

THE WORLD OF THE WEAVER  
IN  
THE NORTHERN COROMANDEL, 1750 - 1850

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# C E R T I F I C A T E


This is to certify that I, **Potukuchi Swarnalatha** have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled **The World Of the Weaver in the Northern Coromandel, 1750-1850** for the full period prescribed under the Ph.D ordinances of the University.


I declare that to the best of my knowledge no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of the research degree of any University.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APHCP	Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings
BOR	Board of Revenue
BOT	Board of Trade
CD	Court of Directors
CDC	Commercial Department Consultations
CDDE	Commercial Department Despatches from England
CDDTE	Commercial Department Despatches to England
CEHI	Cambridge Economic History of India
Collr	Collector
CR	Commercial Resident
EPW	Economic and Political Weekly
GDR	Godavari District Records
gudr	Guntur District Records
IESHR	Indian Economic and Social History Review
IHCP	Indian History Congress Proceedings
IHR	Indian Historical Review
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JDC	Judicial Department Consultations
JITH	Journal of Indian Textile History
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
MDR	Masulipatnam District Records
PBR	Proceedings of Board of Revenue
PBRM	Proceedings of Board of Revenue, Miscellaneous
PDC	Public Department Consultations
PDS	Public Department Sundries
PP	Past and Present
SH	Studies in History
SS	Social Scientist
VDR	Visakhapatnam District Records

## 1. Introduction

The objective of this study is to trace the fate of the weaver and the textile economy of Northern Coromandel during the period of transition in which the political ascendancy of the Company over the region was followed by the consolidation of the colonial system in the region. While attempting to do this, the study also explores the way in which the patterns of social and political relations of the weaving world interacted with the goals of colonial rule in the region.

The study attempts, therefore, to reconstruct, at the level of locality, a "total history" of the weaving community in the Northern Coromandel region during a period when India was being incorporated into the Modern World Economic System. The concept of totality is not invoked here in the Rankean sense of collecting all the "facts", but rather, in the Annaliste sense of recognizing the necessity of adopting a holistic perspective, and of perceiving the integral nature of the several intersecting spheres in which the weavers functioned, namely the cultural, the economic, the political and the social.

Next only to agriculture, weaving was the most important activity of rural India. Apart from providing necessary clothing to the people of India the numerous weaving communities scattered across the country produced textiles for export even to distant countries.<sup>1</sup>

Not surprisingly, when European companies began to trade in India, one of their primary interactions was with the weaving community. A study of the weaving community would, therefore, be helpful for two reasons. Firstly, it would help in the reconstruction of the history of an important segment of the Indian Society. Secondly, it may enable us to find answers to some fundamental questions regarding the way in which colonialism interacted with the peripheral economy.

Although weavers contributed substantially and significantly to economic activity, very little scholarly work has been done on their history.<sup>2</sup> This was probably due to the fact that Scholars tended to focus attention on the rural economy as a whole and to emphasize the agrarian dimension, and tended to ignore an important element of that economy, the Weavers.

Reconstructing the history of the weaving community therefore, will enable us not only to return the weaver to history, but also make more distinct our picture of the past. The weaver was, after all, one element in an integrated economic system in which several elements such as merchants, markets, peasants, money lenders, artisans, technology, trade and the environment, interacted with each other. It becomes necessary therefore to situate the weaver in this complex' matrix of interacting elements, and consequently, it can be argued, any study of the weaving community must also contribute to a clearer understanding of the economic structures of the past.<sup>3</sup>



In geographical terms, the space covered under this study is the Northern part of the Coromandel coast that mainly extends between the Godavari and the Pennar Rivers, and also includes Visakhapatnam District. All the five districts that were ceded to the company under the name 'The Northern Circars' also fall within the boundaries of this space. Definition and mapping of a region has been a problem for historians as well as geographers and cartographers. It is perhaps particularly compounded for the economic historian since spheres of economic activity rarely match political, cultural or linguistic zones. The choice of 'Northern Coromandel' as a region might, therefore, seem arbitrary. Indeed, it is certain that this notion could not have existed in the pre-colonial period, as the term Coromandel itself was coined by the European traveller and cartographer. It can be argued, nevertheless, that there was a linguistic-cultural unity that characterized the region.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, there were specific economic parameters which also provided a degree of cohesion to the region. Whether in market transactions or in the production processes, the region displayed some element of being bounded, of being definable region. It is true that very often these economic operations spilt out of the confines of the region itself, linking it in fact, to a much larger economic world. But there were specific activities that marked off the contours of the space quite clearly. For example, in the production of chintz, the painters of Masulipatnam depended on the weavers of the immediate neighbourhood as well as more distant Nellore. In the marketing arrangements also the weavers of Guntur district depended on the neighbouring districts as well as distant

markets. Similarly, the occasional migrations of weavers within the region also created the region's boundaries. The caste and kin networks of the weaving communities and of textile merchants operating in the region were cultural factors which also helped in constitution of the region.

The area chosen for the study was one of the most fertile and prosperous areas of the Coromandel coast, where textiles were produced on a large scale. By the early seventeenth century the ports of Northern Coromandel had become major emporia for the European traders. This in turn meant that a regular network of economic relationships emerged between the places of production in the hinterland and the coastal centres of international exchange. For instance, the Portuguese were purchasing at the port of Masulipatnam various cotton piece goods which were produced in the region around Masulipatnam.<sup>5</sup> Not surprisingly, by the nineteenth century this region became the most important and valuable area for investment of the East India Company.<sup>6</sup>

Focusing upon this area will enable us therefore, to investigate the processes of production of textiles, their distribution and the way in which the East India Company acquired economic control over the weavers.

The study focuses upon a century during which India was drawn into and made a part of the world economic system.<sup>7</sup> As the East India Company extended its political control of and economic penetration into the Indian economy, several changes necessarily

followed in various sectors of the economy and society. Scholars have investigated in **some** detail the interaction between the European companies and the Coromandel economy prior to 1750.<sup>8</sup> But it is only in the years after 1750 that the East India Company acquired political dominance over the Coromandel region. This greatly facilitated its commercial transactions, although at times, the company's revenue - political functions clashed with its commercial objectives. This was the period therefore, in which the beginnings of a '**Colonial Economy**' can be discerned.

The historical century, 1750 - 1850 is of particular significance for the study of the history of the weaving communities of the region for three reasons. Firstly, this was the period during which the textile economy of the region was dominated, controlled by the East India Company. Secondly, this was a period in which the Company begins to withdraw from the textile trade, a process which had far reaching consequences for the weavers of the region. Then again, this period was one in which the massive influx of **millmade** fabrics had not yet occurred in the region.

Examining the world of the weavers during the period will enable us to study the impact of the operations of the colonial economy and the way in which weavers responded to changes occurring in the economy. In studying such responses, it becomes possible to reconstruct the way in which the weavers' world was structured and the ways in which the weaver interacted with the external world.

The period 1750-1850 was one in which the Weaver's world was rapidly and radically transformed whether by increasing demand and the setting up of company factories, or by the closure of these factories and the large scale import of mill made textiles into India. Economic crises and famine conditions also deeply affected the weavers during this period. Social tensions, usually latent, come to the surface in such troubled times.<sup>10</sup> Some of these tensions were rooted in the Left hand-Right hand caste divisions and some others were related to economic problems like oppression by the Gumastahs of Zamindars. Studying these social conflicts will help us to better understand the ways in which different strata of the weaving community related to each other and to the society around it.

Existing studies of weavers indicate a complex socio-economic structure among the weavers which governed not only the social relations among them but the production relations as well. The structure was subjected to many pressures, and some changes occurred as a result mainly of the attempts made by the company to eliminate middlemen.<sup>11</sup> One of the major aims of this study will therefore be to delineate in detail the structure of the community, and to examine the changes that took place. In this context, the social dimensions of the community have to be particularly highlighted especially the role of caste. It would appear that even when seeking to alter the network of relations among the different segments of the weavers, the company was often forced to recognize the importance of traditional elites, as for example, in the appointment of the "senapati" as the head

of an administrative unit for the weavers.<sup>12</sup> An extended analysis of the manner in which caste and sub-caste played a role in the production process will help to form a clearer picture of the process itself, 'and also enable us to provide an answer to the question about the extent to which caste based division of work determined the nature of production.

One of the major aims of the study is to investigate the complex process by which raw cotton was transformed into a finished marketable fabric. This process can be examined in two ways. One is to look at the organization aspect and the other to study the technical aspect. As far the organizational aspect is concerned, several questions arise. How did the weaver procure raw materials? How was the production controlled? Who made the necessary investments? How did the entry of the company into the scene affect traditional modes of investment and production? What were the factors that determined the location of weaving centres? How did these locations influence the production process? Was there, for example, any difference between weaving centres located in Zamindari, proprietary and Government villages, particularly because of differing taxation policies? K. N. Chaudhuri has referred to the principle of 'Urban' Conglomeration' operating in the production process.<sup>13</sup> what did this imply for the weaving community? What were the changing in production that occurred between 1750 - 1850? Related to the issues are questions concerned with the technical process of production. What, for example, was the technology of the spinning, weaving, dyeing and printing? What was the impact of the rise in the demand for textiles on technology?

In attempting to understand the production process in which the weaver was involved, it is necessary to examine the supply of raw material. How did the weavers secure the required yarn? It is known that "Thread markets" existed, and their maintenance was deemed vital.<sup>14</sup> It would be useful to discover the network of production and supply of thread to these "thread markets", and also the supply of cotton to the spinners. Who controlled this part of the production process? What was the complex, Socio-economic nexus that governed the transformation of raw cotton into thread and then into fabric?

One of the fundamental institutions which linked the weaver to the external world was the market, where the product was exchanged. These markets operated at several levels - local, regional and international. At all three levels the markets were social spaces in which the various segments of the weaving community interacted directly or indirectly with others like merchants, middlemen and East India Company traders. A detailed examination of the specific textile goods marketed at different levels, and of the modes of transaction involved, will throw light not only on the market mechanisms but also on the nature of the different elements of the communities participating in the transactions. Another question that arises in this context is what changes if any occurred in the marketing system as a result of rise and fall of the European demand for Indian textiles.

Between 1750 and 1829 the East India Company established several weaving "factories" in Northern Coromandel with the

primary objective of having a captive production process and eliminating the middlemen. What was the impact of this development on the weaver? How far did the company succeed in achieving its objectives? Did the opening of company's factories alter patterns of weavers habitations or did the company locate its factories in traditional weaving centres? Did the opening of the factories affect occupational structures of the country side?

One of the major controversies in Indian economic history centres around the decline of the handicraft industry, particularly that of the weavers. Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century the demand for Indian textiles remained at a very high level and the East India Company itself had several flourishing weaving factories. Yet by 1829 - 30 the Company had decided to close its factories and quite soon thereafter, British manufactured textiles began to flood the Indian market. This study, focusing, upon the weaver in the Coromandel must necessarily grapple with this sequence of events and its impact of the closure of the company's factories? How did the weavers respond to the changing situations? Did the import of textiles affect weavers of coarse cloth as opposed to those producing finer varieties?

One of the apparently paradoxical pictures that the available data presents is that there was a substantial growth in the **number of looms**, and the quantity of textiles produced even after the closure of the company's **factories**. Was this due to a time lag between fall in demand and its effects in the

production process or was it because of increase in the local demand resulting from population growth, which compensated for the fall in European demand?<sup>16</sup>

In analyzing the complex world of the weaver one of the basic questions that needs to be examined is the relationship of the weaver with the various other elements in the society what, for instance, was the relationship between the Agrarian economy and the weaver? Although several weavers operated as both 'peasants and artisans, or shifted easily from one occupation to the other, large numbers of weavers were separated from agrarian production. This often enabled landlords to force grain on the weavers at inflated rates. How did the weavers deal with such oppression? What was the relationship between the weavers and rural money lenders?

Like many other elements in the Indian countryside the majority of the weavers operated at the level of subsistence. Any crisis in the system affected the weaver, quite often adversely. Whether they were major crises such as floods and famines or minor ones such as oppression by the Gumastahs of Zamindars, the weaver integrated as he was into the complex network of economic relations, was immediately and deeply affected. This study will attempt to discover how the weavers coped with crises of various kinds. Did caste and kin networks help the crisis or did caste and tradition act as barriers?



The available evidence indicates that during periods of crisis, weavers resorted on occasion to mass migration. This study will attempt to explore this phenomenon and inquire into conditions that provoked such migration, and the impact of the migrations on the local economy. The company, with its massive investment, was particularly concerned by this phenomenon and it would be useful to see how it reacted to migrations.

This study is also an attempt to understand the impact of colonialism on a particular socio-economic group, at the level of a region. It can be argued that the force of imperialism operates at different levels and with different focal points. The ideology of imperialism emanated from the metropolitan capital, while its political edge was expressed in India through battles, wars and the institutions and policies of the colonial state. In one sense, these two facets of imperialism converged at and found their sharpest expression in the locality, whether it was the village or the district. It was here that the British rule manifested itself directly and in a naked fashion. Yet, as has been argued by R.E. Frykenberg, for all its pomp and power, imperial authority had to bow before, and yield to local influence.<sup>17</sup> We are not concerned here with the question whether colonialism operated to preserve a pre-capitalist mode of production or whether it generated a colonial mode of production or whether it created conditions for the emergence of capitalism. What we do need to examine, however, is the related question of how the colonial state and the world of the weaver interacted.

In this context, it is necessary to make certain **assumptions** about the state. That it was exploitative is perhaps a truism. At the same time, it has to be recognised that the power of the colonial state was tempered and limited by the conditions of the locality. Moreover, although the purpose of the state might **ultimately** have been the appropriation of the surplus product, the changes which it introduced, therefore, themselves generated contradictory forces. The various attempts to reorganize the weaving world during the century in focus were to devise a more efficient mechanism for the extraction of the surplus produced by the weaver. But these very attempts often generated resistance and thus impeded the colonial state. Despite, however, the inertia of traditional society and its ability to resist change, the British were able to envelop the local economy and society in larger, global structures which were essentially created in the interest of the metropolis. The results of such attempts to incorporate the Indian economy into wider networks, and the mechanism utilized to secure such incorporation need to be examined because we would then be able to form a clearer picture about the way in which British rule led to alterations in the Indian economy in general and the textile economy in particular.

The study rests primarily on a materialist understanding of history. This does not mean, however, that the cultural dimension is ignored or relegated to the margins. On the contrary, the study proceeds on the assumption that cultural and **material** are two interdependent facets of the historical process.

This is particularly true of the weaving economy, since the end product of the material, economic process of weaving is very much a cultural artifact, a piece of cloth. Clothing styles, fashions, and varying tastes in distant markets were all essentially cultural factors which shaped the contours of textile production in Northern Coromandel. Equally important as cultural determinants of textile production in any society would be the rituals and rites with their own associated clothing prescriptions. An examination of the role played by these factors would help to clarify the relationship, in the textile economy, between the cultural and the material.

The complex nature of the Weaver's world will preclude a truly 'total' reconstruction of the weavers history. However in attempting to answer the questions set out, the study will, hopefully, contribute to the process of unravelling the tangled threads of the past, even if the answers to the questions are necessarily incomplete.

This study is based primarily on Archival material. This essentially consists of unpublished manuscript records of the District officials which are available at the Andhra Pradesh State Archives. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Consultations of the Commercial Department, Records of Fort St. George and selections from the Factory Records available in published and unpublished form, are other important sources. The published Mackenzie collections have also been utilized.

An attempt has also been made to utilize Non-Archival material such as Folk Songs and Folk tales and contemporary literary sources.

The use of contemporary documents on which the study primarily rests has posed a problem regarding the spelling of names, of persons as well as of places. While modernizing the spellings would have been helpful, it was not always possible. To some extent, current place names have been used wherever they were more suitable than those used in the 18th century. In the citations, however, the spellings as they were originally recorded have been retained. As for the names of people, the original spellings have been kept in all cases, as it was often difficult to determine the modern equivalent. Another problem which arose was with respect to the years. The contemporary official sources used both Fasli years as well the modern years. Here again, the original records have been followed, since there is no one to one correspondence between the Fasli year and the modern year.

The heavy use of contemporary documents has inevitably resulted in a rather too detailed narrative. There is perhaps the consequent problem that the details may overwhelm the arguments. The documented detail has, however, been included in the narrative, since much of the information is being presented for the first time. As pointed out, the economic history of this region for the early colonial period has been little researched, and the few scholars working in the area have been hitherto

concentrating on agrarian history. This study of the artisans necessarily had to be, therefore, as much a presentation of 'facts' as of interpretations.

1. Vijaya Ramaswamy, Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India. Delhi, 1985
2. Several works on Textile Trade do exist, for instance, Joseph Brenning, "The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Northern Coromandel : A Study of a Pre-Modern Asian Export Industry", Ph.D. Thesis, Wisconsin University, 1975. Joseph Brenning, 'Textile Producers and Production in late Seventeenth Century Coromandel' IESHR 23.4, 1986, pp.333-353. Sinnappah Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast 1650-1740. New Delhi, 1986. K.N. Chaudhuri, "The Structure of Indian Textile Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", IESHR 11.2-3, 1974, pp.127-82; Irfan Habib, 'Notes on the Indian Textile Industry in the 17th Century', in Prof. S.C. Sarkar Felicitations Volume. New Delhi, 1976; John Irwin, 'Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century; Coromandel Coast', Journal of Indian Textile History, 2.1956, pp.24-39; John Irwin and P.R. Schwartz, Studies in Indo-European Textile History, Ahmedabad, 1966; R.M. Rieftstah, Persian and Indian Textiles from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century, New York, 1928.

Studies of the weaving community itself are very few. For example, after H.Dodwell, 'The Madras Weaver under the Company', Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission. 1922, pp.41-47, the few major works to appear are Vijaya Ramaswamy, Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India. New Delhi, 1985; S. Arasaratnam, 'Weavers, Merchants and Company: The Handloom Industry in South Eastern India, 1750-1790' IESHR, 17, 1980, pp.257-284; Debendra Bijoy Mitra, Cotton Weavers in Bengal, Calcutta, 1978; Hameeda Hossain, 'The Alienation of Weavers; impact of the conflict between the Revenue and Commercial Interest of the East India Company, 1750-1800' IESHR 4, 1979, pp.323-45.

3. AS K.N. Chaudhuri has pointed out that ...."the fortunes of the weaver and the textile industry would be tied to the state of regional agriculture, density of population, transport facilities and the quality of political rule..." 'The Structure of Indian Textile Industry', 1974, p.130
4. For a discussion of the way in which cultural factors shape a region, see Burton Stein, 'Circulation and the Historical Geography of Tamil Country', in All the Kings Mana
5. Dettaze at Masulipatnam to Coen at Bantam 1 Sept. '1617, Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India. 1617-1623: A Collection of Dutch East India Company Documents pertaining to India. New Delhi, 1984, p.36.
6. A. Sarada Raju, Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency 1800-1850. Madras, 1941, p.146.

7. For discussion on this view see, Immanuel Wallerstein, 'Incorporation of Indian Subcontinent into capitalist World-Economy' EPW, 21.4, Jan.'25, 1986, pp.28-39.
8. T. Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel 1605-1690: A Study on the Interrelation of European Commerce and Traditional Economies, The Hague, 1962, More recently, S. Arasaratnam, Merchants. Companies and Commerce. Delhi, 1986.
9. See, for example, Hameeda Hossain, 'The Alienation of Weavers' 1979, pp.323-345.
10. For details of social tensions in early nineteenth century, see, John Rowley (commercial Resident, Ingeram) to Benjamin Branfill (Collr. 3rd Division, Rajahmundry and Ellore Circars) 30th April, 1795, GDR 921, pp.249-50; John Rowley to Benjamin Branfill, 11 May, 1795, GDR 921 pp.267-8;
11. S. Arasaratnam, 'Weavers, Merchants and Company', 1980 pp.257-287.
12. Lr. dated 25 June, 1820 GDR 832 203-232 in Guide to the Records Godavari District vol.1 Madras 1935, p.35; See Vijaya Ramaswamy, Textiles and Weavers, 1985 p.14 and ...."the leader of the sale on salapa was called the sanapati' ibid. p.16.
13. K.N. Chaudhuri, 'The Structure of Indian Textiles Industry' 1974, p.135.
14. Lr. dated 8 April 1796 GDR, 926, pp.79-80.
15. 'Abstract Demand, Collection and Balance of the Loom Tax in the Zillah of Rajahmundry from Fusly 1231 to 1240' Lr. dated 4 August 1832, GDR 4635, p.137; See also Source PBR 1844, pp.11756-31; Source Rajahmundry District Collectrate Records 15 Jan, 1845 PBR pp.1146-48 & PBR 1844, pp.11756-63 quoted in G.N. Rao, 'Stagnation and Decay of the Agricultural Economy of the Coastal Andhra', Artha Vijnana, 20.3, Sept. 198 pp.237-238.
16. Proto-Industrialization Theory seems to suggest that rural Industrialization will stimulate population growth, and it is probable that expansion of weaving following East India Company activity may have encouraged population growth and consequently local demand.
17. R.E.Frykenberg, 'The Administration of Guntur District With Special Reference to Local Influences on Revenue Policies 1757-1848', Ph.D Thesis, London, 1961.

## **2. The Political Economy of the Northern Coromandel**

During the years 1750-1850, the Northern Coromandel region was a crucible of several contending forces and influences. It was in such a content that the colonial state created and consolidated new power structures which shaped the political, economic and social conditions of the region. Till the turn of eighteenth century, the colonial state tried hard to give a political cohesion to the conflict-ridden society of the Northern Coromandel region. By the adoption of varied colonial systems in the region, the Company in fact penetrated more deeply into the hinterland societal activities, intertwined with the agrarian, trade and other forces, and thus completed its process of erecting colonial hegemony over the region. As R.E. Frykenberg suggested, the Company could erect colonial hegemony over the region, because it comprehended its role "within the inner logic and dynamics of traditional society"<sup>1</sup>. The Colonial frontier of the region included not only the geographical space in terms of distance but also of social space through which it could enter the interior social and economic space . Such attempts affected the weaving world of the region effectively, because there existed a direct linkage between the state, political economy and the weaving world.

The Northern Circars became a major concern of British commercial activities in South India since 1611, the year in which they acquired trading privileges in the region. This commercial penetration of the Company acquired a political



dimension as well, when the Company decided to secure political control over the territories.

The region of the Northern Coromandel which the Company had acquired through the Mogul Grant in 1765, and confirmed by treaty with the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1766, comprised essentially of three zones, in which local ruling groups, had arrogated to themselves enormous power. These three Zones were the Zamindari lands, the Haveli lands and the Hill areas.

A predominant proportion of Northern Coromandel consisted of "Zamindari lands". Some of the Zamindars like Vizianagaram, Pitahpuram, Peddapuram, Cotah and Ramachandrapuram, and Nuzveed, were hereditary land owners tracing their origins to comparatively remote periods. Others were self created territorial proprietors who came into existence during the turbulent times that followed the breakup of the Bahamani kingdom and the Mughal Empire.

The lands that were under the immediate management of the previous Government without the intervention of Zamindars or jagirdars, called 'Haveli lands' became the direct possessions of the Company. These haveli lands, as they were termed, were not supposed to be under the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes who were responsible for the collections of the rest of the country.<sup>5</sup>

Some tracts of the Northern Coromandel region were under the control of "unsettled" power groups like the Hill Chiefs and

these were referred to as hill zamindaries in the eighteenth century. The colonial penetration here was not complete owing to the resistance of these unsettled powers. The colonial state attempted to bring these tracts under its purview, only after it had completed the settlement of the region, and consolidated its hold over the society and economy. After 1850 the Company created special Agencies, the Vizagapatnam Agency, Ganjam Agency and the Godavari Agency, in these hilly tracts, with the objective of giving them a form of civil administration. The residents of these tracts, however, played a very important part in the economy of the settled agricultural zones, sometimes influencing the political relations of the region. For instance, the Zamindars joined with the hill chiefs, when they protested against the Company's revenue policies.<sup>6</sup>

### **Agrarian Economy**

The colonial penetration into the economic and social activities of the region began with the attempts of the Company to strengthen its hold over the agrarian economy of the region. The agrarian economy of the region was in fact bonded together economically, politically and socially by powerful elements whose position was determined by their actual relation to the land. Significantly it was the Zamindars who virtually possessed the territorial and economic power over the various dimensions of the agrarian economy and they were considered as the landed magnates in the society.

What was the position of these landed magnates in the society and economy of the region? Much of the controversy

regarding the powers of the zamindars which included the collection of duties tended to centre round the question who were the Zamindars? The Zamindars were proprietors of large estates, who appropriated a substantial part of the surplus produced by the peasantry, and transmitted the remaining part to the Mogal state, as (Mal) land revenue. In addition, these Zamindars could collect sayer (customs duty) which was levied upon the market transactions which occurred in their jurisdiction. Since their income was thus derived not only from land, but also from the operations of a market economy, Ratnalekha Ray has suggested that Zamindars were territorial rather than landed magnates.<sup>7</sup> In Northern Coromandel region, the Zamindars' right over the territory was so absolute that they not only levied land and sayer duties but also collected Moturpha and other informal taxes from the various social groups of the region.<sup>8</sup>

Beneath this surface of Zamindar domination, there was in fact an agrarian structure that linked the economic and social networks of power groups in the village.

However a Zamindari was not, like an English estate of the eighteenth century, a unit of production. The basic unit of production was the village and the Raiyati holdings appertaining to it. The elucidation of the old systems of land holdings which acted as power networks in the village, would give clear indications about the structure of Agrarian **economy** of the region. The land holding patterns of the Godavari district, for

instance, created a complex picture especially the nature of proprietary right. These rights at the village level, seemed to have been vested in the hands of primary Zamindars. The right akin to Mirasi right seemed to have been vested in the ancient land holders called, Kadeems, and their rights were expressed in these kinds of villages. Eakabhogam, Palabhogam and Samudayam villages, were sole proprietorship, joint proprietorship and communal ownership prevailed. The long standing attachment of these cultivators to the villages was pretty clear where Kadeems were described as the descendants of the original settlers whose ancestors were fixed in the village.<sup>11</sup> They were possibly the 'land owners' enjoying either the possession or the usufruct of tenures, and was confirmed by the hereditary succession to the fields occupied by them.<sup>12</sup>

In the Northern Coromandel region, under the right of possession of land claimed by Mirasidars, there existed the right to cultivation often claimed by people called Payakari. This category consisted again of two groups -Ulparakudi or Resident cultivator and Ururkudi Payakari or non-resident cultivator. The Ulparakudi was regarded as the fixed permanent tenant of the Mirasidar residing in the same village, in which the land was situated, also called Ulkudi Payakari or resident Payakari.<sup>13</sup> Their rights to land were limited by the local usage which made tenure transferable. Thus falling generally under the category of occupancy tenants, they could also enjoy at times conditional proprietary rights.<sup>14</sup> The Ururkudi payakari was the temporary tenant who was invited by the Mirasidar from a neighbouring

village, to cultivate his land, under an agreement for a given period.<sup>15</sup> They were generally tenants at will, who would have no proprietary rights and their rights were left to be settled by contract.

In the village economy of the **pre-colonial** Northern Coromandel, the three groups of cultivators described namely, **Kadeems**, **Ulkudi Payakarries** and **Ururkudi Payakarries** belonged to the Vellalar caste.<sup>17</sup> Even though the presence of **Kadeem**, **Ulkudi Payakari** and **Ururkudi Payakari** was a feature of the Agrarian structure of the region, still a number of groups related to the maintenance of village administration continued to occupy a prominent position in the Agrarian structure of the Guntur and Masulipatnam districts, like Brahmins, Deshpandies and Karanams; and others who received a large proportion of shares from the cultivating lands.<sup>18</sup>

At the bottom of the agrarian structure, there were low caste cultivators whose presence was indispensable and inevitable for the economy and society. The agricultural labourers, the actual cultivators of the soil, essentially belonged to the lowest castes. They were indeed the necessary force for the cultivation of all lands. In case of alienated lands of all types, Inam lands and Manium lands assigned for the support of large and small temples, **mosques** or other endowment institutions, the cultivation was carried on with the aid of these labourers.<sup>19</sup>

The two groups of labourers, who were responsible for the actual cultivation of the soil were the "farm servants" and "field labourers" or 'coolies'. The farm servants were engaged for the whole year to some landholder, who had the exclusive rights to their servants who were called 'Palikapus' or "Paleru" in this region. They were attached hereditarily to the lands and maintained by the cultivators during the greater part of the year. The coolies or field labourers were employed seasonally for the harvesting etc., and were paid money wages ranging from two to four annas a day. In the villages a form of coercion was exercised on these agricultural labourers by the cultivators. In Masulipatnam a great proportion of the more substantial cultivators had slaves or rather they employed men whose families had been in the employment of their ancestors from time immemorial, and whose services they had a right to enforce.<sup>21</sup>

### **Village Economy And Various Groups**

In the village, twelve kinds of hereditary village officers were appointed whose pay was to be in kind out of the goods and services produced by the village and allotted by the custom. The three highest officers, the Peddakapu (Headman) the Karnam (Accountant) and Dhanaparikshaka (Money lender) were to be assurable to the state for their actions. In descending rank there followed the Priest; the Potter, Washerman, Carpenter, Iron Smith, Barber, Waterman, Watchman and Menial. Menial duties were divided between the Mala and Madiga castes.<sup>22</sup> While the first three highest officers directly exercised or controlled the

ownership rights of the agrarian economy, others also received shares in the agrarian surplus. In this region, there existed the practice of "Gramakarchu" to which the cultivators had to contribute customarily, and the shares received by these twelve kinds of village officers were specified and collected, without fail.<sup>22</sup>

At the top of the pyramidical structure of land control at the village level, stood very often, the Head inhabitant called the Peddakapu or Peddareddi or Pettandar, who belonged to the dominant Vellarlar caste in the region. In both Zamindari and Haveli lands, the villages were let to the head inhabitants, as they could command respect of all castes in the village.<sup>24</sup>

The head inhabitant in some villages held also the position of Karnam, while in most of the villages, the two were different individuals. The Karnams had formerly acted as the Ijraders that is, as mediators between the Zamindars and cultivators. Moreover by 1823 they fulfilled practically the same functions through their handling of village accounts.<sup>25</sup> The Mirasidars of the region called Mazumdars, Despandes and Karanams, used to attend upon the circar officers and give them information relating to the revenues. The Karanams of this region were persons of various castes. Brahmins in some districts and Shudras in others. Though the strongest group was Brahmin, especially Niyogi, which occupied a predominant position, even the non-brahmin, Linga Baliyas and Kayasthas were also said to have been brought into the region in the train of succeeding regimes.<sup>28</sup>

The village revenue officers of Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, performed a particular kind of duty in the countryside establishment. Karanams of the villages, Despondies, Mazumdars, Deshmukhs, Sheristadar of the circar, Tanadars, were the officials in-charge of the revenue collection at various levels of district administration.<sup>29</sup>

The role of these revenue officers at the village level need not necessarily be confined to the communal organization of agricultural production but even extended to determine the activities of artisanal groups in the village, more so was the case of Guntur and Masulipatnam districts, where a linear relationship was created between newly created landed magnates, Jagirdars and these village officials under the **pre-Colonial** rulers. Interestingly, most of these village revenue officers were Hindus of higher social status like Brahmin **Karnams**, whose families acquired hereditary office holdings. A contemporary British account described the politico-economic organization thus:<sup>30</sup>

When the **Muhammadants** took part of the country, in the sixteenth century, they appear to have made but little change in the existing Hindu system. They occupied posts with military garrisons under Muhammadan officers, and sometimes a tract of country might be granted to a Muhammadan officer a Jagir, but for the most part the revenues were collected and accounted for to the central authority by Hindu officials. These Hindu officials were the district accountant or Despandi, the District Collector or **Desmukh** and a third official, who had charge of the police and seems to have exercised **some** supervision over the two others, bearing the name of **Muzumdar** or Mannavar. As usual in India these offices became hereditary and when the Muhammadan power became law the Hindu hereditary officials began to call themselves zemindars and to act as if they were independent princes, but through all these changes, the village remained unaltered.



In the village economy besides the land structural elements, there were many social groups of various castes whose presence was pivotal for the sustenance of not only the village but even those areas that fell beyond the purview of the village. They were Banias, Weaver, Toddy drawers, Goldsmiths, Medaras or Basket Makers, Cow keepers, oil mongers or telikas, boatmen, chanting people, fishermen.<sup>31</sup>

The efficiency of the system of village economy, characterised by stratification and differentiation at each level, depended not only on the local elite but also on the intermediate groups of traders and bankers, the necessary elements in the whole fabric of society. The village bania in most parts of India was the linchpin of the system occupying a pivotal position as a merchant and money lender. The role of the money lender in the region was not very different from that of his counterparts elsewhere. He performed a vital economic function by advancing loans for the commencement of cultivation, purchase of seed grain, payment of revenue etc. The money lender entered into contracts for recovery of grain and repayment of the loans. Certain caste groups and certain groups of extended families within the caste, dominated the most profitable lines of trade and money lending over many generations. <sup>2</sup>

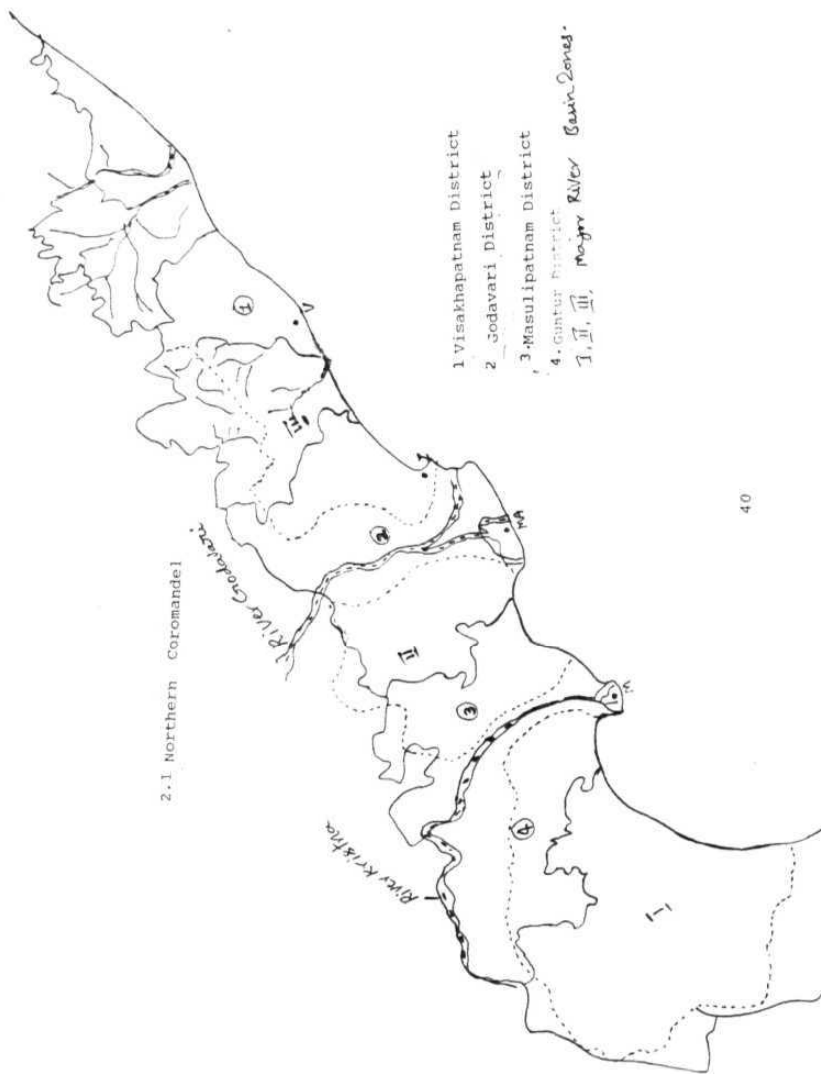
The socio-economic matrix which the weaver of Northern Coromandel inhabited and operated in was thus many layered and complex. The many rural elites who wielded various kinds of power were focal points around which the society and economy of

Northern Coromandel was structured. Not all of these rural elites impinged directly on the lives of the weavers. But the world of the Northern Coromandel weaver necessarily included, directly or indirectly, most of these elements. If the money lender played no direct role in the textile economy, the Zamindar did. Similarly, even if the Karanam as a village official had only a shadowy presence in the weaver's world, he could, in times of crisis, assume a sudden significance. Above all, all these elites were consumers of the textiles produced by the weavers.

### **Ecology And Economy**

To understand the strength of the agrarian economy and the subsequent stability of the region, it is necessary to discuss the ecology and climatic changes to which Northern Coromandel was subjected to.

In the Northern Coromandel region, most of the Zamindari areas, and few haveli lands, were situated in the three major river basin areas. The Godavari, the Kristna and the Pennar. Excepting the Kistna and Godavari which are perennial rivers, because of their origins in the humid western ghats, the other rivers of the region are non-perennial. The major direction of drainage in the region is towards the Bay of Bengal from west to east, with tributaries and minor streams taking up a north-south or north-west-south easterly trend. The major direction of these rivers, and the seasonal fluctuations caused by the rains with the on set of south west monsoon and north-east monsoon determined not only the pattern of agricultural operations but also the entire pattern socio-economic growth in the region.



The farmers produced or adopted those forms of cropping patterns that would enable them to utilize the environmental sources optimally. Soils, by their natural nutrients and water retention properties, perceptibly shaped cropping options. The Azonal soils that are brought by rivers or other agencies and deposited over the underlying rocky soils shaped the cropping pattern in the northern region. For instance, the Deltaic alluvial soils that occur extensively in the deltas of the Krishna and Godavari rivers, and outside the delta along the coast in the Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts and along the valley of the Vamsadhara and Nagavalli rivers are considered to be the best lands in the region.<sup>33</sup>

The farmers in the region generally produced paddy as an irrigated crop in those areas where there is concentration of delta alluvial soils and coastal alluvial soils, as these soils get water drainage facilities continually. In Godavari district for instance there are two crop seasons, the first and chief crop is the 'Sarva' (white) season or the Tolakari season (early) as the crop cultivation takes place between June and December. Dalva or black paddy, called 'Sitakattu' (old) season or vasanji (hot) season is the second crop and the season for this is between January and May. Two wet crops are seldom raised on the same land, but a dry crop is raised when the paddy has been harvested; and the dry crop season is called the Pyra or Aparalu season in the region, the chief wet crops are sugar cane, betel, turmeric, plantains, coconuts and areca pulses in the district. If the second crop is a dry crop, it is generally green, black, bengal or horse-gram, gingelli or sun hemp, are raised.<sup>34</sup>

The agrarian produce of the region south of Kristna river were considered to be of three varieties, Punnasa crop, Pedda crop and Pyra crop. Under the Punasa crop, the soil was fit for the cultivation of grain like suzzaloo , **corralloo** , **mocca** jonnaloo, Geedda jonnaloo, green pessaloo, rape seeds, and amudalu. Other grain like Putcha jonnaloo, natchenny , black pessaloo, alachendaloo (kind of grain), oil seeds were produced under pedda panta cultivation. Cotton, tobacco, nutchenney, chillies, **termaric**, onions, garlic and betel gardens, were cultivated under jareeb crop cultivation.

### **Famines And Fluctuations**

The climatic upheavals and the disequilibrium caused by the seasonal fluctuations caused a decline not only in the agrarian economy but also affected societal activities, especially by reducing density of population in the region. Between 1750 and 1850, famines visited the region so frequently that it became incorporated into the economy of the region, where the sufferings were being extended to almost all groups. Some times, the famines turned to be a devastating one and spread over a vast area. In the later half of the eighteenth century the Northern Coromandel region witnessed several famines. For instance, a severe famine occurred in 1790-92 engulfing almost all four districts. Masulipatnam district also was affected by the famine of 1807. In 1823-24 a minor famine affected the Godavari district. In 1833 a succession of unfavorable seasons culminated in the great Guntur famine that devastated mostly Guntur and Masulipatnam districts. A high rate of population decline was

noticed in these two districts owing to this famine.<sup>36</sup> These drastic demographic changes affected the weavers too, both by reducing the market, and also by pushing up prices of raw materials.

Natural disasters which occurred in the region also altered the normally sedate rhythms of the textile **economy**. **Inundations** of the coast by the sea called uppena in local language, and cyclones were, for instance, other natural calamities that occurred in the region during these years. Many of the coastal areas around the Port Towns - Coringa, Ingeram, Narasapur were disastrously affected by the Inundation of 20 May 1787. In Guntur district a great loss was sustained by the village lying on the sea coast by a cyclone in December 1800. In 1839 another cyclone raged all along the coast from Vizagapatnam to Narasapur in the Northern Coromandel region. Such storms and cyclones not only disrupted production of textiles, but by affecting the shipping and river transportation, had a drastic impact on the marketing of the fabric.

### **Markets And Movement of Products**

While the linkages between the village society and organization of agricultural production was a primary link in the political economy of the region, the survival pattern of such an **economy** depended essentially on the commercial networks were that manifested at various market levels. The social relations in the trading locality were such that there was not only an horizontal **classification** resulting from economic disparities of their

profession, but also within each caste group a further stratification emerged. Such a stratification among the various elements of the trading world was further intensified by factors like the natural situation, the cultural requirements of the various 'regimes' in the region; and the relation of groups with the core areas of the world economy.

Beneath the surface of the highly specialized markets in the localities, the market operations at the village level called Santos or weekly markets, revolved around non-agrarian products and sundry articles produced in the neighbouring villages. The movement of surplus of grain from the country side into the arena of specialized market spaces or to the centres of internal market towns was done through a different mechanism. The wholesale transactions of the ryots were conducted in the villages through the service of Shaukars, the intermediary between the actual producers and the marketing groups. The general means of transport used by Shaukars was that they sent boats to the point on the canal nearest to the producing village or conveyed the grain away on strings of bullocks.

The irregular markets like santas and fairs were offered competition by shops, which Braudel has called "small units of elementary exchange", which were open all the time.<sup>39</sup> These shops, could be found in almost all the villages and cusbah towns on the main trading routes and all major commodity transactions were done at these fixed points. Enugula Veeraswamy, travelling through Northern Coromandel in the first years of the nineteenth

century has described these shops and their presence in every town and village.<sup>40</sup> The rural, village shops dealt in all kinds of necessary provisions while the shops in towns specialized in specific commodities.

Most of these shops were run by banias or Komaties, the traditional mercantile communities belonging to the Vaisya caste. Traditionally they appeared to have dominated the long distance commercial links with the merchant strangers residing in Port Towns. However, in Visakhapatnam district, the Vaisya community was classified into two sects namely, Gaura Komati and Traivarnikula Komati (or third caste). Gaura Komaties were followers of the Smarta, Ramanuja and Saiva sects and they specialized in cultivation as well as trade. Whereas the Taivarnikula Komaties were followers of the Ramanuja faith only, and their trade was limited exclusively to deal in gold and silver, and ornaments made there of.

In the trading arena of the region the presence of the Baliya community was equally significant, and the sub divisions within the Baliya community illustrate the fact that there existed a strict specialization based on the commodities they would market. There were, for instance, Gazula Baliyas dealing chiefly in Glass bangle, Voda Baliyas chiefly sailors; Pagada or Coral Baliyas dealing in coral and pearls, Linga or dudi Baliyas essentially dealing with trade in cotton. In the social hierarchy Baliyas were placed along with the Velamas, Kammas, Kapus and Kummaras (Pot makers), who belonged to the fourth group, the Sudra.<sup>41</sup>



While the traditional mercantile community appeared to have predominated the commercial networks in the hinterland trade, the skirt trading activity was facilitated by the presence of different social groups. For instance, the Muslim merchants travelled a long way from Nizam's dominions into the Masulipatnam district for carrying away specialized articles that would suit their internal markets at Hyderabad and other places. Whereas, the development of trade with the central provinces skirting along the agency or hill tracts was entirely in the hands of itinerant trader, the Banjara. The limited number of routes on account of the hilly tracts, and the presence of unsettled groups like Khonds in these tracts, appeared to have inhibited the development of commercial networks by the traditional communities. The entire trading network was, therefore, carried on by the Banjara of Chatisgurh and Rampore. They travelled a long way with thousands of bullocks laden chiefly with wheat, cotton, bengal grain, oil seeds through the Ganjam Maliahs, Jeypore and Rampah to the salt depots of the Ganjam, Vizagapatnam and Godavari districts. Their returns were mostly in salt.<sup>4</sup>

In Port towns of the Northern Coromandel region especially in Masulipatnam, the diasporic communities of merchants like Persians and Armenians were very crucial for the survival of long distance commercial networks. During eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to a large extent the town of Masulipatnam depended on the survival of the miniscule. <sup>44</sup>

## Conquest of **Space** And Colonial Frontier

The conquest of space by the colonial state, and the further extension of the frontier in the Deccan created political turmoil and war in the region. These political disturbances along with the colonial system of consolidation created an uneasy situation to the indigenous classes in the later half of the eighteenth century and distressed the Company's commercial and revenue settlement patterns considerably.

Even though the Company acquired political power in 1765, it took forty years for the Company to get a hold over the power structures, and to penetrate into the country side of the Northern Coromandel region. As a first step, the Company recognised the necessity of pacifying programmes, as it had recognised the need for a cautious policy in its relations with the Zamindars. This recognition derived from a feeling that the perceived powers of the Zamindars and lease holders stemmed essentially from their military force.<sup>45</sup>. In its initial period of administration in the region the Company, therefore, obliged many Zamindars to dismiss a great part of the military force, having allowed them to keep a minimum for revenue management.

In the midst of its pacification policies, the Company had to subdue those Zamindars, who flared up in stiff resistance to the colonial management in the region. Local elites and Zamindars unable to clear off the revenue demands of the new state, and to accept the new hegemonic control over their territorial possessions had created a disorderly situation in the region, and deterred the Company's attempts to penetrate in the

hinterland of the region. For instance, between 1785 and 1790 frequent disturbances occurred in Polavaram and Gutala Zamindari, the Zamindar having got the assistance of hill Zamindars also.<sup>46</sup> Particularly significant was the stiff opposition of the Vizianagaram Zamindar, who opposed the colonial intervention in the internal affairs of his Zamindari between 1760-1794. The defeat of this Zamindar by the Company was of importance for the textile economy as well as he wielded **enormous** power over the weavers resident in his **territories**. A similar situation prevailed in the Guntur district. As per the Firman of 1766, Basalat Jung the brother of the Nizam was allowed to retain the Guntur circar under his control, and be placed under Company's authority after him. Though Basalat Jung died in 1782, it took six years for the Company to secure the possession of the Guntur circar. Finally it acquired the district on 18 September 1787 not by military strength but through "Protracted **negotiations**".<sup>4</sup>

The Colonial state's involvement in the political affairs of the neighbouring states like Carnatic , Mysore and Nizam's Dominions was yet another consequence of the consolidation of the Company's Government. A fluid situation caused by this had given repercussions not only on the agrarian economy, but also affected the weaving world of the region, because the production organization, trading world and to some extent even the social world of the weavers depended on the relation of the Company's state with those rulers of these neighbouring powers at least till the period when Colonial hegemony was established in the region. <sup>49</sup>

## **Colonial Systems and Consolidation**

The colonial state consolidated its strength in the intricate and complex structure of the political economy of the region by initiating administrative forms of 'mature colonial systems. During the second half of the eighteenth century, these administrative forms operated at two levels. Revenue and commercial systems in fact, allowed the colonial state to secure a financial base for its strength and also provided new cohesiveness to the concept of Northern Coromandel.

For the management of the revenue administration the Company created new unit called 'The District' with the collector as its chief agent. Within the territoriality of the district, the collector either directly or indirectly controlled every department, except the Judicial. Prior to 1859-60, the Northern Coromandel region contained four such revenue districts namely, Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatnam and Guntur.

## **Commercial System And Collaborative Groups**

A parallel administrative organization was provided for conducting the Investment of the Company during this period. In the trading world of the region, the intense competition among British, French and Dutch, was rendered more competitive with the presence of diasporic communities like the Armenians and the Persians.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century there was a marked decline in the participation of the Dutch in the Coromandel trade, as its activities were limited to Jagganathpuram (Cocanada), Palakollu and Masulipatnam. The French East India Company enjoyed considerable trading privileges brief intervals at Visakapatnam, Yanam, Ingeram, Maddapollam and Masulipatnam, at Yanam the French retained in a prime position from 1816 well into the twentieth century. The East India Company however emerged as the sole power in controlling the entire long distance trade networks by consolidating its political power in all port settlements of the Northern Coromandel, namely, Visakhapatnam, Jagganathapuram, Ingeram, Narasapur/Maddapollam, Palakollu, Masulipatnam and Visakhapatnam<sup>51</sup>

The entire commercial organization was broadly divided into three parts, namely the Court of Directors in England, the Board of Trade in Madras, and Company's Establishment at the factory with Commercial Resident as chief. The Court of Directors generally dispatched the yearly list of investment during winter by January or February of each year to the different factories 'in India'. Lists were prepared about two years ahead of the arrival of goods in England, to allow sufficient time for the despatch of the order, the negotiation of contracts, the collections of goods by the merchants and their shipment to England. These consolidated dispatches on the investment were forwarded to the Board of Trade in Madras, which again was responsible for sending out individual lists to the particular

factories concerned. The crucial role of the Board of Trade lay essentially not only in determining the probable quantity to be provided at the various factories but it would also involve in deciding the amount of money to be spent on packing, washing, beating and transporting of goods. The Board of Trade also specified the salaries to be paid for Commercial Resident and other higher European officials, and those persons who occupied different positions in the native establishment of each of these factories. <sup>52</sup>

A typical factory like the Ingeram factory at Neelapalli in Rajahmundry district occupied a vast area extending to nearly few hundred acres. This factory area contained large buildings called Bale Godown, sorting godown, cash godown, cutcherry, record rooms and small buildings used for making wax cloth (for wrapping) with tank and wells included. Washing Greens containing wells and tanks, but no buildings were located within the factory area.

The factory, with a Commercial Resident assisted by Deputy Commercial Resident, was restructured considerably by the end of the eighteenth century. The Commercial Resident was responsible for channelising the entire machinery of the Company's investment in the entire zone that came under the purview of each factory and enjoyed considerable judicial powers in deciding the matters related to the factory affairs.<sup>54</sup>

In the factory area, there was a native **establishment** as well with a number of assistants to run the affairs. By 1828, at the Visakhapatnam factory, for instance, the proposed establishment commenced of with 30 assistants with different functional operations. Head servant, accountant, record keeper, writer, warehouse keeper shrof, beating kanapalli, washing kanapillai gentoo assistants, lascars and a host of others. They received fixed monthly salaries.<sup>55</sup>

Among the multitude of mediators, merchants, revenue officials and others who facilitated commerce one of the most significant was perhaps the dubashee. By definition looking both ways, speaking two tongues, the Dubash was a necessary bridge between the two commercial worlds, and thus became a key, powerful **element** in the construction of the new world of **mercantile** activity in the Coromandel.

The role of Dubasha spread out over vast space covering all aspects in political situations, in district revenue administration, and in organizing the commercial revenue of the Company by an interpretator role between the new merchants and the indigenous groups.<sup>57</sup> In this period corruption and mismanagement of district affairs came to be attributed to the powerful role of the Dubashas in the Company affairs at various administrative levels. In fact, it was this alarming influence that necessitated the district revenue officials to converse in popular local language an instrument of colonial control through the cultural conquest.<sup>58</sup>

## **Loom Centres And Location Patterns**

It was in this historical context where the political, social, economic and cultural forces added complexities to the existing political economy of the region that the weaving world of the Northern Coromandel was situated.

During the period 1750-1850, the weaving, industry constituted the most important occupation next to agriculture. Besides various weaving communities, the textile economy of the region incorporated other supplementary groups who also participated in textile production.

The spatial location of all these communities, and the distribution of weaving villages was conditioned by many factors like the availability of raw materials, proximity to the centers of raw materials, accessibility to nearby market centers and port towns, means of transport, and ecological factors.<sup>59</sup>

In the Northern Coromandel region, the chief centers of textile manufacturing were located mostly within the territories of the Zamindars, and only a few were located in the haveli possessions of the Company as demonstrated in the Table No 2:1



## 2.2 Weaving Centres and Factories

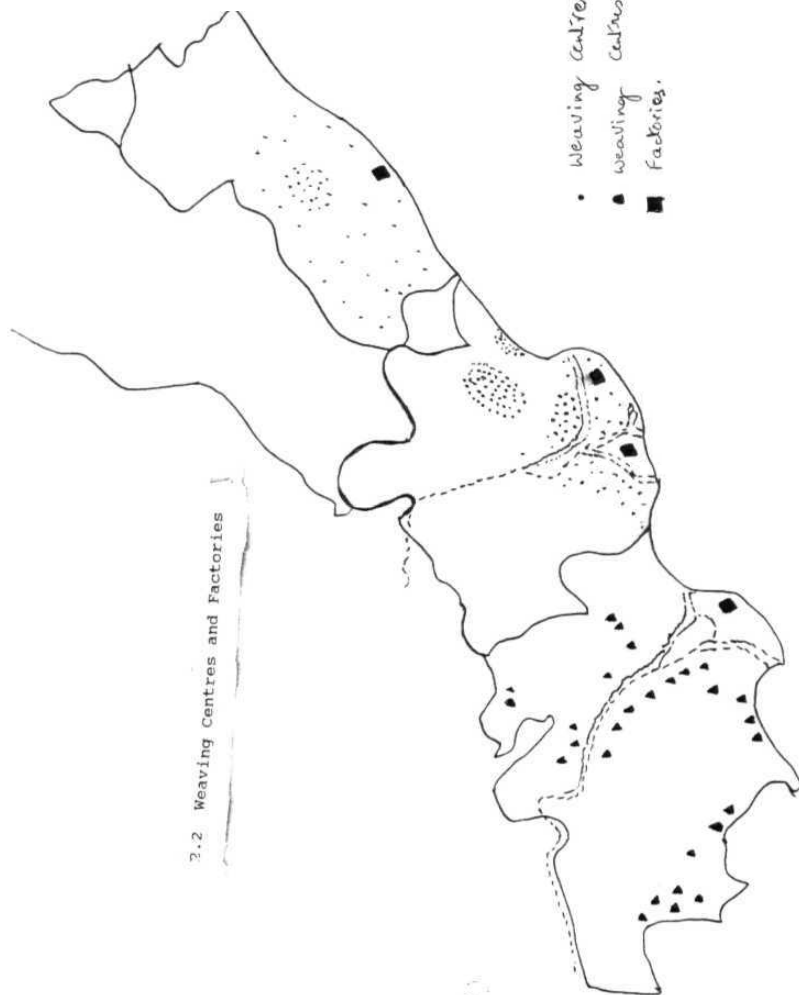


TABLE 2:1

NUMBER OF LOOMS IN THE VARIOUS REVENUE DIVISIONS OF  
THE NORTHERN COROMANDEL

		Number of Paraganas	Number of Villages	Number of Looms
1. PEDDAPURAM	ZAMINDARI	14	388	2358
2. PETHAPURAM	ZAMINDARI	7	127	1147
3. PAROOR	ZAMINDARI	1	34	493
4. RAMACHANDRAPURAM	ZAMINDARI	1	38	508
5. COTAH	ZAMINDARI	1	28	162
6. POLAVARAM	ZAMINDARI	2	65	132
7. GOOTALAH	ZAMINDARI	2	66	286
8. COTTAHPALLI	ZAMINDARI	1	32	112
9. CORCONDAH	ZAMINDARI	1	55	144
10. PALLECODAH	ZAMINDARI		1	
11. TOTAPALLI	ZAMINDARI	1	45	4
12. VELLAMPOLLEM	MIRASIDAR		7	80
13. VAGAYAMPETAH	MIRASIDAR		7	55
14. JALLAMOODY	MIRASIDAR		1	
15. ANGARAH	MIRASIDAR		1	
16. MOOKAUMELLAW	MIRASIDAR		1	15
17. VILLAH	MIRASIDAR		1	31
18. VENCATOYPOLLAM	MIRASIDAR		1	2
19. DOWLESWARAM	JAGIRDAR		4	30
20. COTTAHPILLI	JAGIRDAR		1	85
21. MORUMPOODY	JAGIRDAR		1	192
22. JAGEER VENTOOR	JAGIRDAR		1	3
23. GOMMALOOR & NELATORE	JAGIRDAR		2	82
24. VALASH	JAGIRDAR		1	4
25. BOTOOPILLY	JAGIRDAR		1	10
26. GOODEGUDLA BEGAM	JAGIRDAR		1	2
27. GOODEGUDLA BEGAM	JAGIRDAR		1	
28. MOGULTORE	ZAMINDARI		246	678
29. CHINTALAPOODY SAMOOTOO		1	10	
30. TALECONDAH		5	10	
31. NUNDEGAMA	ZAMINDARI	3	123	
32. CHALLAPILLY	ZAMINDARI	1	66	259
33. JAOJOOR & PARETATAH	ZAMINDARI	3	48	227
34. MYLAVARAM	ZAMINDARI	1	53	62
35. MODOORGUTTAH	ZAMINDARI	1	33	14
36. ZAMOOLVOY	ZAMINDARI	1	38	112
37. MOONAGALA	ZAMINDARI	1	19	67
38. LINGAGARY	DESMUKH	1	6	2
39. IANOOPILLY	JAGIRDAR	1	1	12
40. BEZAWARAH	ZAMINDARI		48	227
41. DAVARAHCOTAH				
42. ELLORE	HAVELI			141
43. DOOVAH	HAVELI			65
44. MUSTAHFANAGAR	HAVELI			80
45. TOOMMEDY	HAVELI			2
46. PADANAH	HAVELI			272

47. GUNDOOR	HAVELI	100
48. AKKLAMMUNARA	HAVELI	57
49. COORTEVEMNOO SAMUTOO	HAVELI	
50. NIZAMPATNAM	HAVELI	830
51. SIX ISLANDS	HAVELI	13
52. BANDADAH	HAVELI	
53. TOONDOOROO	HAVELI	1
54. BANDARLANKA	HAVELI	80
55. TUMBLEDEEVEE	HAVELI	39
56. RUSTUSBADAH	HAVELI	62
57. DEEVEEH	HAVELI	85
58. ANTERVADY	HAVELI	1
59. NELLAPALLI	HAVELI	117
60. RAJAHMUNDRY	HAVELI	24
61. ENGOODROO	HAVELI	118
62. VULLOORE SAUMOOTOO	HAVELI	53

**Source:** For details on the Haveli lands dependent on Masulipatnam see Edward Saunders, Gidon firth, Henry Morris, Hugh Maxwell to Campbell, BOR, 18 December 1786, called generally Circuit Committee Report, MDR 3 009

The weaving centres of the eighteenth century Godavari district were distributed essentially in the three main ancient zamindaries of the district namely, Peddapuram, Pitahpuram and Cotah Ramachandrapuram. Falling within the fertile area of the major river basin zones, and possessing the richest parts of the district, these three Zamindars occupied a very conspicuous position in the political economy of the region, contributing not only to the agrarian prosperity of the district, but also turning out the popular fabric like Long Cloth of different assortments, Salampores, Muslins, Izzaries and many other textiles meant for regional as well as local markets. Yet another cluster of weaving villages was located in Mugaltore Zamindari area, where long cloth of coarser variety was provided, besides considerable quantities or other cloth varieties.<sup>60</sup>

Even though the weaving centres were densely clustered in these ancient zamindaries of the Godavari district, on a lesser scale the industry turned out different cloth varieties in other zamindaries also. These weaving centres were located only in the agriculturally prosperous zones, that come under the River Basin Zone II, and the weaving centres were rarely noticed in the upland areas or nearer to the hill-tracts. For instance, in Gutala and Polavaram zamindari areas only few weaving centres specialized in producing cloth for local consumption only.<sup>61</sup>

In Masulipatnam district too, during the late eighteenth century, the weaving centres were concentrated in the ancient zamindaries of the region, from where chay goods of different varieties travelled a long distance and reached distant markets of Europe and Africa.<sup>62</sup> There were concentrations of weaving villages in Raypally Zamindari, Rauchur Zamindari, Chilakaluripadu Zamindari and Sattenapalli Zamindari. From these villages, various types of cloth was being produced for export as well as internal consumption.

In the haveli tracts of the Company, the weaving centres were in Elluru, Padanah, Gundoor, and Nizampatnam circar areas. The haveli lands of Toomedi and Padanah were situated in the neighbourhood of Masulipatnam; punjum cloth of different sorts, Gingham and Cambalies were main cloth varieties produced in these haveli lands. Nizampatam circar was a strip of the Guntur circar upon the sea coast. Clusters of weaving villages in the vicinity of the Nizampatam were specialized in producing coloured goods, as they could get enough raw materials locally.

In Visakhapatnam district nearly 50 percent of the weaving population was situated in the space falling under the jurisdiction of Vizianagaram Zamindari. Other Zamindari areas and minor zamindaries like Bobbili, Salloor, Sharemahapnedapur, Belgaum, Seereepuram Mirazy, Palkondah, Wooratlah, Anakapilly, Vamodoopoody, Nukapilly, Kinpally, and Coorpaum were also weaving centres of considerable importance in this period. Even though the weaving centres were scattered over the entire district, the most important clusters of weaving villages were located in the settled agrarian areas.

The Northern Coromandel textiles could perhaps be categorized into three distinct varieties, plain white cloth, chay goods composing both dyed cotton and cloth patterned on the looms and the painted and printed fabrics, called chintz goods during this period. The plain white production included long cloths, Salempores, izzaries, muslins, bettelees, percaules, dungaries, and others mostly meant for long distance trade . A correlation between the production of special varieties and geographical location was distinctly maintained during this period. Even though, the weaving centres could produce other categories of textiles, still, there was a high concentration of weavers producing white piece goods of different denomination Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts. Further, within each district the weavers arrogated themselves spaces for providing different cloth varieties, meant either for local or external market purpose.

Within the spatial distribution of the weaving communities, a new category of producers began to emerge in the late eighteenth century, namely, the Company weavers, who produced cloth for the Company. The location of these weavers within the wider textile zones was noticeable clearly. For instance, in Visakhapatnam district in the late eighteenth century, the geographical position of weavers producing Company's cloth can be perceived clearly from the Table 5:3

In the Godavari district, the principal part of the Company's investment for the Ingeram and Maddapollam Factories was centered around the villages that fell within major Zamindari areas. For instance, the Table 2:2 illustrates the composition of weavers and looms for Company's investment in the zamindaries. Peddapuram, Pitahpuram and Cotah and Ramachandrapuram.

Even though the punjam cloth production could be carried on in centres nearer to Masulipatnam, still they were considered inferior in quality. As a result the Company's demand for these varieties was met from the weaving centres of Godavari and Visakhapatnam until the abolition of these factories in 1830s.<sup>67</sup>

The existing literature on the geographical location of weaving centres producing white piece goods, suggests that there was a shift in the location pattern of these villages during 17th century. For instance John Irwin has suggested that:

In the first half of the 17th century, all these types of plain woven cloth came chiefly from Golconda especially the coastal belt stretching from Masulipatnam in the South to Vizagapatnam in the North. By the end of the century, however, production was centred mainly along the coast of Madras proper.

WEAVERS AND LOOMS EMPLOYED FOR COMPANY'S INVESTMENT IN INDIGENOUS AND MADRAS LUMBER FACTORIES IN 1902

	PEDDAPURAM		PITAMPURAM		COTAH AND RAMCHANDRAPURAM		UNGER COMPANY'S DISTRICTS			
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II		
Kundika	8	8	Pollasooroo	11	13	Chintalooroo	7	8	Unghah	87
Peddapulla	16	16	AnapartySuvaras	8	8	Saaleeloh	6	6	Vadoodandy	8
Pennapulla	18	18	Conaarapoor	6	8	Benavara	17	17	Hoovoonettah	28
Taley	8	8	Gundradoo	17	19	Caduradoo	13	16	Raujanagar	23
Veeravillepallam	3	4	Gollalaamedadai	18	22	Caduradoo	11	12	Modocoro	6
Maucharah	9	9	Brahavoloo	7	7	Veravara	9	9	Moroundah	14
Poumaroo	4	4	Peddah	17	19	Dungaroo	25	29	Vencatayapalas	5
Capuleswarapooram	19	19	Braadavus	5	5	Gollah	37	44	Terrapollavaram	33
Corogully	18	13	Raujopolam	9	9	Duravattus	37	49	Pannampilly	4
Vaikatipiah	6	6	Concordoo	11	11	Crappah	12	12	Vallampolam	4
Raukumapettah	18	17	Vollapollam	21	23	Soobhasapettah	16	16	Vallaraavarum	21
Vuveliaroo	34	47	Joneadai	8	11	Nedocoroo	3	4	Vellah	17
Dodiguetah	3	3	Cautila Pully	28	21	Coropillah	1	1	Moorampoo	13
Daviliasavaras	3	4	Raukumapattah	9	18	Bauvaras	16	17	Ragodavapooram	2
Bonooroo	2	3	Tiagaroor	6	6	Toorungy	11	12	Melapurtipaudoo	3
Chattapannagaram	1	2	Pedapoor	38	44	Putariagudah	12	17		
Tanjavole	6	6	Cullamoor	5	7	Gorrapoody	31	32		
Pallacade	3	3	Tirapully	2	2	Durallacutah	18	21		
Pooconduram	1	1	Kycavoloo	8	9	Goddattipolam	2	2		
Duravarun	15	16	Pedapody	38	33	Valungy	18	18		
Tirupetty	3	3	Vaijagatodoo	4	4	Dooqqooroo	5	6		
Veddaswaras	4	4	Vellatoo	29	38	Mopilly	3	3		
Uppanadipal	1	1	Tooney	91	96	Coyroo	2	2		
Chacodudai	3	3	Anuroo	8	8	Mulla Gangaree	16	18		
Veeravara	17	8	Serarasooru	37	43	Pendalappa	36	36		
Terrapully	3	3	Coropillaulavaram	6	6	Chilliaroo	9	9		
Ravipollam	3	3	Raujavarum	4	4	Pydionda	4	4		
Vellasevar	6	7	Bunahundooroo	4	4	Toorungy	6	8		
Bogampooram	9	9	Coliaroo	3	3	RauyacuFaudoo	4	5		
Ferravara	13	13	Autecavaugey Feolles	2	2	Buda Bauvaras	3	3		
Soovarava			Chidruapada	2	2	Chi drupada	7	9		





The detailed evidence on the textile economy of the Northern Coromandel set out above shows however, that there was a continuity in the geographical patterns of production centres well into the first half of the nineteenth century. And these weaving centres could sustain their production process owing to the availability of large scale supply of cotton from the outside regions.<sup>57</sup>

The Chay goods industry of the Northern Coromandel was mostly concentrated in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, even though a few centres from Godavari district also specialized in chay goods production. The different textiles coming under the of category of chay goods fall within two distinct varieties suggested by John Irwin, dyed cotton and cloth patterned on the looms. By the second half of the eighteenth century the dyed cotton varieties from Masulipatnam factory area, namely, Allegers, **Callowpores**, and a wide variety of Masulipatnam **romals** played a significant part in the re-export trade of the Company. When the Company used these varieties for meeting the requirements of African markets. Masulipatnam romals appeared to be very popular in the European markets, especially in France, by the later half of the eighteenth century.

There were two cloth varieties patterned on the loom that had a high demand : red and blue Ginghams , and sastracundies. Ginghams were striped cotton woven with double threaded warps and wefts, while sastracundies were described "**as** dyed in the thread before making". By the later half of the eighteenth century,

these two varieties had a high demand from Masulipatnam factory.<sup>70</sup> The concentration of the villages producing these chay good varieties can be seen in the Table 2:3

TABLE 2: 3

List of weaving looms for the manufacturing of chay goods in Masulipatnam and Guntur district:

Pargana Name	Village	No. Looms
Northward of Kistna		
Enoogodoora	Chilacalapudi	4
	Chentaguntapollam	20
	Chennapooram	50
	Machavaram	10
	Ramanahnaidoopettah	
	Employs on his own private account	16
	Nelacooroo	20
	Uttamore	5
	Pedana	300
	Buttiprole	20
Pedana	Nundigamah	50
	Bavadavarapally	10
Devy	Salampollam	20
	Codooroo	50
	Cottapettah and Avenigeddah	20
	Nunegeddah	4
Gundoor	Rayavaram	40
	Mullolao	30
	Idoollapalli	20
	Gancapoody	10
Aucoolamunnadoo	Polavaram	30
Devaracotah	Gopalapaudoo	55
	Mungalapooram	10
	Cullpalley	20
	Challpulle	40
	Bagereddypilley	10
	Cajah	80
	Guntasala	50
	Potralanka	50
Southward of <b>Kistnah</b>		
Nizampatam Circar	Vetapollam	150
	Rajavoloo	50
	Nizampatnam	20

	Mungalagiri	100
	Ulloore	50
	Peddapally	5
	Cheroocoomulley	20
	Adoollapullay	50
	Perala	200
Ongole District	Chirala village 1 coss distant from Ventapollam, the two villages being separated by the narrowest part of the Guntur Circar	580
	Pundalapelly, not 2 coss distant from Ventapollam	300
Guntur Circar	Ravoory Pettah	50
	Naidoopelly	100
	Entoor	20
	Butteprooloo	300
	Uddapelly	50
	Canagala	20
	Ilavaram	100
	Gaoddavelley	20
	Conateypooram	40
	Pattaroo	100
	Doleypoody	50
	Gouadah	20
	Rapalli	80
	Taddy Pundah	50
	Tanali	100
	Aalaaroo	50
	Poonnaaroo	20
	Chayboloo	100
	Yepoore	300

In the villages to the northward of the Kistnah river a great deal of punjum and country cloths were also manufactured for home use and some of punjam cloths for exportation.

Source: Stratham W.H. Keeper and Resident at Nizampatnam to Charles Floyer, Chief and Council Masulipatnam 26 July 1786, MDR 2900 A, pp.15-17.

It is therefore evident that while the centres located to the South of Kistna specialized exclusively in chay good production, those to the North were producing punjum and other varieties meant for local consumption, besides turning out chay goods varieties also.

The distribution of the chay good manufactures could be explained on the ground of special geographical features of the area. The coastal sandy soils found in the Bandar taluk of Krishna district, and the coastal margins of the Bapatlah taluk were conducive for cultivating the best kind of chay root, used for red dye in the manufacturing of chay goods. For instance, the availability of chay root in the Zilla led to the concentration of centres for producing red coloured handkerchiefs, loongies, Sookies, cloth in places like Perala, Vetapalem Mangalagiri, Rajah pettah, Battiprole and others areas.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, the deep black soils and the medium black soils along the coast of the Pranahita, Godavari and Krishna rivers support cotton crops extensively in the region.<sup>72</sup> Besides, there was a high concentration of Togata weavers, and Rangirajulu in the Masulipatnam and Guntur districts. K.N. Chaudhuri has suggested, that the availability of the raw materials coupled with the cumulative effect created by a hereditary concentration of craft skills produced a specific location specialization.<sup>3</sup> This process seems to have contributed to the geographically specific development of the chay good industry in Masulipatnam and Guntur

Similar factors were at work in determining the location of centres producing the painted and printed multihued fabrics called chintz, locally known as Kalamkari. Chintz production was concentrated in places like Masulipatam, Palakollu and Jagganadhapuram. <sup>74</sup>

Apart from the availability of chay root in the region there were two other factors which helped to explain the concentration of chintz production in this area. One was the presence of running water which is a prime requisite, for the printed materials required to be washed in gently flowing water to remove excess gum prior to dyeing. The second was the availability of water (whether from rivers, tanks or wells) which had a specific chemical composition, particularly substances, like calcium and allum, the presence of which helped the dyeing process. The high concentration of broken or rotten shells in the sandy soil of the region constituting an important source of calcium would have contributed also to the development of printing craft<sup>75</sup>

While the proximity to the areas of raw materials was no doubt an important factor in determining the position of a particular branch of weaving industry, it was not however an absolute factor. The most striking aspect of the location of weaving centres of Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts was that they depended to a considerable extent on the inter-regional movement of raw cotton from distant places especially central Deccan, Nagapore, and such a movement of cotton was made possible owing to the presence of itinerant traders, and merchant groups who undertook this task during this period.

These weaving villages were located within the radius of cities and towns, the social spaces for the congregation of local artisans, producers, and traders. These cities were considered as 'retain centres' and 'bulking points' for the immediate hinterland of the region, where a hierarchy of classes was

perceived in the trade of important commodities like spices, fine grain, textiles, and salt.

A high level exchange of textiles of the region was transacted at larger towns, which were generally transit chowkies for the long distance and high value trade. A town was a real space for the congregation of brokers, merchants and artisans during this period. In early nineteenth century Northern Coromandel most of the towns were inhabited by weavers and traders who primarily dealt with the trade in textiles and export to various regional centres.

This type of concentration and specialization of weaving centres was sustained through out the period, owing to certain well marked channels of transport and communication that linked the hinter land of the weaving world to markets and port towns. The major arteries of transport were the river systems of the region, dominated by the Krishna and the Godavari and their tributaries and the branches. Although there was a high volume of land based traffic, goods being transported on pack oxen, the river systems played an equally important role.<sup>77</sup> While the river and the land traffic played a key role in linking the hinterland to the ports, it was the ports that became the pivotal elements in linking the region to the world at large. On the coast of Northern Coromandel, were dotted important port towns, that emerged as trading areas for the cloth of the Coromandel weaver.

In the Northern Coromandel region, Visakhapatnam emerged as the the northern most port town during this period, owing to the

natural advantages which it enjoyed. Visakhapatnam lay on a river which was barred at the entrance but with eight to ten feet depth at the shallowest point, was capable of admitting boats and ships of small size.

Coringa Bay that lay south wards from Visakhapatnam was extremely important on the Coromandel coast. A number of ports were dotted on the way that figured prominently in the long distance trade of the Northern Coromandel region. These ports were Coringa, Cocanada, Ingeram, Bandarlanka, Narasapore, Masulipatnam and Motupalli or Nizampatnam.

Bandarlanka on the island of **Conaseemah** formed by the two great branches of Godavari has a sea port, and low ground was eligibly situated as a port of the **Gdavari**. Prior to 1750s there was an English factory for the provision of Long cloth. Coringa was situated 9 miles south west of Cocanada. It was the only place between Calcutta and **Tricomali** where large vessels used to be docked.

Five miles to south of Coringa were Nellapalli and Ingeram. The English Factory at this place remained significant till the English retreated from the textile trade of the country in the 1830s. Ingeram, in fact, enjoyed two great **qualifications** as a factory: that it was situated near one of the principal mouths of the Godavari, and that very good cloth was made here.

Narasapur in **Rajahmundry** was also an important port during this period. It adjoined Maddepallam and had the advantage of a large and deep arm of the Godavari which flowed into the sea. It

became an important supply centre for textiles in the 18th century. About 8 miles north-west of Narasapur was a small town, Veeravasaram a market for textiles. Masulipatnam is about 45 miles from these places and goods could shipped there by small craft along the coast or carried by draught oxen.

Motupalli was the only sea port in the region which was under the control of the Nizam. It was adjacent to the Nizampatnam circar on the south. It gave about 4000 pagodas yearly, had about 5 cos of sea coast, a considerable trade, at least 20 boats beging admitted and there being deep water and better surf the shipping could come to within a mile of the shore. The road of Nizampatnam had similar advantages except that being deeper in the bay it was not easy to work out against the south east winds but owing to the north east monsoon vessels could remain there in great security.

Masulipatnam was a major port of outlet on the eastern side, and was able to look both east and west and lock into the trade of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. For the Europeans this inter-regional linkage was its major attraction. **moreover**, it was one of the very few ports on this coast with direct sailings to the Red sea port of Mocha, the South Arabian port of Muskat and the Persian gulf ports of Basra and Bandar Abbas. It was the port with the most voluminous contact with Surat. It shared with other ports the trade to Malabar, Ceylon and the Maldives. **There** was a heavy ground swell during the north-east monsoon, and at the height of the monsoon, during October to mid-december, the



port was virtually closed. As it was at the mouth of one of the branches of the **krishna** river which entered the ocean here, sand banks and shoals were common, and ships had to navigate cautiously. The town was about a mile up the river and the mouth had a bar with just one foot of water in the dry season. Ships were loaded and unloaded by masoola boats which sailed through the bar into the river. The river itself, though shallow, was reasonably free of silting, and boats had an easy passage upstream.<sup>7 ft</sup>

The foregoing description of the agrarian structure of the Northern Coromandel region, its economy, the location of the weaving centres, its ports and its ecological context, was an attempt to delineate the political, economic and geographical contours of the world in which the weaver was situated. As important as the parameters of this world were the factors that shaped the social world of the weaver. It was, after all a community of weavers which produced the textiles that the world sought, and it is necessary, therefore, to examine the nature of the weavers' society.

