in support of hand spinning.

The change in the attitude of the Central Government in the active development of handloom industry in the Presidency was due to the severe budgetary problems of the Government of India. The war had depleted the resources of the Government and undermined the exchange value of the rupee which had lowered during the wars in turn increasing the burden of the government's remittances to London. The steady decline of the exchange rate had affected imports particularly cotton goods.³⁹ Difficulties were continuously being encountered by the Government in introducing such movements in handlooms as the weaving parties. The best way to convince the weavers of the efficiency of any new appliance, it was decided, was by 'demonstrating it at their doors and only by this method could any success be achieved'.⁴⁰ Another concern of the Department was the rapid deterioration of the quality of 'Cambodia cotton' and having considered the unsatisfactory nature of the seed supply to the ryots in the Madras Presidency, work to rejuvenate the industry started in 1920s.

³⁸ B.S. Baliga, *History of the Handloom industry, passim*.

Basudev Chatterji, "The Political economy of discriminating protection: the case of textiles in the 1920s" *Indian Economic and Social History Review* (hereafter *IESHR*), Vol. XX, No. 3, 1989, pp. 239-75.

⁴⁰ See letter of E.F. Thomas, Director of Industries to the Secretary to Government, G.O. No. 1138, Development Department, 21 June 1924.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee constituted under the Indian Cotton Cess Act of 1923, entered into yearly contracts with selected ryots and agreed to grow Cambodia cotton under irrigation in the special areas known as seed farms from seeds supplied by the department under its supervision. The crop was kept pure by the removal of any other plants and weeds which were not true to type or variety. The produce of the first pickings alone was purchased by the Department between specified dates at a premium over the then ruling market price. All the *kappas* thus purchased was carted to the central ginning factory where it was ginned under departmental supervision. The lint was sold by auction and the seed sold in retail to the ryots of the districts. The seed produced at the seed farms was also purchased by the ryots on account of its excellence and purity and the quantities of seed produced and distributed during four years are given below:⁴¹

Table 4 .8

Year	Lbs.	Acres of land
1920-21	1,45,562	9,700
1921-22	2,79,030	18,600
1922-23	1,80,000	12,000
1923-24	2,50,000	16,000

In the northern areas of the Presidency, Nandyal 14" (white cotton of good length and strength and commanding a premium of ordinary northern or 50/- per bale was issued by the agricultural department. With the efforts of the ICCC the area under irrigated Cambodia rose to 204100 acres and the estimated yield rose to 119,000 bales.⁴²

41. For details see, The Indian Central Cotton committee for the Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 Aug. 1924. Also see, GO. No. 4, Development Department (Misc.), 3 Jan. 1925.

42. Refer to the Annual report of the Indian Central Cotton Committee for the year ending 31 Aug. 1924. See Section on Madras', GO. No. 4, Development Department (misc.), 3 Jan. 1925.

Clean cotton picking in the Madras Presidency (for the Northern and Western regions)

Table 4.9⁴³

	Ryots land	Clean picked Field (assumed)
Yield of <i>Kappas</i> per acre	300 Bs	300
Cost of Picking Ordinary Clean	5-0-0*	9-6-0"
Difference in blow room loss	10%	

* Payment in *kappas* (25 Lb at 5 Lb a Rupee)

** Daily wages at Six *poise* per Lb.

Cotton areas in Northern and Western (hagari) regions estimated by the

Deputy Director:

Table 4.10.⁴⁴

Yield per Acre (<i>Kapas</i>) :	Hagari Farm	Ryots land	Clean Picked Field (Assumed)
	250	250	
Ginning %	25.9	27.6	
Lint Yield per acre in Lbs:			
Blow Room Loss:	64.75%	69%	
The Yield of acre (in % and Lbs):	8.80 Lbs	11.35 lbs	
Difference:	5.70%	7. 80%	f
Cost of Picking: per acre of cotton:	3-13-0*	5-0-0"	6-10-8***

* The charges of the farm are less than on ryots land. The farm is able to get labour cheaper as it provides work and wages all the year around.

** The value of 35.5 lb. of *kappas* (raw cotton) a share varying from 1/2 to 1-12 of the province

*** The value of 50 lbs of *kappas* as only 3/4 of quantity of *Kappas* can be picked if this is done cleanly.

⁴³ See the *Cotton Specialists' Estimate*, G.O. No. 4, Development Dept. (Misc.), 3 Jan. 1925, Appendix No. iv, p. 47.

⁴⁴ See *Cotton Specialists' Estimate*, G.O. No. 4, Development Dept. (Misc.), 3 Jan. 1925, Appendix No. iv, p. 47.

Some of the Co-operative societies of the Presidency combined credit transactions by advancing short term loans to members for the purchase of yarn. etc. The distinguishing feature of the production and sale of societies was mainly in the method of their distribution of profits. Yarn was purchased by the society and the non-members' yarn was then converted into cloth by the society and the net profits allowing interest on capital, depreciation charges etc., and after deducting the amount for the reserve fund was distributed to the weaver members as a bonus on work done by the society .

Production and sale societies exclusively for weavers: See Table

Table 4.11 (see p.t.o)⁴⁵

The increase in the number of societies in 1925-26 was done to the inclusion of societies which were formerly classed as purchase and sale societies. That explains also the increase in the volume of transactions that year. It must be noted that the net loss of society was greater than the net profits. This means that this class of societies was not working satisfactorily. Such credit societies exclusively for weavers were few. In the Administrative Report of the Registrar of Co-operative societies in the Madras Presidency for 1924-25 the number of societies had more than 60% of the members belonging to the weaving communities and was for the first time stated separately. In 1930 there were 95% of such societies in the Presidency .

⁴⁵ Compiled from the Annual Administration reports of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, 1924-30.

Year	No. of Societies	value of material Purchased (Rs)	Value of Goods Sold by owners(rs)	Value of Goods of members sold for Commission	Working Capital	net profit	Net loss
1924-25	3	581	425	1,056	7786	..	771
1925-26	9	26,420	32,131	10,570	43561	369	3801
1926-27	10	22,581	26,456	2,471	47580	556	4205
1927-28	10	20,981	20,615	3,117	49996	169	6459
1928-29	10	21,020	22,543	..	47037	269	7078
1929-30	5	..	18	..	15416	1,019	2776
1930-31	9	22,355	22,355	..	34,143	126	4265

Note : of these 10 societies 5 were in West Godavari, 3 in Anantapur, 1 in Chinglepet and 1 in Krishna District.

The following table gives the progress of these societies during the years

1926-'30:

Table 4.12⁴⁶

	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30
No. of Societies:	66	76	86	95
Paid up share capital (Rs):	38,574	51,117	70,657	92,582
Reserve Fund:	27,707	35,164	42,847	52,544
Working Capital:	899731	520386	553284	610038
Cost of Management:	4,479	5311	4991	10682
Net Profit :	6297	6974	12469	15051
Net loss:	3356	10403	9813	8319

However these societies could not have helped the poorer weavers much mainly due to a few reasons: (i.) They were controlled by cloth merchants and well to do people as against whose domination the societies seek to protect the poorer weaver (ii.) As many of the weavers had no security to offer they were no better off for being members of the society (iii.) and again the borrowing capacity of members were fixed very low; nor are the amounts of loans large enough to help them to any great extent. The 95 societies had a working capital of Rs. 6.2 lakhs i.e., Rs. 6,500 per society on an average which was inadequate. The credit societies were chiefly in the districts of Chinglepet, Trichonopoly, Coimbatore and north Arcot. Of the 95 societies of the Presidency, 50 societies were in these 4 districts in 1940s with a working capital of 4 1/2 lakhs and a reserve fund of Rs. 57,000.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Compiled from, The Annual Administration Reports of the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies of the Madras Presidency for the year 1921-1935, Madras.

⁴⁷For further details see, K.S. Venkataraman, *The Handloom industry in South India*, Madras, 1940, Chapter X.

A review of the working of the Co-operative Credit Societies in the districts of the Madras Presidency revealed that since the year 1923-'24 the number of societies had expanded:

Table 4.13:⁴⁸

Year	Total No. in the Presidency	No of Societies	
		Krishna	Godavari
1926-27	11,436	415	888
1927-28	12,471	450	953
Reserve Fund:			
		Godavari dist.m(inRs.)	Krishna dist.
		70,25,276	24,27,731
Working Capital:			
		2,83,461	1,21,166

Provincial Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society Limited

as it was then called was started on 12th. Aug. 1935 to (i) Co-ordinate and harness the activities of the primary weavers' society in the province (ii) and to revitalize them. The need for such an apex society was keenly felt among the 29 primary weavers' societies which were functioning at that time. When the apex societies were actually started 43 primary weavers' Co-operative societies, 47 individuals and 8 firms joined as members contributing to Rs.16,400 in all as share capital. There were about 1000 looms working under the primary societies during the late thirties.⁴⁹

It should however be noted that in the case of these weavers' societies it is not their number that was important but it was the period of their working and the extent of transactions of each society that could truly indicate the progress of a Co-operative enterprise. Further development in the Co-operative sector was

⁴⁸ *Report of the Economic Enquiry Committee*, (and other connected papers). See specific report of the settlement officer, "Co-operative Credit Societies", Vol. I and III, section iii-39, Madras, 1931, pp. 77-78 & 290.

⁴⁹ A brief note on the working of the Tamil Nadu (Madras state) Handloom weavers' Co-operative Society limited', cited in, *The Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka Handloom Fabrics Directory*, Madras, 1965.

seen followed up by the Handloom Co-operative Weavers' Limited at Madras. This organization was entrusted with the schemes for the actual production of cheap cloth'. Initially, the Primary Weaver's Societies were required to take up production of cheap cloth according to the terms dictated by the Provincial Co-operative authority.

The Provincial Society evolved a scheme through which it wanted to earn some lakhs of profit to strengthen its financial position. For this purpose it proposed to obtain yarn at rates (which were then far below market rates) from the south Indian Mills to allocate a portion of it for the production of cheap cloth and to utilize the balance for producing normal cloth by selling yarn to the primary societies at rates a little less than the then prevailing rates. At this stage the mill cloth was dumped into the market at rates much cheaper than those of the handloom cloth.⁵⁰ Therefore, this industry was reorganized on business lines. In the Presidency alone by 1944 there were 264 weaving centres affiliated to the provincial society with a total membership of 15,292 working looms.⁵¹

To sum up, the position of the Indian and the handloom industry figures are given below in Table no. 4.14 (p.t.o) with a comparison for the years 1906, 1926, and 1936 for the supply of cloth.⁵²

Three major points can be deduced from the above table. First, assuming that 4 yards of cloth could be manufactured from one pound of coarse yarn, 4.5 yards of medium count and 6 yards

⁵⁰Pragada Kottaiah, Madras Handloom Standard cloth', *Indian-operative Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1943, p.255.

⁵¹B.S. Baliga, *History of Handloom Industry*.

⁵²K. S. Venkataraman, *The Handloom industry in South India, Madras, 1940*. See Chapter XVIII - Cotton Fabrics .

I 9 0 6 1 9 2 6 1 9 3 4

cloth variety:	Imports	Indian Mills	Hand- looms	Total	%of Total Consum.	Imports	Indian mills	Hand- looms	Total	%of Total Consum.	Imports	Indian mills	Hand- looms	Total	%of Total consum.
Coarse counts	300*	60	900	1260	26	250	1675	985	2910	53.4	1950	1000	2950	53.9	
1s-25 s	1100**	500	150	1750	37										
Medium counts	750	40	450	1240	26	850	500	215	1565	29.8	375	1025	275	1675	30.6
26s-40s															
Fine counts	350		150	500	11	650	25	100	775	14.8	500	225	125	850	15.5
above40s															
Total	2500	600	1650	4750	100	1750	2200	1300	5250	100	875	3200	1400	5475	100

* is coarse

** is coarse medium

The year 1926 reveals figures of post war protection to cloth

The Year 1934 show figures of effects of discriminating protection and Imperial preference

Source: K.S. Venkataraman, The Handloom Industry In South India, Madras, 1940, See Chapter xviii, "Cotton Fabrics"

from fine yarn, the total consumption of cloth had increased under all the major varieties of cloth. Second, imports of coarse cloth had practically stopped and of fine and medium quality had declined to 56% and 23% respectively. Also the fall of imports was made up by increasing production but the benefit to the loom worker was not very significant here. Third, one observes, during these years a tendency for greater preference for cloths of medium and fine yarn, due partly to the system of protection. However, there was no marked change in their percentage of total consumption.

Due to the vigorous drive by the Co-operative department and the introduction of the yarn ration cards, large number of dependent weavers left their master craftsmen to become members of the Co-operative societies or set themselves as independent weavers as seen from the table below.⁵³

Table 4.15

Population of the different classes of weavers

Classes of weavers	1941		1947	
	No	%	No	%
Independent weavers	1,19760	28	61521	46.9
Dependent weavers	2,56630	60	38,234	29.2
Coolie weavers	34,218	8.0	19,199	14.6
weavers in Co-operative societies	17,108	4.0	11,955	9.3

Attempts were in full swing on the part of the Government to accelerate and stimulate production on the lines proposed by the retrenchment committee. Provision in the form of direct tuition to the children of weavers were undertaken on a comprehensive scale

53 B.V. Narayana Swamy Naidu, "Handloom Industry In India", in M.P. Gandhi, *Indian Cotton Textile Industry, 1851-1950*, pp. 121-128.

to afford at least a partial solution to the improvement of the handloom industry.⁵⁴

See Table 4.16 (for handloom provincial co-operative figures for 1937-38 see p.t.o)⁵⁵ For the annual transactions of the weavers in the Provincial Societies in all the districts of the coastal Andhra regions from 1941-1946 (see Appendix H) .

It is also important to note in this connection that the textile course in the Victoria Jubilee Technical institute, Bombay consisted only of cotton spinning and weaving, whereas the Madras textile provided instruction in cotton weaving and in other branches of the textile industry such as woolen and silk manufacturing, dyeing, knitting, and printing of cloth by stencils.⁵⁶ Subsequently the demand for technical education in the textile institute increased to 20 students in the supervisors' course and 40 for the artisans course each year.⁵⁷

What was significant to note was the fact that the gradual expansion of the equipment of the institute at Madras was an indication that the instruction imparted in the institute was not intended to be restricted to handloom weaving alone. Apart from the installation of handdriven warp preparation machinery for cotton, silk, and wool, the Government sanctioned the installation of a set of power driven winding, warping and dresser sizing

⁵⁴Further details are given in GO., No. 1188, Development Department,(Misc.) series, 10 June 1930. See Part ii scheme for 1931-'32. It was also observed that the market had been dull of late owing to the trade depression and the weaving which involved the purchase and sale of yarn which was not brisk in its business . Also, when the Assistant Director of Industries (Textiles) examined three bundles of yarn bought at random from three different mills, it was found that all of them were neither of the reputed count or specified length. See also letter from Mr. A. Appadurai Pillai, *Director of Industries to the Secretary to the Government of Madras*, G.O.No.427, 23 March 1931.

⁵⁵Refer to, *The Madras Handloom Weavers Provincial-operative Society Limited*, Vol. X, 84, Madras, Third Annual Report 1937-38, Statement No. iii, pp. 33-36.

⁵⁶G.O. No. 1658-ii, Development Department, 18 May 1932.

⁵⁷G.O. No. 789, Development Department, 11 June 1932.

Name of Society	Borrowings from			Repaid to			Amt. due to			Trans. relating to finished goods	
	Provin. under yarr loans	Soc. Under cash credit ins.	Ctl. Bank Others	Prov under yarr loans	Society Under cash credit ins.	Ctl.Ban Others	Prov under yarr loans	Society Under cash credit ins.	Ctl.Bank Others	Value of gds. brght stcks sold	value of value of stk on 3/6/38
<i>E.Godavari</i>											
B.Lanka	240	No loan			No loan		240			1051	872
Kateru	270	150	100	194	"	100	75			4490	4546
Moree	400	"	"		"	"	400			1577	1895
Muramanda	700	"	1210		4	1060	5	150		7414	7476
P.Puram	400	"	"		"	"	400			8977	912
Pulleticurru	270	"	"		"	"	269			3475	3280
<i>W.Godavari</i>											
Ellore	1000	"	1344		"	1344	2000			12930	12619
Kovvuru	N.A	"	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
<i>Guntur</i>											
Chirala	200	"	"		2	"	997			8588	7805
Chimakurt	303	450	731	72	"	731	450	230		4908	4728
Addepalli	250	"	31		"	"	250		31	1268	759
Guntur	748	"	"	50	430	"	1248	1245		17282	18174
I.Palem	1000	"	"		1056	"	1943			17072	15557
Isukapalli		"	516			41			475	3042	2198
Mangalagiri	700	"	"				699	3509	2741	1771	
nidubrolu	300	"	"			39	299	4704	3681	1458	
Ponnur.B	300	"	"				300			1256	922
Vetapalem	500	"	"				500			4704	3681
<i>Kistna Dt.</i>											
Pedana	1061	"	3296	10	174	1953	1887		1602	11896	12499
											958

machinery. The weaving section of the institute was equipped not only with handlooms but also with jacquards of the type used on the powerlooms. In the bleaching and dyeing section there were not only handdriven machinery such as the hydro-extractor, washchemic and sour cisterns, wool scouring plant, silk degumming plant, dye vats, steam, ager, calender etc., but also power driven machinery such as the kier, electrolyser, yarn merceriser, cheese dyeing plant and jiggers. The cloth printing section was also equipped with both hand and power driven cloth printing machinery. The Textile Institute at Madras, had also an advanced knitting sector where both the hand driven machinery and the power driven machinery such as Barfus and Rascael looms were used for making fish nets, automatic hose knitting etc. Furthermore efforts had been made to install power driven machinery for cotton spinning, comprising hopper feeder, carding engine, draw frame, slubbing frame, intermediate frame, roving frame and one ring spinning frame .⁵⁸

Details of cost production per yard of cotton cloth made on handlooms-single-loom system and the two loom system. See Table 4.17 & Table 4.18 (p.t.o)⁵⁹

Cotton fabrics were generally classified into three kinds according to their finish: Grey, bleached or white. Coloured likewise the finished cloth were categorised under (i.) filling and finishing with starch/kanji and the additional weight (ii.) calendering (iii.) mercerising (iv.) bleaching (v.) printing (vi.) dyeing.