## Notes

1. R.E. Frykenberg, 'Company Circar in the Carnatic 1799-1859 : The Inner Logic of Political Systems in India' in Richard G. Fox (ed.), Realm and Region in Traditional India. New Delhi, 1977, pp.117-159.
2. Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism 15th - 18th Century Vol.1. The Structure of Every day Life : The Limits of the Possible. (Sian Reynolds), London 1985, p.98.
3. See Madras Despatches 13 January 1755, Para 26, I, P.362; Madras Despatches 12 May 1758, Para 13, I, p.921; for instance the Despatch of 12 May 1758 emphasized the necessity of doing everything for the recovery of the Northern Circars quoted in Lanka Sundaram, 'The Revenue Administration of the Northern Sarcars 1769-1786', Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, 7 to 15, Rajahmundry, 1946.
4. Report on the Zamindari Lands, 1787, generally called Circuit Committee Report, 15 February, Masulipatnam District Records [hereafter MDR] 3009. passim; Same as Godavari District Record [hereafter GDR] 4632, pp.1-91; Northern Circars Extract-from the Fifth Report of the Parliamentary Committee of East India Affairs, 1813 III (Rpt.1) Delhi, 1984; For details on the origin of Zamindari territories in Godavari District, see W. Robertson, Collector, Rajahmundry to BOR, 25 June 1823, GDR 4637, pp.156-157; Tomati Donappa Andhra Samsthanamulu : Sahitya Poshana, Waltair, 1969 (Tel), For Genealogies of Principal Zamindari families in Masulipatnam, Gordon Mackenzie, A Manual of the Kistna District in the Presidency of Madras, called generally Krishna District Manual [hereafter KDM] Madras, 1853, Ch.10.
5. For a description of the Company's lands see Report of the Farms and Havelly Lands dependent on Masulipatnam, 18 December 1786, GDR 4632, pp.93-96.
6. For a sketch on special agencies created by the Company in the Northern Coromandel region, see CD. Maclean, Manual of Madras Administration, 1, pp.68-77; For details of the assistance provided by the hill chiefs to Polavaram Zamindar see Henry Morris, A descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavary District in the Presidency of Madras, generally called Godavari District Manual [hereafter GDM], London, 1878, pp.249-251.
7. Ratnalekha Ray, 'The Bengal Zamindars Local Magnates and the state before the Permanent Settlement', IESHR. 12.3, (1975), pp.263-293.
8. Letter from Mr. Wynch, 19 December 1770, General Report of BOR, [hereafter GRBOR], I, 1871, p.4; Also see for a detailed description on the nature of Zamindari right over the revenues from artisans and weavers, see Chapter 8

9. **Ratnalekha Ray**, 'The Bengal Zamindars', (1975), pp.267-70.
10. Board of Revenue ( hereafter BOR), to A.D.Campbell Acting Collector, Rajahmundry, GDR 909, p.27, GRBOR 2, pp.86,87; also extracts from Reports respecting Land Tenures in the Carnatic and Mysore Territory 26 February 1807, Appendix 36, **F.R.Ferminger**, Fifth Report 3. Rept. Delhi, 1984, p.344; Sarada Raju Presidential Address : Indian History congress [hereafter IHC] 37 series Calicut 1976, p.4.
11. BOR to A.D. **Campwell** Acting Collector, GDR 909 A, pp.27,28.
12. **CD. Maclean**, Manual of the Madras Administration of Madras Presidency in Illustration of the Records of Government Administrative Reports. Madras 1885, (rept. New Delhi,) Vol.3, p.113.
13. BOR to A.D. Campbell, GDR 909/A, pp.13-28.
14. Skinner Collector, Rajahmundry to BOR, GDR 857, pp.154-187.
15. BOR to A.D. Campbell, Acting Collector, GDR 909/A, pp.23-29.
16. **Sulekha Chandra Gupta**, Agrarian Relations and Early British Rule in India : A case study of Ceded and Conquered Provinces U.P. 1801-1833, Bombay, 1963, pp.53-59.
17. Census Report of 1871, quoted in Henry Morris, GDM. p.331.
18. For a detailed description on the nature of revenue system, especially the shares allotted to different groups of cultivators and others. See John Read Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 11 November, 1800, Masulipatnam District Racords [ hereafter MDR ], 2998 [hereafter MRD].
19. **Dharma Kumar**, Land and Caste in South India Agricultural Labour in the Madras Presidency during the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge, 1965, gives a general description about the composition of agricultural labour in South India. **H. Oakes**, Collector, Rajahmundry to PBR, 25 April, 1817, GDR, 878, pp.64-70.
20. **F.R. Hemingway**, Madras District Gazzetteer : Godavary District, [hereafter GGD], Madras 1907, pp.90-91.
21. John Read Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 11 November 1800, MDR 2998, pp.134-135.
22. Elliot MSS Local History I on the origins of Village Accountants pp.93-97 [IOC] quoted in R.E. Frykenberg. 'The administration of Guntur District with special reference to Local Influences on Revneue Policies 1757-1848, Ph.D. dissertation, London, 1961, p.26; Grama Kaifiyath collected by colonel Mackenzie, in fact provide the most detailed account of these village functionaries in various districts

of the region see Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Gramakaifivatlu, of various Zillahs [Krishna, Godavari, Guntur, Visakhapatnam and Srikakullam, Hyderabad, 1982-1990.

23. Collector H. Oakes to BOR, 25 April 1817, GDR 878, pp.67-70, where the shares received by the twelve officers of the Rajahmundry Zilla were specified.
24. H. Oakes, Collector to BOR, 25 April 1817, GDR 878, pp.64-70; Edgar Therston, Caste and Tribes of South India. (Rept. New Delhi, 1975), pp.228-248.
25. Collector Sellwell to BOR, 5 December 1814, GDR 876, p.97; Johnwish Collector, Guntur to BOR, 9 June 1823, gudr 3979, pp.134-164.
26. Selwell, Collector Rajahmundry to BOR, 5 December 1814, GDR 876, p.24.
27. BOR, to A. Campbell, Acting Collector, GDR 909/A, pp.13-28.
28. R.F. Frykenberg, The Administration of Guntur District, with special reference to Local Influences on Revenue Policy 1837-1848, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1961.
29. Collector, Guntur to Edward Saunders, BOR, on Annual Report for Fasli 1204, 1205, 25 November 1796, No.859, gudr 979 B, pp.596-600, provides details on the functionary aspects of the various native officers in Guntur District.
30. Gordon Mackenzie, KDM, p.343.
31. The contribution of each of the groups to the revenues of a particular village are described in detail, in Mackenzie Collections. For Guntur District see, Andhra Pradesh State Archives Gama Kaifivatlu ; Guntur Zillah. 1-5, Hyderabad, 1982-90.
32. For a recent discussion on the role of the money lender in rural India, see David Cheesman, 'The Omnipresent Bania : Rural Money lenders in Nineteenth century Sind; Modern Asian Studies [hereafter MAS], 10.3, (1982), pp.445-462; W.C. Gambier to Edward Saunders, 9 April 1796, GDR 843, 46-50; Petition of the Banias of Palacolle to the BOR, 31 January, 1799, GDR 888, pp.504-9.
33. S.Manzoor Alam and B.P.R. Vittal (et.al ed.), Planning Atlas of Andhra Pradesh. Government of India & Andhra Pradesh, 1974.
34. F.R.Hemingway, GGD, Ch.4, pp.68-69.
35. Guntur Collector to Edward Saunders, BOR, Annual Report for Fusli 1204, 1205 25 November 1796, No.859, gudr 979/B, pp.524-26.

36. For a note on the history of famines in eighteenth and nineteenth Andhra, see A Sarada Raju, Economic Conditions in The Madras Presidency 1800-1950. University of Madras, 1941, Ch.18, pp.283-291.
37. F.R. Hemingway, GGD.
38. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, XXII, pp.62-64.
39. Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism 15-18th Century : The Wheels of Commerce. 2, (tr by Sion Reynolds) Fontana Press, 1985, Ch.1, the Instruments of Exchange, pp.60-61.
40. Enugula Veera Swamys's Journal (Kasiyatra Charitra), Tel. Compiled by Komalewarapuram Srinivasa Pillai ed. & tr. by p.Sitapathi and V.Purushotham, Hyderabad, 1973. Veeraswamy started his journey at Madras on 18th May 1830, and returned to Madras on 3rd Sept, 1831, having visited almost every important place on the East Coast, going as far as Calcutta and even Benares
41. D.F. Carmichel, A Manual of the Vizagapatnam District in the Presidency of Madras. Madras 1869, pp.62-63.
42. For the role of Muslim merchants in the trading arena of the region, see chapter 6;
43. For a discussion on Banjaras participation in the textile economy of the region see chapter 4.
44. For the role of diasporic communities in the commercial world of the region, see section on chay good and chintz products in chapter 6.
45. A detailed description of the way in which the Company carried out the pacification programme, see Lanka Sundarm, 'The Revenue Administration of the Northern Sarcars, 1769-1786, Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society 7-15, Rajahmundry, 1946; Burton Stein, 'Integration of the Agrarian system of South India' in his All the Kings Mana : Papers on Medieval South India History. Madras, 1984, p.128.
46. Henry Morris, GDM, p.254.
47. Somesekhara Sarma (ed. ), Bobbili Yuddha Khtha. Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras 1950. This is a ballad on the Battle of Bobbili fought in 1757 between Gopalakrishna Rangarao of Bobbili and Vijayaramaraju of Vizianagaram in Visakhapatnam district in which the French sided former and crushed the authority of Vizianagaram Raju. This explains the Political conflicts that existed between the French and the Rajah; This power is reflected in the proposal he made to the East India Company to commute the revenue payment into cloth to be supplied by him. See General Letter to England, 28 April 1791, Commercial

Department: Despatches to England [hereafter CDDTE] 1B,  
pp.319-321

48. Sarojini Regani, 'Anglo-Nizam relations pertaining to the Northern Sarkars', Journal of Deccan History and Culture, 4.2 (1956), pp.21.58; and See also her Nizam-British relations 1724-1857, 1963 (rpt.) New Delhi, 1988.
49. C.D. Maclean A Manual of the Administration of the Madras 1,
50. Prior to the organization of the Northern Circars into Revenue Districts in 1774 there existed Provincial Chiefs and councils at Masulipatnam and Vizagapatnam and the Presidency at Ganjam. In 1794, 4 Divisions were created where collectors were put incharge of management and superintendence of revenue. These four divisions were 1st Division of the Rajahmundry Circar; 2. 2nd Division of the Ellore and Rajahmundry circar; 3. 3rd Division or Ellore and Rajahmundry circar, 4. 4 Division Condapalli and Mustafangar circar, and collector was appointed separately in the Guntur circar. For the jurisdictional limits of each of these revenue districts, and the placement of particular Zamindar and Haveli lands within the territoriality of Revenue districts see letter from Lord Hobert Governor in Council Fort St.George (circular) December 1794, GDR 920, pp.21-28.
51. Based on details provided in Joseph Schwartzberg (ed.) A Historical Atlas of South India. Chicago, 1978, European, South Asian Commercial Contacts, 16th- 18th centuries, p.50.
52. R.N. Banerji, Economic Progress of the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast (1702-1746), Nagapur University, Nagapur, 1974, Ch.7, describes the commercial organization of the Company in the early eighteenth century; Advertisement given by I.H. Bell, Head Assistant Collector in charge, Collector, Circuit (cutcherry, Narsapuram 5 April 1837 Commercial Department Consultation [hereafter CDC], 62, pp.40-46, where details about the spatial location of the Maddapollam and Ingeram Factories are given.
53. Ibid.
54. For details on the role of Commercial Resident in Commercial world, and the Judicial powers he enjoyed see section on Law in Chapter production process.
55. 'Proposed Establishment of servants for Maddapollam Factory', F.A. Savage Commercial Resident, Ingeram to the Commercial Superintendent and Warehouse Keeper, 26 December 1829, CDC 50, pp.61-65; List of Department of Vizagapatnam for the year 1828-29; H. Taylor & Resident, Vizagapatnam to the Commercial Superintendent & Warehouse Keeper, 19 February 1828, CDC50, pp.316-319.

56. For a recent discussion on the role of Dabashee in the Madras Presidency see Suson Neild Basu, the Dabashee of Madras MAS 19.1, (1984), pp.1-31.
57. M. Somesekhara Sarma (ed.,) Bobbili Yuddha Katha (Tel) , Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, 1950, in this baled ended with a note on the assistance rendered by the Dabashi Lakshmanna, the Telugu interpreter to the French and Hyderjung to put down Rangarao, the Rajah of Vizianagaram, the contemporary literary works, quite often the role played by these Dabashees in the politics of the region is described for instance mentioned was made to Kondregula Jogeepantulu in Gogulapati Kurma Nadudu, Simhadri Narasimha Satakamu, C 1750. A dwipada Kavya, essentially narrating the atrocities committed by Mastering on the region, especially in Bimha Singhi, Jamy, Chodavaram area where they took out sudden raids; For their role in the weaving world of region, see chapter 6.
58. For the most recent discussion on this see, P. Sudhir, Colonialism and the Vocabularies of Dominance: The conquest of Telugu, C.1600 - C 1850 IHC, 50 session, Gorakhpur, 1989-90, pp.607-613.
59. K.N. Chaudhari, The Trading World of Asia and The English East India Company 1660-1760, Cambridge, 1978, pp.240 - 253, describes the manner in which the location and changes in the geographical distribution of the textile industry was determined by these 4 factors.
60. William Orams Report on Zamindari Lands of Masulipatnam, 15, February 1785, MDR 3009, pp 95 - 130
61. Ibid.,
62. See Appendix No.2 on Textile varieties.
63. John Wrangham, Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 9 January, 1796, Proceedings of BOR [hereafter PBR] 143, pp194-96.
64. William Orams Report on the Farms and Havelly lands dependent on Masulipatnam 18 December, 1786, MBR 3009,
65. See Table 5:3
66. The Company Dependent for the piece goods, long cloth and salemports essentially from these two districts in Northern Coromandel Region. For details on these see Chapters 5 & 9
67. When the Company decided to reduce its demand for the Chay goods by 1800 itself, it attempted to keep the weavers under its control by making them to provide piece goods and allocated some amount towards this purchase. But soon the Company had to give up the idea as the cloth wae very inferior.

- 68 John Irwin, 'Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth century: South India', in John Irwin and P.R. Schwartz ed., Studies in Indo-European Textile History. Ahmedabad, 1966, pp 18 - 23.
- 69 The Weaving Industry of Northern Coromandel Region primarily depended on a number of production centres for its raw cotton requirements. See for details Chapter 4.
- 70 Table No.1,2,3,& 4 in Appendix No.1 clearly shows the demand for these varieties during 1787 - 1830.
- 71 A.F. Bruce Collector, Guntur to Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 30 July, 1836, gudr 5392 pp 51-55.
72. S. Manzoor Alam and BPR. Vittal (etal ed.), Planning Atlas of Andhra Pradesh, 1974.
- 73 K.N. Chaudhari, Trading World of Asia, p.241.
- 74 William Orams Report on Zamindaari Lands of Masulipatnam, 15, February 1785, MDR 3009, pp 95 - 130.; William Orams Report on the farms and Havelly lands dependent on Masulipatnam 18 December, 1786, MBR 3009.
- 75 Mulk Raj Anand, 'Homage to Kalankari(with reference to the painted cloths of India', in Homage to Kalankari. Marg Publications, Bombay, 1979, pp 1-19.
76. The various levels of exchange economy of Northern India in early colonial period are discussed in detail in C.A.Bayly, Rulers. Townsmen and Bazaars . Ch.3
77. For instance the Company's textiles were being sent to various Factories from the weaving villages through river channels, and Dhonies were used for this purpose. The price for this shipment was also fixed by the Board of Trade, Fort.St.George while initiating the procedures for the investment of the Company in each year. See, CDC 1-50, for details on this.
78. William Orams Report on Zamindaari Lands of Masulipatnam, 15, February 1785, MDR 3009, pp 95 - 130.; William Orams Report on the farms and Havelly lands dependent on Masulipatnam 18 December, 1786, MBR 3009; Also see, S.Arasaratnam, Merchants. Companies and Commerce. Ch.1



### 3.Caste, Custom and Community: The Social World of the Weaver

The social structure of the weaving community of the Northern Coromandel region also like that of many other similar communities elsewhere, was many layered and complex. These weaving communities were traditionally associated with certain geographical regions, and this association with specific spaces appears to have continued well into the eighteenth century.

#### **Caste Ties And the Traditional Weaver:**

An exploration of social structures of the weaving world of the Northern Coromandel discloses the presence of a number of communities in the region engaged in or otherwise related to the weaving profession, although only a few dominant communities virtually monopolized the work. The traditional weaving communities predominated in the weaving world of the Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts. In the Visakhapatnam district, for instance, the principal weaving communities were Devangas, Sales, Pattu Sales, Kaikalavallu, Dasarivallu and Goni Perikalalu.<sup>1</sup> In the Godavari district the great majority of the weavers belonged to the Devanga caste, although Pattu Sales and Padma Sales determined the production process in certain important textile centres. There were also other weaving castes, like Karanabattulu, Perikalalu, Bogams and Singamvallu in the Godavari district.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, the weavers did not necessarily belong to the traditional weaving castes. For instance, although there were Sale caste weavers, primarily Padma sales, there were also Paria weavers, Jandra

caste weavers, Togata weavers and even a few looms set up by barbers.<sup>3</sup>

A significant correlation between the caste and the production of specific varieties of cloth could be discerned in this region. An important weaving community of this period was the Sale community, classified into the Padma Sale and the Pattu Sale sub-sects. The former specialized in coarse weaving, while the latter, as the name indicates, confined their activities to silk weaving and superfine cloth weaving. The Devanga weavers specialized mostly in producing pure cotton cloths. The Togatas mainly specialized in weaving the coarsest kind of cotton cloth catering to the needs of lower classes.<sup>6</sup> Traditionally, this group specialized in the production of red cloth. The Jandra caste weavers, as the name indicates, specialized in weaving long cloths.<sup>8</sup> The evidence from the Guntur and Masulipatnam districts displays that the non-traditional weavers specialized in producing ordinary cloth meant for local consumption.<sup>9</sup> Even the popular forms of expressions like proverbs of the region indicate the specialization of the weaving carried on by the paria weavers. If the cloth was not woven perfectly, a common form of expression was 'Sagamu Sale Neta, Sagam Mala Neta', meaning half the weaving was done by Sales, the other half by Malas. Generally speaking, the finer varieties of cloth were produced by the castes higher in the social hierarchy. It is possible, however, that the economic status accruing from the production of a particular variety of cloth was the determinant of the social status of the caste. That is to say, rather than

the caste determining specialization, it could be argued that it was a specialization that determined the caste status.

The geographical distribution of the specialized weaving centres in affiliation to their caste specialization was an essential factor that supported the social structure of the weaving world in the region. For instance, during this period the Devanga community was concentrated in the Godavari district in major textile centres like Pitahpuram, Uppada, Rajahmundry, Ramachandrapuram, Samalkot, Jaggannapeta, Sivakodu, Peddapuram, and Bandaralanka. The Pattu sale community was predominantly settled in places like Kottapalli, Mulapeta, Uppada and Peddapuram. The Padma sale community was located in Tuni, Samalkot and Peddapuram.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, in Guntur district the looms of the non-traditional Paria weavers were concentrated in Chintapalli, Malrauz Gundurow, Venkatapathi Gundurow and Colloor Parganas.<sup>12</sup> In Repalli, Rauchoor, Chilakalurpadu and Sattanapalli taluks, the presence of Sale community determined the sustenance of the production process.

One of the most important weaving castes of the region was the Pattu sale community. The Pattu sale community was an endogamous section of the sale community, the other being of the Padma sale community. The long traditions and customs of the sales demonstrate essentially three well marked points of difference between Padma sales and Pattu sales. First, the Pattu sales wear the sacred thread, where as the Padma sales did not. Second the Pattu sales do not take food or water at the hands of any other social group except Brahmins, whereas the Padma sales

could in Kapu, Golla, Telaga, Gavara houses. Thirdly, the Pattu sales weave super fine cloths, and in some places, work in silk, where as Padma sales weave only coarse cloths. Each section is divided into a number of **exogamous** septs or intiperulu. Both speak Telugu, and are divided into vaishnavites and saivites. These religious distinctions were no bar to inter marriage and **interdining**.<sup>14</sup> The geographical limits of this Pattu sale community in early nineteenth century was virtually limited to few villages in Visakhapatnam and Godavari **districts**. This community continued their specialization by turning out silk cloths or super fine variety cloths, for instance Uppada Silk cloths in Visakhapatnam district of the period.

The Togata caste weavers were another important community of weavers mainly found in districts of Masulipatnam and Guntur. They **manufactured** coarser fabrics, especially a variety of thick white cotton cloth with red borders, and hand kerchiefs and **romals**, which were mostly consumed by the **poor**. The Togatas claimed descent from Chaudeswari, and followed the Vaishnavite tradition. Vaishnava brahmans and Satanis, a Vaishnavite mendicant group acted as their priests. The Togatas worshipped apart from Chaudeswari other minor goddesses like **Polleramma**, **Ellamma** and **Kotamma**. Although their primary occupation was weaving, the other weaving castes did not participate in the rituals of the **Togatas**.

Other weaving groups in the region were the Perikas essentially weaving tape cloths, Coorapa people who produced

blankets or combalies, Jungamas weaving jida cloths, and others weaving gunny bags.

The arrangement of the social structures of the weaving communities of the region was conditioned by the fine structures associated with the tradition and customs of their caste rules and regulations. The Teliga Devangas belonged to two sects, those belonging to Saiva sect and others belonging to Vaishnava sect, although interestingly enough, there was intermingling between the two sects. Teliga Devangas of the saiva sect carry the linga and their Guru was cari Basawapah. Teliga Devangas of the Vaishnava sect were the followers of the Srivaishnavism Brahman and were acknowledged by them to be sudras.<sup>19</sup>

It would appear that marginal groups (of weavers or others) were traditionally attached (and traditions invented to legitimize and justify this attachment) to the probably more prosperous elements of the weaving community as a means of protecting the less well off.

#### **Mendicants And Marginal Weavers:**

The major weaving castes in this region, relatively prosperous by virtue of their industry, had various groups attached to them as dependent castes, whom they supported by giving alms, but whose dependent status was continually underlined by a variety of rituals which emphasized their inferiority.<sup>20</sup>

Groups like Sadhana Surulu, Samayamuvuru, Padiga Rajulu or Koonapilla Vallu, and Inakamukku Bhatrazus were various marginalised itinerant groups attached to the sale caste. From the evidence it appears that Sadhanasurulu, were attached to the Padma sale section of the sale caste. Their origin myth traces their name to an abbreviated form of Renuka Sakthini sē hinchinavaru ie.those who conquered Renuka Sakthi. According to tradition, Renuka was the mother of Parasurama, one of the avatars of Vishnu, and is identified with the goddess Yellamma, whom the Padma sales revere. The Sadhana Surulu are also her votaries. The Sadhana surulu prayed to her on behalf of the Padma sales, and in turn , the Padma Sales paid an annual contribution of four annas, and helped to perform their marriages.

Samayamuvuru were another group of mendicants attached to both sections of the Sale caste, and who trace back their origins to Bhavana Rishi, the patron saint of the Sale caste. According to the myth,in recognition of their services which they rendered to Bhawana Rishi during a battle with rakshasas, Bhawana Rishi made the Sales maintain samayamuvuru. This group wandered from place to place like a single family, and whenever they reached a halting-place, dressed up in ritually prescribed clothes, and visited the house of the Pedda Senapati (Headman), who fed them for the day. The Senapati thereupon gave them a note showing the amount paid by him, perhaps to indicate that the Sale community of the locality had discharged its responsibility to the Samayamuvuru. On their visit to sale houses, the Samayamuvuru

praised Bhavana Rishi. They married in the presence of, and with the aid of the Sales.<sup>22</sup> Like the Samayamuvaru, the Padiga Rajulu were also associated with the Sales, and like them, were connected in their myths to Bhavana Rishi, and through him, to the Padma Sales.<sup>23</sup>

These origin myths, while reinforcing the interdependent relationships between the patron caste and the marginal client groups also suggest that the latter share, however nebulously, common caste origins. It can be conjectured, therefore, that these dependent groups may have, over a period of time, become marginalised or impoverished and that the invention of a mythology of dependence enabled their survival and also, at the same time, reinforced the bonds of caste identity which may otherwise have been weakened by the existence, on the margins of the caste, of a group of impoverished members of the caste.

While the Sale community thus had, as their dependents, members of their own caste, the case of the Devangas was rather different. They too had a subcaste attached to them as kulabhikshuvulu or caste mendicants. These were the Singamavallu, who were paid a small sum annually by each Devanga village for various services rendered such as carrying fire before a Devanga corpse to the burial ground, acting as messengers and for cleaning the weaving instruments.<sup>24</sup> According to the caste puranas, it is stated that when Chandeswari and Devalan were engaged in combat with the asuras, one of the asuras hid himself behind the ear of the lion, on which the goddess was seated.

When the fight was over, he came out, and asked for pardon. The goddess took pity on him and ordered that his descendants should be called **Singamavallu**, or lion people. In the nineteenth century, this caste group was primarily confined to the Visakhapatnam District.<sup>26</sup>

The oral tradition indicates that the **Singamvallu** were given a very low status, even to the extent of stipulating that their hands could serve as a spittoon for the Devangas.<sup>27</sup> This tradition was an important public means of expressing the power relations within the caste. The association of these groups with funerary practices also perhaps confirmed their inferior status by increasing their sense of impurity.<sup>28</sup> Another characteristic worth noting is that virtually all these groups, whether those associated with the Sales or those linked to the Devangas, had, in their names, an etymological connection to valour or courage, or a martial role. There can be two explanations for this. One is that traditionally weaving communities had connections to war (the term **senapati**, for a head weaver being an indication). The other is that the caste name appears to be euphemistically compensating for the extremely low status they actually occupied.

This peculiar linguistic twist can be seen in the name of another dependent caste linked to the Devangas as well as other castes like **Komaties**, the **Veeramushtivallu**, literally the warrior beggars.<sup>29</sup> This group mostly resident in the Godavari district area, received alms from the Devangas as well as the **Komaties** of



the region. They too, like the other marginal groups described so far, were, it can be conjectured, originally weavers and were now integrated into the caste through the rituals of mendicancy. We have already suggested that this institution of ritualized mendicancy evolved as a mechanism for attenuating the social tensions that may otherwise have accumulated and disrupted the social fabric, by providing a safety net as it were for the less fortunate of each community. The Veeramushtivallu also fell into this category.

The most distinctive of the mendicant communities which revolved, like satellite around the weavers of Northern Coromandel was that of Jangamas.

The Jangamas who belonged to the virasaiva sect, were traditionally priests to the religious sect of Lingayats, and were disciples of Basava. Saivites regard them as incarnations of siva. Most of the Jangamas were religious itinerant mendicants who moved from village to village and undertook preaching of the Lingayat sect principles. The association of Jangamas with vira saivism, and their activities in the society are illustrated in the common telugu proverbs that developed in course of time in the region.<sup>31</sup> The dependence of these groups on the villagers however, caused a great concern to the village itself, as illustrated in the proverb: "If children are born to a Jangamma, they are only on annoyance to the village", because they added to the number of beggars.<sup>32</sup> It appears that these Jangamas mostly depended on Devangas, who essentially belonged to saiva sect, and who sustained the Jangamas through giving of alms. This is

illustrated in an 18th century verse which indicated that the **Jangamas** had a right to the wealth of the **Devangas**. By the beginning of the nineteenth century as the evidences illustrates, the Jangamas were geographically confined to Masulipatnam and Guntur districts.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, the Jangamas who, apart from being priests, were on occasion tailors (in Visakhapatnam District), and even, as the evidence from Guntur district suggests, possessed looms on which they wove a very specialized cloth called jida cloth. The foregoing account suggests neatly demarcated caste groups each with its own dependent caste, the only exception being the Jangamas and the Veeramushtivallu who were ritual dependents for more than one caste. That the reality of the caste networks was not so simple is strikingly indicated by the custom by which a Devanga could be transformed into a dependent of the Padma Sale , even though by tradition, they were polarized into opposed sects, either by the Right-Left division or the Vaishnavite-Saivite divide. According to this custom, a Devanga of advanced age became a 'Chinnerigadu' and could receive alms from the Padma Sale community, and on death was buried by the Sale rather than his own community.

The dependent castes were not confined only to the weaving castes. A whole host of communities had such dependents, to whom they were obliged to give alms, and thus help to sustain them. For instance the Panasa and the Runja castes were associated with the Kammaris, Kamsalas and other artisan castes. Similarly the Picchhiguntla caste were dependents of cultivating groups like Kapus, Reddis and Kammas.<sup>37</sup> Generally, these groups also, like

those dependent on the weavers, appear to have been integrated into a **complex** system of protection created to reinforce and reproduce social harmony and thus ensure the continuity of structures of hierarchy that characterized society.

These mendicant groups associated with various castes were provided with land grants, especially for their maintenance. For instance, at Agiripalli village of the Krishna District, a piece of land was allotted as Veeramushti valla vritti, along with other social groups like chakalis, mangali and vetti.<sup>8</sup> That this was a long standing tradition is indicated by the land grant made to Jangamas recorded in a Nellore inscription.

There were several other important communities not strictly weavers, who were, nevertheless, associated with the weaving world of the region. One such important caste was The Rangaris, called locally Rangirajulu. They were located in almost all the four districts of the Northern Coromandel region. They essentially dealt with the painting or dyeing of fabric with the red colour extracted from the Coosambo flower. They worship Ambabhavani as their Goddess.<sup>40</sup> Niligaru, a class of indigo dyers, were another crucial group for the survival of the weaving world.<sup>41</sup> Generally, the painters and weavers used to send their cloth for dyeing blue colour to this group their specialization was strictly protected under the caste rules, and they especially guarded their secrets without letting them out to other caste groups.<sup>42</sup>

## Schisms And Social Tensions:

How did the weaving world of the region reproduce itself, despite the complexities generated by the caste rules and regulations? It would seem that the formal regulations, and the entire ideology of the caste system, particularly as manifested in the left hand and right hand divisions, helped to maintain order in a society riven by **caste**. These divisions and their attendant rules and codes of behaviour prevented latent tensions from surfacing and destroying the social fabric.<sup>43</sup> During the late eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries many of disputes at Madras arose from conflicts between Left Idangai and Right Valangai Castes <sup>44</sup>

In the existing left hand and right hand division of the social fabric, the position of weaving communities along with the other groups were: <sup>45</sup>

### LEFT HAND GROUPS

Devangas  
Panchalas  
(black smiths, carpenters,  
copper smiths, masons  
gold Smiths)

Berrchetty (vaisya)  
Oil Makers  
Golavanlu

Palivanlu & Palavanlu  
(a tribe of cultivators)

Hunters  
Madigaru

### RIGHT HAND GROUPS

Padma Sales  
Banjigaru  
Cultivators of the sudra  
Caste, (Panchu & Teliga),

Jotiphana,  
Rangirajulu  
Lodaru (a kind of  
Mussalman traders)  
Komatigaru

Jainaru  
Shepherds, Balket  
weavers & Cultivators;  
Cumbaru

How did these left hand and right hand factions structure the social relations of the weaving world? What was the common bond that cemented these left hand factions together? For example, because of the left hand and right hand factions, the predominant weaving communities maintained their social identity very strictly within the village. For instance, Devangas and Padma sales never lived in the same street, and did not draw water from the same well. Like other left hand faction castes, Devangas had their own dancing girls called jathi biddalu (children of the castes), whose male offspring did Acchhupani, (printing work on cloth), and occasionally went about begging from Devangas.

One conjecture that can be made on the commonality of the groups was that these groups were mostly saivite groups and they were all considered to be inferior to them within the caste structures of the respective communities.

Interestingly, the groups associated with the left hand factions were somewhat lower down in the social hierarchy, and they always strove to achieve a higher position through Sanskritization, and the adoption of certain right hand privileges. An example of this is the through some Devangas joined the Padma sale group. "Once in twelve years, a Devanga leaves his home, and joins the Padma sales. He begs from them, saying that he is the son of their caste, and as such to be supported by them. If alms are not forthcoming, he enters the house and carries off whatever he may be able to pickup. Some

times, if he can get nothing else, he has been known to seize even a lighted cigar in the mouth of a sale and run off with it. The origin of this custom is not certain, but it has been suggested that the Devangas and sales were originally one caste, and that the former separated from the latter when they became Lingayats .

Paradoxically, however, this traditional division of the weaving communities into left hand and right hand castes was itself a source of serious conflict because in reinforcing caste identity, the prescriptive codes also heightened caste rivalry. The coming of the new economy did not extinguish their conflicts. On other the hand, it may have precipitated such conflicts. Their recurrence disrupted textile production and alarmed Company officials ever conscious of protecting their precious investment.

For example George Maidman, Commercial Resident of Ingeram reported with alarm about an incident in which the refusal of the Sale caste weavers to honour a custom of giving alms to the Veeramushtivallu, led to a violent conflict between the Sale on one side and the Devangalu, Karneelu, and Kaikalavallu on the other, the latter taking upon themselves to champion the Veeramushtivallu.<sup>47</sup>

The Sales argued that they were not required by custom to give alms to this group. The Veeramushtivallu, on the other hand, encouraged and supported by the Devangas, and other weaving communities like Karneelu and Kaikoalavallu harassed the Sale

community and disrupted their work by disturbing the thread markets, destroying their looms and otherwise creating tension by aggregating in large, menace numbers. The Devangas, Karneelu and Kaikolavallu also joined them, and attacked the Sales. The Deputy Commercial Resident of Ingeram, worried about the affect of this conflict on the textile production, instructed the Collector to arrange for the suppression of the disturbance.<sup>48</sup> The Company was, at this juncture, caught in a dilemma, for perceiving the conflict to be essentially a religious one, it was reluctant to interfere, but at the same time, was compelled to restore peace as quickly as possible.

There were clear grounds for believing that the conflict was primarily a religious conflict. The Veeramushtivallu being Saivites, were necessarily supported by the Devangas and others who were also Saivite weaver communities, while the Sales were predominantly Vaishnavite. Besides, the conflict was rooted also in the deep ideological rift represented by the left hand- right hand divide, the Sale falling into the Right Hand, while the Devanga fell into the Left Hand category. At the same time, we must note that this division, originating in or legitimized by ideology, was also reinforced by or even derived from economic rivalries which must have existed between weaving communities.

The Company's law and jurisdictional structures which were created to maintain the production process and to tighten the control over the groups, were not extended to cover those issues that fell under the realm of religious and social customs. It

was this demarcation of the **Company's** jurisdiction that ultimately may have kept intact the rigidity of the Hindu caste structures during this period. In 1802, the collector of the Rajahmundry district reported to the Board of Revenue that

with reference to the religious issues, there followed different methods altogether. In all cases relating to religion of the rights, privileges and immunities, of the respective caste, the higher orders of each one are either consulted, or the most learned Brahmins whose wisdom and piety may have raised them to public estimation of confidence, are resorted to who are supposed to possess a thorough knowledge of their divine institutes and to decide accordingly

In the context of idangai valangai schisms, the activities of the **virushties** against padma sales, and the same supported by the Devangas, Karaneekulu and Kaikalavallu would perhaps be regarded, a case where the elements of conflict was between certain elements of the idangai and valangai categories. This was an incident where social conflicts and the schisms that came to the surface along with the consolidation of the colonial power in the region. Did it mean, that being the dominant weaving community in the Godavari district, the Devangas were able to enlist the support from other weaving communities, and tried to create conditions whereby their position was maintained socially?

The **emergent** new order, with its changes in production relations and structural arrangements did not immediately produce a stable economic and political systems. Towards the end of the eighteenth century as the Company was consolidating its control the Northern Coromandel was disturbed by various kinds of disruptions. Many of these affected the economic life of the weavers. One such disturbance occurred in 1798 in the



Godavari district, when the 'Mahanauttee people', disrupted the markets at Nellapalli and Yanam, and sent orders to different villages asking the people not to pay revenue to the Company.<sup>51</sup> These Mahanautte people were obviously very powerful because their orders were obeyed, the adversely affecting the Company's textile investment in the region.<sup>52</sup> The Company officials suspected that some "designing persons" were behind these disturbances. The Zamindar of Cotah and Ramachandrapuram in fact suggested that the merchants, Dubashees, and other rich men of the region were supplying Mahanauttes with money. Besides, it was believed that the conflict might also (obviously a right hand caste group) and the Yanadees who belonged to left hand faction.<sup>53</sup>

The occasional recurrence of the traditional Schisms during the period 1750 to 1850. did not mean that there were no instances of co-operation among these categories in opposition to other elements in the society. Indeed, the same weavers of the Godavari district had expressed their co-operation, and organized their revolt in 1796 mainly against those conditions related to the tightening of control over the production processes of their economy. And the Company's officials had to take the views of the four major castes of the weaving community represented by their Heads, in order to bring in some solution to their problems and dissatisfactions. And other instances of co-operation among them were seen when the disgusted weavers revolted against the Company or the Zamindar or the copdar which are a part of the broader contradiction within the society, subsequent to the coming the new political hegemony in the region.

## Colonial Strategies And Shifts in Social Structures :

How far did the changes wrought by the East India Company in the production processes or those emanating from other pressures affect the social structures that were based on caste? How did the weavers react to these shifts ?

To some extent, the system of registration of the weavers, introduced by the Company to acquire greater control over the production process may have contributed to the blurring of the finer nuances of caste distinctions. That is, the caste based specialization of production broke down, since the weavers were required by the Company to produce specific types of cloth, and not necessarily those which they wove traditionally. The Company's demand for textiles revolved around the cotton goods; still the weavers were required to produce specific varieties meant for external markets. For instance, Sales, Devangas and Pattu Sales from Rajam village of Visakhapatnam district were **specialized** in manufacturing a fine variety of cloth called Sanna Baju meant exclusively for the Hyderabad market and huge quantities of sarees called locally Kokalu which were marketed at the santas (weekly markets) of Vizianagaram, and then reexported to Hyderabad. But when the Company's demand for Long Cloth increased tremendously, these weavers were forced to give up their earlier specialization and produce only long cloth.<sup>55</sup>

In a similar process the weavers of Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts, who were essentially fabricating finer

varieties were forced by Company officials to adopt weaving of coarser quality of cloth as early as in 1775 itself.<sup>4</sup> Despite retaining their hold on production of similar varieties, nevertheless the insistence of the Company for a particular cloth caused the weavers to give up their finer skills. The weavers who registered for the Company's service in Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts were, for instance, induced to provide eventually two varieties only, namely, Salempores and Long-cloth of different denominations. The Chay goods varieties were essentially coming from the sale caste weavers looms in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts. Under these specific denominations the weavers were thus required to specialize only in those varieties. Even though these varieties included the super fine variety of 36 Punjam cloth earlier, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Company mainly placed orders for long cloth and salempores of ordinary varieties only.<sup>5</sup> The weavers of different communities were thus forced to take up a specialization that had limited options for their survival later on.

An important factor that appeared to have prompted the weaver to give up his caste specialization and brought him out of the limits of his village, was the attempt of the Company to induce the weaver to register for their factories. Since the beginning of their consolidation process in the region, the Company provided allowances and privileges to attract them to join the Company's service, some times by changing their place of residence also. In 1797 when several weavers from the

neighbouring districts showed an inclination to become settlers in the Peralah and its neighbourhood, an order was issued by the Commercial Resident at **Masulipatnam**, requesting the renters and Tanadars to provide all possible assistance for these weavers, including necessary materials like jungle wood, palmyra trees and leaves, for erecting their houses.

Moreover, the Company had many a time utilied the caste hegemony for the maintenance of the newly created structures in the region. And it was through these caste elites that the Company met its commercial needs, and relegated to the background the active primary weaver.<sup>59</sup>

The effect of the colonial economy on the socio-economic life of Pattu Sale caste was hardly been perceived, perhaps, because the Company's textile demands were confined essentially to coarser ones. The Pattu Sale community, as may be conjectured, did follow the traditions associated with their cultural patterns. For instance, the tax which they paid was same for all members of their caste in respective villages. 21 Pattu Sales of Seyedem village agreed to pay Annas per year a Moturpha tax as per the Kattubadi Settlement, agreed by the Koolah Karney or caste head. The verdict of the Koolah Karney was final for deciding issues related to the socio-economic life of the community. And in 'case of any complaint against any intrusion into their economic life, the Pattu Sale community did receive the support of other well off members of weaving caste, like Senapaties.<sup>60</sup>

At the village level, the weaver castes maintained their socio-economic identities by the acceptance of certain norms and traditions related to the organization and control of village resources. For instance, among six Cheruvu Kuntas one was allotted to Sales exclusively in Yadavuru village of Guntur zilla.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, there existed separate water facilities in other villages <sup>62</sup>

These identity reinforcing mechanisms and institutions would have strengthened the boundaries of each caste and subcaste among the weavers, thus apparently making the world of the weaver impermeable to outsiders. Yet, remarkably in the Northern Coromandel the caste specialization barriers appear to have been flexible enough to allow the intrusion into the textile economy of castes not usually associated with weaving.

### **Producers from the Periphery: The Pariah Weaver**

Thus we have, the curious feature in the Northern Coromandel region of the large scale participation in textile production of low caste mala weavers. As noted earlier, in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, the weavers did not necessarily belong to the traditional weaving castes. The two communities that predominated here were Padma sales and Paria weavers. When did the Paria weaver enter the weaving world of the region? What were the factors that facilitated their entry into the weaving profession? The existing studies on the weavers and the economy of the region, suggest that this phenomenon was a nineteenth

century development. For instance, the Report of the Fact Finding Committee (Handloom and Mills) held that the entrance of low class non-weaving castes into the hand loom industry was a nineteenth century phenomenon. Again Joseph J. Brenning has suggested that 'as demand for export quality textiles increased, caste weavers ceased to produce coarser domestic fabrics to produce for export, opening opportunities at the bottom of the weaving industry for non-weaver castes'.

But the evidence clearly indicates that the participation of the Pariahs in the weaving industry was a very long standing one. An eleventh Century inscription of the Chola king Raja Raju for instance, refers to the Pariyan caste by its own name, and its two sub-divisions, the nesavu or weavers, and ulavu or plough men.<sup>64</sup>

Substantial evidence on the presence of the Paria weavers in the Telugu country is also available in the inscriptional and literary sources pertaining to the 16th century A.D. For instance, in 1522 A.D. in Addankiseema of Dharmavaram Taluk, there were four important communities associated with the weaving industry namely, sales, jandras, malas and those who specialized in weaving borders or making designs of the cloth. A separate Pettah called "Akala Sabhanapuram" was constructed, where places were allotted to these four groups of weaving communities separately on the basis of Kaul.<sup>65</sup>

What were the forces that induced such a significant change in the social fabric and led to the elevation of low caste groups with an **economically** higher position? The presence of the Mala weavers in the social structures of the weaving world can perhaps be related to the new socio-economic changes that crept into the society owing to the new religious movements of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the Bhakti movements, like the Vira Saivism and Sri Vaishnavism..

The vira Saiva movement originated in the Kanarese country, at Kalyani under the leadership of Basava in the 12th century. Although in the origin the vira Saiva Movement began as a protest against **brahmanism**, it soon developed social exclusiveness based on the privilege of birth and cleanliness of caste **system**.

Even though The spread of Veerasaivism in Andhra was limited compared to Karnataka, it had left a deep impression on Andhra society. It started an egalitarian trend which was played down later by the Brahmanical creed. In course of time in these areas, it compromised with the Brahmanical creed and perfected the caste **systems**.

Though Srivaishnavism developed simultaneously with vira saivism in Andhra it was specially limited to Palnadu area of the Guntur district, and got state patronage under dynasties like Velama cholas of vengi and Haihayar of Palnad. **Brahmanaidu** of Palnadu belonged to the Racherla families of the **velama** caste and

was a follower of Sree Vaishnavism. He introduced certain social reforms like the practice of interdining among people belonging to different castes called chapakudu.

In the weaving world of the region, these movements had left deep impressions, as most of the Devangas came under the influence of Saivism or vira saivism, while Tengalai Vaishnavism or Sree Vaishnavism had a large following among the Padma sale community. This ideological regulation of the religious and social forces gradually created certain spaces for their existence, thus leading to the geographical and spatial limitation of these forces in the region. For instance, while saivism was most popular among the weavers of the Godavari district, Vaishnavism had a large following in Visakhapatnam and Krishna districts. And the Lingayat movement was almost entirely concentrated among weavers of the Krishna district. .

The popular movement of Vaishnavism together with the state sanction probably gave a chance for the entry of non traditional groups into the weaving world of Guntur and Masulipatnam where, for instance, the malas and madigas in fact were considered essential groups for the sustenance of the entire textile industry. The absence of these groups in the social structure of the weaving world of Visakhapatnam and Godavari, could, therefore, be related to the strict adherence of the weavers here to saivite philosophy which was more rigid, less egalitarian and less open than Vaishnavism.



The crystallization of these ideologies can perhaps be traced to the fifteenth century, when it was possibly reinforced by the Vijayanagara rulers, under whose patronage the emergent egalitarian ideology of Srivaishnavism spread over a large space, incorporating into the fold many new artisanal groups.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, the ideological reflection of the clash of the interests between saivites and vaishnavites on the weaving world of the region could be discerned with clarity, when the Devanga and Padma sale communities attempted to give a tangible form to their mythological origins in popular languages. Around 1532 A.D. the Ten Thousand Devangas requested Bhadra Lingakavi to write their Kulapurana, called Devanga Purana. Bhadra Lingakavi, accordingly, wrote the Devanga Purana in Telugu poetry through the medium of native prosody (desimatra) in dwipada.<sup>71</sup> Bhadra Lingakavi was also the author of another dwipada kavya pertaining to the Devangas, called Sananda charitra. Influenced by the attempts of Devangas, even the Padma sales requested Ellara Narasimha Kavi to translate their Kula purana, Markandeya Purana into Telugu dwipada form, as it was impossible for them to go through this in sanskrit.

While the Vaishnavite religious ideology perhaps had given a chance for elevation of the malas to take up an higher economic profession, the perpetuation of these ideologies were later carried on by individuals in the 17th and 18th centuries. In Palnadu and Rayalaseema region, Vemana and Pothulur Veerabrahmam with their individual philosophies attacked the social institution of caste, and uncivilized practices like

untouchability and pollution. The discussion of these religious ideologies was not to indicate that religion alone had caused the entry of the malas into the weaving world. More importantly while these **socio-religious** forces helped the crystallization of their castes into tangible forms, the new economic forces with the entry of Europeans perhaps gave a chance for the stronger integration of the malas into the weaving world of the Krishna and Guntur districts. The creation of new demands by the arrival of the European companies may have led to the large scale participation of low caste mala weavers a feature **substantially** illustrated from the evidence of 18th century records.

Despite the presence of the malas in the existing structural arrangements of the weaving caste, nevertheless, the maintenance of strict specialization in the profession reflects the social and cultural practices associated with the castes. For instance, in the later half of the eighteenth century, the weavers of the Guntur district were categorized essentially into three groups, depending on the variety in which they specialized. They were 'weavers weaving for the Company', the weavers weaving for the natives and the Paria weavers weaving for the Natives. While the traditional weavers were concentrated specially in **Repalli**, **Rauchoor**, **Chilakalurpadu** and **Sattanapally taluks**, the non traditional weavers of Paria caste centered around **Chintapally**, **Gundarow**, **Venkatapati Gundurao**, and **Colloor Parganahs**, and they had in their possession nearly 50 per cent of the looms of the entire Guntur district. In the district records, the term used

to refer to them was 'Maula Maggalavalluoo' that is, Mala weavers. The Malas constituted the major weaving community in the village economy of the Guntur district and they contributed a considerable revenue towards Moturpha taxes in villages like Amrithaluru and Modukuru. Even in the districts of the Guntur Circar, the Mala Maggalauvalu played an equally prominent part in the weaving economy, especially in Kondapalli Haveli, Vallur Samut, Inngoodroo Parganahs. While they almost monopolised the work in Vullur sumut, no Paria weaver existed in Gundoor Pargana, Acclamanud Purganah, and in Nizampatnam circar.<sup>75</sup> It was specially mentioned that they were not employed by the Company.

In annual report of Fusly 1204 and 1205, it was mentioned the principle on which tax was levied. In the Moturpha tax collection structure, a separate rate was fixed on Paria weavers looms in the region.<sup>76</sup> Further, the Malamaggalavallu were placed along with four major communities within tax collection structure of the society. And they paid an amount equal to that paid by the traditional weaving and Bania caste people. From the Moturpha collection lists it appeared that Mala Maggalavalloo was one among five main groups in the society, the other four being Salavallu, and Jandravallu, Komativallu, Govaravallu, and Gollavallu.<sup>77</sup>

weavers	Salavauloo caste Janravallu caste
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It is custom of these people to pay from 1/16 to 2 pagodas per loom per annum according to the mamool established of which there are no records.

	<b>Maulamuggalavaloo</b> Paria weavers	It is custom of these people to pay from 1/16 to 2 pagadas per loom per annum according to mamool established of which there are no records.
Banias	<b>Komativallu</b>	It is custom of these people to pay from 1/16 to 2 pagodas per shop belonging to them in the bazar or elsewhere
Arrackseller	Govaravallu	To pay from 1 to 4 pagodas per annum for each 100 palmera or toddy trees.
Cowkeepers	Gollavallu	To pay from 1/16 to 1/4 pagoda for house per annum.

Besides the loom tax which all the weavers paid the mala weavers had to pay additional taxes, levied on them because of their social position. One such was the tax called Boota paraster, referred to as Pallaputtada in Southern districts. This tax was paid by the various low caste groups of the village, including Pariah weavers.<sup>78</sup> The nature of this tax was that the groups included in this tax had to pay a certain amount per house to the government."<sup>79</sup> It is also the custom to receive from the people by way of fine when any of them be found guilty of working contrary to the custom of the caste." The groups were Chakalivallu (washermen); Mangalivallu (Barbers); **Cummara vallu** (Pot makers); Malavellu (Pariahs); Gollavalloo (Cow keepers); Pammulavallu (Tom Tom beaters before the Gods of the Pariahs); Medaravallu (workers in Bamboo); Buta **Cummaravallu** (country Iron smiths); **Bogumvallu** (Dancing girls); Pamullavallu (**Snakemen**);

Yaraculvallu (Basket makers); and includes 5 trades - Iron smithes, carpenters, gold smiths, Brass smiths and stone cutters.<sup>80</sup>

The presence of the large scale participation of the mala weavers in the weaving world of the Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, therefore, was not a sudden phenomenon of the early nineteenth century. The place accorded to them along with other weavers and other social groups in the taxation structures of the society, and the maintenance of their group identity as a left hand faction of the society recognized in the levy of Boota Parashee, were thus clear indications to argue that Mala entered the weaving world of the region much before the arrival of the European powers in the region. Besides the English records, the presence of the Malas during this period was supported by the evidence available in the Mackenzie collections of the Cuddapah district. In 1813, in the report submitted by Mutasiddi Narayanana Rao to Colonel Maceknzie titled "Gandipeta Kaifaiyat" a detailed description of the textiles produced in various villages, and prices of them, was found. Here, a mention is made of the coarser variety of cloth produced by Malas and Madigas along with sales and Mangalivanllu (Barbers) were found.

### **Ideologies And Attitudes**

The weaving community of the Northern Coromandel region was, thus it would seem, very adaptable, accepting and assimilating the new ideas and systems of thought that were coming up during this period. Even the new religion, Christianity, was no

exception, **managing** to influence the weavers of the region at least some of whom were attracted by the activities of the Missionaries during this period.

In Northern Coromandel the influence of the missionary activity took a new direction by 1800, when the London Missionary Society began its activities in the **region**. Two branches were set up by London Missionary Society, at Visakhapatnam in 1805 and at Cuddapah in 1807. The activities of this society were essentially related to the teaching and spread of new education in these districts. A number of schools had come up subsequently and the enrollment in these schools were opened to all castes. The response of the weaving community to these new attitudes and ideas was illustrated by the fact that weavers also sent their children to these schools. By 1829, there were 12 Mission Schools in the Visakhapatnam district. The enrollment list of these schools would exhibit the caste wise composition of school going children, in which the weaver caste children also figured. There were Brahmins, artificers, weavers, shepherds, oil makers, farmers, common labour, mohammehdans, country born Portuguese, merchants and Painters attending these schools.<sup>82</sup>

The constraints associated with economic organization of the production process, and the economic necessities of life appeared to have dissuaded weavers from assimilating this new education, even those who attended these schools had seen no necessity of attending to a religion which was new, rather they were keen to participate on Religious subjects that would help them to

understand or know about seasons.<sup>83</sup> In 1828, out of 5 schools in the Visakhapatnam district, two schools were meant exclusively for girls - girls school in the fort and girls school at Allapoorem. Regarding the attitude of the indigenous communities towards this new education, was clearly demonstrated in the following letter of James Dawson: <sup>84</sup>

the inhabitants from this village" are weavers and labourers in the fields, in general very poor, but industrious. They are not greatly prejudicial against Christianity but see no necessity of attending to a religion which their forefathers knew nothing of. They are disposed to converse on certain subjects the religion, such as the works of gods and the providence of god in regard to the seasons, particularly the falling of rains, at the times in the year when most required. They approve of schools for their sons (and most of the village received KS Instruction in the Mission School which was long been established there) but they could not easily be persuaded to send their daughters to be taught to read and write

In 1829, there were Eleven native schools at the Visakhapatnam station, and the caste wise enrollment of the students in these were brahmins 34, Mohammadens 37, weavers 16, 290, and General 14.<sup>85</sup> The educational activities of the London Missionary Society was however, restrained owing to the poor economic conditions of the various communities. It was clearly illustrated in the Census statement of 1829 as follows:

most of the scholars who have left the schools during the years was in consequence of the extreme poverty of their parents not being able to support them longer were obliged, to earn their daily substance but few have left in consequence of their parents objecting to outmode of instruction.

The influence of the new education, and ideologies was more pervasive **after** 1813, when the rule of non-entry of the

Missionaries into India was relaxed under the Charter Act of 1813. To carry forward the Proselytization campaign along with the educational activities, a number of societies sprang up in Northern Coromandel region. By 1840s, a number of branches of various Missionaries spearheaded their activities in various district. These were, the American Baptist Missionary union in Nellore (1840); the Andhra Evangelical Luthern Chruch with its branches at Guntur (1842), Rajahmundry (1842) and Eluru (1846); the Church Missionary Society at Masulipatnam (1842) and Eluru (1854).

Even though the weavers were adaptable in assimilating these new ideologies, yet they remained largely outside the proselytizing influence of these Missionary branches. Working within the powerful ideologies of their traditional religions, the weavers, perhaps, had limited the influence of the new religion spatially in the weaving world of the region. By 1871, as demonstrated in the census report, the per centage of weavers converted to Christianity was only .002% from the Visakhapatnam district, and .9% from the Krishna district. The powerful devotional tradition associated with saivism might have opposed the entrenchment of Christianity in the social life of the weaving world of the Godavari district, where the Devangas were predominant. Moreover, the higher percentage of conversions from the weavers of the Krishna district could not mean that the traditional weaver from these districts felt the influence of Christianity. As the non-traditional weavers, mainly Parias were grouped along with the traditional weavers, at conjectural level



it can be said that these Paria weavers responded to Christianity quickly, through transforming their social and religious affiliations.<sup>88</sup>

The differential impact of Christianity on the weavers of Northern Coromandel serves to underline the complexity of their social world. The various social and cultural mechanisms which emerged in the region helped to maintain communal cohesion and social order, although, on occasion, as in the instance of the conflict over Veeramushtivallu, these did breakdown. The anomalous intrusion of the Mala weaver into the textile economy of the region indicated too that the seemingly impermeable, inflexible social structures were not so impervious after all. The adaptability of the weaving community demonstrated in, and resting upon, its acceptance of mobile religious world views like Vaishnavism helped it also to cope with the accelerated pace of changes that came with the linking of the region to new world markets. There was, of course more than culture to sustain the weavers through the travails of change. There was the entire system of production, developing through centuries which lay at the base of the textile economy.

## Notes

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22. Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes. 6, entry under Samayamuvuru pp290-91
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#### 4. Fibre to **Fabric:**The Production of Textiles

One of the most crucial factors that determined the nature of the textile economy was the availability of cotton in its raw form as well as in its partially metamorphosed form of thread. The weavers of the Northern Coromandel region had depended essentially on two sources for their cotton requirements during this period: internal production and external sources . By the second half of the eighteenth century, the raw cotton supplies to the weaver were intertwined with the activities of both the agrarian elements and the trading elements, particularly the itinerant Banjara groups.

The two main cotton varieties produced in the Northern Coromandel region were, white cotton or tella patti and brown cotton or erra patti. In the entire region, cotton cultivation remained under 'peasant farming; while the mode of cultivation of the red and white cotton differed, each variety exhibited similarities in the mode of cultivation across the region. The mode of cultivation of white cotton was somewhat different. The white cotton was produced through mixed crop cultivation. In Godavari District, for instance, it was sown with cundooloo and valdah paddy and with cundooloo and Aurgooloo. It was sown broadcast on grounds where water did not stagnate. Its cultivation provided collateral security to the farmer, as the other grains (candulu and Arugulu) which required more water, were likely to wither and decay in times of scanty moisture, when cotton, however, could be produced in abundance.<sup>1</sup> Brown

cotton cultivation was carried on separately, and never practised as mixed cultivation. No other crop could be obtained from the same land for the year. And the same land could not produce good harvests of brown cotton for two consecutive years. The method of cultivation of Brown cotton was as follows: 2

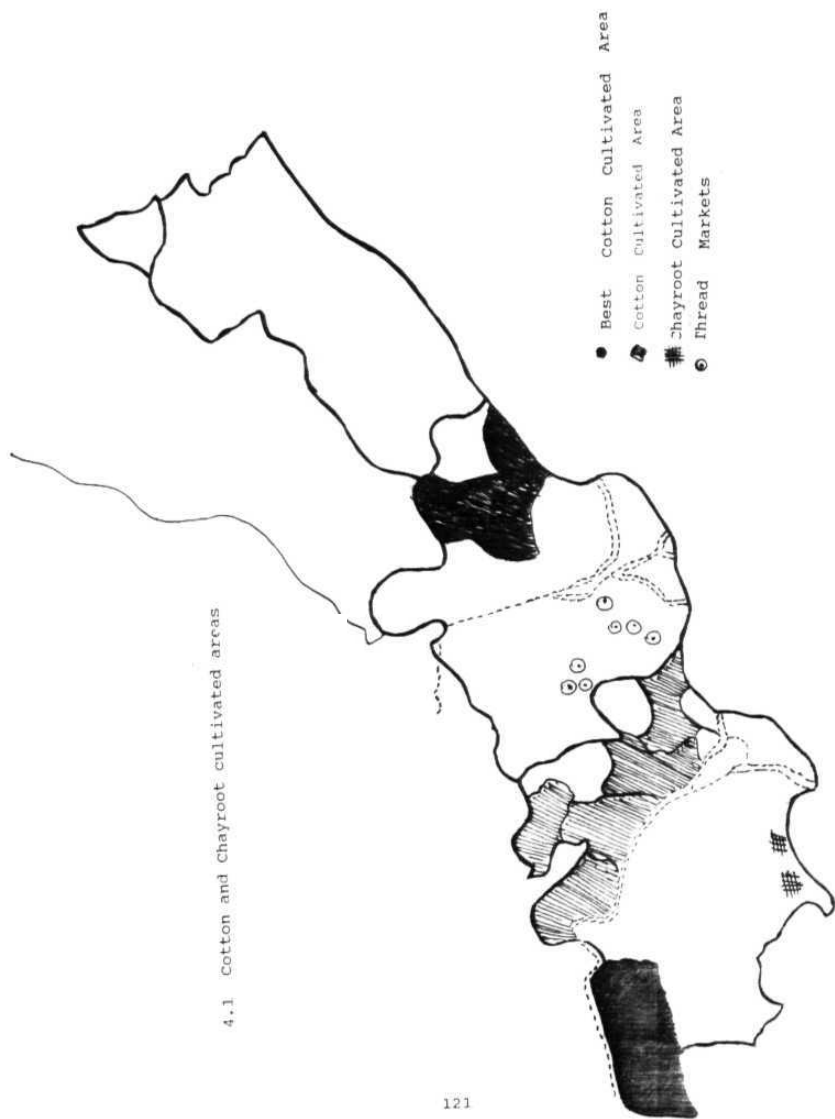
The husbandry of this division allots to the black soil which crumbles and cracks in the dry and becomes clammy and adhesive in the wet season an annual alteration of crops and brown cotton is succeeded by Jonaloo, sanagaloo, annoomoloo and oil seeds. In contradiction to white cotton instead of being thrown Broad cast it is sown in Drills and the seed covered by drawing bushes across, and the preparation of the land before the seed is committed to it is extremely open while when the plant has shot up it required weeding, raking and ploughing between the drills, and with sedulous and laborious attention.

Moreover, after the brown cotton was gathered, it was allowed to remain four months before it was separated from the pod. The thread was not good and strong, if the cotton was separated too soon from the pod.

Brown cotton was more expensive to grow, as it required more cattle and other costly inputs. So the cultivators usually inclined towards producing white variety. Moreover, as white cotton was grown in tandem with another crop, there was greater certainty of reaping some harvest.

Cotton cultivation during the later half of the eighteenth century was confined to few areas within the region. The areas falling under the Jurisdiction of the Peddapuram and Pitahpuram Zamindaries were responsible for almost the entire production of the Godavari district. For instance, the quantity of cotton





A small quantity of cotton, from 2 to 10 candies yearly was produced in the villages of Nundigamah and Wuyoor, it was sown in July and August, and was harvested in February and March. The price of cotton was 3 pagodas per candy, and this was generally meant for export.

In Nunasthalam Pargana almost the entire land was best suited for undertaking cotton cultivation as it might yield 1000 candies yearly. The cotton seeds were sown in August and September, and harvested in March and April.

The areas of Devarakotah, Wuyoor, Madoor, Bezoara and Nunasthalam Parganas were suited for the cultivation of cotton as they were situated on the banks of the Krishna river. Cotton was a mixed crop cultivation in Parganas of Devarakotah, Madoor and Wuyoor, The cultivators usually would prefer to cultivate cotton after the harvest of the principal crop, or when there was an apprehension of adverse season affecting the principal crop. In these Parganas of Masulipatnam district, the ryots rather preferred to cultivate jawari, as the soil was best suited for its cultivation. Further, the general disinclination for undertaking cotton cultivation was owing to the cost factor, as the unfavorable soil would require more attention and labour for its cultivation.<sup>8</sup>

The availability of limited quantities of cotton in the district induced the ryots to import cotton from Guntur and Palanadu districts. The price of cotton in Palanadu was only 16

rupees per candy, while in Masulipatnam district the selling price was Rs 20. Cultivators after turning the cotton into yarn, provided yarn to the weavers.<sup>9</sup>

Palanadu area of the Guntur district was the best area, where an extensive cultivation of cotton was undertaken during this period. The seed was sown at the end of August or beginning of September, and was harvested in the month of January. In 1812, for instance, nearly 3642 candies of cotton was produced, out of which 2582 candies were being exported to Nizam's dominions. The price of cotton varied from 12 to 15 Madras Pagodas per candy. The land rent from the cotton cultivated land depended essentially on soil conditions; while a cutchellah of the best description of soil would pay annually an amount of 24 Madras pagodas to government, that of worst description of the soil would pay only 5 Madras pagodas per cutchellah. If a renter furnished the plough cattle, then the share of the under ryot amounted to a half of the produce of the ryot.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from the costs of cultivations and the soil conditions, there were other disincentives which prevented more extensive cultivation of cotton in later half of the eighteenth century. One was the extent of tenurial systems, and those features associated with a particular revenue system. For instance, in Visakhapatnam district under the operation of the 'short term lease', the cultivator had no motivation for extending cultivation; because he was denied to enjoy the profit from the increased cultivation under the short term leases.<sup>11</sup>

The brown cotton cultivation in case of Godavari district was very limited, owing to the heavy taxation principles associated with those lands.<sup>2</sup> Further, in Peddapuram and Pitahpuram **Zamindaries**, the land revenue assessment was based on the Visabadi cist a system that provided space for the **Malaverty** assessment too. The Malaverty assessment, by which the **Zamindars** could levy an additional tax in cases of an increase in production, acted as a disincentive.<sup>13</sup>

However, as the quantity of cotton produced locally was inadequate, the short fall had to be met by imports from outside. For instance, in 1785, for 2481 looms employed in producing **Punjam** cloths for the East India Company, the quantity of cotton required in Godavari district was 1897 putties. The difference of 317 putties had to be, therefore, imported.<sup>14</sup> As this was only for the coarser 14 punjam cloth, the finer varieties would, ipso facto, have needed greater imports.

The local non-availability of specific varieties of cotton which were needed by weavers specializing in the production of particular kinds of textiles, was yet another reason for imports. As the locally produced cotton was reddish in colour, for instance, the weaver of the Guntur district preferred to use the imported variety. Even if the weaver wanted to use the local variety, the quantity produced was inadequate. In 1796, the quantity available in Guntur district was only 1200 candies.<sup>15</sup>

## **Itinerant Traders: The Banjara**

The main external cotton sources for the weavers of the region during the later half of the 18th Century were in the "Mahratta country", Nagpur and Berar zones of the Central Deccan.<sup>16</sup>

The crucial role in transportation of cotton was played by the ubiquitous itinerant trader, the Banjara.<sup>17</sup> These traders were important links in the trading networks of the time, transporting on their bullocks, various commodities, which they exchanged for others needed elsewhere.

The annual migrations of the Banjara merchants between the Deccan and the coast, a development which occurred as a direct result of the expansion of textile exports was a significant contribution to the rhythm of commercial and social life of the regions through which they passed. The indirect effects of this migration makes the opening of the Banjara trade a particularly pervasive consequence of the growth of Northern Coromandel exports.

The Banjara brought cotton to the Northern Coromandel from places like Nagpur and Sadan, and exchanged it for salt. For instance, in 1795, out of 864 1/4 putties of imported cotton into the Godavari district, the Banjara imported 505 1/4 putties of cotton.<sup>19</sup>



The evidence from the Northern Coromandel region suggests that the Banjaras trading activities depended essentially on the nature of market conditions of the economies with which they had trade relations. During the later half of the eighteenth century, the nature of their trading activity was speculative and risky. Though cotton constituted a major item which the Banjara brought into the Northern Coromandel, nevertheless, they also traded in other articles like wheat, tamarind, jaggery etc. Moreover, they would usually ascertain the market conditions before dumping their products into the region, because they were interested essentially in maximizing profits from their caravan activities.<sup>20</sup>

The profit for a Banjara on cotton imported from Sadah was calculated in 1796 as follows: <sup>21</sup>

The price of cotton at Sadah	9 pagodas per pooty
Road customs which they paid	7 1/2 Pagodas per pooty
Expense of gunnies	1/2 Pagoda
Total Expense	17 Pagodas
if they hired bullocks at the rate of	1/2 Pagoda per bullocks
then the Banjaras could get nothing out of it. Since most of <b>them</b> possessed cattle of their own, they could afford to sell their produce at 18 Pagodas per putti.	

When the profit from the cotton trade was very low why were the Banjaras interested in providing cotton supplies to the region? The ever increasing demand for textiles of the region

induced them to supply continually cotton of central Deccan to the weavers of the region. Even though the returns from the sale were low yet the Banjara undertook it because they were interested in the product which would fetch **them** greater profits at home. The Banjara exchanged cotton or any other commodity only for salt because salt was abundantly available at low cost, and the local modes of measuring salt were advantageous to Banjara.<sup>22</sup> In the Northern Coromandel region, the manufacture of salt was the monopoly of Zamindars, who offered it at a very low price. For instance, at the turn of the eighteenth century, the price of salt was Rs.10 for Coringa garce of 600 kunchum, of 3 1/4 seers kunchum. This was equivalent to Rs.25 per sicca or Madras garce. The mode of measurement was the Heaped kunchum.

The Banjara trader was involved in transporting cotton within the region too, procuring it from centres like Daravadah, Nallakonda, Devarakonda (Palnad) for selling at markets such as Visakhapatnam, Kottapalem and Poduru.<sup>24</sup>

Elsewhere, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Banjaras were being pushed into peripheral economic roles.<sup>25</sup> Here, in the Northern Coromandel, their continued economic presence helped to sustain the textile production. For example, the manufacture of cloth in the Visakhapatnam district which between 1770 and 1790 produced about 600 bales of cloth was made possible only by the Banjara trader.<sup>26</sup> This critical involvement of the Banjara trader in the textile economy of the Northern Coromandel contrasts markedly with the system that operated in

Bengal. There, the procurement and distribution of cotton was in hands of big merchants and agency houses.

In Northern Coromandel too, there were a few merchant groups involved in the procurement and distribution of cotton. Those belonging predominantly to the Baliya community, were however, involved primarily with trade in cotton produced within the region. In 1795, for instance, some cotton was imported into the Godavari district by merchants who were residents of Yerrangudem, and Anantapalli. For an ordinary merchant the profit accruing from cotton trade was very much less than that made by Banjaras. The return for their cotton imports were usually different varieties of coconuts from the district-green coconuts, whole kernels sold in bulk, and the empty shell with a hole bored in it to clear out the kernel.<sup>29</sup> The nature of the trading activity of the merchants was essentially a speculative one. In places like Guntur, some of these merchants also used salt as a medium of exchange, like the Banjara, especially when trading with places like Nizampatnam and Kottapalem, but sold the cotton for cash when marketing it in other areas.

Gradually, however, the increase in demand for cotton in the wake of the growing investment in textile production overcame the inhibitions that may have been caused by the low profits and high risks and attracted many new merchants to the cotton trade. For instance, it was reported by the collector of Godavari district that in the 1790s the merchants began to invest their capital in the cotton trade. Earlier, they were trading in specie, copper

and broad cloth, which they obtained from the Dutch and French territories at Jaggannathpuraiti and Yanam.

These merchants usually operated in specialized cotton markets, such as those which existed at Dwarapoody, Jaggampeta and Tuni in the Godavari district.

Since the cotton trade was crucial to the Company's merchants in the textile economy, the Company sought to ensure the maintenance of supplies of cotton and thread to the weaver.

One major problem encountered by the Company initially was the disruption in cotton supplies, brought about, ironically enough, by the Company's own administrative and political policies.<sup>33</sup> Its attempts to subdue and control the various rural magnates like Zamindars and hill chiefs, and the wars of succession among some Zamindar families, created a situation of unrest which made it difficult for the Banjaras to operate, because they were forced to pay double custom duties.<sup>34</sup>

The Company took two major steps to facilitate the Banjara trade, without which, the textile economy of the Northern Coromandel would virtually have ground to a halt in the 1790s. One was to abolish all inland duties on the cotton that was imported into the country from the Mahratta and other territories. Even the Zamindars and hill chieftains were asked to refrain from all vexatious and oppressive exactions of duties being levied upon the Banjaras.<sup>35</sup> The other method used by the Company to induce the Banjara to continue their trade, especially

from the cotton rich Nagpur territory, was to send special contracts to the principal Banjaras in the production zones.<sup>36</sup>

The problem of cotton supply to the textile economy of the Northern Coromandel was compounded by the development of trade with China. The three areas from where the Company could procure cotton for export to China during this period were Bombay, Bengal and Madras. For the triangle trade requirements, the items coming from Madras investment were cotton and sandalwood. The ceded districts of Andhra region and Tinnevely district, were the principal areas in the Madras Presidency supplying cotton to China in early nineteenth century. From Mysore was procured the first sort of sandalwood meant for triangle trade.<sup>38</sup>

Although initially the Madras supplies of cotton came only from the ceded districts and Tinnevely, by 1814, the Ingeram area was also seen as a source, and the Company intended to procure 500 candies of cotton, or more than 15% of the prospective total supply from Madras.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, only 298 candies of cotton could actually be procured from the entire Northern Coromandel, and that too only from Ingeram and Maddapollam areas.<sup>40</sup> Although cotton was produced in considerable quantities in the Palanadu region of Guntur district, none could be exported to Canton because of the internal requirements of the Northern Coromandel region.<sup>41</sup> By 1819, however, no cotton at all was available for export.<sup>42</sup> There were two reasons for this. One was the slight but significant increase in the Company's investment in the textile

production of the region.<sup>4</sup> The other, perhaps more important reason, was a shortfall in the cotton imports into the region, thus putting greater pressure on locally produced cotton.<sup>44</sup> This short fall was caused by, among many other things, the acquisition of monopoly over salt by the East India Company in 1809.<sup>45</sup>

The colonial attempts to penetrate deeply into the region had further brought other avenues of revenue collections under its direct control. BY 1809, the turn came for the salt, and by establishing monopoly over salt, the Company, in fact, further attenuated the power of the landed elites. The effect of such a policy was felt drastically by the itinerant traders in cotton whose profits were reduced heavily. Consequently, the cotton supply to the weavers was restrained, thus leading to a further rise in the price of cotton. The situation was such that the Company on one occasion dispatched Tinnevelly cotton to Ingeram, in order to relieve weavers from the acute shortage of cotton.<sup>46</sup>

According to an official report the sole reason for the set back to Company's investment was the establishment of Company's monopoly over salt. <sup>47</sup>

....it would appear, that the trifling importation of Maharatta cotton into the Circars for the last several years, which deter the Lambadies and merchants from speculating in that articles as formerly. The commercial resident at the same time adverts to the deficiency in measurement as another cause of complaint on the part of these people.

The Commercial Resident, Ingeram stated that Rs. 35 per garce was too high for those who formerly benefited by the zamindaries liberal rate of 10 1/2 per garce.

The Banjaras even sent their complaints against the initiation of control over salt manufacture. Not only the rise in the price of salt but even the mode of measurement under the new system, were essential causes that caused them to complain. The Company replaced the existing mode of measurement 'Heaped kunchum' by the 'parah measure' in 1809. Earlier, under the heaped kunchum they used to get double the quantity for one garce. But under the Company's 'parah measure', the Banjaras could only get small quantities. As a result of the establishment of monopoly over salt, the cotton imports into various districts declined drastically. For instance, between 1819-23, Godavari district received hardly 50 candies of cotton.<sup>49</sup>

Between 1817 and 1821, Ganjam district received 2797 Candies of cotton through the Banjaras, who took salt in exchange. In the same period, Visakhapatnam district got 4163 Candies of cotton from the Banjaras, who traded it for salt and other commodities like cloth, tobacco and fish. The average selling price here during this period for cotton not separated from the seed was Rs 20 per Candy, while the cleaned, deseeded cotton was priced at Rs 75 per Candy.<sup>50</sup>

The Company had tried, in the 18th century, as indicated, to shore up traditional networks of production and trade of cotton to protect its investment, supporting, for example, the activities of the Banjara traders. By the beginning of the 19th century, however, the Company was casting for ways of more directly controlling the production and distribution of cotton. As a result, the role of Banjara in the textile economy of the region was more or less **peripheralised**.

The Company in order to protect its investment attempted to ensure continued supply of cotton to the weaver by utilizing political means. In 1823, it was suggested that it would be expedient: 51

....to offer large price for cotton or engage to exchange the commodity for a given quantity of salt, commensurate to the intended rise in price. [it was] suggested that if these methods appeared to be possible rather than entering into a contract for an annual supply of **Maharatta** cotton with a merchant at **Chanda**, the best method a proclamation of the intensions government through the Maharatta states, by means of residents of Hyderabad and Nagapore.

Instead of relying more on imports of cotton, the textile economy could cope with these conditions, owing to the developments that were taking place in the region from the beginning of the nineteenth century. An increase in internal production of cotton, and a growth in the intra regional movement of cotton sustained the textile economy of the Northern Coromandel. Indeed, with the assumption of Palanadu by the Company in 1801, the jurisdictional embarrassments, which might have restricted the free movement of cotton in the region earlier, were completely erased. Since the Palanadu area was a



principal cotton supply zone, even the cotton requirement of the weavers of Visakhapatnam and Godavari district came to be met by Palanadu during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>52</sup> Where the Company did succeed, although indirectly, in facilitating the growth of cotton in the region was in the adoption of revenue policies. For example, when in 1802, the Company adopted the permanent settlement, it also abolished earlier practices like Malaverty assessment by which the cultivator was liable to additional taxation by the Zamindar if he produced more.<sup>53</sup> Thus, after 1802, a cultivator had **some** incentive for expanding cultivation. Besides, there was some inducement for taking up cotton cultivation in districts like Godavari, where the rate of assessment was dependent on the nature of the crop. In 1819 the Collector of Rajahmundry stated that:<sup>55</sup>

The land tax is the same whether the fields are cultivated with cotton or grain. It is entirely optional with the cultivator to sow what grain or seeds he pleases.

Recognizing the need to increase internal production of cotton, the East India Company attempted to increase extent of cultivation.

Regular export of cotton from India started in 1793, but the quantity remained small until the beginning of the 19th century. British industrial capitalists pressed upon the East India Company to discourage the export of cotton to China and to divert it to England. At that time, British merchants, however, preferred to export cotton to China as it was more profitable.