⁵⁸ Power driven machinery to the value of Rs. 70,000 /- was installed at the institute in 1935. As the instruction imparted in theory of fabric structure, cost of cloth, dyeing etc. was elaborated and technically explained the Madras institute saw a boom of students joining either the artisan or the supervisor's course. For further details see GO. No. 4312-ii, Development Department, 23 Nov. 1935.

⁵⁹ *Memorandum on the Textile Branch of the Department of Industries, Madras, 1928.*

APPENDIX B. 4.17

Details of cost of production per yard of cotton cloth made on hand-looms.

Single-loom system. Winding and warping done by the weavers' family and included in the weaving wage.

	—		—		—		—		—		—		—	
	Per cent of total cost of production.	Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.	Per cent of total cost of production.	Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.	Per cent of total cost of production.	Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.	Per cent of total cost of production.	Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.	Per cent of total cost of production.	Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.	Per cent of total cost of production.	Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.	Per cent of total cost of production.	Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.
Yarns	RS. A. P.	71	RS. A. P.	61	RS. A. P.	55	RS. A. P.	56	RS. A. P.	51	RS. A. P.	51	RS. A. P.	51
Sizing	0 3 5	10	0 3 9	10	0 3 9	10	0 5 4	9	0 5 6	9	0 10 10	9	0 10 10	9
Weaving	0 0 6	19	0 0 7	29	0 0 8	35	0 0 10	35	0 0 10	40	0 0 10	40	0 0 10	40
Cost of production ..	0 0 11	100	0 1 9	100	0 2 4	100	0 3 4	100	0 3 4	100	0 4 5	100	0 4 5	100
Output per day	10 yards.		6 yards.		5 yards.		4 yards.		3 yards.		3 yards.		3 yards.	
Earnings per day	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.	
Earnings per year	0 9 2		0 10 6		0 11 8		0 13 4		0 13 3		0 13 3		0 13 3	
Earnings per year	185 10 0		212 10 0		236 4 0		270 0 0		268 5 0		268 5 0		268 5 0	
Cloth	Coarse dhoties.		Women sarees.		Fine dhoties.		Turban cloth.		Augavastrams.		Augavastrams.		Augavastrams.	
Counts of yarns	20s.		40s.		60s.		80s.		100s.		100s.		100s.	
Length	One yard.		One yard.		One yard.		One yard.		One yard.		One yard.		One yard.	
Width	48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.	
Weight	4.75 oz.		3 oz.		2.3 oz.		2 oz.		1.8 oz.		1.8 oz.		1.8 oz.	
Ends per inch	48		60		72		80		90		90		90	
Picks	52		64		72		80		90		90		90	

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APPENDIX C. 4.18

Details of cost of production per yard of cotton cloth made on hand-looms.
Two-loom, system supplied with dresser-sized warps.

	—		—		—		—		—		—		—	
	Per cent on total cost of production.		Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.		Per cent on total cost of production.		Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.		Per cent on total cost of production.		Weaving per cent on the cost of yarn.		Per cent on total cost of production.	
	RS.	A. P.			RS.	A. P.			RS.	A. P.			RS.	A. P.
Yarns	0 3 6	80	} 25	0 3 9	69	} 44	0 3 9	64	} 55.5	0 5 4	67	} 50	0 5 6	61
Power preparation	0 0 4.5	8.5		0 0 6	9		0 0 7	10		0 0 8	8		0 0 9	9
Weaving	0 0 6	11.5		0 1 2	22		0 1 6	26		0 2 0	25		0 2 9	30
Cost of production	0 4 4.5	100		0 5 6	100		0 5 10	100		0 8 0	100		0 9 0	100
Output per day	20 yards.	+ 100 per cent.	12 yards.	+ 100 per cent.	10 yards.	+ 100 per cent.	8 yards.	+ 100 per cent.	6 yards.	+ 100 per cent.				
Earnings of the family per day.	0 5 0	+ 9	0 14 0	+ 33	0 15 0	+ 29	1 0 0	+ 29	1 0 6	+ 25				
Earnings of the family per year	202 8 0	+ Rs. 16-14-0.	283 8 0	+ Rs. 70-14-0	303 12 0	+ Rs. 67-8-0.	324 0 0	+ Rs. 54-0-0.	334 2 0	+ Rs. 65-13-0.				
Reduction in cost of production.	0 0 6.5	- 39 per cent.	0 0 4	- 29 per cent.	0 0 6	- 31 per cent.	0 1 0	- 36 per cent.	0 1 3	- 33 per cent.				
Reduction in the price of cloth.	0 0 6.6	- 11	0 0 4	- 11	0 0 6	- 13	0 1 0	- 13	0 1 3	- 16				
Cloth	Coarse dhoties.		Women sarees.		Fine dhoties.		Turban cloth.		Angavastrams.					
Counts of yarns	20s.		40s.		60s.		80s.		100s.					
Length	One yard.		One yard.		One yard.		One yard.		One yard.					
Width	48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.		48 inches.					
Weight	4.75 oz.		3 oz.		2.3 oz.		2 oz.		1.8 oz.					
Ends per inch	48		60		72		80		90					
Picks	52		64		72		80		90					

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To have a clearer picture cotton fabrics have been divided into their weave, finish, trade names and plain weave:⁶⁰

Plain weave		Special weave
garment units		garment units
Grey :	Piece goods:	piecegoods
chaddars, <i>dhoties</i> , scarves and saris	Jaconet, mull, madnapolam , cambric, long cloth, shirting, T.cloth, and domestics	Drills and jeans
White:		
Chaddars, <i>dhoties</i> , saris and scarves	Jaconet, mull, cambric, madapolam, lawns, nainsooks, longcloth, and shirting	checks, spots, drills and twills
Coloured:		
Chaddars, <i>dhoties</i> , spots, drills, scarves, and sarongs jeans twills	Jaconet, mull, cambric, madapolam and shirting	checks, stripes, and
Printed goods: Printed <i>dhoties</i> and saris etc.	prints and chintz	

With regard to the manufacture of cotton fabrics in Indian mills it was seen that, 95% of cloth were woven out of coarse and medium count yarn i.e., 14s to 32s and nearly 80% of them were of plain weave. The enquiry regarding the weave and weft of imported and Indian mill fabrics revealed that about 1750 million yards produced in Indian mills were of plain weave with warps below 25s; about 500 million yards produced in Indian mills were of plain weave with warps above 25s but below 32s ; about 450 million yards of foreign goods and about 200 million yards of Indian mill goods were of plain weave with warps about 40s; and lastly around 500 million yards of Indian mill goods and 150 million yards of foreign goods were of a special weave.

As seen from the above details for special weaving handlooms were less suited than powerlooms as the automatic device in the powerloom made the manipulation of the shafts

⁶⁰ K. S. Venkataraman, *Handloom Industry in South India*, pp. 228-29.

much easier than the treadles in the handloom. However by 1940 it was seen that at the Government Textile Institute at Madras, cotton voiles were manufactured on handlooms at almost the same cost as that of the mills.⁶¹

All these factors had a favourable effect on the general level of wages of the weavers involved in this industry. The rate of interest on loans, advances and cash credits was reduced to 4% in 1937 and a standardization of the wages of the handloom weavers was proposed taking three factors into consideration: Texture of the cloth and the quantity particulars such as the picks and ends, standard of living of the people in different districts, and the marketability of the finished goods and the proximity of the marketing centres. The Bezawada sales depot was opened on 17.1.1937 and worked under the direct management of the provincial society. The sales in the depot began on an encouraging note with sales amounting to Rs. 14,983.⁶²

A list of the affiliated (to the Madras handloom weavers' Provincial Co-operative Society Limited) Weavers' Societies operating in coastal Andhra as on 5.11.1938 are given in the **appendix- I**:⁶³

Besides the Co-operative movement working under the auspices of the Government of Madras, was the work of the Congress leaders under the guidance of M.K. Gandhi. The fact that the Congress creed for *swaraj* included both political and economic

⁶¹See K.S. Venkatarama!!, *The Handloom Industry, passim*. See also Alexander Murray (President), *The report of the special tariff Board on the Enquiry regarding the lei'el of duties necessary to afford adequate protection to the Indian cotton textile industry against the Imports from the UK of Cotton Piece goods and yarn and artificial silk fabrics of cotton and Artificial Silk*, Delhi, 1936.

⁶²Further information on this can be gathered from, *The Madras Handloom Weavers' Provincial Society limited*, Vol. X, No. 84, **Third Annual Report 1937-38**, Madras, 1938.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

freedom became all the more clear on the eve of the Karachi session in 1931. The Congress called upon its members to increase *Khadi* propaganda amongst the masses and appealed to the owners of the indigenous mills to assist the great constructive and economic movement.

The AISA and the AIVIA were basically business organizations which were the tools of the Congress operations nurtured by Gandhi who experimented all his various themes of trusteeship through it, (numbering to more than 200 in the country). A certification committee to provide certificates to start *khadi* centres was appointed in which this committee acted as the custodian of the principles and ideology of *khadi* and saw to it that the institutions engaged in production of *khadi* did not compete with one another and then to set geographical areas of operation. All the institutions had to accept the cost chart prescribed by the certificate committee and fix prices for the consumer.⁶⁴

The local branches of the AISA at Andhra was established at Masulipatnam and it actively participated in the invention and implementation of various improved implements such as the hand gin, carding bows, slivering sets, *taklis*, spinners, winders, charkhas and looms. Constant investigations, research and experiment carried on at Sabarmati, Bardoli and Wardha, and numerous other centres resulted in the improved form of the Yeravada *charkha*, the *Magan charkha* and the *Dhanusha takli*, all representing almost a revolution in the technique of spinning by the AISA. It was these improvements that made it possible to maintain the price of *khadi* in pre-war times despite the payment of wages on a gradually

⁶⁴Registered in the twenties, under the 'Charitable Societies act' the All India Spinners' Association (AISA) and the All India Village Industries' Association (AIVIA) were the two main invaluable instruments to propagate the Gandhian ideology in the villages. See, K. Arunachalm, *Khadi Economics: A Few Aspects*, Madhurai, 1974, p. 135.

increasing scale as also to effect a vast improvement in the quality, durability and finish of the cloth. The Congress also passed resolutions on fundamental rights and economic changes by which it committed itself to civil liberties for the people, living wage, protection of indigenous cloth, duty-free salt, and ownership of key industries. This resolution marked an important step forward in the development of the Congress ideology and demonstrated clearly that it stood for a progressive political organization.⁶⁵

The Congress in the Madras Presidency presented an even more sophisticated and organized political system. Here it was the civil disobedience movement and the election of 1936 that strengthened its organization and broadened its social composition by politically mobilizing the local notables. The concrete work of the AISA established in 1925 formally under the auspices of Gandhi worked under specific heads: (i.) Production and sales (ii.) effective marketing of the products by hawking and exhibitions (iii.) improvement in the quality of cloth lastly (iv.) a reduction in the cost and price of yarn.⁶⁶ In both the Tamil Nadu and the Andhra Congress organizations there were struggles to control the lucrative marketing organizations. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker who ran the main Tamil Nadu *khaddar* depot from his own house was accused of hoarding stocks to push prices up.⁶⁷ Same was the case with the factories established at Tirrupur which soon began to accuse one

⁶⁵ Along with this resolution, the secretaries of the All India Swadeshi Sangh re-affirmed the definition of *Swadeshi*, proclaiming it, "...to exclude articles manufactured through the large and organized industries which are well able to take care of themselves and which can command state protection without needing popular aid. See *Indian Review*, Vol. xxxv, No. 7, July 1934, p. 495. Also see S.R. Bakshi, *Documents of Civil Disobedience*, Delhi, 1988, p. xxii.

⁶⁶ Richard Gregg, *Economics of Khaddar*, Madras, 1931, p. 177. See also Sri Krishna Jaju, *The ideology of the Charkha*, Tirupur 1951.

⁶⁷ *The Hindu*, 25. Sept. 1922.

another of indulging in sharp practices and of adulterating their *khaddar* with mill spun yarn.⁶⁸

By 1925 Deshabhakta Venkappayya Panthulu speaking at the Congress provincial committee on 17. Jan. 1925 resolved ways and means of pushing on the spinning franchise laid down by the Congress out of the 50,000 rupees allotted by the AICC for this purpose and the Andhra leaders decided to request the committee for a contribution of Rs. 5,000 from the fund.⁶⁹

A report covering the work of 64 *khadi* organizations in 13 Madras districts for the period between October 1925 -Sept. 1926, gave figures to show that production through private agencies showed that prices had been reduced and consequently, quality had improved, sales had risen, and efforts were being made to seek the co-operation of local bodies in introducing hand spinning in schools. Steady progress was recorded in every branch of its work. The quality of work done to produce *khadi* perceptibly improved and 3/4 of it was now sold locally which was not so in the initial stages of the *khadi* programme.⁷⁰

In 1926 Mr. A.P.Patre at the Madras provincial non-brahman conference (10th.) passed the resolution exhorting people to take to *khaddar*; weave cloths and ply the *charkha*. The Andhra Congress committee members who prominently figured were Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya, K.Nageshwar Rao, M.Rangayya Naidu, Samamurthy, Gollapudi Sitaramma Sastry who spread the message of village organization throughout the length and breadth of Andhradesa.⁷¹ In this connection it should be mentioned that

⁶⁸*The Hindu*, 18 Sept. 1922 and also see, *The Hindu*, 8 Oct. 1922.

⁶⁹"Spinning franchise accepted", *The Hindu*, 20 Jan. 1925.

⁷⁰M.K.Gandhi, "Khadi work in Tamilnadu", *The Collected Works*, (hereafter *CW*), Vol. XXXII, Nov. 1926-Jan. 1927, pp. 23-26.

⁷¹*The Hindu*, 26 Dec. 1926.

Venkiah Chetty the richest banker arranged meetings throughout Andhra to make the visits of Gandhi an unqualified success. Gandhi's speeches were translated by Mr. G. Harisarvottam Rao in Telugu and the merchant classes of Kurnool evinced keen enthusiasm and zeal in making the arrangements of finance.⁷²

Besides the sales depot in the town of Nellore and the production centre at Kanupur (a village in the interior of the district), there were two more independent Co-operative societies which were doing *khaddar* work; one at Nellore and the other at Kavali. The latter it was recorded owned a capital of Rs. 1,000 and sold cotton to its spinners, purchased yarn from them and got it woven into cloth which it also sold later on. The Co-operative society at Nellore had a capital of Rs.500/- and conducted itself merely as a sales depot. The Allur Co-operative union subscribed a capital of Rs. 2000 in the late 1920's to be invested in the production and sale of *khaddar* and had applied to the Registrar of the Co-operative societies for necessary sanction.

The Municipality of Nellore, likewise evinced keen interest in the development of *khaddar* in these regions. Spinning was made compulsory in 15 elementary girls school under its management. The Mohammedan Middle school for girls which was under the management of the municipality adopted *khaddar* weaving as a vocational training course. The district board of Nellore realizing the necessity and importance of instruction in spinning and weaving arranged for the last four years instruction in both spinning and weaving in three High schools and two Middle schools under the management of the board.⁷³

⁷² 'Mahatma Gandhi at Kurnool', *The Hindu*. 3 Oct. 1921 and also refer to M.K. Gandhi, '*Khaddar* work in Nellore district', *Young India*, (1927-28), Madras, 1935, p. 209.

⁷³ See G.O. No. 2597, Development Department, 22 Nov. 1937.

By 1937, an interesting development was witnessed when encouragement was given by the Government of India to the hand spinning movement in the Presidency. A grant of Rs 2,00,000 and a subsidy was sanctioned for the following purposes: (i.) to cover possible losses caused by inexperienced workers in the initial stages of work (ii.) to give adequate wages for spinners and other artisans. The grant had been sanctioned for the cost of training workers and the cost of employing workers as instructors in the villages for increasing the efficiency of the artisans and the implements used by them.⁷⁴ A report of the AISA was presented on how an amount of Rs 2,00,000 provided in the budget could best

be disbursed:⁷⁵

Cost of making and distributing 2,700 Gins @ i-8-0 each	= Rs. 4050
Cost of making and distributing bows and guts @ 1-8-0 and 2,000 @ 2/- each	= Rs. 22,000
Cost of making and distributing 28,000 spindles with thin pulleys at 2.5 anna s each	= Rs 4375
Cost of making and fitting 12,500 Speed wheels @ 0-8-0 each	= Rs 6250
Cost of making and distributing 1500 vertical <i>charkhas</i> @ Rs 3/- and 1500 horizontal <i>charkhas</i> @ Rs 2	= Rs 7500
Cost of making and distributing 250 fly shuttles, looms and fittings at Rs 20 per loom	= Rs. 5000
Cost of research work in carding, spinning and dyeing and weaving, salaries, implements and materials	= Rs. 2060
Cost of training 86 workers including stipend, salaries of teachers, materials and implements	= Rs 4720
Cost of employing 27 workers for 6 months as instructors in the villages for increasing efficiency of the artisans and the implements used	= Rs 11,300
Cost of subsidy @ 1 anna per sq. yard of increase in <i>khadi</i> production estimated at 20,00,000 Sq. yards	= Rs 1,25,000
Total	= 1,95,255

⁷⁴Refer to G.O. No. 1174 (ii), Development Department, 1 Mar. 1938.

⁷⁵See G.O.No. 3871, Development Department (ii), 9 Nov. 1937; See GO. No. 2597, Development Department, 22 Nov. 1937; G.O.No. 1174 (ii); Development Department, 1 Mar. 1938.

The Andhra Branch of the AISA, Masulipatnam showed great promise. Their production of *Khadi* during the year ending 31 March 1938 was about 8,00,000 square yards representing an increase of about 1,00,000 square yards. The authorities of the Andhra Branch stated that two reasons were responsible for not increasing production beyond 1,00,000 sq. yards, i.e., (i.) capital at their command had been inadequate to provide for the larger increase in production and that (ii.) in the course of the year 1938, the number of private producers who were certified in the earlier years were de-certified by the Andhra Association as they were found dishonest in their transactions. The branch had decided to raise the wages of spinners from one *anna* to at least 2 *annas* for every eight hours of work as also the wages of every other artisan engaged in the production of *khaddar*. Consequently, it was decided to increase the price of *khaddar* by about 12 1/2 %. This later on led to private producers taking advantage of the latter circumstances without observing the duty of paying the higher wages prescribed.⁷⁶

True to Gandhian ideology, the Association was anxious to preserve the purity of *khaddar* and to ensure that the artisans received increased wages. The following statement shows the Government grant allotted to the Andhra branch and the expenditure upto the end of 1937-38 and the unspent balance:⁷⁷

⁷⁶As the de-certified people had not been replaced in time by adequate number of certified dealers, the basis for paying their wages became even more complicated. See for further details, G.O. No. 679, Development Department, 18 Mar 1939.

⁷⁷The report on the test audit of the accounts of the Andhra branch, Masulipatnam, 1937-38, relating to the subsidy payable to the Government and the expenditure against the Government grant were test audited during the period 3-8 November 1938 refer to G.O. No. 2574, Development Department, 1 Oct 1938. As a comparison see below the statement of grant and expenditure of the Kerala Branch (Mayyannur).

Cost of implements	Expenditure	Balance
2516		3559

Table 4. 19:

	Govt. grant allotted to the Branch	Expenditure	Balance (-is savings + is excess)
Cost of implemnts:	7,675	5,903	-1,772
Other expenditure:	2,842	3,757	+915
Total:	10,517	9,660	-857

In order to understand the scheme of subsidy and its effects upon the activities carried on by the branches of the AISA and its affiliated association, it is necessary to elaborate here. The work of *khadi* production was generally understood to involve a certain amount of risk. The cost of handspun cloth was not very much similar to the cloth produced by mills but also the fact rested that its sale depended mainly on the sentiment of the people who would be influenced by Gandhian ideology or were interested in the welfare of the rural population.

Under the circumstances if *khadi* was produced in excess of the likely demand, there arose a surplus of stocks and this necessarily involved risks of serious loss as old stocks could hardly be expected to fetch the scheduled prices fixed on the basis of the actual cost plus the necessary margin for overhead charges. The branches of the Association were therefore very cautious in arranging their production and they always tried to restrict the same so as to be strictly within the limit of a carefully prepared estimate of the demand. The subsidy arrangement however offered a substantial provision against any possible loss due to the accumulation of stocks consequent upon excess production and encouraged the branches to develop their productional activities to a considerable extent as well. This aspect is evident from the

Other expenditure	1523	4262
Total	4339	- 3297

following figures of the out-turn of work in the year subsequent to the introduction of the scheme:⁷⁸

Production in square yards:

Table 4.20

Provinces	1937	1938	% of increase over 1937
Andhra	622338	1017900	63
Kerala	115820	262411	126
Tamil nadu	1358237	3304073	143
Total:	20,96395	45,84384	118

Subsidy began to be given from the year 1937-38 on the basis of excess production over the figures of 1936-37; but the scheme received sanction only towards the close of that year i.e., in February 1938 and therefore could have had no major effect on the **productional** activities.

Table 4. 21:⁷⁹

Wages distributed among spinners and weavers:

Province	1937	1938	Increase over 1937	
			Amount	'
Andhra	155749	230394	74645	48
Kerala	30183	95377	65194	216
Tamil Nadu	476957	1060159	583202	122
Total	662889	1385930	723041	109

The above figures indicate that in the first year 1938 i.e., practically the first calendar year for the operation of the scheme of subsidy, the production increased by 118% in the case of all the 3 branches taken together enabling them to distribute Rs. 7,23,041 i.e., 109% more in the spinning and weaving wages as compared to the previous year.

⁷⁸Copy of letter dated 8 July 1940 from the AISA Wardha to the Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras, 1940.

⁷⁹Copy of letter dated 8 July 1940 from the AISA Wardha to the Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras, 1940.

However sales did not keep pace with production in spite of the earnest efforts made by all these branches.⁸⁰
See Table 4.22 below:

Province	1937	1938	% increase over 1937
Andhra	257059	293430	14
Kerala	73044	113230	55
Tamil nadu	873087	983976	12
Total	1203190	1390636	15

The above figures indicate that the sales increased only by 15% while production had galloped to 118%. This naturally led to the heavy accumulation of stocks and it became imperative to curtail production in subsequent years.

The position of the work at the end of the year 1939 as compared to the position before the introduction of the scheme is explained by the following figures:⁸¹

Figures of artisans engaged:

Province	1937	1938	% of increase over 1937	1939	% of increase over 1937
Andhra	14,421	26537	84	19685	36
Kerala	2,929	5,607	92	6,632	127
Tamil Nadu	40,420	59778	47	59628	47
Total	57,770	91922	59	89945	48

Figures of wages paid:

Province	1937	1938	% increase over 1937	1939	% of increase over 1937
Andhra	155479	230394	48	156345"	
Kerala	30183	95377	216	76663	154
Tamil Nadu	476957	1060159	122	746726	57
Total	662889	1385930	109	979734"	47

" Figures incomplete

What can be deduced from the figures above is that, in the year 1939 also its branches were able to offer relief to 85,945 spinners and weavers as compared with 57,770 spinners and weavers before the subsidy and to distribute Rs. 9,79,734 as

⁸⁰Copy of Letter dated 8 July 1940, from the AISA, Wardha, to the Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras, 1940.

⁸¹Copy of Letter Dated. 8 July 1940, from the AISA, Wardha to the Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras, 1940.

spinning and weaving wages compared to Rs. 6,62,889 in the year before the subsidy. The larger productional output effected by the branches necessarily involved the engaging of a number of new artisans. It need hardly be explained that the work of the new artisans in the early years of their recruitment did not come to the level of the experienced workers.

The production of cloth therefore was naturally inferior in quality and the organization faced greater trouble in disposing it off. The subsidy proved a boon in enabling the branches to raise the standard of work without having to curtail the extent of relief offered by this work. The following figures give a picture of increase of the wages subsequent to the subsidy arrangement.

See Table 4.24 below.⁸²

Wages for 16s counts of yarn (per lb.):

Province	Before subsidy (1937)	After subsidy (1939)
Andhra	0-11-0	0-13-11.5
Kerala	1-10-7	0-15-0
TamilNadu	0-10-9	0-12-0

See below statement showing the number of implements etc., distributed in the years 1938-39:

Table 4. 25:⁸³

Actual spinners			Total
Trained:			4048
	1937-38	1938-39	
Gins	200	200	400
Charkhas	536	500	1036
Spindles	5432	10,000	15432
Bows	2013	2,000	4013
Hankers		4,000	4,000
Speedwheels	536	2,000	2536
Iron Axles		1,000	1,000
Fly shuttlelooms		100	100
Black cloth		1000(in yards)	1,000
Grant allowed including the cost of material			
and training:	10,016-13-3	24,417-10-4	34,434-7-7
Workers			
Carpenters			
Implements repaired			
(bows, <i>charkhas</i>			
and hanks etc.):		2355	2355

Statement showing the number of implements distributed in the year 1939-1940:

See Table 4.26: ⁸⁴

	Number of
No. of Spinners' trained:	3,421
<i>Charkhas</i>	1,151
Spindles	15,500
Bows	1600
(other items incomplete)	
Amount spent upto 31-12-1939 = Rs. 16,486-1-10	
Workers employed	44
Implements repaired	
(<i>charkhas</i> , bows, hanks etc.)	9,633

With stocks piling up at the certified *khadi* centres, the Government of Madras in later years implemented a unique proposal. As they were unable to purchase the certified *khadi* for

⁸³Letter from the Director of Industries and Commerce to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, Development Department No. 6366, 2 March 1940.

⁸⁴Letter from the Director of Industries and Commerce to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, Development Department, No. 6366, 2 March 1940.

the requirements of all their departments they sanctioned the replacement of 50% of the stock of woolen blankets in Government hospitals by *khaddar duppatics* from the nearest AISA depots. The Yellow turban cloth presently purchased for the male nursing orderlies and the white mull cloth for jackets for female orderlies in Government medical institutions was replaced by the *khaddar* cloth of same colours. The whole sale purchase of *khaddar* towels, bed sheets in Government hospitals and provision to local bodies to purchase *khaddar* bandage cloth instead of previous bandage cloth that manufactured in jails was also to be implemented.⁸⁵

The year 1940-41 was significant in the working of the provincial society in that a fact finding committee was appointed by the Government of India to investigate and report on the nature of the competition existing between mill and handloom industries and to how far an enactment prohibiting the mills from using yarns of low counts would help the handloom industry. Another outstanding event was the appointment of a sub-committee in January 1941 to examine the position of the weavers society and some proposals were put forward to revive the existing situation and to ensure proper management.

As the first and foremost difficulty met by the handloom weaver was in procuring at an economical rate the raw materials, whose cost represented about 60% of the total cost of manufacture of the cloth and as cotton yarn constituted the bulk of the requirements of the handloom weaver, the Provincial Co-operative

⁸⁵ The question of introducing *khaddar* clothing and equipment for police was also discussed in this connection with the budget cut motion in Mar. 1938 and it was approved. The proposal was to be affected in the fire brigade department but the corporation of Madras dropped the proposals as *Khaddar* uniforms were cumbersome to wear for 16 hours a day on duty. See GO. No. 2575, Development Department 17 Oct. 1938; G.O. No. 2887, Development Department, 28 Nov. 1939; G.O. No. 2188, Development Department, 5 Sept. 1939.

society arranged from first year of its working with some mills to supply yarn required by the societies.

During this year 85 societies obtained yarn on the guarantee of the provincial society to the total value of Rs. 37,614 from Messrs. Madura Pankaja Pioneer (Coimbatore) and Pandalapaka (east Godavari) mills. The system of obtaining yarn from mills at rates ruling on the date of despatch was not, however, found advantageous by societies in many cases as it was reported that they were able to obtain yarn from local yarn merchants who generally made forward bulk purchases from the mills in favourable seasons. This is evident from the fact that only 9% of the requirements of yarn was actually obtained from the mills, out of the total quantity of 6,32,194 lbs of different counts of yarn. As shown in the margin this yarn was valued at Rs. 4,20,545 and was consumed by the affiliated societies.⁸⁶

See table 4.27:

Counts of Yam	Weight (Lbs.)
1-12s	30,708
13-20s	2,71,100
21 -30s	1,06,536
31-40s	1,47,547
41-50s	6,881
51-60s	43,760
61-80s	12,089
81to 100s	13,216
100s and above counts	407
Total	6,32,194

To remedy this, the sub-committee suggested that the requirements needed by the society should be purchased during favourable seasons, studying the market trends and stocks of the sale depots of the provincial society. After perusing the market,

⁸⁶See, *Report of the Fact Finding Committee (Mills and Handlooms)*, Ministry of Commerce, Delhi, 1942.

branches of the society would be opened at different centres of the Presidency and implements distributed to the affiliated societies.⁸⁷

With the view of successfully marketing the goods produced by the societies in the face of competition by mill cloth and handloom cloth sold by merchants it was suggested by the sub-committee that the cost of production in societies should be brought down as far as possible by careful regulation of production and by maintaining the quality of the products. One of the most important recommendations made by the sub-committee was to standardise as far as possible, the goods produced by the affiliated societies and the obstacle now confronting efficient marketing of handloom goods in silk, be removed.⁸⁸ The revised proposals under the grant and subsidy for 1940-41 relating to AISA, Andhra

Branch of Masulipatnam are given below: Table 4.28.⁸⁹

Implements:

Spinning wheels @ Rs. 3/- each

Speed wheels @ 0-9-0 each

Bows without guts @ 2-4-0 each

Kisan charkhas @ 2-4-0

Spindles @ 0-3-0

Magan charkhas @ 15-0-0 each

Guts @ 0-6-0 each

Hanks @ 0-8-0 each

Fish jaws @ 0-4-0 each

Carding machines 105-0-0 each

Total =

Less by 1/3 (-)

Total =

Rs. 10,345-14-0 or 10, 346

Cost of employing workers:

Training workers (technical schools):

Schemes for famine centres (Kurnool Gudur, Emigannur and the

Bellary district):

Rs. 16,000, 2,732 and 4,333

Commission to agents and Hawkers and discount to consignees:

Rs. 5,000

Subsidy for excess yardage

Rs. 25,000-0-0

Total =

Rs. 55,979-0-0

The Sixth annual Report of the Madras Handloom weavers' Provincial-operative Society Limited for the year 1940-41, Madras, 1941.

⁸⁸*Ibid*. Also, difficulties were encountered by the weavers in acquiring a steady supply of dye stuffs and in the manufacture of coloured goods.

⁸⁹See the accounts recorded by K. Radhakrishna, Manager AISA, Andhra Branch, See, *Report of the AISA to the Wardha branch from Andhra branch*, Masulipatnam, 1941.

The year 1941 also witnessed efforts by the Government of Madras to renew its efforts to rejuvenate the handloom industry throughout the Presidency. Sri Rao Sahib, Virupaksha Chetti was appointed to review the situation in the districts of Vizag, east and west Godavari, Nellore, Guntur, Krishna, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Chittoor and the Madras districts.

Sir Virupaksha Chetty handed over the report on the survey of coastal and Rayalseema regions to the Director of Industries and Commerce. Based on this report, the principal types of cloth woven on handlooms in this province were *dhoties*, saris, blouse materials, *angavastrams*, shirting, suiting, towels, bedsheets, 'kerchiefs and *lungies* and cotton yarn used by the handloom weavers which ranged from 10s to 120s. See the Appendix-J for the report by a joint committee on the handloom and mill industry appointed in 1949, consisting of Mr. Dharamsy, Mulraj Khatau, Mr. N.P. Hutheesingh, Mr. Bharatham, Mr. J.R.Marshall, Mr. M.Somappa, Mr. Sukumar Dutt, Prof. M.P.Gandhi etc. to advise the textile commissioner in the matter concerning the protection of the handloom industry from the increasing competition from the mill industry). The statement showing the principal weaving centres and the approximate number of looms in the several districts are given below to have a clearer view of the number of the handloom centres in the districts of the Presidency.⁹⁰

⁹⁰*Memorandum* Instructions for the Special Officers Appointed to investigate the causes of Unemployment and Distress among the handloom weavers of the Madras province. See the Report in G.O.No. 638, Development Department, 16 Dec. 1941. Also see for the proposals put forward, GO. No. 2304, Development Department (Misc.), 13 Dec. 1941.

Table 4. 29:

District	Weaving centres	No. of cotton handlooms	Dhoties and Saris
Vizagapatnam:	Rajam	260	
	Ponduru	220	
	Payakaraopeta	99	
	Nellimarla	313	
East Godavari:	Rajahmundry	1500	
	Mori	1050	
	Bandaralanka	410	
	Peddapuram	800	
	Uppada	547	
	Mandapeta	216	
West Godavari:	Ellore	900	
	Velpuru	555	
	Daggaluru	200	
	Narsapur	106	
Kistna District:	Pedana	836	
	Rayavaram	235	
	Masulipatnam	314	
	Jaggayyapeta	178	
Guntur:	Chirala	1620	" and lungies
	Perala	1200	
	Ipurupalem	600	
	Vetapalem	856	
	Pandillapalli	510	
	Mangalagiri	1072	
	Guntur	162	
	Tenali	361	
	Kovvur	283	" and shirting
Nellore:	Venkatagiri	360	
	Bangarupeta	326	
	Kandukur	176	

The later forties witnessed a growing short supply of cotton yarn in the handloom centres of the various Telugu speaking districts of the Presidency. These complaints were examined in detail with the provincial textile commissioner and it was found that short supply in medium counts viz. 40s was mainly due to transport difficulties. Of the five yarn merchants of Peddapuram only one merchant was being supplied enough yarn supply from the Andhra branch licensee holders. The other merchants reported that due to no stocks, there was no work for nearly 600 handloom in the *firka* and consequently many families were subject to great hardships. Mr. Pasala Lingaraju, Secretary of Peddapuram

handloom Association stressed that discontent prevailed among the workers who hoped that the scarcity of yarn would be removed after the introduction of rationing; but their difficulties were in no way ameliorated.⁹¹

Accordingly, a scheme was introduced by the Government of Madras as regards the higher counts viz 60s, 80s and 100s. Only the yarn that was produced in the Madras Presidency was available for distribution to weavers. However, the quantity of yarn available was found to be deficit compared to the total requirements of this province. To solve this difficulty the provincial textile commissioner suggested that the weaver should take to weaving of lower counts and instructed the textile control officers to advise the weavers accordingly. It was observed that while there was a deficit in the supply of higher counts they was a surplus in the production of 40s. The possibility of curtailing the cultivation of cotton Co2 which yielded yarn only upto 40s and restricting this variety mainly for the cultivation of Co3 and Co4 cotton was explored. Moreover, the ceiling price for Co3 and Co4 was to be raised from about Rs 650/- and Rs. 800/- per bale. Also, with the adulteration in the ginneries, the Government made extra efforts to ensure the availability of pure cotton in the market with the Co-operation of the Growers Co-operative society, which dealt exclusively with the production and marketing aspects.⁹²

⁹¹ See note of TV. Nathan, Information officer and Special Press Adviser, *The Andhra Prabha*, 16 Dec. 1944. See also reply to this in G.O.No. 2381, Development Department, 20 June 1945.

⁹² By the end of 1945, it was estimated that 12,361 acres of the various districts of the Madras Presidency were under Co3 and 38,225 acres were under Co4. Various schemes were proposed for the multiplication of this variety i.e., Co3 and Co4. For details see, G.O. No. 1700, Development Department, (Misc. series), 26 April. 1945. See also letter from Rao Bahadur B. Vishwanath, Director of Agriculture, to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, Agricultural Department, Director of Industries, No. 353- 45, 12 Oct. 1945.