Finally, the **mill-owners** prevailed as they were able to determine government policy. After 1813, the private British shippers were free to load Indian cotton from Bombay under the overall supervision of the Company.<sup>57</sup>

The colonial efforts to secure maximum cotton exports to meet its demand at home, to some extent had their impact on the Northern Coromandel region too.<sup>58</sup> collectors of the various districts of the Northern Coromandel were incessantly requested to try the new varieties of cotton cultivation, Bourbon, Tinnevely and American, from the beginning of the nineteenth **century**. However, the soil conditions coupled with the revenue assessment patterns foiled every attempt of the Company to begin the cultivation of the new varieties of cotton in the first half of the 19th century. As early as 1810, attempts were made in Masulipatnam to induce the cultivator to cultivate new varieties like Bourbon and Tinnevely. The cultivators of cotton in cultivated areas like Vassireddi territory, **Nundigamah** and wuyoor, Chintalapudi were not willing to try these varieties.<sup>60</sup> Even in the Palanadu district, where cotton was cultivated in 3/4th of the cultivated land the bourbon cotton was not at all cultivated.<sup>61</sup> Even by 1826 the Masulipatnam cultivator was reluctant to consider the promotion of Bourbon and Tinnevely varieties. In fact, it may be said, the cultivator was generally indifferent towards cotton cultivation itself. Apart from the fact that the soil of Masulipatnam district was suitable for the production only of coarse staple cotton, used for the manufacture of a coarser variety of cloth, the cultivation of

cotton was less profitable than the cultivation of other grains as the **former** required larger outlays of labour and capital.<sup>62</sup>

In the 1830s the Court of Directors sent samples of American cotton and tobacco seeds to see the possibility of the extending these varieties in the Guntur district. Though the attempts failed owing to an unfavorable season, still the collector expressed the hope of extending the new varieties, owing to the advantage associated with American cotton cultivation. In the American cotton the fibre is superior in point of strength and fineness and whiteness, and the proportion of wool to seed is greater in case of American cotton. The cultivator would prefer to cultivate the same provided the rent of cotton grounds is sufficiently reduced. With reference to the superiority of the cotton of Tinnevely and Coimbatore over the other Madras cottons, the report attributed, to the influence of the Malabar monsoon which extends particularly to those provinces and preserves a greater variety of temperature and moisture than is to be found in the other provinces under the Madras **presidency**. Whatever might be the attempts of the Company to get large quantities of cotton for its European or other American market requirements, the response of the Guntur district was negative even by 1847. "There were no exports from the Guntur district to Europe or other American markets."<sup>64</sup> In 1848 H.Oakes, Collector of Guntur stated that the cotton of his district was regarded as being of inferior quality compared to those of Tanjore, Tinneveli, Cuddapah, Bellary, Coimbatore, and therefore, unsuited for being exported to the European Market.<sup>65</sup>

## **Dyeing Materials: Indigo And Chayroot**

Cotton is the most crucial raw material in any textile economy. But there are other raw materials which are no less critical to the production of textiles. Perhaps the most important are dyes which enable the weaver to cater to the demand for coloured, painted and printed fabrics. In the Coromandel region a wide variety of dyes was used in producing many kinds of coloured and patterned fabrics for which the region was famous. The most commonly used dyes were those produced from indigo and chayroot and to a lesser extent, from cochineal.

The cultivation of the indigo crop was confined mainly to those villages which were under the jurisdiction of the Pitahpuram Zamindar. Almost the whole quantity meant for chay goods manufacture of the Northern Coromandel was met from this local sources only, although a little was being supplied also by the Hyderabad area. The location of the Zamindari in one of the most fertile lands of the area, was responsible for the growth of indigo crop too. The production of these crops was undertaken twice, usually in the months of August and December. The seeding had to be preceded by three ploughings each time, and provided the rains came on time, the crop could be harvested.<sup>66</sup>

The average price of indigo produced in this district was about 10 Madras pagodas per maund of 25 lbs. But the Hyderabad variety, which was very much superior generally sold for double the above price ,but was, nevertheless, in great demand.<sup>67</sup>

The textile variety of Masulipatnam, chay goods, derived their name from the chay root used to make the red dye characteristic of these fabrics. The availability of the chay root in the vicinity of Masulipatnam was indeed, one of the causes for the location of the chay goods manufacturing at centres like Perala, Vetapalam, Mungalagiri, Rajahpettah, and Buttiprole.<sup>68</sup> Handkerchiefs, Loongies, Soochies, and other varieties. manufactured at these places found their way to the markets of Madras, Vallejapettah, Paralajacoavery, Gavobunder, Hyderabad and other places.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, the merchants from Boocoypaully, Chirala and other places visited Guntur zilla quite often for purchasing the chay root.<sup>70</sup>

The chayroot was used for preparing red and black colour goods. The chayroot was mainly grown in a stretch of land from Peddaganjam to Nizampatnam, nearly covering 30 miles of the area of Guntur.<sup>71</sup>

There were three main varieties of chay root produced in the Guntur district, which were locally called, Neeraytepalloo, Enakapalloo, and Yetampalloo, the first two varieties being, however, the most widely used.<sup>72</sup> The cultivation of these varieties was undertaken different ways: The Neeraytepalloo, otherwise called jungle chayroot was a spontaneous produce, nurtured by seasonal rains. It was considered to be the best for producing the dye, and grew mostly in the jungles located in the sandy soils of the Northern Coromandel coastal region. This root took about two or three years to mature, but its quality could be

affected by rain at the time of gathering the root.<sup>73</sup> The Enakapalloo variety, known as the potti or short chayroot was also produced in the sandy soils of the coast, particularly in the region around Masulipatnam and Nellore. Unlike the jungle chay root, this variety required very careful cultivation. It was sown between August and October and was carefully watered by large pots, with goat and cow dung as manure. The produce was dug up from April to June.

The third variety of chay root, called Yatumpalloo was mainly cultivated in the Guntur district. It was sown in February, during the hot season and the plant was watered by piacotahs, and the produce was unearthed in August.

What was the mechanism through which the chay root was prepared for its final use? Both the jungle chay root and potty chay root were dug out entire, that is root and branch, and tied up in small bundles, and kept in the sun. After drying, they were made up into larger bundles at the rate of 1 3/4 maund each. For preparation of the dye, the roots alone were used the upper parts being cut away.<sup>76</sup>

The total quantity of chay root produced in the Guntur zilla was about 400 candies of jungle chay root and 400 candies of potty chayroot per year. The price of the jungle chayroot was 1 3/4 or 2 rupees per maund, while the potty chayroot would fetch half the amount fluctuating with reference to its quality.<sup>77</sup>

There were two ways through which the jungle chay root production was organized in the region: The farming out system or the Aumany system. Under the Aumany system the circar would pay a hire of 1 rupee per maund and sold the produce. Whereas if rented, the renters would dig the chay root annually at their expense. Regarding the potti chay root, it would appear, that in the open lands, and in the neighbourhood of villages, the cultivators would cultivate as far as they could, and would pay the circar shist on it, and sell the article themselves:<sup>78</sup>

...In the said open lands the ryots will not only have produce of chayroot but also of Tameedar, Woolwaor cootty, and on average the extent of such land yielding crops is but little the other part is larger. The land producing jungle chayroot is when with grass grazed by cattle, but it had never been ploughed and sown with any corn. If the ryots who produce chayroots in beds be permitted to carry on the cultivation of this land, paying small assessment or without if they would do it but they are not other ryots. A profit arises therefore but the cultivation of chayroot will be diminished.

Chayroot has, therefore, a crucial element in the production of textiles. In deed, it was so important that it acquired an extraordinary economic value leading even to frequent thefts.<sup>79</sup>

There were three main Paraganas where an extensive cultivation of chay root was undertaken. The importance of chayroot cultivation was exemplified by the fact that different shares were being allotted to various groups of the agrarian structure of the Parganas.<sup>80</sup> In Nizampatnam Paraganas, for instance, Kadeem, Karanam and inhabitants of the various villages: The shares were shown in the following Table:4:1

Table:4:1

Madras pagodas per Coontah	Payable by
1/2	: <b>Brahmins</b> of Chandavole Village
17/32	: Inhabitants of Cadavaidooroo
7/8	: Inhabitants of Chandavole
1/4	: Kadeem Inhabitants of Bapatla
1	: Kadeem and <b>Karnams</b> in the several villages
10	: per bed consisting of 16 coontahs, by : <b>Kadeems</b> of Bapatla
7	: per bed by <b>Karnams</b> of Bapatla
5	: Inhabitants of the village in the circulars.

Source: John Read, Collector to BOR, 11 November 1800, MDR 2998  
134-141

In Nizampatnam circular, 1/8 Madras pagoda was paid for coontah of chayroot along with chillies, tobacco, onions, betel and garlic, Zamindari and at one pagoda per root bed, on account of Zamindari Russums which was credited to the circular. On account of Mirasidar Russums 1/16 per coontah; and it 2 pagodas per bed chay root was collected. <sup>81</sup>

In Innegoodroo Paragana, the chayroot beds were placed under the jareeb taxes, the rates of which were as follows: <sup>82</sup>

New beds pay at 3 1/2 Madras pagoda per podoor bed

Indifferent land pays at 4



Mirasidars pay at	5
Payakarries pay at	5 1/2
Head inhabitants pay at	6 3/8
Kadeems pay at	7 3/8

Usually the rent of jungle chay root varied according to the season. For instance when in fresh 1208, a tax of 2 Madras pagodas was collected on beedoo or grazing land sold, no beedeo was allotted in fasli 1209 .

In Peddanah of Guntur district, after a deduction on account of Enams and unproductive beds, the following taxes were being levied on chay root while the Despondiahs and Karnam were 5 1/4 per podoo or bed, Payakaries and Kadeems were taxed at 6 1/4 and 6 1/2 Madras pagoda per podoo or bed respectively. °°

The fact that different rates were established on account of revenue collections meant for chay root cultivation, and these groups were contributing towards Zamindari, Mirasidar, Saderwareed and Tahareer Rusums, was a clear indicator to show the significant role of chay root in the textile economy of the region.

The weaver of the Northern Coromandel depended not only on local sources for his chay root requirements but also on the neighbouring localities. The Nizam's territory was a major supplying territory of chay root to the this region. 84

The chay goods investment of Masulipatnam district depended to a considerable extent on the Nizam's territories for essential dyeing material like Coosoomboo pooloo or red flower used for dyeing material and sereenje or chay root. A large quantity of chay root was being imported into Masulipatnam district from Nizam's territories even by 1830s, and continued even into second half of the 19th century.<sup>85</sup>

Around 1800, there was an apparent decline in the trade networks between the Nizam's territories and those of the Company's territories. The limited range of exports also included those items which were related to the weaving economy, like dye stuffs. For instance, the Rajahmundry district collector reported that Vassuncondua a red colour for dyeing silk procured amongst the hills, men and women cloths from Chicacole, chintz from Masulipatnam, silk thread from Bengal were exported to Nizam's territories. Coosoomboo Poloo or red flower for dyeing turbans was among other items being imported into the Circars from Nizam's territories.

#### Turning Cotton into Thread

The primary raw material, cotton had to be turned into thread before the weaver could work it up into cloth.

The spinning of thread was essentially a subsidiary occupation to many social groups, and their continual presence at this level of production process was very crucial for the existence of the weaving world. Of particular interest is the

participation of women at this stage of the textile **economy**. Women from almost all sections of the society turned the cotton into thread of different fineness .

In the Northern Coromandel region, the availability of thread to the weaver was conditioned by the **socio-economic** factors associated with the social world of the spinners. The weavers, no doubt, possessed also the necessary skill for turning the cotton into thread and possessed the necessary tools like the spinning wheel (called Ratnam in the local terminology).<sup>87</sup> In fact, evidence is available to suggest that spinning was undertaken by members of the weavers' families especially the women. However, since certain kinds of thread required highly specialized skills, it is quite likely that such thread was produced by specialized groups and not by weavers families.

The presence of such groups which included some non-traditional castes, was very crucial for the continual operation of weaving in the region as the transformation of cotton into thread depended entirely on their work. In the eighteenth century, the thread was spun in the Guntur district by three distinct groups reflecting their specialized skill. One such group was that of the agriculturists. The agriculturists who cultivated cotton, used to spin the thread, which they then supplied to the weaver to be woven into cloth for themselves. Interestingly, the agriculturists paid a "coolie" or wage to the weaver for rendering this service. Moreover, if any thread remained (in excess of the spinner's requirements for cloth), it

was sold to the weavers and thread merchants.<sup>8</sup> Ordinarily, one may expect such transactions in a primitive rural economy to rest upon a simple and mutual exchange of commodities and services. Here, however, we have a spinner paying a "wage" to the weaver for turning the thread into cloth, and "selling" the remainder of

□□

the **thread**. While it is difficult to establish the genealogy of this practice, it was, at any rate, prevalent at the turn of the eighteenth century, reflecting the high degree of commercialization in the rural economy of the region.

This commercialization could be seen also in the way in which the families of a group of ryots and woodiyar reddis marketed the thread they produced. For the thread they produced in their houses, these spinners received the price of cotton and a "coolie" payment for their services.

The third major group involved in the production of thread was that of the pariah communities, who were very crucial to the regional textile economy, as they were highly skilled in turning the raw cotton into extremely fine forms of thread. While the thread spun by the cultivators was commonly of a coarse variety, the thread spun by malas and chucklers ( another low caste group belonging to the Madiga community) was very much finer in quality, and was, therefore, in great demand by the merchants and weavers.

The remuneration provided for these two varieties of thread was as follows:

Thread spun by pariahs for a 'wara'	
(a long roll) of yarn of 10 punjums variety	5 fanams
of 14 cubits length, made from 1/2 seer of cotton	
Coarse thread for a vara (a long roll) of	
yarn of 8 punjums variety, of 16 cubits length,	5 fanams
made of 1 seer of cotton	

The remuneration for both the types of thread appears to be the same, but was actually different, as the thread provided by the Pariah communities was finer, and should, therefore, have received a higher price. Despite, however, the fact that the thread he spun was of finer quality, and thus had a higher market price, the Pariah received the same price as the weaver of the coarse thread. Possibly this discriminatory pricing was facilitated by the low social status of the Pariah, which legitimized this economic exploitation.

In the Godavari district, it was the coarse variety of thread that had great demand in the market, because it was essentially used for the Company's 14 punjam cloth, and coarser textiles catering to the needs of the lower and middle classes of the society.<sup>92</sup> The customary allowance for turning one maund of cotton into thread was 1 Pagoda and 6 fanams. Out of this, the cotton beater got 12 fanams, while the spinner's allowance was 42 fanams.

The allowance offered for making the finer variety of thread was more. But to the spinner, the difference in remuneration for

making the coarse thread and finer thread would be less, because it was the time factor that would determine the preparation of any variety of thread. For instance, in Godavari district, for turning one maund cotton even into a coarser variety of thread, the time taken was usually two months, and the earnings of the most expert weaver might not extend beyond 2 to 3 dubs per month. Whereas for making the finer variety of thread, they took nearly 1 1/2 or 2 years. Moreover, the loss of cotton while preparing coarse thread was 1/16 per maund and 1/8 per finer variety.<sup>94</sup>

In the Visakhapatnam district the spinning was done by people of various castes except brahmins, chiefly by women and children, and persons who could not take up other occupations c to some physical disability. The cotton was cleaned, ~~deseede~~ beaten out, and by means of a simple wheel and spindle device was spun into thread. The remuneration to a single person f this was half a fanam a day. The thread was then brought i the market, and sold from 3 to 5, and it has been known at 7 8 seers the **rupee**.

In the region the availability of thread and the price of did not depend only on the availability of cotton. Rather it v the agricultural operations in a year that also **determined** prices. The price of thread was very high during the time of cultivation and harvest, because most of the rural population was employed in the agricultural operations.<sup>96</sup> As the popular Telugu proverb put it, "The spinning wheel is come, out of the way with your cart".<sup>97</sup> For instance, in Visakhapatnam district

during 1795, for one rupee, the weaver got 3 1/4 seers of 14 punjam thread, 2 1/2 seers of 18 punjam thread. Whereas by 1796, the price of thread had decreased to such an extent, that the weaver could get 7 or 8 seers per rupee, in spite of the fact that the price of cotton had remained the same.<sup>98</sup>

The decrease was essentially due to the general failure of cultivation owing to famine, drought etc. that affected the district seriously. Consequently, more people had to take up spinning just for sustaining their life, thus lowering the cost of thread.

Another cause that affected disastrously the availability of thread to the weaver was natural calamities. The continued drought around 1792, created acute scarcity of thread to the weavers working for Ingeram and Maddepollam factories, because, there was high mortality among the spinners, especially pariahs at this time. For instance, the price of thread increased from 11 to 7 viss and paddy from 20 to 5 kunchums per pagoda. And even at that rate, paddy was not easily available in some villages.<sup>99</sup>

The availability and the price of thread were not simple linear functions of the availability of cotton and its price. The spinning of thread specialized as it was, it would seem was also not a full time occupation and was often undertaken in seasons of low agricultural activity. Thus during harvest and cultivation seasons and even more during periods of demographic

change induced by **famine**, scarcity of spinners resulted in high thread prices, even though cotton may have been available in abundance.<sup>100</sup>

The quantity of investment at Visakhapatnam district primarily depended on the price of cotton and thread, rather than on the efforts of the commercial residents. For instance, a piece good of 14 **punjums** contains 25 or 26 seers of thread, and the price paid to the weaver was Rs.7 1/2. In 1796 when the thread was brought at 3 1/4 seers per rupees, the weaver had to spend nearly Rs.8 worth of thread for the manufacture of 14 **punjums** cloth. As his pay was 7 1/2 rupees for 14 **punjums** cloth, he could save only 1 1/2 rupees for his maintenance. The consequent result of the rise in the price of the thread was that the weaver had to reduce the quantity of thread which was needed for 14 **punjums** cloth and thus there was a debasement of the quality of cloth investment, as a piece of 14 **punjums** contained only 20 or 21 seers of thread.

Similarly, for a piecegood of 18 **punjam** cloth, the weaver had to use nearly 26 seers of thread. In 1796, when the price of thread for 18 **punjam** cloth was 2 1/4 seers per rupee, he was paid only 10 1/2 rupees per piece, and again, the weaver was therefore compelled to use less thread than usually employed.<sup>101</sup>

There was also a decline in the Company's investment owing to the scarcity and dearness of thread, consequent to the famine of 1792 that engulfed the entire Godavari district. The Company sought to ensure the maintenance of supplies of thread to the



weaver by protecting the thread trade through administrative policies. One such step was to abolish all land duties on the cotton thread that was imported into the country from Maharatta and other territories. Even the Zamindars and hill chieftains were asked to refrain from all vexatious and oppressive exactions of duties being levied upon the banjaras, the itinerant group supplying thread to the weavers of the Godavari district.<sup>102</sup>

In case of chay goods investment, the Company indirectly helped the weaver by reinforcing the system of procurement through middlemen. The Guntur district, known for its chayroot and thread, and also once major area of residence for the weavers of chay goods, was under the control of the Nizam till 1788. Any attempt by the Company to deal directly in ensuring proper supply of thread, chayroot etc. would lead to political embarrassment seeming from jurisdictional disputes. The Company had to, therefore, continue the practice of using middlemen not only for securing chay goods, but even to ensure proper supply of thread and chay root to the weaver of the Guntur district.

In 1796, the price offered for dyeing the thread in Guntur district varied depending on whether the thread was coarser variety or finer one.

Coarse thread		Thread spun by Pariahs
First sort	11-20	13-40
Second sort	10-10	12-30
Third sort	5-50	6-60

Source:Collector Guntur, to Edward Saunders, BOR, 8 March 1799, gudr 979B, pp.663-669

What were the possible ways through which the thread reached the weaver? In almost all the districts of the Northern Coromandel the thread was freely available in the **markets**, and the weavers could purchase the necessary amount directly either from the retail shops or from the thread markets operating in specific places. For example in the Godavari district the weavers working for the Company used to purchase the thread from the thread markets of Relangi, Kunalah, Kanur **Agraharam**, Nidadavole, Jallepudi, Nedamaru, Akeved and Pentapad. With rising demand, and the consequent rise in prices, it would appear that those involved in marketing the thread became more restrictive. Thus in 1796, we find the weavers protesting that the Baliyas (perhaps the Dudi Baliyas, who specialized in cotton) were making it difficult to procure thread by monopolizing its sale. The Baliyas claimed on the other hand that custom sanctioned their control of the thread trade. In 1796, the weavers found it difficult to buy thread from these markets, as the Baliya people were cornering all the thread. It appeared to be the custom acquired by the baliya people around that period.<sup>104</sup>

At another level there existed a variety of specialized shops, trading in the retail and wholesale trade of all those articles necessary. The Moturpha revenue collections of the districts exhibit clearly the structure of these trading shops in each district of the Northern Coromandel . Most of these shops for instance, in Guntur district were in the hands of Banias or **komaties**, the traditional mercantile community. They seemed to

have possessed several shops of different descriptions.<sup>105</sup> In Guntur district also a similar kind of trading shops were noticed different shops, granaries, cloth shops, shops for retail of grain, and shops for salt, chillies, rice, tamarind and sundries. There were 45 shops for blue and red colour thread, 204 cotton shops, 838 cotton cleaners; 18 dyers, 31 dyeing blue thread; and 1 sunkoomdiara people or who smooth or glaze cloth.<sup>106</sup>

Notable among these shops of Masulipatnam were specialized distinct shops selling the raw material, and dye stuffs necessary for the textile economy. In 1845, there were 151 shops selling cotton, 49 cloth shops; 74 sellers of red colour thread; rungerajoolo who dye chintz and painted cloths 87; formers of indigo pots or dyeing with indigo colour; and rinjarces or cotton spinners 15 shops.<sup>107</sup> In 1846, there was 81 shops for the whole sale opium, long cloths, sandal wood, etc. besides there was 50 shops for the retail trade of cloth; 16 sellers of red coloured thread; 221 Rungerajoloo or Puttaracapodoo who dye chintz or painted cloths; coosoomba or rungirajoloo who vinge or dye cloths with coosoomba or red dye 80; 394 pinjaries or cotton spinners; 58 persons engaged in dying cloths of with a bark of red dye.<sup>108</sup>

#### Technology and the techniques of Weaving World

The weavers of Northern Coromandel had catered to the needs of the external markets, by following different techniques in their production processes. These techniques ranged from simple weaving to the creation of complex patterns on the looms, and also production of a variety of fabrics by printing, painting,

and dyeing. Very little evidence on the weaving technology is available in the records of this period. Telugu literary works, however, provide a great deal of information on the process of turning the cotton into thread, and the thread into cloth, essentially mentioning the instruments used in these processes.

Before turning the cotton into thread, however, there was an elaborate process that extensively brought the cotton to the spinner :selection of cotton, combing, ginning, cleaning, carding and silvering. The weaver of Northern Coromandel was very cautious in selecting the cotton, which would be particularly suitable to his requirements.

For separating the seed from cotton, or in ginning, an instrument called Rattnum or Hand mill was used. In 1835, the Guntur district collector described that a device, "which contains two wooden contrarily revolving rollers which are set in motion by the motion. These rollers draw the cotton inwards and as they revolve very closely towards each other the seed which is too large to be admitted with the cotton falls down forwards on the ground. The above is the only mode which obtains in this district of separating the seed from cotton".<sup>109</sup>

The reference to Pinjamanu and Kamand Dasta in a contemporary dictionary clearly shows that the two instruments were also used in cleaning the cotton. The Pinjamanu was also called Dudekuvillu, was used to extract the seeds from the cotton, while the kamanadasta was a large bow for cleaning the

cotton. The Carding or disentanglement of the fibres from cotton was done with the help of the Upper jaw of a fresh water shark called 'Wallagu'.<sup>111</sup>

Evidence drawn from the Sukasaptati an eighteenth century text of erotic stories written in verse form by Palakaveri Kadiripati, depicts not only the process of turning cotton into thread, but also various stages involved while preparing the thread of different dimensions.<sup>112</sup> While providing the evidence that most of the women had taken up spinning as an important occupation, it also confirms the idea that they were closely associated with all the processes involved in the arrangement of warp threads. While saying that they used kaduru a spindle for turning the cotton into a fine thread, the text indicates that often the Ratnam, (Rattnum , Ratanamu) the spinning wheel was employed for spinning on a large scale, although the thread produced by it was very much coarser.<sup>1</sup> In fact Rattnum was one among many devices which a weaver had possessed during this period.<sup>114</sup> According to the Sukasapati, the women prepared Enika, a yarn of 3 or 4 threads united, and punjums of thread. A Punjum was thirty skeins of thread.<sup>125</sup> Pante was a weavers whirl(not a distaff) on which the thread is wound. It was of a pyramidal shape. Further, the women prepared Padugu, meaning the woof or threads that run the whole length of the web usually called warp, and the thread was made to be woven as a piece work, called Kuli Padugulu. Kande was a ball or roll of thread on a straw, which was put into the shuttle.<sup>11</sup>

The thread did not always go directly from the spinner to the weaver. As the region was famous for its colourful weaves, often the thread had to be dyed and then given to the weaver. The phase of turning the ordinary thread into a coloured one with use of dyes was a very complex and an elaborate process, which was monopolized by distinct social groups like Ringerajoloo and Neelegaru.

Benjamin Heyne acting Company's Botanist located at Samulkotah described the various stages involved in the mode of dyeing red cotton yarn on the Coromandel coast in 1795.

The first process was preparing the yarn to be dyed by washing and arranging, as this was particularly necessary to prevent yarn being entangled during the various processes, and to make all its parts be sufficiently penetrable and accessible to the colouring particles.

The yarn after being separated was divided into little bundles of 30 to 40 threads, through each of which was drawn in the middle and at its extreme a cotton binding, the yarn was then spread out so as to expose every single thread to the sun.

The yarn then was prepared to receive the dye. This stage consisted of two essential parts first was the prolonged and repeated soaking of yarn in cold water interspersed with pressing and beating. The latter by loosening the texture of thread was further enhanced by the application to it of a mordant. The

mordant was carefully prepared in the following manner. An alkaline solution was prepared by mixing vegetable ashes (usually of plantain leaves or the wood of sabola fortuorsa) with water. The alkalinity of the lye was carefully tested till the desired strength was obtained. The lye was then decanted and then filtered through a muslin cloth. The filtered lye was divided into two parts. To one was added fresh sheep dung in a measured proportion. The other part was mixed with an equal volume of old, matured gingelly oil and half volume of zicky. The two parts are then mixed. This mixing was performed in great secrecy, ostensibly to avoid offending the goods but obviously to preserve the secrets of the trade.

The prepared mordant was rigorously worked into the yarn through repeated treatments, lasting five to six days. In this process the dyers took care thread rendered its susceptible to the dye. The receptivity of the to us water in which wood and roots of *Zilla meram* (phylanthies emblica) have been soaked. After drying in the sun the yarn is kept from three to five weeks in a dark room

After the application of mordant to the yarn, yarn was cleaned, and kept ready for receiving actual substances that would turn the mordant yarn into a coloured thread. For turning yarn into a dyed red, the first substance cassah leves (*memecylon capitittalum*) were generally applied. The cassah leaves would add notably a degree of astringency and brighten the red colour of yarn, but also provide red from the chay root (*oldenlandia umbellata*) a splendour. In a paste of pounded coarse cassah

leaves, the yarn was generally put into, and with several manipulations the yarn would receive uniform contact with the liquor.

A day later, when the yarn was removed from the paste and spread out on a bamboo so as to receive the sun, then yarn would receive a fine orange colour. At this stage, after removing the old cassah leaves, the fresh ones were mixed with an equal proportion of chay root, and couple of hours later, the yarn was kept in this mixture. The repetition of the process in the third day changes the yarn into a reddish yellow, and in fourth day into a light red colour. On 5th day evening the yarn which was washed and dried in the sun, was put into a dry paste made up of cassah leaves and gingile oil, and after a couple of hours a handful of chay root was applied. On 6th day morning the process was repeated, but in the night the yarn was put into the liquor made entirely with chayroot. 7th day it was again repeated but placed in mixture of cassah leaves and chayroot. In this way, the process of infusing, soaking, steeping etc. would consume nearly a months time for completion. The yarn was then boiled, so as to provide a firmness to the colouring parties which the yarn had received when being soaked. During the boiling time, proper care should be taken to infect an equal degree of heat through the whole. When the yarn turned out to be cold, it was then washed, and beaten as usual, and exposed to the sun. In this manner, white yarn was being turned into a red yarn in Northern Circars. A slight variation was discerned when an inferior colour was intended to be obtained. .



Benjamin Heyne further observed that mostly weavers themselves would undertake the process of colouring thread, sufficient to the requirements of his needs. After being washed repeatedly, the dyed yarn usually receive a fine lusture. However, it was the goodness of the yarn and the quality and quantity of dyeing materials that determined the quality of fine colour.<sup>118</sup>

For obtaining blue colour yarn, the process that was followed in the region involved mixing of powdered *chunam* and extract of *chakondah* (*cassitoralinn*) . This powder was then placed into an earthen vessel, partly buried in the earth, and the yarn was steeped in this for eight days. Then different shades of blue would appear. When the yarn was soaked in a light preparation of the same mixture thrice a day, then a sky blue colour thread was obtained.

If white yarn was soaked in a paste made of *cadokye* powder (*termilia chebula*, *chebalic myrobolam*) and green vitriol (*anna bharies*) and again steeped in a bath of tank mud then depending on the intensity of dye, different shades of black colour would be obtained.<sup>119</sup>

The indigo for dyeing was supplied by Indigo farmers who controlled the use of Indigo pots and vats. Such Indigo farmers could be found every where. As the Company extended its domain, however, it came into conflict with these farmers, who claimed that Indigo was traditionally under their control. The Company

weavers, and contractors, however, claimed that they should have the right to dye Company's cloth in their own indigo pots.<sup>120</sup> The Company appears to have resolved this conflict by arranging for the dyeing to take place in the factory itself.<sup>121</sup>

Interestingly this institution of "farming" existed for Indigo, and the bluing of thread and cloth, perhaps because blue was the ubiquitous colour. But the colourful fabrics of Coromandel needed other colours too.

Green colour yarn could be obtained, for example, by soaking the bleached yarn in a solution of indigo dry and then steeping it in a solution of turmeric (country saffron) powder and water for 48 hours, and then washing the yarn in a mixture of lime juice and water.

Another popular colour used in the textiles was orange. The orange colour was obtained through the following process : "tie a quantity arnatto seeds (money country saffron in a piece of cloth, soak it in water for 12 hours, squeeze the coloring matter in a basin of fresh water, and coconut water, lime juice (lime) and alum (Padicauram) powder, steep the yarn in the mixture for four hours and then boil it for an hour, squeeze and let it dry".<sup>122</sup>

Some varieties of Coromandel textiles could perhaps be placed under the category of tie-dyed fabrics, and the patterns of these could be produced only by resist dyeing techniques.

During 1750-1850 important textiles that involved the tie-dyed techniques were Masulipatnam Romals of different assortments like muslin doreas, blue handkerchiefs, blue spotted and checks varieties. <sup>123</sup> These romals were mostly dyed cloth patterned on the loom, with the use of pre-dyed yarn catering to a specific taste. For instance, in 1791 the weavers were asked to reduce the breadth of the borders upon the patterns of the romals, which they found difficult to take up immediately, as they had to employ dyed thread in a different manner.<sup>123</sup>

... it is to be observed that by reducing the breadth of the borders, and increasing the middle part of the handkerchiefs the thread employed in manufacturing them must be dyed in a different manner, as the intervals of white left in dyeing the thread, must be shortened, and the tied red part of the thread lengthened. For this reason no part of the quantity of thread already dyed for manufacturing Romals of the Company's usual assortments, can be made use of in the present investment, but other thread must be dyed particularly for the purpose, which the contractors inform us, will require a considerable time, and that the price will like wise be increased, by reasons of the greater quantity of red dye which the new patterns will require....

From the Company's Indents it would seem that 'Saucerguntees' occupied a significant position in the textile trade from the vicinity of Masulipatnam area. It was a type of cotton cloth, the warp and wefts of which were tie-dyed before weaving in the same way that Patolas were made.<sup>124</sup> Evidence from the list of textile varieties meant for Mogul merchants trade, indicate that there were certain varieties which can perhaps be placed under this category of tie-dyed fabrics, as categorized by Buhler. They were Gulbandanes, cholies, rural, odhoni, masuru and a few others.<sup>125</sup> Gulbandan was a mixed fabric with silk warp

and cotton weft, satin weave. The silk warp is often tie-dyed forming a zig-zag pattern; masuru was a mixed fabric of silk and cotton, which could be worn by orthodox muslims who were not permitted to wear pure silk. Usually, silk forms the warp and cotton the weft. The warp is sometimes patterned by stripes or by simple tie-dyed patterns.<sup>126</sup>

How were these tie-dyed threads prepared? In case of simple motifs like making spots, the yarn threads were be tied in bundles irregularly at different points, or can even be knotted. For more complex designs however these patches, before weaving are arranged in narrow patterns or similar forms by drawing out still small groups. Still more complicated designs are produced by spreading out the yarn in a frame and making the design individual groups, called (ikat-yarn) sets. After dyeing the patterned yarn has to be transposed to the loom to be finally woven.<sup>127</sup>

During the period of our study, this weaving was carried out in Perala, Vetapalam, Mungalagiri, Rajahpettah, Buttiprole and other nearby places. Traditional designs were mostly simple geometrical designs that involved two or three colours on each piece.<sup>128</sup> It can therefore be conjectured that the weavers who had skill in weaving tie-dyed fabrics could imitate the new technique associated with the Telia- Romals in the 20th century.

The final phase in the production of textiles is the weaving together of the threads of different assortment into a cloth, meant for different markets is described in the English Records of the region describing either the loom technology or the process of weaving. A telugu literary work of the period. Hamsavimsati by Ayyalaraju Narayana Kavi provides information about the parts necessary for the construction of a loom, and also about other stages involved in weaving. While describing a weaver's house, the author provided a comprehensive description of the loom, and the verse runs as follows: 130

Kuntse maggapu gunta gutambu paggambu,  
 parte drokkudu pette palaka done  
 paripari yatchhulu charikunda yudeeta  
 cheedu debbalu dante nade krovi  
 kootin pullalu nalke kudu tari koyyalu  
 joppa yuchalun gota chura kattee,  
 karampu padugulu gantelu kappera  
 golamu laklu nilikadava  
 gampadolla kalasembu kaduru cheeneke  
 nulu ratnamba jalambe gralu goda  
 varala na subbabadru neevasi bhumi  
 yappurambuna samtata chopbachuodu.

In the foregoing description in the verse, almost all the parts necessary for construction of a loom were specified. These parts were kunchu (kunde) a brush, a whisk, a carding instrument or teazle for wood; paggammu, a tether, cord a rope used by a weaver to stretch the warp on; parte, a weavers whirl or a trurdle; palaka, the small bars of loom; atchoo, a weaver's reel. A comb like frame in a loom through which these wrap threads are passed, and by which the weft threads are pressed or battened together; **chidu**, a skein or bundle of seven **punjums** or a hundred

threads; chidu-dabba an instrument used by weavers for winding the thread; vuduta a staff used as a Prop by a weaver for his warp; nade, a weaver's shuttle; lakalu, small pieces of sticks used by weavers; lakakattu, the unfinished warp of a cloth with pieces of wood still stuck in it, koti pullalu, certain sticks fixed in a loom; gutambu, the roller of a loom; Maggpu Gunta, pit loom; doney, a wooden revolving bar, round which the woven cloth is wound; opposite of the warp-beam or made cumboo. Besides description of these parts of the loom, there is also information about the necessary materials and utensils required, while undertaking the process of turning yarn into thread. Conjee starch, used by weavers in preparing thread for the looms; kunde, an earthen pot; kota chuva katti (sura katti) a small knife used for separating the woven cloth from doney; Gante (garite) spoon; golenu a kettle or boiler; nelikadava, a large water pot or earthen rose used while manufacturing indigo; and kulayi, (kullaya) a large vessel for manufacturing indigo.<sup>131</sup> In describing these parts and others necessary for a weaver, the suggestion perhaps was that the weaver generally used throw shuttle pit loom, for simple weaving as well as for producing patterned and pre-dyed varieties on the loom. Moreover, the evidence on the textile varieties indicates that there was a slight technical variation in the looms meant for the production of long cloths and chay goods. While plain cloth could be woven on an ordinary loom, the weaving woof patterns would be possible only in a patterned loom, as the weavers had to adjust the pre-dyed yarn for a particular pattern.<sup>132</sup>

Moreover, it appears that salempores and long cloths, of different denomination were produced in Godavari and Visakhapatnam district only, was it due to the loom technology that they could produce those varieties, or were there other factors that contributed for such a concentration? The usual dimension of salempores was 16 x 1 yard, while that of punjum cloth was 37 yards. Punjum cloth of Coromandel was esteemed in Europe on account of its length; and these cloths still held their position even after 1830, as these goods could not be produced on new looms set up in England after the Industrial Revolution.<sup>132</sup>

As important as the techniques of weaving were the various intricate techniques utilized for producing the painted fabrics of the Masulipatnam region.

#### Painting and Printing Of Masulipatnam Chintz:

Kalamkari cloth, the printed and painted fabric of the Masulipatnam district, was produced by hand-painting or resist dyeing fabrics.<sup>133</sup> It is not clear how old this technique was. Irfan Habib has agreed with John Irwin that Calico printing was not known in India before the 17th Century.<sup>134</sup> Vijaya Ramaswamy has, however, cited literary and lexical evidence to argue that printing techniques were known as early as the 12th century at least.<sup>135</sup> A broad distinction can be made between fine and common varieties of Kalamkari fabrics. The former were usually painted and the latter printed. In case of fine quality of fabric, mordents and resists were applied to the cloth free hand with the

equivalent of a Kalam ('pen') or brush? whereas in case of the printed varieties the mordents, after being thickened with gum were applied by print block.<sup>136</sup> Besides, differences in technical processes, the mixing of gum with the mordant in case of latter variety inevitably reduced its efficiency as a chemical agent and thereby affected even the quality of cloth.

The main items of the Kalamkari fabrics produced in Masulipatnam during early nineteenth century ranged from furnishing items like tent canopies, hangings, floor spreads, coverlets and prayer mats, to those meant for common consumption among ordinary people.<sup>138</sup>

The chintz fabrics exported from Masulipatnam by Armenian and Persian merchants included a wide variety, namely Amberchacnes, Bargagies, Baulbands, chloies painted, caumrbunds (cummerband), chint romals, chint batadars, chints (Hindustani), chints painted, chint turbands, dagalah, dusbarchas, duster cawuns, gulbands, hajatmaty, Izari, painted Imarvas, Rungoopany Imarvas, Lachauck painted, Lungi chints, masaloo (machro), neemah asteemes, patadco, palempore, rajoys. Painted romals, rangapany ramalls, and others.<sup>1</sup> From this list one can clearly notice the production of both painted and printed varieties of chintz, as the list provided specially the word 'Painted' for each varieties, wherever necessary.

These painted and printed varieties included elaborate techniques and designs that signified and distinguished the



Masulipatnam Kalamkari of this period. For instance, Amberchas, were made on white background with black, red and green butahs. The term butah means either dots or small flowers. Khana Baddi, perhaps Cumberbunds were made on fine white background with desings similar to those of amberchas. Mutarphy, called Maharatu, was a Kalamkari cloth of strap work produced with black, red and green, leaving middle portion with white butahs. Big and small butahs were printed on white background for a Kasaloo type of cloth. Red, black, white and green with spotted desings occupied the middle portion of a Lachauk, while Palampores were generally made with white coloured small and large butahs.<sup>140</sup>

The popular colours used in Masulipatnam Kalamkari were primarily the three shades- red, black and green. Besides colours such as pink, blue, yellow and brown were also found on a piece of Kalamkari fabric.

A composition of block printing, mordant-dyeing, resist dyeing and painting techniques were used for producing a piece of Kalamkari with application of 26 Operations, irrespective of the size and dimension of cloth.<sup>141</sup> The application of all these technical processes were considered necessary as is evident from the details of each variety of cloth available in Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad.<sup>14</sup>

From a part of Canopy of nineteenth century Masulipatnam, for instance, it is evident that the piece was essentially a cotton

printed, mordant dyed, resist dyed and painted one. The ground was fine white cotton, with two greens, the darker green being over painted on indigo. The spandrels between the cartouches of canopy contain sprays of floral ornament, printed in outline in black, and finished in blue, green and yellow and a ground mordant dyed red.

Another coverlet from nineteenth century Masulipatnam was based on a composition of block-printing mordant dyed, resist dyed and printed varieties. The ground was fine white cotton, and the outlines were printed with mordant for black and red flowers with the mordant for red. After mordant dying the parts of the cloth to be blue or green are resist dyed with indigo. An evidence of cracking of the resist wax all over the ground, is noticed. The final details are painted with yellow, the green being obtained by painting yellow over the indigo blue the large coverlet is made from two pieces sewn together with printing and dyeing.<sup>144</sup>

A classic master piece of Masulipatnam Kalamkari fabric of 1840s is the cotton coverlet, produced with the combination of block printed and partly stenciled, mordant dyed, resist dyed and painted. In this case over printing is done with gold. While the outlines of the border patterns like the floral motifs and birds are printed with the use of finely cut blocks, the scrolling leaf stems are stenciled and painted by hand.

The outlines are printed and painted with the mordant for red. The shading of the mordant for red is painted. The blues

and the dark green areas are resist-dyed with indigo. The light green and the yellow are painted, and the dark green is obtained by over painted on indigo. This coverlet is made from two pieces sewn together after dyeing. From the writings on the piece, it is evident that it was the "best quality sample" produced for Persian Market.<sup>145</sup>

To complete a chintz cloth, employing in its production colours such as black, red, pink, blue, green and yellow, ten main stages were involved in the work, irrespective of the size of each piece. These stages were: **146**

1. Preparation of the half bleached cotton with an aqueous solution of fat and a stringent - (buffalo's milk mixed with **myrobolam**), followed by "beetling" (laying the cloth on one piece of wood and beating it with another) , which give the smooth surface needed for painting.
2. 'Pouncing' the pattern or design, drawn on paper or glazed calico, by dusting powdered charcoal through the perforated outlines.
3. Drawing over the charcoal traced outlines with a kind of pen made of two reeds pressed together and dipped in mordents (for black, acetate of Iron, ferred, a solution of alum tinted with sapanwood).
4. First dipping of the cloth in a vat filled with red dye (derived from chay, a plant of the madder family; Telugu **tsheri-vello**, Tamil Saya-ver, and to botanist (*otdenlandia umbellata*, **lenin**), the effect being to further blacker the lines aheady black, and to develop the red outlines.

5. Covering the whole cloth with bees wax, except those parts which were to appear blue and green. A bamboo 'brush' fitted with metal paints, was used for this purpose, the fluid wax being released from a ball of hair and twisted lamp would round the stem.
6. Dipping the cloth in a vat of indigo.
7. Removing the wax in boiling water. \*
8. Waxing the lines required to appear as white within the areas of red, followed by the painting of mordents (consisting of a solution of alum, tinted with-saffron wood). The composition of the mordant varied according to the lines required in the next stage; a weak solution of alum gave pink; a stronger deep red; while the addition of iron gave violent).
9. Second dipping of the cloth in a vat filled with red dye desired from chay root.
10. The clearing of the traces of surplus red dye from the background, and the bleaching of the white ground. This is advanced by soaking the cloth constantly with water to keep it damp. The process is repeated for several days until the desired whiteness is attained.
11. Application by brush of a decoction of a yellow dye of vegetable origin, mixed sometimes with myrobolam and chay, to produce local yellow (when supposed on blue) green.

About the process of vegetable dyeing at Masulipatnam, Lotika Varadarajan says, that colours like brown produced from a

combination of more than one colour, usually require a corresponding duality in the mordanting process.<sup>146</sup>

During the dry seasons, the river beds, with their sandy flats, dotted here and there with pools of water and running **streams**, offered favourable conditions for the dyer and printer. In the months of April and May mostly the cloths were being bleached or dyed and printed goods being dried after washing.

While there was a general decline for the furnishing varieties of chintz industry in European market, the Persian markets essentially depended on printed cloths for the purpose of general wear. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Masulipatnam chintz had to face competition from printed cottons of England in Persia. The printed cottons of England were mostly used as furnishing fabrics in the wealthy merchant houses, and there was a craze among the Portuguese, especially the lower classes, for wearing a fine printed cotton jacket. As a general wear, however, Masulipatnam chintz was cheap, and became a great consumption item at places like Bombay, and Persia.

What is remarkable is that the transformation of cotton into thread, the dyeing of thread, and finally the production of fabrics was all accomplished through the use of the simplest technology.<sup>148</sup> This simple technology does not seem to have changed much over the centuries. Even the increased demand created by the European Companies did not spur any major technological innovations, obviously because the abundance of

skilled labour could meet the rise in demand. 43

The East India Company sought, as we have seen, to increase cultivation of new varieties of cotton, and even to reorganize modes of dyeing. What it did not do, it could seem, was to adapt technology to increase production or lower costs. In its calculations, technical change was perhaps not a pre-requisite. What it found, on the contrary, to be very essential, was the restructuring of the production system, and this it set out to do in a systematic manner.

## Notes

1. Thomas Snodgrass Collector, 3rd Division, to Edward Saunders, BOR, 28 August 1795, GDR 4630, pp.3-6; see also Benjamin Branfil Collector 3rd Division to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, pp.157-163.
2. Ibid.,
3. Benjamin Branfil Collector, 3rd Division to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, pp.157-163.
4. Thomas Snodgrass, Collector 3rd Division to Edward Saunders, BOR, 28 August 1795, GDR 4630, pp.3-6
5. Extract of a letter from the Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam dated 8 March 1796, noted in the extract of a letter from the Government dated 16 April 1796, GDR 926, pp.243-51.
6. Extract of a letter from Rajah Vasireddy Venkatadry Naidu, Zamindar, in E. Russell Collector to Commercial Resident at Masulipatnam, 7 December 1812, GDR 832, pp.454-455. For a brief note on cultivation of cotton in Masulipatnam district of late eighteenth century, see I. Wrangham, Collector, 4th Division to Edward Saunders, BOR 16 July 1795, PBR 133/A, pp.5557-5563.
7. Vempaty Ramiah Darogah of the Town Duty of Nundegamah and Weyoor, 25 September 1812, in E. Russell Collector to Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, 7 December 1812, GDR 832, pp.455.
8. Letter of Madally Padmarauze, Darogah of the Town Duty of Nunesthalem, 7 October, 1812, GDR 832, p.456.
9. C. Robert Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 18 November 1826, MDR 4061, pp.241-244.
10. C. Robert Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 18 November 1826, MDR 4061, pp.241-44.
11. Extract of a letter from the Commercial Resident at Visakhapatnam dated 8 March 1796, noted in the extract of a letter from the Government dated 16 April 1796, GDR 926, pp.243-51.
12. Thomas Snodgrass, Collector 3rd Division, to Edward Saunders, BOR, 28 August 1795, GDR 4630, pp.3-6.
13. Ibid., pp.3-6.
14. Benjamin Branfil Collector 3rd Division, to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, pp.157-163.

15. Collector to Edward Saunders, BOR, 8 March 1797, gu dr 979/B, **pp.663-668.**
16. Extract of a **letter** from Court **of** Directors dated 23 May 1798, VDR 3712.
17. For a detailed discussion on the nature of Banjara trading operations in the Godavari district see, Benjamin Branfil, collector 3rd Division, to Edward Saunders, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.157-163**; for details on Banjara trade in Visakhapatnam district, see extract of a letter from Court of Directors dated 23 May 1798, VDR, 3712.
18. J. Brennig, '**Textile Producers**', (1989), **pp.333-56**
19. Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.157-163.**
20. Ibid.,
21. Ibid.,
22. F.A. Savage, Commercial Resident Ingeram to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 19 June 1813, CDC 34, **pp.870-871**, provides the reasons for the raw cotton imports into the region by **Banjaras.**
23. John Smith Collector Rajahmundry district, to BOR, 8 October 1823, PBR 966, **pp.9082-85.**
24. Collector Guntur district to Edward Saunders, BOR, 8 March 1797, gu dr 979/B. **pp.663-668.**
25. See, C.A. Bayly, Rulers. Townsmen and Bazaars, **pp.211-2.**
26. Extract of a letter from Court of Directors dated 23 May 1798, VDR 3712.
27. For a recent discussion on cotton trade in Bengal during this period, see Hameeda Hossain, The Company Weavers of Bengal, pp.24-27; C.A. Bayly Rulers. Townsmen and Bazaars, entry under '**cotton**'.
28. Collector, Guntur district to Edward Saunders, BOR, 8 March 1797, gu dr 979/B, **pp.663-68.**
29. **Benjamin Branfil**, Collector 3rd Division to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.157-163.**
30. Collector Guntur district to Edward Saunders, BOR, 8 March 1797, gu dr 979/B, **pp.663-68.**
31. Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.157-163.**



32. F.W Robertson Collector Rajahmundry to BOR, 13 September 1819, GDR 881, pp.238-40,
33. The pacification programmes of the Company's State in the region caused discontent among the Zamindars and other elites who often created disturbances to the new rule of the Company. The vary fluid situation caused by the Compnay's rule also created tensions between the Zamindars, or among the Zamindari successors, and thus led to dislocation of the political economy of the region.
34. Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, pp.157-163
35. BOR to M.N. Webb, Collector 2nd Division of the Visakhapatnam district, 5 January 1799, VDR 3714/A, pp.5-6.
36. Letter addressed to Edward Saunders, BOR, 27 July 1796, VDR 3706, pp.338-40.
37. This trade was developed by the British as a means of avoiding the emergence of an adverse balance of trade consequent to the increasing imports of Chinese sea into Britain. ; and for a discussion on Bengal's trade with China C.A. Bayly Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars, entry under 'cotton'.
38. General report from Board of Trade upto 11 February 1815, CDC 1, p.385.
39. For details see statement of funds probably be required for the provision of Cotton, Saltpetre and Sandal wood in 1814, Fort St.George February 1815, Commercial Department Consultations 4, pp.427-29.
40. General report of Board of Trade upto 15 February 1815 addressed to Hugh Elliot, Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 30 May 1814, Commercial Department Consultations 2, pp.475-89.
41. Ibid., pp.475-89.
42. F.W. Robertson, Collector Rajahmundry district, BOR, 13 September 1819, GDR 881, pp.238-40.
43. For data on Company's Indent and the actual bales provided at the Visakhapatnam, Injeram and Maddapollam factories between 1809 and 1829, see I Gwatkin, Commercial Superintendent to the Chief Secretary to Government, 3 December 1827, CDC 48, pp.953-958.
44. J. Daniel, Secretary, Board of Trade to the Chief Secretary to Government, 4 August 1823, Commercial Department Consultations 34, pp.869-70.

45. John Smith, Collector Rajahmundry district, to BOR, 8 October 1823, **PBR 966, pp.9082-85.**
46. CDC 20, pp.1608.
47. J. Daniel, Secretary, Board of Trade, to **the Chief** Secretary to Government, 4 August 1823, CDC 34, **pp.869-70.**
48. For a description on the mode of measurement and price of salt during this period see, F.A. Savage, Commercial Resident, General factory Ingeram to Board of Trade, 19 June 1823, CDC 34, pp.870-71; also see John Smith, Collector Rajahmundry district to BOR, 8 October 1823, **PBR 966, pp.9082-85.**
49. **Ibid.,**
50. John Smith Collector, Vizagapatnam to BOR, 6 June 1823, PBR 951, **pp.4831-3832.**
51. John Smith Collector, Rajahmundry district, to BOR, 8 October 1813, PBR 966, **pp.9052-9085.**
52. I.C. Wish, Collector, Guntur district, to BOR, 6 December 1823, PBR 970, **pp.10152-153**; I. Goldingham, Collector, Guntur district to BOR, 14 December 1841, gudr 5399, **pp.204-222.**
53. The sole purpose of preventing enhancement of rents and assessment in the permanent settlement of 1802 centred round the fundamental principles that the rate of rent and tenure should be fixed in perpetuity. See Rao Sahib P.K. Gunasundara Mudaliyar, A Note on the Permanent Settlement in Madras. Madras 1940.
54. F.W. Robertson, Collector, Rajahmundry to BOR, 13 September 1819, GDR 881, **pp.238-40.**
55. **Ibid.,**
56. For a brief discussion of this, see Amalendu Guha, 'Raw cotton Trade of Western India'; 1750-1850; IESHR, 9 (1972), pp.1-42.
57. For details on Bombay's trade with China during this period see N. Benjamin 'Bombay's "Country Trade" with China (1765-1865)', IESHR 1.2, (1974) pp.295-303
58. Memorandum on the subject of encouraging the culture of cotton in the Guntur Circar, 7 July 1795, MDR 3047 B, **pp.555-558.**
59. E. Russell, Collector, Masulipatnam to Commercial Resident **Masulipatnam**, 7 December 1812, and its enclosures gudr 832, **pp.452-57**; C. Roberts, Collector to Masulipatnam to BOR, 18 November 1826, MDR 4061, pp.241-244; T.A. Oakes, Collector,

Guntur district to BOR, 9 May 1813, GDR 982, pp.184-186; for replies of Collector on the possibility of the introduction and extension of American Cotton in Guntur district, see P. Grant, Collector, Guntur to the Secretary to Government, Revenue Department Madras, 10 November 1835, gu dr 3991, pp.37-42; H. Oakes, Collector to BOR, 19 February 1846 gu dr 5405, pp.303-305; Memorandum on the subject of encouraging the culture of cotton in the Guntur cir car dated 7 July 1795 MDR 3047/B, pp.555-58.

60. E. Russell, Collector, Masulipatnam to Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, 7 December 1812, GDR 832, pp.452-57.
61. T.A. Oakes, Collector, Guntur to BOR, 9 May 1813, gu dr 982, pp.184-186.
62. C. Roberts, Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 18 November 1826, MDR 4061, pp.241-44.
63. P. Grant, Collector, Guntur to the Secretary to Government, Revenue Department Madras, 10 November 1835, gu dr 3991, pp.37-42.
64. H Stokes, Collector to the Secretary to the BOR, gu dr 5405, pp.59-81.
- 65 CDC 17, pp.289-290
66. Samuel Stratham, Warehouse Keeper, Masulipatnam to Chief and Council, Masulipatnam, 3 August 1790, MDR 2840, p.90.
67. Ibid., a brief information on indigo cultivation in Godavari district of 1840s in (T. Predergast, Collector, Rajahmundry to D. White BOR, 11 December 1847, GDR 6771, pp.378-382).
68. A.F. Bruce Collector, Guntur to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St.George, 30 July 1836, gu dr 5392, pp.51-55.
- 69 ibid.,
- 70 ibid.,
- 71 ibid.,
72. Ibid.,
73. While providing details on the produce of different paraganas of Guntur district, John Read, Collector to BOR, 11 November 1800, MDR 2998 134-141; A.F Bruce Collector Guntur to the Chief secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 30 July 1836, gu dr 5392, pp 51-55
74. A.F.Bruce, Collector, Guntur to the Chief Secretary, Fort St.George, 30 July 1836, gu dr 5392, pp.51-55

75. John Read, Collector to BOR, 11 November 1800, MDR 2998 134-141
76. Ibid.
77. A.F.Bruce, Collector, Guntur to the Chief Secretary, Fort St.George, 30 July 1836, gudr 5392, pp.51-55
78. Ibid.,
79. John Read, Collector to BOR, 11 November 1800, MDR 2998 pp.137-141. For details on the chay root theft, see letter from the renter of jungle chayroot to Collector, 20 Jan. 1795, "RR 290, pp.6-7; From the Sabedar of Bapatla on the same subject, MDR 2900, p.7; Collector's orders to the renter of Ongole district 22 February 1795, MDR 2900, pp.7-9. in Guide to District Records; Masulipatnam District Vol.3, pp.1, 17, 97.
80. While providing details on the produce of different paraganas of Guntur district, John Read, Collector to BOR, 11 November 1800, MDR 2998 134-141; A.F Bruce Collector Guntur to the Chief secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 30 July 1836, gudr 5392, pp 51-55
81. Ibid.,
82. Ibid.,
83. Ibid.,
84. See Table on Import and Export Trade of Masulipatnam District with Nizam's Territories for details.
85. Ibid.,
86. Benjamin Branfil, Collector, 3rd Division to John B. Travers, BOR, 18 February 1801, GDR 937, pp.28-.43.
87. Extract of a letter from the Commercial Resident Vizagapatnam dated 8 March 1796, noted in the extract of a letter from the Government 16 April, 1796, GDR 926, pp.243-51.
88. Collector Guntur to BOR, 8 March 1797, gudr 979 B, pp. 663-669
89. Ibid.,
90. Ibid.,
91. Ibid.,
92. Benjamin Branfil to Edward Saunders, 17 January 1798, GDR 847, p.157-163

- 93 Ibid.,
94. Ibid.,
- 95 Extract of a Letter from the Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam 8 March 1796, in Extract of a letter from the Government, 16 April 1796, GDR 926, pp.243-51.
96. Ibid.,
- 97 **M.C. Carr, Andhra Lokokti Chandrika.** A Collection of Telugu Proverbs translated illustrated and explained together with some manuscript process printed in the Devanagari and Telugu characters, 1868, (Rept. New Delhi 1978) entry No.1862, **p.322.**
- 98 Extract of a Letter from the Commercial Resident Vizagapatnam, 8 March 1796 in the extract of a letter from Government 16 April 1796, GDR 926, pp.242-251.
99. John Rowley, Resident Maddepollam to E. William Fallofield, Board of Trade, 18 December 1792, GDR 830, pp.2-18.
100. BOR to M.N. Webb, Collector, 2nd Division of Vizagapatnam division, 5 January 1799, VDR 3714, pp.5-6.
- 101 Letter addressed to Edward Saunders, BOR, 27 July 1796, VDR 3706, pp.328-40.
102. BOR to M.N. Webb, Collector 2nd Division of the Visakhapatnam district, 5 January 1799, VDR 3714/A, pp.5-6.
103. The Chief's Minute on the Question of Balances Due by the Company's Merchants, nd.,[1787], MDR 2900 A, pp.137-42
104. Richard Dillon, Commercial Resident, Maddepollam, to Branfil Collector 3rd Division, Masulipatnam, 8 April 1796, GDR 926, **p.699.**
105. Collector Guntur to BOR, 1845, PBR 1975, p.9241.
106. Collector Masulipatnam to BOR, 1845, PBR 2001, ;Collector Guntur to BOR, 1845, PBR 1975, p.9241
107. Ibid.,
108. Collector Guntur to BOR, 1845, PBR 1975, p.9241.
109. **P.Grant** Collector Guntur to the Secretary to Government in Revenue Department, Fort St. George, 16 November, 1835, gudr 3991, **p.40**
110. C.P. Brown, Dictionary from Telugu to English. entry under **Pinjamau** and **Kaman** dastah, pp.755 & 747

111. E.B. Haveli, Superintendent School of Arts to the Director of Revenue Settlement and Agriculture 28 May 1886, in Reports submitted by E.B Haveli during the years 1885-1888 on the Arts and Industries of certain districts of the Madras Presidency, pp.25-26.
112. Palakaveri Kadiripati, Suka Saptati. 2:416-421, B.Ramaraju ed., Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy, Hyderabad, 1979
113. E.S. Haveli, Reports submitted by E.B. Haveli During the years 1885-1888 on the Arts and Industries of certain districts of the Madras Presidency, pp.25-26, Also see English Telugu Dictionary, Hyderrabad, 1978, entry under Spindle; Ayyalaraju Narayanakavi, Hamsavimsati.
114. Kaduru is a spindle and Ratnam is a spinning wheel, C.P. Brown, Dictionary from Telugu to English. p.239.5.
115. C.P. Brown, Dictionary from Telugu to English. p.767 called in Telugu Pundazam.
116. Ibid., pp.691.
117. For a detailed account on the process of dyeing red cotton yarn see 'Report on the mode of dyeing yarn practised on the Coast of Coromandel, Benjamin Heyne, acting Botanist to Hobart, President in-Council, Fort St.George, Samulcotah 18 January 1795, Public Department Sundries. 60, pp.1-69.
118. ibid.,
119. CD Maclean, Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency. 3: Glossary, Madras 1885, (Rept New Delhi), entry under Shayam tsaya, pp.816-816; See Francis Buchanan, A Journey from Madras. 1, 1807, pp.209-212 for details on silk dyeing process practised by Pattuegars.
120. Representation of Company's Careedars or weavers residing in the Paddavah Village (to Vincentio Corbelt, CR Masulipatnam 10 August, 1799, MDR 3075, pp.84-285; Representation of Careedars residing in the Chennapuram Village (19 August 1977) to Vincentio Corbrett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam MDR 3075, pp.287-288; V. Corbrett,, Commercial Resident to John Read, Collector, Masulipatnam, 20 August 1799, MDR 3075, pp.282-283.;Representation of Vencanah Naik and Velloore Vencatareddy Naik, Contractors to Edward Cox, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, 31 July 1812, MDR 3079, pp.119-120.
121. Edward Cox Commercial Resident to Collector, Masulipatnam, 3 August 1812, MDR 3079, p.177.
122. C.D Maclean, Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 3: Glossary, Madras 1885, (Rept New Delhi), entry under Shayam tsaya, pp.816-816

123. The indent lists of chay goods to be provided at the Masulipatnam factory to be provided at the certain **specifications** of each variety to be required for different Markets. For details see Commercial Department Despatches from England. Tamilnadu.
124. Anthony Sadleir, Chief and Council, Masulipatnam to cotton Bowerbank Dent, Board of Trade, Fort, St.George, 25 April 1791, MDR 2841, **pp.58-66**.
125. For a recent account on the resist Dyeing fabrics of Chirala, Telia **termal** see, Alfred Buhler, Ebenhard Fischer, Marie-Louise Nabhol 2, Indian Tie Dyed Fabrics. IV, Ahmedabad, 1980, Introduction and Chapter 2. Pupul Jayakar, 'A neglected group of Indian Ikat fabrics' Journal of Indian Textile History. 1955, p.35-39 in John Irwin's 'Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century', South India in John Irwin & P.R. Schwart, (ed.), Studies in Indo-European Textile History. Ahmedabad, 1966, **pp.28-43**.
126. See Appendix No.2 for Masulipatnam textiles varieties meant exclusively for Mogul merchants.
127. 'Glossary of Textile Terms' in Alfred Buhler, Ebenhard Fischer, Marie-Louise Nabhol, Indian Tie Dyed Fabrics IV, **Ahemadabad**, 1980, **pp.149-150**.
128. Ibid., Chapter 2.
129. For list of weaving village producing primarily chay good varieties in Masulipatnam district see table of Appendix 3.
130. Ayyalaraju Narayana Kavi, Hamsavimsati.Part 2, Stanza 11, 122 pp. C.v. Subbhanna Satavadhani ed., Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy, Hyderabad, 1977
131. This information on various parts of loom technology is identified extracting from C.P. Brown Dictionary From Telugu to English; C.D. Maclean, Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency 3 Glossary Madras 1885, (rept. New Delhi); Bhadriraju Krishna Murti and Poranki Dakshina Murthi (ed.) Mandaleeka Viriti Padakosamu, Vol. Handloom, Hyderabad, 1971; Potukuchhi Subrhamanya Sastri, Achha Telugu Kosamu 2, Tenali, 1979, Section on Sudravargamu, **pp.719-748**.
132. Handlooms of India weaver's Service Centres. Pamphlet NO.2, entry date 2 February 1967 at National Museum, Delhi, a detailed description of the Handloom like, the throw shuttle pit looms, the fly shuttle pit-loom, Madras Handkerchief loom is given.
133. John Irwin's **classification** of textiles, and relative technology, thee existed three broad varieties First, plain white cloth, secondly, dyed cotton cloth, and cloth Patterned on the looms. John Irwin textiles '**Indian Textile**

Trade in the Seventeenth Century South India', in his and R.S. Schwartz (ed.), Studies in Indo-European Textile History, Ahmedabad, 1966, pp.28-49.

134. Irfan Habib, 'Indian Textile Industry in the 17th Century', in Barun De et.al (ed.), Essays in Honour of Prof. S.C.Sarkar, New Delhi, 1976, pp.181-199
135. Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Notes on Textile Technology', IESHR 17, (1980), p.237
- 136 For the painted and printed fabrics of Masulipatnam the term 'kalamkari' has been used. However, the term does not appear in the Contemporary records, and the only reference we have in an early 19th Century source is in the Mackenzie Collection. 'Bandar Kaifiyat', in Grama Kaifiyatlu Krishna Zillah Andhra Pradesh State Archives Publication, Hyderabad, 1990, pp.13-29, Sources times the word **Zulum Haree** was used to describe the same.
137. For a discussion on various aspects relating to Kalamkari techniques see, Homage to Kalamkari Marg Publication, Bombay, 1979; N.H. Sethna, Living Tradition of India. Kalamkari Painted and Printed fabrics from Andhra Pradesh, New York, 1985, is the most recent work on Masulipatnam Kalamkari, A detailed descriptions of the kalamkari manufacturing process prevalent in early medieval period is given by William Hadaway, Madras Printed cloths and C.P. Baker, Calico Painting and Printing in the East-in the XVII and XVIII centres. London, 1921.
138. John Irwin and Margaret Hall, Indian Painted and Printed Fabrics, Ahmedabad, 1971, p.127
- 139 See for a 'detailed list Appendix No.2 section Textile Varieties meant for Mogal Merchant Trade.
- 140 'Bandar Kaifiyat from Mackenzie collections in Grama Kaifiyatlu Krishna Zillah. Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad 1990, p.26 where a section description of Kalankari cloths being manufactuered at Bandar Masulipatnam are detailed.
141. The letters of Father Coeurdoux, 1742 and 1747 contain information of a technical nature on the methods adopted in India for painting or printing of cloth see for a copy of these letters Appendix A chapter two, French Documents on Indian Cotton Painting by P.R. Schwartz in John Irwin and P.R. Schwartz ed. Studies in Indo European Textile History, Ahmedabad, 1966, pp.104-119, same as C.P. Bakers Calico Painting and Printing in the East in the XVII th and XVIIIth 133 centuries. London 1921, Chapter 2 on 'Indian Methods of Printing'.
142. The Chintz, Collection of the Calico Museum of Textiles India published by H.N. Patel Vol.1 & II, Ahmedabad, 1983,



143. See text on 'Part of a conopy' belonging to 19th century Masulipatnam Accesses 461 in Calico Musuaem of Textiles, Ahmedabad the text and Photos of which is supplied in the Chintz Collection of the Calico Museum of Textiles India, 1 & 2, Ahmedabad, 1983 entry under serial No.48.
144. 'Coverlet' from 19th century Masulipatnam, Vol.1, catalogue 32, Accession 423 in the Chintz collection of the calico 1983, entry under serial No.19, and photos a, & b are supplied in volume 2 of the same work.
145. A coverlet from Masulipatnam of 1843 - 4th A.D. Vol.1, catalogue 31, Accession 7, in the Chintz collection of thse Calico 1, 1983, entry under serial No.21. Photos 21 A & 21 B of this are listed in volume two of the same work.
146. John Irwin and Margaret Hall, Indian Painted and Printed fabrics, Ahmedabad, 1971, Ch.2, 'Early Coromandel Group, Seventeenth century
147. Lotika Varadarajan 'Towards a Definition of Kalamkari' in Homage to Kalamkari, Bombay, 1979, pp.19-22.
148. Irfan Habib, 'Indian Textile Industry', pp.181-199; Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Notes on Textile', IESHR 17,2, (1980) pp. 227-243
149. See, T. Ray Chaudhuri, 'The Mid Eighteenth Century Background', in CEHI, 2, p.18

## **5. Creation of Space to Consolidation of Control: Structural Changes in the Weaving World**

The attempts of the East India Company to consolidate its newly acquired power induced many changes in the production organization of the weaving world of the Northern Coromandel. These were essentially related to the structural arrangements of the weaving villages, through which the Company intended to control directly the groups associated with the weaving world. The result of these changes was either to decrease the power of the elites of the weaving world or to control them. For an ordinary weaver these arrangements reinforced the authority of their elites, namely caste leaders and intermediary weavers, whose authority was now further strengthened.

Soon after it acquired political hegemony, the Colonial Government's concern was not with the distribution or the internal hierarchies of the caste and kin groups, but with the intermediate groups who actually facilitated commercial transactions with those 'primary weavers' responsible for transforming the raw cotton or thread into the textiles required by the East India Company. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Company conducted its business through several layers of intermediary groups, whose operations were limited to specific geographical pockets within the Northern Coromandel. There were a few groups in the weaving world of Northern Coromandel, which began to perform the necessary function of mediating between the European Companies and the primary weaver, and their position continued well into the nineteenth century.

These were, the head weavers , the copdars, the local merchants, and the careedars. The Head weaver was the principal and more prosperous weaver within a group of weavers which recognized him to be their chief for various commercial and social purposes. This, of course, meant that the caste ties and perhaps even by kinship ties. In some areas the Head weavers were termed Senapaties. This term literally means head of an army. While thus the term affirmed the superior status of the head weaver, it also evoked memories of an earlier time in which there was a direct connection between soldiering and weaving. The Copdar, was essentially a broker, mediating between the local merchant and the Head weaver. Even the literal meaning of the term copdar itself specifies that the copdar was only a contractor for supplying Long Cloth The copdar usually, but not always, belonged to the same caste as the weaver. These groups were limited to those areas coming under the jurisdictions of the Vizagapatam, Ingeram and Maddepollam Factories.<sup>3</sup> The merchant was also a mediator, often operating through the head weaver and the copdar. The Careedar was yet another person acting as a mediator, and was found only in the area of the Masulipatam Factory.<sup>4</sup>

The structural rearrangements of the weaving villages during the period 1750-1830 had their most drastic impact in the region of the three Northern Factories. However, the effect of these arrangements on the various groups varied greatly owing to the social conditions that surrounded the production organization at these factories.

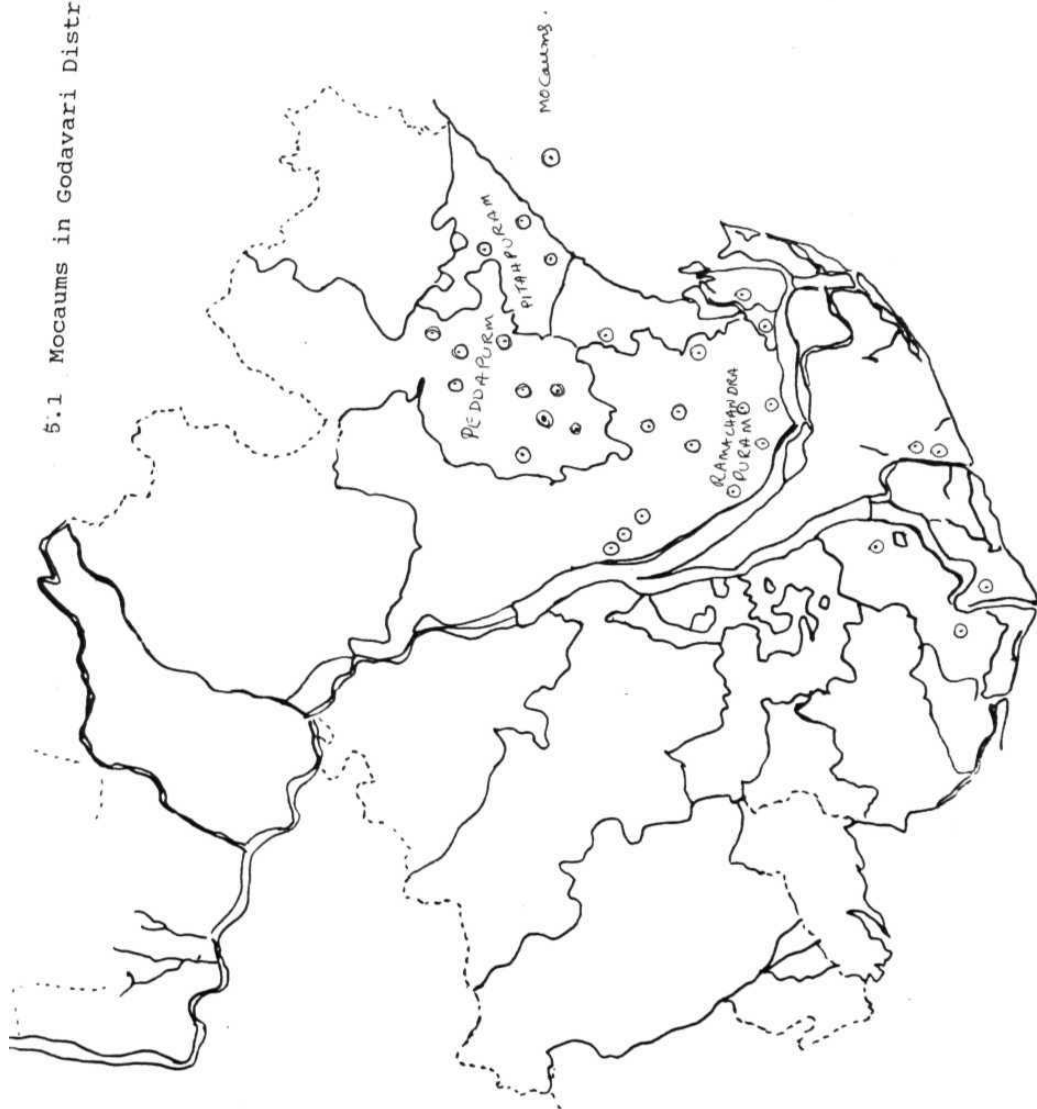
## Structural Changes :

When the Company's hegemony was established over the region, the Company's investment operations at Vizagapatam, Ingeram and Maddepollam was being conducted by the Principal merchants. The power of these merchants in the textile economy extended to nearly 358 villages spread over 100 miles in the Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts. At this time, apart from the East India Company, the French and Dutch also possessed trading rights in all these villages on par with the East India Company. Under these arrangements, the weaver was only primary weaver, working for the merchant. There was, however, a strong motive for the weaver to deal with the merchant. The merchant and the weaver were linked by traditional patron-client ties, and the former often provided aid to the latter in times of **distress**.

Soon after the inception of colonial rule, the commercial officials of the Company attempted a series of experiments, essentially to bring the weaver under the firm control of the Company as they contemplated such a thing would lead to an improvement in quality and quantity of the Company's investment, in addition to curtailing the activities of the French and the Dutch in the textile economy of the region. An earlier attempt in this direction was made by Anthony Sadlier the Resident at **Ingeram**, who tried in 1774, to regroup weaving villages into administrative units. The weaving villages falling within **Visakhapatnam** and Godavari districts, and working essentially for Company's investment were divided into 30 divisions or Mootahs. The Mootahs were Mandapettah, **Doolah**, Pasalapoody, Pundalapauka,

Colavarocondah, Venktapallam, Bandarmalanka, Amalapur, Peddapooddy, Pedapatnam, Dungaroo, Roostoombadah, Tanuku, Chintaparty, Uppadah, Hassanabad, Rajahmundry, Angarah, Ariavattam, Coprepollam, Darmavaram, Ralangy, Doovah, Tuni, Beemavaram, Penumadam, Marateroo, and three others. These administrative units of weaving villages were placed under the charge of Head weavers, Gumastahs, Kanakapillies and peons, who were responsible to superintendent the common weavers, and manage their accounts. Moreover, all advances of cash and the accounts of the cloth were kept under their management. Besides attempting a realignment of weaving villages through the initiation of structural changes, Anthony Sadlier issued orders that curtailed the freedom of the weaver as well as the trader absolutely. First, the weavers were ordered not to manufacture cloth for any other foreign or native merchants except for the English Company. The weaver was threatened by newly appointed Gumastahs, head weavers, Kanakapilleys and peons, if the order was disobeyed. Secondly, under this new arrangement, the weavers, who were essentially manufacturers of finer assortments, were forced to weave a coarser variety of product.<sup>11</sup> The third measure related to the categorization of cloth. Earlier a 14 punjam cloth was categorized into two varieties one sold at Madras pagodas 32 1/2 per corge, and rejected cloth of a coarser variety was sold at 31 1/4 pagodas per corge. But after the change in the mode of investment, 14 punjam cloth was categorized into four varieties, while the first two were meant for Company's investment, third for Anthony Sadlier's account, the rejected cloth was then returned to the weaver at a low price.<sup>12</sup>

# 5.1 Mocaums in Godavari District



The early Colonial attempts to establish a direct link with the weaving villages, however, created a sense of discontent among manufacturers and traders.

These very structural arrangements of weaving villages caused at another level conflict between commercial officers of the Company, and the Revenue officials. The officials were extremely conscious of the territorial limits within which the factories operated. This is strikingly illustrated by the care taken by Anthony Sadlier, Commercial Resident at Ingeram, not to cross the notional boundaries of his jurisdiction in making the investments and consequently, in employing the weavers, he had, in fact, proposed that Tuni should be deemed the northern most limit of the zone under Ingeram factory. To this end, he instructed his gumastahs and head weavers to avoid recruiting weavers outside territorial limits, from places like Payakarowpet. He wanted the Company to enjoin the merchants not to interfere with weavers in Timma Rauze's territory.

Sadlier's conception of his jurisdiction clashed however, with those established by the Company's officials at Vizagapatam who believed that Tuni, closer as it was to Vizagapatam, naturally fell under their control. Particularly since they believed that the weavers were deceitful and received "advances from two or three for the same piece of cloth", they felt that the new territorial arrangements proposed by Anthony Sadlier were, apart from causing confusion were facilitating such deception by the weavers. Pointing out that only Vizagapatam

merchants had hitherto purchased cloth in Tuni, they asked Sadlier to withdraw these **Gumastahs** from Tuni.<sup>14</sup> Sadlier, however, disagreed with the contentions of the Vizagapatam council, agreeing that there had been a political **transformation** in the region and a territorial delimitations appropriate to an earlier time were no longer suitable for the new **situation**.<sup>15</sup> All three groups, weavers, merchants and European Traders saw these new structural and intermediary arrangements an element of oppression, and curtailment of their freedom, and offered a stern resistance against the continuation of such a measure of 1775.