Under the prevailing circumstances of short supply rationing of yarn became inevitable to avert the danger of unequal distribution of yarn as between regions and handloom weavers. To ascertain the exact position, census of all the active looms was taken (towards the end of 1945) on the basis on the census of active looms and the quantity of yarn available to them, a system of allotment of yarn per loom per menses under the various counts was evolved. The Table 4.30 below indicates the quantity of various counts:⁹³

Ration of yarn given per handloom:

Count	Quantity allotted per loom per month (in lbs)
Upto 8 1/2 and 2/10s and 2/12s and 2/20s:	40
Upto 8 1/2 to 19s and 2/42s:	30
Upto 20s to 26s	18
Upto 28s to 32s:	15
Upto 40s to 44s:	11 1/4
Upto 60s:	7 1/2
Upto 80s:	6
Upto 100s:	5

Due to the vigorous drive by the Co-operative Department and the introduction of the yarn ration cards (see table below), large number of dependent weavers left their master craftsmen to become weavers of the Co-operatives societies or set themselves as independent weavers as seen in the Table 4.31 below: ⁹⁴

⁹³S. Srinivasaraghavaiah, *Report of the Court of Enquiry into Labour Conditions in the Handloom industry*, Madras, 1948, pp. 12-13.

⁹⁴B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, "Handloom industry in India", M.P. Gandhi, *Indian Cotton Textile Industry, 1851-1950*, pp. 121-28.

Population of the different classes of weavers in Madras province:

Classes of weavers	1941		1947	
	No.	%	No.	%
Independent	1,19,760	28	61,521	46.9
Dependent weavers:	2,56,630	6.0	38,234	29.2
Coolie weavers:	34,218	8.0	19,199	14.6
Weavers and the				
Co-operative societies:	17,108	4.0	11,955	9.3

A clearer picture of the situation prevailing can be had from the total number of looms working in the specific districts of the period under study is shown in the Table 4.32 below:⁹⁵

District	Name of place	No. of weavers:				Total number of tooms
		Independent	Dependent	Coolie	Co-op.	
E.Godavari:	Peddapuram	636	300	300	464	1,700
	Bandaralanka	830	100	..	50	980
	Palacole	114	..	50	206	370
W.Godavari:	Tanuku	36	..	..	114	150
	Niddadavolu	31	..	..	22	53
	Pedana	631	200	140	329	1300
Guntur:	Guntur	70	210	40	90	410
	Mangalagiri	1,000	1390	30	80	2,500
	Perala	510	850	50	90	1,500
Nellore:	Kovvur	40	351	..	59	450
	Venkatagiri	253	611	200	136	1,200
	Bangarupeta	200	356	..	69	625

To continue, the Second World War gave a fillip to the overall cotton industry. The controlled distribution of yarn to the actual weavers and the spread of the Co-operative movement put the weavers in a better position and they now began to gradually disentangle their relations with the master craftsmen. This transformation during the War period was characterized by an unusually heavy demand for the high prices of handloom

⁹⁵S. Srinivasaraghavaingar, *Report of the Court of Enquiry into Labour Conditions in the Handloom Industry*, pp. 46-47.

products. During this period the problems of marketing too decreased to a considerable extent.⁹⁶

All these factors had a favourable effect on the general level of wages of the weavers involved in this industry. The three objectives with which the Madras Government had espoused the cause of *khadi* scheme namely (i.) eradication of unemployment (ii.) supplementing the income of the agricultural villages by spinning during leisure hours and (iii.) lastly, desiring to see that the villages find self-sufficiency and self-reliance in their requirement for cloth, was achieved to a large extent by 1947. By this year end the Madras Government undertook further expansion of *kluidi* work incorporating it as an integral part of the *firka* development programme and took charge of four main *khadi* production centres comprising of 136 villages with 1,800 spinners and 500 weavers of AISA.⁹⁷

Likewise, under the auspices of the Government of Madras, the *All India Charkha committee* introduced an intensive and extensive programme of introducing power driven *charkha* instead of the hand operated ones. This technique was experimented in Guruswamy palem, Yeragundapallem and Tirupur. This proposal was planned for every 25 *firkas* but 19 of them were to be controlled by special *firka* officers. The number of *charkhas* actively plied was a mere 18,000 in the Presidency whereas the goal of one lakh new *charkhas* to be established (in the Presidency) was aimed at. It was planned that if a whole family was working for about 22 hours a day, within a year it could produce about a *gajam* (a unit of measurement) of cloth. However, this plan was thwarted when

⁹⁶B.V. Narayanaswami Naidu, 'Handloom Industry in India', cited in M.P. Gandhi, *Indian Cotton Textile Industry in India 1851-1950*.

⁹⁷Report on *All about Khadi in Madras State*. Madras, N.D., p.6.

competition from the powerlooms became intense and the Government began supplying *charkhas* at half the rate to the spinners.⁹⁸

As far as large scale industry and the question of capitalist attitudes of this policy of rural upliftment by the Congress leaders are concerned, the problem was a complex one. Basically as far as related question of large versus small scale cottage industries is concerned, contradictory trends are visible. While it can be argued that there was no fundamental opposition of interests between the cotton mill industry and the handlooms, it should be emphasized that it was during the two World Wars that attitudes changed and their relationship turned to being a complementary one. During this period the mill owners realized in Gandhi's boycott movement a useful, and potentially effective source of strength in their economic battles with the Government.

The *khadi* movement froze the demand for mill cloth at the level of prevailing costs and aimed to meet any increase in the demand through handspinning and handweaving. In other words, it was an effort to shift the attention of the Congress away from the "capitalist class essentially the mill owners towards the quite definitely petty bourgeoisie spinners and weavers". As a matter of fact, the Indian mill owners benefited far more from the ban on foreign cloth than the loom spinner and weavers did from the *khadi* movement. The incorporation of the mill owners in the movement allowed the Congress to represent itself as a multi strata organization."

⁹⁸ For details see, Subramanya Sarma Sitaramaraju, 'Khadi Pranalika', *Bhilarati*, 24, (1), Annual Volume, 1947, pp. 51-60.

⁹⁹ See, *Report of the Fact Finding Committee*, (Mills and Handlooms), Ministry of Commerce, Delhi, 1942, pp. 9-10.

Writing extensively on the futility of the mill owners' demands for protection from the Government, Gandhi urged them to understand that the Government 'would not offend Japan—and it dare not displease Lancashire. . . . for Lancashire is the Government in substance." Elaborating further, he urged the mill owners to make common cause with *khadi* as there was enough room for both of them in the years to come.¹⁰⁰ He envisaged a market system where they would be equal sharing between *khaddar* and Indian mills, with the mills taking the finer end of the market, (which Lancashire now largely occupied) and *khaddar* concentrating on the supply of coarser goods.¹⁰¹

"Hand weaving and mill weaving are not complementary propositions but are mutually antagonistic as the tendency of weaving mills like all machinery, always being to displace the product of the hand. On the other hand, hand spinning and hand weaving are mutually complementary as can be proved from the experience of the existing spinning depots."¹⁰²

According to Gandhi, democracy is complete identification with the poorest of mankind and he therefore desired that a trustee of this organisation will try his best to offer his or her life to the villages of India. "Those who are engaged in these voluntary organisations not only derive no pecuniary advantage from it but are expected if they can give (sic) their labour free of any will." This theory of socialism through trusteeship was the alternative that Gandhi presented as against the scientific socialism and communism evolved by western thinkers. He was trying to change the attitude of the owner of property towards the use of it and as

¹⁰⁰M. K. Gandhi, 'Lancashire Block', *Young India*, 23 June 1927 and *CW*, XXXIV, pp. 47-49.

¹⁰¹See M. K. Gandhi, "What can our mills do?". *Young India*, 15 Mar. 1928.

¹⁰²M. K. Gandhi, "Handloom Versus Spinning wheel. *Young India*, 11 Nov. 1926.

long as the owner of property does not abuse his ownership rights to increase his own property at the expense of others, and acts as a trustee of social interests and returns the fruits of social endeavour back to society, the classes can live in harmony and work for each others prosperity.

This, in a nut shell is the concept of trusteeship which forms the central theme of Gandhi's social philosophy. Though his economic programme had no ready made answer to the needs of Indian capitalist class, his saintliness appealed to their spiritual and religious ideas and they gave huge donations and trusts in his name to ameliorate the living conditions of the poverty stricken masses. Since times immemorial the business communities had exhibited a certain attachment to her saints and they now responded to Gandhi "as generations of their forefathers had responded to such persons."¹⁰³

This was the situation that had developed later on; but Gandhi's relations with the business community were not so amicable during the early years of the Non Co-operation movement. A few important figures openly spoke against the Non Co-operation movement, despite the assurances given by Gandhi that the boycott was not directed against the Indian mills. Among the businessmen, Sri Purushottam Das Thakur Das, **Jamanadas Dwarka Das**, Cowasji Jahangir and Sir C. Setvalvad were especially wary of the conditions laid down for classifying mills as '*Swadeshi*'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³S.R. Bakshi, *Documents of Civil Disobedience movement*, New Delhi, 1988, p. xii; See also the *Harijan*, Vol. VII, 1939, p. 262.

¹⁰⁴Refer to S. Bhattacharya, 'Cotton mills and spinning wheels: *Swadeshi* and the Indian capitalist class 1920-1922', cited in K .N. Panikkar, *National and Left Movements in India*, U.P., 1980, pp. 27-44. On the ambiguity of the commercial classes and their political affiliations in 1920, see C.A. Bayly, *77K Local Roots of Urban Politics: Allahabad 1880-1920*, Oxford, 1975 , pp. 263-64.

With reference to the grant and subsidy given by the Government to the AISA, S.Ganesan, Secretary, *Rural Reconstruction League*, raised two points for the consideration of the Government. First, that the conditions imposed by the AISA for the certification of *Khadi* production were unworkable and had been so framed as to keep the grant from the Government as a means to further the politics of a single group. Second, he was anxious to work up a rural centre and to avail the grant from the Government. In an open letter to Maulana Azad, Gandhi and Nehru he reiterated his stand by questioning them: "Is it wrong now to think that the Madras Government when it tolerates the existing rules and abdicates its powers of certification to the AISA, the grant it gives is more a bribe to stifle the *khadi* movement by the congressmen who got their power from the masses and by the blood of the thousands of workers who sacrificed their all for *khadi*"? ¹⁰⁵

The different responses to the *khadi* movement (such as the example given above) of the various groups participating in it necessarily had an impact on the market. Although the motivations may have been different, the rich industrialist and the poor weaver alike was involved in the movement. While it is difficult to disentangle the ideological motivations from the purely material, this chapter demonstrates that the economic conditions constituted the **field** in which ideology operated.

The Department of Industries elaborated that middlemen frequently interfered on behalf of the home producers facing extinction of their trade and in this they were not actuated solely with the object of earning interest on their capital. Pointing out that

¹⁰⁵S.Ganesan, 'Is this a bribe to the Congress? An open letter to Maulana Gandhi and Nehru' and to the Government of Madras, 4. Feb. 1942. See also the reply to this in letter to the Under Secretary, G.O. No. 4542-D/42, Development Department, 10 Feb. 1942, waiving aside the claims made by S. Ganesan, a Congressman.

there was an undue tendency to view middlemen only with reference to their concern with returns on their capital, it was asserted that they also had "a redeeming side of helping an industry with their capital". In addition it was asserted that, the middlemen played an important public service by ensuring the quality of the goods by maintaining a rigid standard. Driven by the urge to get their return on the capital invested, the middlemen would also have an interest in maintaining the reputation of their goods.¹⁰⁶

The thirties also witnessed various categories of farmers and their dependents. In the first category fell workers who were politically conscious but were idle for at least a minimum of three months in a year. They spun for at least four to eight hours a day to provide yarn enough for their clothing. Reputed estimate put the number of such people to be probably with five million *charkhas* working in the entire country. Assuming that only 1/5 of these were in use and allowing for four persons in each household possessing a *charkha*, one can set the number of consumers of *khaddar* in this group at 40,00,000. In the second group were those who though not farmers were believers in the Gandhian ideology and bought *khaddar* though it was more expensive than mill cloth. Therefore this category's significance lie not in their number but in their influence in being active propagandists and workers and causing a steady increase in number. The third category existing, were the villagers who bought cloth made on handlooms from mill yarn and lastly, those groups of people who preferred to buy mill cloth mostly because it was cheaper. This group of people did not

¹⁰⁶Nasir Tyabji, 'Focusing state aid to Industry: Madras 1921-'37', Working paper No. 83, Jan. 1988, *Madras Institute Development Studies*, pp. 1-57.

do any spinning, lived in urban areas and did not participate in any cloth manufacture.¹⁰⁷

The massive research undertaken by Gandhi under *samagra grama seva* encompassing agriculture, *khadi* work, basic education, *harijan* relief, cow protection and village industrial crafts in the hope of making it a self sufficient unit, had its toll by the late forties. In its last phase of handloom organisation, the movement gained a fresh emphasis. According to Gandhi, *khadi* would begin to have a permanent effect only when carried out as a part and parcel of a wider programme of village reconstruction. The primary and ultimate impact on the whole weaver community would be achieved only when the weaver would be made the central figure of all development and planning in the construction of an independent India.

The improvement in technology, introduction of new implements, an adequate living wage scheme, famine relief work, yarn banks and grant for the cultivation of cotton tremendously boosted the morale and economic position of the ordinary weaver in the Andhra villages. Long before Nehru popularised the slogan of socialist pattern of society, Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu, devised a most effective way of dispensing social justice by eliminating the middle men in trade. He organised a consumer Co-operative institution through which all goods were to be supplied from the producer direct to the consumer. The result was the emergence of the biggest Co-operative net in the country. This measure hit the capitalist middlemen drastically. This was yet another potent reason for Indian capitalists getting angry with Prakasam.

Gandhi made *khadi* the principal weapon in his fight against the *raj* and the provision for a gainful employment to the semi-

¹⁰⁷Richard S Gregg, *Economics of Khaddar*, Madras, 1931, p.71.

starved Indian villages. The logical move for the position of *khadi* Prakasam argued, was the provision of a statutory protection to the industry which meant that for this the gradual closure of spinning mills was the need of the hour. The boycott of English cloth would stop the import of the British cloth and the disappearance of the mills could remove the capitalist competition resulting in a resurgence of this vital rural industry. Gandhi deferred from Prakasam on the issue that further licenses for new spindles and for replacement should be withheld. In 1946 throughout Andhra Prakasam conducted experiments in *grama Swarajya* and rural self sufficiency through *khadi* spinning, starting his programmes from Guruvadireddy palem at Ongole.¹⁰⁸

As a result of the efforts of the leaders like Prakasam in Andhra, the production of handlooms went up as seen in the Table 4.33 below:¹⁰⁹

District'	Total no. of Handlooms
Srikakulam	21,761
Vizagapatnam	21,051
East Godavari	33,670
West Godavari	18,642
Krishna	12,722
Guntur	40,857
Nellore	21,898

The end of 1940's and the beginning of the fifties saw a position in which the textile trader were far more rurally located than the non-textile traders. 82% of all textile workers in Andhra were employed in rural areas. If we add it, it is seen that of the non-city urban workers only 2% were found in cities. With regard to the non-textile trade about 1/7 of all workers were employed in city

¹⁰⁸Sri Daragopala Krishna Sastry, *Tangaturi Prakasam oka Parichamam*, (Trans. from Telugu), **Vijaywada**, 1974. See also, Kaseepathy, *On Prakasam, A Practical Socialist*, 1946.

¹⁰⁹According to statistics there were 29 lakhs of handlooms giving employment to about 15 million people. Chettiyar Alagappa (ed.), *Handloom and Cottage Industries Exhibition*, Madras, 1953, p. 52-53.

areas, and another 1/5 were in the non-city urban areas. Their rural bias therefore was less significant partly because of the diversified nature of these trades. While the textile classes were tied down to their rural homes, a few of the non textile traders found the best conditions for their success in the urban areas.¹¹⁰

See Table 4. 34

(p.t.o):¹¹¹

On a district wise examination, the charts above show that west Godavari was relatively less rural even in its textile trades and no less than 35% of all workers on those lines lived in cities and non-city urban areas. One explanation that is most plausible is that these districts itself were highly urbanised. On the other hand, the most rural in respect of textile traders were Vizagapatnam and Srikakulam. Except for these few differences, workers in the textile industry were in general uniformly rural in nature.

The two most important deducing facts that can be drawn is that **first**, the textile workers were more rural and whole time than the others and second, the ratio of women workers was far higher in the textile trades which had a favourable effect on family incomes. The number of Co-operative societies for weavers which constituted the largest single artisan group in the country grew from 1 in 1905 to 21 in 1919-'20, 52 in 1927, 174 in 1939-40, 215 in 1942 and rising to 336 in 1946. *Khaddar* was still working on capitalistic lines though in 1939-40 there were only five spinners societies and two lace societies for *khaddar*. The following figures show that the transactions made and the number of Societies for cottage industries in 1940-41 in the Madras Presidency:

¹¹⁰See for further details V.V. Ramanadham, *The Economy of Andhra Pradesh*, Bombay, 1959, p. 101-102.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*

Workers in cottage industries in Andhra (in textile trades)

District	Rural:		Non-city:		Urban:		Total No. of Est's	Total No. of workers	Ratio of males to total workers	Ratio of whole-time workers to total workers
	No. of Est.s	No. of workers	No. of Est.s	No. of Workers	No. of Est.s	No. of workers					Size
Srikakulam	10,501	38,309	3.6	3,298	4,842	3.7	11,799	43,151	0.5	0.99
Vizagapatnar	7,704	24,111	3.1	440	1,570	3.6	8,394	26,461	0.57	0.92
E. Godavari	13,627	37,625	2.8	2,067	7,466	3.6	16,501	45,838	0.56	0.93
W. Godavari	5,323	13,888	2.6	1,791	5,118	2.9	7,758	22,257	0.55	0.94
Krishna	5,299	18,446	3.5	1,211	4,201	3.5	6,896	24,153	0.53	0.95
Guntur	15,726	49,979	3.2	5,646	18,120	3.2	21,744	68,969	0.65	0.93
Nellore	12,025	35,371	2.9	939	3,092	3.3	13,113	38,897	0.63	0.92

Source: V.V. Ramanadham, The Economy of Andhra Pradesh, Bombay 1959, See Chapter iv, pp. 97-117.

Table 4. 35:¹¹²

	No. of societies	Business done (in Rs. value)
Milk Supply Societies	104	6,41,129
Milk unions	17	6,88,650
Weavers' Societies	194	14,06,000
Madras H.L. Weavers' Soc.	1	25,31,000
Egg marketing societies	3	8,750
Hand pounded Rice Soc.	2	4,015
Cottage industries Soc. (Exclusively for women)	21	Little work done
Other cottage industries	63	
Fishermen non-credit Soc.	34	

What is glaringly evident from the figures above is the slow progress of the Co-operative movement in relation to cottage industries which was repeatedly pointed out by responsible bodies. The condition of the handloom weavers societies in the west Godavari district was also dismal by 1946. Only ten looms were employed and about 40 looms could be provided with any work. As the secretary and the President utilised funds of the society and produced some private producers' cloth as stock at the time of the audit, many of its members withdrew their share capital and consequently the weavers society wound up.

Significantly, the Cotton Weavers Society of a Krishna village was wound up during the same time. Capital being inadequate, loans and some times even wages could not be given due to the stagnation of stocks. Moreover it recorded that the Provincial Co-operative society gave only 40% of the yarn requirement of the society and even that was supplied after much delay and correspondence. The cloth which was woven according

112. On 30 June 1946, there were 336 Weavers' Cooperative Societies and 222 other Societies but real progress has to be measured in other ways. See, V.R. Chitra and Vishwanath Tekumalla, *Cottage Industries of India*, Madras, 1948. See Chapter xii, Section iii, pp. 115-33.

to the instruction of the Provincial Weavers Society of Madras did not cater to local tastes. Moreover the cost of production was higher than that of local private weaver by at least 20%.¹¹³

Therefore to list, lack of adequate capital, lack of good faith among its members and lack of cooperation among the departments and non official staff were the main discrepancies seen throughout the Presidency. See Table 4.36 for a comparative survey of the coastal Andhra regions which revealed this fact:¹¹⁴

	Thoroughly well established Societies	Defective	All other societies	Total societies
Avg. per district				
in the Madras province	4.0	26	69.3	100
Coastal Andhra districts	4.4	29	68.0	100

The conclusions that one arrives at is that, if the span of approximately two decades of the functioning of the handloom Co-operative Society in Andhra is taken as a study, it was found that most of the societies were organized on a limited liability principle and this accounted for their financial weakness:

(i.) the inability of weavers to purchase even one share of the value of Rs. 10/- (ii.) the unwillingness on the part of the rich weavers to take a large number of share dividends (iii.) the borrowing capacity of a society was greatly restricted owing to the low security it offered (iv.) the necessity of borrowing elsewhere at high rates of interest (v.) the malpractices of rich members of the society (vi.) the comparatively higher wages paid to the weaver- members than those given by the *sowcars* to the non-members and the consequent high price of cloth produced by its members and finally (vii.) the lack of organization for regular disposal of the finished products.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Commenting on the unsatisfactory performance of the Co-operative societies working in the Madras Presidency, the Registrar of the Co-operatives commented that, nearly half the number of societies for handloom weavers were dormant. In dealing with the subject of forming Co-operative societies for handlooms as recommended by the special officer for the survey of cottage industries it was found that attempts which were made proved a failure as the society always came into conflict with the master weavers.

The textile advisory committee discussed these difficulties and considered the desirability of forming a Central Weavers' Co-operative society. It was anticipated that through this central organization, the weavers would get yarn cheap and this would reduce the number of middlemen between the handloom weaver and the ultimate purchaser. The weavers would then in the long run prosper and get a larger share of the profits. The central organization was also intended to arrange for a demonstration of the use of machine sized ready made warps and to popularise other improved preparatory processes and methods of weaving. There was also a need to appoint a business manager who would collect and study information in regard to marketing of handloom products and make this information available to the weavers.¹¹⁵

It was also seen that the handicaps of the Co-operative movement were as *Psychological*,¹¹⁶ as they were material. Though artisans were desirous of joining the Co-operative societies and turning it to their advantage, ironically they found not many to motivate or organize them.

¹¹⁵Report of the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Madras, 1929-30, Madras, 1930.

¹¹⁶Indebted for this insight into weavers' mentality to Veera Bhadra Rao, freedom fighter, Private Interview, 11 Dec. 1994.

A clue to the underlying reasons for the not too smooth functioning of the Co-operatives was provided in the state aid report - which asserted that handloom Co-operative could not be formed without the participation and capital provided by the middlemen. The Co-operative department disagreed with this and replied that while it is true that the weavers could not by themselves successfully run Co-operatives it was possible to find individuals apart from the middlemen who would provide the requisite leadership.¹¹⁷

Whatever the contradictory views posed, it was seen that one set of institutions which profited and channeled finance back to the countryside was the Co-operative department. From 1905 upto the 1930s period the Madras Government invested in Co-operative credit societies which it hoped would discourage the money lender in the business of financing in the villages to the poor weaver. But, what was increasingly noticed was that the Governments intention were ultimately thwarted when Co-operatives were largely taken over by moneylenders and dominant **landlord-cum-money** lenders in the villages who found that lending from central banks to local **Co-operative** societies a useful way of swelling their own capital.¹¹⁸

In conclusion, comparing the *khaddar* programme to that of the Co-operative movement the common issue was a change in the consumers' demand. But where the *khaddar* radically differed was in its scale and nature of demand, of organization production and supply. The *khaddar* movement helped to create a better balance between production and consumption along with an improvement

¹¹⁷Refer to letter from the Registrar,-operative Society to the Development Section No. C.3537/30, Development Department, 9 Mar. 1931, p.6.

¹¹⁸For further details see, Christopher J. Baker, "The **markets**", cited in Sugata Bose (ed.), *Themes in Indian History: Credit Markets and the Agrarian Economy of Colonial India*, Delhi, 1994. See chapter IV, pp. 136- 96.

in its distribution; thus being fundamentally more systematic than the Co-operative movement.

Treatment of the *charkha* from purely the economic point of view precludes one from describing the moral revolution that had also been brought in the individual's thought process. For example, temperance and freedom from drink and indebtedness that came in the wake of the *charkha* movement are as much economic as they were moral results. Another potentiality of the *charkha* movement was the relief that it gave to the villagers during the famine years. A programme of paddy husking and other forms of relief in the flood and famine areas taken up later to be discarded - but when the *charkha* was tried, it worked to perfection.¹¹⁹

The concept of *khadi* and *Swadeshi* slowly transformed and reached a higher stage along with the mental growth of Gandhi over the years. In the beginning it was only to provide an employment of 3 *pies* a day Dick Kooiman argued recently that was it not asking too much of a mill owner to spin in the evenings after an exhausting day at the mills?¹²⁰ The attempt was according to Gandhi, to show that though the handspun yarn turned out by the mill worker was of poor quality and worked at **primitive** means (pure *khaddar* being more expensive), the labourer still spun yarn only to show his approval and whole hearted support to the movement. Mainly therefore one sees it was only the sentiment that counted more than the subsidiary income that it generated.

Answering the question put forward by Appa Patwardan, that mills being such a serious competition and that expenses incurred by the weavers were not yet yielding due results, Gandhi

¹¹⁹This experiment was tried by P. C. Ray in West Bengal 1923-24. Cited in Richard Gregg, *Economics of Khaddar*, p. 180.

¹²⁰Dick Kooiman, 'Bombay communists and the 1927 Textile strike' *EPW*, Vol. XV, 1980, pp. 1223-26.

advocated the universal revival of hand spinning in which alone lay the hope of the weavers who would then not be dependent on mill yarn and becoming self sufficient was he predicted, a question of only **time**.¹²¹

This makes one question the somewhat Utopian ideas of Gandhi. Is it not an inexorable fact that large scale industry supplants if not necessarily eliminates the small scale industry especially, when seen in the context of the developing countries? Seen in the Indian context domestic industries are represented by different socio-economic forms of production natural and semi-natural domestic crafts, decentralized capitalist manufacture and capitalist domestic work. But industrialization had a limited influence on the elimination of the multi-structural nature of economy due to the peculiar circumstances of internal conditions of the caste based structure and external economic domination at the helm's head. V. I. Lenin is of the opinion that "the victory of large scale production is not so easy of achievement and it is not so **uniform**." ¹²²

Actually, one sees that, there is no absolute destruction of small scale production even in the industrially developed countries. Small scale production retained a certain foothold in the existing system of division of labour and exactly this is proved on the eve of independence when the most developed of the household industries were hand weaving, oil pressing rice pounding, pottery, tanning and leather.¹²³

¹²¹*The Harijan*, Vol. 7, 1939, p. 262.

¹²²V. I. Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, *Collected Works*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1960, cited in, G. K. Shirokov, *Industrialization in India*, Delhi, 1980, p. 267.

¹²³*Ibid.*, p. 267-68.

To sum up, on the All India level figures itself there is a debate on whether there was a decline in handloom production in the early years of the twentieth century but whether this was so or not, one has clear evidence, as seen in this chapter, that in the coastal Andhra regions, in particular, there was development in production and sales value of handlooms - either through the Government or by the AISA. Though the all India figures for cotton mill industry show wide fluctuations this study has demonstrated graphically that the handloom industry maintained a steady ground without any drastic disparity. The handloom industry of Andhra received impetus from many factors. The tremendous impact that Gandhi had upon the weavers and the immense response that he elicited was attributed among many other factors, to the conditions in which the Indian villages were during the war period: "this being one of the most ideological and political issues in India when compared to any other south Asian country during this time."¹²⁴

Lastly, the attitude of the British Government in India was to actively participate in almost all spheres of economic life. To facilitate trade and commerce, it had extended roads, built railways and canals, improved sea ports and abolished internal and external duties. However, the absence of encouragement to the indigenous industrialisation and diversification from the relatively narrow economic base provided by concentration on export commodities was a feature commonly alleged to have been a characteristic feature of colonial economies.¹²⁵

This accusation can take a positive or negative form. Either the colonial powers refused to permit industrialization or merely

¹²⁴Gunnar Myrdal, *The Asian Drama*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1982, p. 1208.

¹²⁵D. K. Feildhouse, *Colonialism 1870-1945*, London, 1981, p. 89.

failed to promote it. On the other hand no imperial Government actually went so far as to ban manufactures in the colonies in the modern period. Bagchi has demonstrated that although there was animosity from the manufacturing interests in Britain and their agents in India to make any concerted effort for industrial development the real handicap lay in the system of imperial finances. The need for balance in the financial system which would permit the smooth transfer of resources from India by the traditional sources of land revenue and home charges' played a paramount role in decision making.¹²⁶

Expenditure necessary for industrial development would have jeopardized the system of balance and therefore funds for it were meagre fund and tightly controlled in the Presidency. Therefore, knowing well the intricate working of the colonial rule one can safely conclude that under external and internal pressures alone did the imperial Government take stand promoting economic growth not as an altruistic or philanthropic gesture with the well being of Indians at heart. Thus, one learns, that the British colonial domination showed contradictory consequences of ruining as well as preserving the lower forms of industry.

In this chapter the attempt has been to explore the complex inter connections between Gandhian ideology, the Co-operative movement, the weaver community and the Indian capitalist class. In this exploration there has been an inevitable and necessary emphasis on Gandhi's role. Nevertheless what this investigation has shown is that his ideology and charisma struck resonant chords in various elements of the Andhra handloom economy primarily if not solely because of the prevailing

¹²⁶For further argument on this see A.K. Bagchi, *Private Investment in India 1900-1939*, Cambridge, 1972.

predominant socio-economic conditions during the period under study. One should not be unaware of the fact that Gandhi's ideology was a panacea not only to the social problems of the upper and middle strata of the society but an immediate and economic one to the weavers. R. Ulyanovasky remarks "with all his vacillations which the bourgeoisie utilized to their advantage, Gandhi's ideas retained to the last their peasant petty bourgeoisie character reflecting a kind of Utopian peasant socialism, his *sarvodaya* ideal being a quite natural open and sincere protest against capitalism."¹²⁷

Lastly, the tremendous boost the Wars gave to this industry proves the point that if they would not have occurred then the progress of this industry would indeed have been a slower one. The depression of the thirties also accentuated the contradictions of the capitalist imperial system as a whole. At the same time it provided opportunities for traders and industrialists to finance. The prices of agricultural exports thus fell endangering the fortunes of the traders and moneylenders and ruining millions of small peasants. C.J. Baker emphasizes that moneylenders wanted some kind of arrangement for settlement of the debts from these ruined farmers.¹²⁸ However, Baker fails to observe that it was the injustice of the whole capitalist system that had brought the two groups together. It was also seen that the colonial rulers could not arrive at an amicable solution to satisfy both the groups without compromising on their own position. However the prices of industrial goods did not fall as drastically as those of agricultural

¹²⁷ See, R. Ulanovsky, *Mahatma Gandhi, present day problems in Asia and Africa*, Moscow, 1980, cited in Narahari Kaviraj, 'Gandhi-Nehru through Marxist eyes' in Jagannath Sarkar (ed.), *India's Freedom Struggle: Several Struggles*, Delhi, 1986, p. 26.

¹²⁸ Refer to Christopher J. Baker, *The Tamil nadu Countryside*.

commodities. By taking advantage of this fact, the Chetiyar moneylenders and Gounders carved a niche for themselves in the biggest market of the south, i.e.-cotton textiles. The drying up of outlets for south Indian raw cotton with the escalation of Japan's aggression into China's markets, further hastened their move into this industry.¹²⁹

Lastly, to sum up, the shortage and high prices of mill cloth brought about by the war time conditions acted as a stimulus and the concept of self sufficiency that was brought about, drew thousands of people to spinning and weaving besides the traditional community of weavers.

¹²⁹The hydro-electric power which began to be increasingly used also acted as a catalyst in hastening this process. See, Amiya Kumar Bagchi, "Needed: Political Economy of British India", *Social Scientist*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2, Aug.- Sept. 1978, pp. 95-102.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

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The preceding chapters could best be seen as an attempt to understand the history of the handloom industry working within colonial economy. This work concerns itself with an important but rather neglected area, i.e., the handloom industry's transition in coastal Andhra region, which was characterised by rapid overcoming of the constraints of the mill and powerloom competition and its eventual expansion particularly during the Gandhian phase of Indian struggle for freedom.

The starting point of this study is the controversy over the "de-industrialization" theory. Initially by Morris D.Morris, put forward the hypothesis that in the nineteenth century India, at a macro level the fall in the price of cloth had resulted in an increased demand for cloth in two ways: (i.) An increase in the demand for cloth had resulted in an resultant increase in the price- as cloth is price elastic, (ii.) Shifts also occurred in the demand curve, owing to dynamic factors like increase in population and change in taste.

In response, to Morris concentrating on the early years of the nineteenth century various studies tried to show that if the overall number of looms operated is taken as an indicator, employment and production should be seen as constant. But textile production as it emerged in the twentieth century was nevertheless very different from what it used to be before, the Indian exports dried up and cheap imports flooded the country. Consequently the handloom weaving sector which took shape after 1813 saw itself

confined increasingly to the production of coarse varieties of cotton cloth, a process which Konrad Specker called "vertical displacement". The Morrison view of a sustained rise in population backed up by rising incomes, leading to either a downward movement along the demand curve for textiles is incorrect in case of coastal Andhra and in particular delta Andhra, as seen in our study for the twentieth century.

In the present century there happens to have come about a stability in the handloom industry and much of Morris' own theorization seems to be a projection of this phenomenon of the nineteenth century. Commenting on the fortunes of the handloom industry, is noticed by D.R. Gadgil remarks, that "at a certain stage" between the declining handicrafts and the pressure of modern industry, "a point of equilibrium was reached in the competition between the two industries" and "this point was (only) reached towards the end of the last century."¹

A.K. Bagchi, among other modern scholars, examining the reasons behind the revival of handlooms in the twentieth century, is of the opinion, that it was mainly due to the lag in the development of the weaving departments in the Indian mill factories, the application of fly shuttle to the handlooms and not the least the *Swadeshi* movement under the leadership of Gandhi.

While drawing on this broad theoretical basis and following up the continued debates on this subject this study re-searched on two neglected issues. First, it focused on a region, i.e., the Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency, and second, on the handloom industry which had hitherto not been explored in detail. It sought to locate the Andhra handloom weaver within the framework of

¹D.R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times, 1860-1939*, (fifth edition), Delhi, 1971, p. 180.

the 1905 *Swadeshi*, the later nationalist politics, and the Gandhian ideology. The fate of the handloom sector of the coastal Andhra region was sought to be analysed in terms of social, cultural and economic factors. This study therefore, was based not merely on archival sources but also on the evidence available in the Telugu and Hindi writings.

It was also necessary to explore the ways in which the relations between the capitalist world's relation shaped the level of technology, the producer, income and political conflict. John Richards, following Wallerstein's thesis argued that the world system had major repercussions on India in the eighteenth century which would mean that Gandhism occurred not in the first flush of indigenous resistance but only after nearly two centuries of the world systems' penetration and domination.² Sumit Sarkar also makes a subtle distinction between primary and secondary resistance to imperial rule. Indigenous populations primarily intent on protecting their ongoing or recently lost life ways undertook primary resistance in the earliest phases of British domination. The secondary phase occurred later when the indigenous society has changed and when the leadership and its goals are different.

The introductory chapter put forth the main hypothesis related to the question of industrialisation in coastal Andhra regions. The rapid and radical economic changes occurring in India, the interaction of nationalist politics, the expansion of Indian capitalists and the needs of two major World Wars, impinged in many significant ways upon the handloom industry of Andhra. As discussed in the first chapter on the all India level itself there has

²On this view of John Richards, see, Richard G. Fox, "Gandhian socialism and Hindu Nationalism: Cultural domination in the world system", in Sugata Bose (ed.), *South Asia and World Capitalism*, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 244-59.

been a debate whether there was a decline in handloom production in the twentieth century.

Clear evidence was put forward to prove that in coastal Andhra, there was development in production and in the sales value of the handloom production. Though the all India figures for cotton mill industry showed wide fluctuations, Andhra maintained a steady pace without any drastic fluctuations. One would expect that the adverse variables, i.e., a neglected small scale industry, growth of small holdings and a dominant mill industry would suggest an increasingly harsh market environment for the handloom weaver in the twentieth century. Their economic conditions would be unlikely to have improved in the face of these conditions. Our evidence on a micro level study belies this expectation.