The colonial authority, therefore, tried to appease all these elements by reverting at the Ingeram and Visakhapatnam factories to an earlier arrangement of conducting the investment through the medium of merchants. <sup>17</sup> In case of the **Maddepollam** factory, the Company realized that it was not at all possible to get the assistance of head weavers instead of merchants for its investment, because in each of the villages coming under the "jurisdiction of **Maddapollem** factory, every "Cooley weaver manages his own <sup>1ft</sup> **business.."**

In 1786 even the Company's contractor Basil Cochrane attempted to bring in some structural changes by introducing new systems of production management. First, the price of cloth was fixed after taking the consent of the Zamindars and Head weavers; contracts were entered with weavers for a certain number of pieces of cloth, but the advance was given only for two piece of cloth. As per the agreement the weaver had to provided every



month a piece of cloth, for which the weaver received a fixed price. At a central place where weavers assembled in each Mootah, measuring and sorting of cloth was done, and any difference in the sorting was settled by mutual arbitration. A Company's chop was affixed on the cloth immediately. A table of rates was fixed for inspection in every Mootah and a registered book containing the Company's weavers names was kept open for general inspection. These attempts were essentially aimed at providing a link with weavers, besides appeasing the local Zamindars and head weavers, whose interference caused interruption to the Company's investment on earlier occasion.<sup>19</sup>

By February 1788, Basil Cochrane, recognized the influence of native merchants over the weavers, and apprehended a continual debasement of the Company's investment, if the weavers continue to provide cloth for foreigners or individuals. He proposed, therefore, a plan by which native merchants could re-enter the Company's investment arena, provided they fulfilled conditions like paying proper fixed price to weavers, and replacing the existing combs of looms at their own expense. He also stipulated that merchant's agreements with the weavers should contain particulars, like the time schedule for delivery of goods, and that these agreements should be given to the Resident, while maintaining a Public Register of the Company's weavers.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that native merchants were asked to take up the production management of weaving economy indicates that it was the native **merchant** element that was powerful even at the intermediary structural arrangements in the region.

## **Copdars** and Colonial Arrangements:

These **merchants** were perceived by the East India Company to be the sole intermediaries between itself and the weaver.<sup>21</sup> But, in course of time, the Company realized that these merchants were indeed utilizing the services of the Copdar, the much more powerful element of the weaving world of the Northern Coromandel. For their intermediary services the copdars were paid the Company's price for cloth ,but they held back a certain percentage as their profit. The amount of this commission depended mainly on the state of the cloth market and ranged between 3 and 5 percent.<sup>23</sup>

The merchants closely controlled the copdars, not allowing them to supply more than 25 bales of cloth. As a result the copdars had limited scope for exercising greater control over the production process. The nature of their business operations also varied because they fulfilled their contracts either by purchasing the cloth from the weaver or by advancing loans on their looms. The copdars could facilitate their contracts easily owing to two reasons. First, as most of them were residing in the localities, they could exercise considerable influence. **Secondly,they** extended all possible help to the weavers in times of distress, and also provided grains at advantageous **rates**.<sup>24</sup> The patron-client relationship thus established helped the copdar to exert subtle economic extra economic pressures on the **weavers**.' In certain places Ingeram and **Maddapollem** for instance the copdar also belonged to the weaving community. The bonds of community thus provided a more cohesive structure for the organization of

production. The paternalistic relationships which consequently existed between the actual **intermediary** and the primary weavers in these areas thus constituted the strong force that smoothly maintained production.

In the Visakhapatnam district, the Company followed the **Aumani** System at the initial stages, under this system the Company officials dealt directly with the Copdars and Head Weavers that is without the mediation of the merchant.<sup>25</sup> The Company preferred the system because it could secure many advantages, like securing a standard quality of goods, and curbing the inflationary tendency of prices. This meant however, that the Copdars and Head weavers became more powerful at this time. Soon the Copdars began to take advantage of the Company's contracts mainly to get the assistance of the Company's services and peons for their own private trading.<sup>26</sup>

The Company, therefore, tried all possible ways to extinguish private trading activity totally, and to secure the help of intermediary structural elements of the weaving world for its commercial concerns. The Officials suggested two alternatives. First, the introduction of the Mootah System. In this arrangement, the entire district was to be divided into many **Mootahs**, and each Mootah was to be allotted to one merchant, whose jurisdiction was limited to his Mootah only. The primary responsibility of the merchant was to make advances. Secondly, regulating and streamlining the existing system of Copdars was another alternative.<sup>27</sup>

Besides commercial motives, what were the other factors that induced the Company officials to opt for a change in the 1790s in the structural arrangements of the weaving Villages? To secure a great uniformity, and to facilitate their commerce concerning the factories in Northern Coromandel the Company sought, therefore, to create new administrative units for the weavers. <sup>20</sup> There was also perhaps the expectation that these new units would enable the Company to reduce the importance of the intermediaries, and thus allow it to deal directly with the weavers. The Company was particularly keen to eliminate the middlemen merchant, who was, in the opinion of the Company officials, misappropriating the investment of the Company.<sup>29</sup> The structural changes in the existing political economy of the weaving villages were brought in essentially through the elevation of the copdar's position by the turn of the eighteenth century. The weaving zone, stretching between the Ingeram and Visakhapatnam factory areas, came to be administered under the Copdar System after 1800.

The Company had institutionalized the position of the copdar, and accorded him a very high place in the weaving world of the region, because it needed collaborative props for administering its commercial concerns too. A strong reason for cajoling these copdari elements was the local reality and expediency that prompted the colonial rulers. During the later half of the eighteenth century, the weavers of the region had never remained as passive elements. Rather, many a time they

remarkably **demonstrated** and reacted strongly to situations which in their perception constituted threats to their interests .The agitated weavers were thus able to mobilize and organize their militant protests activities due to the guidance and support which they could get from intermediary groups like copdars, Head weavers and Senapaties, of the weaving world. The Company (therefore, by appeasing these elite groups, especially the copdar, intended to pacify the refractory **weaver**.

Under the Copdar System of 1802 introduced at the Ingeram and **Maddepollam** factories, the changes initiated were mainly at two levels: first, at the level of Primary weaver, and secondly, at the level of intermediary groups, copdars.

The clauses of the Regulations relating to the Primary weaver **were:**" that the weavers from the Godavari district were invited to enter into engagements with the Company for providing one piece of Company's assortments 14-16-18-20 & 22 **punjums** per month, on a voluntary basis ; those who entered into engagements with the Company were exempted from every kind of tax and were given protection. Those who were unwilling to enter into such engagements had to pay every kind of tax. After fulling the contract of providing one piece of cloth to the C every month, the Company's weaver was allowed to manufacture the cloth for private trade or any other cloth".<sup>31</sup>

While the Company was able to bring a vast section of the primary weaver under its control, and thereby moved a step

forward towards acquiring total control over textile trade, the **measures** it brought in at the intermediary level were indeed, the base for a feasible penetration into the weaving world of the region.

Essentially the Copadari System was associated with four principles, without which there was no possibility of its operation. Those principles were, " the copdar must necessarily belong to weavers; the copdar must be a Resident of those villages where the Company's looms were located; the copdars must be those chosen by weavers who might agree to work under them; each copdar, in return for his service was allowed to take 5 percent on all the Company's advances. He was responsible for sending the cloth to the factory, for the transaction of which he had to pay for and in case of any balance due from the weavers, under his management, the copdar was ultimately **responsible**".

The resurgence of the copdar with much more vigour backed by the law and authority underlines the importance attached by the Company for securing a base in the weaving world of the Northern Coromandel. By making the copdar a key person in the weaving villages, the Company thus reinforced the caste as means for bringing passiveness and obligation among **'the disorderly'** weavers. Simultaneously the Company provided security for its investment by holding the copdar responsible for the outstanding balances owed by the weavers of their respective mocaums.

It was in fact, the first **attempt** to place constraints on the **customary** relationship that was there between the copdars and the weaver. The copdar had to take written engagements, called **Woppandum**, from the weavers specifying the details of their contracts. Regarding the nature of advances the regulation specified that, " each copdar shall receive an advance for two or three pieces of cloth for each **loom**, or as much now as he may deem it prudent to advance to the industrious weaver, to enable him occasionally to purchase thread or grain where those articles are cheap". The copdar had to maintain an exact amount of the advances given to him specifying also the reasons for extra advances. The copdar was required to include all the particulars in the weavers **Woojetty**, and advance all the money intended for the **investment** to the weaver except 5 percent which he could keep for his service. In case of non fulfillment of this condition, he could be removed from his position and a new copdar was appointed in his place. <sup>33</sup>

Under this Copdari System, the Company attempted to limit the influence of Copdar to a specific locality where the looms of his **Mocaum** located, and he was asked not to have contacts with the weaver of other **mocaums** or copdaries. The regulation concerning this clause reads like this, " that no one copdar should have any connection whatever with any weavers working for the Company under any other copdar".<sup>34</sup> The intention in enacting such a measure was perhaps, to restrain the local elites of the weaving world from using the extended territorial solidarity. From the evidence it appeared that the weaver had moved from village to village, and add necessary strength to their protests

movements which they directed against the Company in the later half of the eighteenth century. Further the Company had seen the magnitude of the caste linkages and community affiliations which were consciously utilized by the weavers in their revolts. The Company therefore, tried to use and reiterate these links in the new structures of these villages, and thereby facilitated the investment operations easily.

The receptiveness of copdars and weavers to the growing private trade induced the colonial authorities to explore new ways of tightening its control from the very beginning of the production process. It also provided the means to prevent the Company cloth from being turning out to private traders, by indicating the rules for the proper sorting of the cloth at the Factory, and rejecting those pieces which were not up to the standard of the Company's assortments. On each piece of cloth supplied by the weaver the names of the weaver and copdar, the name of the village where it was produced, the number of punjums, should be marked before the presence of weaver concerned. Later it was the copdars responsibility to it to the concerned factory <sup>35</sup>. By the regulations it would appear that Company made the copdar the final authority in their entire production process, because from being a member of the same community, the copdar was expected to have the knowledge of the loom technology.<sup>36</sup> Further it was noted that the weavers who may enroll themselves to work for the Company were to be assured that if any time the Investment should be suspended, the same protection should still be afforded to each weaver, as if it was carrying on, and the



officers of Revenue were not to be allowed to molest them in any way during such suspension of the **Investment**.

The structural arrangements of the Production process by curtailing the influence of the copdar to a space , initiated a new **administrative** cohesiveness and realignment of the textile economy. These structures operated without any conflict with those of the revenue **systems**.

The Copdari System was extended to the weaving villages of the Visakhapatnam district by 1803. The principles associated with were very much similar to those implemented at the Ingeram and Maddepollam factories.<sup>39</sup>

What was the method through which the Company executed the Copdari System ? The Company facilitated the operation of the Copdari System through the creation of the new administrative units for the weavers. These new administrative units were called **Mocaums**. Perhaps **Muggam**. Literally, a **muggam** is a loom. It is not clear whether the Company adopted a traditional administrative unit or the concept was entirely new. Nor is there evidence to enable us to trace the etymology of the word. Each unit or **Mocaum** encompassed a certain number of looms and these units were superimposed over the existing spatial distribution of the weaving communities. Thus a given Mocaum could, and in **many** instances did embrace weaving villages falling in different zamindaries and or Proprietary Estates.<sup>40</sup>

The political economy of the region, and the different taxation structures under specific land revenue patterns of the Northern Coromandel might have caused difficulties in the execution of the Copdari System.<sup>41</sup> The new revenue policy of the Company and its pacification programmes ,**however**, enabled the Copdari system to succeed. The Company weavers were spread out over a large territory falling under the jurisdiction of the different Zamindaries and other landed estates. The Company therefore had to woo these elements to protect its commercial interests. In Godavari district for instance, the Company weavers were conveniently clustered around the three ancient Zamindari areas. They were the Peddapuram, Pitahpuram and Cotah and Ramachandrapuram Zamindars. IN 1802 there were 2265 looms of the Peddapuram Zamindari working for the Ingeram Factory's investment. Under the Copdari System they came to be administered under 18 **aMootahs** or **Mocaums**.<sup>42</sup> During this period, however, the number of looms in these **Mootahs** declined, mainly because of the decrease in the Company's investment. After 1811, there was a substantial reorganization, and many Mocaums were merged. By 1819, this process left only 5 Mocaums. The details of these arrangements can be seen from the Table 5:1

The weavers of the Cotah and Ramachandrapuram Zamindar were placed in such a location that they could register for the factories of both Ingeram and **Maddapollam**. The weaver from the Cotah area had choice to exercise, as could register for any of the two **factories**.**But** the weaver from the Ramachandrapuram area had opted for working at **Ingerm** factory.

TABLE:5.1

Number of Looms under different Mootahs of Peddapuram  
Zamindari working under the Ingeram Factory  
from Faslis 1213-1229 (1803-04 to 1819-20 )

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	Names of Macaums
1213	<b>108</b>	15	15	412	281	169	139	85	2	56	2	9	5	33	47	403	300	<b>124</b>	2205	1 Peddapuram
<b>1214</b>	108	15	15	412	281	169	139	85	2	56	2	9	5	33	47	403	300	124	<b>2205</b>	2 Veravaram
1215	108	15	15	412	281	169	139	85	2	56	2	9	5	33	47	403	300	124	2205	3 Lingunpurroo
1216	98	26	13	320	234	112	117	87	3	53	3	6	3	28	35	301	<b>231</b>	136	1779	4 Bickavole
1217	98	26	13	320	234	112	117	87	3	53	3	6	3	28	35	301	231	106	1779	5 Valoogoobund
1218	98	26	13	320	<b>234</b>	112	117	87	3	53	3	6	3	28	35	301	231	106	1779	6 Vadesalrroo
1219	98	26	13	320	<b>234</b>	112	117	87	3	53	3	6	3	28	35	301	231	106	<b>1779</b>	7 Juggammapett
1220	98	<b>26</b>	13	320	234	112	117	87	3	53	3	6	3	<b>28</b>	35		<b>231</b>		<b>1372</b>	8 Kerlumpoody
<b>1221</b>	98	<b>26</b>	13	<b>320</b>	<b>234</b>	112	117	87	3	53		6	3	30	35		<b>231</b>		1363	9 Dontamaroo
1222	115	43	10	280	254	147	118	73				12	2	30	43				<b>1221</b>	10 Golaparoo
<b>1223</b>	118	43	10	380	254	147	118	73				12	2	30	43				<b>1227</b>	11 Royavaram
<b>1224</b>	115	43	10	380	254		118	73				12	2	30	43				<b>1060</b>	12 Ingeram
1225	96	27	7	406	<b>262</b>		106	64				25	<b>2</b>	28	50				1073	13 Pullapollem
1226	96	27	7	406	<b>262</b>		<b>106</b>	64							50				1018	14 Aundreny
1227	96	27	7	406	262		<b>106</b>	64							50				1018	15 Colunka
<b>1228</b>	96	27	7	406	262														848	16 Cotaum
1229	96	27	7	406	<b>262</b>														848	17 Taky
1230																				18 Corconda

Source: M. Lewin Collector Rajahmundry to BOR 24 September 1835,  
GDR 4648, pp.190-193.

However the proper implementation of the Copdari System in case of the Visakhapatnam district was rendered more difficult owing to the fact that the weaving community was spread out widely, encompassing almost the entire area. This was further complicated by the fact that the textile economy of the district was under the influence of various groups who in fact manipulated the situation to their advantage for controlling the production process also. Moreover the Company's transactions were rendered more difficult because of the existence of the varied taxation structures. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were, in Visakhapatnam district Ancient Zamindars, Minor Zamindars, and Aumany Estates. <sup>44</sup> The total number of looms that registered for the Company's investment at the Visakhapatnam factory were divided into 29 Copdaries. <sup>45</sup> The new units, by cutting across the existing territorial and revenue arrangements, further diminished the already attenuated powers of Zamindars over the weavers situated within their estates. This argument is based on the ground that the copdar was placed in charge of the complete administration of these units. In this newly emerging situation the Copdar was recognised as the sole intermediary between the Company and the weaver, as he was put in charge of the Mocaum. <sup>46</sup> Table 5:2 illustrates this.

The immediate effect of this Copdari System on the weaving world of the region was that it filtered the economically less powerful elements, and also the total extinction of the other socially dominant groups like the head weavers from holding any official position under the new system. For instance, in 1796





TABLE:5.3

Number of Looms and Copdars in Visakhapatnam District in 1793.

Mocams	Looms Weaving for Company	Looms Weaving Gentoo Cloth	Total Looms	Copdars	Head Weavers	Taxes Paid Annually
Anakapalli	360	114	474	14	29	2252
Ganaparty	136	24	160	20	11	403
Dimili	191	32	223	43	28	668
Nakapalli	151	2	153	7	10	306
Pycarowpettah	149		149	8	11	
Vamalapoody	113		113	8	10	452
Dacamarry	161		161	3	18	374
Gajapatynagram	190	3	193	3	24	458
Narsipuram	107	75	182		8	770
Bobbili	80	186	266		20	1463
Darmavaram	142	8	150	3	22	536
Gungoopoody	66	4	70	11	11	231
uppada	169	15	184	26	21	746
Codoor	140	43	183	42	23	731
Codoor Aappanapollam	203	8	211	16	13	411
Polapully	230		230	6	18	562
Nalemarlah	258	51	309	6	19	937
Vaddady	235	34	269	54	38	1110
Jamey	254	100	354	11	23	2152
Savadantarakshaw	136	80	216	9	11	729
Palcondah	45	100	145		8	1074
Cancharam	138	522	660		44	3474
Rajam	117	537	654		29	3938
	3771	1938	5709	288	449	23786

Source: Mungo Dick, Vizagapatnam to BOR, 28 March 1793, VDR 2798, p.525.

there were 248 **copdars** and head weavers in Visakhapatnam district. But under the Copdari System only 29 copdars were recognised as having definite control over the management of the weaving villages. Table 5:3 shows the the position of copdars in Visakhapatnam district prior to the introduction of the Copari System.

Thus at the very '~~beginning~~' of its hegemony with its policies created conditions for the emergence of a capitalist class in the textile economy. The policy of the Company was such that a few substantial men who could satisfy the Company's **arremgements** could ultimately emerge as the key traders of the textile economy.

The Copdari System was extended to those villages producing ordinary and the middle varieties of textiles. AS the investment of the superfine variety was large it provided safeguards to protect it. Thus, Simultaneously with the Copdari System, it also created another system for the management of those villages producing the superfine variety of 36 **Punjams**. The collection of 36 **punjam** cloth was placed under the direct management of the Commercial Resident, and no chance for the entry of any other element including the copdar was provided. Moreover as the advances distributed on this variety was large, the Company made a clause for the collective as well as the individual responsibility of the weavers of each village for the sum owed by any weaver to the Company.



Was Copdari System operated in its true sense in the region? What were the new clauses introduced by the Company in course of time for ensuring its proper implementation? Every year at the time of advancing money for the investment, the Commercial Resident reiterated the principles of the **system**. Sometimes they even insisted that the agreements should stipulate a small penalty for short deliveries under any circumstances. 52

Entering into a review of the principles on which the commercial concerns of the Company were to have been conducted at the factories of Northern Coromandel, a Minute of Lord Clive dated 9 February 1814 specified the objective of introducing the Copdari System in the region by the Minute of Lord Clive dated 9 February 1814: 53

a substantial workman is entrusted with the provision of a portion of the Investment. It is sufficiently different from . what is generally termed **Aumany** it leaves latitude to the Company's servants to interpose in every branch of the investment in fact the commercial servant, with the benefit of the copdars responsibility for Balances has the advantage of a direct account current with every weaver in the District. It will be observed that the selection of a weaver by manufacture is the fundamental principle of the system, the superintendency is professional besides which, as the office holds forth an admitted emolument of 5 percent it is just and reasonable that it should be confined to the manufacturing class, when this rule is not enforced it can not be said that the Copdari System is complete

The proper implementation of the Copdari System in accordance with its essential features happened only in case of the Ingeram factory A Report of 1818 pointed out that all copdars who were selected and put in charge of these **Mocaums** were weaver caste copdars only. Even while placing the looms under different, the officials hardly faced any problem, and the

Ingeram factory was noted for its correct management in early nineteenth century. When in other factories, the management of the Copdari System had fallen into the hands of other groups, how did the weaver copdars of this factory maintain their dominance here? Was it due to the correlation that existed between the social customs and the arrangement of the production process? Or was it due to the strength of the weaving community that helped to exercise their control through out the period? Moreover, it was evident, that the more turbulent and violent weaver became quite passive after the introduction of the Copdari System. What were the reasons for this? Was it due to the proper reorganization of the weavers, and there by placing their headmen over them or was it due to the steps taken by the Company to reorganize the revenue settlements, abolition of Moturpha taxes and to provide monitory allowances?

The implementation of the copdari arrangements of the factory of Maddepollam was not absolute, because of the constraints that encircled the social organization of the production process. The new administrative units of the weaving villages encompassing the number of looms were drawn correctly, in accordance with the principles. But the copdars who were put incharge of these Mootahs were not those of weavers castes, rather they belonged to Bania caste.<sup>55</sup> The weaver coming under the jurisdiction of the Maddepollam area could not protest against this, because the domination of the Bania caste in the region was a long standing one. In any case the weaver had not choice, as the bania copdar was imposed upon him by the Company.

Consequently, all the copdari positions except two went to Bania caste copdars by 1810. How did the Bania enter this profession? Earlier, when the Company organized its textile investments through the institution of merchants or contractors, the Bania copdar crept into the intermediary structural arrangement of the weaving villages. Under this system, the merchant or contractor received a commission of 10 percent. But under the new copdari system organized by the new government, this commission was reduced to 5 percent, and the Company's merchant became the copdar. Other than this simple replacement of name, no changes were brought in by the Company's officials to implement the copdari system in those villages coming under the jurisdiction of the Maddepollam factory.

The Banias were preferred in place of weaver caste copdars owing to the favour attached to them by the Company officials, as the officials always thought that the Bania copdar would have better means and thereby, place Company's investment on a sound basis. The bias towards Bania copdars was also perceived, as the commercial officials apprehended that the weavers did not possess adequate knowledge for keeping the accounts.<sup>5</sup> But in reality the copdari system of maintenance required only few accounts to be kept for like to keep an account of the money advanced to each weaver, and the account of cloth delivered by him.<sup>58</sup> If these accounts were not strictly maintained with periodical examination at least once in three months, at the same time, the commercial officials were also apprehensive of the fact that the Banias might use their knowledge of accounts for deceiving the Resident, and impose on the weaver extra sums.

Thus the copdari system was not introduced totally in the area coining under the jurisdiction of the Maddapollem factory, as all the copdars were regarded as the heirs of the original merchants. Despite the presence of Bania copdars at the intermediary structural arrangements, the general tenor of copdari system in fact was attended with success in Maddapollem factory because of the limited number of looms under each Mootah or Mocaum, and this made it easy for the Commercial Resident to control the Bania copdars.<sup>59</sup>.

Under the copdari system, Mootah Gumastahs were appointed in order to examine and compare the accounts between weavers and copdars, and to see that they would correspond with those at the factories. Even though there were no complaints from the weavers registered for Maddepollam factory against the Bania copdars, the experience of the Company at the Visakhapatnam factory (to be discussed below) persuaded the Company to revive its policy, and the Residents were directed to appoint Head weavers as copdars, in case of any future vacancy.

In the Visakhapatnam factory area traditional weaver caste copadars held sway till about 1810, when the new administrative units created by the when Company passed into the hands of the influential banias who thus increased their commercial power. The replacement of the traditional Copdar by the bania Copdar was legitimized by the pretext that the former had not fulfilled their contracts in time.<sup>61</sup> For instance, by 1814, many weaver caste copdars owed large sums to the Company. They were

Penagunty Verasha, Soornapoody Tummy, Nunna Chandria and Soobaraydu, Alum Sabiah, Borda Suckooraradoo, Allada Guddy Veerasha and Colapa Vencatesh, Mutchitty Chinniah and Appiah, Cunnum Muckumdoo and Mundapatty Appadoo, Nully Nursummulo, Dontamichitty Veeramulloo and Mchanny Ramaligam.<sup>62</sup> Even though these copdars were given some time to clear off their outstanding balances, and were keen to re-enter the Company's service, they were in course of time dislodged from holding any copdari position.

The very principles which were responsible for the proper management of the Company's investment at Ingeram and Maddepollam factories, created a paradoxical situation in the case of the Visakhapatnam factory. The total failure of the Company's investment in the Visakhapatnam district came to be charged to the inattention paid to the principles of copdari agency.<sup>63</sup> When the weaver caste copdars were moved from their position, those looms were placed under the management of bania caste copdars.<sup>64</sup> As a result, four divisions out of seven came to be controlled by bania caste copdars in 1816. These four divisions had under their jurisdiction 12 copdaries out of 26.

The administrative units of Visakhaptanam district and the names and castes of the persons controlling them are shown in Table 5:4.

From the table it is clear that the Bania caste copdars predominated. In addition to them there were Aumeens who were like Gumasthas, employees of the Company, managing some of the Mocaums.

## 5.2 Mocaums in Visakhapatnam District

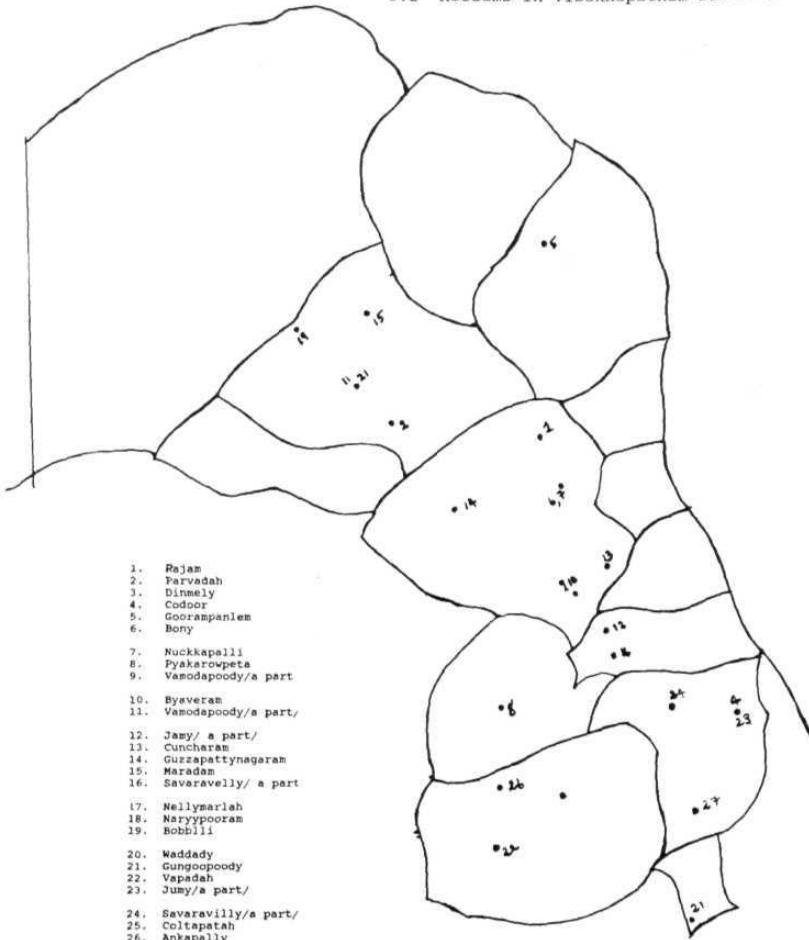


Table 5:4  
List of **Mocaums** and concerned copdars and **Aumeens**  
in Visakhapatnam district in 1817

Mocaums	Copdars/Aumeens/ Gumastahs	No. of Looms
1. Rajam		400
2. Parvadah		533
3. Dinmely	Motamarry(C)	208
4. Codoor	Paupiah(C)	274
5. Goorampanlem	& Chelmiah(C)	344
6. Bony	Grundy Venkata ramoodoo & Caumaiah(C)	404
7. Nuckkapalli	-ditto -	288
8. Pyakarowpeta	-ditto-	523
9. Vamodapoody/a part	Maumedi Sooriah/(C) Lingamoothy(C)	68
10. Byaveram	-ditto-	125
11. Vamodapoody/a part/	Jogoo Woopamaka & Goorapah(C)	187
12. Jamy/ a part/	-ditto-	750
13. Cuncharam	Pratlah Latchemah(A)	691
14. Guzzapattynagaram	Robey & Lotikiah(A)	438
15. Maradam	-ditto-	264
16. Savaravelly/ a part/	Dasary Veernnah & Mulliah(C)	275
17. Nellymarlah	Pursa Balramodoo(A)	107
18. Naryypooram	Candragoola Soorapah	236
19. Bobblli	Cattakam Paranah & Chelliah(C)	323
20. Waddady	-ditto-	215
21. Gungoopoody	Ganda Ramiah(A)	225
22. Vapadah	-ditto-	305
23. Jummy/a part/	Cuttakam Callacoory Parrauze(A)	542
24. Savaravilly/a part/	Cuttamary Balanagy(G)	230
25. Coltapatah	Cavalry Veerah(G)	55
26. Ankapally	Moora Maliah	3
		939

Source: H.Taylor, Commercial Resident, Ingeram, July 1818,  
CDC 13, pp.570-571.

The arrangement of weaving villages pertaining to Visakhapatnam factory thus fell under the control of Bania caste copdars, who extended their influence to most of the villages,

and controlling the manufacturers in a most oppressive manner, a new and traumatic experience for the weavers that had never before witnessed in the districts.

The evidence from the records suggests that the influence of these bania caste copdars extended to all branches of production, and thus created an oppressive power structure over the primary weavers. The weavers were continually deprived of their earnings due to the discrepancies and injustices perpetrated by the bania caste copdars in the district. For instance, the Bania copdars paid a lower price for the cloth of weavers, kept the rejected cloth for themselves giving an **extremly** low price to the weaver, delayed the payment of advances to the weavers, forced articles of merchandise like grain, cotton and other articles on the weavers; exacted extra sums from all the weavers on various ceremonial occasions like marriage. their houses, and other occasion.

Many a time the activities of Bania caste copdars were responsible for the debasement of the Company's assortments. They used every kind of ruse in their business, so as to supply the Company with ready **made** cloth, instead of supplying the Company's **punjums** cloth. **Motamarry** Paupadoo, **Grandy** Vencataramoodoo, and **Maumedy** Sooriah usually purchased ready made cloth from the advances which they received at the time of the contract. On these ready pieces they placed charcoal endorsement, so as to make these appear to be as the real **manufacture** of the Company's registered weavers.<sup>66</sup>



The weavers of **Goorammapollam Mocaum** stated that their copdar **Grandi Venkataramudoo** ordinarily made advances for two pieces of Company's **punjam** cloth, afterwards, the advances were essentially for private cloth at the rate of 6 1/2 and 6-10 annas per piece of 14 **punjam** cloth. But the same cloth was entered into the public accounts, when rejected, it would pass on to the copdars account. Similarly the **Nuckkapalli** weavers complained that the copdar purchased ready-made cloth of other **Mocaums**, and inserted the cloth so purchased in the **Woojaties** of the respective weavers of **Nuckapalli Mocaum** whose names were already inscribed in charcoal on the cloth.<sup>68</sup> The weavers of **Goorvampallam** complained that all the rejected cloth went into hands of copdars directly, and the weaver was paid a lower price that is three rupees less than the proper price for 18 **punjam** and 2 and 2 1/4 rupees for a piece of 14 **punjam**. Then cloth was passed on to **Ramaswamy**, the **copdar's** brothers, who had extensive private trading activity. A similar complaint was made by **Nuckkapalli** weavers, who stated that they never received more than 5 rupees and 13 1/2 annas per a piece of rejected cloth .

The Copdar system was introduced among other things to curb the private trading activity. But it appears to have had the opposite effect. The very conditions and policies followed by the **Company** in the copdari system were taken advantage of by the **bania** copdars for their own private trading activity, which they rapidly developed. For example, these copdars began to keep the rejected cloth instead of returning it to the weavers and gave

them a lower price than that fixed by the Company for rejected cloth. They then sold this at Visakhapatnam to private traders who were assisted by Chinnam Jaggapah. So enterprising had the bania copdars become that they extended their illicit business practices even to the Aumeen Mocaums, which were supposedly under the more direct control of the Company.<sup>71</sup>

Interestingly, the bania copdars were able to secure the assistance of Company officials to further their business interests.

The intention of the colonial authorities to restrict/curb private trading activity was not absolutely achieved. The very conditions and policies followed by them in the copdari system, were in deed handled by copdars of Bania caste for the private trading activity, in which they had extensive business operations. In a report of 1818, it was stated that these copdars had kept for themselves all rejected cloths, instead of returning them to weavers. The weavers were paid a less price than the price fixed by the Company on the rejected pieces. At Visakhapatnam the rejected cloths were then disposed off to private traders who in affiliation with Chinnam Jaggapah were conducting an extensive trade.<sup>72</sup> Such an activity was extended to Aumeen Mocaums also, where the Aumeens were engaged in collecting the balance from private traders.<sup>73</sup> All these activities ultimately affected the profits of the Company.<sup>74</sup>

In their activities, besides the Company officials and Head Servants, the Bania copdars got the adherence of land magnates and other rural officials. With the help of these power groups,

the copdars evolved a kind of triangular trade, which ultimately benefited the copdar. **From** the yearly advances which they received from the **Company**, the bania copdars used to loan a large amount to Zamindars and others, who **imperatively** need the sums for paying off their land revenue dues to the Company. Besides paying exorbitant interests rates, these Zamindars also gave away the produce of their lands like grain, cotton, tobacco etc. for cash advances. These articles were forced on the weavers at very high rates. Traditionally as they belonged to the trading profession, the bania copdars invented the new triangle trade tactics whereby they kept the circulation of money in the district, and accumulated great profits from every single circumstance.

It was general phenomenon in the region that the land revenue or kists were realized in those months, whatever might be the season of the year, whenever the advances were released from the respective factories. Such revenue collections were made possible because the advances of the Company's instead of reaching the weaver directly and immediately, rather reached the Zamindars and renters who used the amount for paying off their kists.<sup>76</sup>

The perpetuation of the jajmani relations in weaving villages was manifested in the weaver being forced to pay cesses on special occasions and ceremonies by copdars. This practice was prevalent in the entire district, where banias dominated. For examples, **Motamurri** Paupadoo, Grundy Vencataramoodoo exacted **money** from weavers of their **Mocaums** on all marriage occasions in their **houses**. Six weavers of Goorvamapallam **Mocaum** stated

that it was known that Grandi Venkataramudoo usually collected 1/4 of rupee from each loom on the marriage of Brahmins and 1/4 of a rupee on occasion of marriages in his own family, the weavers were taxed twice in this manner, and the usual mode of such collection was to deduct the same at the time of making

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advances. Weavers of Dimili complained that their copdar taxed all their looms in his Mocaum on three occasions firstly 1/2 rupee on account of Jaggapah; secondly 1/2 rupee on account of a marriage in his family and thirdly 1/2 towards building a temple at Anakapalli.<sup>79</sup> Such contributions came to be realized usually under false premises or by threats.

The power and influence of bania copdars extended to those mocaums that were placed under Aumani Management. The influence of Grandi Venkataramdoo was not limited to his Mocaums alone, rather pervaded to other Mocaums also. He had not advanced the full amount received from the Company to the weavers, as he directed the half to other Mocaums where an Aumeen was responsible. For instance, at Nerlamullah and Jamey which were Aumeen Mocaums, the weavers received advances from Grandi Vencataramadoo.<sup>80</sup> Nuckpally weavers complained that the copdar not only taking the rejected cloth at low prices from their weavers, but also collected the same from the weavers of other Mootah too.<sup>81</sup>

How did the bania caste copdar enter the services of the Company in Visakhapatnam district? Why did the weaver, who appeared to be more militant in earlier decades, remain as a passive element for a long time?

The Bania copdar crept into the administration of weaving villages, owing to the power and influence exercised by Chinnum Jaggapah Chetty at the Visakhapatnam **Factory**. Chinnum Jaggapah entered the service in the Resident's office for a paltry sum of 14 rupees a month.<sup>83</sup> In course of time he could get the confidence of the **Commercial** Residents of the Visakhapatnam **Factory**, and thus getin the position of Dubash and Head servant by 1810. Under Henry Taylor, the Commercial Resident who joined in 1811, Chinnum Jaggapah used his newly acquired influence not only in deposing the weaver caste copdars but placing all those **Mocaums** under the supervision of bania caste copdars. These bania copdars were his own relatives like his own brother-in-law and the father-in-law of his own brother. Even other copdars including Devangas came to be employed on his recommendation only. Within six years from 1811 to 1816, Chinnum Jaggapah acquired large possessions ranging from landed estates and large houses to maintenance of large boats, which he used for private trade.<sup>85</sup> Their status was so low, that they were reduced to using wooden **mangalsutras** instead of the usual gold ones used in the marriage ceremony.<sup>86</sup> The weavers of the district were not so passive as to put up with the long standing oppression forever. The weavers, apprehending the danger of continued oppression of Chinnum Jaggapah from which they found no relief, assembled at **Simhachalam**, a pilgrim centre near Visakhapatnam and brought to the notice of the Company.

The struggle waged by the Company for fifty odd years between 1765 and 1815 to curb the power and influence of the

copdars among other intermediary groups, in the resurgence of the copdar, seems to have been set at naught. Intermediary elites, it seemed, were stronger than any strategies that the Company could devise to curtail their powers. But the Company, could not give up the struggle, however unequal and unsuccessful it seemed. The Company officials evolved a new, multipronged plan to clip the wings of the copdar and to protect the weaver from their oppressive practices. The plan initiated by the Company was intended to meet the situation in two ways: first, the plan related to the problems of textile economy of the district. Secondly, the plan tried to curb the power of copdar through changes in the administrative units of weaving villages.

One of the glaring problems for the Company's investment during this period was private trade. The involvement of copdars, sometimes weavers also, in private trade led to the debasement and fall of Company's textile investment at the Visakhapatnam Factory. This was made possible due to the availability of rejected cloth to copdars, who actually had to return to the respective weavers. The Acting Commercial Resident thought of thrashing the evil before letting the rejected cloth into the market. The suggestion was to withhold the rejected cloth at the godown, and to purchase the same on account of the Company, because the rejected cloth would be useful as cloth for the investment at Visakhapatnam and Ganjam Factories. If the

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quantity was more, it could be sold at a moderate price.<sup>oo</sup> The Board of Trade, having realized the market conditions for coarser cloth in Europe, considered the possibility of reclassifying the rejected cloth, to giving it on an inferior number and exporting

it, after proper washing and bleaching, to the English markets. To satisfy the copdar and weaver, the Board suggested, that credit should be given for the amount sold but without commission

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to the former and this could reduce the general **balance**. In the mechanism for purchasing rejected cloth, the commercial residents at the factory were empowered with discretionary authority, and were given an option to take cloth as proposed for commission stores for wrappers or to put for public auction. On these occasions, however, they should observed that the speedy settlement of the outstanding balances was the primary motive.<sup>qn</sup>

Regarding the adjustment of the outstanding balance, the acting Commercial Resident suggested the revoking of the earlier practice. Generally the new copdar would take "on himself the liquidation or collection of the outstanding balances of his predecessor or in other words to purchase his appointment on the speculation of being able to recover part of the amount from the weavers, deduct it from the future advances or to allow it to run on from year to year at all events whatever balances are collected in a Mocaum for a former year after fresh advances are made will be to the prejudice of the current years investment if in money. . .' In the new policy the suggestion was that the copdar should receive his appointment clear of all former accounts. The first advances should be given, in the presence of the Resident to those weavers who cleared off all their balances. They were given to understand that if they failed to deliver the cloth for the money advanced, no fresh advances were granted. Except in case of real sickness or any other unavoidable

misfortune, this clause should be followed, and the weaver had to provide the agreed amount of cloth, before taking any fresh agreement. For all the outstanding balances however, the copdar was held responsible at the end of the year. The copdar was required to submit the list of those weavers who failed to provide agreed cloth, so that all those weavers were deprived of opportunities to participate in the investment of the ensuing years, until they cleared off their balances.<sup>92</sup>

whatever might be the procedure related to weavers and copdars, ultimately the Commercial Resident's responsibility was to see all the accounts being adjusted between the copdar and the weaver, before advancing any fresh advances to the weaver", it should be an established rule and an article in the written agreement of a copdar that when the Woppandum sunned is taken from, and fresh advance was made to a weaver at the commencement of an investment all accounts of former years are considered as fully adjusted and that on pain of dismissal he is not to demand from the weaver a single piece on any pretence whatever since and except on account of the Woppandum sunned then delivered in. The Board of Trade being cognizant of maintaining clear accounts without any outstanding balance, accepted the above suggestion.<sup>94</sup> It further asked the Commercial Resident "to give public notice in the different Mocaums that no advance will be made in any Mootah until the balances of that Mocaum are all adjusted and that advances in future will be confined to those who have settled their accounts."<sup>95</sup>

The placement of the entire investment on a firm base was perceived by inducing certain changes in the existing structural



arrangements of the Visakhapatnam district, the real intention was perhaps, to pare the power of copdar. These changes were not to allow any of the ex copdars or existing copdars to control any of Mootahs or **Mocaums**, to which they were kept incharge earlier; to transfer copdars once in two years so as to prevent any strong combinations; to employ few other castes as copdars along with weaver caste copdars, as they would act once check upon each other; to limit the authority of copdars to 350 looms only.<sup>96</sup> To induce copdars to provide a security for Rs.5000 to be receive yearly, and Resident had to check all his accounts yearly.<sup>97</sup>

The Board of Trade, however, apprehensive, of implementing the suggestions forwarded by acting Commercial Resident in order to control copdar effectively. For instance, removal of copdars to new mootahs or mocaums, would disturb the long standing relationship that was there between the copdar and the weaver. Nevertheless, the Board started that all copdars should be explicitly told that they were liable to such removals.<sup>98</sup>

The Board objected to the suggestion of taking security from copdars, as it would tend to turn the copdar into a mere contractor. Instead, the entire reliance for protecting the investment and curbing the power of copdar was placed in the hands of commercial residents, whose duty was constant and active **supervision**. To limit the power of copdar over manufacturers, the Board placed upper limit to the number of looms which a copdar should supervise. The maximum number of looms over which copdar could exercise his control was 350, the possibility of regulating this further was given to the residents, if he

perceived that a copdar could not manage his looms effectively.<sup>100</sup>

There was also disagreement on the suggestion of employing other caste groups as copdars, besides weaver caste copdars. It was stated that "....these are circumstances inherent in the case which must give the weaver cast a decided preference the duty is entirely professional. It attended with profit, and it seems but justice to the manufacturing class that the industrious respectable among them should have that office to look up to, besides which, the trade of the weavers caste is confined to his own profession. That of a banian is general and as there is always a greater risks of advances being misappropriated by the latter."<sup>101</sup>

The affairs at the factory of Visakhapatnam compelled the Company to look out for all promising ways so as to cover the copdar from exercising undue influence over the textile economy. A simultaneous redesigning of the existing administrative structure for the weaving villages was also undertaken by 1820 onwards. For a couple of years from 1818 onwards, the Company followed interim measures to continue its investment operations. For instance, the copdars incharge of **Aumani Mocaums** were also asked to take charge of other mocaums by designating them as acting copdars also were placed incharge of those mocaums which were under bania caste copdars earlier.<sup>102</sup> Table 5:5 would provide details on this:

**Table 5:5**

**List of Mocaums and Concerned Copdars  
in Visakhapatnam District in 1817 & 1819**

Name of Mocaums	Name of Copdar in 1817	Name of Copdar in 1819	Position of Copdar in each Mocaum
Guzze Puttynagram	Robey Shahab Latikiah	Robey Saib	acting copdar
Mardam		Robey Latikiah	acting copdar
Chuncharam	Pratlah Latchennah Aumeen	Cuttaum Veeraiah	acting copdar
Chuncharam		Cuttaum Peddaiah	2nd acting copdar
Bobbili	Cuttaum Parannah and Chelliah	Cuttaum Chinna Latchiah	2nd acting copdar
Neelamurlah	formerly under Cuttacum Iyapah Pursa Bahamoodoo Aumeen	Buddy Guntg Seetaramoodoo	3rd acting copdar
Bobbili	Cuttacum Parannah and Chelliah	Cuttacum Chinna Llatchiah	acting copdar
Bonee Mocaum	Gurndy Vencata ramoodoo and Caumasah	Arjee Yershoodoo	acting copdar

**Source:** Arzee No.1 From Robey Sail Acting Copdar of  
Guzeepatinagrum dated 23 August 1819, sent to the  
Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, CDC 20, 1899-1900.

The troubled situation for the investment was took a turn for the worse, when other social groups in the region had reinstituted their conflicts. The geographical **placement** of the weaving villages nearer to the hilly tracts, and inability of the Company to exercise complete control over the political economy of the district added to the existing problems in the district, and caused a get back to the Company's investment. The long standing disputes between Boyana Apparayoodoo, a hill Dorah and Gotamookala Ramachandraunze led to frequent robberies and murders in the district. Boyana Apparayoodoo was dorah at Boosiahoolsah in the Pargana of Poram, while Gotamookala Ramachandrarauze was a renter of a village in the Parganas of Poram.<sup>103</sup> The causes of the conflict between them was not available, nevertheless from the available evidence, it appeared that Boyana Apparayadoo frequently visited the villagers with his men, and caused robberies and murders in the villages. He gathered 400 to 500 men and kept 2 or 3 parties at Poram, Aukoolcallah, Paryan and lovahs.<sup>104</sup> The nature of their atrocities in the district including those at the town of Visakhapatnam affected the activities of copdars in various **Mocaums** like Bobbili, Guzzepatinagaram, **Mardam** and **Cuncharam**. On these occasions many inhabitants including those of weavers ran away from their villages. Those weavers who could withstand the situation suffered as they had not received advances from their copdars in time, because these copdars had to transfer money from Visakhapatnam to his copdaries or Mocaums.<sup>105</sup>

In another incident, the weavers of the Visakhapatnam district were attacked by the bands of plunderers and robbers, from the hills generally called **Mookiwars** and Mannigars. <sup>6</sup> In 1820, nearly 400 plunderers with arms infested the country in bands, and caused depredations in many of the weaving villages. Tekkali village, where ten of the Company's weavers coming under the sphere of **Narlamurlah Mocaum** resided, was attacked by the plunderers, led by Denkapoolee, a hill dorah. He came with 200 men carrying country guns spears, and picks to Tekkali village at midnight, and plundered the whole of the inhabitants. The plunderer 'untied the cloths of the women and carried the cloths away burnt the houses and others', and many cattle were lost. Later on, they plundered the houses of the weavers and burnt their houses. One weaver was assaulted by the plunderers, very cruelly. **Raperty Tunmiah**, a weaver captured by the plunderers, was not released, and the weavers of the village lodged complaints to the Gumastah. The **Gumastah** with the assistance of peons guarded through out the day the Godown, where many pieces of comapny's cloth were **kept**. As these cruelties and robberies caused great disturbances among the weaving villages, the Company's investment received a setback. Consequently, the Commercial Resident adopted certain measures to curb the activities of the plunderers. The Commercial Resident informed the commanding officer of troops in Vizagapatam about the situation. The weaving villages in the vicinity of **Simhachalam** were also in a state of alarm due to the attacks by Mookiwars and Mannigars. As advances were already given for the cloth, these atrocities were detrimental to the activities of the Company's

investment. The commanding officer of the troops was asked to send some force in that direction for the protection of the country, and thereby to create confidence among the weavers working for the Company.<sup>108</sup> In order to curb the evil, the collector was further asked to stimulate the vigilance of his police and sibbandy, for this, the commanding officer at Chicacole was requested to furnish the guard to accompany the collector to the Mocaums of Tuni and Payakarowpet.<sup>109</sup>

The struggle waged by the Company, to protect its investment more carefully continued, and by 1820s, the suggestions of commercial residents came to be implemented in order to reinforce the power structure more effectively. The first step the East India Company took in this direction was to reorganize the mocaums, by reducing variations in the number of looms assigned to a particular Mocaum. to remove existing anomalies and to introduce uniformity into the new structure of administration it constructed over the weavers. Under the revised system, for instance in Visakhapatnam district, are Mocaum was equated with 250 looms, and these were limited 8,000 looms into 32 Mocaums.<sup>110</sup> When the copdars outstanding balances were increasing at an alarming light, then the Resident further divided the whole district into 28 Mocaums, and these mocaums were placed under the charge of 14 copdars, instead of 28.<sup>111</sup> The Table 5:6 shows the various Mocaums as reorganized in 1820. The Company perhaps, realising the strength of a few intermediary elements in the over all administration of weaving villages, thus paved the way for strengthening the position of substantial elements but confining them to few roles.

Table 5:4

**Mocaums and Copdars in Visakhapatnam District in 1818**

Names of the <b>Gumastah</b> of  Division	Names of  Mocaums	Number of  Looms	Total  Looms
1.Bagavattoola Venkam	1.Payakarowpetah 2.Nakkapalli 3.Jamalapoody	227 333 321	881
2.Bagavatoola Anniah	4.Dimili 5.Paravadah 6.Cottahpettah	218 361 310	887
3.Nama Runganaickloo	7.Rajam 8.Vaddaly 9.Codoor 10.Uppadah	280 279 316 287	1132
4.Baottary Gopal Naidoo	11.Jamey (Part.1) 12.Jamey (Part.2) 13.Jamey (Part.3) 14.Gungoopoody	400 400 81 213	1094
5.Mauzee Rajanah	15.Boney (Part.1) 16.Boney (Part.2) 17.Goorumpaulam 18.Daukamurry	352 38 400 223	1013
6.Coparty Seetiah	19.Nerlamurlah (Part.1) 20.Nerlamurlah (Part.2) 21.Nerlamurlah (Part.3) 22.Savaravelli	350 350 275 298	1273
7.Modulcunty Narainrow	23.Guzeepatteynagrum 24.Murdam 25.Bobbili 26.Nursepuram	352 180 212 77	821
8.	27.Cuncharam (Part.1) 28.Cuncharam (Part.2)	336 181	517
		Total	7618

**Source:** W.Brown, Resident to Commercial Resident, Visakhapatnam,  
16 August 1820, CDC 20, pp.1295-96

More importantly, the Company created a new unit, the Mutah consisting of two Mocaums, that is, 500 looms, for which a gumastah was appointed. The gumastah was to supervise the delivery of cloth. In addition, the Company recognised the traditionally important Senapati once again, who was put in charge of supervising the supply of thread at each Mocaum. The Company itself undertook to give advances directly to the weavers. These advances were limited to 1 1/2 pieces per loom.<sup>112</sup>

By fragmenting the matrix of power relationships that existing in the weaving community, and by reinforcing in particular the position of the gumastah and of the senapati in the hierarchies of commerce in textiles, the Company effectively reduced the power of the copdar. He was transformed into a mere collector of cloth for the Company. Further the Company merged the existing copdaries in order to place them under the effective management of a few copdars.<sup>1</sup>

In assigning a new status to the traditional leaders of the weavers the Senapaties, the Company was not only creating a new locus of power, but was also probably trying to secure a more stable operating environment for itself. It was the Senapaties who had led the **weavers'** agitation in 1816, and so by giving **them** a specific, officially recognized role, the Company was not only acknowledging their position as leaders of influence, but was perhaps buying insurance against future disruptions of the textile economy.



Despite opposition from higher **commercial** officials, the officials at Visakhapatnam sought to insure itself also against malfeasance by the copdars, by introducing a security system for the copdars, whereby another leading individual of the locality surety for the investment advanced to the copdar.<sup>115</sup> For instance, in 1820, the Commercial Resident W. Brown stated that the balance for 1820 was only **Rs.10,000** compared to 1819, in which the balance was the very glaring sum of **Rs.1,50,000**. It was a result of the security system that was introduced. <sup>o</sup> Tables 5:7 and 5:8 shows the particulars of various copdari positions and securities furnished by them at the two Northern factories.

Table 5:7

List of the Copdars employed under the Factory of Visakhapatnam

Name of the Cobdars	Names of the Securities	Names of Mocaums	No. of looms
Yerrapeddy Guddy & Bodiah	Voodah Caumiah & Cundalah Chamiah	Tooney	500
Mooriah Iyapah	Moora Mulliah	Cottapatah	300
Emundy Ramaswamy	E. Moocarzah	Savarapilly	230
Dumllloory Ramloo Sommanah & Reddy	E. Tumniah and Guzzanah	Parvoodah	400
Nagodoo Jaggiah & Condapill Sevalingam	Rovah Goorapah	Bobbely & Nursepooam	400
Robey Chinniah	Robey Sail	Neelamuriah Ianvery	450 550
Ianjoo Goorvapah	Iagoo Veerasha	Payakarowpeta Vamulpoody	300 300

Robey Tautiah & Cuttacum Chelliah	Joint Cobdars	Vapaudah	300
Dooddy Mooleyaloo & Seevaramdoogany Sambaiah	Joint Cobdars	Gunjoogordy & Dakamurry	350
Robey Tautiah & Mulliah	Joint Cobdars	Jaumey Boney	400
G Permalilloo & Caumiah	Joint Cobdars	Boney	320
Iagoo Gooraupah & Veeresha	Joint Cobdars	Nuckapilly	400
Pasoomerty Woopaiah & Coltamooconah	Joint Cobdars	Codoor	500
Nelly Mullapah & Gooramvanah	Joint Cobdars	Goorumpellem Rajan Dimlay	215
M.Narasapah & Mullavarpoosoorianyadoo	Joint Cobdars	Depart	500
M.Chelniah & Momedeva Pooverasha	Joint cobdars	Veleboor	200
M.Paddaramdoo & Chinna Ramdoo	Joint Cobdars	Vadoody	280
R. Lutchanah & Ramasha	Joint Cobdars	Gorumpollam	200
B. Ammaiah, Aumean of 2nd Neelamurlah, Gazaputtynagram Meerdam and Candraram			

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Source: A Taylor, CR, Visakhapatnam to the Commercial Superintendent, Madras, 29 April, 1828, CDC 51, 497-513.

Table 5:8

List of **Copdars** at Ingeram Factory in 1829

Mootahs	Copdars	Securities
1. Dungaroo	1. V.Cumiah 2. T.Narrallo 3. E.C.Puttesam	Nooloo Badriah V <b>A</b> n <b>k</b> acherla Lingarah Laladu Raumanah & Chetty Bramdoo
2. Hasanallabad	4. E.Puttcrum 5. C.Cinniah	Chinatalapoody Ramadoomy & Yahata Tummiah Copoola Teroopaty
3. Passalapoody	6. C.Sarooboo 7. V.Veranagoloo	Cobaka Pada Vencarah Vemah Veerasah & Mulliah
4. Arravallem	8. G.Audinaraya 9. D.Auyapah	Gollareilly, Somanah <u>D</u> o <b>m</b> t <b>o</b> m <b>s</b> e <b>t</b> t <b>y</b> Veerasah
5. Caupoolapollam	10. T.Gungooloo 11. D.Basavapaq	Potravoo Lutchmiah & Bondoer Polliah Doddeputtah Sambanah
6. Nybdaoettag	12. C.Veerasah 13. V.Somalingam	Tadapilly Anapan & Somanchee Sambanah Boyanapillee Lutchmendasoo Poonumrauze Chelmiah
7. Pandalapauka	14. A.Gavanah 15. Rajalingum	Auspoo Basavapah & Enmurty Salteelingum <u>V</u> o <b>o</b> t <b>o</b> o <b>c</b> o <b>o</b> r <b>y</b> Puniah
8. Dolla	16. B.Puttee 17. B.Veerasalingam	Poonumaranze Chellamiah Cocherla cota Camarauzah Varada Pariah & Beeraka <b>S</b> t <b>r</b> e <b>e</b> s <b>y</b> l <b>u</b> m
9. Angarah	18. M.Munganah	Yadada Vencanan China V <b>e</b> n <b>c</b> a <b>m</b> a <b>r</b> and <u>T</u> a <b>t</b> a <b>v</b> e <b>r</b> t <b>y</b> Vencanah
10. Rajahmundry	19. M.Laraboo	Grundee Vencanah

**Source:** F.A. Savage CR, Ingeram Factory to the Commercial Superintendent and Warehouse-keeper, 19 August, 1829, COC 53. pp.589-592, **espec.** 592A, 592 A; The names of the securities underlined belonged to **Komati** caste.

Interestingly, two types of security **arrangements** were followed in Visakhapatnam district, so as to provide security for Company's investment. When one copdar was placed solely incharge of one **Mocaum**, he had to provide security of a leading member of the community. Some times, two copdars were guaranteed by one security. Secondly, when two persons were recognised as join copdars for one or two **Mocaums**, then it appeared, they need not provide any security for such undertaking.

However, at Ingeram factory there were no Joint copdars instead, a **Mootah** was placed under two or three copdars, who in turn showed security from a leading member of the society. In most cases, it was a bania or komati who stood for security in the Godavari district, as perceived in the Table 5:8

In an attempt to prevent the copdar from entrenching himself too strongly in the local advances, the Company seems to have introduced also a system of transfer of **copdars**. Yet another method devised by the Company to curtail the rapacity of the copdars and to reduce the opportunities be may have for misappropriation of the Company's investment, was to specify the ratio of pieces of per loom that each bearer could contract for and to secure **muchalika** (agreements) from the copdars to the effect that, they would not demand anything but cloth from the **weavers**.<sup>118</sup>

The attempts of the Company to create a seemingly effective structure of control over the weaving world of the northern

Coromandel, and over the copdars, wielders of enormous influence appeared to have continued even into 1820s, the time when the direction of the textile trade itself had irrevocably been reversed. And the structural arrangements at these factories more or less continued, with the addition adding here and there of new controls.

What was effect of Company's retreat from textile economy on intermediary structures, especially copdars?

Though the copdari system was implemented absolutely in those weaving villages working for the Ingeram factory, yet the institution of copdars lost its hold in the textile economy with the abolition of the factory. As the Company's investment in **punjam** cloth started declining, the Company began to recover monies from **copdar's** who owed large sums as outstanding balances to the **Company**. The Statements I and II in Appendix , it can be noticed that the outstanding balance of copdars of Ingeram and Maddepollam factories dated back to 1815, and even after the total abolition of the Company's investment, the copdars remained under the grip of Company's law and jurisdiction, as they still owed large sums to the Company.

The copdars of Maddepollam factory were almost all Bania caste copdars who occupied virtually the same economic position. These copdars had possessed large, pucca houses, and their family members engaged traded in many commodities like cloth and paddy.<sup>120</sup>

The copdars were asked to clear off the outstanding balances which they owed to the **Company**. The Company held the various securities also responsible for the **repayments**. Despite the problems in the political economy of the region caused by famine, and other conditions, the copdars had agreed to pay off their balances in cloth at reduced prices. They further requested the commercial officials to accept their proposal for the payment of the sums on instalment basis. The Collector of the Rajahmundry district agreed to the proposal, but pointed out that this would mean collecting the balance without prosecuting the suits that were instituted in the Adaulat court of the **zilla**. The copdars had not denied justice of the demand but they expressed their inability to pay for the expenses involved in court procedures.

What happened in the end, however, was the use of colonial legal procedures, and the auctioning of the copdars possessions. Only certain copdars like Nullah Aukana and Vatlloor Vencatash escaped the penalties of the Company's law ,but only because they had lost everything and hardly had the basic necessities of life. 123

While Northern Coromandel district were subjected to the various experiments in reorganization, strangely **enough, the** southern districts, particularly, Masulipatnam district was not affected by these structural arrangements. Here, there were two main elements, namely Careedars and **Gumathas**, who were the **key** elements for the smooth transaction of business with the weavers.

## Careedars and Colonial Arrangements:

The careedar was one of the major elements in mediating between the Company and the weaver for getting the required supply of chay goods from Masulipatnam district. There were three distinct classes among these careedars depending on the economic and social status which they had in their local economies. In weaving villages, there were for example, substantial weavers, who received full fees from the contractors of the Company and then supplied cloth. Many a time economically less well off weavers were dependent on these careedars for their maintenance, especially when they were unemployed. Being weavers, these substantial mediators some times provided or manufactured cloths in their houses. They also at times employed 'out door weavers' in their houses, who were probably paid a wage and who in turn paid a "fee" to the careedar. 124

Secondly, there were careedars of other castes like Brahmin careedars at Buttiprole, who usually receive full price from the contractors. In turn they employ weavers and deduct the specified fee from the price which he had to pay to the weaver for his service.

Another category, was the wealthy and substantial element of the weaving community, who would take up the responsibility of supplying chay goods on his account and enjoy the entire benefit from such operations without a share with any other of his community. The mediatory role of the careedar was facilitated,

it would appear, by the kind of **patron-client** or jajmani relationship that the careedar had traditionally established with the poorer weavers in the community.

In 1800 the Commercial Resident of Masulipatnam factory stated that the success of Company's activity in the district was essentially due to the services rendered by these careedars. Indeed, they were the security between the weaver and the public contractor or Company and they would as oversee the work in the villages.<sup>125</sup>

The other intermediary in the Masulipatnam district was the **Contractor-Gumastah**. From the time of inception Company's investment concern at the Masulipatnam factory, these contractor Gumastahs used to receive a fee from the amount of advances that was provided to weavers and washers, and it varied from place to place and sometime within a village.<sup>126</sup>

3/4 per cent upon the price paid to the weaver at **Vetapollam**  
17/32 per cent upon the price paid to the weaver  
at Mungalagiri

1 1/2 per cent upon the price paid to the weaver at Paddavah  
5 1/8 per cent upon the price paid from **Brahmin** careedars at  
Buttiprole.

3/4 per cent upon the price paid **from** Brahmin careedars at  
Buttiprole.

1/2 per cent upon the price paid from Weavers careedars at  
Buttiprole.



The fact that there was little rearrangement in the organization of production in the **Masulipatnam** region could be attributed to several factors. One was the virtual absence of powerful elements within the weaving communities of the region, whose powers needed to be curbed through reorganization. The clustering of the weaving villages also facilitated the transaction of the Company without any changes in jurisdictional arrangements. Then again the Company did not see the need for reorganization perhaps because the production process was not apparently affected adversely by oppression and exploitation of weavers by dominant groups like Zamindars and merchants.

What is evident, however, that despite its determined efforts the Company could never entirely eliminate the intermediary from **the..weaving** world. In the end when the Company retreated from the textile economy in 1830, these intermediary leaders retained their position though in a truncated form.

The Company's search for the perfect mechanism for controlling the production of cloth in its territory necessarily went beyond the Copdars, and sought to embrace other elements involved in the textile economy like, for instance, the washermen.

## WASHERMEN AND WEAVING WORLD

The fabric produced by the weavers had to pass through a number of additional processes like washing, and beating, before the cloth was ready for final packing and shipment. Thus, in the Northern Coromandel region the washerman called Chakali in Telugu became an essential element in the fulfilment of the investment of the various companies.<sup>127</sup>

In the early period of its commercial operations in the region, the Company tried to give the responsibility of getting the fabrics washed to the intermediary merchants by compelling them to pay for and arrange for the washing and chanking of cloth. Thus, in the 1787 investment proposals, a condition to pay for the washing and embaling of the Company's cloth was also attached. Most of the merchants or contractors who came forward to undertake contract consented to pay for the washing and embaling.<sup>128</sup>

The necessity of washing the finished fabric and the recognition of this by the washermen, created a situation of conflict and tension between the Company and the washermen. The attempts of the Company to regulate the functioning of the washermen precipitated an uneasy situation because washermen were apparently reluctant to give up their economic independence.

The Company sought to counteract this reluctance by various means. One method was to ensure that the washing was done under

supervision within the factories. Vast areas were, therefore, allocated inside the factories for this purpose. These special areas, provided with wells and tanks and free of buildings, were known as washing greens. Payments to the washermen were fixed, and the washing was closely supervised.

The system of supervision required a hierarchy of agents, mostly from the community of washermen, to be present in the administrative structure of the factory called 'native establishment'. In the Visakhapatnam Factory, for instance, the supervision of washing was entrusted to three persons, namely, the Head washing Kanakapillai and two assistant kanakapillais, who were kept in-charge at each of the two washing greens called Pettah green and Waltair green with fixed monthly salaries.<sup>130</sup>

This system created its own problems, as it meant that the washermen had to come to the factory, and this they were not always willing to do. There were several reasons for this reluctance. One was that many washermen were also involved in agriculture, and going to the factory meant a disruption of their cultivating activities, and consequently in their ability to maintain the usual revenue payments. Secondly, some washermen resisted being employed at the factories, as they had not taken such an employment earlier. Thirdly, in some villages there were only one or two washermen, and this meant that they could not move into the Company's service, as their services were required in their own villages and some times even in the adjoining villages.<sup>131</sup>

As the Company's investment depended on the crucial services the washermen performed, it attempted to overcome the problem of the recalcitrant washerman through coercion as well as persuasion. One method it employed was to send their factory peons to the nearby villages, and fetch the required number of washermen to be employed at the factory. Or, sometimes, it asked revenue officials to secure the services of the washermen under their jurisdiction. Other times, it sent the factory Headmen, called Maistries, and peons into the villages so as to force the most experienced and best service oriented washermen for the Company's work at the factories.<sup>133</sup>

The new colonial state was thus trying to combine its authority with an effective utilisation of caste ties. The maistri, given a Dustuck to fetch the washermen for the Company's service, proceeded, therefore, to the villages not only as a wielder of the Company's power but also as a caste head who could exercise his own authority on the washermen. Such coercion and social power were used, for example, in the case of two washermen Narsegah and Nagaishaga of Rauepaud and Maddepollam village who happened to be sent to the Maddepollam factory in 1795.

The washermen, however, responded to such coercion by absconding from their villages. This was a practice, which the washermen, like peasants or weavers, often resorted to in response to a crisis or coercion.

For instance, in April 1802 washermen from **Matsavaram** village absconded to a village in the first division because of a dispute between them and the village Barber relative to the duties expected from them as village servants. These absconded washermen also used their caste kinship networks in order to prevail upon the washermen in the nearby villages not to wash for the people of Matsavaram village.

The washermen began to employ similar tactics against the Company. Interestingly, C.A.Bayly describes a similar phenomenon at work in Northern India:<sup>136</sup>

Europeans came up against a similar problem in procuring labour for personal service of public works.... If the Europeans tried to force a supply of labour through the good offices of the Headman or police, the whole system might collapse, with the labourer disappearing to another part of the city the only way for the European to ensure supplies of labour was to create their own patterns of clientage.

The Company did try in the Northern Coromandel to create such a system of clientage, by the grant of remissions and privileges even to the washermen. One early suggestion was to give additional pay to them, as they were an essential service group at the factory.<sup>137</sup> They were also granted the enjoyment of common privileges like collecting the dried dung in the neighbouring villages, and the Company issued orders indicating that those washermen employed in the Company's investment at the **Maddepollem** factory should not be denied from this common **privilege**. In 1824 the Commercial Resident at Ingeram further requested an exemption in favour of the factory washermen from

the tax that was to be levied on that class of labourers.<sup>139</sup> **Other** means of placating the washermen were also tried. For example, when in 1794, unemployed washermen caused some trouble in the Visakhapatnam district, a huge quantity of cloth was moved into the Visakhapatnam district for washing purposes to pacify them.<sup>140</sup> An order was issued to the dissident washermen to return and to complete the business in which they had already employed in, "at the time their assistance was required for the English Company provided they have not deserved from their service as consequently indebted to them".<sup>141</sup>

A change in the structural arrangement of the weaving villages, however, necessitated the transformation of relations between the Company and the washermen of the region too. While the copdar was in charge of providing the final fabric, the Company in turn undertook the responsibility of various operations like washing, beetling within the factory area. Payment to washermen was usually at piece rate, and the price to be paid for washing was at first dictated by the Board of Trade in Madras. For instance, for the investment of 1828, the Board of Trade fixed the price to be paid for washing at the rate of 7 Madras rupees and 8 annas per bale in case of Ingeram and Maddepollam factories, and at 8 rupees 4 annas per bale in Visakhapatnam **factory**.

Throughout the period of its operations in the textile economy of the region, the Company thus, had to contend with the problem of washermen, without whose participation the cloth could not to reach the destined markets.

## **Legal Measures and Commercial Control:**

The colonial attempts to penetrate more deeply into the textile economy, and thereby to strengthen its hold over the weaving world of the region, also included the construction of juridical structures and legal provision. These legal provisions in turn enabled the Company to reorganize the administrative and intermediary structural arrangements of the weaving world, and also to control the private traders operating in the region. To understand the ways in which the East India Company deployed its legal machinery to control the textile economy, it is necessary to examine, briefly, the nature of the judicial system it constructed in the region.

In the pre-colonial period, there were indigenous Courts at Rajahmundry and Eluru, where Khazis administered justice according to Islamic law. The Foujdars were held responsible for dealing with cases relating to capital punishments, and those of considerable property. The 'Kotwal', who was the Superintendent of police duties at each place, and 'Nurkee' regulating the prices of various provisions, were other important officials in the judicial machinery. For a few decades following the acquisition of political hegemony over the region, no attempt was made to create a new judicial system; while simple and trifling disputes were settled by Karanams and head inhabitants, those of great consequence were referred either to the Renters or the Chief and Council at Masulipatnam. By the turn of the eighteenth century, there existed only the civil court at

Masulipatnam, and no procedures were evolved for dealing with criminal cases. While the replacement Chief and Council of Masulipatnam were replaced by collectors in 1794, a Regular judicial Administration was introduced in 1802 into the Madras Presidency, with the Provincial Court at Masulipatnam as the final authority.

It was in this judicial framework that the East India Company began to implement a new rule of law to increase its control over the weavers. The colonial government conceived the idea of providing some legal framework within which the fundamental status of the weavers, Commercial Residents, and other agents associated with the Company's investment were defined clearly. In 1795, the Court of Directors recommended the idea of extending the Bengal Regulations even to the conduct of its commercial concerns on the coast. These provisions essentially sought to provide contract arrangements for procurement, to define weavers' relations with other traders, and to ensure a proper implementation of agreed contracts of the weavers, and to guard weavers from the prejudicial interests of the Company officials, and agents responsible for the Company's investment.

The regulations relating to the weavers were intended to bring weavers into the fold of Company's hegemony directly, and the conditions specified in each of these regulations suggested that the weaver entered into a strict obligatory relationship with the Company. Weavers, once having agreed to work for the



Company's **investment**, could not change their place of residence, nor sign new agreements and receive advances from other private traders, until the completion of the contract. Even the agreements and settlement of necessary agreements were to be settled by the Company's commercial officer like Commercial Resident or his assistant. All the details of the contract like the quantity of cloth to be provided, price of cloth, advances received on account of their agreements were required to be recorded on paper binding the Resident on the part of the Company, and the weaver had to reciprocate this by submitting the Muchalika to the Commercial Resident.<sup>146</sup> The status of the weavers as Company weavers was formalized under article 9 of the proposed regulation, whereby they were registered at the factory, and lists of weavers employed by the Company were to be fixed up in the Cutcherry of the Collector, and updating of the list weekly or monthly was made compulsory. Moreover, the Commercial Resident had to submit a copy of it once in three months to the judge of the Zillah.<sup>47</sup> The intention was to enable the other **merchants**, and revenue as well as judicial officials to distinguish between the Company's weavers and others.

The regulation also laid down penalty clauses in case of non fulfillment of the agreed contract, and for offenses committed in violation of article IV of the 1806 regulation, the weavers were liable to be presented in the court of the Adawlut. No weaver prosecuted could work for Private or Bazar sales until they completed their engagement on account of the Company's **investment**.

The penalty for weavers if they disposed the Company's cloths to individuals, when they were deficient in their deliveries to the Company, was to prosecute them in the Court of Adawlut, and if convicted, they were to refund to the Company the full amount they received from the sale of these goods at the bazar value" which shall exceed the ordinary prime cost of thread in them, in addition to the cost of the suit [article 6 of 1806 regulation". Moreover in case of delay in providing cloth at the stipulated periods, the Commercial Resident was empowered to place peons over him [article 5 of 1806]. The colonial legal control over the weaving activity appeared to be absolute, as it left no ground for weavers to work for others. Of particular relevance was the case of weavers employing more than one workman and owning more than one loom. To the Company they had to pay a penalty of 35 per cent of the stipulated price of every piece of cloth, in addition to the advance they received, when they failed to provide cloth as per their agreement.<sup>148</sup>

The next step was to place restrictions on relationships that were there between weavers and dominant groups of the locality like the Zamindars, local administrative personnel like Talukdars, and other less powerful landed elites like farmers and ryots. Many a time the weaver had declined the Company's advances, and acted contrary to the expectations of the Company owing to the influence exercised by these groups over him.<sup>149</sup> Some times these people denied a free access to commercial residents to deal with the weaver. Section V of 1806 regulation set naught to negate these local alliances by specifying that no

person was allowed to use means to prevent individuals being engaged in the Company's **employ**.

Weavers who appeared to have landed possessions, were placed on par with the ryots, and were subjected to those regulations as that of **farmers** and other ryots. However, it had created space for a few exceptions that would in turn prevent unnecessary interruption to its investment. By Article 2, section VII of 1806 regulation, weavers or any other person connected with the provision of the Company's investment 'should not be summoned by any native like proprietor, farmer of land or any other body dealing with the collection of rents from lands. In case of **nonfulfilment** of land revenue obligations, either the right to sue the weaver in the Court of Adawlut or to state his claims in written form to the Commercial Resident was provided. This was intended for smoothing the way for clearing off the weaver's balances against the land revenue collectors or managers, and such an indulgence included even the withholding the amount by **kishtnabundy** from his future advances. But under no circumstance, could the Zamindars, farmers or ryots and other persons seize weavers cloth, thread or advance, that were essentially the Company's property.<sup>151</sup>

While the Company intended to place the weaver and his production under grip of legal provisions, it also promised at the **same** time to provide regular judicial procedural formats to weavers, with the assistance of which they could obtain justice against any offensive practice like forcing unjust exactions on

him and collecting batta charges. Various articles of judicial regulations provided various ways through which the weaver could obtain justice from regular Courts of Justice, in case of any grievance which they had against the Commercial Resident, Gamastahs or any other person connected with Company's investment operations. If a weaver had a complaint against native agents, the weaver at first was required to approach the Commercial Resident. But if the complaint was intended against the acts of commercial servants, then the weaver was allowed to take up the issue to the collector of direct, earlier to the establishment of regular Courts, when the collector found Commercial Resident or contractor tried to suppress the truth, or if the answers provided by them were not convincing enough, then the collector was empowered to take the case up to the Governor-in-Council. The only occasion during which the weaver could approach the Presidency Government was when the weaver was not satisfied with the proceedings followed up by the collector, and for this the weavers could have a delegation of not more than ten of their members.<sup>153</sup> After the establishment of judicial machinery, article of the weaver was given a chance to seek the assistance of hierarchy of judicial machinery, only when he failed to obtain an assurance from the Commercial Resident. In such a situation he could get redressal of his grievance by special orders from the Board of Trade or the Governor-in-council.<sup>154</sup>

Regulating the activities of private traders through legal provisions was yet another important arrangement through

which the **Company** wanted to achieve total control over the production and marketing of Company's assortments. The various clauses of the regulations therefore, sought to specify that no weaver indebted to the Company, or in the service of Company was allowed to give away Company's cloth to any alternative trader whether European or native.<sup>155</sup> They could take up neither new contracts nor weave bazar cloths. In case of illegal, understanding methods of private trading the weaves were liable to be prosecuted in the Court of **Audwalut**, and if the charge was proved, the Company could forfeit totally the cloth sold, in addition to all costs and penalties<sup>156</sup>. However, the **same** regulation laid down conditions for procurement of weaver's service, by private traders, provided the weavers had fulfilled their agreed contracts with the Company. Weavers, indebted to the Company or in contract with Company's investment, were not allowed to cut off their contract with the Company. But those weavers not under the Company's service were free to employ the looms to any person. But soon the commercial official at Masulipatnam factory apprehended that the presence of competitors in the market would be detrimental to the policy of maximizing **procurement**, when the weaver was provided a choice. Usually, the weaver, instead of being limited to the Company's service, rather preferred to join in private trading activities, where the conditions of work were less rigid and formalized. In an effort to secure the **weavers'** service entirely to the Company, the Commercial Resident proposed to invite all registered weavers from the villages, through the order of Commercial Resident and the Resident, to attend the merchant or the contractor, who got

the power to employ the number required. And the remaining weavers were also required to fulfill the contract, when necessity arose. Moreover, to avoid any alliance with the private traders, the joint responsibility of weavers of a village was also restricted.<sup>157</sup> On private traders also, a few restrictions were imposed, obliging the private buyers to be responsible for all illegal sales, and were subjected to conviction in the judicial court. Section IV of the Regular of 1806 ordered that the Company, nevertheless, permitted those private sales that were made fairly and openly in the public markets and Bazaars, provided those cloths had no Company's mark affixed on them. These private transactions on goods of Company's assortments, was strongly controlled, it also provided some clauses on cases dealing with transaction between traders and weaver's cognizable in the Court of Adawlut, the judges of which have to decide according to the tenor of the engagements between the concerned parties. In case the weaver entered into contracts with more than one private agent, then the weaver had to fulfil his contract with the previous contractor and after others<sup>159</sup>. Awards in cases brought by the merchants were to be given only if the weaver was not in the Company's employment. And decisions in favour of private traders against weavers previously in the employ of the Company were to be made with a saving of their clauses which have to be satisfied provided they are proved.<sup>160</sup>

Regulation XII of 1806, provided a space for the control of Gumastahs, and all native servants at the native establishment of

the factories. For offenses committed by them, like giving away Company's cloth to other individuals, obtaining extra sums from weavers out of the advances granted to them, manipulating accounts by maintaining false balances - the **Gumastahs** were liable to be convicted in the court of Adawlut. If the cases were proved, the **Gumastah** had to pay double the value of the forfeited amount or the money which they had embezzled, alienated or exacted, and the punishment also included imprisonment extending upto a year. Further, they were liable to be removed, if the Board of Trade recommended the same to the Governor-in-Council.<sup>161</sup>

Through the legal provisions, the colonial authority tried to define the relationship of Commercial Resident and their native officers with the weavers. Under article XII of the regulations for 1806, the Commercial Resident became liable to prosecution in the Court of Adwalut, if they had not paid a proper price to the weavers as settled in contract, and failed to settle the accounts fairly, or where he collected unjust exactions from the weavers, etc. The Resident and his officers had to defend suit instituted against them at their own risk, and further residents could also take upon themselves the defense of suits instituted against officers various clauses of regulations providing details as to how the process issued against residents had to be served.<sup>162</sup> The pressure of competitive trade had increased the involvement of Commercial Resident and their deputies and other assistants in the private trading activities, thus deterring the Company's weavers for such private purposes.

The Company, therefore, had attempted to contain the evil by prohibiting these officials to engage the Company's weavers for their private trading purposes either directly or indirectly.

This detailed account of the regulations created in the beginning of the nineteenth century has been given to underline the manner in which the Company was, through the erection of new juridical structures and the creation of a new jurisprudence, trying to control the production process. The Company state was thus, seeking to strengthen its hold over the economy through the implementation of the new law.

This detailed account of the regulations created in the beginning of the nineteenth century has been given to underline the manner in which the company was, through the erection of new juridical structures and the creation of a new jurisprudence, trying to control the production process. The company state was thus, seeking to strengthen its hold over the economy through the implementation of the new law. The Company's structural, organizational and legal rearrangements created a space within the wider administrative structures, which enabled it to control the production of textiles.

Interestingly, these rearrangements were essentially confined to the Northern districts of Visakhapatnam and Godavari. There were perhaps three major reasons for this. One was that the weavers in the Southern districts of Masulipatnam and Guntur were not as agitated and restive as those in the Northern



districts. Then two, there were no well entrenched intermediaries in the Southern districts who need to be displaced. Thirdly, the Company's investment began to be focussed more sharply into the Northern districts, thus requiring greater control.

These various structural alterations in the Northern districts proceeded, however, on one premise, that dividend would lie in strengthening the caste nexus. Whether in revising the Copdari system or integrating the washerman into the production system, the Company relied on the potent power of the caste.

An equally important prop on which the Company's production system rested was the new judicial system it constructed in the region.

The Company's intervention with the Coromandel weaver which lasted for over half a century was thus responsible for many changes in the relations of production among the weavers. But in the end, it would seem, the various traditional elites emerged triumphant, retaining, although in a truncated form, many of their customary powers .

There were, however, other traditional elites which were not so resilient, and which almost totally **succumbed** to the hegemonic **power** of the Company. Most notable among them were the textile merchants of Northern Coromandel.

## Notes

1. Vijaya Rama Swamy, Textile and Weavers, pp.14-16; From the evidence given in Bhadriraju Krishnamurti and Poranki Dakshinamurti ed., Mandalika vrittupadakosamu Cheneta Padalu. p.381, it appears that the senapatulu mainly located in East-Godavari, primarily in Korukonda, Peddapuram and Uppada villages and in a few villages of the Visakhapatnam district. Moreover, the editors apprehended that the senapatis may belong to Padma sale community.
2. C.P. Brown, Dictionary Telugu English, pp.294 & 296.
3. This conclusion is drawn from detailed evidence available in the records of the period.
4. V. Corbrett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam to Board of Trade, 14 October 1803, GDR 832, pp.412-40. Joseph Brenig, 'Textile producers' (1986) pp.333-56, footnote 48, also refers to this. But Brenig mistakenly places the careedar in the Godavari District, perhaps because the reference cited, although originating in Masulipatnam, was bound into the Godavari District Records.
5. Committee to Lord Pigot, President and Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 26 December, 1775, PDC 115 A, pp.1-7; Same as Perring, Alex Davidson, John Holland, Committee Members, Nelapalli, to Lord Pigot, Present and Governor in Council 26 December 1775, PDS 23, pp.47-54.
6. Ibid.
7. Proceedings Relative to Enquiry into Conduct of Sadlier, while Resident at Ingeram 1775-76, 28 November 1775 to 30 March 76, PDS 24 A, p.70.
8. The names of these Mootahs are taken from the list of weavers chosen by weavers assembled at Nelapalli to represent their greivances to the Enquiry Committee in December 1771 for details see Appendix 3:1
9. Committee to Lord Pigot, President and Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 26 December 1775, PDC 115 A, pp.1-7.
10. Testimony given by the Head weavers of **Peddapatnam**, Amalapuram, Hassanally Badah, **Arrivatam**, Dungairoo, **Rustumbadah**, in Proceedings Relative to Enqiry into the conduct of Sadlier, while Resident at Ingeram 28 November 1775 to 30 March 1776 PDS 24 A, pp.12-115.
11. Testimony given by Appagunta Veerasha, Head weaver of Peddapatnam to Enquiry Committee, Ibid., pp.12-15; Merchants testify that they could not buy superfine cloth without Sadlier's permission, see for instance Testimony given by **Gummady Ramaiah**, a merchant of **Samalkota** and others Ibid.,

**pp.21-26;** Testimony given by weavers from different villages demonstrate that weavers working for the French and the Dutch earlier were now being forced to work only for the English under the new arrangement introduced by Sadlier. See for details Proceedings Enquiry into conduct of Sadlier, while Resident at Ingeram, 10 February 1776 to 31 March 1776, PDS 25.

12. For details on the issue of low price paid by Sadlier on rejected cloth see the questions put by Messers. Hamilton and Yeats to all **Gumastahs**, Head weavers and Common weavers of all Mootahs, Proceedings Enquiry into conduct of Sadlier, while Resident at Ingeram, 28 November 1776 to 30 March 1776, PDS 24 A, **pp.111-115.**
13. Anthony Sadlier Commercial Resident Ingeram to George **Stratham**, Chief and Council **Viziapatnam** 10 November 1775, PDC 113 A, **p.35;** For further correspondence on this see, Anthony Sadlier to George Stratham, Chief and Council Vizagapatnam 23 July 1774, PDC 113 A, **pp.30-33;** Anthony Sadlier to George Stratham, Chief and Council Vizagapatnam 23 July 1774, PDC 113 A, **pp.33-34.**
14. George Stratham Chief and Council Vizagapatnam to Anthony Sadlier, Ingeram, 8 January 1775, PDC 113 A, **pp.111-112.**
15. Anthony Sadlier to Stratham and Others, 11 January 1775, PDC 113 A, **pp.115-116** and also **pp.165-168.**
16. Jogee Rauze to George Stratham 26 December 1774, PDC 113 A, **pp.120-121;** For names of merchants trading at Tuni see Translation of a Gentoo Paper sent by Anthony Sadlier to the Chief and Council Vizagapatnam 11 January 1775, PDC 113 A, **pp.169-171;** The weavers merchants and European traders sternly opposed the new system and testify the same the Enquiry Committee. Proceedings Enquiry into conduct of Sadlier, while Resident at Ingeram, 28 November 1775 to 30 March 1776 PDS 24 A and 24 B, **pp.111-115.** Proceedings Enquiry into conduct of Sadlier while Resident at Ingeram, 10 February 1776 to 31 March 1776, PDS 25.
17. Fort St.George Letter 11 August 1776, PDC 115 B, **pp.403-405;** Alex Davidson Ingeram to George Stratham, Madras 11 September 1776, PDC 116 A, **pp.512-516.**
18. Extracts of the Letter from Stratham to the President and Council 8 June 1773, enclosure to Committee's report to Lord Pigot, President and Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 26 December 1775, PDC 115 A, **p.8.**
19. Memorandum of a proposition made by Basil Cochrane to Dick Resident, **Maddepollam**, 13 February 1788, MDR 2839, **pp.17-18**
20. Ibid.

21. R. Fullerton, Deputy Resident to James Taylor act Secretary to the Committee of Reforms, 14 March 1799, GDR 831, pp.41-42.
22. Ibid., p.45.
23. Ibid., p.45.
24. Ibid., p.45.
25. General Letter to England in Commercial Department by ship Charlton dated 14 April 1800, CDDTE 3, pp.239-261.
26. R. Fullerton, Deputy Resident to James Taylor, act. Secretary to the Committee of Reform, 14 March 1799, GDR 831, pp.45.
27. Ibid., p.46.
28. Ibid., pp.43-49.
29. Ibid., p.43-49.
30. C.A. Bayly, Rulers. Townsmen and Bazzars, p.6.
31. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February. 1802, GDR 940/B, pp. 239-246.
32. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February 1802, GDR 940/B, pp.239-246.
33. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February 1802, GDR 940/B, pp. 239-246.
34. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February 802, GDR 940/B, pp.239-246.
35. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February 1802, GDR 940/B, pp.239-246.
36. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February 1802, GDR 940/B, pp.239-246.
37. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February 1802, GDR 940/B, pp.239-246.
38. R. Fullerton, acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector 3rd Division of the Masulipatnam District, 17 February 1802, GDR 940/B, pp. 239-246.

39. For particulars on the principles of Copdari system introduced at Vizagapatnam factory area, see a letter circa 1810 from Masulipatnam to Fort St.George found in an unclassified volume General No.22759. S.No.225, Rack 7, Pre-Mutiny Records section, Tamil Nadu State Archives, pp.61-68. Each sheet has four sides a,b,c, and d.
40. See enclosure to letter from J. Smith, Collector, Visakhapatnam, to Board of Revenue, dated 22 March 1819, VDR 3757, pp.130-33.
41. Statement showing the Gross revenue collections from the company's territories in 1786/87 provides a complete list of Zamindari and Haveli lands comprising the four districts of Northern Coramandel 'Revenue statement of collection and charges of several districts' PBR (Miscellaneous) 246, pp.39-43.
42. M. Lewin Collector, to Board of Revenue, 24 September 1835, GDR 4648, pp.190-194.
43. M. Lewin Collector, Rajahmundry to Board of Revenue, 27 November 1835, GDR 4648, pp.277-281.
44. For a brief note on Land Revenue Systems of 1803 in Visakhapatnam district see D.F.Carmichael, VDM,
45. Minute of Fullerton dated 20 February 1818, CDC 13, pp.586-609.
46. See enclsoure to Letter from J.Smith, Collector, Visakhapatnam, to Board of Revenue, 22 March 1819. VDR 3757, pp.130-133.
47. Extract of Letter from the Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, 22 March 1793, PBR 2798, p.525.
48. Minute of Fullerton dated 20 February 1818, CDC 13, pp.356-609.
49. See a Letter circa 1810 from Masulipatnam to Fort St.George found in an unclassified volume general No.22759, S.No.228, Rack 7, Pre-mutiny Records section, Tamilnadu State Archives, Madras, pp.61 to 68, each page containing 4 sheets. For description on the arrangement of superfine variety of cloth. See especially pp.66 sheet d to 68 sheet a, paras 477 to 484.
50. Ibid., pp. 66 sheets d to 66 sheet c, paras 475 to 481.
51. Ibid., pp.66/c.
52. Ibid.

53. Minute of R. Fullterton, on the result of the investigation of the commission appointed to enquire into the complaints of the weavers at Vizagapatnam, 20 February, 1818, CDC 13, pp.586-609.
54. Ibid., pp.595-598.
55. Ibid.,
56. Ibid.,
57. Ibid.,
58. Ibid.,
59. Ibid.,
60. Ibid.,
61. Minute of Fullterton dated 20 February 1818, CDC 13, pp.586-609.
62. See a letter circa 1810 from Masulipatnam to Fort St.George found in an unclassified volume general No.22759, S.No.228, Rack 7, Pre-Meeting Records section, Tamilnadu State Archives, esp. 64 a to 66 d.
63. Minute of Fullterton dated 20 February 1818, CDC 13, pp.598-601.
64. Ibid.,
65. For details see W.A. Fraser, Deputy Commercial Resident, Ingeram to Hugh Elliot, Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 17 July 1818, CDC 13, 291-331, esp. 295-99.
66. Ibid., p.297; Also the testimony given by six weavers of Goorampalam Mocaum to pp.374-395.
67. Ibid., Testimony given by Six weavers of Goorampallam Mocaum, pp.374-395.
68. Ibid., Testimony given by six weavers of Nukkapalli Mocaum,
69. Ibid., Testimony given by six weavers of Goorampallam Mocaum, pp.374-395.
70. Ibid., Testimony given by six weavers of Nukkapalli Mocaum,
71. Ibid., Testimony given by Six weavers of Goorampallam Mocaum, pp.374-395.
72. I.T. Lane incharge sec.to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 11 September 1818, CDC 15, pp.1732-1766, esp. 1735,37.

73. Ibid., p.1737.
74. All these oppressive practices of Bania Copdars ultimately caused a decline in supply of company's goods.
75. W.A. Fraser, Deputy Commercial Resident, Ingeram to Hugh Elliot Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 17 July 1818, CDC 13, pp.291-331, esp. 298.
76. I.T. Lane incharge sec.to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 11 September 1818, CDC 15, pp.1732-1766, esp. 1735,37.
77. W.A. Fraser, Deputy Commercial Resident, Ingeram to Hugh Elliot Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 17 July 1818, CDC 13, pp.291-331, esp. 297.
78. Ibid., Testimony given by Six weavers of Goorampallam Mocaum, pp.374-395.
79. Ibid., Testimony given by Six weavers of Dimili Mocaum.
80. Ibid., Testimony given by Six weavers of Goorampallam Mocaum, pp.374-395.
81. Ibid., Testimony given by Six weavers of Nukkapali Mocaum.
82. Petition of weavers addressed to George Strachy, Chief Secretary to Government, 19 March 1817, CDC10, pp.1249-56.
83. Petition of the Company's Punjum cloth weavers in the Division of Vizagapatnam District addressed to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 2 February 1817, CDC 10, pp.1273-77.
84. Minute of Fullerton on the result of the investigation of the Commission appointed to Enquire into the complaints of weavers at Visakhapatnam, CDC 13, pp.586-609.
85. Petition of the weavers Agents to the Body of Company's Pujum cloth weavers Division of Vizagapatnam District addressed to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 11 March 1817, CDS 10, pp.1277-1285.
86. Petition of weavers addressed to George Strachy, Chief Secretary to Government, 11 March 1817, CDC 10, pp.1249-56.
87. Petition of the weavers agents to the Body of Company's punjum cloth weavers addressed to Robert Fullterton, Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 29 November 1816, CDC 10, pp.1257-1264, esp.1259.
88. I.T. Lane, to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 11 September 1818, CDC 15, pp.1732-1766.
89. Ibid., pp.1736-1740.

90. Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Trade ,18 September 1818, CDC 15, pp.1753-1766, esp.1759.
91. I.T. Lane to Board of Trade, Fort St. George, 11 September 1818, CDC 15, esp.1740, 41.
92. Ibid., p.1744.
93. Ibid., p.1745.
94. Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Trade ,18 September 1818, CDC 15, p.1754.
95. Ibid., p.1760.
96. I.T. Lane to Board of Trade, Fort St.George 11 September 1818, CDC 15, esp.1745-47.
79. Ibid.
98. Extract from the proceedings of the Board of Trade, 18 September 1818, CDC 15,p.1761.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., p.1763.
101. Ibid., p.1763,64.
- 102 This information was arrived from the details given in Translation of copies of arzees sent by the Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam CDC 20, pp.1899-1911. 12 Arzees were enclosed.
103. Arzee No.1 From Robey Sail Acting Copedar of G dated 23 August 1819, sent to the Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, CDC 20, 1899-1900.
104. Ibid., 1900.
105. For details see Translation of copies of Arzees sent by the Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, CDC 20, pp.1899-1911.
106. T. Daniel Secretary Board of Trade to the Chief Secretary to Government, 24 November 1820, CDC 26, p.203.
107. W. Brown Resident Visakhapatnam to T. Daniel, Secretary, Board of Trade 7 November 1820, CDC 26, pp.207-209; Coputty Seetiah, Gumastah of Neerlamarlah to William Brown, Commercial Resident, 3 November 1820, CDC 26, pp.202-204.
108. W. Brown Resident Visakhapatnam to the Commanding Officer of the Troops, in the Visakhapatnam District, 9 October, 1820, CDC 26, p.209.



109. W. Brown Resident Visakhapatnam to the Collector Visakhapatnam, 7 November, 1820, pp.207-208.
110. Brown to Board of Trade, 25 June 1820, GDR 832, pp.203-32, in Guide to District Records. Godavari District, 1, p.33. Under the revised system, one Mocaum was equated with 250 looms.
111. W. Brown, Resident Visakhapatnam to T. Daniel Board of Trade, 6 July 1820, GDR 832, pp.156-160; in Guide to District Records, Godavari district 1. p.32.
112. W. Brown to T. Daniel Board of Trade, 25 June 1820, GDR 830, pp.203-32, in Guide to District Reocrds, Godavari District Vol.1, p.33.
113. W. Brown to T. Daniel Board of Trade, 25 June 1820, GDR 830, pp.203-32, in Guide to District Reocrds, Godavari District 1, p.33.
114. W. Brown to T. Daniel Board of Trade, 25 June 1820, GDR 830, pp.203-32, in Guide to District Reocrds, Godavari District 1, p.33.
115. Brown to Board of Trade, 6 July 1820, GDR 832, pp.156-60, in Guide to District Record. Godavari District. 1, p.33.
116. Brown to Board of Trade, 25 June 1820, GDR 832, pp.203-32, in Guide to District Records. Godavari District 1, p.34.
117. H. Taylor, Commercial Resident, Visakhapatnam to Commercial Superintendent, Madras, 29 April 1828, CDC 51.
118. Brown to Board of Trade, 30 September 1820, GDR 830, pp.2238, in Guide to District Records Godavari district, .1, p.35.
119. A Crawly Collector, Rajahmundry to Deputy Ware House Keeper, Madras 23 Feburary 1832, CDC 61, pp.113-115; Arthur Maclean Secretary's Letter August 1836, CDC 61, pp.118 A, 118 B - For details See Appendix No. ; For further correspondence on this see T. Daniel Secretary to Chief Secretary to Government 14 July 1821, CDC 28, pp. ; I Gwatkin to the Chief Secretary Government 23 May 1825, CDC 40, pp.397-402; H. Taylor, Commercial Resident Visakhapatnam to the Commercial Superintendent Madras 29 April 1828, CDC 51, pp.497-513;
120. See Appendix 2:1
121. A Crawley collected Rajahmundry to the CR, Madras, 12 July, 1831, GDR 4644, pp 119 - 21

122. Ibid, see the statement on the mode of Arrangement proposed by some of the Copdars of the Late Ingerm Factory for the liquidiation of the Company's balances against them.
123. Ibid.,
124. Vincentio Corbrett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam to BOR, 14 October 1803, GDR 832, pp 412 - 426.
125. Ibid.,
- 126 Ibid.,
127. The Telugu name for washerman is Chakali or Rajakulu. In Visakhapatnam district there were two groups of washermen called Chapu Kakali and Vadde Kakali. While the latter group essentially performs the role of a palanquin bearer, that of the former under took their traditional work, that is washing cloths.
128. Cochranes observation to Yeates Question No.4, Letter from Mathew Yerates, Resident at Ingeram to BOT, 7 April 1788, pp.178-180 and its enclosures.
129. Advertisement Notices for selling away by Public auction all property relating to the Factories like Ingeram and Maddepollam, includes the washing Greens and washing Stones, besides the Estate Property. See for details The Advertisements given by I.H.Bell, Head Assistant Collector in Charge, Rajahmundry, 5 April 1837 in A. Maclean to he Chief Secretary to Government, Madras, 12 April 1837, CDC 62, pp.36-46 129.
130. List of Servants Proposed to be Employed in the Commercial Department of Vizagapatnam for the Year 1828/29
131. Letter addressed to John Rowley, Resident of Ingeram and Maddepollam factories, 1 August 1795, GDR 841, pp.226-228 also; Letter addressed to Edward Saunders, BOR, 23 November 1795, GDR 841, pp.383-414.
132. Letter addressed to Mungo Dick. Inyeram, 27 July 1795, GDR 843, p.218-219; Letter addressed to Edward Saunders, BOR, 23 November 1795, GDR 841, pp.383-414.
133. Letter to Murgo Dick, Ingeram, 27 July 1795, GDR 843, pp.217-219; Letter addressed to Edward Saunders, BOR, 23 November 1795, GRD 841, pp.353-414.
134. Letter to John Rowley, Resident of Ingeram and Maddepollam, 1 August 1795, GRD 841, pp.226-29.
135. Samuel Skinner, Collector 2nd Division to Acting Commercial Resident, Ingeram, 4 May 1802, GDR 848 pp.200-204.
136. C.A Bayly, Rulers Townesmen and Bazaars. Ch.6, p.256

137. Letter to Edward Saunders, BOR 23 November 1795, GDR 841, **pp.383-414.**
138. Letter of John Rowley, Resident of Ingeram and Maddepollam, 26 July GRD 841, **pp.215-217**; Letter to John Rowley, Resident of Ingeram and Maddepollam, 13 July 1795, GRD 841, **pp.175-176**; Letter to Mungo Dick, Ingeram 27 July 1795, GDR 843, **pp.218-219.**
139. I. Gwatken, Secretary Board of Trade, to Chief Secretary to Government, 29 November 1824, CDC 38, **pp.1138-1140.**
140. John Rowley, Ingeram to William Fullofield, Board of Trade, 8 July 1794, GDR 831, **p.146.**
141. John Rowley to Mr. Boucher, 8 July 1794, GDR 831, **p.145.**
142. See for **details**, 'Statement showing the difference between the Courts Indent and the Estimate of the General Factory at Ingeram of the Coast Investment of 1824-25', in **F.A.Savage** Commercial Resident to BOT, 16 September 1825, CDC 38, **pp.150 141.**
143. F.R. Hemingway, GGD, **pp.188-195.**
144. For Board's views respecting the weavers, their situation, and the necessity of some regulations for them see Fort St. George 2nd September 1799, Miscellaneous Records Vol.190 [Board's Proceedings on the introduction of the Judicial & Revenue Systems of Bengal] **pp.316 at 321 para to p.317**]. For details on proposed coast regulations where Courts of Justice were not established, see Judicial Department Consultation Vol.1, **pp.46-91 & 93.** For the Regulation of 1806 for the conduct of the Commercial Residents and Agents, and all Persons employed or concerned in the Provision of the Company's Investment, See Minute of the President dated 14 January 1806, Judicial Department Consultations Vol.14, **pp.129-164.** For a recent discussion on legal provisions adopted for placing Bengal weavers under effective company's control see Hameeda Hossain, The Company Weavers of Bengal, Ch.4, **pp.108-128.**
145. For details relating to the conditions in which weavers were engaged for the Company's Investment See Article, 1-7 in proposed coast Regulations Judicial Department Consultations Vol.1, **pp.49, 55, 57**; Commercial Regulations for weavers passed on 14 January 1806, Section II, Clauses 1-8, **pp.129-132.**
146. Article 9 of proposed Regulation, JDC, Vol.1, **p.65**; and Section III of Commercial Regulation dated 14 January 1806, JDC 14, **p.132.**

147. Article 4 of proposed Regulation JDC Vol.1, p.49 and Section II, Clauses 6-8 in Commercial Regulations for weavers passed on 14 January 1806, JDC Vol.4, pp.131-132.
148. The influence exercised by Zamindars, and local administrative officials on various facts of the weaving world are detailed in Chapters on
149. Section V of 1806 Commercial Regulation 14 January 1806, JDC 14, p.134.
150. For Regulations relating to those weavers who had land see Section VII & VIII of 1806 Commercial Regulations 14 January 1806, JDC 14, pp.135.-137.
151. See Article 11 of Proposed Regulations, JDC 1, 65, 67, 69; For details on this Clause
152. Ibid., 67, 69, 71.
153. Commercial Regulation 14 January 1806, JDC 14, pp.163-164.
154. Article 78 of Proposed Regulation JDC 1, p.57, 59, 61.
155. Section VI of 1799 Regulations, Extracts given in Vincentio Corbett, Commercial Resident Masulipatnam to Board of Trade, 14 October 1803, 832, pp.412-39.
156. For Section II of 1799 Regulations, observations of Commercial Officials on this, and the suggestion offered thereby see, Vincentio Corbett, Commercial Resident Masulipatnam to Board of Trade, 14 October 1803, GDR 832, pp.428-430. For actual procedure farms granted under the New Judicial Machinery see Commercial Regulations of 1806, JDC 14, pp.152-157.
157. Section IV of Commercial Regulation, 14 January 1806, JDC 14, pp.133-34.
158. Section X related to transactions between private and weavers, Ibid., p.149.
159. Section XI of 1806 Commercial Regulations, Ibid., p.149-150.
160. Punishments for Gomastahs acting contrary to those rules laid down in Commercial Regulation see Section XII of 1806 Commercial Regulation, Ibid., 150-151.
161. For details on these aspects of Judicial Procedures see Commercial Regulation 1806, JDC 14, pp.153-164.
162. Commercial Regulation of 1806 JDC 14, p.164.

## 6. Manufacturers, Merchants and Markets:Textile Traders in Northern Coromandel

Merchants and traders played a seminal role in the making of the modern world, contributing to the transformation of economies and societies. This was particularly true in the period in which European economic expansion was knitting the world into a modern economic system. The interaction between metropolitan economies and those of the periphery was mediated by merchants, whose responses to the changing economic configurations need to be studied, therefore,if the dynamics of colonialism are to be understood especially in the content of textile trade.

Marketing the finished fabric was an essential element in the textile economy. There were several levels at which the finished product was marketed. Apart from village fairs and santas, where the rural buyers procured their cloth, there were also retail 'shops' in the towns. But the most crucial role in the transactions was played by the textile merchant.

In the Coromandel region, there were many merchants who played a key role, traditionally acting as the financiers of the textile economy, making advances to the weavers and arranging for the distribution and marketing of the finished fabric. The arrival of the European companies, and later, the political conquest of the region by the East India Company, began to alter the status of the merchant.

To understand the weavers' world more completely, it is necessary, therefore, to examine the interactions **between** the East India Company and the merchants of the region, who constituted, as it were, the commercial dimension of the weaving world. Of these, the more visible were the merchants of Masulipatnam, where, unlike in other **areas**, the merchants were the primary intermediaries between the Company and the weaver.

### **The Chay Goods Merchants**

The European trade in textiles of the Masulipatnam district was essentially in chay goods. When the Company acquired political power over the district, a group of eight merchants were already catering to the European demand for chay goods. They were referred to as the Company's merchants or 'Black Merchants'. They were: Annum Nagesam, Narakadimelli Venkatesam, Kottagundu Ramaiah, Narakadimelli Veerasalingam, Poovvada Papaiah, Majetti Venkaiah, and Mamedidi Lingaiah. Some of these merchants belonged to families whose mercantile activity in textiles dated back to the 17th century. During the Mughal administration of the district, these merchants were acting as the superintendents of the chay goods trade for the English, Dutch and French Companies. Even after the English East India Company acquired control of the region in 1765, they continued to deal with the Dutch and the French, as well as private traders of all nationalities.<sup>3</sup>

The English East India Company's procurement of chay goods was organized through the system of **advances, which** rested on

contractual agreements between the merchants and the Company. The Company advanced money to the merchants, who were then responsible for the delivery of goods regularly according to the musters of the Company. Elsewhere, the Company gave the advances either in cash or as raw material, especially yarn for weaving, thus echoing, more closely, the so called putting out system or **verlagsystem** of Europe.<sup>5</sup> Here, in Masulipatnam, however, the Company gave only monetary advances.<sup>6</sup> These advances were not given directly to the weavers. Instead, the Company chose to use the merchants as intermediaries to operate the advance system, as it was apprehended that weavers might misappropriate the monies advanced. Merchants, on the other hand, would be able to guarantee the procurement of chay goods in return for the investment of the Company. During the period 1766 to 1786, the eight merchants undertook to deliver chay goods regularly for the money advanced to them by the Company.<sup>8</sup> The Company itself was in no way concerned with the balances in the hands of the weavers or about the mode of procuring the **goods**. In its **advertisement** of 1787, the Company clearly specified the mode of releasing the advances for the investment in chay goods, and stated, inter alia, that the whole quantity contracted for must be delivered in such **time**, as to be ready (allowing time for **sorting, washing** and packing) to be despatched to the Presidency by the 15th January next. The advertisement further declared that:<sup>10</sup>

The money advanced for the provision of this investment will be advanced by the Chief and Council at four different **periods, viz.** 2/5 thereof on the 15th August, or as soon as the contract shall be concluded, 1/5 on the 15th September,

1/5 on the 15th October, or when another fifth part of the goods shall have been delivered and the last 1/5 of the money on the 15th of November, or when the three fifths of the goods shall have been received, the remainder of the goods, as already mentioned to be delivered in such time as to be ready for being despatched to the Presidency by the 15th of January next.

The procurement of manufactures through the system of advances and the conditions attached to it in Masulipatnam, are very similar to the so called Dadni system which was widely prevalent in Bengal, Gujarat and other parts of India in the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the fact that the system operated not only in Masulipatnam but in other parts of the region, like the Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts, demonstrably refutes the argument of Sushil Chaudhuri who recently suggested that the system was alien to the Madras area.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the system was not something new which had crept into the region of Masulipatnam in the eighteenth century. Even in the seventeenth century, the Golconda English merchants were advancing money through middlemen to the local artisans of Masulipatnam. The English, in fact, were continuing a practice probably introduced to the region by the Dutch.<sup>14</sup>

The Company disliked trading through intermediaries and cut them out wherever and whenever it could, especially after acquiring political control.<sup>15</sup> In Bengal, for example, the Company successfully eliminated the merchant intermediary and began to deal directly with the weavers through gumastahs employed by the Company.<sup>16</sup> In Masulipatnam, however, the East India Company continued to follow the traditional system, even



after acquiring political control over the district in 1765. Indeed the mode of procuring chay goods was not altered till 1814, when the Masulipatnam Factory itself was abolished.<sup>17</sup>

Why did the East India Company follow the system of procurement through middlemen even two decades after acquiring political control over the district ? One reason perhaps was the fact that the spatial distribution of the weaving centres, some of which lay in the adjacent polity of the Nizam's territories, compelled the Company to employ agents or merchants for making its chay goods investment. The Guntur district, known for its chay root and thread, and also as a major area of residence for the weavers of chay goods, was under the control of the Nizam till 1788. Any attempt by the Company to deal directly with these weavers may have led to political embarrassments stemming from jurisdictional disputes.<sup>1</sup> The Company had to, therefore, continue the practice of using middlemen.

Although the Company was thus compelled to rely on the mediation of the merchants, it nevertheless attempted to bring them firmly under its control. One obstacle in the Company's march towards complete commercial suzerainty was, however, the activity of private traders.<sup>19</sup> By 1780, the rising European demand for chay goods spurred private mercantile activity in Masulipatnam to a considerable degree.

Although theoretically subject to statutory controls, these private traders were able to operate with considerable freedom.

Quite often, they bought the cloth ready-made, thus avoiding the risks of advance investment, and thus were seen by the Company as interfering interlopers. Their presence and economic operations also led to the possibility of weavers who were under contractual obligations to produce cloth for the Company being tempted instead to turn it over to these private traders who held out more lucrative prices.<sup>20</sup> The large sums being invested by the private traders obviously created the danger that even the merchants under contract to the East India Company may be enticed away. In particular, the French merchants and the French East India Company constituted especially serious threats to the desire of the English East India Company to acquire a monopsonistic position in the chay goods trade of Masulipatnam.

To ensure, therefore, that its commercial writ alone would prevail, the English East India Company sought to impose tighter controls over its merchants. They were asked, for instance, not to make fresh contracts with any other Company or private merchant, without seeking prior permission of the East India Company.

The English East India Company was thus increasingly becoming all powerful in the commercial realm. Nevertheless, the merchant communities of the district were able to take advantage of the expanding trade in chay goods.

Thus, we find a new group of eight merchants emerging to enter into contracts with the French through Manapaka Ramanah Naick, a prosperous and powerful merchant, who had been engaged

by **Moresein**, the French Agent at Pondicherry, to supply chay goods. These eight merchants were: Narakademilli Bapaiah, Narakademilli **Chellamaiah**, **Majetti Venkataramudu**, Annum Suraiah, Puvvada Reddy, **Maumedi Reddi**, Kottagundu Sevaiah, and Kottagundu **Bapaiah**. These merchants belonged, as can be seen from the family names, to the same families of traditional merchants who had already agreed to deal only with the English East India Company. The families were thus demonstrating a remarkable adaptability to the new conditions of trade. While the head of the family remained a contractor solely of the English East India Company, the younger members of the family entered into contracts with the French, thus ensuring the family's commercial freedom.<sup>26</sup> Sometimes, these other members of the family trading with the French could be as young as Kottagundu Ramaiah's son, Bapaiah, who was only 17 when he began trading in 1788, or Narakadamelli Chellamiah who told the Enquiry Committee that he had started trading independently when he was 19.

The merchant family in the pre-modern economy, operated as a cohesive unit. In allowing individual members like Bapaiah to operate independently, such families were displaying a pragmatic response to a rapidly changing mercantile environment. In order to maintain their links with the several competing companies, the merchant families had to, in a sense, fragment into separate entrepreneurial units, a decision with obviously profound long-term implications. Along with the breakdown of the cohesion imposed by the guild system and the caste constraints, the breakup of the business family perhaps marked the end of pre-

modern trading methods.

While the merchants trading with the English East India Company did so directly, the younger members of the family who traded with the French Company had to do so **through** middlemen, especially the chief merchant, **Manapaka Ramanah Naick**. **Moreover, they** agreed to provide chay goods in alliance with another merchant belonging to a different family, and they were held jointly responsible for the advances which they received from the chief merchant. For instance, **Majetti Sitaramudu**, the son of **Majetti Venkaiah**, joined with **Palaperti Nallaiah** in providing goods for **Ramanah Naick**. **Kottagundu Bapaiah** and **Kamaraju Gadda Amaiah** also made similar joint contracts for providing chay goods to the **French**. Such joint contracts must have been entered into to minimize risks and to get round the problems of limited capital.

The new merchants, like the old, were able to use their caste and kin networks to further their business. These merchant families enjoyed a preeminent social and economic position in the district, and this enabled them to exercise a considerable influence on the weavers. In some cases, this was reinforced by the fact that some of the merchants themselves belonged to weaving communities.

Two crucial elements who facilitated the commercial relations between the merchant and the weaver were the **Gumastah** and the **Careedar**.

The Gumastah, the agent of the merchant, was invariably from the weaver castes, and received, for his labour of arranging the details of the contracts (such as providing the raw materials, collecting the fabric, and determining the terms of contract) a commission from the advance paid to the weavers.

The other mediator, the Careedar, was either a well to do weaver, or sometimes, a person of influence belonging to another caste. The careedars undertook the contracts and 'employed' weavers to execute them, keeping a part of the invested money as recompense for their brokering role. The Careedar also, it should be noted, often played a paternalistic role, helping the weavers tide over economic crises, perhaps recognizing the necessity of ensuring the reproduction of the productive structures of the locality.

The merchants appear to have operated in neatly demarcated spheres of commercial influence, with each merchant having jurisdiction over some weaving villages. The caste and kinship networks that enabled the merchant to exercise influence over the weaver also appear to have been limited to specific zones within the district<sup>33</sup>

Though the merchant thus exercised considerable influence over the weaver, the weaver too retained substantial economic freedom, and entered into contracts with more than one merchant.<sup>34</sup> Such flexibility was made possible by the intense competition for chay goods unleashed by the entry into the trade

of a multitude of companies and private traders. Indeed, complaints were even voiced by officials of the East India Company that the weavers were supplying finer quality textiles to other European companies and to private traders. The new competition may have thus contributed to the demise of the symbiotic relationship between merchant and weaver that had existed in the 17th century.<sup>35</sup>

The 1780s marked a dramatic shift in the fortunes of all involved in the chay goods trade. The merchants of Masulipatnam, who had been reaping a rich harvest from the chay goods investment of the East India Company now found their preeminent commercial position quickly slipping away. By 1786, the eight merchants trading in chay goods owed a total of 18000 Madras Pagodas to the Company.<sup>36</sup> While some of the merchants managed to hold their ground, others became virtually bankrupt. Maumedi Lingaiah, for example, lost his large and prosperous estates, while Kottagundu Ramaiah had to sell off his two houses to discharge some of his debts.<sup>37</sup>

The declining status of the traditional merchant was reflected in the contemptuous manner in which they were treated by the East India Company and its officials. Their petitions were sometimes ignored, they received receipts for smaller amounts than they actually deposited, and were, on occasion even treated with deliberate discourtesy.<sup>38</sup>

In 1780s the sudden downturn in the the fortunes of the merchants was essentially due to the non-fulfilment of the contractual obligations by weavers to whom advances had been given. There were several reasons for this. Masulipatnam district at this time was so badly affected by war and related disturbances, that weavers of the district migrated to adjacent territories, thus disrupting textile production.<sup>39</sup> The Guntur Circar, where most of the chay goods producers lived, was also subjected to economic and social crises caused by the incursions of the Nizam's armies and depredations of the local Zamindars, and here too the weavers deserted their villages.<sup>40</sup> The upshot was that the weavers could not fulfil their contracts, and in turn, the merchants could not discharge their obligations to the Company.

The Company was not initially concerned with the problems of the merchant in recovering dues from the weaver, and expected the merchant to solve them somehow.<sup>41</sup> Realising, however, the need to compel the weaver to discharge his debts to the merchants, the Company sought, through the regulations of 1799 and 1806, to impose legal contracts, requiring the weavers, inter alia, to undertake agreements in writing and to abide by them. <sup>42</sup> Hitherto, the relations between the weavers and merchants had been governed by custom. Henceforth, it would seem, the rule of law was to operate.

While regulating the weavers was one way of protecting its investment, one of the more significant protective measures

undertaken by the East India Company was that which related to the **merchants**. In 1787, the Company introduced the system of imposing a penalty on defaulters who failed to deliver the goods and demanded a deposit from the merchants who wished to trade with it. The advertisement of the Company issued in 1787 stated, *inter alia*, that there should be more than one contractor, and that each contractor should agree to furnish security, and to pay a penalty if unable to fulfil the contract. <sup>44</sup>

The old merchants who were gradually trying to recover their fortunes were not in a position to provide any security as that would entail further outlay of already scarce **capital**. New merchants like Tauloory Jogaiah, Simhadri **Venkatachalam**, **Narakadamelli** Bapaiah and others, who submitted their proposals, also declared that as they were men of substance, they should not be asked to provide security to the Company. Only Achyuta Rauze **Lakshminarayan** agreed to deposit ten percent of the money advanced by the Company, and to claim it back only after delivery of the contracted goods.<sup>4</sup>

The new clauses introduced by the Company, therefore, not only pushed out of the trading arena the traditionally dominant merchant families, but also appear to have fractured what must have been a much more cohesive mercantile community. It is worth speculating whether **pre-modern** merchant communities were **characterized, given** the predominance of the guild and caste networks and the restrictions these imposed on individualism, by an absence of competition amongst the merchants.<sup>48</sup> The example



of Achyuta **Rauze Lashminarayan**, isolated as it may be, indicates one consequence of the much more intensive intrusion of the Company into the regional economy, as a result of which individual merchants were beginning to demonstrate their independence.

The Company could not, however, enforce the regulations relating to the chay goods investment. The Company was forced, on the contrary, on account of its commercial motives, to make some concessions to accommodate the new groups that were emerging to provide the chay goods from 1787. Out of the many proposals submitted in Masulipatnam for the investment of 1788, that of Sadasiva Naik, a leading sahuکار and merchant residing at Masulipatnam was accepted by the Chief and Council of Masulipatnam.<sup>49</sup> Sadasiva Naik, who belonged to the Business House referred to as Govinda **Naick's** House, was also an influential merchant in his own right. He had extensive business contacts which he would be able to exploit, it was felt, to ensure that the Company's investment was managed well, especially through securing the support of other merchants residing at Murtuzanagar in the Guntur District.

Sadasiva Naick did not agree to give any security, arguing that it would go against the principles of sahuکارs, especially as it would diminish his credit worthiness in the **community**.<sup>50</sup> Even more significantly, Sadasiva Naick created a new trading precedent in the region by asking for a monopoly over the trade in chay goods, declaring that during the period of the contract,

the Company should not enter into any other contract with any other merchant nor directly trade in chay goods.<sup>51</sup>

The Chief in Council accepted this proposal, primarily because the local reality and **commercial** expediency dictated such a policy. Because of improper supply of chay root and thread to the manufacturers, the Company's investment in chay goods had suffered critically in the past. As Sadasiva **Naick** had extensive business contacts with the merchants of the Guntur circar, the Company officials may have concluded that he would ensure the necessary supplies to the weavers. Another reason was that the granting of monopoly trading rights to Sadasiva Naick would reduce competition for the weaver's produce, and thereby reduce the prices the Company had to pay for the various chay goods. <sup>2</sup> Moreover, because of the new terms of the contract, the East India Company was not able to get any bidder for the provision of the investment, despite the efforts of the officials to advertise and publicize the opportunities available. The situation was, in fact, so desperate that the Company attempted to persuade, albeit unsuccessfully, the **Armenians** and other local traders who had been trading in chay goods for a long time, but who had now refrained from participating in the new investment.<sup>53</sup>

The decision of the Chief and Council reflected the importance of Sadasiva Naick and a recognition of his influence in the region, as well as the fact that the East India Company had no real alternative. ,

The Board of Trade was extremely unhappy with the terms of

the agreement, especially with the clause adverting to the granting of monopoly to Sadasiva Naick. They recommended the setting aside of the contract, and readvertising the investment, if Sadasiva Naick was not willing to comply with the terms stipulated by the Company.

But already, the Chief and Council, Masulipatnam, had advanced 20,000 Pagodas to Sadasiva Naick, and he in turn remitted the money as advances to the weavers, who, he claimed, must have purchased the necessary raw materials out of the advances, and that if compelled, he could only refund 5000 Pagodas, and that too by incurring a loss.<sup>54</sup>

The Masulipatnam Council was thus caught in a cleft stick. They could not cancel the original contract as the Company would be legally bound to indemnify Sadasiva Naick for any loss he might sustain.<sup>55</sup> Probably, it was not so much the desire to sustain the rule of law and the notions of contract, as the desire to protect the investment already made, that compelled the Council to accept the continuance of the agreement. The Board of Trade had no option either, but to concur. They tried, nevertheless, to get the Council to limit the contract to the 20,000 Pagodas already advanced, and also to cancel the clause relating to the granting of the monopoly.<sup>56</sup> Apparently, the Masulipatnam Council could do neither. Not only had Sadasiva Naick taken too much as advance, but he had become, by all accounts, the only supplier. So much so, he could cunningly argue that he should be given the full contracted for advance of 50,000

Madras Pagodas, as otherwise, there would be delays in the delivery of goods.<sup>57</sup> The Chief accepted the argument, and advanced a further sum of 13,200 Madras Pagodas in February 1788.<sup>58</sup> The ire of the Board of Trade was aroused by this. But beyond desiring an explanation from the Chief and Council, they could do nothing but allow the continuation of the arrangements.

The emergence of Sadasiva Naick to a preeminent position as the sole trader in chay goods in the Masulipatnam region marked the virtual eclipse of the traditional textile merchants. But Sadasiva Naick's monopoly position was a short-lived one. Although Sadasiva Naick fulfilled his contractual obligations, and that too to the complete satisfaction of the Company authorities, it was felt that the Company could minimize its risk by dividing the investment between Sadasiva Naick and another merchant.<sup>59</sup> Sadasiva Naick initially did not agree to sharing the investment with any one else, but was ultimately prevailed upon to do so. Within a couple of years, the Company accepted the proposal of Manapaka Ramanah Naick, who agreed in 1791 to provide half the amount of the Company's total demand for chay goods. He and Sadasiva Naick thereupon signed a joint contract by which they would receive 41,000 Madras Pagodas each for the year 1791-92.<sup>62</sup>

The fact that the political conquest of the region proceeded slowly sometimes posed problems. In 1795, for example, we find Sadasiva Naick and a new business partner, Valloor Venkata Reddy Naick, protesting that the Fauzdar of Ongole, still under the

control of the Nawab of Arcot, was helping in the harassment of weavers who had migrated from his territory to settle in villages rented by Sadasiva Naick.<sup>63</sup>

In the long run, the political power of the Company compelled, it would seem, the merchants and contractors to yield to the conditions imposed by the Company. The system of 'advances', and the procedure through which the Company gave the advances to the merchants and the contractors did not evoke any protests. The evidence from the district suggests that the merchants accepted quite meekly the various conditions imposed by the Company. The old merchants who had traditionally dealt in chay goods accepted without demurring, the amounts of the advances specified in their contracts. Occasionally, they asked for additional sums to clear off the balances they owed to the Company consequent to their dealings with it between 1765 and 1786. Their situation was such that they could not clear off their old dues unless they received fresh **advances**. Even Sadasiva Naick also depended essentially on the Company's advances for his business. There were times when he had to request the Company to release an additional sum just so that he could complete his agreed contract.<sup>6</sup>

Obviously, there was an acute scarcity of capital, and the situation had led to the evolution of a system whereby the limited capital available was circulated in an optimal **manner**, through the system of advances.<sup>66</sup>

There were also problems relating to the conversion of the money advanced into the smaller denominations which operated at the level of the actual producers. Partly for this reason and partly perhaps to take advantage of fluctuations in the price of copper, and therefore of exchange ratios, Sadasiva Naick and Ramanah Naick in their joint proposal for the investment of 1791 stipulated that the Company should give a part of their advance as copper, at the rate of 55 Pagodas per Candy of copper. They wanted the copper to be plate or stick copper so that it could be more easily converted into the common coinage of "dubs", and also wanted the Company to instruct their Mint to turn out the dubs in large quantities as soon as possible.

Although the Board of Trade itself had been keen to disburse a part of the advances in the form of copper, this proposal of the Naicks was rejected for three reasons. Firstly, the suggested rate of exchange of one Candy of copper for 55 Pagodas was considered unacceptable, as obviously the Naicks were trying to take advantage of the fall in the value of copper. Secondly, the influx of more copper coins into the district would, it was felt, further devalue the dub, which in any case had been depreciating rather too quickly. Thirdly, the minting of copper would, it was argued, create unnecessary delays in the fulfilment of the contracts. 8

The proposals that the Company ultimately accepted for the 1791 investment showed that its writ was beginning to prevail over the contractors. Even the influential Sadasiva Naick and

Ramanah Naick had to agree that they were bound to be mutual security for each other, and to pay a penalty if they defaulted on delivering the goods.<sup>69</sup>

The return of Manapaka Ramanah Naick to the service of the East India Company suggests that in its attempts to establish control over the chay goods trade in the district, the Company was able to bring into its fold all the influential merchants by giving them the status of 'Company's Contractors'.

Why did the merchants meekly accept the hegemony of the Company ? Lack of unity among the merchants, and the fact that the Company had become a monopsonistic buyer may have been the key factors in explaining the passivity of the local merchants. Merchants in Bengal, similarly placed, the so called Dadni Merchants, were able to fend off the Company's attempts to impose controls to such an extent that they forced the Company to appease them with special incentives. Even merchants of the Godavari district, not far from Masulipatnam, were able, partly because of their more diversified business interests, to resist the Company's attempts to impose contractual clauses relating to the provision of securities and the payment of **penalties**. The merchants of Masulipatnam, on the other hand were so exclusively dependent on the chay goods trade, that they were unable to ward off the attempts of the Company to subvert their influence in the locality.

Although it conquered the merchants, the Company discovered

that they maintained a tenacious hold on the commercial niche they had carved out for themselves in the chay goods trade. In theory, they could be displaced because the Company's investment was put on auction, and anyone could bid for it. But prices generally remained so low that no new bidders came forth, and the old contractors who had been in the trade since 1787 **continued, therefore,** as they were willing to enter into the new contracts even for the **low, marginal** profits they carried.<sup>72</sup>

Nevertheless, the Company's political, administrative, and economic measures wrought some basic **transformations** in the mercantile operations of the district. Some of the traditional merchant families which had been in the chaygoods business for a long time were **peripheralised**. Even more, the new mercantile atmosphere broke up existing caste, kin, and family networks, leading to a more individualized entrepreneurial system, and increased competition among the merchants.

#### **THE MOGUL MERCHANTS**

While the chay goods merchants of Masulipatnam succumbed to the political and economic pressures exerted by the East India Company, there was one group of traders which steadfastly fended off all attempts of the Company to prevail over them. These were Persian merchants, long domiciled in Masulipatnam, who traded almost solely in Chintz. Referred to in the contemporary records as "Mogul Merchants", these Persians controlled, in collaboration with their compatriots in Persia, the Westward trade of Masulipatnam with the Persian **Gulf**.



The role of such diasporic merchants, whom Philip Curtin termed "cross-cultural brokers", in the building up of long distance commercial networks and in the development of early modern trade appears to be critical and significant.<sup>74</sup> Commerce was aided in such networks by the sharing of language, religion, culture, and often, kinship. The Mogul Merchants of Masulipatnam too were, quite evidently, crucial nodes in the trading webs that linked India and Persia. Moreover, it can be argued, it was because of their trading activity and the fact that they were able to resist British economic domination, that the chintz industry of the district and the related kalamkari tradition survived well into the nineteenth century, despite increasing competition from English chintz. How this minuscule group of merchants managed to survive the inroads of millmade fabrics and the machinations of the Company to subvert their trading operations, is the focus of this section.

Who were these Mogul Merchants ? Persian merchants had been operating in various Indian ports for a long time, primarily acting as conduits of trade between Persia and India. In Surat, their settlement dated to the 17th century, and it flourished with help from the Mughal rulers.<sup>75</sup> In Masulipatnam as well, they were known to have operated from at least the late 16th century.<sup>76</sup> With the support of the Qutab Shahis of Golconda, these Persian immigrants settled down in Masulipatnam, becoming shipowners, administrators and merchants. Striking roots in the various localities of this port city, they had slowly carved out

a special place for themselves in the textile economy of the district by the late 18th century. We know the identity of some of these Mogul Merchants through the petitions they submitted to the Company.<sup>78</sup>

These merchants tapped into a developing market in Persia for Coromandel textiles, and having established direct links between Masulipatnam and Bandar Abbas by 1630, continued to

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develop them. From Bandar Bourchar on the West coast of Persia through Muscat to Surat, Bombay and Goa, there were many markets for the multicoloured fabrics of Masulipatnam. In the beginning, it was likely that many trading groups catered to the growing demand for these popular textiles. By the second half of the 18th century, however, trade in Masulipatnam chintz was almost totally cornered by the Mogul Merchants, their only major rivals being the other diasporic community in Masulipatnam, the Armenians.

Initially, the Masulipatnam Armenians had a decided advantage, because their compatriot trading partners located in Persia received the support of the Persian king, Shah Abbas I (1587-1628). This support enabled the Armenian merchants to compete successfully with the powerful English and Dutch East India Companies which had begun operating in the Persian region in 1617 and 1623 respectively.<sup>81</sup> The East India Company had to, in fact, enter into a symbiotic trading relationship with the Armenians just to ensure that the Company did not lose its commercial foothold in Persia.

\*The **dominance** of the Armenian merchants may have been weakened to some extent by the fall of the Safavid dynasty, and in particular by the disturbed trading conditions following the death of Nadir Shah (1748), and the consequent civil war. This fluid situation, it may be conjectured, helped the Mogul Merchants of Masulipatnam to gain a secure foothold in the Persian markets, and ultimately, by a clever exploitation of the ethnic factor, to rise to a predominant position in the chintz trade with Persia. Thus, in the ten year period 1776-1785 the Mogul Merchants had exported to Persia a total of 94,685 pieces of chintz valued at 4,20,021 Madras Pagodas. In contrast, the Armenians had exported 49,210 pieces, valued at 1,87,996 Madras **Pagodas**. Indeed so complete had the control of the Mogul Merchants become that it became virtually impossible for any other competitor apart from the Armenians to emerge. The Mogul Merchants did trade in other textiles like Long Cloth and Izzaries. But the staple of their trade was the various kinds of chintz. Some of these were marketed internally, in places like Poona, Aurangabad, Gujarat, Broach and **Cambay**.<sup>84</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the chintz preferred in Persia was the more expensive variety of Golconda cotton **paintings, which** were in great demand for use as floor coverings and bedspreads in elite households, and as linings of coats.<sup>85</sup> By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, the more common, cheaper varieties of chintz, particularly those used by common folk, **predominated**, although the richer fabrics used as furnishings by the well to do retained a share of the trade.<sup>86</sup> These

variations over time in the consumption patterns reflecting social preferences for particular types of chintz underline the intricate relationship between class, cloth consumption and patterns of commerce.

The Mogul Merchants, in attempting to monopolize the chintz trade, tried to control the production process as well. Unlike the chay goods merchants, these chintz merchants supplied all the necessary raw material to the artisans involved in the manufacture of chintz. The merchants provided the white cloth to the painters called Rangi Rajulu, who turned it into chintz by printing patterns on it. These painters were also supplied with all the ingredients used in dyeing such as chay root, indigo, wax, and other mordants and resists. If the necessary ingredients were not available locally, the Mogul Merchants procured them from other supply centres. For example, the required white cloth was sometimes procured from Nellore if it was not available at Masulipatnam<sup>88</sup>

The merchants not only provided the raw materials, they also hired the services of the artisans, paying them a wage. Quite clearly, the Mogul Merchants were using an advanced form of the putting out system, in which the seeds of a capitalist production system can be discerned.<sup>90</sup>

The system developed by the Mogul Merchants brought the chintz producers painters, dyers, washers, and chankers directly under the control of the merchants and made them economically

dependent on them. The growing demand for chintz compelled the Mogul Merchants to look for other centres of production as well besides Masulipatnam. Thus they had chintz produced for them at nearby centres like Kakinada, Narsapore, and Palakollu ( a variety of chintz was produced at Kalahasti also, but this had mostly Hindu religious motifs, and therefore, presumably catered only to a specialised domestic market). This, in turn, meant some fairly complex shifting of the commodity in the various stages of its transformation. Thus white cloth secured at Nellore was transported to Narsapore for painting. It was then brought back to Masulipatnam for washing and chanking before shipping to Persia. The Mogul Merchants were able to efficiently organize this movement of cloth possibly because of their kinship networks, which were buttressed by the existence of a larger Islamic mercantile community. The Persian merchants depended on their networks of correspondents and business associates residing at different places. This conjecture is based on the fact that there were Muslim merchants in Narsapore who may have helped the Mogul Merchants of Masulipatnam. We know for certain that the Mogul Merchants had business links with kinsmen in Hyderabad and Bombay.<sup>93</sup>

Some of the Mogul Merchants traded independently, others set up joint trade with cloth merchants at Persia, while some others acted as **Gumastahs** or agents of merchants located in Persia.<sup>94</sup> They appear to have operated in neatly demarcated markets. For instance, Meerza Abdul **Kareem**, a Mogul Merchant of Masulipatnam, traded only with Bushire, and never at Basrah<sup>95</sup>

The Mogul Merchants also ensured that the prestige their chintz enjoyed was not tarnished by inferior goods **masquerading** as theirs, by using a system of identifying their goods by special '**chops**'

Like many merchants of the early modern period, the Mogul Merchants managed the financial aspects of their long distance trade through sophisticated methods of fund transfers. The returns from the Persian market were in the form of gold and silver, both as coin and as bullion. This was exchanged at Bombay for Government bills drawn on Masulipatnam and Madras, so that payment could be credited quickly.<sup>97</sup>

One advantage the Mogul Merchants enjoyed which enabled them to develop and maintain their Persian trade was the availability of cheap transportation. Persian merchants resident at Masulipatnam had, at one time, dominated shipping, especially to destinations in Persia, but by the end of the 17th century, had, for a variety of reasons, lost their preeminent position, yielding place to European companies and to other private shipping.<sup>98</sup>

In the eighteenth century, therefore, the Persian merchants resorted to the ships of Arabs of Muscat, who used three masted vessels as well as the much smaller and cheaper open **boats**. It is quite possible that the Mogul Merchants had access also to Indian shipping based at Surat and owned by Muslims.<sup>100</sup>

Their innovative involvement in the production process, their use of kinship networks and wider community links, their adoption of 'modern' business methods, and cheap transport, quite clearly helped the Mogul Merchants to build a very extensive trade in chintz exports to Persia.

Although the Mogul Merchants thus virtually monopolized the chintz trade with Persia, the East India Company too had a small share of the Persian market for chintz, although via an indirect route. The chintz sold by the East India Company in Europe were sometimes reexported to Persia, where it thus competed with the cloth marketed by the Mogul Merchants and their agents.<sup>101</sup> Apart from the marketing advantages the Mogul Merchants enjoyed, by virtue of their efficient networks and the traditional linkages, their cloth was also cheaper than the cloth reexported from Europe, and thus the competition was unequal. There were two reasons for the lower price of the chintz exported by the Mogul Merchants. One was the lower transportation costs already mentioned. The other was the fact that the Mogul Merchants used a cheaper cloth as the backing for the painting, while the chintz produced for the East India Company was based on a superior, and therefore, more expensive cloth.

The East India Company could have used its newly acquired political power to totally extinguish this competition, as indeed the Commercial Resident of Masulipatnam suggested it **should**. In fact, in the region around Madras, particularly Nellore and Devacottah, the Company had already established a secure hold on the chintz trade, and it would not have been difficult to

replicate this in the Masulipatnam region.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, attempts were made by the local officials to intervene in the chintz trade of the Mogul Merchants in various ways, with, presumably, the objective of controlling the **competition**.

For example, in 1788, Dobbyn, a member of the Council of Masulipatnam, circulated an order forbidding washers and **chankers** from working on the cloth of the Mogul Merchants, unless the Company's mark was affixed on them. While the motives of **Dobbyn's** action are not clear, it is reasonable to infer that he was attempting to exercise the Company's power. The Mogul Merchants saw this as an unwarranted infringement of their traditional rights and protested vigorously to the Chief in Council of Masulipatnam, arguing that as the Company's mark did not have as much prestige in the local markets as their **own,their** reputation and business would be adversely affected.<sup>105</sup>

Another source of irritation and hostility was the Company's collection of taxes on transportation of commodities through the Company's territories. These were secured by requiring the merchants to obtain a '**Rawanah**' or transport permit, a stamp paper indicating that the requisite duty had been paid. As the chintz **manufacturing** process required the transportation of the cloth in the various stages to and from different points, the Mogul Merchants had to obtain these Rawanahs several times, thus incurring heavy expenditure on this account.<sup>106</sup>

The Mogul Merchants had been exercised even more by what they considered were deliberate attempts of Company officials to overvalue the chintz the merchants were exporting, in order that



higher customs duties may be collected. The Company was, according to the merchants, valuing the cloth at a price of 2 rupees above that paid by the merchants, and levying the duty on the enhanced cost of the chintz.<sup>107</sup>

It would appear , therefore, that the local Company officials sought to systematically and deliberately cripple, or at any rate, hamper the trade of the Mogul Merchants. Why then did they not succeed ? The major, perhaps the sole reason, was that the long term imperial strategic considerations outweighed the short term commercial gains that might have accrued, and effectively shaped the overall policy. It was this factor which was responsible, more than anything else, for the Company being prevented from adopting a harsher attitude towards the Mogul Merchants.

The Persian Gulf had been, from the beginning of the 16th century, an arena of conflict between rival imperial powers. Initially, the struggle for control of the Gulf was between the English and the Portuguese. But by the middle of the 17th century, the Portuguese had been eclipsed, and the Dutch had emerged as the main rivals of the British. Quite soon, however,

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they too had to yield supremacy to the latter.<sup>109</sup> To forestall French penetration into the region, the British made strenuous diplomatic efforts to maintain their hegemony. After the decline of French influence, the British had to contend with the expansionist designs of the Russian empire.<sup>109</sup>

There were, thus, two critical factors which determined

British policy in the region, and more **specifically**, the attitudes towards the Mogul Merchants. One was the strategic considerations dictated by the geopolitics of the region.<sup>110</sup> The other was the increasing importance of Persia as an expanding market for imports from Europe as well as India. In the beginning of the 19th century, several missions to Persia undertaken by John Malcolm resulted, inter alia, in the signing of commercial treaties securing better conditions for European commodities and the East India Company. While the second reason may have tended to make the Company hostile to the Mogul Merchants, perceived as merchant rivals, the first reason inhibited the conversion of the hostility into overt political coercion of the Mogul Merchants. The British could not afford to antagonize the Persian ruler by pressurising his subjects in Masulipatnam.

It was this that prompted the British to react with alacrity to the rumour that the Mogul Merchants had sent a petition of protest about higher taxation rates to Persia, and the news that the agents of the Mogul Merchants in Persia had also complained to the British Ambassador at Teheran to the same **effect**. The East India Company set up an enquiry committee to investigate the rumours, but this committee was told by the Mogul Merchants that no complaints had in fact been made.<sup>113</sup>

Evidently, the East India Company was concerned about unnecessarily offending the Mogul Merchants, and thus sought to treat them with special care. The Mogul Merchants too obviously recognized this, for they were also vigorous in their protests

whenever they felt their rights had been encroached upon. Whether it was to protest against over valuation of their exports, or against what they considered were unfair impositions of the Rawanah charges, the Mogul Merchants were, as we have already seen, quick to voice their protest. The East India Company was also quick in responding to such protests, and in attempting to appease the merchants.

For example, in 1814, the Mogul Merchants represented to the Governor of the Madras Presidency that the newly introduced practice of subjecting their packed export goods to two inspections and two valuations, once for the land customs and once for the sea customs, was causing them undue hardship and delay.<sup>114</sup>

The Governor in Council responded with alacrity to the petition and instructed the Board of Trade to ensure that 'all reasonable indulgence and every possible facility' was extended to the Mogul Merchants.<sup>115</sup> The Board of Revenue, to which similar instructions were issued, informed the Collector of Masulipatnam that he should 'take such steps in conjunction with the Commercial Resident for the collection of the Land and Sea custom duties payable by these merchants as will relieve them from the charge and inconvenience of double packages.'<sup>116</sup>

Similarly, when the Mogul Merchants requested the Collector to accept some collateral as security in lieu of the duty they could not pay because of a temporary cash flow problem, the Board

of Revenue authorized the Collector to do so, ' in consideration of the expediency of encouraging the trade between the Northern Circars and the Persian Gulph.'<sup>117</sup>

Again, to avoid possibilities of complaints from the Mogul Merchants about overvaluation of their goods when customs duties were being levied, the Board of Revenue proposed that the Collector should be empowered to reduce the existing valuation if it exceeded the wholesale market price.<sup>118</sup>

As a small expatriate group, the Mogul Merchants might have been expected to be meek and submissive. What one finds, however, is a self-consciously aggressive mercantile community, \ zealously guarding its rights and privileges. Perhaps it was also aware that the East India Company was particularly concerned about maintaining its foothold in the precarious markets of Persia, and about strengthening its diplomatic ties with the Persian government, and was able to press home its protests, exploiting the Company's weakness to its own advantage.

Thus, the Company, which could assert its political power forcefully to triumph over the other merchant groups the Telugu Nayaks, for example was virtually unable to make a dent in the trade of the Mogul Merchants. On the other hand, it did not desist from attempting to compete with them in the markets of Persia, by importing European chintz.

In the beginning, the price advantage lay with the Masulipatnam chintz, which was particularly popular with the

Persian masses, European chintz being consumed only in small quantities by the elites<sup>119</sup> By 1813, however, the situation had been reversed, and English chintz, now cheaper than the Masulipatnam product, flooded the Persian markets.<sup>120</sup> The English tried to increase their leverage in the market by copying

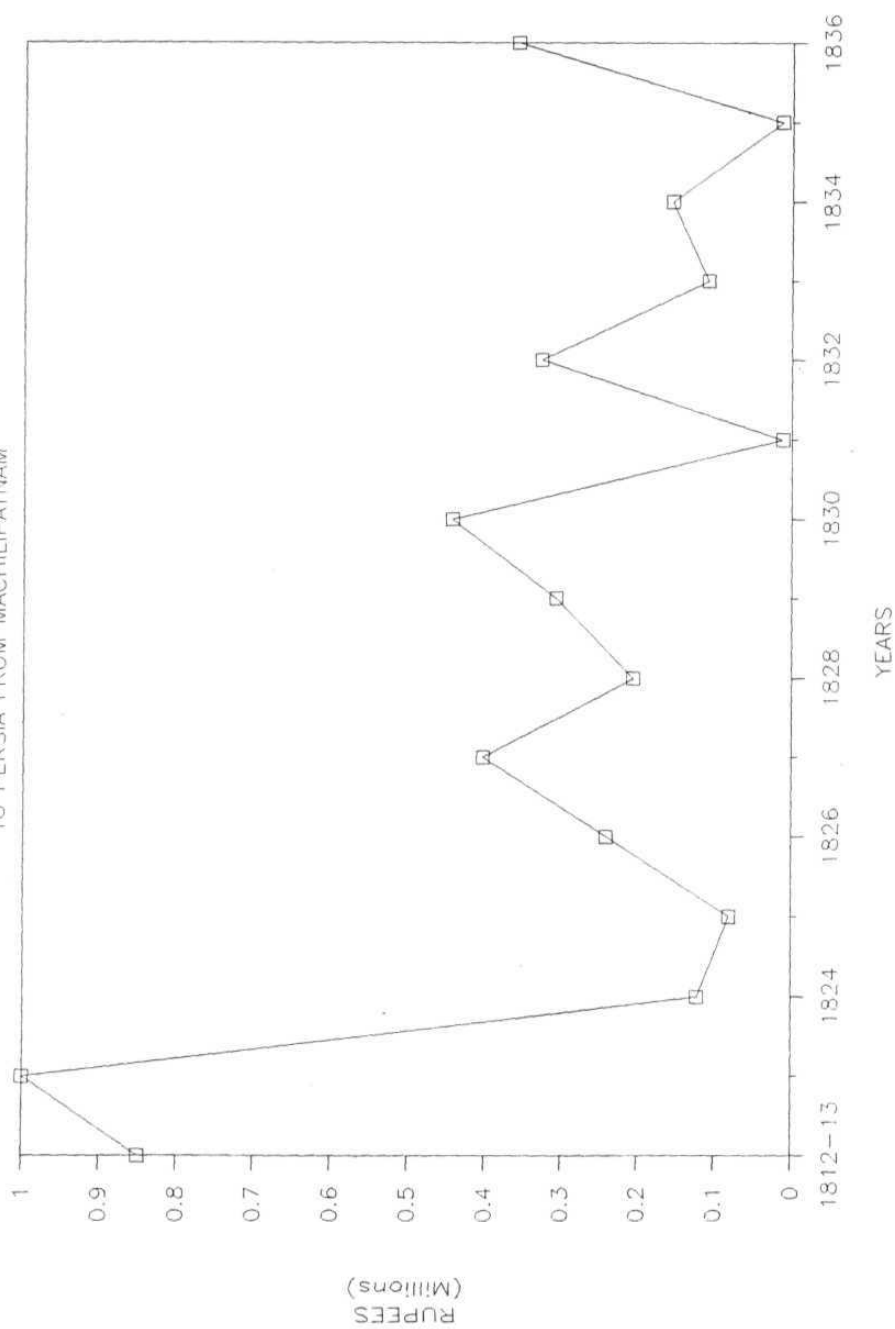
Indian designs.<sup>121</sup> Interestingly, however, the Masulipatnam chintz was able to hold its own till the 1830s, when in fact, it was able to increase its share in the market by virtue of its greater durability and the fastness of the colours used by the Masulipatnam painters.<sup>122</sup> See Graph 6:1

The Mogul Merchants had to contend not only with the English competition, but also with other factors which affected their trade, such as unstable political conditions in Persia, and epidemics like Plague, which affected the Persian population during this period.<sup>123</sup> But the Mogul Merchants were flexible and were quick to adapt to changing conditions. For example, in 1849, they sent their chintz to Bombay through a circuitous route via Bellary only to avoid the payment of frontier duties which they would have been required to pay if the goods had been despatched by the direct route via Hyderabad.<sup>124</sup>

The Mogul Merchants survived, therefore, into the 1840s, despite the increasing competition from Britain, and thus undoubtedly contributed to the perpetuation of the weaving and printing industry of Masulipatnam and the neighbouring region.

# VALUE OF CHINTZ GOODS EXPORTED

TO PERSIA FROM MACHILIPATNAM



It has been recently argued that political upheavals in Golconda contributed to the decline, by the 1680s, of the Persian merchants of Masulipatnam. The evidence available from the East India Company Records which has been set out above, indicates, however, that even if they had indeed virtually disappeared, they were resilient enough to reemerge with renewed vigour. In fact, as we have seen, the Mogul Merchants proved to be more resilient and more aggressive than the other mercantile groups of Masulipatnam. In this they were, no doubt, partly assisted by the Company's desire to mollify them; at the same time, it was their commercial acumen which enabled them to perceive the possibilities of turning the situation to their advantage, and to display a remarkable and unparalleled staying power.

The early modern mercantile environment of Masulipatnam has been described as a constantly changing scene in which merchants and caste groups appeared and disappeared. The emergence of the Naicks is an example of this, while the persistence of the Mogul Merchants is a refutation of this proposition. Indeed it can be argued that on the whole, the merchants of Masulipatnam, chaygoods traders as well as those who dealt in chintz, survived through all the vicissitudes of the economic and political changes. Elsewhere in India, merchant groups appear gradually to have lost their economic power, yielding place to other groups like Gumastahs.<sup>127</sup> In Masulipatnam, however, although the East India Company made considerable inroads into the merchant's territory, they remained, till the end, an influential and viable, if struggling group.

The situation in the other districts of the region, especially in Godavari district, was markedly different, as here, the Company was much more successful, it would seem, in eliminating the merchant.

#### **PIECEGOODS MERCHANTS**

The textile trade of the Company in the Godavari district, focussing on the factories of Ingeram and Maddepollam was essentially in long cloth of different denominations. They included long cloth ordinary, long cloth middling, long cloth fine and long cloth super fine, and a few quantities of Percaulles and Dungarees were also obtained from these factories. When the Company acquired political hegemony over the Godavari district, the English Company's investment as well as that of the others like the French and the Dutch were handled by local merchants, who purchased any variety of cloth, which they

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required for their trading activity. The Company's merchants, who were responsible for its investment, were of prosperous and wealthy sections among the trading merchant groups. There existed a free trading atmosphere for the local merchants, who utilized this opportunity extensively without being interrupted by political powers in the region. However, the merchants contractors who ought to be the intermediate agents between the weaver and the Company, in fact, fulfilled their contracts with the assistance of more powerful and dominant intermediaries the copdars. The copdars, could bring together all the weavers into an effective group, and organized their opposition to any form of



interference in the independent and coercion free atmosphere of the weaving villages.

Another element whose authority and power was a crucial factor in determining the activities in the textile economy was the Zamindar. Most of the weavers providing long cloth varieties to the Company were concentrated mostly in three Zamindari areas, the Peddapuram, **Petahpuram** and Cotah and Ramachandrapuram. The Zamindars had to be consulted along with the Head weavers in determining the prices that were paid to the **weaver**.<sup>130</sup>

The merchant contractors, through the alliances and **realignments** with these groups of Head weavers, copdars and Zamindars, managed their contracts very effectively in the Godavari district. The colonial attempts to establish a direct commercial link with the weaving villages, created in the beginning a **confrontation** not only between the weavers and the Company but also between the merchant and the Company in the district.

Under the new structural arrangements initiated by Anthony Sadlier in 1774, the merchants were not allowed to purchase any superfine cloth without obtaining permission from Sadleir. Earlier, they could purchase any variety of cloth meant for the English, the Dutch and the French and also for their own private trade. For instance, **Gummandy Ramaiah**, a merchant of Samarlakota used to purchase cloth at the Amalapuram village. A more important innovation of Anthony Sadleir that drastically affected

the local merchant community was the **establishment** of direct commercial links with the weaving villages by giving powers to the Head weavers, Kanakapillai and **Gumastahs** in place of old **merchants**.<sup>131</sup>

Besides losing their grip over the textile trade of the district, the merchants incurred heavy losses, as many weavers owed large sums as outstanding balances, especially for those who contracted for the French and the Dutch Company's. Earlier, the weavers worked for the English, French and Dutch without any constraints. But under the new method of 1774, the weavers were, however, forced to work only for the English merchants. As a result many weavers became indebted to local merchants, who carried on the textile trade with the French in the district.<sup>132</sup>

The Commercial profit motive of the Company induced it to accept the merchant as the main intermediary between itself and weaver, for it realized the fact that it could recover all outstanding balances from the weavers, only by employing merchants who could take outstanding balances on their account, and pay in it back one or two years.<sup>133</sup>

In 1776, Hamilton the Resident at Ingeram made contracts with the principal merchants under the Ingeram factory, mainly Pragada **Venkataramoodoo**, Pandi **Madium**, Cottah Mulloo, Luckaumchitty, Mulloo, Mokeddy Paupiah, Pedda Mulloo, **Doum** Balliah, Domtaumchitty Veerapah, and **Meddepollam** factory merchants namely, Chinta **Comikiah**, Comma Chitty Baupiah, Manah

Mulloo and Chinta **Narasimloo**. They signed the joint and separate bonds agreeing to be accountable to the **Company** for liquidating the weaver's debts.<sup>134</sup> The contract bonds which the weavers had entered into were divided among these twelve merchants, and the bonds were accordingly given to the respective merchants. By this agreement, these twelve merchants were allowed to provide goods at Tuni and its adjacent villages. They agreed to provide the goods to the **Company**, accepting the condition that they should liquidate the balances which the weavers owed due to the **Company**, because of the favour and protection which they would get from the **Company**. By this agreement, they agreed to liquidate 11,000 pagodas. The merchants in due course of time, came to learn that they could not recover the balances from the weavers, as they had left the villages and many of them had become insolvent.

The local merchant group could not retain its hold over the Ingeram and **Maddepollam** factories as the groups attached to the power structures of the **Company's** administration took the opportunity to get into the textile trade of the region. They influenced the decisions of the local Commercial Officers to such an extent that they were incorporated into the matrix of the commercial world. For instance, since January 1778, Seetiah, a Kanakapillai at **Maddepollam** factory and Jogee Pauntuloo Dubash and renter at **Nellapally** farm were given a chance to trade in the **Company's** textiles.<sup>135</sup>

A drastic change in the fortunes of the local merchants occurred from 1780s onwards, when the Company tried to get a firm base in activities of the trading world of the **weavers**. As in Masulipatnam here too, the Company imposed a penalty on defaulters, and sought a security deposit.

In the Godavari district, the traditional bania caste merchants lost their hold over the provision of the Company's investment, as they could not comply with the new proposals introduced by the Company. Even those merchants coming from the administrative side of the Company's affairs were pushed out from the arena of the textile trade. For instance, the local merchants Mantripragda **Venkataramudoo** and Masulukunta Jogee Pantulu agreed to provide the whole of the Ingeram investment but without any security, and wanted 10 percent above the usual prices.

Along with these indigenous merchant groups, the presence of European individuals in the textile trade of the district was a notable feature. Quite often, such traders were officials of the Company, trading on their own personal account. One such individual private merchant was Darwall who agreed to provide the goods, but also like the local merchants, insisted on prices 10 percent higher than old rates, but approved. to pay for the washing and embalming. However, he did not offer to provide any security for the money advanced to him at Ingeram factory. **Basil Cochrane**, on the other hand, offered to provide the investment at lower prices and in addition, "gave unquestionable security for the money advanced him."<sup>138</sup> As proposals forwarded by Basil

Cochrane were far more advantageous to the Company, the entire investment concerning Ingeram and Maddepollam factories were placed under his management. His contract commenced on the 18th December 1786, and by 18 December 1787, as per the contract he had to provide 30530 pieces of cloth the value of which was pagodas 88676-22-76. In case of non fulfilment he had to pay a fine of 25 percent.

The involvement of European's in the trading arena affected the weaving villages dramatically compare to local merchant groups, whose responsibility was limited to its nominal intermediary role. Basil Cochrane's involvement at the production process was total, as he introduced a new system in order to fulfill his contract. First, he fixed the prices of cloth, after taking the consent of the Zamindars and Head weavers. Then he entered into contracts with the weavers for a certain number of pieces of cloth, but he advanced them only for two pieces of cloth, for which he got their engagements. Accordingly, the weaver had to deliver to Basil Cochrane one piece monthly for which they were to be paid. "The cloth was to be measured and sorted in the central place in each Mootah and in the presence of the weavers and if any difference arose in the sorting, it was to be settled by arbitrators mutually chosen on the spot".<sup>140</sup> A chop was affixed in the presence of the weaver on the punjum cloth received.