In Andhra it was observed that there was an increase in miscellaneous textiles reflecting the increased demand for stitched clothing. The net result therefore, being an increase in the overall share of textile employment in the total manufacturing sector of coastal Andhra. The impetus that the handloom sector of Andhra received was due to several factors. The two World Wars raging outside the country occupied the attention of the mill owners increasingly. Their progress was impeded by many factors such as prolonged labour troubles, mills failing at Bombay and other places and no advances taken for introducing new machinery. Also, though competition was rampant between the mills and the handloom sector, the Indian mills never resented the *khadi* propaganda. This was because it created an anti- foreign cloth atmosphere enabling the mills to sell their comparatively coarse count cloth. Indian mill cloth could not stand foreign competition

by itself so, *khadi* became an invaluable ally, especially after the First World War.

N.G. Ranga's accounts of the expanding handloom industry during the late twenties, which Thirthankar Roy calls "Urbanization" and Gujjula Rajiah's study on the structure of manufacturing force in the coastal Andhra districts statistically prove the hypotheses that this industry never lost its foothold from the Indian economy and when compared to the south and central Andhra the coast was more economically progressive in its weaving patterns. Here the weavers survived not by making the same product but by diversifying into different kinds of looms. Also, over a period of time, i.e., by 1900, permanent markets and town capitalists replaced carrier trade and the result was a separation of trade and production within the village. The country was now a location of production alone, dependent for sale of its product on the town which emerged as concentrations of production, as well as trade and processing. Another impetus to the handloom industry was the tremendous impact that Gandhi had upon the weavers about the immediate necessity of reviving village industries and crafts.

The third chapter elaborately explores the linkages between *Swadeshi*, Gandhian ideology and the impact of the changing economic conditions on the handloom weaver. *Swadeshi*, as envisaged by Gandhi to become a major weapon in his anti colonial strategies had both political and economic dimensions. The genesis of *Swadeshi*, its definition, growth and economic aspect before 1905, was reviewed in detail to specifically understand its transformed role under Gandhian initiative after the 1920s.

For a careful analysis of facts and assessment of Gandhi as an economist it was necessary to ascertain the impact of earlier

economic thinkers on his mind. The period between 1857 and 1919 provided the background to the Gandhian economic thought and the origin of many of his well known economic ideas like *Swadeshi*, prohibition, village development, etc. This period was a fascinating one, with new ideas and anticipation of ever fresh possibilities - the period of the separatist upheaval, the Theosophical movement, the socialist and anarchist propaganda and the onset of new discoveries - all bringing about a dissolution of a number of theories which were hitherto regarded as the immutable laws of nature.

It was in this world of widening horizons that Gandhi found himself during the formative period of his life in the 1880's. There were decisive changes in Gandhi's political outlook during 1905-06. It was as a result of these changes that nationalist feelings and aspirations became the focal point of Gandhi's political outlook and he evolved his own theory of Indian nationalism. He keenly observed the nationalist movements of China, Persia and Egypt. He was particularly influenced by Mazzini's "duties of man". What appealed to Gandhi most was that according to Mazzini's teaching "every man must learn how to rule himself. *Swaraj* means self rule. Later on, Gandhi's experiments reflected these thoughts concretely. His movement for the rejuvenation of Indian villages and her dying handicrafts and the principle of *ahimsa* symbolised vegetarianism and the revival of the spinning wheel respectively.

The positive constructive core of *Swadeshi* for Gandhi meant employment of the masses through a deliberate regulation of consumption and production techniques in the national interest. According to Gandhi, *khadi* provided everyone with a chance to contribute to his own self welfare and survival and reduced dependency on others. What was important about *khadi* was not its

specific activity but its functional or metaphorical value. Which meant that, Gandhi's use of spinning introduced some measure of autonomy and reduced dependency.

Thus one observes that Gandhi's decentralised economy aims at nothing less than freeing the countryside from the domination of urban industry, urban finance and urban political control. Though it developed slowly in various stages, the constructive programme on *khadi* by Gandhi was indeed Gandhi's stroke of genius. Also an attempt throughout has been made to study the *Swadeshi* movement of Gandhi and his working in two phases; one the ideological phase and the other the practical and economical one. His mass appeal that was created can be understood if this working of *Swadeshi* is understood in this unique pattern under the guidance of the Gandhian ideology.

Attempts have been made in the earlier chapters to discuss whether handlooms were to be looked upon as a consumer good or as an ideology during the period under study. It was demonstrated that *khadi* as an ideology was a panacea to all the evils existing in the upper strata of society. The businessmen for example, found Gandhi giving them a justification and rationale for their merchant capital. Whereas to the middle or lower middle class the use of *khaddar* was an immediate and viable economic proposition. This could be seen increasingly among the people of Andhra where the agriculturists of the ceded districts preferred to clothe themselves in rough coarse garments which was easily available to them as it was made of the cotton grown in their fields and the northern Circars were largely influenced by Gandhian ideology of *khaddar* wearing. By bringing out a comparison between the cow and *khaddar* and agriculture and *khaddar*, he sought to give the whole movement a rural touch.

However on a broader level the *charkha* movement could be seen more as a "desire to starve the foreign exporter than as an zeal for natural regeneration."³ What is significant to note is the intricate details of the ways in which Gandhi was able to forge political linkages on a local and regional level. In the earlier years of Gandhian ideology Non Co-operation had undoubtedly been a success in Andhra, but Gandhi's specific programme of *khaddar* and harijan upliftment etc. had gained only mediocre response. In the later years the new arbitration centres and new schools flourished best in the Andhra deltas which were stirred up for essentially local reasons for being also patronised by the local rich merchants. The local magnates joined the Congress because it was seen as an independent source of power.

The educated were also dissatisfied with the British paramountcy, European hegemony and their inability in finding suitable jobs. The lower strata, though many were unemployed, threw their lot with the Civil Disobedience movement, risking their jobs in the bargain. The partly educated from schools coming from the lower middle class took an active role in being linkages between the rural artisan (who did not know the disposal aspects of *khadi* and yarn banks) and the towns.

A very significant role in the national movement was played by the industrialists like Birla' and Tata. The association of the Birla's with the movement, lasting for thirty two years had developed into a deep religious commitment towards Gandhian ideals. G.D. Birla was successful in persuading other businessmen to at least show their appreciation of the *Swadeshi* movement by financing it secretly. The details discussed in the third chapter

³Sacrificial Spinning in Andhra, Shankerlal Banker's letter to M. K. Gandhi, cited in the *Harijan*, 7 Sept. 1939, p. 262.

attempted to prove the point that, though handspun yarn turned out by the mill worker in his spare time was of poor quality, worked at primitive means (pure *khaddar* being more expensive), the mill labourer still whole heartedly supported the movement. As such it could be seen that the it was the sentiment that counted more than the subsidiary income that it added.

The fourth chapter analysed the specific policies of the colonial state on handloom industry, technology and other related aspects. The inter-war convinced the *raj* that some sort of guided industrialization was needed to be given to the handloom industry, being the most flourishing of all the other cottage industries of India. Several attempts were made by the Government to form Co-operative societies and to revive it. This was done partly due to the insistence of public opinion during the early *Swadeshi* movement of 1905, partly due to the serious political conditions created by the world wars and the economic depression and partly due to the increasing competition of the mill industry which threatened to eliminate the handloom sector.

However what is observed is that even by the mid- thirties the percentage of weavers in the Co-operative societies was small. Even where a Co-operative resulted in perceptible rise in earnings the prospects were not attractive enough for a small producer for whom security of employment was what mattered. Again, in certain societies as mentioned earlier members were either very poor or unskilled to take any responsibility of the production aspects or to adapt to new technology. As a consequence, the interference of large producers and traders was inevitable. Those of whom who came forward to take the responsibility of the production and supply side were the middle men whose private interests collided with the well being of the weavers' Society.

The Co-operative movement run on Government initiative hence differed from the *khaddar* revolution that the All India Spinners' Association and All India Village Industries' Association, brought about. The AISA took personal interest in its workers and their way of living. They paved a way for a better life for example, the slow disappearance of drink followed by more thrift habits of life. Thus it is significant to observe that the *charkha* and the propaganda, received socially beneficial results in addition to the immediate economic one. Increasingly, it was noticed that the social horizon of the weavers had also been widened. They had a greater consciousness of what was going on now in non-local Indian society and how external war and economic depression affected them and what part they were playing in encouraging this "livery of freedom".

An added impetus was given in the late thirties when Andhra resounded with the themes of *Swadeshi*, picketing and boycott not only in formal pamphlets but also on local vernacular pamphlets, papers, *jatras*, dramas and patriotic songs. The Telugu press though lacking in originality and blindly aping the English press in the earlier years of its inception quickly adapted itself to highlighting Andhra's inherent culture and successfully drew the fount of pride from the formerly unresponsive masses. The research programme undertaken by Gandhi towards *samagra seva* in agriculture, *khadi* work, basic education, *harijan* relief, cow protection and other village industrial crafts on a barter exchange, all was in the hope of a balanced view of making it a self sufficient unit.

All this had its toll by the late forties. In its last phase of handloom organisation the movement gained a fresh lease of life. The primary and ultimate impact on the whole weaver community

was when the weaver was made the central figure of all development planning for the construction of an independent India. The improvement in technology, introduction of new implements, an adequate living wage scheme, financial relief centres, yarn banks and grant for the cultivation of cotton tremendously boosted the morale and economic position of the Andhra weaver. Speaking of the role of the AISA it was criticised that Gandhi's disciples took to fanatic self sufficiency in providing cloth and this was taken to an extreme degree. The weaver did not need the cloth but the spinning wages that bought him his daily meal. On the other hand factory mill weaving failed because they did not tackle the weavers as a person but only as a machine in the handloom Co-operative society. It was not expensive to produce the *khadi* cloth. But it was expensive to buy it, compared to the mill cloth. Therefore the rural poor adapted to Gandhian techniques of spinning and weaving but ultimately bought mill cloth as it was cheaper in price.

Thus, to sum up, the economic transition that wrought was a complex interplay of economic as well as political forces at large. The depression reinforced the idea that *Khadi* should be made to find its market as much as possible near its place of production. It was realized that the one effective way of cheapening consumption as well as the cost of production was to decentralise both and reduce all the intermediate chargers between production and consumption. The Second World War witnessed a great fillip given to the over all shortage that the handloom sector faced. The introduction of a controlled distribution of yarn to the actual weaver and the rapid spread of the Co-operative movement added to the *Swadeshi* movement and brought the Andhra weavers

in a better position, the trend not being to get out of the clutches of the master craftsmen and the intermediate *dallals* and sowcars.

This overall shortage for cloth could be done away with if according to Gandhian ideology two conditions were scrupulously followed. First, the Central and Provincial Governments should adopt the policy of encouraging spinning and weaving in every village and province and on an all India basis weavers should put forth extra efforts to popularise *khadi*. Second, when the Government of India adopts this policy of promoting the cause of handloom sector the control over cloth would automatically go. Meanwhile, cloth should be decontrolled in the interests of the poor.

The specific role of the British government in economic activity in India with particular reference to Andhra was questioned. It is concluded that the attitude of the British Government in India was to actively participate in almost all spheres of economic life. However, the absence of encouragement to indigenous industrialisation and diversification from the relatively narrow economic base provided by concentration on export commodities was a feature, commonly alleged to have been characteristic of colonial economies. Knowing well the intricate working of the colonial rule, one can safely conclude that under external and internal pressures alone did the imperial Government take a stand in promoting economic growth and it was not as an altruistic or philanthropic gesture with the well being of Indians at heart. Thus one learns that the British colonial domination showed contradictory consequences of ruining as well as preserving the lower forms of industry.

Therefore to conclude, by the end of this study, i.e., by the 1950's mainly three aims were realized. First, an organised

system of services had percolated to the artisans with banking, cheaper working capital and marketing of cloth which now became far more institutionalised. Second, with Andhra handlooms being financed by Central banks and having a rapidly growing export sector, this industry standardised and adapted to time saving implements and technology. Third, the handloom market and the institution *per se* came to be protected by means of reservation in mainly the coloured cloths and borders, mixed and coarse cloths by a subsidiary on certain cloths by different excise duties on mills and handloom as explored in the earlier chapter.

In this study the attempt has been to explore the complex inter connections between Gandhian ideology, the national movement, the weaver community and the Indian capitalist class all responding to the policies of the colonial Government. In this exploration there has been an inevitable and necessary emphasis on Gandhi's role. This raises some fundamental questions regarding the charisma and historical role of the individual. 'Charisma' as defined by Max Weber is, "a certain quality of an individual personality by which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least exceptional powers or qualities".⁴

Nevertheless, what this investigation has shown is that Gandhian ideology and his 'charisma' struck resonant chords in various elements of the Andhra handloom economy, solely because of the socio- economic conditions. That is, the cult of *Swadeshi* manifesting itself in the economic, social and cultural planes shaped the lives of Andhra weaver not as a consequence of an individual's power to make history but due to the result of the

⁴Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, London, 1947, p. 359, cited in T.K. Oomen, *Charisma, Stability and Change*, New Delhi, 1982.

conjecture of larger impersonal historical forces. This study therefore suggested, that assumptions associated with cloth in Indian context could be analysed at more than one level. In the modern period Gandhi's *Swadeshi* ideology of cloth spinning fulfilled more than one function in the political economy of the country.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Place	Cotton weavers	Particulars of work skill
Kistna district		Weavers - coloured dhoties and hand kerchiefs for Mohamedans similar to those of Chirala and Vetapalam
Ayyananole		
Addipalle	100	
Bhattiprolu	100	Weavers - coloured <i>dhoties</i> for mohamedans of deep red colour with a white stripe on each border. Hand-kerchiefs with checked patterns for the same.
Chirala		
Vetapalam		
Guntur	100	Weavers - coarse white cloths 10 families- tan & dye leather for book binding etc., A few ordinary gold and brass smiths.
Idugallapalli	40	
Kappa ladoddi	50	Ordinary native cloth ten families at Idugallapalli seven at Kappaladoddi and five at Mallavolu weave cloths for European wear.
Mallavolu	30	
Jaggayapeta	71	Cotton weavers - Ordinary white cloth. 31 families.s of silk weavers, fine silk cloths and <i>cholics</i> . Also 17 families wearing coarser clothes of tasar silks, 17 families.s of cotton printers, inferior work in women cloth borders to white cloths etc.,
Kondapally	80	Weavers - Plain white cloths handkerchiefs about 20, printing and decorating bed-sheets etc.,
Mancherla	49	Weavers - a few families make stout cotton cloth in narrow lengths which are sewn together to serve as screens or to make a superior kind of bag.
Masulipatnam	84	Weavers - white checked cloth. For females ordinary white cloth 145 families of palampore printers. 3 families make hand-painted screen cloths or canopies on order.
		18 families of carpet weavers.
Mylavaram	25	Wearing common white cloths (100 - brass smiths)
Narsaraopet	24	Coarse cloth of country thread.
Pedana	400	
Polavaram	120	Weavers - coloured <i>dhoties</i> for mohamedans and women's cloth common stripped or with checked patterns. 3 families at Pedana, 10 families at Polavaram weave table cloths by cotton cloths for European wear.
Razapet	106	Weavers - coloured <i>dhoties</i> and hand- kerchiefs which are similar to Chirala and Vetapalem.
Tenali	220	
		Weavers - ordinary white cloths
Kepalle	80	

Place	Number of Families	Other particulars of skills	233
<u>Godavari district</u>			
Cocanada	28	Weavers - Ordinary white cloths 35 houses with palampore printers making common block printed palampores and inferior hand painted canopies with mythological figure subjects. (48 gold smiths)	
Jangannadapuram Ellore	700	Weavers - of fine white cloth with silver brocade and common cloths. 25 houses of carpet weaving employing about 100 weavers.	
Narasapur	100	Weaving fine and inferior white cloths and inferior coloured cloths.	
Pallokolu	100	(save as above) and 15 houses of Palempore printers, generally coloured women's cloths, turbans and canopies etc.,	
Peddapuram	260	Weavers - Common white cloths one silk weaver making a kind of silk gauze or muslin worn by the wealthy on ceremonies, ends wear brocaded.	
Rajahmundry	97	Coarse white cloths (700 brass smiths)	
Tuni	300	Weavers - about 500 fly.s wearing fine white cloths, a few muslin cloth of silk weavers cotton and the rest common white cloth.	
Uppada	200	Weavers - mostly fine white muslin cloth and silk borders -silk weavers cotton about 50 fly.s of weavers near and at Uppada spin silk weavers' cotton.	
<u>Vizagapatnam</u>			
Allipore	50	Coloured women's clothes similar to those of Rajam, coloured turbans white cloth's both fine and inferior, and similar cotton cloths	
Anakapalle	110	White clothes both fine and inferior. A few families use "Silk weavers' cotton"	
Bobbili	175	Weavers - White cloths mostly inferior.	
Boddam	25	White cloth, a few looms weaving fine silk weavers cotton.	
Nakkapilli	60	Wearing of white cloth.	
Pandur	400	Fine white cloths with similar lace and embroidered (mixed silk and cotton), inferior cloths, fine muslin cloths of "silk weavers cotton" (about 50 families) and a hundred families spinning it also.	

Parvatipur	40	Weavers - inferior cloths (75 brass smiths)
Rajam	800	Weaving fine coloured cloths with wide embroidered borders some times with silver lace, white cloths of the same description
Siripuram	40	White cloths - A few looms weaving fine cloths of "Silk wearers cotton"
Srungavarapukota	50	Weaving of white common cloth
Vizagapatnam	300	
Vizinagaram	100	

Nellore*taluk*

Village

Nellore		
Udayagiri	Kovur	Weaving of fine shirting pockets, hand-kerchiefs
Kandukur	Yapallegunta	and exceedingly fine muslin cloth for ladies' dresses and fine cloth
Gundur	Kandukur	
Rapur	Rettapalli and Mudunanir	

O. No. 695, Department of Revenue, Government of Madras, Madras, 11 Aug. 1886.

Appendix B

Vizagapatnam District:

Area: 8,482 Sq. miles

Population : 3,444,122

Percentage occupied in industry- 6.3%

Percentage occupied in agriculture-27.9%

Handspinning:

Srungavarapukota, Gajapatinagaram, Viravalli, and Golugonda *taluks*, Ponduru, Siripuram, Bonthalakoduru, Allinagaram, Suravaram, and Tamada villages.

Handloom weaving:

Chipurupalli, Palakonda and Sarvasiddi *taluk*.