A table of rates was fixed for inspection in every Mootah and the name of every weaver in Cochrane's employ was registered in a Book kept for the purpose which was open to whoever chose to look it.

Despite the **attempts** of **Cochrane**, to provide a regular investment to the Company, still there was a large deficit of cloth to be provided on his account by 18th **December** 1787. Out of the quantity 26169 pieces which he was supposed to supply, Cochrane provided only 4511 pieces.<sup>142</sup>

Cochrane's observation on the failure to fulfil of his contract demonstrates the preponderant influence exercised by those individuals who had been carrying out the Company's investment concerns in the district earlier. Basil Cochrane had appointed Jogee Pantuloo as one of the **Company's** merchants for conducting the actual transactions in the district, and also advanced him a sum of Madras pagodas 20153. Later he discovered that Jogee Pantuloo the Company's interpreter and renter of Nellapally farm was the Dubash of Mathew Yeates, who had earlier been involved in the textile trade. He allied with the activities of Yeates to frustrate the activities of Cochrane, and thus affected the Company's investment. Jogee Pantulu received money from Yeates in January 1788 to provide Company's cloth to him, and sent piece goods worth of pagodas 24105-91-17 to him. After the dispatch of such a great quantity of cloth to Yeates, Jogee Pantulu then returned the cash he received from Mr. Basil Cochrane saying "that it was not in his power to provide the Company's assortment of cloth."<sup>143</sup>

The lucrative trade in the textiles of the district caused tensions and strains among the European officials, as every one wanted to get the entire contracts into their hands. This was

reflected in a conflict between Mathew Yeates and Basil Cochrane in 1788, former attributing the success of Basil Cochrane in conducting his business to the special privileges and justice accorded to him by the higher officials. The long correspondence that took place between Mathew Yeates and Basil Cochrane in 1788, in fact, reveals the way the merchants conducted their business in the district with the assistance of indigenous elite groups.<sup>144</sup>

Basil Cochrane started working towards the completion of his contract by seeking the assistance of merchants. Soon, when he realised that these merchants were not helpful in completing the agreed contract, he attempted to keep all the weavers under his direct control, for which he got special favours from the government and council and Board of Trade. Subsequently, in July 1787, the Company issued orders to all the principal Zamindars in requesting them to extend all possible help to Mr. Basil Cochrane. The Zamindars obliged Mr. **Cochrane's** request some times even by sending peons which he sought for.<sup>145</sup>

The Chief and Council of **Masulipatnam's** letter addressed to Board of Trade dated 4 December 1787, fully explained the confidence and faith which the Company had reposed in Basil Cochrane, while allowing him to be the sole contractor for providing the investment of Ingeram and Maddepollam factories. The **Chief** and Council of Masulipatnam expressed that Cochrane would spare neither industry, nor efforts in fulfilling the agreed contract and would succeed in restoring the Company's

investment to the former quantity and quality. They accepted his system of establishing direct links with the weavers, as it would eliminate many evils associated with the earlier mode of employing merchants. Under the earlier system, the Company had to pay an additional price as commission to the merchant. When he found that they were not helpful in completing his contract, and also became he saw the necessity of keeping all the weavers under his direct control, he persuaded the government council and BOT to confer special favours.

Throughout his period of contract, Cochrane had to face steady opposition from Yeates. For instance, orders were issued by Yeate's Agents, prohibiting the weavers from fulfilling their contracts with Cochrane, though the weavers were willing to work for him. The following translation of the declaration of Sheekemuctum, one of the Haracarahs of Pitahpuram Rajah.

I, Sheekemuctum Hercarahs belonging to the Rajah Camaramappetty Row do give this declaration this is to say. In the beginning of March my Master directed me to attend upon Mr. Yeates, and during the time I stayed with Mr. Yeates's Gomastah Putchumutther Ramiah, he ordered Tom, Tom to be beat, and the following proclamation given out. To this day you/the weavers/ have been employed to weave Mr. Cochrane's cloth from this day you are to weave cloths for Mr. Yeates, and although you have got cloths in the looms belonging to Mr. Cochrane, you are to deliver them to Mr. Yeates and not deliver them to Mr. Cochranes. If any of the weavers manufacture cloths for Mr. Cochrane hereafter, the Company will make them pay a fine of 12 rupees. In my presence this order was published by Tom. Tom at Cuttapetty and Arravattam Mootahs, in the name of the Company, I do further declare, that I have heard that the same orders were published in the other Mootahs this is what I known.

/signed/

May 19th 1788

SKETEMUCTUM



Such promulgations of Mr. Yeate's put a total stop to Basil Cochrane's business, nor did Yeates revoke these orders in certain districts where the best cloth were manufactured. In the mean time, Yeates's agents bought up Cochrane's cloth. as they had formerly done

Despite having the complete knowledge about the disturbances and cabals instigated among the weavers by the agents of Mr. Yeates, the Board of Trade after receiving Yeates's representation and the complaint of the weavers, through a letter dated 12 December 1787 recommended Yeates to unite with Balfour, the Superintendent of looms and Mr. Cochrane in order to promote good order and industry among the manufacturers. This Yeates declined to accept.

In yet another complaint dated 31st August 1787, stated that the prices paid by Mr. Cochrane were very high, and would adversely affect the Company's investment ultimately.<sup>149</sup>

The contractor for your present Investment fearing the very heavy penalty he must incur by a failure of his contract, the period of completing of which is far advanced, is now paying such prices for his cloth, as the terms of his contract every thing considered can never make good to have one evil which will not end with the present day. But will probably be attended with lasting bad consequences, for the weavers will naturally sell their goods to those who pay them and having once tasted the sweets of those high prices, will not, it is to be feared, readily consent to a reduction of them,

The evidence provided by Walter Balfour, the late Superintendent of the looms, illustrated that the advance prices given to the weavers under Cochrane, indeed encouraged them to

manufacture Company's cloth. In his letter dated 13th November 1787, . Walter Balfour says: 150

It has hitherto been impossible for me to ascertain with any degree of exactness the quantity of cloth of the Company's assortments provided in the different Mootahs. It having been therefore the invariable practice of Europeans to purchase through the channel of the **merchants** and copdars, by whose oppressive conduct as also that of the sub-renters under the different zemindars the weavers have been forced to change their abodes and many of them driven to the alternative of flying to the hills."

Since the arrival of Mr. Cochrane the contractor, with whom I made the circuit, that gentleman has adopted an entire new mode for providing the Company's investment instead of the old plan of procuring cloth through the medium of copdars he has made his advances directly to the weavers, and sorts the cloth in their presence, the advantages of this personal intercourse has already appeared by numbers of the weavers returning from the Hills, in order to be employed by him, and many hundreds of those weavers in the low country who before were instigated by the merchants presence that they could only weave the common country cloths, have since they have been made sensible of advanced prices given by the contractor, and the regulations established by him, given in their names for advances which he is daily making".

In August 1787, the Board of Trade ordered Yeates, to provide goods to the amount of pagodas, 24,105-91-17 by February 1788. Despite this, Yeates persisted in subverting **Cochrane's** trade. He thus made another allegation that Cochrane employed a contingent of sepoy to assist him in this business operation and the weavers were therefore, prejudiced against Mr. Cochrane. Mr. Cochrane repudiated the allegation saying that he never employed any force of sepoys in conducting his business in the district, rather he used them as guards to protect his luggage from being plundered and he had from each Zamindar a Harcarahah, who was essentially an interpretor and helped him in conversing with the local people.<sup>151</sup>

Yeates tried again to obstruct Mr. Cochrane in fulfilling his contract, By offering higher prices for the **weavers**as the weavers **Balfour's** described this in his letter addressed to Board of Trade dated January 1788. 152

The delays and difficulties which Mr. Cochrane has met with in collecting the Company's cloths at the different Mootahs, has been in a great measure owing to the advanced prices which has been offered, and even advanced to several weavers, and although they confers "that no person at any one period ever gave such ample prices as Mr. Cochrane, yet as they are new offered between 5 per cent more than what the contract allows, they are most unwilling either to receive further advances or even to pay their just balance due to Mr. Cochrane."

If we view Mr. Yeate's situation as a Resident, contracts with Europeans were against his interest, he was averse to them, and he employed the influence he possessed, and the **money** advanced him both in buying up the cloths fabricated by Mr. Cochrane's weavers solely for the Company and in creating by his agents cabals among the weavers.

By February 1788, Basil Cochrane, however realised the influence of Native Merchants over the weavers, and was apprehensive of a continual debasement of Company's investment, if the merchants were allowed to provide cloth for foreigners or individuals, who were involved in private trading activity. In order to prevent such a situation, he proposed a plan by which once again the earlier native merchants could enter the Company's investment arena provided they fulfilled certain conditions. These conditions were:

1. The merchants had to pay the weavers the prices established by Cochrane.

2. As most of the combs with which the cloths were woven in irregular state, the merchants were asked to replace them with their own expense. "The breadth of **punjums** of which to be fixed on by the resident bearing the Company's chop, also the merchants name to whom it belongs."
3. Agreements Native merchants enter into with the weavers should stipulate that cloths should be manufactured with those combs and no others, to specify the full quantity of thread that shall be put in them in order to provide cloth of Company's established lengths and breadths. These agreements should contain particulars like, the stipulated time schedule for the delivery of piece goods; these contracts should be given to the Resident and Superintendent of looms, and entered in the public register to be kept for that purpose.
4. The Native Merchants had to provide a monthly list of those weavers from whom they collected cloths, specifying even the quantities.
5. Adequate support and encouragement would be given to the native merchants by the Resident and the Superintendents of the looms, in pursuing their contracts, provided they accepted the conditions specified. Cochrane went on to declare:

That in case they shall abide by those conditions I will so soon, as my engagements with the Company are accomplished, make over to them the balance of my contracts with the weavers, they paying me for the same, otherwise, that I would apply for a small contract on the same terms that they

had engaged to deliver cloths with the view of fully accomplishing the reform I had began upon, and providing that there are Europeans who are capable of entering into the minute of providing the investment and willing to submit to all those regulations which evidently will tend to the interests of the Company."

However, the Resident at Ingeram Factory opposed the plan on the ground that the merchants would incur heavy losses, if the plan was implemented. It appeared that the Company's merchants were still interested in undertaking the Company's investment and proposed to provide those assortments which were difficult to obtain. The active involvement of these Native Merchants in the textile trade of the districts was demonstrated by the fact that in 1788 they could supply a large quantity of Company's assortments in four months which the Company's contractor, Basil Cochrane, could not do even in 12 months. For instance, the merchants supplied 6453 pieces of long cloth middling variety while the contractor at the two factories supplied only 3627 pieces.<sup>154</sup>

Cochrane observed that this could have happened only owing to the influence of Yeates over the merchants. Jogee Pantulu, instead of fulfilling the contract which he had agreed to provide to Basil Cochrane, rather supplied the entire quantities obtained from the looms of those weavers registered for Cochrane engagements to Yeates.

In almost all cases the old merchants belonging to various castes and communities were not able to provide security for the money which they got as advance from the Company. It was the European merchant that got all these advantage and acquired a hold on the textile economy of the Godavari District. Though the European merchants had control only for two years, still the influence and the methods which they introduced and followed in their dealings with the weavers became the base for the Company's policy by 1800. The reasons for the unwillingness or inability of the old merchants in providing security varied from district to district. In the Godavari district, the merchants were enjoying the trade in textiles along with many other business concerns. As Fullerton, the Commercial Resident stated, they were the big merchants and were able to extend their influence over the activities of the rest. They had engagements in many other extensive concerns. They might have entered into the list of merchants mainly to secure the protection offered by the Company and also the credit that they would get in the amount of money advanced by the Company annually. They were managing the entire business in the textile trade through the agency of the Copdari system; that is, these merchants were unwilling to give the required security as it constituted a risk, and besides, they did not really need the business.<sup>156</sup>

What was the actual role of the merchant as envisaged by the Company? Why did the Company perpetuate this agency in the 1790s?

"Under the system of giving direct advances to the weaver- from the factory, there was misapplication or use of these advances. Subsequently, the merchant was recognized as an intermediate element mainly to divide the risk. Moreover, the merchants were natives, and were residing in the districts, they were able to prevent the misapplication of advances by the weavers ".

Vijaya Ramaswamy has suggested that in the organizational set-up of the companies the function of the merchants were four fold by the 17th century. In a region like the Coromandel where weavers were widely scattered, merchants and other intermediaries were needed to purchase cloth and act as links between weavers and the Company. Second, they supervised weavers and minimized the Company's risks by taking bad debts, third, they ensured quality control by providing weavers with musters and seeing that they 'worked to the projection of the pattern, and finally merchants even saved the Company the necessity of laying out vast sums of money, making the initial advances themselves. The Companies were in fact in debt to many of their chief merchants.<sup>158</sup>

By the turn of the 18th century, the role of merchants in the textile trade of the Company was confined to narrow objectives, mainly preventing the misapplication of advances by the weavers; the merchants, on the other hand, were depending on the Company for the advances and they specified the conditions for the timely release of advances in their **contracts**. (both in

Godavari and Masulipatnam). The merchants in Godavari district , as they were concerned with many business operations in the region, opted for the Company's service mainly because of the credit that they were getting on the money advanced to them. Consequently many a time the merchants became either insolvent or had to owe a lot of money as balances to the **Company**. They were retained in the Company's trading activity because they had to clear their balances and then remained under Company's control until they cleared off their balances to the **Company**. Changes in the perceptions of the trading groups due to the emerging colonial situation and the way they initiated the whole activity.

Before the Company acquired political power over the region, the merchants who supplied the English were given the status of Company merchants, and enjoyed several rights in the settlement. These included the right to godown space and protection, an option on import **goods**, some share in the Company's fiscal privileges, some ceremonial rights such as riding a palanquin within the city, and the facility of drawing Bill of Exchange from one settlement to another. <sup>161</sup> By the 1790s, however, the merchants lost many of the privileges, and had only a few monetary benefits besides the protection which they could get. For instance, (1) the merchants were granted 10 percent in the difference of the price paid to him by the Company and which he was required to pay to the weaver, (2) Repaying the charge involved for bringing cloth to the factory, for the maintenance of servants and to afford some profit to himself. <sup>162</sup>



The textile **merchant** class of the Godavari district consisted also of **some muslim** merchants who controlled a sizable part of the regions trade, especially with Rangoon. These muslim merchants called '**Nursapur** traders' played a very conspicuous role in the trading activities of the early nineteenth century, and even upto 1853 we have references to these merchant families who were considered as '**respectable** inhabitants of **Narasapoor**'.<sup>163</sup>

These merchants were Ali Akbar, Muotam Ali, Ali Nukkee, Hamid Shah, Imamoodden, Maohammed Rustoom, Mahommed Ameera, Mahommed Iafur Ali, Shaik Iillalbodeen, Shaik Khadir, Meersurdar Kha, Shaik Imam, Shaik Hyder Buse, Rustum khan, Malim Amerroodeen, and Soudagar Iufturali . "By reason of birth, and family residence within the Company's territory, they were regarded as British subjects".

A considerable proportion of these merchants traded with **places** in Burma, especialy Rangoon, and Pegu. This was a long standing connection lasting, from two to four decades. For instance, Ali **Akbar's** trade to Rangoon and Pegu had lasted for decades from 1830s, Muotam **Ali's** trade connections to Rangoon extended to more than two decades, while Ali Nukkee's trade to Rangoon continued for over three decades. **Buramoodden Iman-**ooden's father, was a well-known merchant of Narasapur, whose trading between **Burmah** and Narasapur extended for more than forty years. Another Nursapur merchant who traded with Rangoon for **more** than 30 years was Rustum Khan.

The trading activities of these merchants included trade in textiles, and other petty articles like beetlenuts. For instance, Fakeer Shah, father of Ali Akbar was a cloth **merchant**, Muotan **Ali's** father Mohammed Abdul was a cloth merchant, whereas **Hamid** Shah's father Buran Saib was a beetlenut merchant. Almost all these merchants possessed property like houses and other possessions in Narasapur, where their families resided.

A few members of this community emerged as ship owners trading to Pegu and Rangoon. A Masulipatnam ship was, for instance, bought by Ali Akbar, but he lost this ship during the period of hostilities at Rangoon. **Malim Ameeroodeen** was another merchant ship owner, who established trade links between Pegu and several other coasts. Many of these merchants, owing to their long standing trade links with Rangoon, Pegu and other coastal areas did emerge as conspicuous merchants, acquiring land and other possessions in **Burmah**, and Pegu, in addition to their houses which they had in Nursapur. One such merchant was **Imamooddeen's** father Buranoodden, who died in 1852 at Narsapur. It appears that the father had a house and some estate in **Burmah**, **Malin** Ameeroodeen bought a house in Pegu, and married a Pegu woman.

While a few merchants conducted their trade in alliance with the merchants of Pegu and **Burmah**, most of them carried on their trade individually. For instance, Muotan Ali and **Mahammed** Ibrahim, a resident of Rangoon for more than 20 years operated

their trading activities jointly. **Mahammed Iafur Ali** was the adopted son of Gazi Mohammed Hussani, a Narsapur trader. "Mahommed Iafur Ali after taking a certificate from late Mr. Beer, before the war went to Rangoon on the ground that he was a muslim in a ship a joint property of himself and his uncle Parsee Nyak. Shaik Imam, son of Babasahib a ryot of Contair village near Narsapur, was a small trader in Rangoon since 1850.

Many of these Narsapur traders, along with other residents of Narsapur trading to Rangoon, suffered considerable losses on account of the war that took place in Burma. They had sent applications as claimaints for compensation for their losses during the time of war.

In the textile trade of the Northern Coromandel, there were few family net work,s whose domination was a long standing one, and these families made contracts not only with the companies but many a time they made individual or private contracts with a number of merchants. Besides textiles, grain trade was yet another branch in which they had trading activities. An important merchant family of Bania or Komati caste in Northern Coromandel was the house of 'Maumedi'. The merchants from this family had extensive trade networks covering many trading activities in late half of the eighteenth century.

**Maumedi** Lingiah, for instance, was a Company's merchant at Masulipatnam factory in late half of the eighteenth century, and from 1766 he was in the Company's employment along with seven

other '**Black** merchants'. earlier, he **made** contracts for supplying textiles with French and Dutch <sup>164</sup> In 1786, his brother **Maumedi** Reddy entered into an agreement **with** the French merchant Rama Naik, for supplying chay goods. In this he got the assistance of his brother Maumedi Reddy This family enjoyed a considerable economic status, during this period. For instance, Maumedi Lingiah possessed an estate of about 5 or 6 pagodas (thousand) in 1766. But owing to the losses he sustained due to the non-payment by weavers, Maumedi Lingiah appeared to have lost his economic status, and was not in a position to maintain his family or discharge his balance that he owed to the Company. Nevertheless, he offered to take up Company's investment operation in 1787. <sup>16</sup>

There were also few persons from the 'Maumedi' houses who traded extensively in grain marketing in Masulipatnam area. Maumedi **Rajapah** and Maumedi **Paudmuiah** were two among many other merchants, who enabled **Monopolization** of the entire grain in the Pettah of Masulipatnam at a time when there was a severe scarcity of grains and other articles of necessary consumption Maumedi **Veerash**, Maumedi **Rayapah**, Panty **Godantrammoodoo**, Panty **Neelachallum** and Mantoorty **Yeramasetty** usually purchase grains at Bahurzalli at cheaper rates, and transport those goods, to Moolahpurrah river by boats. At this point, the merchants trading in the pettah of Masulipatnam bought the grains at a very

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high rate. <sup>1</sup> Consequently, a severe scarcity, and unusually high price of grain, and rice, paddy prevailed in the Pettah of Masulipatnam in 1790.

Another branch of the Northern Coromandel textile trade was the procurement of varieties of textiles from various districts meant essentially for the inter-regional trade. Most of this regional trading activity was dominated by a specific group of merchants. A considerable proportion of textile trade to Nizam territories during this period was in the hands of muslim merchants like Somma Khan, Emom Mohuddeen, Saib Hussain, Meseere Khan, Ebram Baig, Audumveig, Akburally Saib, one such hinter land trade route was between Hyderabad, Valegunda, Pendala and Butteprole and Addapully in Guntur district. Butteprole and Addapully were noted for the manufacture of red and black dyed cloth. In nearby villages like Conatypooram, Iyalavaram, Doolepoody, and Rajauole weavers produced piece goods directly from these production centres. These goods were being exported by these merchants to Hyderabad, Bombay, and other places three or four times yearly.

The procedures which they followed in this internal trade was that they gave orders for the manufacture of piece goods, gave advances to weavers of red dyed cloth in villages like Tenali, Vetapallaem, Rajole, Iyalavaram, Doolipudi, Contepooram, etc., and paid transit duties at the several Chowkies at the production centres. These goods were then moved into the villages of Addapully and Battiprolu, where the merchants generally resided. All these textiles including those of Addapully and Battiprolu were packed up then they used to export them once in 2 or 3 months to Bombay, Hyderabad and other distance places.

Another trade route of the textile economy was that of trade with Jalna, Muslipatnam and other places. This trade route passed through Tadikonda chowki, which was also a major weaving production centre. At Tadikonda, there were 50 looms and 20 Bania houses, whose weaving and trading activities enabled the construction of **Guntur's** trade with Jalna, and Masulipatnam. Besides local Banias, many merchants from other districts resorted to this village for merchandise articles like piecegoods, tobacco, ghee, and many other articles. These trade route was especially popular owing to the fact that they could pay off the demanded transit duties at Taudicondah chowkies itself, without transporting them to distant chowkies. 170

The nature of the trading networks utilized by the merchants for their regional trade as well as for reaching more distant markets, demonstrates clearly that the merchants were relying as much on custom, tradition, and family ties as on adapting quickly to a changing commercial environment.

This was most evident in the case of Masulipatnam merchants, who, as has been shown, were able to use their kinship networks to maximum advantage. Ethnic ties too were an important element in traditional mercantile operations.<sup>171</sup> In Masulipatnam, this aspect was visible particularly in the case of the Mogul merchants and the muslim merchants of Godavari district, known as the Narsapur traders.

In Masulipatnam, the merchant played a larger role than elsewhere, and was able to retain his hold in the economy, mainly because here, there was no other powerful intermediary among the weavers, like the Copdar of the northern districts.

In the region as a whole, the traditional merchant communities were drastically affected by the Company's commercial strategies and most of them were marginalized and restricted primarily to regional trade. Some of them, were, however, able to reap advantages even from this, and continued their trading through all the colonial transformations, even into the twentieth century.

Even within the new commercial world constructed by the East India Company, the merchants were powerful enough to seriously affect other elements. It was their operations among other things, that may be said to have contributed to the unrest and agitation of the weavers in the Northern Coromandel, during the period under investigation.

## NOTES

1. Samuel Statham, Warehouse Keeper, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 26 July 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 5-19
2. The Diaries of Streynsham Master refer to a contract signed in March 1678 which mentions the names of Majeti Guruvanna, and Mamidi Mallappa, whose family names appear also in the 18th century list given above. Diaries of Streynsham Master, R.C.Temple (ed.), London, 1911, 2, (1677-79), pp 146-7, cited in K.Satyanarayana, A Study of the History and Culture of the Andhras. 2, New Delhi, 1983, p 587
3. See the Representation of the Company's Merchants to the Chief and Council, Masulipatnam, nd, MDR, 2900 A, pp 25-6
4. A.Campbell, Fort St George, to Charles Floyer, Chief and Council, Masulipatnam, 27 February 1787, MDR, 2900 A, pp 126, 7 .
5. For a discussion of the Verlagsystem in Europe, see Hermann Kellenberg, 'The Organization of Industrial Production', in E.E. Rich and Wilson (eds), The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. 5, Cambridge, 1977, pp 469-70
6. The Company did attempt to persuade the local merchants to accept in lieu of part of the advance, English broadcloth. But the merchants refused to agree to this, perhaps because the local demand for broadcloth declined considerably, especially after the 'armies' of Zamindars and other magnates were disbanded by the Company. See Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, to Cotton **Bowerbank** Dent, Board of Trade, Madras, 20 April 1791, MDR, 2841, pp 58-66
7. R.Fullerton, Deputy Resident, Masulipatnam , to James Taylor, Acting Secretary to the Committee of Reform, 14 March 1799, Godavari District Records (hereafter GDR), 831, p 14
8. Samuel Statham, Warehouse Keeper, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 26 July 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 5-16
9. A.Campbell, Fort St George, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 27 February 1787, MDR, 2900 A, pp 126,7
10. For details, see the Advertisement published in Masulipatnam, 30 July 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 133-5 .**pa**
11. For a discussion of the Dadni system in Bengal, see Sushil Chaudhury, '**Merchants**, Companies and Rulers: Bengal in the Eighteenth Century', Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient. 31 (1988), pp 74-109; Binoy Shankar Mallick, 'English Trade and Indigenous Finance in Bengal and



Gujarat in the Seventeenth Century: A Study of the Dadni System and the Rate of Interest', Studies in History, 2 (ns) (1986), pp 31-45; Hameeda Hossain, The Company Weavers of Bengal: the East India Company and the Organization of Textile Production. 1750-1813, New Delhi, 1988, pp 85-87. Debendra Bijoy Mitra, The Cotton Weavers of Bengal, 1757-1833, Calcutta, 1978, pp 45-7, 57. For the Dadni system in Bihar, see A.K.Sinha, Transition in Textile Industry ( A History of the Textile Industry in Bihar. 1783-1833). Delhi, 1984, Chapter 4.

12. Sushil Chaudhury, 'Merchants, Companies and Rulers', p 75
13. English Factories in India. 1622-24. p 104, quoted in A.I.Chicherov, India : Economic Development in the 16th-18th centuries: An Outline History of Crafts and Trade. Moscow, 1971, p 117
14. Ibid., p 120
15. See Amiya Kumar Bagchi, 'Merchants and Colonialism', in D.N.Panigrahi (ed), Economy, Society and Politics in Modern India. New Delhi, 1985, pp 3-41.
16. Debendra Bijoy Mitra, Cotton Weavers of Bengal, pp 45-9
17. The decline in Chay goods investment, from 80,000 Madras Pagodas in 1787 to a mere 7,194 Madras Pagodas in 1813 was one reason for the 1813 decision to abolish the Factory at Masulipatnam. See Extract of letter from Secretary, Board of Trade, Madras, 21 September 1813, MDR, 2904, pp 1-4, and extract of a General Letter from England, 13 May 1813, loc.cit., pp 22-3
18. The Chief's Minute on the Question of Balances Due by the Company's Merchants, nd, [1787], MDR 2900 A, pp 137-42
19. For a detailed discussion of the role of private traders in the 17th and 18th centuries, see Ian Bruce Watson, Foundation for Empire: English Private Trade in India. 1659-1760, Delhi, 1980
20. The Chief's Minute on Balances Due by the Company's Merchants, MDR, 2900 A, pp 137-42
21. For a discussion of French activities in Bengal, see Hameeda Hossain, The Company Weavers of Bengal, pp 79-82
22. Vincentio Corbrett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, to Board of Trade, 14 October 1803, GDR, 832, pp 412-40. Using the Company's advances to produce cloth and then to turn it over to the private traders is akin to the 'embezzlement' of raw material in the European putting out system, described in John Styles, 'Embezzlement, Industry and the Law in

England, 1500-1800', in Maxine Berg et. al., Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory, Cambridge, 1983, pp 173-210

23. At a consultation dated 6 May 1786, MDR, 2837, pp 46-74
24. The Company tried to find out from these eight merchants about the extent of their trading contacts with the French. For details see the Consultation of 6 May 1786, MDR, 2837, pp 46-74
25. The family connections are revealed not only by the common surnames, but also by the testimony given by the merchants. See the consultation of 6 May 1786, MDR, 2837, pp 46-74
26. This is the clear inference that can be drawn from the testimony of the merchants to the Enquiry Committee. Details in the Consultation of 6 May 1786, MDR, 2837, pp 46-74.
27. Consultation of 6 May 1786, MDR, 2837, pp 64-65, 70
28. *ibid.*, pp 49-74
29. *ibid.*, pp 59-61, 61-72
30. For example, the Annum and the Majetti families belonged to the Togata and the Padma Sale Weaving Communities. See Telia Satyavati, Teluquvari Intiperulu (Socio-Linguistic Study of Surnames in Telugu). Guntur, 1987, for the reference to the Majetti name. Identification of Annum is from the Souvenir of the 12th Conference of Akhila Bharata Padmashali Mahasabha, 7-8 March, 1987, Hyderabad
31. See Vincentio Corbrett Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam to Board of Trade, 14 October 1803, GDR, 832, pp 412-40
32. *ibid.* Joseph Brenning Brenning, 'Textile Producers and Production in late Seventeenth Century Coromandel', Indian economic and Social History Review. 23 (1986), pp 333-56, footnote 48, also refers to this. But Brenning mistakenly places the Careedar in the Godavari District, perhaps because the reference cited, although originating in Masulipatnam, was bound into the Godavari District Records.
33. Information derived from statements for 1787 on 'Balances Due from the Weavers to the Company's Merchants', MDR, 2900 B, pp 280-307
34. Extract of letter from the Board of Trade (1789), MDR, 2901, pp 7-38
35. For a discussion of the paternalistic links between merchant and weaver, see S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce, pp 269-70. Ashin Das Gupta suggests that even in the pre-modern economy, the weaver was free to go to the highest bidder: Irfan Habib and Tapan Ray Chaudhuri (eds)

The Cambridge Economic History of India. 1. Delhi, 1987, p. 419. But given the ideology of the **pre-capitalist** relations, exemplified in the paternalistic symbiosis referred to by Arasaratnam, it is unlikely that the weaver could have dared to exercise in practice the freedom he possessed in theory.

36. Chief's Minute on Balances Due by the Company's Merchants, MDR, 2900 A, p.139. For details of the amounts owed, see Samuel Statham, Warehouse Keeper, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 26 July 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 5-19. Of this debt, the Company expected to recover only 3500 Pagodas.
37. Representation of Maumedi Lingaiah, Company Merchant, to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, 24 September 1787, MDR, 2900 A, pp 239-44. (Also found in MDR, 2838, p. 245). See also the evidence given by Kottagundu Ramaiah, in Consultation dated 6 May 1786, MDR, 2837, pp 78-80
38. See petition dated 10 September 1787 from Annam Lingaiah and others to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, MDR, 2838, pp 226-28 and also the undated petition from Annam Lingaiah and others to Anthony Sadleir, loc.cit. pp 228-9
39. Samuel Statham, Warehouse Keeper, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 26 July 1786, 26 July 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 5-19; see also the Chief's Minute on the Balances Due by Company's Merchants, MDR, 2900 A, p.139.
40. Chief's Minute on Balances Due by Company's Merchants, n.d., (perhaps April 1787), MDR, 2900 A, pp 138-42, especially pp 139, 140; Representation of Company's Merchants to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, August 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 156-59
41. A. Campbell, Fort St George, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 27 February 1787, MDR, 2900 A, pp 126-7
42. For Regulation of 1799, concerning weavers, see Commercial Department Regulations, Volume 1, pp 51-93. For the Regulation of 1806, see Judicial Department Consultations, Volume 14, pp 121-65
43. For a discussion of the impact of the new juridical principles on the region, see D.A.Washbrook:, 'The Law, State and Agrarian Society in Colonial India, MAS, 15 (1981), pp 649-71
44. Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, to A. Campbell, BOC, Fort St George, 29 August 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 185-8
45. Representation of the Company's Merchants to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, **Masulipatnam**, MDR, 2900 A, pp 171 et seq.
46. Proposal of Tauloory Jogaiah and Others to the East India Company, August 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 174-5

47. Proposal of **Achyuta Latchminarain** to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, August 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 175-7. For proposals of **Naracadamelli Veeranah**, Kottagundu **Badraiah** and **Maumedy Venkaiah**, see loc.cit., pp 177-80
48. For a discussion of Merchant Guilds in the region, see K.Satyanarayana, A Study of the History and Culture of the Andhras, 2
49. Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam to A.Campbell, Board of Commerce , Fort St George, 29 August 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 185-8. Naick, or Nayak, is a suffix or title which appears in conjunction with an important Telugu warrior group which dispersed after the decline of the Vijayanagar empire. See N.Karashima, South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions. AD 850-1800. New Delhi, 1984, pp 159-65. See also J.F.Richards, Mughal Administration in Golconda. Oxford, 1975, pp 18-19. It is worth speculating whether some of these warriors transformed themselves into merchants. Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India.5. Delhi, reprinted, 1975, pp 138-40, points out that some Telugu Baliyas, among others, took the name Nayak. It is more likely that Sadasiva Naick belonged to this community.
50. Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, to A.Campbell, BOC, Fort St George, 29 August 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 185-8
51. The proposal of Sadasiva Naick, 25 August 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 180-4
52. Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, n.d., [September 1787], MDR, 2838, pp 232-4 2
53. ibid.
54. Representation of Sadasiva Naick, 21 September 1787, MDR, 2900 B, pp 226-30
55. Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, to A.Campbell, BOC, 21 September 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 223-25
56. **A.Campbell**, BOC, to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, 2 October 1787, MDR, 2838, pp 255-57
57. Letter of Sadasiva Naick to Chief and Council, Masulipatnam, n.d., [1787], MDR, 2900 B, pp 323-24
58. Representation of Sadasiva Naick, 21 September 1787, MDR, 2900 B, pp 226-30
59. CDC, 21 April 1791, MDR 2841, pp 38-40
60. ibid.

61. Commercial Department letter 21 April 1791, MDR, 2841, pp 38-40. Proposal of Sadasiva Naick addressed to Anthony Sadleir, 10 April 1791, loc.cit., pp 40-42; proposal of Manapaka **Ramanah** Naick, 10 April 1791, loc.cit., pp 44-54
62. See the Joint Proposal of Sadasiva Naick and Manapaka Ramanah Naick, 20 April 1791, MDR, 2841, pp 55-58
63. Representation of Sadasiva Naick and Vallore Venkata Reddy Naick, to Vincentio Corbett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, 5 December 1795, MDR, 2944, pp 846-49
64. For details of the cash advanced and the cloth received from the merchants from 1787 to 1791, see entry under '**Cash Advanced, Amount of Cloth Received, and Balances that Remain in the Hands of the Merchants**' for every month, in the MDR, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, and 2841
65. Representation of Sadasiva Naick, 10 April 1788, MDR, 2839, pp 7 5,76
66. Proposal of Sadasiva Naick, 10 April 1791, MDR, 2841, pp 40-42. Proposal of Manapaka Ramanah Naick, 10 April 1791, loc.cit., pp 44-54
67. *ibid.* The Madras Pagoda was at this time about three and half rupees. The Candy is about 500 lbs.
68. See Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, to Cotton Bowerbank Dent, BOT, 20 April 1791, MDR, 2841, pp 58-66
69. *ibid.*
70. For details, see Sushil Chaudhury, '**Merchants, Companies and Rulers**', pp 74-109
71. R.Fullerton, Deputy Resident, Ingeram, to James Taylor, Acting Secretary to the Committee of Reform, 14 March 1799, GDR, 831, p.45
72. **V.Corbett**, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, to Board of Trade, 14 October 1803, GDR, 832, pp 412-49. The Company continued the system of contracts, and presumably the same set of merchants, till the Factory itself was abolished in 1814. See, for example, a letter, circa 1810, from Masulipatnam to Fort St George, found in an unclassified volume, General No. 22759, Serial No. 228, Rack 7, Tamil Nadu Archives.
73. **G.Westcott**, Sea Customs Collector, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 18 November 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 94-95
74. See Philip **Curtin**, **Cross-Cultural Trade in World History**, Cambridge, 1984; A.J.Qaiser, '**The Role of Brokers in**

Medieval India', Indian Historical Review. 12 (1974), p. 225 ; R.W.Ferrier, 'The Armenians and the EIC in Persia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century' Economic History Review, 26 (1973), pp 38-70; M.N.Pearson, 'Brokers in Western Indian Port-Cities: Their Role in Servicing Foreign Merchants', Modern Asian Studies, 22 (1988), pp 455-72

75. S.Arasaratnam, Merchants. Companies and Commerce, p 101
76. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese: The Travails of Masulipatnam Shipping in the Western Indian Ocean, 1590-1665', Modern Asian Studies. 22 (1988), pp 503-30
77. For example, the 1871 Census gives the figure of 2,074 'Moguls', who, it may be assumed, were kin of the original Persian immigrants. Gordon Mackenzie, A Manual of the Kistna District in the Presidency of Madras. Madras, 1883, p. 383
78. For example, in 1820, we have a list of 12 Mogul Merchants, namely, Aga Syed Media, Hajee Ali Kherman, Aga Abdulla, Aga Mahomed Sadik, Aga Ali Khaja, Aga Syed Turkey, Aga Mahomed Nabi, Aga Caseem Ispahany, Aga Mahomed, Aga Media Ispahany, Meerja Abdulla, Meerja Abdul Kareem. These being the 'principal merchants', it may be presumed there were other, smaller merchants too belonging to this expatriate community. See Agent to the Principal Mogul Merchants to the Masulipatnam Collector, 5 July 1820, MDR, 3083, pp 197-8. For similar lists of Mogul Merchants in 1812 and 1820, see William Thackeray to the Board of Revenue, 29 December 1812, PBR ,599 (1813), pp 18-58, and D Hill to the Board of Revenue, 30 January 1821, PBR, 876 (1821), pp 997-1031
79. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese', p. 513
80. , G.Westcott, Sea Customs Collector, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 18 November 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 95-114
81. R.W.Ferrier, 'The Armenians and the EIC ' pp 38-70 84. ibid.;
82. See also K.N.Chaudhuri, The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760. Cambridge, 1978, pp 225-26
83. Enclosures to G.Westcott, Sea Customs Collector, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 18 November 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 99-112
84. G.Westcott, Sea Customs Collector, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 18 November 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 94-95

85. John Irwin, 'Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century South India ', in John Irwin and D.R. Schwartz (eds), Studies in Indo-European Textile History. Ahmedabad, 1966, pp 28-44
86. For a list of chintz goods exported by Mogul Merchants to Persia, see G.Westcott, Sea Customs Collector, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 18 November 1786, MDR, 2900 A, pp 94-114; Discussions of chintz manufacture can be found in Homage to Kalamkari, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1979, especially John Irwin's 'The Significance of Chintz', pp 79-85. K.N.Chaudhuri, The Trading World of Asia, p 227, suggests that the impoverishment of the affluent classes resulting from the Persian civil war led to the increase in demand for cheaper fabrics.
87. D.Hill, Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the BOR, 30 January 1821, PBR, 876 (1821), pp 997-1002
88. *ibid.*
89. *Ibid.* See also V.Corbett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, to F.W.Fallofield, President, BOT, 4 February 1795, GDR, pp 403-11
90. See note 7
91. D.Hill, Secretary to the Government of Madras, to BOR, 30 January 1821, PBR, 876 (1821), pp 997-1002, especially p.1000
92. For a brief description of the Islamic mercantile community in the region, see Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce, pp 218-19
93. Representation of Hajee Mohammed, Mogul Merchant, addressed to Thomas Oakes, Collector, 4th Division, Masulipatnam, 19 February 1798, MDR, 3073 A, pp 135-36. See also the petition of Mogul Merchants to George Edward Russell, Collector of Masulipatnam, 5 July 1820, MDR, 3083, pp 197-98
94. William Thackeray, Chief Secretary to the Government, Fort St George, to BOR, 29 December 1812, PBR, 599 (1813), p.27
95. *Ibid.*, p.27. In fact, none of the Masulipatnam goods were ever sent to Basra, which seems to have specialized in Bengal goods, which had a higher profit margin. G.Westcott, Sea Customs Collector, Masulipatnam, to Charles Floyer, Chief, Masulipatnam, 18 November 1786, MDR, 2900 A, p.97. The textile varieties from Bengal were usually finer varieties according to Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720, Princeton, 1985, p. 177
96. See, for details, the Representation of all the Mogul Merchants in the Settlement of Masulipatnam, addressed to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, Consultations of 22

May 1788, MDR 2791, pp 398-410. This was, according to the merchants, a traditional system guarded zealously as an important privilege. Interestingly, the identification of the manufacturer by a cloth mark had become a statutory requirement in England in 1536 by 27 Henry VIII c.12, cited in G.D.Ramsay, The English Woollen Industry, 1500-1750, London and Basingstoke, 1982, p. 45

97. D.Hill, Secretary to the Government, Fort St George, to BOR, 30 January 1821, PBR, 876 (1821), pp 997-1002
98. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese', pp 503-30
99. John Malcolm's Testimony, Minutes of Evidence Before the House of Lords, London, 1813, p. 24
100. Ashin Das Gupta, 'Merchants of Surat ', in Edmund Leach and S.N.Mukherjee (eds), Elites in South Asia. Cambridge, 1970, pp 201-22
101. V.Corbett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam, to E.W.Fallofield, President, BOT, Madras, 4 February 1795, GDR, 832, pp 403-11
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. See the Court of Directors Letters of 31 July 1787 and 9 April 1788 sent to Fort St George, DECD, 1, pp 39-109, for information on the chintz trade of the East India Company in the Madras Presidency.
105. Representation of the Mogul Merchants to Anthony Sadleir, Chief, Masulipatnam, discussed at a Consultation of the Chief and Council, Masulipatnam, 22 May 1788, MDR, 2791, pp 308-10; See also MDR 2894 D, pp 1381-83. As Dobbyn was a member of the Council, it is difficult to see how such a petition would have succeeded. While no evidence is available to indicate whether Dobbyn's orders were rescinded or not, the fact that after a brief suspension of the order at the behest of the Chief, Dobbyn enforced his order seems to suggest that he ultimately had his way.
106. Representation of Mogul Merchants, 20 August 1820, enclosed with letter from D.Hill, Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the BOR, 30 January 1821, PBR, 876(1821), pp 997-1002. The Mogul Merchants seem to have been incensed by the necessity of having to pay the Rawanah charge once more after several payments had already been made, even at the last stage of shifting the goods from the Customs House to the beach. .pa



107. See **I.Gwatkin**, Secretary to the **Government** of Madras, to the Chief Secretary, Madras, 13 July 1812, **PBR**, 599 (1813), pp 21-26. This was a persistent problem, apparently, because in their representation submitted in 1820, reference was again made to this practice of overrating. Representation of Mogul Merchants, 20 August 1820, enclosed with letter of D.Hill to BOR, 30 January 1821, **PBR**, 876 (1821), pp 997-1002.
108. Ravinder Kumar, India and the Persian Gulf Region. 1858-1907: A Study in British Imperial Policy. Bombay, 1965, pp 10-11
109. *ibid.*, p. 14
110. *ibid.*, p. 12
111. See John Malcolm's testimony , Minutes of Evidence before the House of Lords. London, 1813, pp 17-24, 94, 684-702
112. See William Thackeray, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the BOR, 29 December 1812, and its enclosures, **PBR**, 599 (1813), pp 18-58
113. *ibid.*
114. **Representation** of Mogul Merchants, **Masulipatnam**, to Lt General John **Abercromby**, President and Governor in Council, Madras, 16 May 1814, **MDR**, 2961, pp 293-96
115. D.Hill, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras to the President, BOT, 31 May 1814, **MDR** 2961, pp 291-2
116. BOR to Collector, Masulipatnam, 9 June 1814, **MDR**, 2961, pp 289-90
117. Secretary, BOR, to Collector, Masulipatnam, 30 May 1814, and Secretary, BOR, to the Chief Secretary to the Government, 30 May 1814, **MDR**, 2961, pp 245-6, and 285-6
118. Secretary BOR, to the Chief Secretary to the Government, 7 March 1814, **MDR**, 2961, pp 143-5. Ultimately, the Madras Government took such a decision generally also, requiring the Collectors to ensure that the tariffs corresponded to wholesale prices. Circular letter of BOR, 28 March 1814, **MDR**, 2961, pp 164-70
119. John Malcolm's testimony, Minutes of Evidence before the House of Lords, London, 1813, pp 684-96
120. **I.Goldingham**, Collector, Masulipatnam, to BOR, 21 November 1836, **MDR**, 6318, pp 310-12
121. The British, in fact, learnt the art of making chintz only in the eighteenth century. For a discussion of this, see Homage to Kalamkari, Marg **Publications**, Bombay, 1979, pp 29,

79. The use of Indian designs, sometimes imported as chinoiserie, was not only to cater to the new taste for the 'oriental', but also to compete with Indian goods in the world markets.
122. Graph based on T.H.Crozier, Collector, Masulipatnam, to the Board of Revenue, 6 April 1836, MDR, 6318, p 71. and I.Goldingham, Collector, Masulipatnam to Board of Revenue, 21 November 1836, MDR, 6318, pp 310-12
123. I Goldingham, Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 21 November 1836, MDR, 6318, pp 310-12
124. R.T.Porter, Collector, Masulipatnam to Collector of Bellary, 30 October 1849, MDR, 6402, p 213.
125. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese'
126. S.Arasaratnam, Merchants. Companies and Commerce, p. 347
127. Amiya Kumar Bagchi, 'Merchants and Colonialism', p. 12
128. Committee to Lord Pigot, President & Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 26 December 1775, PDC 115A, pp.1-7.
129. R. Fullerton, Deputy Resident To James Taylor Acting Secretary to the Committee of Reformer, 14 March 1799, GDR 831, pp.41-49.
130. Cochrane's observation to Yeates question No.4, Letter from Mr. Mathew Yeates, Resident at Ingeram to Board of Trade 7 April 1788, pp.178-180, With Enclosure, pp.7-9.
131. For details on the structural arrangements initiated by Anthony Sadleir see Chapter
132. Testimony given by Gumdady Ramiah a merchant of Samalkota and others, see proceedings relative to Enquiry into the conduct of Sadlier, while Resident at Ingeram 28 November 1775, to 30 March 1776, PDS 24 A; and 10 February 1776 to 31 March 1776, PDS 25; Committee Meeting of 9 December 1775, Testimony given by Rustumbadha weavers, proceedings of the Committee to Enquiry into complaints against Anthony Sadlier, Resident Ingeram, 28 November 1775 to 30 March 1776 PDS 24 A, pp.106-110; and 10 February 1776 to 31 March 1776, PDS 25.
133. Committee to Lord Pigot President & Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 26 December 1775, PDC 115 A, pp.1-7; Board's Resolution 11 August 1776, PDC 115 B, pp.403-405.

134. Alex Davidson, Ingeram to George Stratham, Madras 11 September 1776, PDC 116A, **pp.512-514**; Agreement executed by the Principal Merchants, Ingeram 5 September 1776, PDC 116A, 515-516; Letter from Court of Directors 14 October 1786, **CDDE 1, pp.51-57**, provides details on the terms of the Contract to be followed for undertaking **Company,s** investment
135. Ibid., pp .515-516.
136. Basil Cochrane observation to Mathew Yeates question No. 7 to 8, Letter from Mr. Mathew Yeats, Resident at Ingeram to Board of Trade, 7 April 1788, with Cochranes observation in the way of reply, MDR 2839, **pp.178-180**, enclosure **pp.1-23**, espe. **p.8**.
137. Similar problem arose in case of chay good merchants who were not prepared to give security for undertaking contract for Company's investment.
138. Ibid., Cochrane's reply No.3, **pp.179-180**.
139. Ibid., Cochrane's reply No.3 & 4, **pp.179-180**;
140. Ibid., Cochrane's reply to question No.4 of Yeates, **p.8**.
141. Ibid., Cochrane's observation to Yeates question **No.4.**, **pp.7-10**.
142. Ibid.,
143. Ibid., **p.8**.
144. Cochrane's observation to Yeates question **No.4**, Ibid., **pp.7-9**.
145. Yeates Letter Ingeram 7 July 1787, Ibid., **pp.9-13**.
146. Cochrane's observation to Yeates points 7,8,9,10,11, Ibid., **pp.9-14**.
147. Ibid., **pp.10-11**.
148. Harcarah, is a messenger, a Courier; Ibid., **pp.11-12**.
149. Yeates correspondence with the Board of Trade, 31 August 1787, Ibid., **pp.12-13**.
150. Ibid.,
151. Walter Balfour letter to Board of Trade 13 November 1787, Ibid., **pp.13-14**.
152. Cochrane's observation to Yeates question **No.12**, **p.15**.
153. Ibid., **pp.15-17**.

154. Memorandum of a proportion made to Dick, Resident at Maddepollam by Cochrane, 13 February 1788, Ibid., pp.17-18.
155. Ibid., Yeates observation on Company's decision to implement Basil Cochrane's method of conducting merchant through the merchants No.13, pp.9-20.
156. Cochrane's reply to Yeates observations No.13, Ibid., pp.19-20.
157. R. Fullerton, Deputy Resident to James Taylor Acting Secretary to the Committee of Reforms, 14 March 1799, GDR 831, pp41-49.
158. Vijaya Rama Swamy, Textiles and Weavers.
159. R. Fullerton, Deputy Resident to James Taylor Acting Secretary to the Committee of Reforms, 14 March 1799, GDR 831, pp41-49.
160. Ibid.,
161. Vijaya Rama Swamy, Textiles and Weavers, pp.
162. R. Fullerton, Deputy Resident to James Taylor Acting Secretary to the Committee of Reforms, 14 March 1799, GDR 831, pp41-49.
- 163 The information on the role of Narasapur Traders in the Trading economy of the Godavari District is based entirely on I. Prendergast Collector, Rajahmundry to G.D. Williams B.C.S. Commissioner for the investigation of claims for compensation by British subjects in Burmah, 7 December 1853, GDR 6746, pp.73-78.
164. Samuel Statham, warehouse keeper, Masulipatnam to Charles Floyer, Chief Masulipatnam, 26 July 1786, MDR 2900 A, pp.5-19; See also end note 4, on chay goods merchants.
165. The consultation of 6 May 1786, MDR 2837, pp.46-74.
166. Ibid.,
167. Andrew Scott, Masulipatnam, to William Oram, Manager of the Northern & Centre Divisions of the Havelly and Char Mahal, 6 August 1790, MDR 2794 C (Revenue Consultation), pp.622-631.
168. Ibid., p.627.
169. Arzee addressed by the Banians, weavers, ryots, of the four divisions of the village Tadicondah to I. Goldingham to Collector, Guntur 8 October 1837, gudr 5393, pp.195-197.

170. Arzee addressed by Merchants and the **soucars** residing at Butteprole and ADDapully villages of Repalli division to I. Goldingham acting collector, 30 September 1837 in I. Goldingham Collector to Board of Revenue, 21 October 1837, gudr 4393, **pp.183-192.**
171. **Michelguglielmo** Torri, ' Ethnicity and trade in Surat during the dual Government era. 1759-1800', IESHR, 27, 4. (1990), **pp.377-305.**

## 7. Alignments and Agitations: The Weavers Unrests In Northern Coromandel

The restructurings and realignments resulting essentially from the consolidation processes of the colonial state in the textile economy of the Northern Coromandel region intersected deeply with the existing patterns of social and political relations of the weaver at the village level. From about 1765 to 1850, the company had attempted, as noticed in earlier chapters, to alter in many ways the production process and relations of production in the weaving world; it increased economic, commercial and juridical pressures resulting in the virtual subordination of the primary weaver. The pressures generated by the new colonial state had also led to the waning of the earlier symbiotic link that existed between the weaver and other rural groups. Thus these colonial strategies created a situation in which the weaver, already vulnerable, suffered a further visible deterioration in his economic condition. The weaver of the region ever conscious of his situation in this new economic order responded in time, and thereby created new tensions and strains. To what extent were the new pressures induced by the colonial state responsible for the discontent of the **wēavers** in the region? How far could the weaver utilize the social parameters of his weaving world in these turbulent situations? Did the weavers of the region have enough strength in organizing and mobilizing their class against any institution which they perceived as a threat to their very existence? This chapter attempts to explore the ways through which the weaver of the

Northern Coromandel expressed his response to the coining new situation and its impact on their activities during the period 1750-1850.

Although the increasing demand for textiles resulting from the operation of the European companies in the region, and after 1765, of the East India Company, stimulated production and introduced new regularities of supply and demand, these very factors seem to have created a situation of discontent and instability. As the East India Company's control over the production process tightened, weaver's discontent manifested itself in disturbances, which came to surface, whenever their autonomous economic existence was threatened.

The weaving community of Northern Coromandel in fact had a tradition of reacting strongly to situations which in their perception constituted threats to their interests. Elsewhere in India the weaving community expressed its reluctant spirit and discontent in a concrete form, only when the forces of deindustrialization released by the Company's industries and advent of machine made goods from Europe overwhelmed the country. In Northern India, handloom weavers rose in violent rebellion again and again as the forces of deindustrialization swept over them. Throughout the nineteenth century, there were many movements of artisans as well as of peasants in which money lenders were singled out as targets of attack. Whereas, the evidence from the Northern Coromandel, especially from Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts, indicates that this unrest predates

deindustrialization or at any rate, the import of mill made fabrics.

These disturbances were directed not only against the Company and its agents but often at members of other communities, and some times even at members of their own community. The Company officials were particularly concerned by these disturbances because they tended to disrupt production, and thus affect the massive investment the Company had made in the textile industry of the region.<sup>3</sup>

Interestingly, whenever weavers found traditional customs oppressive, they turned to the Company for redressal, perhaps seeing in it a new instrument of the rule of law and a new locus of power. There were many customs in the traditional world of old Northern Coromandel which impinged on the weaver, some of which may have become more oppressive in the changing economy.

#### **Oppressive Practices and Weavers Responses:**

One such custom was Gadium or Gaddem by which a Zamindar could compel non-agricultural groups under his jurisdiction to buy grain from him at artificially inflated prices. The existence of such a practice dated back to the Vijayanagara period. Mention is also made in the Dutch records to the **Gaddem** tax, but the nature of this tax is **ambiguous**. The practice came to the notice of the Company in August 1789. In the 2nd division of the Masulipatnam district, it was observed in 59 villages only in respect to weavers. It was an established usage, and the



quantity which a weaver had to receive was also customarily established, and the weaver had to receive these grains above the market price at a fixed rate. It ranged from 1/4 Pagoda per candy at one place to 1/2 Pagodas and 1 pagodas in other places.<sup>6</sup>

When the Company officials came to know the practice of such a custom, they decided to put an end to this kind of jajmani relations at the production level, and thereby discouraged the kind of symbiotic link that existed in the prevailing economy of the weaving world, because they considered such a practice as being oppressive, and denied the weavers the benefits which they would get in a free market mechanism. At the same time, they were problems to the Company, engineered mainly by the landed elites and other renters, the main beneficiary groups<sup>7</sup>

Though the Gaddem system was practiced mainly in the Zamindaries, there was a slight variation regarding the nature of its operation. A decrease in the price of grain or greater surpluses in the hands of Zamindars were the two occasions during which the Zamindars forced grain on weavers and sometimes on banias within a stipulated time.<sup>8</sup> Some times, many Zamindars compelled particular villages under their immediate management, to procure grain.<sup>9</sup>

In the **pre-modern** world, such jajmani relationships, however exploitative, were not always resented, since the reciprocities implied in such **patron-client** linkages provided a safety net for crisis periods. But as these relationships were subjected to the

new stress and tensions, such practices become more oppressive, perhaps because Zamindars, hard pressed to meet new revenue demands, took everything they could get in the way of taxes. Even renters in the Zamindari areas took advantage of this custom, and forced weavers who had received cash advances from the Company to exchange cash for grain. This caused further hardship for the weavers as vendors of thread accepted only cash.<sup>10</sup> Vendors of thread insist on cash payments. If weavers were given grain as advance, they had to sell it, at a loss. This meant a smaller quantity of thread and an inferior quality of thread. This in turn meant an inferior product. Besides, renters in Zamindari tracts forced (perhaps using the feudal tradition of Gaddem) weavers to part with the cash for grain, resulting in a similar situation., Malcolm, therefore, advises against issue of grain.<sup>11</sup> This system also could have created conditions of discontentment. Did the weavers complain against this practice? The weavers of the region never seem to have complained against this; rather they accepted this as a part of the jajmani relationship that existed between them and other landed elites.

It was in this context that the Company officials thought that one of the means through which they could secure the work of the weavers to East India Company in preference to other individuals, was to abolish this offensive practice, extending this concession essentially to those weavers registered for Company's service.<sup>12</sup> The Board Of Revenue in fact passed a resolution seeking for the abolition of the practice of Gaddem absolutely.<sup>13</sup>

The weavers probably recognized the Company's need to protect the weaving industry and to keep production costs low, and at the same time, the ability of the nascent Company state to alter the existing order. The Company in fact responded to the weaver's petitions by ordering the Zamindars to desist from the practice.

The new economic order superimposed upon the ancien regime brought in its train consequential problems for the weavers. Probably because of the demand made on them by the new revenue systems, Zamindars, enhanced in some cases the taxes they traditionally collected from weavers. For example, the manager of Peddapuram Zamindari had become too rapacious, according to a petition submitted by the weavers, who accused him not only of increasing the house tax from 1 Pagoda per house to 2 pagodas, but also of forcing grain upon them at an inflated price. As a result, they quit their looms and assembled at the Company factory.<sup>15</sup>

A traditional tax which fell directly upon the weaver was the loom tax. Recognizing that its abolition would act as an incentive for the weavers to produce only for the Company, the Board of Trade decided to exempt weavers from this tax in the Haveli lands as early as 1793 itself. (for a detailed discussion, See Ch. world of the weaver). The colonial state intended to extend a similar privilege to the weavers of the Zamindari areas, whenever a Zamindari was sequestered to the Company's lands. However, by 1802, the Company's endeavours to control the

production led to the exemption of all weavers from paying the loom tax, including those Zamindari areas, provided they had to registered for the Company's service.<sup>17</sup> The Zamindars were in turn paid compensation for the loss of revenue accruing from the loom tax.

The weavers of the Northern Coromandel, being assimilative of these new privileges accorded to them by the Company, could express freely their grievances to the Company, whenever the Zamindars, renters and merchants tried to bring back the practice. The weavers some times by sending their representatives and some times through petitions, expressed their discontent towards the elite groups, and sought the assistance of the new juridical structures of the colonial states. In 1795, the Commercial Resident of the Masulipatnam Factory received a petition from the weavers of Devee Taluk, who stated that the Company's Gumastha insisted that the weavers should clear off the balances due by them.<sup>18</sup> From the accounts of the **karnam** produced by Gumastah, it was noticed that 30 weavers owed a balance of 33 pagodas; of these 30 weavers, 18 had died. The head weavers were, therefore, "ordered to discharge the balance of at least those who are **living**".<sup>19</sup> The Company also sought to control Zamindars who tried to use force to impose upon the weavers the custom of collecting a piece of cloth.

It was not only Zamindars who tended to oppress and exploit the weavers. The weavers were subjected to the dominance of other rural elites as well. The Commercial Resident of Ingeram

in 1802 reported about the harassment of weavers by the Kapus and the **Karanam** of 'Pundalapaka. A representation was sent by the Company's copdar in the Rajahmundry district, complaining against Seetaramoodoo, head inhabitant of the Vaddasolaroo village. Where there was a dispute between the weavers and kapus of the village, the head inhabitant had not taken any steps to bring any reconciliation between the groups, rather taking an active **part**, he showed an offensive and partial attitude towards all the weavers of the village. Consequently, fifty weavers of the village stopped their work and went off to some other place. The Company's commercial officials responded immediately and sought the assistance of other revenue officials by asking them to immediately release all weavers who were either confined by the officials or by Zamindars. Secondly, Seetaramoodoo, the head inhabitant and the Pot maker of the village should be asked to account for their conduct; thirdly, orders were issued mainly to encourage the weavers who deserted to return to the village and to resume their **work**.

While the Company could cast itself in the new guise of a benevolent jajmani when **weavers'** hostility was directed against others, it found the problem of weavers discontent much more intractable when it arose as a direct result of the Company's own policies.

## **Restructurings and Responses of Weavers**

Since the inception of Company's political hegemony in the Northern Coromandel region, the Company faced an unhappy situation for the smooth functioning of its commercial operations also. The weavers backed by the assistance of landed elites and other native officials, resented the Company's increasing control over the various facts of the textile economy. In their dissident movements, the weavers got the cooperation of merchants, villagers, and also private traders, who were the victims of the same processes.

In 1768, when the weavers working for the Company's merchants at Ingeram factory owed a large balance to their merchants, Jogee Pantulu (alias Stree Rajah Bahauder) induced weavers to move away from their locality and settle in those villages coming under his jurisdiction. Further, Jogee Pantulu ill-treated the Company's Sepoys and distributed Dustucks all over the country. . When the Company attempted to introduce new duties; weavers refused to work for Company's investment in 1768.<sup>23</sup>

## **Discontentments among the weavers of Godavari Districts**

In 1774, Antony Sadleir introduced a territorial regrouping of weaving villages into new administrative units and placed those units under the management of Gumastahs, Head weavers and concoplys. Under the new arrangement, the weavers of fine cloth

producing Mootahs were forced to take up advances for weaving coarser variety of cloth. The weavers saw in this clause an element of oppression, as they had to give up not only their skill but also the profit which they earned earlier. Appagunta Veerasha, the Header weaver of Peddapatnam for instance, testified that "Four or Five hundred fine cloth weavers told Mr. Sadleir and his servants that they never used to make coarse cloths and that they did not know how to make it. Mr. Sadleir in answer told them that they must now learn it". As the weavers did not know how to weave coarse cloth, some of them bought Company's cloth elsewhere and gave it to the Company's Gumastahs, and consequently suffered a loss of between  $\frac{1}{8}$  -  $\frac{1}{4}$  pagoda for each piece. 24

When the weavers refused to take up any coarse cloth weaving, the Company's Gumastahs and other principal servants working for Company's investment under Antony Sadleir, used all forcible and oppressive methods against those weavers

Appagunta Veerasha went on to recount the fate of a weaver of Pedapundy Mootah, who "wove a bad piece of cloth which the Gumastah tied round his head and in that condition, he was made to walk round the town and then was made to bow down and a heavy stone was set upon his back. After he was released, they advanced him four pagodas for other two pieces of cloths which he tied at the end of his cloth with some accounts and going to a well put the cloth over the Pacote and then drowned himself by jumping into the well". 26

Appagente Veerasha himself was kept a prisoner at Kopparapalem for 3 months along with others like Conde Timmaiah, Conde Serannaly and their father Veerappe Mully, Jangam Venkatesham and Janyam Uppiah and others. Some of them, like Vesunnethale Sooroo, Tappiah Maloo and Moovoorree Malloo (an old man), were put in fetters. The last named died a few days after he was released .

The weavers were also against the imposition of any restrictions on their work. Earlier they were free to weave or sell cloth to whom they pleased, the English, the Dutch, the French and to Private traders. Now, under the Sadleir system, they were compelled to sell only to the English Company and were forced to take advances. Consequently, they became indebted to the French on account of cloth. A number of weavers from different Mootahs of Ingeram factory expressed the deplorable situation which they had to put up with under the Sadleir system. 28

For instance, all the weavers of Hassanally Badah (86 in number) appeared before the Committee. They said that earlier, they could sell cloth to the English, the Dutch, the French, and to private traders. Now, they were compelled to sell only to the English Company and were forced to take the advances. 7 of them were tied up and two severely flogged. They said that the four head weavers, Dantam Chetty Namachivy, Dantem Chetty Basavanah, Muttoo Veeramaloo and Enamarty Pattaseem conveyed Sadleir's orders not to sell cloth without permission. They said that they



did not know whether cloth was kept or rejected, but were unhappy about the low prices paid. They said that 14 **punjam** cloth was sold at Madras Pagodas 33 1/2 per corge before the change in the mode of investment. Rejected cloth was sold at 31 1/4 Pagodas per corge. Now 14 **punjam** cloth was categorized into four varieties, first two varieties meant for Company, third variety exclusively for Antony Sadleir, and the fourth variety was rejected variety.<sup>29</sup>

The weavers from various Mootahs complained that because of the changes, they became indebted to the Company, and ran away with their looms and families to the nearby French and Dutch factories at **Yanam** and Palakollu. Weavers from Amalapuram, Arrrivatam, Hassanallybada and Rustumbada emigrated to these territories, and declined to return to the Company's territories. The following table shows describes the debts incurred and families which fled to Palakollu and **Yanam**, after the introduction of new system. <sup>30</sup>

	Debts incurred in Pagodas	Families fled
Hassanally Badah	4-7 on each	35
Amalapuram		20
<b>Bimavaram</b>	750	4
Chintapalli	1100	8
Marterroo	700	2
<b>Penamattam</b>	750	4
Tanuku	750	2
Relangi	1350	1
Rajahmundry	350	3

Only a few weavers returned because of persuasion by head weavers. As the weavers of Hassanally Badah put it, "If you urge us further we must drown ourselves in the river Godavari and that gentleman (Sadleir) may take our wives and families on board of ships". The weavers of Arrivatum and Dangairoo Mootahs also testified to the same effect. <sup>31</sup>

The Head weavers congregated and called "Samium" to express their grievances to the Company's other officials. The weavers from various Mootahs marched towards the Company's factory to present their grievances, but were attacked by Sadleir's peons. For instance, the 4000 weavers of Kottapalli assembled at Kottapalli and tried to come to Ingeram to present their grievances, but were attacked by Sadleir's peons and dispersed.<sup>32</sup> However, when the Company attempted to bring the weaver under its firm control, the when the weaving community reacted much more rigorously. The efforts of Antony Sadleir to make new structural arrangements to directly link the weaver and Company, relegating the merchant to the background, provoked in 1775 an immediate reaction from the weavers of this region who organized tumultuous assemblies, called in local phrase 'Samaium' and organizing tumults assemblies cutting across different village boundaries.

In the weaving villages of the Godavari and Visakhapatnam district all the created a scene of discontentment among weavers, merchants and private traders. The conscious weaver, with the use of caste and community alignments indeed organized an

effective movement against the rigorous implementation of Antony **Sadleir's** system of Investment. Opposition to this scheme spread over the entire district, and weavers from the various Mootahs of the region did participated on a large scale, objecting to their employment solely for the English Company .

A remarkable form of protest in an organized fashion was carried on by weavers in this case. For instance, earlier in March and April 1775, weavers quit their work and assembled at the village of Vellamarroo and sent a verbal message to William **Hamilton**, a Company official at **Maddepolem** saying that they wished to discuss their grievances with him. Hamilton sought instructions from **Sadleir** who forbade him to have any intercourse with the weavers. A general idleness prevailed in the Twenty Seven Mootahs for the span of a month or upwards. Rumour was that **Simmadri Venkatachelleem** and **Venkatachellem Chetty**, "the principal servants of Antony **Sadleir** in managing the Company's investment advised **Sadleir** to starve the weavers into submission "Hunger at length constrained them to return to their looms". When Antony **Sadleir** retaliated with violence and inflicted oppressive forms of the punishments, the weavers turned into militant groups, and in some places attempted to inflict violence on the Company's servants and others. For instance in **Peddapuram** a crowd of weavers fell on the market, seized the Company's servants, beat up the sepoys and destroyed their stores". 34

Realising the danger to its investment, the Company decided to inquire into the complaints which the agitated weaver had against Sadleir, and appointed an Inquiry Committee with Peter Perrins, Alexander Davidson and John Holland as Committee Members. While the Commission informed Antony Sadleir and the Head weavers of various Mootahs to appear before the Commission at Nelapallee, weavers from 27 Mootahs took advantage of this new opportunity, went to Nelapalli primarily to place their grievances which they had experienced under the new arrangement brought by Antony Sadleir into the weaving economy. Appendix 1. Provides details about the number of weavers that went to Nelapalli to represent their grievances, and the names of Head weavers, Gumastahs, concoplys and common weavers chosen by weavers themselves for presenting their case before the Committee. 35

The remarkable feature about this particular uprising, a feature that was to be seen recurrently in the region, was the unity displayed by the various weaving castes. The four main weaving castes, Saliyar, Devangar, Seniyar and Kaikalor, combined to form a Samajam (association) and received the support of other castes through the territorial assembly of Mahanadu.<sup>36</sup>

This organized protest of the weavers turned out to be a grand victory when the Council reprimanded Sadleir, repudiated his methods, made peace with weavers, conciliated the Dutch and French and with their assistance, and persuaded many of the



7.1' Route of Revolts in Godavari District



Weaver's Park  
1775 from the specified area  
----> Route of Revolt of 1778.

The victory of the weavers in 1775 was short lived. the order was being sutured on to the old with ever increasing vigour and the weavers continued to chafe under the rule of the Company.

The weavers resented, for instance, the Company's increasing control of the production process, and in particular its rejection of what is deemed 'inferior' cloth.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes the resentment boiled over into militant action. John Rowley, the commercial resident at Ingeram reported in April 1795, that weavers at Pasalapooddy mutah of Godavari district forsook their looms, prevented thread markets from functioning, and even attempted to get other weavers to join the 'strike', with the apparent objective of compelling the acceptance by the Company of 'inferior' quality of cloth.<sup>39</sup> These weavers invited those of the neighbouring mootahs to join them in their resistance, "threatening to cut from the looms the cloths of such as refuse to do".<sup>40</sup> Rowley requested the collector to take immediate steps to subdue the 'tumultuous assemblies'.<sup>41</sup> Orders were issued to all revenue servants to watch their proceedings and check their progress. The Zamindar of Peddapur was also requested to reduce those weavers to obedience.

#### **Revolt of Weavers of Godavari District in 1798:**

A more serious insurrection of the weavers occurred in 1798, and the weavers who participated in this, moved from place to place, transmitting their ideas and attitudes that caused a concern for the Company. The class solidarity which the participants exhibited was not constrained by the existing

politico-administrative divisions. On the contrary, a new spirit of resistance spread all over the district, some times extending to other Masulipatnam divisions.

There were three major reasons for this particular disturbance which were necessarily related to the material aspects of the weaving world that deprived them a real share and reduced many weavers position to a mere subsistence level. The weavers under Company's service were discontented, as they were not able to get enough price for their work, especially when there was scarcity of thread.<sup>43</sup> Added to this, was the Company's attempt to introduce new arrangements for an efficient productive system that deprived the poorer weavers whatever little they used to get and also closed all those channels, through which they happened to get loans from the merchants. Under the new arrangements, the Company insisted that the investment should be provided by the collection of balances from the advances made during the early part of the year. As a result, the merchants used every stern measure to recover the outstanding loans due from the weavers. This also meant that the poorer weaver could not, without discharging the debts he already incurred, share in the new investment. All these economic and commercial pressures exerted by the Company's state created a unpleasantness among the weavers.

At this juncture, the immediate cause for weavers to flare up was the action of Tumalapilli Appiah , a Company's merchant of Daglooru village in Chentapooru Mutah, who "pinched the ear of

one weaver and pushed another weaver down ", and who had also paid an unfair price for a piece of cloth and cut one patch out of one of the Company's loom's.<sup>46</sup> This flagrant display of power and arrogance was the last straw as it were, and the weavers reacted with anger, and assembled at Daglooru to protest.

The two head weavers of Daglooroo village, Causah Cimiah and Smmithy Agusty assembled a body of about 300 weavers, 'entertained them with a supper and then prevailed on them to swear, that they would never more weave for the Company.'

One noteworthy feature of this particular display of the militant protest was the way in which it was organized. Backed by the strength and the solidarity of their caste leaders, the disgusted weavers moved from place to place, so as to bring under their banner even the weavers of other villages.

First, they went to Maddepolem and Narsapore. Not finding enough provisions here to feed the entire group, they left about 30 principal and head weavers behind and marched on to Relangi, where they were received by Punamachu Timmarajauze, the Tanedar.<sup>48</sup> Here, the number of weavers swelled to 500. They rejected all compromises offered by the Company officials and refused to return to work, because, the Commercial Resident felt, they recognised their strength and "depended on perseverance and number for success".<sup>49</sup> Issuing orders to weavers of their caste to join them, they also declared that they will undertake work for any one but the East India Company, and in fact, actually started producing cloth not of the Company's assortments.<sup>50</sup>



They also refused to liquidate their debts, to receive new advances on account of the present years investment, or to employ themselves in the provision of the investment in future. They decided to holdout in the hope of obtaining the same success experienced by the weavers residing in the **mootahs** under the Ingeram factory two years previously.<sup>51</sup>

From **Relangi**, a body of 200 weavers moved away and reassembled in the village of Yellindrapurroo in Nedadavole pargana.<sup>52</sup> Later another party consisting of about 20 weavers under the leadership of their head, Sindanee **Sivalingam** of **Commerroo** proceeded on 17 January 1798 from the village of **Yellindrapurroo** towards Masulipatnam. To reach Masulipatnam, they proceeded through Moyaroo, Yendagandy, Mallapalam, Yelloopoor, Culdindy and Tommedy. Despite ascertaining with accuracy the route through which the weavers intended to reach Masulipatnam, the Company officials were not able to stop them on their way.<sup>53</sup> From Masulipatnam, they went also to Cayclapaud and Yellpoor in Ausuntah Purganah in the 2nd division.

The Company tried, in the first instance, to meet the **weavers'** discontent with a policy of appeasement, and gave orders to Company's merchants to follow a very mild policy in collecting the **balances**. But the weavers who were on the verge of complete disobedience did not respond to these measures and the situation became much worse. The Company, concerned about its investment, now attempted to use intimidation and harsher methods through its local officials to suppress the militant weavers.

For instance, it asked the Tanadars to drive them out from their villages without any delay.<sup>56</sup> The Company also seized some of the ring leaders who resided in the 2d division, and expected that the cold weather and the lack of funds would compel the others to disperse.

Unable to deal with the refractory weavers by any of the **intimidative** methods, the Company then adopted a much harsher policy. The Company now ordered the seizure of the **weavers'** families, and to place them under restraint, until the refractory weavers returned to their houses, and accounted for their **conduct**. As a last resort to prevail upon the weavers, and to place its investment on firm ground, the Company used social constraints on the weavers. These social constraints would deprive and alienate the weavers from other structures and groups. The revenue officials in-charge of the weaving villages were asked to insist that the weavers should discharge their balance in goods of the **Company's** assortments. Failing this, they were to be prevented from the enjoyment of those privileges which were exercised by the inhabitants in general. Meaning of course the use of the wells in the villages and of pasturage etc., for their cattle, and of the privilege of getting batta.<sup>58</sup>

Later, orders were issued to the native revenue officers in-charge of the weaving villages, to compel the weavers of those villages to return to their duty and either to pay off their balance in Company's assortments or to receive new advances. In due course, to get back to the earlier peaceful situation, that

could continue the production process, the **Commercial** Resident also suggested various measures. To help those weavers who returned to their work, the agitating weavers were prevented from visiting their houses and deterring them from work. The Commercial Resident also sought to prevent these protesting weavers from collecting money from the working weavers, as the money would be used to support those weavers who had assembled in the 1st division.<sup>59</sup>

Sometimes, besides the attempts of the Company to increase its control over the production process, the increasing demand for specific textiles, the increasing influence of the native agency owing to the new order imposed in the structural arrangements of the production process also, created a situation of discontent and instability among the weavers, who subsequently manifested their resentment in the form of insurrections.

## **Visakhapatnam Weavers Revolts**

### **1796 Revolt**

A serious insurrection among the weavers of the Visakhapatnam district took place in 1796 and it was instigated by the Principal contractor, Mulliah, one of the Devanga caste of weavers. The principal copdars and Senapatis pointed out that those causes that related to their economic oppression of the weavers. They were first, the pervasive influence of Jaggapah over the production process which caused discontent among the weavers. In order to complete his contract, Jaggapah

applied "uncommon severity against them" and removed the gentoo cloths from their looms so as to compel them to work on salempores. The weavers were reluctant to undertake the production of salempores, because of the high cost of thread. They were also unwilling to produce for the Company, because this meant that they had to pay towards the upkeep of the Company peons involved in the textile trade, and also the continual loss which they should sustain by the imposition of peons attached to the copdars under the Company's service. Despite their reluctance, the weavers were forced to work.<sup>61</sup>

Secondly, the low price paid for the punjam cloths, and other financial reductions deducted from this price made them raise their voice against the Company. Earlier the weavers used to provide 14 and 18 punjums cloths, for the Company under the immediate direction of the merchants and contractors of the Company. For this, for a piece of 18 punjam cloth the weavers were paid Rs. 9 3/4 out of Rupees 10 1/2, which the Company had allowed to the merchant. And for 14 punjam cloth, Rs. 7 1/2 out of Rupees 8 1/4 was allowed to the merchant. Moreover, no deduction from this price was permitted under any circumstances. Under the new commercial resident, the price of 18 punjam cloth declined to little more than rupees 8 4/5, and that of 14 punjam cloths to about rupees 6 4/3, besides deducting amounts on the pretext of batta to peons and copdars.

Thirdly, the Company's demand for 'salempore' piece goods from Visakhapatnam was very high, as the Company had not been

able to get enough quantity from the Ganjam district.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, the weaver of the Visakhapatnam district was prevailed upon to give up his specialization.

Thus the Company's policies and its demand conditions threatened the relatively autonomous existence of the weaving world of the Visakhapatnam district, and conscripted them to accept the new conditions. The social groups who were kept in-charge of the production process, and those responsible for arranging the supply of goods, forced the weavers to supply those goods for which they had no sanction from their caste elites. Moreover, they saw in it a force due to which their independence was reduced relatively, as they had to give up their alternative sources of employment like producing the fine varieties for private traders and the gentoo cloths for local consumption. The rising importance of the native agency at the factory had resulted in the enforcement of those rules and regulations, as a result of which the weaver had to pay towards extra charges at a time, when there was a scarcity of thread, and a reduction in the value of currency. The results of this dissatisfaction and discontent was to organize a revolt that would knit together the weavers for a common purpose. The 'fugitive' weavers gave up their work, and forced their counterparts from the neighbouring village to join them.

The weavers proceeded from Cassimkota to Tumapallah, and from there, they went to Anakapalli. At Anakapalli they engaged in a fight with some of the Kotwals men. Because of the superior

force of the Kotwal, the weavers at Anakapalli had to submit themselves.<sup>64</sup> Later the concopoly of the ware-house, Jaggapah, Complained that, "some weavers of the Devangooloo caste from cusbah Ankapilly had forcibly seized a quantity of thread purchased at a neighbouring shandy by a certain number of weavers of the same cast, who were conveying it to their houses at Simprepilly, for the purpose of working it in to Salempore...".<sup>65</sup>

The principal instigators of the disturbance at Anakapalli were the Senapati and Copdars at Anakapalli. The Senapaties were Anlunka Bogasha, Manam Basavannah, Yaluncabobanda Mulliah, Seela Tomiah, Manam Yamanah, and Tolica Bogasha, Gooty Veeranah and Damtamasetty Reddy were the copdars who promoted this disturbance. The principal instigator of this disturbance according to the Concopoly was Mulliah. Mulliah perhaps was a leader among the Devangas as a popular proverb of the region says, "Allullalo Mallu peddah", meaning that among the Devangas Mallaiah was leader.<sup>68</sup>

The collector had to send orders repeatedly to the summon these copdars and senapaties to the cutchery. At the first instance, the collector warned them of the punishment which they would get for their unwarranted conduct, and for the confusion and irregularity which they created in the country. ”

The response of these senapaties and copdars to the charges levelled against them by the collector, clearly demonstrates the determined effort on the part of the weaver to keep his

independence and identity in **toto**, in order to keep the influence of outside elements on his economic activities to a **minimum**. The report stated that: 70

the shanapatties had not denied those facts complained against them nor did they scruple to avow that their aversion to work the salempores was the principal cause of their opposition, and that to resist the orders which they had been given to this effect and which they complained of as being enforced by the Gomastahs and others with much strictness and severity, had determined them to use the influence of their caste over the other weavers as the only alternative to prevent any work whatever being carried on until their point was gained, an instance of this, was the one complained of by the weavers belonging to **Simprilly**, who had disposed themselves contrary to the inclination of the rest of the cast to obey your orders for the manufacture original of this description of goods.

The collector John Snow, expressed the hope that the weavers would yield to reason, and that they would be disposed to subscribe to the immediate terms prescribed to them. The way to secure this, he believed, was to insist that the senapaties of the several parties assembled should represent their grievances in a quiet submissive manner, while the remaining weavers would disperse and return to their work as usual. Further, the resident was asked to prevent disorderly and licentious meetings of persons from disturbing or distracting the peaceful inhabitants of the district.<sup>71</sup> What we find, however, if the lists of the agitators are examined, is that none of them were senapaties. This suggests that the agitation was creating new leaders.

The extended networks of caste and class among the weavers of the district was in fact reflected on occasions, when the weavers from other villages also extended their support to those '**movements**' which they considered to be essential for their

sustenance. For instance, when the weavers at **Cassimcota** were placed under confinement for their active participation in the 1796 revolt, the weavers at **Uppada** gave up weaving to retaliate, and remained '**on strike**' until these confined weavers were set free.<sup>72</sup>

The weavers of the Visakhapatnam district created some regulations and rules, through which they maintained their economic positions in the society. Even the **specialization** aspect of their profession was completely under the purview of their common regulation and rules, which were relaxed only with common consent of their entire caste. The conscious weavers guarded these economic privileges very jealously, and raised their objections when an attempt was made to threaten these economic privileges by the Company. In 1798 **Csalalungarh Latchnna** forced some weavers of **Kappaka** and **Rajupollam** to weave 12 **punjam** cloth, for which he had advanced money also. 12 **Punjam** cloth was never manufactured in the district. The weavers objected mainly on the ground that the order was not extended to the entire district, but was rather limited to the weavers of these two villages. "when all the weavers in the district are ordered we will be ready with them, now there is no order to any body but to the people of these two villages".<sup>73</sup>

### **1816 Revolt**

A massive but peaceful form of protest was organized by the weavers of the Visakhapatnam district in 1816, and it continued for nearly two years, till the weavers achieved their goals. In



this form of expression, the weavers were acutely conscious of their situation, and the possibilities for collective political and legal action to secure redressal of their grievances. Not only did they display remarkable organizational skills, but they were able to sense the ways in which the new juridical and state structures could be manipulated.

The prolonged economic oppression which the weavers put up with ultimately induced them to mobilize and organize a 'movement' that pushed out the other dominant social groups from the production process of the textile economy of the Visakhapatnam district. A remarkable form of uniformity and cohesiveness was demonstrated throughout the period of revolt, and the weavers with their dominant caste elites at the forefront gave up their "localism" and united in opposition to their common enemies: colonial rulers or indigenous groups. What were the forces that generated and sustained such a movement in the early nineteenth century? "It is the subjection of the rural masses to a common source of exploitation and oppression that makes them rebel even before they learn how to combine in peasant associations". <sup>4</sup>

Nearly 20,000 weavers of the Visakhapatnam district were placed since 1811 under the thralldom influence of **Chinnum** Jaggapah Chetty, the Head servant and Dubash at the factory who attempted to place under his control the entire production organization of the textile economy. This he did with the help of his relatives, **Motumarry** Paupadu and Grundy **Venkatramoodoo**,

who entered the weaving villages as Copdars by displacing the weavers caste Copdars. These persons were powerful enough to influence the Commercial Resident and used their new found power to dominate the weavers of the region.

The economic conditions that caused disillusionment among the weavers of the district were related essentially to the practices followed by the Bania caste Copdars. They were.<sup>75</sup>

1. That the copdars pay them a lower price for their cloth than is allowed by the Company while at the same time inserting the full amount in their wogettees.
2. That the copdars take on their own account the rejected cloth paying for the same at a rate far below its value with or with out weavers consent.
3. that the advances are not made to the weavers till a considerable time after the cash has been received for such purposes from the Commercial Resident.
4. that proportions of grain, cotton and other articles of merchandise are substituted for advances which ought to be made wholly in cash.
5. that the weavers did not have access to the commercial resident to state their grievances because C. Juggapah's influence with him, was such as to induce him believe of every misstatement and their being eventually flogged without a hearing.

6. The copdars Motumarry Paupadoo, Grundy Vencataramdoo and Maumedy Sooriah, all of the Banyan caste, purchased ready made cloths, with a proportion of the money they receive for advance making it appeared charcoal endorsement on such supplies that every piece is the real manufacture of registered weavers of the Company.
7. That these said copdars exact sums of money from the weavers on all occasions of marriage ceremonies at their houses, and on various other pretenses.
8. Lastly, that the general tenor of their conduct, aided by their powerful ally Chinnum Jaggapah is so oppressive that the weavers were unable to follow their occupations in support of their numerous families.

All these oppressive conditions propelled the weavers of Visakhapatnam into yet another confrontation with the Company. In 1816, more than 12,000 weavers gathered at the Vaishnavite pilgrim centre of Simhachalam near Visakhapatnam, to draw the attention of the Company officials.<sup>77</sup> It is possible that the size of the gathering itself, besides impressing the Company officials, drew more support from other weavers. Ranajit Guha has drawn attention to the manner in which peasants gathering in large numbers use this to "win over to their side the

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recalcitrants and vacillators within their own community. A similar phenomenon may have been at work in this gathering of the weavers.

Thus, the weavers of almost all Mocaums, where the Bania caste copdars were dominant gathered at Simhachalam. The weavers from Mocaums Rajam, Parvadah, Dimmely, Codoor, Goorampaulem, Bony, Nakkapalli, Payakarowpettah, Vamoolapoody, Vamoolapoody /a part/, Vapadah, by cutting across their territorial and administrative power structure mobilized their class into an organized force and assembled at one place so as to attract the attention of the Company's officials and thereby placing their complaints before the officials. Interestingly, although the weavers of Goorampalam and Anakapally and part of Codoor and Nakkapalli were not in the employ of Government, they too participated in the gathering.<sup>79</sup>

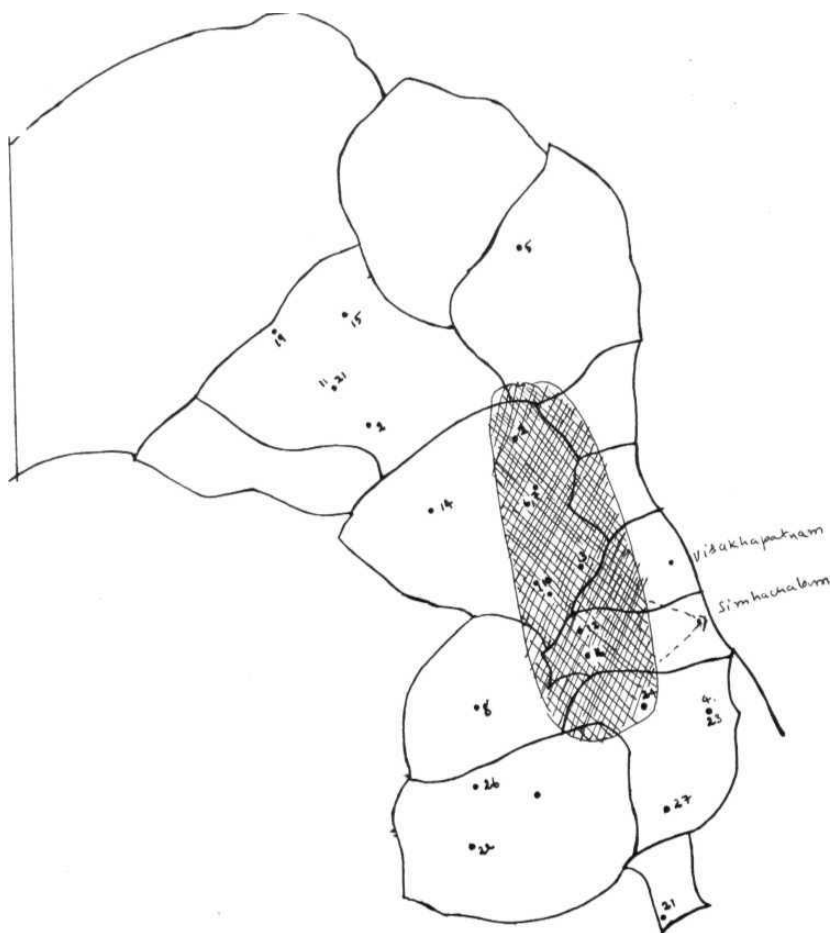
The huge gathering did secure the attention of the Company officials with no delay. The assistant Magistrate Mr. Bird and the then Commercial Resident, Mr. Taylor met the weavers and gave an assurance to hear the nature of their complaints and accord justice, after seeking the opinion of 20 representatives at Visakhapatnam from among the body assembled at Simhachallem. The 20 leaders at Visakhapatnam were however, kept under the charge of Zilla peons by the assistant Magistrate. At this juncture, the influence of Chinnum Jaggapah and the CR on the decision of the assistant Magistrate foiled the attempts of the weavers to explain their grievances. On the other hand, the assistant magistrate sent Meerum Saib, the Nazer of the court with a number of peons to disperse the weavers from Simhachellum. In spite of being flogged by the peons, and even though the Nazer prevented the sale of necessities like rice, wood and pots to the weavers

to make them submit, the weavers, in a remarkable display of an early form of passive resistance, remained non-violent and peaceful.<sup>80</sup>

On the following day Mr. Pashe the judge came to court and ordered the peons set over the weavers agents to be discharged, and the agents were ordered to give a statement of their grievances. The agents submitted 8 petitions from 8 Mocaums, detailing their grievances. They did this with the hope that the magistrate would issue orders to prevent the oppression complained of either by proclamation or send petitions to government or to your Board, "obtain for us the prevention further oppression but instead of doing so he was pleased to return our petitions as wanting in the regular form of the court".<sup>81</sup>

Having failed to secure redressal of their grievances by the local authorities, the weavers, now clearly aware of their rights, attempted to influence lower authorities, by putting pressure on the higher authorities at Madras. Immediately, they sent their agents of different Mocaums to Madras and placed their complaints before the Board of Trade. Voodadow Appahdoo, Gadam Padnamaswamy, Gadam Chinna Namaswamy, Genagum Veerappa, Andra basayagary Veerasee, Thady Sarabay, Vanapally Paroomaloo, Hemundy Samboodouse Mullapah, Thatham Chitty Iaypah, Araveerasam, Andhra Basapah, Andhra Sevay, Vaozay chnnay, Yarpahraah, Yara Basapah, Hemadry Aumanah, Batah Paray, Soranopoody Ramanah, Thoday Saraby and Searum Gagappah went to Madras to represent their problem through petition.

7.2 Route of Revolt of 1816 in Visakhapatnam District



The response of the weavers and their representatives to the methods and means followed by the Company's authorities clearly took two forms. Firstly, the way in which the weavers lobbied the provincial authorities at Madras to intervene in the affairs of the district, by dispatching petitions, and keeping agents at Madras for a long period. Secondly, the well ordered presentation of their grievances through their caste representatives and chief agents, when the investigation committee started its enquiry

Besides explaining the form and nature of oppression which the weavers put up with, owing to the undue influence exerted by Chinnum Jaggapah and others in the district, the weavers also stated the various procedures that were used to hamper their activities on this occasion. For instance, through the Tom Tom beat it was made known "that no person was to assist or make out petitions for them in English to your Board or **Government**". In the petitions which they had placed before the Board of Trade at Madras, they pleaded for (1) a new Resident at Visakhapatnam; (2) investigation and redressal of their grievances which they specified in their petitions; (3) return of the sum withheld by the copdars on account of the **punjam** cloth taken by them since 1811.<sup>83</sup>

"The weavers further requested the Board to take measures to remove the said Chinnum Jaggapah from the commercial office and if possible from Visakhapatnam during the investigation and should not be in the smallest degree connected with any of his

relations who were in the **commercial** Department at Visakhapatnam otherwise the Board would not come to know the nefarious transactions of **Chinnum Jaggapah**. They further stated that in fact were able to state **matters** in this petitions to prove the copdars oppression but for the fact that the Board could transmit an Arzee to the Commercial Resident and thereby Jaggapah be enabled to adopt measures to prevent the proofs and evidences taking effect. Therefore the weavers reserved their complaints to bring forward before the person who may be appointed from Madras to enquire into their complaints."<sup>84</sup>

"If the charges which the weavers forwarded against **Chinnum Jaggapah's** relations **Motamarry Paupiah** and **Grandee Vencataramdoo** be proved to the satisfaction of the Board, the Board would be pleased to dismiss them from the Company's service. If the contrary would happen, then the weavers consented to undergo the punishment which the Board would think it proper and also to pay off all the expenses which the Board would incur in course of these <sup>of</sup> investigation."

When the agents submitted the petition of the weavers to the Board of Trade, then Henry Taylor taking **Chinnum Jaggapah**, copdars **Grundy Venkatramoodoo** and **Motamarry Paupiah** went to the several **Mocaums**. They with the help of 130 Pariah peons expressly employed for the purpose effected the seizure of such weavers pointed out by the copdars. They forced the weavers to give sanads to testify that (1) the proper price allowed by the Company was paid by copdars; (2) the advances were not made in



grain and other articles, (3) no damages were collected for the cloth which returned rejected; (4) rejected cloths were always returned to them but not taken by the copdars and (5) the weavers through a want of prudence and sense the weavers had assembled at the hill of China **Simhachallem**.<sup>86</sup>

The poor weavers were forced to give sunneds without which their houses and weaving looms would be auctioned off. When the weavers refused to do so, then the copdars attempted to sell off the little property in order to clear off their existing balances. As this illtreatment was intensifying gradually, the weavers dispatched another petition dated 2nd February, 1817 to the BOT, this time by Tappal, thus indicating their use of every available mode of communication **with** the provincial **authority**.

The weavers by sending a number of petitions to the Board of Trade in Madras pressed the Company's authority to plunge into action. In all these petitions they repeatedly explained the economic oppression which they suffered for a long period, and essentially seeking a relief for themselves from these Bania caste copdars. On 13 December 1816 the weavers Agents Dody Pada Saraboyah, Andhra Chinnessh, **Thoutamsetty Aummanah**, **Woodemdum Appadoo**, **Gadum Padachamma Swayah**, **Gadem China Namaswayah**, **Iarragum Veerapah**, **Veera Appadoo**, **Dody Saraboyah**, **Seevam Jaggapah**, **Wooyery Cinniah**, **Vanapally Paromallo**, **Bata Paroyah**, **Summendy Samboodoogary Mulloo**, **Andra Meerasah**, **Andra Baupanasye Goary**, **Veerchah**, **Andraa Seeveah**, **Andra Basvaiah**, and **Yerra Basavanah** sent **another** petition to Board of **Trade**. Similar kind

of petitions were sent until the Board had taken some decision on  
this issue.<sup>ft 9</sup>

The Company initially attempted to take up the entire issue of the revolt of 1816 by having recourse to the judicial structure, created by the Company. The weavers of the Northern Coromandel, especially those of Vizagapatnam and Godavari districts were acculturated to the new rule of law and judicial procedures by the Company through its judicial apparatus. .the Company's legal and judicial procedures disrupted traditional procedures through which the weavers could secure redressal of their grievances. The advent of the new political power and the subsequent consolidation processes while leaving social and cultural problems to be solved by the communities ,shifted all the grievances relating to the economic and production organization to the new government directly. The importance attached to these was demonstrated in July 1816, when the weavers' petitions, not duly attended to on the ground that those petitions did not comply with those of existing judicial regulations. The petition presented by Emunda Jagapa, Develuree Ramodoo and Emunda Mulliah from Codoor Mocaum totally rejected by the Zilla Magistrate on the ground that, the petitions had not been written on a stamp paper. Besides, he argued, it was a civil and not a criminal complaint, and moreover, they had not specified the amount at dispute.<sup>91</sup>

The protests of 1816 essentially stemmed from three factors. First was the issue of illtreatment of some weavers by persons

connected with the **Visakhapatnam** factory. Second was the fact that sum owed to weavers were withheld. The third was that such irregularities could be perpetrated because of the undue influence exerted on the local officials by **Chinnum** Jaggapah and his allies.

The Board of Trade was of that the cases of assault should be referred to the Magistrate, while the question of non payment of dues should be addressed to the Commercial Resident in the first instance. If the weavers failed to secure redressal from the Commercial Resident, they could appeal, under Section XXVI of Regulation I of 1806, to the Zilla Court. The Board was particularly keen that the weaver's representatives gathered at Madras should return to their places especially since the Board could not "sanction combinations of weavers for the purpose of making general complaints," nor acknowledge "persons stating themselves to be agents for such combinations,".

Quite clearly the officials of the Company and the Board of Trade in particular were trying to impose the new rule of law and to negate the possibility of collective action.

The weavers aware of their position under these new legal procedures, however, expressed inability to accept these proposals, because of the limitations they had under the existing socio-economic forces that pervaded the factory affairs. They were apprehensive of the first two proposals forwarded by the Board. First, they could not send their complaints which they

had against the resident to the Magistrate, owing to illtreatment they had experienced on earlier occasions, and also as the influence which Chinnum Jaggapah could exercise still persisted. Secondly, it was not convenient for them to prefer their complaints to the Resident, for the recovery of their just dues from the copdars. Besides, they did not have time and money to prefer their complaints individually to the Zilla Court. The only proposal which the weavers appreciated was the Board's proposal "to issue orders to the Commercial Resident to investigate charge against his servants."<sup>93</sup> The weavers agents who presented many petitions seeking for the discontinuation of the direct interference of the copdars in their affairs were, as a first step, asked to return to their respective places and written orders were issued to punish severely those weavers who still remained at Madras. However, the weavers who accepted the orders of the Madras government and returned to their villages, were once again treated harshly by the concerned copdars. On this occasion, Bhogesam and his wife, and Sambia, Ankiah, Rama and Ganga from Singavarem village weavers were being flogged, for refusing to execute a writing stating that those persons who went Madras are rogues..and that the copdars did no injustice towards them<sup>94</sup> This time by compelling the weavers to pay off their balances which they had against the Company, even the Company official Mr. Taylor also exercised pressure on these weavers by placing peons on them. Interestingly, the weavers who obliged the word of higher authorities, also dared to act against its verdict if necessary. The weavers of the Visakhapatnam District, faced with illtreatment both from copdars and the Commercial

Resident, once again dispatched a common petition with 201 signatures on 17 May 1817. A slight change in the tone and expressions used in this petition was itself an indication of the active weaver, who apparently raised their voice repeatedly, and thereby succeeded in getting economic privileges, that would lead to the reduction of the involvement of other social groups in the weaving world of the district.<sup>95</sup>

The '**combinations**' of weavers of the Visakhapatnam district in 1816, and their continuation well into 1817 depended for their strength on the response of their representatives and chief Agents, who essentially carried on the movement. A second phase of this became evident during the period when the committee started its Enquiry in October 1817. The Company, recognizing that the weavers were in no mood to become pliant, had to retreat from its earlier **intimidatory** posture, and set up a Committee of Enquiry with Mr. Savage and Mr. Fraser as members. The Company which had earlier rejected the idea of representative, now called for delegates of the weavers to come forth and **testify**.

The weavers from Gooravampollam, Boni, Codoor, Rajam, Payakarowpeta, Paravadah, Diemila, Nukkapalli, **Byaveram**, Vapadah, Mocaums deputed 6 representatives from each, by giving authority to state their grievances before the committee at Visakhapatnam. From these Mocaums 3,018 weavers forwarded such an authorization to their representatives. Appendix 4 provides particulars of those who appeared before the investigation committee. **These** Mocaums were essentially under the authority of Bania caste copdars, Grandi **Venkataramdoo**, **Motamarry** Paupadoo, Maumedy Sooriah and **Aumeen** Gauda **Ramaiah**.

While **empowering** these delegates to speak on behalf of their conditions, the weavers of the Visakhapatnam district on this occasion, however, depended exclusively on two chief agents. Jummandy **Ammanah** and Surnumpoody **Ramanah**. The weavers of the district constituted Jummandy Ammanah and Surnumpoody Ramanah as their Agents themselves, and assured them of every assistance, for which there was written authority.<sup>98</sup> When the Enquiry Committee started its proceedings, only Jummandy Ammanah was present at Visakhapatnam, while Surnumpoody Ramanah stayed at Madras keeping in his possession all important documents, vouchers etc. that would substantiate the testimony presented by Jummandy Ammanah and other delegates, because the weavers were afraid that the documentary evidence may be tampered with or destroyed.

Jummandy Ammanah had complained to the Committee against **Motamarry** Paupoodoo, Grandi Venkataramadoo, **Chinnum** Jaggapah and Commercial Resident presenting all necessary details.<sup>100</sup>

Interestingly, the weavers, delegates took pains to point out that their main complaint wa against the copdars and not against Chinnum Jaggapah. ~~This~~ was obviously because Jaggapah was very influential, and the delegates did not wish to offend him. It, could also have been due to their strategy of focussing attention on the misdeeds of three Copdars who, in their opinion were "most oppressive," namely Grandi Venkatramoodoo, **Motamany** Papadoo and **Maumidi** Sooriah.

Two set of delegates came from those **Mocaums** to represent their problems before the committee. A few delegates attended to state that they had not seen the circular letter dated 23 October 1817. This letter was intended to bring to the notice of the weavers of the several Mocaums about the arrival of the Committee of investigation, and asked them to send their representations. From the testimony presented by the 35 representatives of Boni, Paravadah, **Goorrampatam**, Codoor, Rajam and **Dimili** it appeared that the respective copdars had not revealed the contents of the circular, before unless they signed on other papers given to them . These papers contained the information that specifying that they had no complaints to make against **Chinnum Jaggapah** and other **copdars**. Advances were not given to those weavers who refused to sign on these papers.<sup>102</sup>

These delegates had expressed their opinion on those issues that related to the form of economic oppression which they were enduring under their copdars and sometimes had also spoken against Jaggapah. If the committee intended to get more details from them, the delegates referred their agent **Jummandy Ammanah** immediately.<sup>103</sup>

The subtle ways applied by the weavers to appraise the committee also demonstrate the conscious effort on the part of the weavers not to give any additional information other than necessary. On 12 April 1817, 390 weavers of Rajam Mootah forwarded a complaint that contradicted the opinion expressed by another group of 426 weavers also of Rajam Mootah. Apparently in

this list **Cottam** Setti Sunnassee, Delegate from **Maumedepolam** village also figured. The reply of **Cottam** Setta Sannassee on this was that

"During my absence some weavers came to my house by desire of the copdars brother/**Jaggapah**/and compelled my sons to sign the paper and on my return the same peons obliged me to sign at but not until they had flogged me."

Q: "Did these peons oblige the other weavers to sign the paper by the same means.

A I cannot say I only speak as to the way in which my signatures and sons were obtained."

Q: "who presented this petition to Mr. Taylor.

A I do not know but believe it to have been presented by Copdar.<sup>104</sup>

Apparently, the participation of weavers in the movement of 1816 was not limited to those **Mocaums** which were completely under the control of **Grandi Vencataramdoo** and **Motamarry** Paupadu. The weavers from other **Mocaums** taking advantage of the situation, came forward even to express their grievances which they had against any person. For instance, on 28 October 1817, 5 weavers from **Dimili** came before the Investigation Committee essentially to complain that the Sayer Darogah of **Dimili** insisted them to work as coolies to carry Baggage. These weavers were asked to send their complaints either to the commercial resident or to the Magistrate.<sup>105</sup>



Similarly, six representative from Uppada **Mocaum** attended before the Committee of Investigation on 24 November 1817 and they had an authorization from 284 weavers to place their complaints against their newly recruited Brahmin **Aumeen**, Gauda **Ramaiah**. He was a resident of Goorarampolam Mocaum. He ordinarily collected 1/4 of a rupee on each piece of cloth. If the weavers refused to pay the sum, their cloth was not accepted by him and future advances were also withheld. He also collected one rupee from each village comprised his Mocaum. The Company gave advances on all but one or two looms for the current years investment.<sup>106</sup>

Thus the Visakhapatnam weaver by following various means and methods did bring pressure on the Colonial Government, and deconstructed the form of oppression engendered by the Bania caste copdars over them.

Caste, needless to say, was an important element in this particular conflict. The weavers' protests were provoked precisely because of the fact that the new Copdars were of a different caste. In fact, caste was a crucial element in all the protests and agitations, because it was the social bond of caste that provided the framework of unity for the weavers, and the rallying point for their mobilization.

The Company ultimately had to concede to the demands of the weavers, and bring about drastic restructurings and realignments

in the weaving villages of the district. Under the new structural arrangements, the caste leaders emerged as a triumphant groups but with less power in their hands and sharing their roles with other groups like Gumastahs and Senapaties.

The disturbances quite often had narrow, specific reasons and they appeared to be unconnected. Essentially however, the discontent of the weaver needs to be seen as emanating from the two interacting structures in which they operated. One was the traditional, pre-colonial structure of oppression and control which was undergoing transformation, and the other was the new economic order being superimposed on the old order. Hameeda Hossain suggested that:<sup>107</sup>

...The combination of weavers" reported in 1775 seemed to have caused delays and interruptions in the company's investment. But they did not succeed in challenging its authority. In fact there is little evidence that weavers organized themselves effectively along caste or labour loyalties to form an affective bargaining group...

The weavers' revolts or insurrections, whatever the specific reasons associated with each one, display in the region one particular form and spirit that distinctly pervades among the weavers throughout the period. The caste spirit and solidarity were two remarkable features that could be discerned among the weavers of the region in early nineteenth century. In each revolt, the weavers used or rather depended extensively on what Ranajit Guha, referring to peasant insurgency has called

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"communal sanctions."

Unity such as this depended for its strength on two types of communal sanctions. Cultural and physical the first of these was imposed usually as a threat to one's status within the community either by defilement or by social boycott. More often, however, the price of dissidence from a common action would be the denial of cooperation by fellow villagers. This could ruin a peasant economically as well as socially... Rarely, however, could sanctions against breach of solidarity remain confined to a purely non-violent exercise in social boycott. It was common for the latter to be accompanied by threats of physical violence.

Geographically these protests and uprisings were limited to the Northern districts only, suggesting that weaver from Masulipatnam district was a more passive and weaker element. This was primarily due to three reasons. Firstly, the weavers of chay and Chintz goods enjoyed the luxury of more marketing centres, thereby, their position was better off than the Godavari and Visakhapatnam weavers, whose product reached only few distinct markets only, owing to their specialization. Secondly, the absence of strong intermediaries meant the minimum interference by the Company in their production process. Thirdly, the weavers were able to get enough for their living with the wages they got, and as a result they never attempted to protests.

The presence of strong intermediary essentially caste leaders created a sense consciousness among the weavers who organized their protest movements very effectively. The Company, therefore, realizing the conspicuous role played by these weavers in the weaving villages had authorized them to be the locus of power in the newly created structure. Consequently, the weaver was pacified and accepted the new way of life.

The conscious weavers also realized his position under the new **system**, and tried consistently to retain the position, whenever it was dismantled by the intrusion of a much more powerful groups like traditional banias. Then they voiced their discontent in the form of a movement, but always exercising restraint and confining themselves to more peaceful ways.

The weaver in the Northern Coromandel thus appears in several guises. Passive and quiet like the Masulipatnam weaver or militant and ever conscious of his traditional privileges like the weavers of Godavari and Visakhapatnam. In fact, it may be said, the weaver was the first in the colonial period to raise a voice of protest against the new structures of dominance. This is not to attribute to them a proto- nationalism or an anti-colonial sentiment. But quite clearly, long before the Western educated middle classes adopted strategies of political action , the weavers of Northern Coromandel were protecting their rights by resorting to modes of agitation adapted to the new political structures.

## Notes

1. J. Brenning, 'Textile Producers and Production' (1986) pp.333-53.
2. A.K. Bagchi, 'Merchants and Colonialism', p.14.
3. For the total value of company's investment in the region see Table No.
4. For a discussion of the relationship between law and the Company State, see D.A. Washbrook, 'Law, State and Agrarian', (1981), pp.649-71.
5. Vijaya Rama Swamy, 'Textiles and Weavers', p.149.
6. John Rowley Mugaltoore to Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, 23 November 1795, GDR 841, p.393.
7. Ibid., p.397.
8. Benjamin Branfil to Board of Revenue, 20 November 1795, GDR 842, pp.99-101.
9. W.G. Gambier, Collector, Masulipatam District to Board of Revenue, 9 April 1796, GDR 843, pp.40-50.
10. W. Malcolm to William Brown, 25 August 1797, VDR 3709, pp.599-601.
11. Ibid.,
12. Richard Dillon to William Falliofield, Board of Trade, 4 June 1796, GDR 830, pp.55-62.
13. To Edward Saunders 30 April 1796 Board's letter of 18th April, 1796.
14. Letter from Board of Revenue, referred to in Branfil's letter addressed to Edward Saunder's 30 April 1796, GDR 842, pp.60-2.
15. Commercial Resident, Ingeram to Collector, First Division, Rajahmundry and Ellore Circar's, 19 March 1795, GDR 922, p.122.
16. Extract of Government's Letter 6 September 1793 in Board of Revenue to John Snow Collector, Vizianagaram, Zamindar, 31 December, 1795, VDR 3705, pp.43-46; Interpretation of Government's Letter 3 February 1794 in Board of Revenue to John Snow, Collector, Vizianagaram zamikndari, 31 December, VDR 3705, p.44.

17. D Hill Sub Secretary to Government to G.H. Barlow Bart, Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 27 September, 1811, **MDR 2960, pp.122-40.**
18. Commercial Resident's Letter 10 July 1795, oppression of Company's weavers, MDR 2991, pp.967 in Guide to District Records Masulipatnam, Vol.3, **p.57.**
19. Arrears owed by Company's weavers of Devee taluk, letter dated 4 August 1795, MDR 2991, **p.150**, in Guide to District Record Masulipatnam Vol.3, **p.64.**
20. Collector **Rajahmunry** to Commercial Resident, Ingeram, 11 February 1802, GDR 943, **p.131.**
21. George **Maidman** Deputy Commercial Resident incharge, Ingeram to the Collector, 1st Division of the Masulipatam district, 16 February 1803, GDR 944/B, **pp.565-566**; for further details see Commercial Resident Ingeram to Collector Masulipatam, 13 December 1802, GDR 946 B, **pp.469-70.**
22. Consultation 17 May 1768, PDC 99B, **p.340.**
23. Consultation - 1768, PDC 99A, **p.613.**
24. For details on the structural arrangement introduced by Anthony Sadlier see **Chap.5**
25. Testimony given by Appagunta Veerasha Head Weaver of Peddapatnam in front of the Committee by Mathew yeats in Proceedings of the Committee to Enquire into Complaints against Anthony Sadlier, Resident Ingeram, PDS 24A, **pp.12-19.**
26. **Ibid., pp.12-19**; Anthony Sadlier to BOT, Fort St.George, 19 Febraury, 1775, PDC 113 B, **pp.196-200.**
27. Testimony given by Appagunta Veerasha Head Weaver of Peddapatnam in front of the Committee by Mathew yeats in Proceedings of the Committee to Enquire into Complaints against Anthony Sadlier, Resident Ingeram, PDS 24A, **pp.12-19.**
28. **Ibid.**
29. See for details on the complaint the testimony given by Whapuncundy Servoo, a Head Weaver of Amalapuram, **Ibid., pp.25-26**; Dugeon, Yanam to Anthony Sadlier, 13 May 1775, PDC 114 A, **pp.512-14.**
30. Committee Meeting of 9 December 1775, **Rustumpadah Weavers' Testimony, Ibid., pp.106-110.**
31. Committee meeting 2 December 1775, Hassanally Badah weavers' Testimony, **Ibid., pp.29-31**; Committee Meeting on 3 December **1775, Arrivatam Mootah and Dungairoo Weavers' Testimony**

Ibid., pp.36-44.

32. Committee Meeting 4 December 1775, Amalapuram Weavers Testimony Ibid., pp.44-46.
33. Appendix 3 provides details on the number of weavers participated and represented their grievances before the Enquiry Committee at Nelapalli. The representatives of Weavers, namely Head Weavers, Common Weavers, Gumastahs, Concopoley's and Peons, elected by the weavers are also be noticed in it.
34. William Hamilton to Committee 22 November 1775, Ibid., pp.4-8.
35. Anthony Sadlier to George Stratham Chief and Council Vizagapatnam 23 July 1774, Ingeram PDC 113 A, pp.30-34; Anthony Sadlier to BOT, 19 February 1775, PDC 113 A, pp.196-200.
36. M.P.P. 1775, 240/39, Report of Special Committee, 7 April 1775, 12 July 1775, 30 August 1775, S. Arasaratnam 'Trade and Political Dominion in South India, 1750-1790 : Changing British Indian Relationships', MAS. 13, 1 (1979), pp.19-40.
37. Committee to Lord Pigot, President and Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 26 December 1775, PDC 115 A, pp.1-7; Same as Perring, Alex Davidson, John Holland, Committee Members, Nellapalli to Lord Pigot 26 December 1776, PDS 23, pp.47-54; Extract of a Letter from Latham to the President and the Council 8 June 1773, PDC 115 A, p.8; Board's Resolution 17 December, 1776 PDC 116 B, pp.814-824.
38. John Rowley to Benjamin Branfil, 30 April 1795, GDR 921, pp.244-50.
39. John Rowley to Benjamin Branfill, 30 April, 1795, GDR 921, pp.244-50; also John Rowley to Thomas Snodgrass 30 April 1798, GDR 924, pp.153-162.
40. John Rowley to Thomas Snodgrass, 30 April 1798, GDR 924, pp.153-62.
41. John Rowley to Benjamin Branfil, 30 April 1795, GDR 921, 244-50.
42. Letter dated 10 May 1795, GDR 924, pp.214-4.
43. Richard Dillon, Maddepollem to William Falliofield, Board of Trade, 19 January 1798, GDR 830, pp.20-41.
44. Ibid., p.40.
45. Ibid., p.41.
46. Ibid.,

47. Ibid., p.27,28.
48. Ibid.,
49. Richard Dillon, **Maddepollam** to Benjamin Branfil, 8 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.141-2.**
50. Richard Dillon, **Maddepollem** to William Faliofield, Board of Trade, 19 January 1798, GDR 830, **p.19-44.**
51. Ibid.,
52. Richard Dillon Commercial Resident to Benjamin Branfil 3rd Division, Rajahmundry, 16 January 1798, GDR 847, **p.168.**
53. Richard Dillon to Cornish **Gambier**, Collector, 2nd Division, Masulipatnam district, 19 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.263-64.**
54. Richard Dillon to Cornish Gambier, 23 January 1798, GDR 847, **p.269.**
55. Ibid., **pp.37-38.** also Richard Dillon, Maddepollam to Benjamin Branfil, 8 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.141-2.**
56. Richard Dillon, Deputy Commercial Resident, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector, 3rd Division, 16 January 1798, GDR 847, **p.168.**
57. Richard Dillon, Deputy Commercial Resident, to Benjamin Branfil, Collector, 3rd Division, 16 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.168-170.**
58. Richard Dillon to Benjamin Branfil, 30 January 1798, GDR 847, **pp.208-9;** letter addressed to Richard Dillon, Deputy Commercial Resident, Maddepollam, 29 January 1798, GDR 848, **pp.20-22.**
59. Richard Dillon to Cornish Gambier, 5 March 1798, GDR 887, **pp.316-317;** Richard Dillon to Cornish Gambier, 5 March 1798, GDR 887, **pp.321-324.**
60. R. Malcolm, Resident Vizagapatnam to Webb Collector, Northern Division Vizianagaram Zamindars, 27 July 1796, VDR 3706, **p.326-328.**
61. W. Brown, Collector, **Cossim cotah** to Robert Malcolm, Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, 24 July 1796, PBOR 162, **pp.8058-8073.**
62. Ibid., **pp.8066-8067.**
63. Ibid., **pp.8058-59.**



64. John Snow, Collector, Cassimcotah to Robert Malcolm Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, 26 July 1796, VDR 3706 **pp.330-32.**
65. W. Brown, Collector, Cassim Cotah, to Robert Malcolm, Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam 24 July 1796, PBOR 162 **pp.8058-59.**
66. For list of the Shanaputties and copdars at Anakapally being the pricipal promoters of the disturbance see, W. Brown, Collector, Cossimcotah, to Robert Malcolm, Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, 24 July 1796, PBOR 162, Enclosure **p.8082.**
67. W. Brown, Collector, Cassimcotah to Robert Malcolm Commercial Resident, Vizagapatnam, 26 July 1796, VDR 3706 **pp.330-32.**
68. M.C. Carr, Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, 18 68, (rept. New Delhi) 1978, entry No.
69. W. Brown, Collector, Cassim-Cotah to Robert Malcolm, Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam 24 July 1796, PBOR 162, **pp.8061-62.**
70. John Snow, Collector, Cassim Cotah to Robert **Malcolem** Commercial Resident at Vizagapatnam, 26 July 1796, VDR 3706, **pp.330-32.**
71. Commercial Resident, Ingeram to William Brown, Collector to the Southern Division Vizagapatnam, 9 February 1797, VDR 3709, **pp.103-105.**
72. Royalarapah Chenna **Baupannah's** letter 10 November 1798, VDR 3712, **pp.204-205.**
73. Ibid.,
74. Ranajit Guha, Elementary Aspects, **p.225.**
75. The petition of the Company's weavers in Vizagapatnam district addressed to George Strachey, Chief Secretary to Government, 19 March 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 10, **pp.1248-1257, espe.1249-51.**
76. W.A. Fraser, Deputy Commercial Resident, Ingeram to Hugh Elliot, Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 17 January 1818, Commercial Department Consultation 13, **pp.211-231.**
77. Petition of the Head weavers and weavers employed in the Vizagapatnam Zillah, presented by the undersigned agents to the whole body addressed to Hugh Elliot, 19 March 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 10, **pp.1250-51.**
78. Ranajit Guha, Elementary Aspects. **p.195.**

79. For details see, '**List of the Mocaums** under the Vizagapatnam Factory with the names of the copdars and the **Aumeens** signed by H. Taylor, Commercial Department Consultation, **vol.No.13, pp.570-571.**
80. Ibid., also see Petition of Head weavers and weavers employed in the Vizagapatnam Zillah, presented by the undersigned agents to the whole body addressed to Hugh Elliot, 19 March 1817, Commercial Department Consultations 10, **pp.1259-60.**
81. Petition of the weavers agents to the Company's weavers in the Vizagapatnam district addressed to the Board of Trade dated 29 November 1816, Commercial Department Consultation 13, **pp.546-57.**
82. Petition of undersigned weavers agents to the body of the Honourable Company's **punjum** cloth weavers in the district of Visakhapatnam addressed to Robert Fullerton, Board of Trade 29 November 1816, Commercial Department Consultation 13, **pp.546-56. Ibid., p.556.**
83. The petition of the Head weavers and weavers employed in Company's **punjum** cloth investment in the Vizagapatnam zillah addressed to Hugh Elliot dated 19 March 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 10, **pp.1250-51.**
84. Ibid., **p.1252.**
85. Ibid., **p.1253.**
86. Ibid., **p.1252.**
87. Ibid., **p.1253.**
88. For details see petition of the weavers agents to the body of the company's **punjum** cloth weavers in the district of Vizagapatnam Zillah addressed to Robert Fullerton, Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 13 December 1816, Commercial Department Consultation 13, **pp.1257-65; Same as 16 December 1816, Commercial Department Consultation 10, pp.1269-73.**
89. Petition of the company's **punjum** cloth weavers in the division of Vizagapatnam district addressed to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 2 February 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 10, **pp.1273-77; Petition of the weavers agents to the body of company's punjum cloth weavers in the district of Vizagapatnam addressed to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 11 March 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 10, pp.1277-86.**
90. For this argument, see **Hameeda Hossain, The Company Weavers, 1988, Chap.4.**

91. Translation of a petition from Emunda Jagapa, Davluree Ramoodoo, Emunda a Mulliah, weavers of Coderree Mokaum in the district of Vizagapatnam to the Magistrate in the Zillah of Vizagapatnam dated 30 July 1816, Commercial Department Consultation 10, pp.1264-68 espec.1268.
92. Petition of the weavers agents to the Body of company's punjum cloth weavers in the district of Vizagapatnam addressed to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 11 March 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 10, pp.1277-1286, espec.1286, where the Board's reply to the petition was noted.
93. Ibid. also see the Petition of the company's weavers in Vizagapatnam district addressed to George Strachy, Chief Secretary to Government, 19 March 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 10, pp.1249-56.
94. The petition of weavers in the Vizagapatnam district addressed to Board of Trade dated 17 May 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 13, pp.565-70, espec.568.
95. The petition of weavers in the Vizagapatnam district addressed to Board of Trade dated 17 May 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 13, pp.565-70.
96. F.A. Savage, Commercial Resident Ingeram and W.A. Fraser, Deputy Commercial Resident, Maddepollam to Hugh Elliot, Fort, St.George, Board of Trade, 17 January 1818, Commercial Department Consultation 13, pp.291-328.
97. For details, see statement showing number of weavers signed on papers authorizing 6 delegates of their respective mocams to state their grievances before the Investigation Committee at Vizagapatnam, Commercial Department Consultation 13, pp.575-77.
98. For testimony presented to the investigation committee at Vizagapatnam by Jmmandy Ammanah dated 28 October 1817, see F.A. Savage, Commercial Resident Injeram and W.A. Fraser, Deputy Commercial Resident Maddepollam to Hugh Elliot, Fort St.George, Board of Trade, 17 January 1818, Commercial Department Consultation 13, pp.353-66.
99. Ibid.,
100. For details see the testimony of Jmmandy Ammanah to the Enquiry Committee dated 28 October 1817, and 19 November 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 13, pp.353-366 and 418-420.
101. Ibid., p.417.

102. For the names and the testimony presented by the weavers of **Mocamus-Boni Gooravempallam**, Paravadah, Codoor, Rajam and **Dimili**, see proceedings of a committee by Government for **investigating** certain compliants preferred against the principal native servants and cobdars of Vizagapatnam factory by the weavers of the district dated 28 October 1817, **Commercial** Department Consultation 13, **pp.367-73**.
103. See Appendix 4 for the names of weavers who came to Visakhapatnam to complain before the Inquiry Committee.
104. For details see the testimony presented by 6 delegates from Rajam **Mocaum** dated 15 November 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 13, **pp.393-96**, espe. 395, 396.
105. Ibid.,
106. For details see the testimony presented by 6 delegates from Vappada Mocaums dated 24 November 1817, Commercial Department Consultation 13, **pp.437-441**.
107. **Hameeda** Hossain, '**The Alienation of Weaver's** (1979), **p.329**.
108. Ranajit Guha, Elementary Aspects,

## 8. WEAVER AND THE WIDER WORLD

As in any society, the Coromandel weaver too did not operate autonomously in a vacuum. They were situated in a many layered world the various elements of which impinged on the lives of the weavers. Whether it was the prices of food grains, or the changing tastes of consumers, or the taxes they had to pay, or the weather even, there were various aspects of the world in which the weavers were located, which influenced their economic behaviour, and their social status.

One of the ways in which the artisanal groups were tied to the local alliances and the rural structures was through a wide variety of formal and informal taxes reflected in the pattern of revenue systems. The contribution of the weavers formed a major component of the entire revenue system, next only to that of the agricultural groups. These contributions strengthened the landed elites and other local institutions. In turn, these reinforced institutions and elites were thus enabled to increase their hold over the weavers. The changes brought in by the company into the traditional patterns of revenue administration affected the indigenous links and paved the way for the incorporation of the weavers, into the matrix of the colonial economy. At the same time, the persistence of traditional cultural systems, and the perpetuation of jajmani relations helped to sustain certain specialized activities of groups of weavers. The political economy of rituals determined, as it were, the survival of certain segments of the textile economy.

## **Tax Collection in the Textile Economy**

In this section therefore, an attempt is made to explore the ways in which the agrarian revenue structures - Zamindari and Haveli lands of the Northern Coromandel were determined by weaving activity of the period.

When the company was consolidating its position in the region, and more so extending its control over the production processes of the textile economy, there was no uniformity in the existing revenue systems relating to the weaving world. Each district contained initially a number of revenue collection processes, the result of which was that the weavers' economic position was determined by their relation with the landed magnates and other officials. Between each district there were other variations still, depending on the social and cultural patterns associated with the particular locality.

In the later half of the eighteenth century, most of the weaving centres, and the weaving looms fell within the jurisdictional limits of the landed estates called zamindaries, as the Table 2:1 already demonstrates.

These landed estates depended to a considerable extent on the support of the weaving economy, as the weavers contributed both formal and informal taxes to various landed elites of the region. And the significance of the weaving activity to the support of the agrarian economy was known from the fact that mosts of the looms were concentrated as clusters in particular areas.

In Godavari district, most of the looms employed by the company for its long cloth investment were under the jurisdiction of the three ancient Zamindars- Pitahpuram Zamindari, Peddapuram Zamindari and the Cotah and Ramachandrapuram Zamindari. In the Pitahpuram Zamindari area of 127 villages there were over 1147 looms manufacturing primarily the textiles varieties like, long cloth from 12 to 36 punjums, Izarees, Chay goods, chintz, muslins and cloths meant for local consumption.<sup>1</sup>

Peddapuram Zamindari was the largest Zamindari in the Rajahmundry circar, comprising 14 Paraganas and 398 villages. The greatest part of the fertile island of conahseemah was included in this Zamindari. The manufacturers of this Zamindari produces cloths- Izzaries, Gingham, chintz, muslins, and those used by the natives.<sup>2</sup> In Peddapuram Zamindari, 2358 looms were there by 1787<sup>3</sup>,

By 1787 Do Mahal or Ramachandrapuram in Rajahmundry circar comprised two zamindaries - Cotah and Ramachandrapuram while Ramachandrapuram possessed 508 looms in 38 villages of his jurisdiction, there were 162 looms in 28 villages of Cotah Zamindari. The weavers of this Zamindari were specialized in weaving long cloth from 12 to 36 punjums, Izarees, chay goods, Chintz, muslins and cloths meant for local consumption.<sup>4</sup> Many looms were being employed for weaving long cloth under the Commercial Residents of both Ingeram and Maddapollam factories, while the other remaining looms were essentially providing cloth meant for local bazaars.<sup>5</sup>

The loom tax collection annually and other kinds of exactions from the weavers were an exclusive right enjoyed by the Zamindari. . For instance, an amount of 6929 rupees were levied on the looms employed for the investment of the Company in 1802 by the Peddapuram Zamindar. Similarly a large amount was collected by the other Zamindars under the head of moturpha tax collection, and quit rent for the land occupied by the weavers houses.

Besides the loom tax and quit rent collections the  
4  
Zamindars of the Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts used to collect a variety of informal taxes like Rusums, a customary Nuzzaranah to the Zamindar, or as a right in the shape of Mirasi.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, in Visakhapatnam district, the renters of the farms used to collect Moturpha tax on weavers, taxes upon weddings, presents on account of feasts and cloth dalaty tax.<sup>9</sup>

Besides collecting similar formal and informal taxes, landed elites from Godavari district used to coerce the weavers to follow the practice of Gadium or Gaddem. Under this custom, ordinarily a Zamindar could compel non-agricultural groups under his jurisdiction to buy grain from him at artificially inflated prices. When the company noticed this practice in 1789, there were 59 villages in the 2nd division of the Masulipatnam district, where the practice was imposed exclusively on weavers. In these villages, the weaver had to receive grain above the



market price at a fixed rate, ranging between 1/4 pagodas per candy at one place to 1/2 pagodas and 1 pagoda in other places.<sup>11</sup> A decrease in the price of grain or a larger surplus in the hands of Zamindars were two occasions during which the Zamindars coerced the weavers, some times even banias, to purchase grain from him. It is also common practice with most of the Zamindars, to keep particular villages under their immediate management to supply their families and dependents with grain.<sup>13</sup>

This kind of pervasive influence of the landed magnates into the weaving world of the Northern Coromandel was limited mainly to the Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts. In Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, the relation between weavers and rural elites was blurred by factors like scattering of the weaving villages over a wide area, the presence of a clearly demarcated power structure in the administrative setup, and the large scale participation of the non traditional weavers in the textile economy

In Masulipatnam division, there was no production of fine long cloth or any cloth of a very fine texture. The weavers from the Nizampatnam circar, Devi and Devarakota paraganas working mostly for company's chay goods investment, while the remaining in general manufacture coarse cloth for the inhabitants. The weaver in Masulipatnam district falling under the administrative units of 4th division of Masulipatnam circar, usually paid tax which they were liable as weavers, "but in case any of them cultivates land, they receive their share of the produce in

common with other inhabitants". <sup>14</sup> Here the relationship of the weaver with the land magnates and other village officials were less oppressive as the weavers' payments to them were customarily formalized, and the forcing of grain over the weavers was also a rare phenomenon in these **districts**.

The taxes that were paid to the circar by the weaver along with those of other artisans, were denominated as professional taxes, fees or Tahareer and sayer saderwareed. These institutionalized Moonnaver and Rusums to the Mirasidars, and **Karnam** Rusums or fees were the extra exactions from the weavers of the Masulipatnam district.<sup>16</sup> The Table:8:1 provides the particulars of these taxes collected from some of the villages in Masulipatnam district by later half of the eighteenth century.

The weaver in the Masulipatnam district thus was placed in a different social pattern in which he was tied down to local officials in a linear fashion, and was forced to pay those taxes and extra taxes, in later half of the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The Zamindar was, therefore, entitled mainly to the loom tax. The effect of such a revenue arrangement on the existing agricultural organization and growth was less affirmative, than what happened in case of the Godavari and Visakhapatnam **districts, because** in Masulipatnam the local officials also had the privilege of collecting from the weavers. It can be conjectured that the development of **neo-political** relations with the Nizams, and subsequent changes associated with their revenue arrangements, and administrative set up at the villages, might have been responsible for creating a linear form of alliances and patterns

VILLAGE NAME	NUMBER OF LOOMS	NATURE OF LOOM TAX
Mungatagiri	211	1. Mirasidars Rums on the loots
Venlapetm	95	1. Concoply fees on the looms 2. Presents for Renter on 3 loans
Aunomelly	71	1. Concoply fees on the loans
Ulpurroo	5	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Cochanapodu	9	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Devey Paragana	95	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Enogoodoor Paragana	152	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Gundoor	64	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Aucoolamunde Polavaram	36	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Peddana	165	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Cuppala doody Polam	11	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Nundegamah	30	1. Soomaynevary Roosooms
Devaracotah Paragana	40	1. Deshmukh Roosooms 2. customs
Gantasala	56	1. Deshmukh Roosooms 2. customs
Majagdoe	37	1. Deshmukh Roosooms 2. customs
Cajah	7V	1. Deshmukh Roosooms 2. customs
Mungalaporam	4	1. Deshmukh Roosooms 2. customs
Peddacullopully	30	1. Deshmukh Roosooms 2. custom

Source Samuel Statham, Resident Nizampatnam, March 1787, MOR 2838,

of social relations even in the weaving world of the district. In other words, the state formation under the Nizam enabled the central power to erect a politico-administrative set up in this district, extending the same down to the village economy, which in turn affected the relationship between the weaver and the landed elites. Visakhapatnam and Godavari remained largely outside the sphere of these changes.

In Guntur district the traditional weavers weaving for the natives were located in the ancient zamindaries, and they were fewer in number in the sequestered taluks of the district, as demonstrated in the Table 8:2. The looms possessed by the paria weavers and meant for supplying cloth to the natives, **were, on** the other hand, spread over the entire district considerably. The **zamindari's** right over the revenue collection also incorporated the right to collect the tax from the weavers, generally called Moturpha tax.<sup>18</sup>

In the sequestered taluks of the Guntur district, the village people were responsible for collecting the Moturpha from the weavers, They in turn had to pay the amount to government. And the tax was determined on the basis of the total number of looms which a village would contain. The Moturpha tax from the weavers amounted to one half of the total Moturpha tax of the sequestered taluks. The village people usually increased this tax by collecting more amount from the weavers.<sup>19</sup> The amount of the Moturpha tax collected from the loom of the weavers in the Guntur district.

Weavers - Salavanlu Caste	:	It is custom of these people
Janravanlu Caste		to pay from 1/16 to 2 pagodas
		<b>per</b> loom per annum according
		to <b>Maumool</b> established by
		which there are no records.
<b>Maula</b> Muggalavanlu Paria	:	It is custom of these people
weavers		to pay from 1/16 to 2 pagodas
		per loom per annum according
		to <b>Maumool</b> established by
		which there are no records.
Banians - <b>Coomaty</b> Vaulu	:	To pay from 1/16 to 2 pagodas
		for each shop belonging to them
		in the bazar or elsewhere.
Arrack sellers - Govaralavanlu	:	To pay from 1 to 4 pagodas per
		annum per each 100 palmyra or
		toddy trees.
Cowkeepers - Gollavaulu	:	To pay from 1/16 to 1/4 pagoda
		per house per annum

On an average the Moturpha tax collected from various kinds of looms employed by different weaving groups in the Guntur district, in 1796 was one pagoda thirty six cash in case of the loom employed by a traditional weaver and fourteen fanams and twenty six cash on pariah looms.<sup>21</sup>

By 1796, out of 2607 looms that spread over the entire Guntur district, only 793 were employed for providing company's cloth, whereas the remaining looms were catered to the needs of

Table 8.2

8.2 Loom Tax Collections in Guntur District in Madras ~~Pagoodas~~,

Taluks	Weaver	Loans	1202	12C3	Weaving for the company Loans	Tax	Weaving for the native Loom	Tax	Pairs weaving for Loom	Tax	Total
Chintapalli	251	1032	563	588	148	263-	67	33-18	373	93-15	588-389-27
Repalli	212	607	457	473	235	233-15-60	169	93-4-40	731	61-22-40	555-388-
Rachoor	171	567	349	389	168	128-22-40	112	72-4-40	85	40-6-60	365-24033-60
Chilakalunpedu	129	500	364	382	200	299-27	33	14-33-60	193	91-20-65	426-406-9-45
Sattaneipalli	97	468	240	292	42	38-9	144	199-2-20	162	86-35-1	348 324-10-25
Ballaconda or Venucondah	210	210	134	153	.	.	10	8-27-	140	47-18-	150 56-9
Colloor	30	30	153	114	.	.	10	8-27	150	52-18-	160 61-9
Iyavole			26	25	.	.	.	.	35	31-9-	35 31-9
	1100	3414			793		545	430-9	1269	504-31-6	2607 1898-6-26

Sarees for 1789, A.W. Scott Masulipatnam to John Chamier Governor in Council, 12 February, Census Statement MDR 2995, p.208

the natives meant for regional and interregional trade. The weavers located in Chintapalli, Repalli, Rachoor, Chilakalurpadu and Satanapalli registered for the company, and they paid nearly 1 to 2 pagodas towards the tax. They were all traditional weavers. While the weaver for the natives  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pagoda per loom and that of paria weaver paying  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a pagoda per loom.

The form of revenue collections at an informal level kept the continuation of traditions and customs associated with the weaving world. These informal taxes were not imposed on all the various caste groups of the weaving world uniformly. They were limited to certain caste groups only. These caste groups through their taxes perpetuated dominance of elites not only in the traditional weaving world, but also in society at large. These groups were mainly those which came into the weaving world in the 15 and 16th centuries, namely the Pariah weavers, who had to pay taxes other groups were exempted from.

One such tax which the paria weaver had to pay along with many other low caste groups in the 18th century was "Boota **paraster**" called Pallaputtada in Southern districts, usually the terms were applied to the tax on the five trades<sup>24</sup>. The groups included in this tax had to pay a certain amount per house to the government. "It is also the custom to receive from the people by way of fine when any of them be found guilty of acting contrary to the custom of the caste." <sup>25</sup>

The Zamindar was considered to be a conspicuous element in the weaving world of the region, as his influence was extended to the production process. The influence of these landed magnates on the activities of the textile economy was so pervasive and dominant that the Company in the incipient stages of political hegemony had to rely on these elements for the fulfillment of their investment especially in the Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts. The Zamindars and Head weavers had to give consent at the time of the price fixation of the textiles.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the commercial Residents had to depend on these Zamindars for creating and maintaining a stable situation among the weavers.<sup>27</sup>

The company's attempts to minimize the loss at the investment and to secure a firm base in the textile economy of region led it to discount many of these existing local alliances. Moreover, to secure the work of the weavers to the English East Company in preference to other individuals and European companies the Company Government attempted to abolish the traditional oppressive obligations of the weaver. First attempt in this direction was the abolition of custom of imposing Gaddem from the landed elites and other **renters**. In 1796, the Board of Revenue passed a resolution seeking for the abolition of the practice of Gaddem absolutely on weavers and other castes not only at inflated prices but even at the current price in the market.<sup>29</sup>

The company brought some changes internally so to provide a free and conducive atmosphere to the weaver. These very changes, however, disturbed the traditional social and economic patterns



of survival of **many** of the landed elites and renters in the region. The exemption from or abolition of loom tax was one such inducement which the company preferred, to bring the weaver under its control.

A detailed description of the nature and advantages of this loom tax was given in a report of 1793. <sup>30</sup>

....loom tax is that part of the quit-rent assessed on the weavers which all Handicrafts in the country pay a certain proportion to and that on this account, they are by the policy of the country Governments exempted from the call of the circar to all duties of cultivation (except by old custom now absolute they are esteemed, as the Militia of the country, on the idea that having property in their houses they were most liable to stay and consequently best adapted to defend the general property) - "Further that if the (loom) tax were to be abolished in any degree, the authority of the Renter or Head of villages over a set of people, who most of all require subordination is at once destroyed, and an act of this kind to a set of men, who are known to be dissipated, turbulent, and consequently impatient of control, would at once, upset the police of the country".

The collection of the taxes paid by weavers employed only for manufacturing for the company were suspended, hoping that would prove an inducement to them to work for the company rather than for foreigners or **individuals**. The colonial state created a differential atmosphere for the weavers working for the company, by extending loom tax exemptions at first to the Haveli lands. In 1793, the government had prohibited the collection of Moturpha loom tax in their own districts. (Haveli lands), and made annual remissions to the renters on account of loom tax suspension on those looms registered for company's **work**. The exemption of taxes allowed to the weavers in the Haveli Jaghir

lands included abolition of the Moturpha loom tax, and remission of quit rent for trees and cultivation within the compounds attached to their **houses**.

The company's policy of appeasing the manufacturer included not only remissions but also allowances, whereby the weavers were provided an option to settle in Haveli lands moving away from the the **zamindari** areas. In order to induce the weavers to settle in Company's immediate possessions, the Company had authorized the commercial officers, and renters to extend their cooperation by providing necessary building materials.<sup>34</sup> In Zamindari lands, the loom tax collection continued in an undisturbed **fashion**. The company decided to extend the same privileges whenever a Zamindari was sequestered and brought under the control of the Company.<sup>36</sup> Thus by creating differences between the weavers residing in Haveli lands and those in the Zamindari lands, the colonial state could penetrate and control the manufacturer more directly.

By **1802, the** company through its land revenue systems introduced in the Northern Circars, attempted to bring the weaver under its direct authority, giving a chance for the weaver to stay away from the influence of landed magnates by taking away their right to collect loom tax .

The permanent settlement having about the year 1802 been made in the Northern Circars, where the principal factories are situated, the remission was discontinued but with a view of fixing on some plan for protecting the weavers from Vexatious demands, on this account the Board of Revenue were referred to by collectors and their opinion in a letter to the collector of Visakhapatnam under date 29 December 1803 in substance as follows, "that although the zemindar was

precluded by the regulation from the levy of a professional tax, he had a right to levy a similar amount as a quit rent for the ground occupied by the weavers in their respective Zamindars.

As per the rules of the Court of Directors, circulars were sent to all Zamindars and proprietors, recognized by the Permanent Settlement of 1802. It ordered the Zamindaries to desist from collecting any quit rent from the company's weavers, for which they would be compensate by the company. The Zamindars were further requested to send these circulars to **renters**.

The company's allowances to the weavers relieved them from the financial obligations which they had towards land magnates and others. Nevertheless, the company, through the various regulations attached to the Permanent Settlement of 1802, did not entirely disrupt the dependent relationship between the weavers and agrarian elites. On the contrary, it balanced the removal of financial dependence by legitimizing other kinds of subordination, again with the primary objective of protecting its investment.

Thus one of the clauses attached to the Permanent Muchilka of the Zamindars was one which fixed the permanent quit rent for the land occupied by the weavers for 21 years. The weaver in turn received a **cowle** from the zemindar. By this **cowle**, the weaver was entitled to receive some ground with particular measurements. For example Nody Basavapah, executed a kobooliat sunned to the Zamindar of Cotah and Ramachandrapuram. In **1804**, where he detained that for the ground with measurements length 32 yards and breadth 13 yards making 416 square yards at

Audevarapopettah under **Dracharam**, agreed to an amount of **Rs.4 1/2** including Rusums for a period of 21 years. For houses situated on this ground, it was the responsibility of the weaver to get the house repaired at his own expense. In return, the weaver agreed to pay by a stipulated date (1st October) certain rent and rusums. By this **Muchilka**, the weavers were prohibited from leaving the village or shifting houses without the consent of the Zamindar or his official. In case of such an act, the Zamindar had the right to rent that house to some other weaver and could receive the tax as per the **rules**.<sup>3</sup>

In apparently restoring to the Zamindar control over the weaver, the Company was not so much strengthening the Zamindars power as increasing its own. For through these **muchilkas**, the weavers were in effect agreeing to abide by the regulations introduced by the Company, at least for period of 21 years. This would, it was believed, introduce a degree of stability into an otherwise fluctuating demand **system**. The Company was also trying to ensure a firm base and stable for its investment operations, by restricting the mobility of the weavers even within the district, because on many occasions of economic depression and scarcity, weavers resorted to occasional migrations, a great concern for the company, as it led to the fluctuations in supply conditions. Thus constraining the weaver both in time and space, the Company ultimately cornered the weaver completely.

The Permanent Settlement of 1802 also made the Zamindars responsible for providing the necessary facilities to the

weavers, such as constructing residential localities (Pettahs) without any cess being levied. <sup>41</sup>

Moreover, the decrees related to section IV Regulation XXV AD 1802 specified that "the revenue arising from Moturpha as well as lands held exempt at the time of the settlement, is reserved to Government". As a result of the laws of the permanent settlement and other regulations, the company's weavers were thus freed from any demands imposed by Zamindars and "the previous orders of government in whom the sole right of raising revenue by means of taxes is declared to be rested, having in like manner foregone the Demand exemption from Moturpha or ground Rent, is now considered as one of the stipulations between the Honorable Company and their **weavers**."

The same indulgence granted to the company's weavers of Northern Circar was extended to the company's weavers in the Guntur **district**.

What was the realignment drafted between the Zamindars and the weavers after the withdrawal of the Company from the textile economy? Did the company restore the formal relations between Zamindars and weavers, at least as far as the formal Moturpha tax was concerned?

When the company decided to withdraw from the chay goods trade in 1814, it decided to deconstruct the new revenue structures erected by it in 1790s. As the company's object was to maximize revenue collections from all economic sectors, it saw

no exception to grant any concession to the weaver. The company, therefore, reverted to the policy of Moturpha loom tax collections even from those weavers who worked for company's investment. The decision for such a change was based essentially on three grounds; first, if the exemption was continued, it would destroy the ultimate spirit of private trade activities; secondly, it would reduce the price of those company's goods as against those sold by the weavers taxed by this Moturpha tax and thirdly, the company had to forego a lot of revenue on account of its exemption.<sup>44</sup>

The Company, nevertheless, had exempted a few weavers from paying Moturpha looms tax, and the reasons for such as exemption were different. For instance, in Guntur district, of the weavers employed in the different branches of their profession five of the Heads of the Sale caste in **Repalli**, Perala and Rajapettah were exempted from paying loom tax on some of their **looms**.<sup>4</sup> This indulgence was granted as a token for their efforts in collecting the tax from the looms.

The Pariah weavers seemed to have been controlled by an intermediary of their caste, and worked under their control. In sixteen village the looms of seventy Pariahs were exempted because their owners were employed in assisting the company's Tappal and travellers in crossing out different nullahs during the rainy season and conveying the baggage of travellers, accompanying escorts of treasure from out stations to the Huzzoor and from village to village preserving the avenues of trees and

performing other duties of a public nature.<sup>46</sup>

In Fasli 1227, however, the company received complaints from the weavers who stated that the Zamindars without any authority were forcing the weavers to pay some amount, besides the Moturpha tax, and that the karnams were making extra collections under the head of village charges. . The collector of the district introduced a new arrangement based essentially on the circumstances of the individuals possessing looms. By this system, all the amounts of extra collections were added to circar the Dowle, and pettahs were granted to them specifying the fixed amount, and from the amount collected 10 percent was granted to karnams in each village, as a remuneration for their service. Under this arrangement the rate of tax varied between half a rupee and seven loom, the rate being determined according to the circumstances of the individual possessing looms.

Another interesting feature associated with the new tax structures of the company's Government was the equalizing of the tax rate on all Pariah looms. Till Fusli 1230, the tax on pariah looms ranged between rupees 1 and 3 1/2 per each loom. But after taking into consideration the poverty and economic distress of this class of weaver, the entire tax liability of paria weavers was reduced to one rupee throughout the district.

With the resumption of Moturpha loom tax collections by the company in 1814, all the weavers subscribed to this tax once again in Masulipatnam district. The tax was collected exclusively on looms, but not upon houses of weavers. In a few

villages the Head weavers were exempted from paying tax on one or two of their looms, but had to pay for the other looms in their possession.<sup>50</sup> In villages, where it was not collected on account of government, it was collected by the owners of the villages. The tax was exclusively on the looms at different rates, essentially following the old system of levying it.<sup>51</sup>

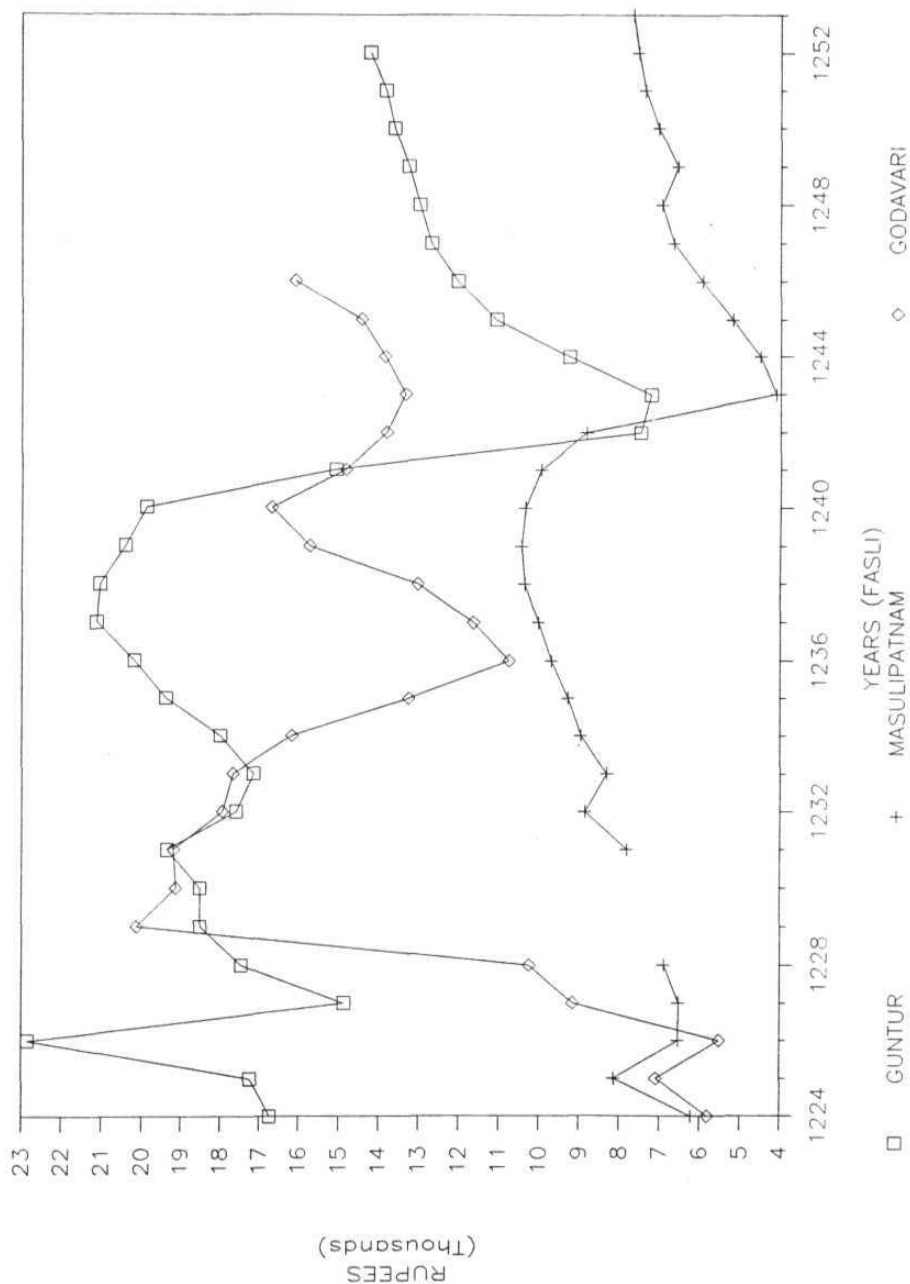
While the company resumed Moturpha tax collections on Company's weavers in 1814 after the abolition of the factory at Masulipatnam, in the case of Godavari district, it attempted to collect tax on company's weavers, even prior to the abolition of the factory. It was noticed clearly in the letter to the Secretary to Government of 18 July 1826:<sup>52</sup>

The **Governor-in-Council** is fully convinced that the exemption of the company's weavers from the Moturpha, tax is both illegal and injudicious. It is illegal, because contrary to those statutory provisions by which it was intended to place the company's trade on the same footing with respect to taxation as that of private Merchants, and it would be injudicious, even were it legal, on account of the facility given by it to fraudulent evasion of the tax. The Governor in Council therefore desires that the exemption be wholly abolished.

Graph. No. 8:1 demonstrates the fact that there was a continual increase on account of loom tax collection in the Masulipatnam district, which supports the argument that the weaving industry though declined in 1830s but within a decade it showed signs of gradual improvement and the revenue from the looms reached to an earlier situation by **fasli** 1250s.



# MOTURPHA-LOOM TAX COLLECTIONS



To what extent the loss of loom tax collection affected the Zamindaries? The decline and fall of the Zamindari system has often been attributed to mismanagement of estates, and dysfunctions of the agrarian economy.<sup>53</sup> What has not been recognized, however, is that the artisan played as crucial a role in sustaining the Zamindar as the agriculturist. Quite often, ancient Zamindars depended on the revenues they collected through Moturpha taxes to pay off their annual revenue debts to the Company. Some times, they used their remission of loom tax which they got by the permanent settlement of 1802 for liquidating the debt balances that resulted from their inability to meet the revenue demand. For instance in 1835, when the **zamindarini** of Peddapuram Estate had to clear off her revenue debt amounting to 1,87,562-4-10 to the company, one of the sources which she used was the loom tax due upto 1229, amounting to **Rs.95,633-5-7**. Thus nearly 50% of the outstanding balance was cleared off owing to the remissions allowed to her on company weavers.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, In 1835, the Cotah and Ramachandrapuram Zamindar had put forth a claim for an amount of **Rs. 65,611-12-**. Out of this amount **Rs. 60,385** comprising 4/5 of Moturpha revenue, was due from the looms employed for the investment of the Ingeram factory. <sup>55</sup>

In fact, in certain villages, a large percentage ( often more than 50%) revenue collections came from the taxes on looms or on weavers' houses.<sup>56</sup>

Some estates were dependent on the economic activity of the weavers who lived and worked therein. A decline in the fortunes

of the weavers adversely affected the value of these estates. The negative change in the estates of Gunnerpoody, Kumudavalli, and Cheyyera in the Godavari district for instance, as shown below was attributed by the Collector to the decline of the prosperity of the weavers resident in the estates.<sup>57</sup>

Name of the Estate	Purchase Money	In Madras Rupees
Permanent assessment	In 1802	In 1832
Gunnerpoody	3094	600
Kumudavalli	2812	425
Cheybaru	19537	9000

The changes brought in by the company into the traditional patterns of revenue administration affected the indigenous **links**. Because of the abolition of all informal taxes, and the grant of exemption from loom tax payment, the weavers slowly drifted away from the linkages they had earlier with the Zamindars and other landed magnates. More **specifically**, these measures affected drastically the avenues of revenue sources for the Zamindar as he had to depend entirely on the land for the sustenance of the landed estate. Further, the weavers were prone to move towards market mechanisms, as the earlier practice of receiving food grain, even though at an inflated rate, was abolished altogether. On the other hand, a more direct way for the incorporation of the weavers into the matrix of colonial economy was created through the reconsideration of imposing loom tax on the weaver, but this time the right to collect tax was made the prerogative of the Company. The ultimate effect on the weaver was that his economic

position more or less remained the same with an occasional improvement in his condition. The crucial change, however, was that the Company's policies effectively disrupted the traditional relationships between the weaver and his rural overlords. This apparently free the weaver, making him a more autonomous artisan, but in reality, this semblance of independence only drew him deeper into the textile economy being created by the Company.

### **The Cultural determinants of Textile Production**

While the changes brought in by the company into the traditional patterns of revenue administration affected the economic links between the weaver on one side and the landed elites local institutions on the other, the persistence of traditional cultural systems helped to sustain the activities of the weavers. That the textile economy is intertwined with the social fabric is perhaps a truism. In one of its many aspects, however, that of consumption, the economic relationship between society and the textile economy appears to have been reinforced by a cultural relationship. Indeed, it may even be possible to argue that certain cultural practices which apparently had their origins in other domains such as ideology and attitudes, religion, social ritual, or courtly traditions, helped to sustain the specific textile production activities. Many traditional rituals, sacred and secular courtly as well as those of the common people required use of specific types of cloth, and whatever might be the ostensible reasons stated for these requirements, their impact on the textile economy could not but

have been significant.