Mill yarn weaving:

Ponduru and Cliipurupalli *taluk*, Nakkapalli, Payakaraopeta, and Gudicherla in Sarvasiddi *taluk*, Jami in Srungavarapukota *taluk* in Vizinagaram, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, and Anakkapalle, of which Ponduru, Rajam, Boddam, Payakaraopeta and Nakkapalli were the principal centres.

Last Godavari district:

Area: 6,220sq miles

Population : 1,920,582

Percentage of people occupied in industry- 6.2%

-----"-----in agriculture -23.2%

Perennial cotton spinning and weaving in Pandalapaka

Handspinning:

Tuni, Somavaram and Vadigaleru

Handloom weaving :

Bandaralanka in Amalapur *taluk*, Uppada Nagalapalli, Dulla in Pittapur *taluk*, Vijaram in Kakinada *taluk*, Mori and Jaggannapeta in Razole *taluk*, Mandapeta in Ramachandrapur *taluk* and Rajahmundry, Peddapur, Muramada, Katheru, Raghudevapuram, Tatiparti, Pullietikurru

West Godavari district:

Area: 2,361 Sq. miles

Population: 1,233,056

Percentage of population occupied in industry-6.5%

_____ ".....in agriculture- 31.7%

Hand spinning : Niddavolu

Hand weaving: Coarse cloth of handspun yarn, Bhimavaram.

Cloth from mill yarn: Ellore and Sanivarapeta in Ellore *taluk*, Konala and Unguturu in Tadepalligudem *taluk* Bhimavaram and Vempadu in Bhimavaram *taluk*, Palakolu, Daggalur, Bhageshwar and Narsapur in Narsapur *taluk* Velpuru, Undrajavam, and Tirupatipuram in Tanuku *taluk* and Niddadavolu in Niddadavolu *taluk*.

Kistna District:

Area: 3,547 sq. miles

Population: 1,254,208

Percentage employed in industry-7.1%

Population....." agriculture-27.5%

Hand spinning :

Nandigama Tiruvur division and Bezawada *taluk*, Gantasala, Purtigada, Angaluru Kurumaddali and Masulipatnam.

Handloom weaving:

Coarse cloth of country spun yarn-Nandigama and Bezawada *taluks* and Tiruvur division, Bandar and Divi *taluks*.

Cloth from mill yarn:Masulipatnam, Pedana, Rayavaram, Malavolu Polavaram, Idugullapalli and Kappaladoddi in Bandar *taluk*, Chellapalli and Ghantasala in Divi *taluk*, Vinjaram in Kaikalur *taluk*, Uppuluru and Kondapalli in Bezawada *taluk*, Vissannapeta, Tataguntala and Chinnampeta in Tiruvur division, Chinaogirala, and Vedurupavulur in Gannavaram *taluk* and Jaggayyapeta and Shermahamedapeta in Nandigama *taluk*, Salem palem, Singaluru Ramannapetta, Musthabada, Nagaya lanka.

Guntur District:

Area: 5,757 sq. miles

Population: 2,035,660

Percentage employed in industry-7.2%

_____ "_____agriculture: 28.5%

Hand spinning:

Nandendla and Sattenapalli in Palnad and Narsaraopeta *taluks*

Handloom weaving:

Mangalgiri in Guntur *taluk*, Phirangipuram and Sattenapalli in Sattenapalli *taluk*, Ipurupalem, Chirala, Perala, Vetapalem and

I'andillapalli in Bapatla *taluk*, Repalli, Peturu, Arumbaka, Bhattiprolu, Addepnlli and Ilavaram in Repalli *taluk*.

Handspinning:

Kandukuru, Kannigiri, Udayagiri, Rapur, Kavali *taluks*, Poddili and Darisi divisions.

Handloom weaving:

White cloths in fine counts (100s to 200s), Buchireddypalem, Yellapalayam, Kovvur *taluks* and Venkatgiri.

Compiled from the *Census reports* (1901-1931) and D.Narayana Rao, *Preliminary Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries*, Madras, 1931.

Appendix C

Cotton yarn consumed and cloth produced (All India)

Year	Cotton yarn consumed in mills	cotton yarn production in mills	yarn available to Handloom	cloth produced on handlooms
1900-01	88	420.6	161.6	646.4
1901-02	106	506.7	206.8	827.2
1902-03	109	521	226.2	904.8
1903-04	121	578.4	206.7	826.8
1904-05	139	664.4	234.3	937.2
1905-06	145	693.1	258.3	1,033.80
1906-07	147	702.7	275.4	1,101.60
1907-08	168	803	262.6	1,050.40
1908-09	171	817.4	266.5	1,066.10
1909-10	204	975.1	211.4	845.6
1910-11	218	1,042.00	217	868
1911-12	238	1,137.60	248.7	994.8
1912-13	254	1,214.10	235.7	942.8
1913-14	245	1,171.10	254.7	1,018.80
1914-15	246	1,175.90	272	1,088
1915-16	313	1,496.10	236.2	944.8
1916-17	336	606.1	149.4	597.6
1917-18	338	1,615.60	185.3	741.2
1918-19	310	1,481.80	223.5	894
1919-20	341	1,630.00	126.5	506
1920-21	327	1,563.10	232.8	931.2
1921-22	359	1,716.00	234.5	938
1922-23	360	1,720.80	271	1,084
1923-24	355	1,696.90	204.2	816.8
1924-25	405	1,935.90	252.7	1010.8
1925-26	411	1,964.60	221	888.4
1926-27	474	2,265.70	304.2	1,216.80
1927-28	496	2,370.90	302.7	1,210.80
1928-29	389	1,859.4	243.3	973.2
1929-30	493	2,356.50	320.6	1,282.40
1930-31	515	480.8	314.3	1,257.20
1931-32	601	2,872.80	333.1	1,332.40
1932-33	624	2,982.70	379.8	1,519.20
1933-34	579	3,767.60	315.5	1,262
1934-35	656	3,135.70	313.9	1,255.60
1935-36	678	3,240.80	362.6	1,450.40
1936-37	695	3,322.10	316.3	1,265.20
1937-38	766	3,661.50	323.3	1,293.20
1938-39	817	3,905.30	425.8	1,703.20

The conversion of yarn into cloth has been made on the basis of the old ratio i.e., 1 lb = 4 yards of cloth in the case of hand looms and 1 lb. = 4.78 yards of cloth in case of mills. See, *Report of the 1st Finding Committee (Mills and Handlooms)*, Ministry of Commerce, Delhi, 1942, pp. 55-56.

Appendix D

Songs of Garimella Satyanarayana: A nationalist Poet (1892-1952)

He killed the friendship
 Created hunger for money
 asks us not to sing a song
 with tyrannical rules,
 he squeezed our families
 broke the *mangalsutras*
 and asked us to die of hunger....
 The only fault we have committed
 is the *raatnam* (according to him)
 He behaves as if it is his grandfather's property
 He attacks this country.....

Where did you hide oh beautiful damsel, *raatnam*
 where did you keep (lock up) your beautiful voice,
 you look elegant in the hands of beautiful woman
 we praise you not only the rich but also by the poor people
 we welcome you with our hearts and promise not to leave you
 that is our vow.
 you came laughingly to our house
 I will shower you within flowers but will not let you go
 we like your face that gives us light,
 take our salutations
 Like whispering winds we hear your voice
 Our motherland needs your art for satisfaction
 you come and take away the imported goods
 we will leave our pretensions
 we the rich and poor respect you, the spell of foreign is gone now
 We do the *prayishitch* and give our prayers to you

Song III:

Conversations between a woman and Raatnam:

Woman: Where were you all these days?

Raatnam: "we are here without any clothing

Raatnam: Why did you not call me--- I would have come

Woman: You left us and were not seen for long time

Raatnam: You started after wearing mill cloth and how could I come to you; You forgot us after wearing mill cloth

Woman: If you were not around our houses got destroyed

Raatnam: Why did you not wreck your houses and use it as fire wood (sarcastically)

Woman: It is our sad state that had brought us and this end-oh mother oh mother—

Raatnam: Let us break this fate and please do not abuse me for being harsh

Song IV:

English cloth

Leave the English cloth and be happy

Do not go on increasing, but get wise

1. Get the wealth of the Empire and come with grit and confidence
revere the motherland and perform the poojas

2. Use the wooden *raatnam* and do away with famines

3. Do not get bogged down by saying it is not enough

Be happy with one cloth

4. Let not the country's wealth go out but have a foresight

Do not get carried away by exteriors of foreign fashions

This is the indication and for our unity

It makes us come out of our *maya*

Khilafat and Punjab wrongs have done no good

You have become slaves to the English cloth and we became blind •

Mahatma Gandhi's cloth is the symbol to us

We follow you the great leader and by not using the English cloth remain pure forever.

Song V: (song)

English cloth:

Do not wear English cloth oh my dear son

Do not wear English cloth oh my dear son

By wearing English cloth

You forgot totally my name -oh my dear son

You threw the *Raatnam* into store

you burnt the beautiful art

In the false passion for neck ties and knickers

Do not leave your own style -oh my dear son

Do not leave life for freedom,

for artificial things that are foreign -oh my dear son

Why are you ~~a~~ **fascinated** by the **slavery**—look at the beautiful face of *moksha* oh my dear son

Open your eyes with the abandon and watch the skies ,

thy spirit of freedom and listen to the song oh my dear son

Leave the English cloth and get *mukti* to *swadeshi* oh my dear son-

oh my foolish dear son

leave your foolish attires, do not blink sheepishly-stand straight oh my dear son

Foreign cloth(song)

Leave the foreign cloth-work for *swadeshi*

To come out of your slavery-leave the foreign cloth

When this foreign thread entered our land--our slavery has started

This English has conquered us with the wool

Leave this cloth which is the cause of our slavery

The logic of the English that there is no surplus of *swadeshi*- do not believe it

Whatever you have is enough to help the mother land.

The wheel of *swarajya*--the wheel of independence—

the *mutants* , make thread out of it.

Ask you wife and children -brothers and sisters —

Make it for food and clothing -do it **independently--rattans**

The educated, the intellectuals are behind you

Song VIII:

Raal limit: (song)

Great people have not opened their second eye (due to which) the foreign cloth had come to this land

Guillotine it with the only weapon we have--*raatams*, the only *sudarshan chakra*

All the people arise, wake up and realize the harvest which is going out--use it our motherland--take up to the rattans--whatever it makes whether good or bad

But the one which makes you independent and get you out of hunger —spin the cloth-it will solve the problems of the stomach men and women and children --all poor will live independently henceforth

Save the *saadhana* and grace

Burn the foreign cloth

Make beautiful cloths with *raatnam's* thread

The wheel of *swarajya* and help it to reach the goal.

Poems compiled from: Parakala Pattabhi Rama Rao (ed.), *The Songs of Garimella* Hyderabad, 1992.

N. Subba Reddy, *Nationalist Writing in Telugu*, Sri Venkateshwara University, Tirupati, 1982.

Challa Radhakrishna Sharma, *Garimella's Literature*, Published Kendra Sahitya Academy, Madras, 1989, (Translated from Telugu).

APPENDIX L

ప్రతిపాదనల పుస్తకం కి గాన ఆయాలు ౧౦ వ తరగతి 11

ప్రధానాంశములను మరచక

ప్రతిపాదనల పుస్తకం కి గాన ఆయాలు ౧౦ వ తరగతి 11

ప్రతిపాదనల పుస్తకం కి గాన ఆయాలు ౧౦ వ తరగతి 11

ప్రతిపాదనల పుస్తకం కి గాన ఆయాలు ౧౦ వ తరగతి 11



సంకాంతికీక్రొత్తబట్టలు

విదేశీగుడ్లను పూర్తిగా బహిష్కరింపుడు

ఖరదు మంచి న్యామైవట్టలు దొరకుచున్నవి

దీనిని పన్ను మోక్షము చేయవలెను. పన్ను మోక్షములకు కట్టాని యిటుల పన్ను మోక్షముకొరకు కట్టాని

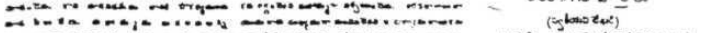
కన్న బహిష్కారము: నిలువబడను గాని విదేశీబట్టల బహిష్కారము

బహిష్కారము నిలువబడదు

విదేశీబట్టలను బహిష్కరించుటకు కట్టాని యిటుల పన్ను మోక్షముకొరకు కట్టాని

విదేశీగుడ్లల విదమంది - పదవిబట్టల కప్పండి - కాగ్గము చేతను వట్టండి - మొదలు పాపాలు

చపకండి - కాంగ్రెసులోను చేరండి - నెంకు చెయవలె గణాల నూలు చుంచండి.



విదేశీగుడ్లల విదమంది - పదవిబట్టల కప్పండి - కాగ్గము చేతను వట్టండి - మొదలు పాపాలు

విదేశీగుడ్లల విదమంది - పదవిబట్టల కప్పండి - కాగ్గము చేతను వట్టండి - మొదలు పాపాలు

విదేశీగుడ్లల విదమంది - పదవిబట్టల కప్పండి - కాగ్గము చేతను వట్టండి - మొదలు పాపాలు

Example for Andhra Patrika's Publicity for Khaddar.

Appendix F

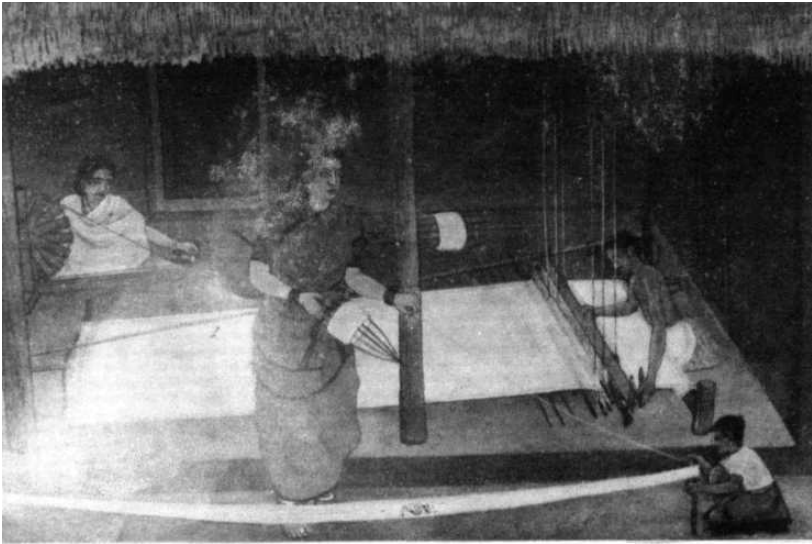


తత్పరత

చిత్రకారుడు : శ్రీ ఎన్. వెంకటాచార్యులు



"Old woman on wheel" (Charkha) Kura Satyanarayana



"Spinning and Weaving"-Carraoa Malakoh



"Noolavadukutam"-S. Eshwariah



"Raatnam Sandesham" - W.A. Arya Dasu



"Noolathiyutam"-Bucchi Krishnamma

Appendix -I

A list of the Provincial Co-operative Society Limited), Weavers' Societies operating in coastal Andhra as on 5.11.1938:

Vizagapatnam district:

Bobbili weavers' co-operative society

Rajam

Narsannapeta "

Vizinagaram

East Godavari district:

Bandaralanka

Katheru

Mori

Muaramanda

West Godavari

Ellore

Kovvur

Velpur

Narsapur

Kistna District:

Peddana

Singalora

Peddalumidi

Guntur:

Addepalle

Chimakurti

Guntur

Ipurapalem

Isukapalli

Mangalagiri

Nidubrolu

Ponnu

Vetapalem

Peturu

Peddapur

Pulleticurru

Raghudevapuram

Uppada

Nellore:

Kandukur

Venkatagiri

Buchireddypalem

Yellapalem

Stonehousepet

Sullurpet

The Third Annual Report of the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society Limited, 1937-38, Vol. X, No. 84, Madras 1938, pp. 18-20.

Appendix J

A Report by a Joint Committee of the handloom and mill industry was appointed in 1949, consisting of Mr. Dharamsy, Mulraj Khatau, Mr. N. I. Luthersingh, Mr. Lihnrnthm, Mr. J. R. Marshall, Mr. M. Somappa, Mr. Sukumar Dutt, Prof. M. P. Gandhi etc. to advise the textile commissioner in the matter and submitted a few recommendations to protect the handloom industry from the increasing competition from the mill industry.

(i) *Sarees*: Mills should not weave *sarees* with borders exceeding 2 in width nor use *zari* or gold coloured art silk yarn in the saree borders. They should also not use coloured yarn in the body of *sarees* thus receiving all coloured striped and check *sarees*.

(ii) *Dhoties*: Mills should not weave *dhoties* with borders exceeding 1/4" in width nor should they use *zari* or *muqa* or art silk yarn in *dhoties* borders.

(iii) *Langies* and *Ganchas*: Mills should not weave *langies*, *Serongs* or *ganchas* with check patterns.

(iv) *Chuddars* and Bed sheets: Mills should not weave checked or striped *chuddars*. They should not also weave bed sheets with borders lengthwise or they may weave bed sheets with headings only.

(v) Gauze, bandage and jaconet cloth: Reserve all gauze cloth, bandage cloth and jaconet cloth for handloom industry.

(vi) Furnishing fabrics:

(a) Table cloth and napkins: Mills may produce damask bleaching qualities of table cloth and napkins but the other varieties should be reserved for handloom industry.

(b) Bed covers and counterpanes: Reservations on all bed covers for handloom industry. Mills should weave counterpanes only with jacquard designs.

(c) Tapestry: Mills should not expand their production of tapestry cloth but restrict the quantities to their present production.

(d) Dusters: Reservations of all dusters for handloom industry.

(e) Towels: Reservation of honeycomb towels for handloom industry.

(f) Coarse cloth for plain weave: Mills should not manufacture cloth of plain weave with warp and weft counts less than 10s. Groups I and II in the ex-factory price schedule for cloth issued by the textile commissioner should be dropped thus giving a chance to handloom woven cloth made from handspun yarn to find a market. It was also added by the Joint Committee, that the above reservations should apply only to cloth manufactured for consumption within the Indian union and for export of cloth for outside the country, the mills should be free to manufacture any variety

Report of the Handloom Weaving Industry, Annual 1949, Madras, 1950, subject-vide p. 66.

APPENDIX (Contd.)

Serial number.	Name of the Weavers Society.	Number of mem- bers.	OWNED CAPITAL				INVESTMENTS MADE				AMOUNT SANCTIONED BY				BORROWINGS FROM				BORROWINGS REPAYED TO				AMOUNTS DUE ON 30-6-1941 TO				Gross profit earned.	Net Profit+ or Net Loss.
			Paid up Share Capital.	Reserve Fund.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Reserve Fund.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Reserve Fund.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.	Share Capital.		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)		
	Brought forward ...	7346	64,735	16,707	9,320	5,961	6,114	1,35,350	7,900	97,673	44,423	85,310	52,275	1,81,966	1,60,381	46,086	66,755	37,387	66,755	20,232	1,24,934	2,06,376	+ 39,223	+ 15,212	- 15,052			
	Madura District.																											
101	Madura*	273	3,850	537	309	752	537	17,500	15,000	14,387	935	14,387	935	15,322	12,054	418	11,554	31	1,500	1,500	17,771	5,665	+ 1,332					
102	Vadugapattai	91	577	37	50	86	53	500	3,150	2,732	...	2,732	...	2,732	1,671	...	2,964	...	...	...	2,995	757	+ 250		
103	Chinnalappattai	155	872	47	50	150	55	1,000	7,000	8,552	100	8,552	100	9,102	4,628	...	6,353	...	100	...	7,584	1,391	+ 239					
104	Ayakudi	32	315	...	50	20	...	1,000	1,500	1,500	...	1,500	...	1,500	...	...	1,472	...	...	...	1,787	139	+ 73	
	Nellore District.																											
105	Kandukur*	15	205	...	50	...	...	500	1,500	1,416	3	1,416	3	2,849	512	...	1,293	...	...	...	205	177	- 283	
106	Venkateswari	69	500	47	85	10	105	1,000	1,000	874	65	6,226	65	7,175	6,302	80	5,985	257	1,352	...	2,841	285	+ 305					
107	Buchireddipalem	49	465	105	60	10	105	1,000	1,500	874	65	6,226	65	7,175	6,302	80	5,985	257	1,352	...	2,841	285	+ 305					
108	Yellayapalem	45	740	69	150	10	35	1,000	2,000	2,311	1,494	1,883	1,494	3,368	1,349	1,349	1,883	1,349	1,349	...	2,336	873	+ 299					
109	Stonohousepet*	53	645	127	50	10	127	2,000	2,000	616	300	1,090	300	2,021	1,823	109	1,823	370	1,823	...	2,037	239	+ 133					
110	Suloorpet*	62	1,208	580	50	100	316	2,000	4,205	500	300	1,483	300	2,021	1,823	109	1,823	370	1,823	...	2,341	239	+ 133					
111	Kovvur	64	365	32	50	10	32	1,000	1,000	1,013	385	1,013	385	1,918	1,026	1,026	1,013	1,013	...	1,722	125	+ 33						
112	Talamanchi*	59	560	52	50	10	52	1,000	1,000	305	880	1,377	880	2,067	1,377	689	1,377	433	...	1,611	456	+ 27						
113	Maipad	53	375	3	50	10	3	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	1,358	590	...	...	...	...	...	1,771	215	+ 215	
114	Chennar	53	104	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,358	590	...	...	...	...	...	1,452	533	+ 31	
115	Abganipad*	75	715	...	50	10	...	2,000	1,000	...	800	1,530	...	2,350	730	...	...	...	...	...	2,735	636	+ 553	
	North Arcot District.																											
116	Devikapuram*	24	175	4	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	655	...	- 9	
117	Takkolam	69	452	11	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	646	...	- 4	
118	Palkonda*	52	482	133	150	30	72	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	147	...	- 184	
119	Munnal	48	215	143	150	30	138	2,000	600	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	756	...	- 31	
120	Guruvairapet	67	311	71	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,153	152	- 31	
121	Gudiyatham*	35	210	6	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,369	260	+ 113	
122	Sahavachari	55	210	6	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,625	172	+ 75	
123	Sathapet*	44	390	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,002	172	+ 75	
124	Sholingur*	44	390	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,995	63	- 63	
125	Kasra*	42	280	19	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	814	...	- 63	
126	Meisakathur	34	285	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	500	785	+ 122	
127	Kandadi	32	175	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	770	946	+ 140	
128	Mansurabad	53	500	48	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	378	+ 207	
129	Kumungumpundi	50	265	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,085	126	+ 110	
130	Mullipattu*	36	215	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	701	916	+ 127	
131	Kilakongalur	46	555	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	400	955	+ 46	
	Raman District.																											
132	Aruppukottai*	134	746	139	200	120	...	2,500	3,000	...	5,075	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,037	778	+ 146	
133	Pattinamkudi	96	533	20	60	40	...	700	2,100	...	4,014	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,325	16	- 146	
134	Pullampatti	53	2,897	343	50	40	...	3,000	20,000	...	7,023	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,382	1,436	+ 1,307	
	Carried over ...	9504	86,338	12,345	12,165	7,403	7,903	1,77,350	11,931	1,66,658	52,963	1,40,249	62,510	2,53,264	2,17,235	55,003	99,617	50,062	1,10,471	25,960	1,86,393	2,92,246	+ 54,908	+ 22,391	- 19,559			

* Unaudited figures.

APPENDIX II—(contd.)

Serial number.	Name of the Weavers' Society.	(1)	(2)	OWNED CAPITAL			INVESTMENTS MADE				AMOUNT SANCTIONED BY				BORROWINGS FROM				BORROWINGS REPAYED TO				AMOUNT DUE ON 30-6-1941 TO				Working Capital.	Gross Profit Earned.	Net Profit or Net Loss.
				(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)				(26)	(27)	(28)
165	Brought forward	11,643	1,45,011	39,374	14,985	8,694	14,148	2,12,760	11,931	2,68,038	71,622	3,35,759	78,968	4,56,349	86,754	2,66,011	70,655	4,33,418	61,486	1,99,068	32,344	2,93,098	4,53,453	24,142	36,732	+20,739			
166	Tiasevally District.	246	3,895	...	1,050	11	...	1,000	...	3,500	...	...	...	...	750	4,584	15	765	2,623	...	50	2,673	6,568	...	...	...
167	Melapalayam	167	3,015	308	450	260	...	1,000	2,300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
168	Palamcottah	55	403	...	50	100	...	650	800	453	5,551	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
169	Tenkasi	234	3,585	359	150	370	...	6,000	21,000	925	31,737	755	33,417	925	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
170	Kalladkurichi	75	714	...	50	70	...	700	2,300	...	1,501	638	2,139	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
171	Ambasamudram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
172	Viragadam District	66	313	350	50	255	330	560	1,000	50	700	108	858	50	1,355	98	1,533	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
173	Narasasempet	67	390	26	100	20	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
174	Bobbili	66	313	...	150	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
175	Kalam	13	221	...	50	35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
176	Vinnagaram	47	481	...	10	20	...	1,000	1,000	132	4,015	135	4,150	120	3,552	32	3,914	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
177	Palakonda	37	372	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
178	Chakra	39	372	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
179	Poddaturapalle	61	918	107	80	10	3	1,000	...	1,007	2,031	...	1,037	1,033	1,030	...	2,266	120	1,595	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
180	Boothalakoduru	46	198	...	50	56	...	1,000	...	1,306	740	...	3,237	1,156	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
181	Boothalakoduru	51	395	...	50	50	...	1,000	600	1,494	740	...	1,596	934	340	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
182	Boothalakoduru	60	100	...	50	...	...	1,000	...	277	740	...	777	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
183	Pattapuram	56	300	1	50	50	...	1,000	...	...	800	...	900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total		13,059	1,41,663	40,671	17,455	9,931	14,963	2,22,070	11,931	3,04,358	77,296	3,84,223	81,901	5,13,120	92,174	2,98,648	71,755	4,59,577	67,356	2,26,056	35,212	3,28,524	5,10,553	1,02,873	41,594	+25,311			

* Unaudited figures.

APPENDIX — (Continued.)
STATEMENT showing the financial position of the affiliated Weavers' Co-operative Societies—1944—45.

Name of the Weavers' Society.	Number of Members.	OWNED CAPITAL			INVESTMENTS MADE			BORROWINGS FROM					BORROWINGS REPAYED TO					Working Capital	Gross Profit earned.	Net Profit+ or Net Loss —					
		Paid up Share Capital	Reserve Fund	Share Capital in	Reserve Fund	Central Banks.	Provincial Society.	Others.	Total.	Central Banks.	Provincial Society.	Others.	Total.	Central Banks.	Provincial Society.	Others.	Total.				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
																								(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9) (a)	(b)	(c)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Alamuru	84	1,950	...	50	...	15,251	...	8,000	...	592	...	8,592	...	8,700	...	1,368	...	10,068	...	10,018	...	4,020	...	3,511	
Basanbada	141	3,756	...	50	...	44,525	...	32,721	...	500	...	32,721	...	12,564	...	300	...	33,004	...	16,760	...	7,463	...	6,334	
Bavara	105	2,410	...	50	...	26,443	...	23,945	...	100	...	23,045	...	3,500	...	300	...	3,800	...	6,210	...	6,276	...	6,077	
Bimalkot	201	1,985	...	50	...	0,748	...	8,353	...	5,177	...	13,530	...	1,395	...	337	...	2,032	...	3,017	...	2,831	...	2,224	
Chelipole	117	2,340	...	50	...	10,127	...	2,300	...	339	...	2,300	...	7,827	...	339	...	10,556	...	11,357	...	4,403	...	2,692	
Advarampeta	184	3,560	...	50	...	35,702	...	26,095	...	200	...	26,095	...	7,607	...	200	...	26,895	...	11,357	...	7,693	...	4,641	
Meluru	99	1,280	...	50	...	3,890	...	1,876	...	...	...	1,876	...	2,013	...	...	...	2,013	...	3,293	...	448	...	233
W. Godavari District.																									
Ellore	517	1,616	2,495	150	2,495	45,354	...	33,284	...	749	...	44,103	...	12,975	...	1,656	...	14,631	...	15,837	...	5,508	...	4,116	
Korur	131	1,123	356	100	356	4,328	...	3,272	...	2,837	...	6,565	...	1,621	...	...	...	2,334	...	3,436	...	1,533	...	162
Vijapur	316	7,826	375	50	375	29,255	...	19,981	...	33,952	...	63,277	...	9,320	...	3,495	...	12,825	...	21,027	...	13,318	...	9,542	
Narasapur	92	2,530	401	50	401	28,633	...	18,804	...	848	...	30,651	...	14,550	...	643	...	15,193	...	17,130	...	6,429	...	7,119	
Bemavaram	174	2,355	850	50	850	41,303	...	46,647	...	6,853	...	53,428	...	1,047	...	6,250	...	54,024	...	11,607	...	4,654	...	3,034	
Ellore Pile carpet	103	4,050	...	50	...	11,307	...	3,559	...	200	...	11,507	...	7,748	...	100	...	7,848	...	11,898	...	7,801	...	7,603	
Bargalur	71	1,766	...	50	...	6,907	...	4,121	...	680	...	7,587	...	2,776	...	43	...	2,819	...	4,575	...	1,504	...	629	
Aktivida	116	840	...	50	...	14,876	...	1,600	...	101	...	1,600	...	1,800	...	101	...	1,901	...	2,741	...	1,714	...	1,489	
Guntur District																									
Guntur	191	3,067	5,422	50	5,422	51,927	...	41,480	...	937	...	52,881	...	10,447	...	769	...	11,216	...	19,705	...	2,857	...	449	
Vesapalem	199	1,548	880	150	880	5,021	...	2,653	...	74	...	3,095	...	5,623	...	431	...	6,054	...	8,482	...	1,768	...	649	
Chirala	334	612	240	150	240	4,449	...	3,616	...	...	...	4,449	...	2,875	...	339	...	3,391	...	4,163	...	1,744	...	937
Chimakurthi	162	2,320	1,350	50	1,350	10,352	...	4,670	...	...	...	10,352	...	5,024	...	...	...	5,024	...	9,454	...	6,903	...	5,071
Nubrola	71	1,500	476	50	476	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Magalagiri	244	1,004	2,080	100	2,080	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Pannur	40	1,023	1,127	50	1,127	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Adilapalli	80	616	1,191	50	1,191	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Isakapalli	40	1,231	669	50	669	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Beru Khadi	39	3,675	1,038	50	1,038	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Bangaluru	81	1,704	1,176	50	1,176	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Regali	107	870	7	50	7	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Cherukupalli	91	4,507	1,896	50	1,896	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Pattu Markandeya	149	1,629	270	50	270	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Battiprolu	76	1,595	249	50	249	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Bandilapalli	200	1,863	118	50	118	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Padakothapalli	107	1,050	25	50	25	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Ilavaram	217	4,330	...	50	...	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Yadavalli Sri Anjaneya	96	555	...	50	...	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Lugamagunta	100	1,000	...	50	...	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Saravadi Adi Andhra...	54	1,150	...	50	...	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Brahmana Nidamanur	68	1,331	...	50	...	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Andrapeta	69	1,002	...	50	...	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193
Bazole	69	1,002	...	50	...	8,192	...	9,084	...	143	...	9,089	...	3,932	...	...	...	4,137	...	7,221	...	1,993	...	1,193

APPENDIX (Contd.)

Name of the Weavers' Society.	Number of members.	OWNED CAPITAL		INVESTMENTS MADE			AMOUNT SANCTIONED BY			BORROWINGS FROM			BORROWINGS REPAYED TO			AMOUNT DUE ON 30.6.1941 TO			Gross Profit or Net Loss—			
		Paid up Share Capital	Reserve Fund.	Share Capital in Provincial Society.	Reserve Fund.	Provincial Society	Central Banks	Provincial Society.	Central Banks.	Others.	Total.	Provincial Society.	Central Banks.	Others.	Total.	Working Capital.	Gross Profit Earned					
																		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Brought forward ...	5,545	53,443	13,693	4,731	5,196	93,550	7,750	88,367	27,341	77,444	29,288	1,34,213	35,204	66,332	27,337	1,22,923	1,22,923	13,612	95,099	1,62,240	+ 32,633	
Kannala	46	281	...	...	...	1,400	...	...	943	...	...	543	...	...	...	217	...	...	...	726	1,007	+ 388
Ingattur	24	120	...	...	...	350	130	...	151	...	...	131	...	...	...	253	...	...	...	318	443	+ 245
Churukupalli	58	164	...	...	...	300	...	...	151	...	...	13	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	87	253	+ 36
Penal	47	250	...	...	...	1,700	...	...	617	...	...	665	...	...	...	320	...	...	...	514	764	+ 292
Kotas District																						
Telana (Hed.)*	55	481	162	150	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	16	...	131	...	...	...	...	1,270	1,913	...
(Till 23.2.41)	29	114	142	50	100	500	...	...	600	...	...	150	750	38	38	...	...	...	...	570	855	+ 98
Patnamidi	43	252	...	...	...	...	...	...	211	...	...	74	315	...	50	...	...	...	...	444	720	+ 72
Sengalur	43	224	...	...	...	300	...	...	211	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	581	870	+ 99
Naralanaka	25	150	...	...	...	...	...	470	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	320	470	+ 30
Narasabada	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karsaul District																						
Bedur	43	154	534	50	450	1,500	...	903	...	1,450	1,956	3,416	...	463	2,059	2,059	1,636	671	1,655	2,356	+ 79	
Barnool	39	303	46	50	20	...	...	410	203	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,400	1,649	+ 623
Maddakara	48	216	37	100	50	...	...	837	...	1,015	...	1,016	...	100	671	...	...	...	915	1,168	+ 15	
Patikonda	28	85	15	50	50	...	...	131	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	52	152	+ 75
Basavarapuzasa	53	370	65	50	100	1,000	...	990	...	998	...	999	416	...	416	...	...	...	...	855	1,090	+ 205
Popalle	19	79	26	50	50	500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	219	...	...	...	...	1	165	+ 9
Locumur	143	605	...	50	50	500	...	1,995	...	1,050	...	1,051	403	550	953	...	...	...	...	500	905	...
Madras District																						
Waheramanpet*	42	322	22	100	100	600	...	...	1,000	...	11,506	12,506	825	...	825	12,006	11,506	30	830	1,174	+ 338	
Pal Madras	44	280	...	150	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,110	5,110	158	...	158	4,492	4,650	...	...	79	731	+ 1064
Handkerchiefs*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Malabar District																						
Paatalayini*	117	657	359	50	50	1,500	...	150	363	...	210	573	791	...	791	...	...	...	...	43	1,546	+ 233
Janur*	43	361	682	100	100	2,000	...	200	134	...	300	300	23	145	218	1,575	1,575	...	...	152	1,558	+ 699
Karimpuzha*	73	508	150	150	50	...	...	600	2,355	614	...	2,880	498	...	498	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 685
Bagara*	77	865	246	150	50	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	607	1,718	+ 543
Kannapuram*	70	398	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 664
Elipalli*	55	303	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 10
Koleegode*	71	729	235	100	50	41	...	1,000	847	1,223	1,565	3,740	42	...	42	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 357
Aliparamba*	56	642	97	100	...	2,000	...	...	4,554	...	64	4,618	1,387	...	1,387	...	...	...	...	991	1,164	+ 478
Paikhat Spinning and Weaving (Hed.)	23	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 280
Madhya Pradesh																						
Manaur	40	251	78	50	...	1,000	...	...	838	...	542	1,380	928	...	928	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 8
Unvegapara*	54	288	25	50	...	1,400	...	...	886	...	424	1,310	782	...	782	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 69
Samanthukara*	21	70	...	50	...	350	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 51
Kotaram	78	231	...	50	...	1,200	...	...	739	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 145
Annare*	150	1662	...	50	40	3,000	...	1,000	1,926	1,500	300	3,726	872	147	1,219	1,654	1,353	100	2,301	4,159	+ 145	
Alicut*	44	134	...	50	...	700	...	...	570	...	85	655	164	...	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 74
Carried Over	7346	64,735	16,707	9,220	5,851	1,25,350	7,900	97,673	44,423	85,310	52,233	1,51,966	52,775	62,220	46,036	1,60,581	1,60,581	20,532	1,24,534	2,06,376	+ 39,223	
																						+ 16,052

* Unaudited figures.

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