A significant aspect of the costumes of this period was that the fashion and styles of various societal groups were strikingly similar. Social differences were indicated not in style, but in the quality and type of the cloth used. Sometimes the use of a particular pattern and dimension of cloths was nothing but a consequence of economic differentiation that was latent in the economy. The popular proverb, 'Kaligite Kallu Muyya lekapote mokallu muyya ', referred to the observed social distinction of the economically less powerful groups wearing a garment that extended up to the knee, while the richer classes could afford a longer cloth that covered the entire leg.<sup>58</sup>

The common costume of men usually consisted of garments that were mostly unstitched, namely dhovati, kanduva or jamavaru, and paga. Dhoty, usually referred as Dovati in the region, is a plain loin cloth. After a couple of turns round the waist, it is passed between the legs and put under the folds which cross behind. For a Hindu the dhoty is considered to be indispensable, and on all religious and ceremonial occasions, this was the simplest indigenous fashion adopted by all groups including those of rich landed magnets.<sup>59</sup> However, a social could be reflected not only in the quality, but also specific patterns of borders to be adopted while weaving the fabric. The wearing of dhoties with special borders was considered to be a privileged consumption associated with wealth and political power. White dhovaties, white dhovaties with red borders saffron colour dhovaties, dhovati with Latchminarayana anchu, Saundaryamani

anchu, were some of these special varieties.<sup>60</sup>

Kanduva, also called as **Jamavaru** is an upper garment.<sup>61</sup> 'Pagas' called **Kullayamu** or Talapaga is a narrow scarf folded round the head to form a head-dress. ordinarily silk or fine variety cloth is used to some extent by the higher classes, some time with embroidery or zari edges. Even though the use of pagas was common among all sections, still the size and shape of turban is determined by the caste.<sup>62</sup> A few garments like jamahs, **neemahs**, sash, soosies, and taffeta were mostly considered to be exclusive consumption items of the elite groups in the **society**.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes, specific costumes went with particular administrative positions. Thus, the village **karnam**, usually of the Brahmin caste, generally sported as white dhovati, Kanduva, Chokkayi (shirt) and paga. This traditional costume of the Karnam persisted well into the eighteenth century and even beyond.<sup>64</sup>

Fernand Braudel has, in fact, suggested that in India as in China, costumes remained unchanged till the Mogul conquest resulted in the rural elites seeking to emulate the culture of the conquerors.<sup>5</sup> We find this at work in the Northern Coromandel too, where the landed magnates, and to some extent the rich communities of merchants, imitated the styles and cultures associated with the new rulers. Moreover, the various garments adapted by the Zamindars to meet the ritual, social, civil and courtly traditions, would illustrate the conscious effort on the part of the local landed leaders to imitate the styles of power groups, but without giving up the traditional indigenous style.

Evidence from the Proprietary estate of **Pattiseema** and Polavaram shows a wide variety of fine textiles forming a crucial role in the life of late Zamindar, Cocherlakota Ramachandra Venkata Krishnarow. Property lists of this Zamindar besides gold and silver items, brass and metal utensils, contains 104 pieces of fine textiles with gold thread designs.<sup>66</sup> The individual composition of these varieties is listed below:

Jacket, fine	3
Half jacket with gold thread strips	1
Half jackets	6
Pantloon with gold thread strips	1
Pantloon made of velvet	1
Silk sarres	2
Sash with gold thread	1
Laced belt	1
<b>Neemah</b>	1
Jamah	1
Khundoovah or upper cloths of saffron	1
Colour with gold thread border	1
Khundoovah with stripes of gold thread	1
Khundoovah or upper cloths growth with gold thread borders	2
Khundoova or upper cloths, while with gold thread border	2
Khundoova, fine, with gold thread border	2
<b>Woopada</b> khundoovahs or upper cloths	2
Khundoova with gold and Europe yellow thread borders	1
White khundoovahs of wooppadah	2
White khundoovahs of Tautepaukah	2
Turbans of saffron color with gold thread border	1
Turbans blue	2
Turbans white	1
Turban	1
Caps of gold lace	2
<b>Romals</b> saffron colour	1
<b>Romals</b> white color	2
Silk <b>Romal</b> containing the name of Rama	1
Handkerchiefs, new	1
Three handkerchiefs of Mangalagerry in one piece	1
Pairs of dhovaties with gold thread borders	2
Dhovaties with gold and blue thread borders	2
Dhovaties of a border called <b>lutchmenarain</b> Aunchoo	2
Dhovaties of a border called Pataunchoo	2
Dhovaties of gold thread borders, small	2
Dhovaties of a border called <b>Soondarymany</b> aunchoo	1
Pairs of New dhovaties	4
Pair of Dhovaties, small with gold thread borders	1

Shawl with figure work	1
Lagooloo or half trousers	10
Old cloths embroidered with gold thread	6
New cloths embroidered with gold thread	6
New cloths common	2
Sheets	7
Chandemies or cloths for typing on the top	2
Woman's silk cloth	1
Broad cloth	1

**Source:**

The domination of Dhovaties, kanduvas, pagas and **romals** in the overall consumption of one individual Zamindar was a sufficient evidence to illustrate the importance of traditional styles and persistence of the local culture in shaping the demand for particular varieties. Nevertheless, the presence of certain garments like jamah, jackets, half jacket, **pantaloons**, and half trousers indicate that the more affluent among the rich and elite sections easily adopted the life styles of the new Muslim ruling class, mainly to identify, through their clothes, with them.

A similar fusion of styles seems to have been at work for female costumes as well. Brocade jackets, and colourful silk shirts embroidered with gold imported from China as well as West Asia adorned rich female. At the same time Hindu woman's costume influenced the costumes of **muslim women**.

These consumption patterns, helped the survival of certain weaving villages, were mostly dependent on the support and strength associated with landed magnates. Many fine varieties of Zamindari consumption included the local textiles like dhovaties



of Uppada and **Tautipaka**, and also fine handkerchiefs produced in the Mangalagiri village of the Masulipatnam district.<sup>68</sup>

The presence of textile varieties like Broad cloth, called locally Banathu and velvet cloth was an indication of the way the growth of the long distance trading networks were stimulated as a result of the adaptation of new cultural styles that **permeated** the region during this period.<sup>69</sup> The Broad cloth of Europe journeyed a long way and reached the markets of the region **also**. Much of the Broad cloth appeared to have been used as symbols of decoration for legitimizing the pomp and power of landed and rural elites. One such symbol of civil and ritual authority was used by Zamindars of highly decorated varieties of Palanquin as a means of conveyance. The use of Broad cloth and velvet cloth for the decoration and illumination of the Palanquin in an Hindustani fashion, was perceivable in case of the Proprietary of **Pattiseema** and Polavaram, who adopted the use of broad cloth and velvet with silk and gold thread hanging on the top.<sup>71</sup> Some times, broad cloth was used for wearing also. For instance, Pantalon made of velvet was one among many varieties of textiles noticed in the list mentioned earlier. However, the broad cloth was essentially used for the military, and furnishing purposes.

This kind of demand for brood cloth ultimately resulted in the importation of different varieties of broad cloth into the Masulipatnam district in later half of the eighteenth century. Broad cloth varieties like superfine scarlet thick and thin,

superfine varieties of fine green thick, blue thick, white, buff, yellow, and fine and ordinary varieties of yellow, blue, green, blue, red and popinjays velvet crimson, green and white upto an amount of rupees 1130 were imported into the Masulipatnam district between May 1789 and 30 April 1790.<sup>72</sup> The disbanding of military forces attached to the estates of landed magnates in **pre-permanent** settlement Period, the decline of the Zamindars consequent to the introduction of the Permanent settlement and subsequent decline in the retainers of the landed magnates caused a deterioration in the overall consumption pattern of Zamindar, a decline in the preference to broad cloth was discerned clearly.

The styles and preferences of the Zamindari class for a particular textile variety created coherent trading networks between the Northern Coromandel and Bengal Presidency during this period. From distant places like Sythat, Assam, **Cossembazar**, Roodangore, Searpony, and Dakka, Mogga dhoties, raw silk of different sorts, silk piece goods and cotton piece goods were imported into the Masulipatnam district during later half of the eighteen century.<sup>73</sup> And this importance of cloths continued well into the first half of the nineteenth centuries.

While the elite consumption patterns and the different cultural styles of the Zamindars was one element which impinged on the production of textiles, the other was the consumption patterns associated with the institutions surrounding the Zamindar. The expenditure on cloth in a Zamindari constituted a major budget item, and the cloth requirements of service groups

attached to the Zamindari family maintenance were to be met by Zamindari. The following list containing the family expenses of Jaggenanthrao on cloth illustrate individual cloth requirements of Zamindari family, as considered necessary for their subsistence.<sup>75</sup>

**Particulars of yearly expenses spent on cloth.**

To Pata Maha Davee the Rajahs Wife

	Rs. a	Total
6 Women cloths per year	60	
12 Cholies	12	
6 Coarse cloths for sheets	24	
4 Petti coasts	20	
1 Tapata	12	
4 Silk cholis	6	
4 Coarse cloths	6	
		140
To 1st Son		70
To 2nd Son		50
To 2 daughter		50
To 4 Concubines		
4 Women cloths	16	
2 Coarse cloths	8	
4 Coarse cloths	6	
10 Cholies	10	
1 Tapata <b>choli</b>	1	
		41
6 sons and 1 daughter by the concubines at 20 rupees per year		120
1 Daughter in law		50
1 Daughter in law		40
8 Slave women at 15 rupees per year		120
5 Slave at 10 rupees per year		50
3 Brahmin's at 15 rupees per year		45
2 Women cooks		10
1 Patroodoo or <b>vakel</b>		20
Doogarauzes family		<b>4</b>
1 Concubine son		

The fine and sharp distinctions between the ordinary and luxury expenditures related to the **maintenance** of Zamindari, and the desire of these privileged groups to distinguish themselves from their social groups was displayed in expenditure allocated to various other than their blood relations.<sup>76</sup>

As important as the traditional institutions were traditional rituals in sustaining production of specific kinds of **textiles. Particularly** significant were rituals identified with those of state power groups and local landed elites, as they had to expend large amount on fine textiles.

An important social ritual that necessitated the production of specific varieties of fine textiles is marriage ceremony. Besides spending a large amount towards the purchase of different cloths, giving of gifts in cloth to the concerned marriage party was a crucial ritual obligation.<sup>77</sup> These rituals therefore necessarily led to the up keep of weavers in the villages. Display of pomp and show of Zamindari on these social ritual occasions reflected on the pattern of cloth purchases. For instance out of the estimate **Rs.395** of expenses for the performance of the marriage ceremony of Paunnugappally Venkiah, the husband of the sister of cocherlakota Venkata Jaggundarow, rupees 191 were spent to meet the cloth requirements of this **occasion.is** illustrated below : **78**

Value of Cloth estimated to be spent on marriage occasion

For presenting son-in-law Venkiah on the day of marriage ceremony viz.

1 Pair of arse cloth of gold thread border	6
1 Pair of upper cloth gold thread border	4
1 Turband	2
1 piece of woman cloth bordered with gold thread for the minors sister Venkata Chellammer	

**Presents** to be made on the date of sending away the son-in-law viz.

For Son-in-law Venkiah

1 Pair of gold thread bordered wise cloth	6
1 Pair of upper cloth	4
1 Turban	2
	12
1 Pair of arse cloth for son-in-laws father Paungapilly Ramana	4
1 Piece of gold thread borderd women cloth for the son-in-law's mother	6
1 Pair of arse cloth for Paunungapilly Seetapathy	4
1 Piece of gold thread bordered women cloth for son-in-law's sister	4
Cloths for the dependents of the son-in-law	12
	42

Presents of cloths to be made to the Minor's sister Venkata Chellamma, when she is going to her mother-in-law's house viz.  
Women's cloth

2 pieces	12
2 pieces	6
4 pieces	14
10 pieces coarse	10
4 pieces	8
Cloth for Chollies	3
Arse cloths	
3 Pairs	10
2 Pairs	12
8 Pairs	16
6 Pairs	9
Upper Cloths	
1 Pair/silk thread bordered/	10

2 Pair/silk thread bordered	8	
2 Pair	5	
		123
2 Pieces Turbans	4	
2 Pairs of <b>Jamavaru</b> cloths	10	
4 Pieces of women cloth per Venkata <b>Chellamme</b>		
own use	2	0
		157

The '**arse**' cloth had a **significant** part in the continuation of social and religious rituals of the society. Arse might be a Pattu **Vastram** or silk cloth called ordinarily **medicera**.

The cloth consumption on this occasion, however, considered to be **minimum** necessary, as there was strict limitation on the overall expenditure of the marriage expenses. It was due to exercise severe economy, in overall consumption items of the Zamindari, keeping in view the circumstances of the estate. On similar occasions during the Zamindari of the late proprietor of the Polavaram taluk, the same amount was **Rs.1000**, a reflection of splendid and lavish patterns of **consumption**.

A powerful testimony to the courtly rituals as well as political power increasing and maintaining certain patterns of trade for specific textiles of the Northern Coromandel was the Nizam Ul **Mulk's** Institution. In eighteenth century the influence of Mughal wars on the Deccan was perceived in the courtly traditions insisted on in Nizam ul Mulk's court. The evidence spotted at in khanaun-i-Darbar also called Risalapi-Darbur-i-Asif of **Lala Mangaram** included a description of the institutions of **Nizamul-Mulk**, where much preference were accorded

to courtly traditions, which were to be followed, if an entry into the court, was sought.<sup>81</sup> These traditions mostly related to the costumes and certain styles, were

- "1. any one not wearing the head gear was prohibited entry into the diwan-khana;
2. in the court no one could enter without a belt on the waist and carrying something like a shawl (daupatta) over the shoulders;
3. the length of the cloth for making a full dress was to be at the most seven and a half yards (pats); and the short dress has to be of five yards;
4. the cost of the cloth was also taken into consideration in making the dress so that every could easily afford it, the cloth of the head gear and the dress had to be to superior quality.
5. the dress was to be such as to have a long extension infront, in order to receive and tie in it any gift, if presented by Nizam ul Mulk.

Head gears of different varieties like arabi, Mughalai, and Khuridar, found their way in illuminating the power and pomp of the Nizam. However, head gears of a light colour were never worn in the presence of Nizam ul Mulk.

Printed cloth of high quality was always requisitioned from Masulipatnam. Various types of dress-wear were prepared with this type of cloth. One thawn of printed cloth for the purpose of head gear cost rupees one hundred. Nobles used cheaper quality.

No one could have a full dress or waist coat with pockets. During **summer** and winter, or in the court or while riding, they wore large and loose dresses.

While the cultural practices associated with the elite dominance and ideology reinforced the existence of luxury consumption patterns, however, the social organization as well as economic institutions related to the economically less powerful groups in turn perpetuated middle and ordinary consumption **patterns.**

One important social ritual, which cut across caste boundaries for which specific varieties of cloth prescribed, was the marriage ceremony. There was no doubt a relationship between the textile variety prescribed and the caste or community in which the marriage was being performed but invariably every marriage ceremony had its associated **fabrics.** for instance the **madhuparkam** was an essential ingredient "of a Brahmin marriage.

82

Similarly a marriage party of any community was required to be given cloths of a particular **specifications** or variety. It was in fact not only for marriages that such cultural prescriptions were made. Specific designs, colours, textures were ordained for almost every significant event in life, especially for women. For instance a pregnant woman at a particular time was expected to wear a sari known as **Rakta** Katretu Koka or Rakta Pinjari Chira.



The plain costumes prescribed for widows are wellknown. In fact, for the innumerable rituals, functions and events that measured existence, there were corresponding fabrics.<sup>83</sup>

**The** sacred and religious rituals of the higher classes demanded the adoption of certain textiles as a part of their special costume to suit the various occasions. One such an example was the use of "madi" cloths, generally donned by the higher castes of the region. Madi cloths are the ceremonially pure garments which are worn at home at meal times.<sup>84</sup> It was an indispensable item essentially for brahmin to procure of which he would even if necessary go with out food, as reflected in the proverb 'Miss the Meal but not the Madi cloth'.<sup>85</sup>

While social rituals helped to perpetuate the production of particular varieties of textiles, the persistence of tradition among different segments of society also helped to maintain the specialized craftsmanship of different weavers. Thus the hill people in the Visakhapatnam region who chose to wear rough cotton cloths with coloured stripes were catered to by the weavers of

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Rajam who specialized in the production of such **cloths**. Even the simple dress of the ordinary ryot consisting of a Dhovati and Turban, because of its persistence through generations sustained the textile economy. A description of the costume of Reddis and Kapus in telugu literary works of the region, like Parama Yogi Veelasamu of and Sukapapatati of seventeenth century shows little changes having taken place in the styles of **cultivating** groups.<sup>87</sup> Quality cloths with different borders,

however, would give reflections of economic **differentiation** within the cultivating class. Interestingly, the use of combali entered into the common dress pattern of cultivators, who used this especially when going for cultivation.<sup>88</sup> Bed sheet was used occasionally by them as clearly disceoned even in the proverb of the region. Every day combali, occasionally bed **spread**.

At another level of production, the presence of jajmani and institutional relations at the village locality determined certain aspects of continuation of lower consumption patterns associated with groups like attached agricultural labourers, called Paleru. These attached hereditary labourers received payment not only in cash and kind, but also some non pecuniary payments like unthrashed paddy at the end of the year, a new cloth, some tobacco in Peddapuram, **Pitapuram**, Rajahmundry and areas of the Godavari district.<sup>90</sup> In Guntur district, for instance, a Paleru whether Gentoo, Pareah or Chucklar was entitled to a payment of 5 maunds of grain and a cloth, if the service was limited to one year.<sup>91</sup> After working three or four years if the Paleru desired to attach himself and his family hereditarily to a particular Ryot, then his emoluments contained a number of allowances on various ceremonial and ritual occasions. However, he was entitled to 1 seer of Jonna per day, and a country blanket annually, whether his employment was in the fields or other **business**.<sup>92</sup>

The foregoing dicussion underlines the important role the culture played in **dertermining** the stability and vitality of the

textile industry. Although fashion and styles of dress are moulded by several factors it is evident that the social prescriptions of dress and the persistence of tradition helped the Coromandel weaver to wwork with a degree of security that could not have been provided in the economic vaule.

#### Price of Cloth and Position of the Weaver

The Company's attempts to reorganize the structural arrangements of the weaving villages, the extension of various legal procedures, the granting of tax exemption privileges for mastering the entire production organization of the weaving world was but a clear manifestation of the commercial motives of the company. The company's interest in white piecegoods and chay goods of the Northern Coromandel was based primarily on prices which enabled the company to maximize profits at London Sales. By the turn of the eighteenth century by virtually acquiring a monopsonistic position over the textile trade, the company manipulated the price levels of various assortments intended for various long distance trade destinations of the textile economy. The Court of Directors made consistent orders to procure textile varieties at the lowest possible prices.<sup>93</sup> From the available evidence it can be discerned that the weavers were forced to produce textiles at much reduced prices as the production entirely depended on the demand for the respective varieties at the London Sales. Interestingly, under the existing Investment system followed by the Company, prices were determined by the Court of Directors two years before the supply of cloth by the

weaver, essentially by viewing the earlier sales position, and any attempt to consider an increased price was sternly opposed, as they were apprehensive that a later reduction in price would not be possible, after it was once **raised.**The position of the peripheralised weaver could be indicated by taking into consideration the actual prices of different varieties offered by the company.

The prices offered by the company for Masulipatnam chay goods showed a continued declining trend between 1786 and 1816. Earlier Alleagers, Callawapores, Sastracundies, **Gringhams** Red and Blue, Machilipatnam **Romals** of different assortments, inclusive of both large and patterned depended largely on the private traders for their **production.** The prices which the Court of Directors offered fluctuated depending on the intensity of competition created by other European traders, or when a rise in costs occurred owing to dislocations in the economy such as famine in the region. The Table 8:3 demonstrates the percentage of prices offered by the company for Northern Coromandel Textiles between 1786 and 1830

How could the company effected such a price reduction continually in chay goods investment of the Masulipatnam factory? What was the reaction of weavers to such a price policy? The company by including all chay goods varieties in its investment lists like Spanish Investment, French Musters, Dutch Musters, Armenian Musters, not only reduced the competition of private traders, but effectively reduced the bargaining capacity of Masulipatnam weaver . The company's pricing policy for

Masulipatnam cloth was determined by two opposed factors. Firstly, there was the need to encourage the Indian weaver by offering a relatively high price. On the other hand, as most of the Masulipatnam cloth was intended for the rural markets of Europe, the prices could not be pegged at too high a level. The final price was, therefore, the resultant of the two<sup>96</sup>. The conflicts between principal and under contractors of chay goods, were utilized by Commercial Officials of Masulipatnam factory to offer a low price that was raised earlier. The recovery of the district from the distressed effects of famine, virtual eclipse of private competition, and availability of more weavers were the grounds on which the Board of Trade resisted the demand of contractors for a higher price.<sup>97</sup>

The price of punjum cloths and Salempores from Vizagapatnam, Ingeram and Maddapollam Factories registered a fluctuating trend between 1787 and 1830s. In Vizagapatnam district the price of Long cloth as fixed by the Court of Directors increased from 38 pagodas per corge in 1793 to 47 pagodas per corge by 1800. In the decade following 1800, the price offered was only 46 pagodas, but since 1811, 51 1/2 Pagodas was offered. A similar trend could be seen in the case of Long cloth Middling and Long cloth Fine varieties of Visakhapatnam **factory**. Salempores ordinary cloth when introduced in 1799, was priced at 23 1/2 Pagodas, but increased continually upto 26 Pagodas till 1810, and later on declined by one Pagoda. Even though Salempores middling variety remained at 28 Pagodas between 1805 and 1810, it went upto its original price of 30 Pagodas even

### 8.3 Company's Prices of Chay goods and piecegoods

[illegible]

The various varieties of Long cloth (ordinary, middling, **fine** and **superfine**), exhibited more or less similar price trend in the region between 1787 and 1817; nevertheless a slight variation could be discerned in each individual item. For instance, between 1787 and 1817, the price of Long cloth ordinary increased from Pagodas 46 to 51 per corge, while that of Long cloth middling raised from 67 Pagodas to 68 Pagodas per corge. However, Long cloth Superfine variety decreased drastically from Pagodas 207 to 192 in per corge, the year in which the demand for Superfine variety was completely stopped by the English East India Company. Similar trends can be noticed in case of Ingeram and Maddapollam white piece goods investment."

For all the varieties of Northern Coromandel region, a higher price had to be paid by the company, primarily due to the severe famine that engulfed the region from November 1790 to November 1792. The occurrence of famine caused distress to the various groups in the society. From the dislocation caused by severe drought, and failure of Monsoons in 1790, the town of Masulipatnam was affected severely, as there was scarcity of food grains and unusually high prices for food grains. However, such a severe scarcity was a manifestation of war from 1780 to 1784 during which large quantities of grain were being exported. Yet another reason for the calamity was the political turmoil that engulfed the district, owing to the quarrels among the Zamindars of Moortazanagar in 1777, followed by political disturbance created by a conflict between Meerjang and Captain

Douglas. The principal diet of the weavers, Jonnalalu, was sold at 25 Pagodas per candy and as a result most of the weavers absconded, causing a decline in the provision of company's investment. 100

But, the failure and scarcity conditions caused by famine of 1790 which continued unabated, and intensified with the total failure of rains in November and December 1792, had a lasting impact. The political economy of Northern Coromandel region had to get adjusted to the dislocation caused by the loss of inhabitants and low important sources of revenues during this suffering. The economy was in a state of dependence on Bengal and other places for its grain requirements. The effect of this famine on Zamindaries of the region was varied, owing to the different composition of crops and soils in which they were located. In Zamindaries of Nundigamah and challapillee of Masulipatnam district, the land was best suited for cultivation of Jonnalalu, a crop that requires less water for its cultivation, and therefore, the effect of famine was less compared to the Zamindaries of Rajahmundry district, where most of the land was used for the cultivation of paddy.<sup>101</sup>

The economy and society of the weaving world was also deeply interlocked with these complex patterns of natural calamities. The effect was immediately felt by the weaver of the Northern Coromandel region, who had to spend a higher percentage of his earnings on raw materials itself. As a result, a rise in the price of piecegoods and chay goods was effected by the Court of Directors. Such a price rise had to be continued for some years,



as because of the depopulation of the country during **famine** period, especially in Godavari district, a scarcity and dearness of thread prevailed. Despite the increased availability of cotton in 1794, the price of thread was still high, as most of inhabitants instead of the usual spinning resorted to **cultivation**. Due to the recurrence of economic dislocations owing to political disturbances, unusual severity of Monsoons, and famine conditions, the **company** could not effect a reduction in prices of piece goods and chay goods in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

A clear departure from the increased price policy of **punjum** and **Salempores** varieties of company's assortments happened in the **1820's**. The prices fixed by the company for coarser varieties of punjum cloths and Salempores at the General Factory registered a continual decline from 1820 onward, because of low profits which these goods obtained at the London Sales. Consequently, the company reduced not only its demand for the textiles of the Northern Coromandel, but also insisted that the estimated costs and charges of every description of cloth should not exceed the price fixed by the Court of Directors, and any rise in the price of piece goods would ultimately lead to the withdrawal of company's textile investment at the General Factory. For instance, the Court of Directors stated **that:**<sup>103</sup> **"....if** the goods shall be charged at a higher rate every motion for a Future Indent will cease and we shall be under the necessity of directing the abolition of the Vizagapatam Commercial Establishment, .... "

The real issue was, however, the effect of these price fluctuations, mostly a downward trend, on the weaver, for whom it had grave consequences, as his earning capacity depended primarily on the real wage he earned. The Table 8:4 illustrates the real wage earned by an Ingeram Factory weaver on different varieties of Punjum cloths in 1775.

**Table 8.4**  
**Price of Punjam Cloth at Ingeram Factory in 1775**

Different varieties of punjum pieces	Sorts	Price of thread per piece in Madras Pagodas	Weavers coolie hire for weaving each piece	Cost of each piece	Company's price per corge in Madras Pagodas
14	1	1 1/4	3/8	1 5/8	32 1/2
	2	1 1/4	3/8	1 5/8	30
	3	1 1/4	3/8	1 5/8	28 3/4
16	1	1 3/8	1/2	1 7/8	37 1/2
	2	1 3/8	1/2	1 7/8	35
	3	1 3/8	1/2	1 7/8	33 3/4
18	1	1 1/2	5/8	2 1/8	42 1/2
	2	1 1/2	5/8	2 1/8	40
	3	1 1/2	5/8	2 1/8	37 1/2
	4	1 1/2	5/8	2 1/8	36 1/4
22	1	2	1 3/16	2 3/16	56 1/2
	2	2	1 3/16	2 3/16	53 3/4

	3	2	1 3/16	2 3/16	50
24	1	2 1/8	1 3/16	2 15/16	58 3/4
	2	2 1/8	1 3/16	2 15/16	56 1/4
	3	2 1/8	1 3/16	2 15/16	53 3/4
	4	2 1/8	1 3/16	2 15/16	50
36	1	5 1/2	3	8 1/2	170
	2	5 1/2	3	8 1/2	160
	3	5 1/2	3	8 1/2	140

In 1794 owing to the severe famine, the real wage earned by an Ingeram factory weaver declined drastically, as he had to spend more on the purchase of thread, consequently leaving a smaller profit to the weaver. By 1799, the position of weaver appeared to have been a little improved. Despite paying a reduced price by the company, the profit to the weaver was , higher than the profit he earned in 1794.

The weaver's profit after deducting the cost of thread, show that their earnings formed only a small proportion of the total price offered by the Merchant, as shown in the Table 8:0

At Ingeram, the monthly profits earned by the weaver was considered to be adequate for the support of himself and his family consisting of three persons.<sup>104</sup>. In 1796 at Visakhapatnam district, the standard of living for a weaver and his family consisting of his wife and two children was about 75 rupees a year, and that the taxes upon the cloths and he consume may about

to 5 percent upon the whole <sup>105</sup>.

Since the vast majority of weavers working for piece goods investment of the company at Ingeram, **Maddapollam** and Vizagapatnam factories were under the control of copdari system, they had hardly received much profit from their production, and never beyond subsistence levels. The company's policy of maintaining moderate prices, and the weaver's inability to **maintain** their subsistence levels owing to the oppressive price policy followed by the copdars, especially in case of Visakhapatnam factory, caused dissatisfaction among the weavers who consistently revolted against such an oppression.

At Masulipatnam, however, the recommended prices of the company seemed adequate, as apparently the weaver, had no complaints to make, a fact remarked on in 1803 by Vincentio Corbrett, the Resident at Masulipatnam.<sup>106</sup>

...For a term of 10 years there was no complaint on the records (of recourse to compulsion nor of the **smallness** of the gains of the weavers or **insufficiency** of the price paid them for the goods, ..., indeed they [seem] well satisfied with their lot): the more surprising and unexpected in a district where provisions of all kinds were generally higher priced than further north, at a period the weavers in the neighbouring factories have been in a state of revolt.

How did the withdrawal of the Company's investment in textiles and a downward trend in the private trading activity affect the standard of living of the weaver. ?

Table 8:5

Price of Punjam Cloth of Different Denominations and Weavers Earnings  
at Ingeram Factory in 1799

Number of Punjam Cloth	Company price Merchant price to the weavers			Burdles of thread per each piece dle			Weight of each bun- dle			Price of each bun- dle			Total of Dub			Prime cost			Profit to the weavers		
	MP	F	C	MP	F	C	Burdles	Dubs	Dubs	Dubs	Dubs	Dubs	Dubs	Dubs	Dubs	MP	F	C	MP	F	C
13 1/2	2	2	72 1/2	1	39	36 1/4	22	20	15	330	1	22	40	16	76						
14	2	6	42	1	42	60	22	20	16	352	1	34	---	15	60						
15	2	13	61	2	4	26 1/2	23	20	17	391	1	34	8	14	28						
16	2	21	1/4	2	10	73	24	20	18	432	1	43	31	12	42						
17	2	30	52 1/2	2	19	55	24	20	19	456	2	3	30	16	25						
18	2	35	38 1/2	2	24	26	24	20	19	456	2	3	30	20							
20	3	5	41	2	37	58 1/4	24	20	20	480	2	8	15	29	43						
22	3	12	33 1/2	2	44	1 1/2	23	20	22	506	2	13	40	30	41 1/2						
24	3	19	26 1/2	3	5	23 3/4	22	20	24	528	2	18		33	2 3/4						

\* MP Madras Pagodas, F Fanams, C Cash

Source: R. Fullerton to James Taylor, QOR 831, p.44

In Vizagapatam the price of **punjum** cloth declined drastically after the **abolition** of the factory in 1830, from 6 rupees to **Rs.3-8 annas**. Consequently, the **weavers profit** decreased from two rupees on each piece of cloth to a meager **profit** of 4 to 6 **fanamas**, which was hardly enough to maintain his minimum standard of living

The wages earned by a weaver and other artisanal groups in the Vizagapatnam district declined by 1839, when compared to their earnings in the first decade of the nineteenth century, as shown in the Table 8:6

**Table 8:6**

**The 'wage' hire earned by different Social groups in Vizagapatam district in 1839**

Description of work	Previous to the past 30 years	In 1839	Increase	Decrease
	from - to	from - to		
1.Hire in paddy to a <b>cooly</b> engaged in the transportation of the paddy by Seers	5 - 4	4 - 3		1
2."ditto" in dubs ditto erecting a wall	6 - 5	4 - 3		<b>2</b>
3. "ditto" in dubs to a cavedy cooley to palanquin bearers for a coss	2 - 1 1/1	1 - 1 1/2		1
4. "ditto" in annas to a coss Bundy for "ditto"	4 - 3	3 - 2		1
5 "ditto" in rupees to a Brass smith for a	8 - 6	5 - 6		3

## maund

6. "ditto" in rupees to a Gold smith for toolum	1 1/2	1	1/2
7. "ditto" in Rupees to a Silver smith for "ditto"	3 -	2 -	1
8. "ditto" in annas to a carpenter per day	5 - 4	3 - 2	2
9. "ditto" in "dubs" to a weaver for one cubit.	3 - 2	2 - 1	1

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Source: Arbuthnot Collector Vizagapatnam to C.R. Cotton, Madras,  
5 Janauary 1839, VDR 6643, p.10

The fall in the wage rate of weavers coincided with a general declining trend in the economy of Vizagapatam district, caused by unfavorable seasons, that caused population distress. Consequently, as the price of grain increased to twice to its usual level, the price of gold and silver decreased from 16 rupees per tola in 1806 to 14 1/2 rupees in 1839. The fall in the wages earned by different groups was, therefore, similar to the proportion of fall registered in gold and silver. <sup>10 ft</sup> <sub>uo</sub>

In Godavari district, however, a differential effect of the economic dislocation was noticeable in the weaving economy. The declining position of the weavers owing to the abolition of factory 1830, further deteriorated owing to a general decline of the Zamindars and landed Proprietors. The demand for the five and expensive cloths decreased, as the position of Zamindars and their retainers declined due to the failure of the Permanent land

revenue settlements. Yet another decisive factor that distressed the weaver as well as other classes was the recurrence of adverse seasons.

What was the position of **Punjum** cloth weavers after 1830s? From 1824 onwards, the Company's demand was primarily for coarser varieties of punjum cloths like 12, 13, 13 1/2 and 14, but after the abolition of factories at Ingeram and Maddapollam, these punjum cloths of company's assortments were rarely **bought**. Nevertheless, the demand for these varieties continued owing to the activities of private Merchants in the region, the price of which were shown in the Table 8:7

While the private Merchants bought large quantities of 13 and 14 punjum cloths till 1839, 16 punjum cloth was demanded by them only upto 1827. Private trade in 18 punjum cloth completely ceased by 1830. The traders demand for middling and superfine varieties varying from 20 to 50 punjum had never extended beyond the quantities of 3 or 4 pieces at a time. 110

What was the impact of such a trend on the production and earnings of weavers at different weaving centres of the District? In Godavari District the position of weaver deteriorated from 1830 to 1840, and the effects of abolition of factory, declining private trade activity, instability in the political economy of the district owing to famine and other natural calamities was being felt by the weaving economy. The following tables provide details on the number of weavers, looms, houses, and the production capacity of each of 33 villages, at four different average periods between 1824 and 1844: Table:8:8



TABLE:8.7

Prices offered by different merchants for different  
Assortments of Punjum cloth Rajahmundry district  
from 1824- 1844

COMPANY'S PRICE			PRIVATE MERCHANT PRICE											
YEARS	12	13	14	12	13	14	15	16	18	20				
	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II	I II				
1824	6 12	7 8	8 3	5 12				7 8	9	10				
1825	6 12	7 8	8 3	5 12	6	6 4		7 8	8 8	10 10				
1826	6 12	7 6	7 14	6 4	6 8	6 4		7 8	8 8	10 10				
1827	6 12	7 6	7 14	6 4	6 8	6 12		7 8	8 8	10 10				
1828	6 12	7 6	7 14	6 4	5 8	6 12		7 8	8 8	10 10				
1829				5 4	5 8	5 12		7 8	8 8	9 8				
1830				5 4	5	5 4		6 4	7 4	9 8				
1831				4 12	5	5 4		6 4	7 7	9 8				
1832				4 12	5	5 4		6 4	7 7	9 9				
1833				4 12	5	5 4		6 4	7 7	9 9				
1834				4 12	5	5 4		6 4	7 7	9 9				
1835				4 12	4	5 4	5 12	6 4	7 7	9 9				
1836				4 12	5	5 4	5 12	6 4	7 7	9 9				
1837				4 12	5	5 4	5 12	6 4	7 7	9 9				
1838				4 12	5	5 4	5 12	6 4	7 7	9 9				
1839										9				
1840										9				
1841										9				
1842										9				
1843										9				
1844				4 8	4 12	5	5 8	5 12	6 8	7 8				

\*1811 REPRESENTS VALUE OF EACH ASSORTMENT IN RUPEES AND ANNAS RESPECTIVELY

PRIVATE MERCHANT PRICE

	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	50
I	II	I	II	I	I	I	II	I	I	I	I	I
11	12	14	8	16	18	19	24	28	35	37		48
11	12	14	8	16	18	19	24	28	35	37		48
11	12	14	8	16	18	19	24	28	35	37		48
11	12	14	8	16	18	19	24	28	35	37		48
11	12	14	8	16	18	19	24	28	35	37		48
11	12	14	8	16	18	19	24	28	35	37		48
11	12	14	8	16	18	19	24	28	35	37		48
10	8	13	8	15	16	18	22	26	33	35	37	45
10	8	13	8	15	16	18	22	26	33	35	37	45
10	8	13	8	15	16	18	22	26	33	35	37	45
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
10	11	13		14	15	16	21	25	32	33		42
8	8	12		13	14	15	20	25	31	32		40

Source: C.I. Bird, Collector to BOR, 20 October 1844, PBR  
1950, pp 1148

TABLE:8.8

Number of Weavers Looms, weavers, and value of cloth produced in 33 villages of Godavari District from 1824 to 1843

NAMES OF ESTATES	VILLAGE NAMES	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1 PEDDIPURAM	PEDDIPURAM	203	203	238	10670	192	192	239	9523	206	200	253	9713
2 VETTALAPALLAM	VETTALAPALLAM	69	69	79	11826	59	59	59	7155	52	52	52	5503
3 CAUTRAVOOLAPALLI	CAUTRAVOOLAPALLI	67	67	60	13553	49	49	53	6896	38	38	43	4188
4 NAGARAM	CHINTAPALLI	30	40	50	3600	35	50	54	3434	40	50	54	2900
5 MOREY	MOREY	30	42	33	2556	25	41	34	2366	30	36	30	1800
6 JAGGEMITTAN	JAGGEMITTAN	75	75	77	5565	05	05	09	5726	69	69	69	3700
7 AMALAPURAM	AMALAPURAM	45	118	110	7877	60	94	88	5671	60	92	86	4935
8 BANDARLANKA	BANDARLANKA	70	203	160	13626	60	117	114	8910	50	96	97	6232
9 POLLACCOGA	POLLACCOGA	30	37	107	9106	30	53	53	5037	30	37	37	1934
10 CHENARA	SAMULCOGA	57	59	67	5552	58	57	57	5130	63	57	59	6956
11 BLEMAMAM	BLEMAMAM	103	350	210	25052	166	373	167	16703	157	515	159	13554
12 VALUGABANDAM	MUNDAPETAM	100	102	93	11562	60	161	63	6131	57	167	56	4774
13 ARTHUR	ARTHUR	80	140	74	9120	61	129	60	6030	54	107	83	7075
14 BICAVOLE	VAIDURPANA	60	108	61	7518	57	115	40	4070	64	222	64	5656
15 CAUCOOR	CAUCOOR	150	280	143	17624	127	266	115	11557	83	291	113	7075
16 VYAGHEMETI	MALATORE	20	24	24	1506	20	24	24	1150	21	24	24	1187
17 PENNUGUNDAM	MARTERU	30	35	35	2376	29	37	37	1552	32	36	36	1376
18 CHINTAVILLOOR	PUNDETAVILLOOR	27	37	37	2515	27	37	37	1552	32	36	36	1376
19 VELPUR	CHINTAVILLOOR	103	51	51	4560	110	55	50	360	150	136	116	6000
20 TANAKU	VELPUR	18	20	22	2100	20	22	18	1000	12	14	14	700
21 ATTLEY	ATTLEY	20	26	2500	26	33	26	1000	33	39	35	1500	42
22 TIROPAIPURAM	TIROPAIPURAM	22	30	26	2500	26	33	26	1000	33	39	35	1500
23 MIGALTORE	POLICOLE	150	256	256	30339	110	221	221	23265	100	166	166	13567
24 MARSAPOLE	MARSAPOLE	15	15	15	17269	24	24	24	2493	45	45	45	3969
25 PITAMPURAM	PITAMPURAM	40	40	40	3400	30	30	30	2040	57	57	57	3096
26 UPPADAM	UPPADAM	167	194	201	20100	203	202	214	15456	16	158	197	11900
27 KOTRAGIRI	KOTRAGIRI	40	30	30	3600	40	28	28	2668	20	18	18	1294
28 RAPURTY	RAPURTY	30	30	30	2400	25	25	25	1625	28	28	29	1450
29 TUNI	TUNI	253	162	172	15926	232	174	192	13824	220	156	177	12200
30 DRACHARAM	ANARAH	134	134	168	22921	68	68	83	7268	109	109	109	13350
31 PEDAPUDI	PEDAPUDI	41	41	40	5325	30	32	32	4842	28	29	29	4068
32 RAJAMUNDRI	RAJAMUNDRI	71	71	71	12607	89	89	89	12532	122	122	122	14112
33 DOLLAM	DOLLAM	129	129	130	12812	130	132	136	11360	131	141	141	10276
34 CAUTAROO	CAUTAROO			74	7325	92	59	65	7290	90	80	89	7605

Source: C.I. Bird, Collector to BOR, 15 January 1845, PBR 1950, PP. 1148

I Weavers; II weavers Houses; III weavers Looms; IV Value of cloth Produced.

In Amalapuram taluk of the Godavari District, the weaver's economic position was affected drastically, as his product ranging from 12 **punjum** cloth to that of 50 **punjum** cloth lost its ground due to the abolition of company's trade as well as decline in private trade by 640. Moreover, it was in Amalapuram taluk that the production of weavers included not only **punjum** cloths but also of Izzaries, Taghas, Muslins, Dhovaties, Vonies, Turbans and women's cloth. The instability created in the weaving economy of the **Amalapur** taluk was manifested by the withdrawal of weavers from weaving as they went away to **Moulmein** and other places for employment, and some weavers died owing to the famine, consequently the number of **looms** for instance, in Amalapur, Bandarlanka and Pollencooroo villages registered a drastic decline by 1840s. The profit to the weaver was very much reduced as the price offered for various descriptions of cloth declined continually and simultaneously there was an increase in the cost of raw materials from Rs 50 to 75 to 85 for a piece of 100 rupees value.

The weavers from **Pitahpuram** and **Komarger**i villages of Pitahpuram taluk specialized in the **manufacturing** of **Punjum** cloths from 12 to 18, Dhovaties and women's cloths, while those of Uppada village specialized in **manufacturing** of all six descriptions of textiles mentioned in the table: A gradual decline in the position of weavers of these villages was noticeable from 1824 onward, as reflected in the number of looms and weavers. For instance, in Uppada the weavers were reduced by 25 percent by 1840s, while in other two villages their number

either increased or decreased. As a result of the economic uncertainties relating to the long distance trade channels, many weavers, who lost their employment, opted for short term migration to Payakarowpettah and other villages of Vizagapatam district, and few went to Yanam. The cost of raw materials for producing a piece of 100 rupees worth increased from rupees 80 to 90 by 1840s.

At the five villages, Mundapettah, Artamoor, Vedurapaka, Cookkoodooroo and Nelatur, forming a part of Mundapetah Mootah, the weavers manufactured punjum cloths of coarse and middle varieties (i.e. from 12 to 24 punjums). Dhovaties, Vonies and women cloths. The production declined subsequent to the abolition of the factory, and decline in private trade. However, an increase in the number of looms in four villages (except in Artamoor where a decrease was noticed) was primarily due to the short term migration of weavers from the nearby villages. Besides, the famine affected the weaver's population very disastrously in these village by causing death. In 1844, weaving of punjum cloth was stopped while that of private assortment of 30 to 50 cubits length and 2 cubits width continued to be introduced. The cost of raw materials for a piece worth 100 rupees increased from 50 to 76 rupees earlier to 66 to 89 rupees in 1844.

The effect of the Company's withdrawal of investment was hardly noticed in Samulkotah and Beemavaram villages of Kakinada taluk as there was no decrease in the number of looms, weavers

in these four villages during 1824 to 1844. The weavers were specialized in manufacture of 12 to 16 punjums cloth, Dhovaties, women's cloths and vonies. However, due to deflated price levels for these textile varieties, the profit to the weaver was reduced, as the cost of raw material increased from rupees 60 to 75.

In the Peddapuram Estate of Godavari District, the weaver's position was disastrously affected owing to the abolition of the factory as well as decline in private trade, when compared to those of other **Mootahs**. In almost all villages, the weavers were reduced to weaving only Dhovaties, vonies and women's cloths after 1830, while Contravalapilly was an exception where weavers were specialized in producing **punjum Salempores** or half cloth measuring below 30 cubits in lengths and 2 cubits in width. While the decrease in number of looms and weavers could be attributed to deaths and short term migrations to other villages for want of livelihood, the increase was owing to arrivals from other villages. The cost of raw material for a piece of rupees 100 worth increased from 70 to 80 by 1845.

After the abolition of Company's investment in 1830, the weavers of Dracharam Mootah were forced to produce only Dhovaties and women's cloth for their sustenance, besides producing 12 and 14 punjum cloths meant for private trade occasionally. The cost of raw materials for a piece valuing rupees 100 increased from **Rs. 67** to **77 1/2** by 1844. Similarly, the Rajahmundry division weavers also were reduced to poverty after 1830s, as the cost of raw material increased from Rs. 50 to rupees 75 by 1844.

In consequence of the abolition of commercial factory, and the **import** of all sorts of piece goods from Europe, the position of weavers of Palakollu and Narasapur villages of **Magaltore** Estates declined drastically. Decrease in the number of looms of villages Palakollu was due to famine **casualties**, and the emigration of some weavers to Mauritius, and other places . The cost of raw materials registered an increase here from Rs. 68 to 70 rupees to 85 to 88 rupees by 1844.

After the abolition of factories and decline in private trade activity, the prosperity of weavers of Tuni estate gradually decreased, and they were forced to confine their weaving activity for producing Dhovaties, Vonies and women's cloths for a very little profit. Some of weavers of this Mootah actually took up agriculture as labourers and a few went to Visakhapatnam district, where they did not need to pay any Moturpha tax. Despite these adverse circumstances, there was an increase in the number of weavers employed, as there were new arrivals from other villages. For producing cloths worth of 100 rupees, the cost of raw materials increased from 62 to 75 rupees to 63 to 90 rupees.

The very small profits which the weavers of Chintapalli, Morey and **Jaggampatah** villages of **Nagaram** taluk earned prior to the abolition of factories, were lost after 1820s, as they too had to produce cloths like Dhovaties Vonies, women's cloths and Angavastrums. An increase from 60 rupees to 70 rupees was noticed in the cost of raw material for weaving cloth valuing hundred rupees.

In Pennagondah **Mootah**, weavers generally specialized in weaving coarser variety of **Punjum** cloths like 12 and 14 **punjam**, **Salempore**, Dhovaties, and women cloths only. In Maruteru and Pundalvittor village there was no decrease in the number of houses, looms and villages. But from Chintapurro villages, weavers migrated to other places in the second and third average period. Weavers from this taluk were generally reduced to poverty for want of employment. The cost of raw materials for cloth valuing hundred rupees increased from 70 rupees to 80 rupees by 1844.

Vellpoor, Attili and **Tirupatipuram** villages of Tanuku were primarily producing 14 punjum cloths before 1803s, but later on they were compelled to weave Dhovaties, Vonies, Angavastrums and others. The fine long cloths, Izaries, Tagalu, Misalliance were never fabricated in this taluk. A tremendous increase from 50 rupees to 70 to 80 rupees was noticeable in the cost of raw material for weaving 100 rupees cloth <sup>111</sup>

On the whole, then, the weavers in the region were, over several **decades,forced** into a low- profit situation, and their economic status became extremely poor. This was a major factor in compelling several weavers to move in search of sustenance elsewhere..



## Migration

Various consequences of colonial systems, the use of coercion and economic encouraged, as we have seen, the practice of weavers absconding from their respective villages. In addition to such short term migrations weavers, like cultivators or agricultural labourers, resorted also to long term, long distance migration in response to a crisis or coercion during this period.

The contraction in the cloth production owing to closure of factories and decline in private trade coupled with unfavorable economic situation encouraged the migratory tendency among the weavers more often in 1830s. Long term migrations completely dispersing their concentrations by moving away into a distant places was the new phenomenon that developed in the 1830s. In the new space in which they located themselves, they changed their role perceptions, more often accepting a position totally different from their traditional occupation.

The weavers of Godavari district, for instance, migrated in the 1830s to Bourbon and Moulemien, where they had to take up work on sugar plantations, as coolies. The number of coolies engaged from the Godavari district in 1828-29 for Bourbon was about 3,000 and as per contract they had to remain at Bourbon for at least 3 years from the day of their arrival and they could remain more five years.

They were paid a wage varying from rupees 7 to 12 per month besides being given daily food. Their daily food according to the Official contracts was to consist of one seer of rice, a sufficient quantity of meat or fish for curry. 2 pairs of trousers, two shirts and 2 red handkerchiefs were given to them annually.

At the time of contract they were to have three months pay in advance, and from 3 to 6 rupees per month were to be paid to their families monthly.<sup>112</sup>

During this period, nearly 500 went also to Pondicherry, while some originally bound for Bourbon, went to Penang, where they were generally well treated, partly because the greater responsibility of the Dutch agents meant that the terms of their agreement had been more conscientiously fulfilled". The Dutch government intended to employ many more to the extent of some thousands, especially the class of weavers and the **artisans**.<sup>1</sup>

In the years 1828 and 1829, the French Agent, M. Argand made two contracts with two parties of this coast to employ them at Bourbon, as labourers. The first party consisted of 150 men, the second of 300. By 1834, nearly 5000 persons were transferred mostly from Yanam but a few from Pondicherry and a few from Calcutta.

Mr. Argand believes that no coolies have been sent since 1831, and that from different causes it has not been an

advantageous speculation. The **number** of natives from Rajahmundry who remained at Bourbon in 1834 was about 3000. 114

## **Grain**

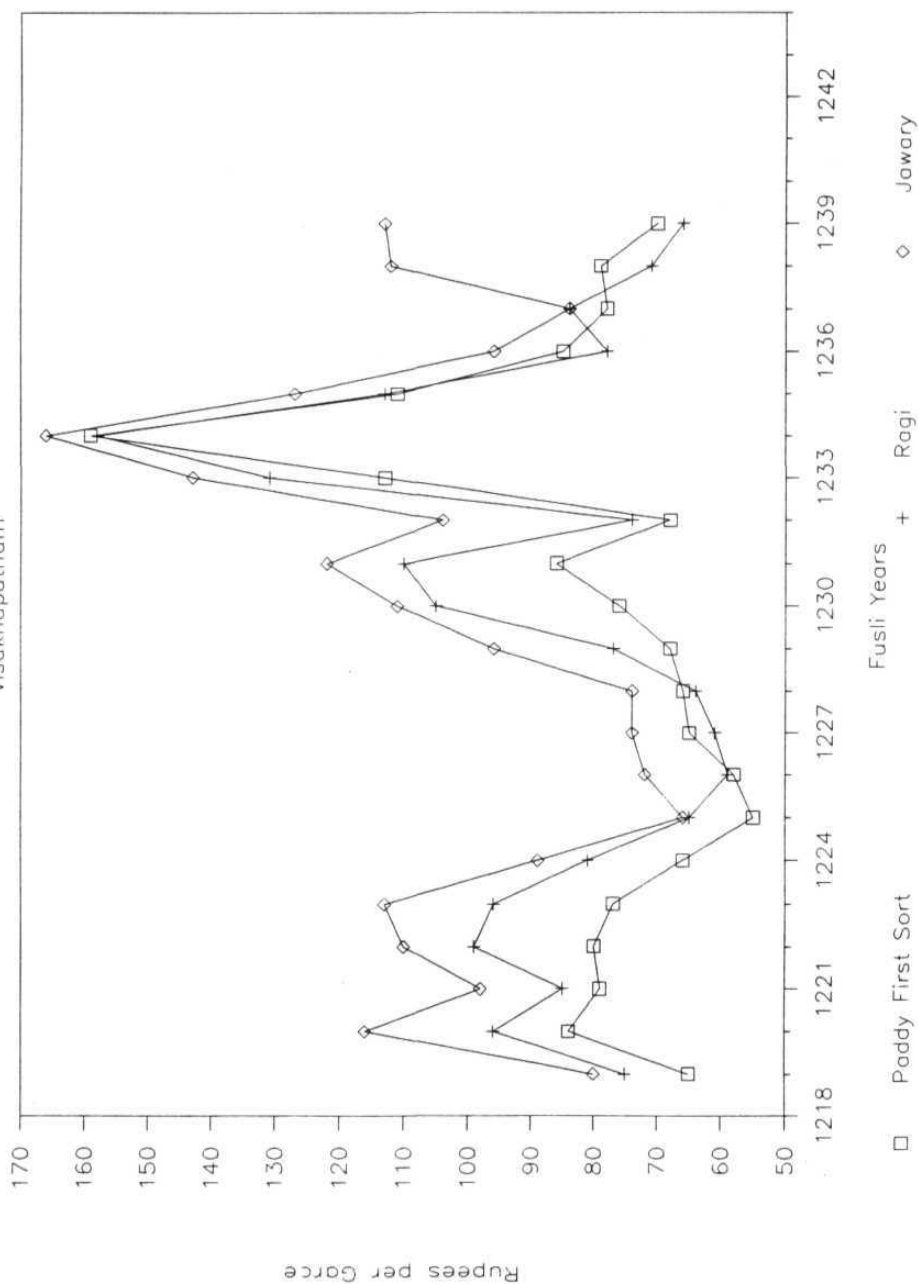
While the price of cloth decreased continually ,affecting the earnings of weavers, the monetary and other allowances accorded by the company were withdrawn from 1830 onwards. Further, the economic dislocation caused by famine and scarcity conditions, turned many weavers away from their villages. With these limited earnings, how did the weaver maintain his basic standard of living ?. Of particular relavance to this question is the price of food grains

By a selective treatment of agrarian products, a correlation between the position of the weaver and the agrarian economy of the region can be discerned, because any sharp increase of prices caused by scarcity conditions, is likely to have affected the weavers subsistence levels, as there was no simultaneous increase in his earnings. For instance, Graphs No 8:2, 8:3, 8:4, & 8:5 hows the movement of the prices of agrarian products in Northern Coromandel region From Fasli 1219/ 1240s.

Despite better weather conditions, and consequent high levels of production, during the year 1820-21 to 1825-26, the level of prices remained high in Godavari district, because the grain dealers mostly Sahukars cornered the entire grain market. An abundance of food crops and reduction in the export of agrarian products caused the price of all foods grains to decline

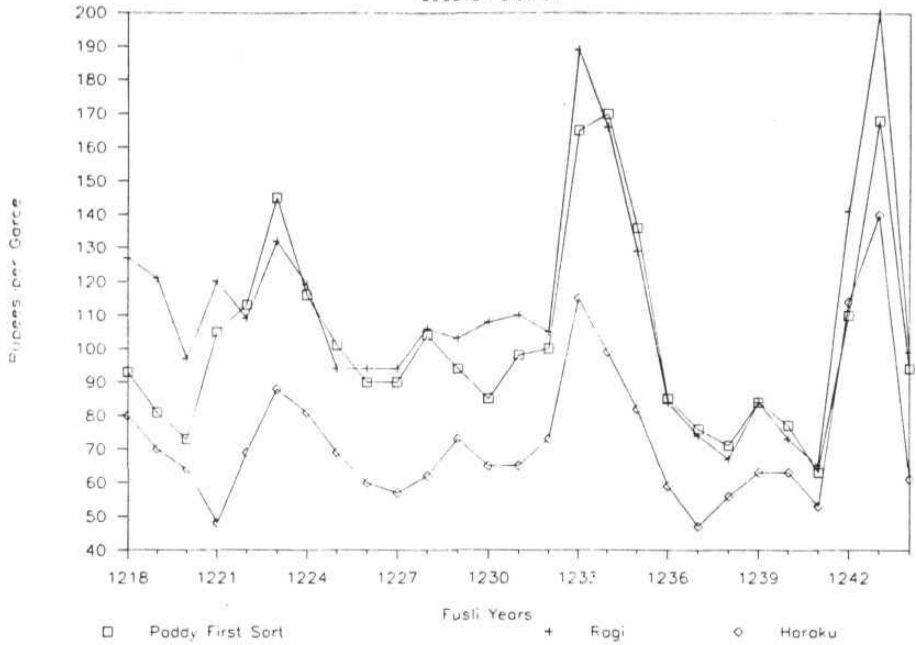
# Grain Prices

Visakhapatnam



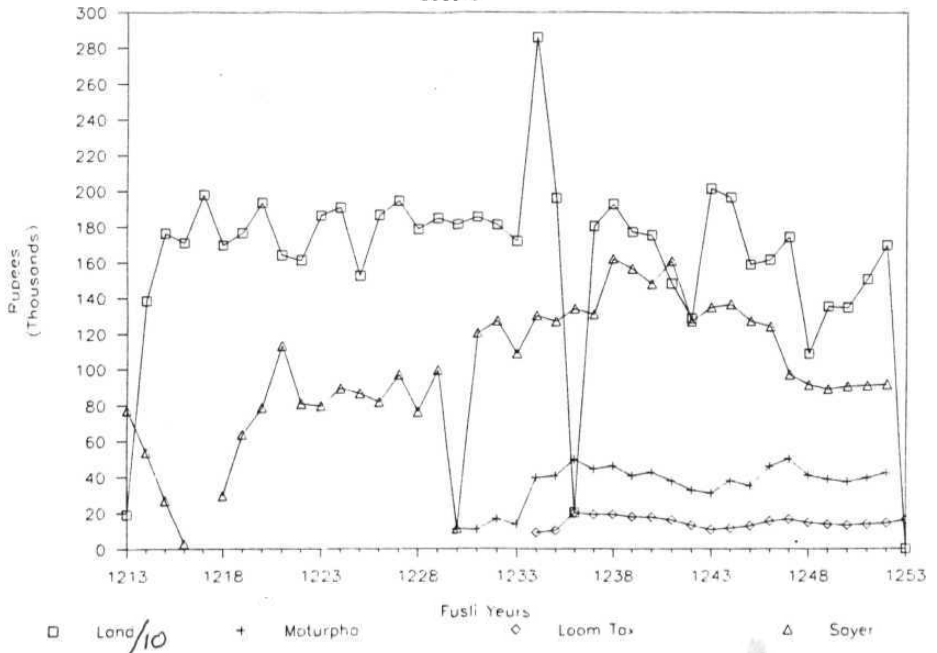
# Food Grain Prices

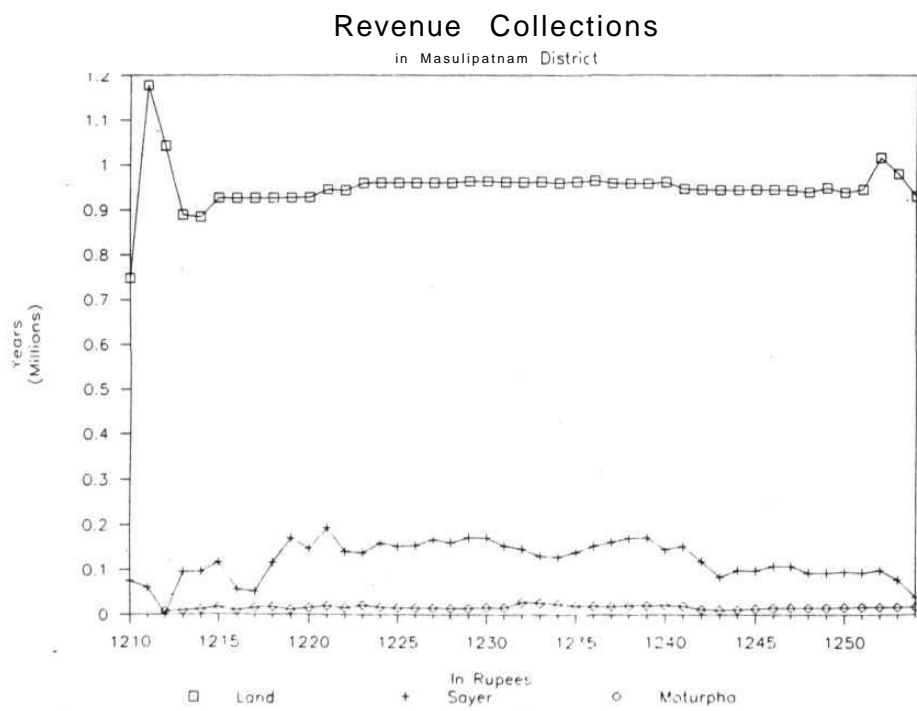
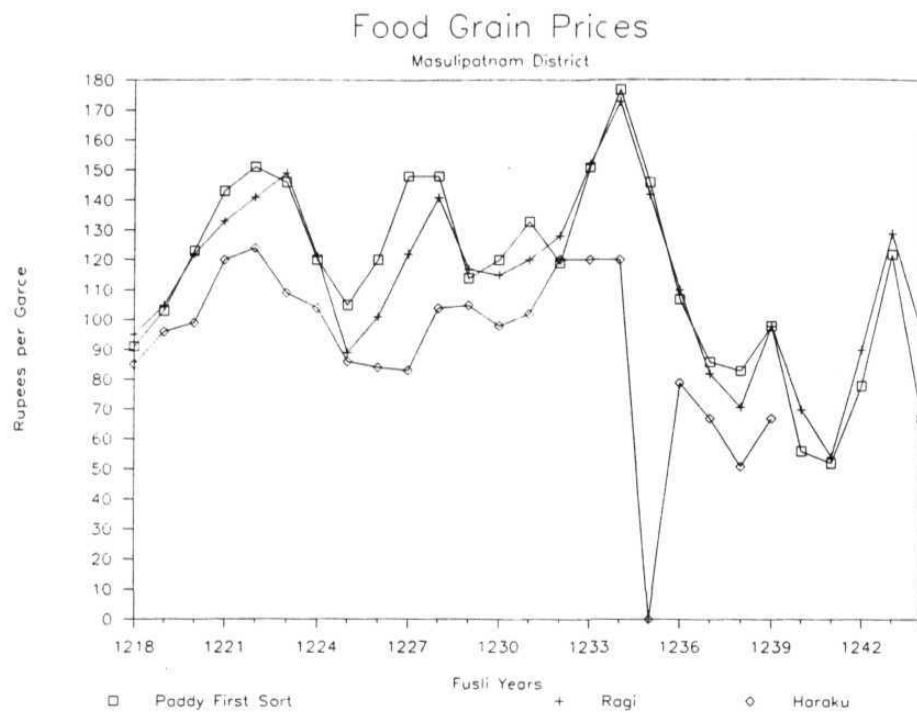
Godavari District



# Revenue Collections

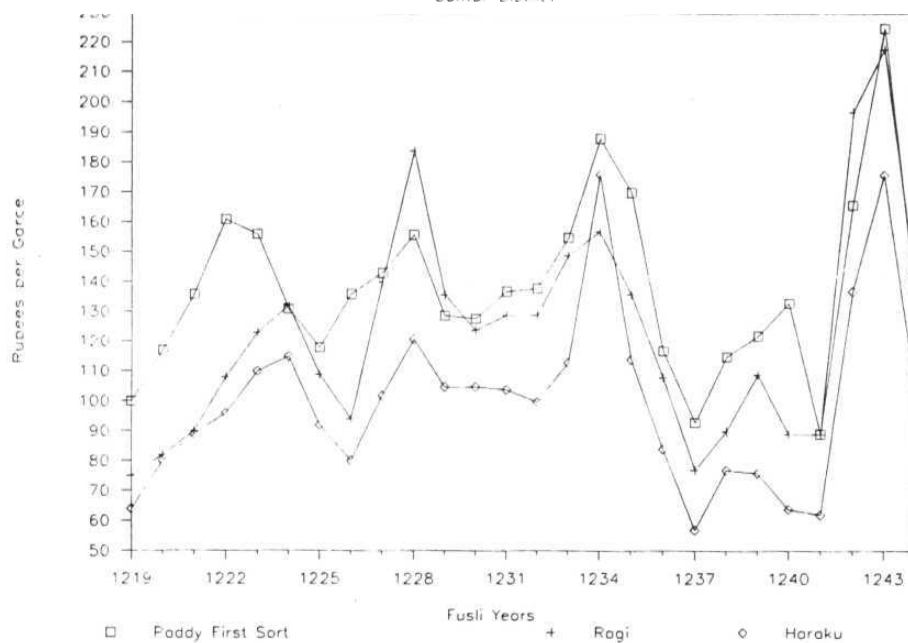
Godavari District





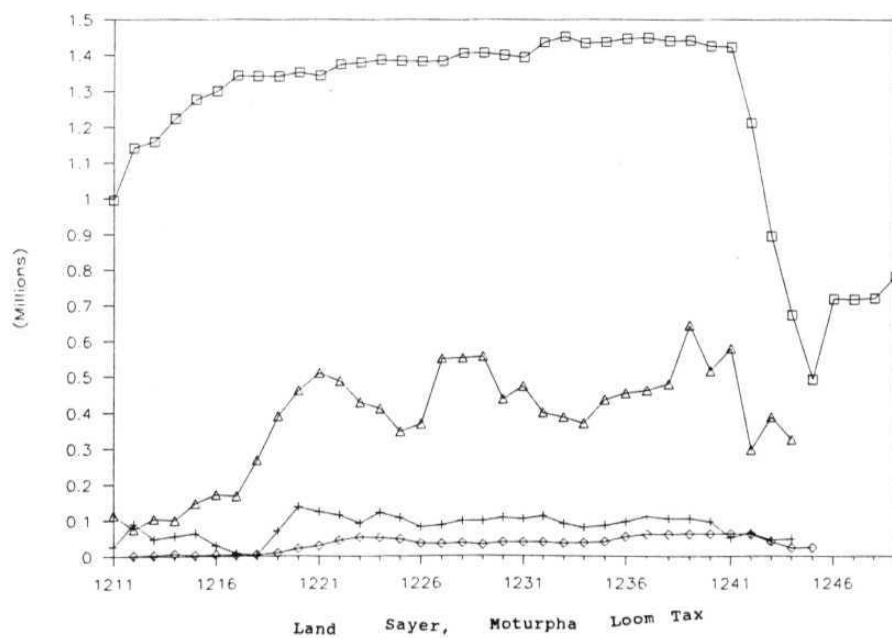
## Food Grain Prices

Guntur District



## REVENUE COLLECTIONS

GUNTUR DISTRICT



in the period 1826-27 to 1831-32. The deflated price movements had affected the ryots more than the urban **dwellers**.<sup>15</sup> But for the weavers, who were caught by the colonial processes like abolition of factories, enforcement of loom tax collections, such a trend was helpful, as he could buy more provisions, even with his little earnings.

The **continual** unfavorable conditions, and the consequent famine and scarcity conditions caused continuous fluctuations between the years 1823-33 to 1840-41. The consequent element of risk in disposing of their products, made the cultivators to give up cultivation on their lands and to move off to other places in order to work as coolies or casual labourers.<sup>116</sup> Zamindaries and proprietary estates had been affected alike, and were ultimately caught up by the efficient revenue collection machinery. The result was that a greater **number** of estates were put up for sale. The decade marked a nadir in the fortunes of the intermediate elements as well as Banias or money lenders. It was due to contraction on all sides, contraction of weaving production due to closure of factories, contraction in exports due to favourable conditions outside the area and other.<sup>117</sup>

The weavers of the region too had come under the grip of these price **fluctuations**, because they were the main victims of economic dislocation caused by the withdrawal of company's investment, declining private trade, and decline in the fortunes of landed magnates, and they also became the victims the famines a common feature of the region in this period. While the cost of



raw material increased, there was no corresponding increase in the wage rate. The malas and other groups involved in the spinning of thread were the worst affected lot, as they lost their immediate source of livelihood.<sup>118</sup> Even most of the painters called Rangirajulu died during this period, owing to the acute scarcity and famine conditions.<sup>119</sup>

A decline in the prices of almost all the agrarian products was visible between 1840-41 and 1850. The demand for cash crops and interval consumption products was at such a low ebb, that it was not possible for the producers of these products even to reap the cost of cultivation. The result was the drastic decline in the revenue collections, and the consequent sale of estates. Ostensibly, the declining price level was attributed to colonial policy of dumping Arakan rice into the region, a phenomenon started in this decade only.

A conspicuous development of Rice trade between South Eastern Markets and the Northern region enabled the mitigation of the affect of the extraordinary circumstances of adverse season on weavers, at a time when there was economic dislocation in 1830s. The nature of the rice trade exhibited diversities, even though the affect was similar in all districts. For instance, from Visakhapatnam district rice and paddy were imported entirely or exclusively from Arakan and Chittagong, whereas the exports from the district were directed to the Ports of Penang, the Straits, and Pondicherry, from where very little was being imported into the district.<sup>120</sup>

This trade enabled to maintain stability and prosperity of the district, because the effect of continued adverse seasons were lessened by these imports and inflationary tendency of the price of paddy and rice was curtailed, by an adequate supply of food in times of **scarcity**.<sup>121</sup>

From Rajahmundry district, Rice was the main item of export to Bourbon, resulting in great profit while the people from the locality depended on Arakan Rice, an inferior and low priced rice, which soon turn out to be a common food item among all classes. Moreover, the importance of Kakinada mainly due to this trade. Between 1819/20 and 1844/45 the great fluctuation in the imports was owing to the variation in the prices of grain in the district. In 1845, the price of grain was very high, which was not a profitable item for the export merchants causing unlimited supplies of grain in the market. But this would not check the importation of rice from Arakan, because the gains from that quarter will from its cheapness always in ensure a rapid sale.<sup>122</sup>

Even though this trade affected cultivators and owners of land disastrously, it was turned out to be a great relief to the weavers because they were "able to obtain a market at **Moulemein**, Arracan, Hyderabad and other places for cloths where they could not formerly in consequence of the very cheap rate at which they can **afford** to make and sell them. . . within the last **five** years however there have been many more houses occupied by weavers and many more people and looms at work, and yet the price of the

whole quantity of cloth made has been less that is, more people have been able to live upon a less income, and at this moment there is a prevailing opinion that the weavers have more to do and are in better case than they have been in for away long while, and yet there is no rise that I know of in the price of cloths.<sup>123</sup>

When the Board contemplated restrictions on the importation of Arakan rice into the region through the imposition of import duties, the collector stated that it would force the population to go for a cheaper kinds of grains like cholum and Nachenney, besides causing a decline in the trade of Kakinada port, because the grain instead of being exported to Bourbon and others, remained too be consumed locally. <sup>124</sup>

In Masulipatnam district, the principal trade article of imports from Arakan and Chittagong were Paddy and Rice, but their share in the total value of imports was very little. Even though the imposition of duties on imports of grain and Paddy would push up the prices of all grains locally, still the collector opted for such an imposition, as it would lead to the prosperity of the country. But this would have, it was felt, cause an adverse affect on the poorer sections, particularly in times of famine and drought as the prices were very high. For even in times of depression of prices in the market, the Masulipatnam district used to import from the Eastern ports large supplies of rice and paddy, essentially for reexporting to the Nizam's Dominions by land routes.<sup>125</sup>

These migrations were only from the Godavari district because the economic situation here was subject to more acute disturbances than elsewhere. These economic fluctuations resulted from floods, and other natural calamities, leading to famines and a steep depression in the economy, as reflected in the graphs showing revenue collections and prices.

A more subtle and pervasive effect of the colonial policies caused a reversal in the social relations, because the company severed the patron - client relation that was there earlier between the weaving world and the agrarian world. In many cases, indeed, the weavers were induced to buy the food grains from the market directly, rather than from the landed magnate as in the pre-colonial period.

The weavers in the Coromandel were thus affected by a multitude of factors, thereby demonstrating the way in which they were locked into a wider world which, in fact, shaped their destinies. The East India Company and its commercial policies, and even more, the industrialization of Britain were elements in this wider world which had a dramatic impact on the Coromandel weaver during the century the study has been investigating.

## Notes

1. W. Robertson Collector, Rajahmundry to Board of Revenue, 25 June 1823, GDR 4637, ppl56-157; For details see William Oram Report on Zamindari Lands under Masulipatnam called generally Circuit Committee Report, 15 February 1785, Circuit Committee Report, MDR 3009, pp.95-97.
2. Ibid., p.98.
3. Ibid., p.114.
4. Petition from Rajah Ramachandrauze, Zamindar of Cottah and Ramachandrapuram addressed to Board of Revenue, 20 June 1835, GDR 46 & 48, pp.238-54.
5. Petition from Rajah Ramachandrauze, Zamindar of Cottah and Ramachandrapuram addressed to Board of Revenue, 20 June 1835, GDR 46 & 48, pp.238-54. This was related to the claim of Zamindar over Moturpha Tax especially tax on weavers, in which he mentioned that the weavers in the Vicinity of Ingeram and Maddapollem weave primarily long cloth.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., pp.129,130; From Pitahpuram Zamindar, the weavers registered for Company's service were as follows.
 

1802	-	675
1803	-	851
1804	-	1250
1805	-	1264

For 1802 and 1803 see Fullerton, Commercial Resident Ingeram to Collector 1st Division, 26 June 1802, GDR 946/A, pp.65,66; 2. An Arzee presented by Rajah Vencata Neeladry Rao, Zamindar of Pitahpuram, to John Long, Collector, Rajahmundry, 28 June 1806, GDR 865, pp.176-80. Provides information for 1804 and 1805.
8. Petition from Rajah Ramachandrauze, Zamindar of Cottah and Ramachandrapuram addressed to Board of Revenue, 20 June 1835, GDR 46 & 48, pp.238-54.
9. W. Brown, Collector, Visakhapatnam to Board of Revenue, 1 August 1790, PBR 162, pp.7698-7704.
10. For the existance of this Gaddem tax in **pre-colonial** period See Vijaya Ramaswamy, Textiles and Weavers
11. John Rowley, Mogaltore to Board of Revenue, Fort St.George 23 November 1795, GDR, 841, pp.393-397.
12. Benjamin Branfil to Board of Revenue, 20 November 1795, GDR 842, pp.99-101.

13. John **Wrangham**, Collector, **Masuliptanam** to Edward Saunders, 9 January 1796, PBR 143, **pp.194-96.**
14. John Wrangham Collector Masulipatnam to BOR, 10 March 1796, PBR 149, **p.2441**
15. John Wrangham, Collector, Masuliptanam to Edward Saunders, 9 January 1796, PBR 143, **pp.194-96.**
16. Ibid.,
17. In Masulipatnam district as shown in the table the amount of taxes and extra sums to be paid by the weavers are seemed to specified and each official of the district administration did in fact had to take that amount only.
18. George A. Ram Collector to Board of Revenue, 27 March 1796, PBR 151, **pp.3345-3466.**
19. D. Hill Secretary to G.H. Barlow Bart, Governor in Council, Fort St.George, 21 September 1811, MDR 2960, **p.122.**
20. George A. Ram Collector to Board of Revenue, 27 March 1796, PBR 151, **pp.3345-3466.**
21. Ibid.,
22. **G.A.Ram** Collector, Guntur to Board of Revenue, 13 January 1796, PBR 143, pp.473.
23. It appeared that a large scale incorporation of Sudra professionals into the weaving world was crystallized with the reinforcement of Vaishnavite cult during the time of Vijayanagar ruler Saluva Narasimha, Vijaya Rama Swamy, Textiles and Weavers. 1986, **pp.113-114.**
24. G.A. Ram Collector to Edward Saunders, BOR, 17 January 1796, PBR 143, **pp.469-474.**
25. A.Stoakes Collector Guntur to **E.C.Lovell**, BOR 25 May 1843, gudr 5402, **pp.34-37**
26. Basil Cochrane Contractor for the Ingeram and **Maddepollam** Investment to Anthony Sadlier, 14 July 1787, MDR 2838, **pp.118-120**; Circular Letters to the Zamindars, Letter to Jaggeputty Rauze Zamindar of **Peddapore**, 17 July 1787, MDR 2838, **pp.122-123.**
27. Samuel **Statham**, Resident Nizampatnam, March, 1787, MDR 2838,
28. For a detailed note on Gaddem tax see chpater **7.;Extracts** from **Rewell's** Letter 15 December 1789, and Secretary's Letter 9 September 1793 given in GDR 841, pp.336, 388.

29. Extract of Government's Letter dated 6 September 1793 in Board of Revenue to John Snow Collector, Vizianagaram Zamindars, 31 December, 1795, MDR 3705, pp.43-46.
30. Ibid., p.44.
31. Interpretation of Governments letter dated 3 February 1794 in Board of Revenue to John Snow, Collector Vizianagaram Zamindary, 31 December 1795, VDR 3705, p.44.
32. D. Hill Sub Secretary to Government to G.H. Barlow Bart, Governor-in-Council, Fort St.George, 27 September 1811, MDR 2960, 122-140, espe. 125-127; General Letter to England in Commercial Department, 16 January 1792, CDDTE 1B
33. L.G.K. Murray Collector, Vizianagaram to the Commercial Resident Vizagapatnam, 29 March 1804, VDR 3741, p.70, L.G.K. Murray Collector, Visakhapatnam to the General Zamindaries in the Zillah of Vizagapatnam (circular) 29 March 1804, VDR 3741, p.71;
34. V.Corbrett Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam to Charles Hynox, acting collector, Masulipatnam, 19 July 1797, MDR 2947 B, p.664
35. Board of Trade's order dated 17 March 1806 prohibiting the collection on the part of the Zamindar of Vizianagaram of Moturpha or loom tax in any shape in petition Rajah Ramachandrarauze's Zamindar of cotah and Ramachandrapuram, 20 June 1835, GDR 4648, p.241.
36. Petition of Rajah Ramachandrarauze Zamindar of Cotah and Ramachadrapuram, 20 June 1835, GDR 4648, pp.234-240.
37. D.Hill Sub Secretary to G.H. Barlow Bart, Governor in Council, Fort. St. George, 27 September 1811, MDR 2960, pp.127-147, Para 8.
38. Ibid., p.131
39. For details see Kabooliat Sunned Executed and delivered by Nody Basavapah to stree Rajah Ragnathanarauze Maharauze Sunday 7th of Margah Bahoolum in Raktakshee year 1214 fasli [ Feb 1804]. enclosed in Petition of Rajah Ramachandrarauze Zamindar of Cotah and Ramachnadrapuram, 20 June 1835, GDR 4648, pp.234-240.
40. Ibid., p.131
41. Petition of Rajah Ramachandrarauze Zamindar of cottah and Ramachandrapuram, 20 June 1835, GDR 4648, pp.253-254
42. Ibid.,

43. D.Hill Sub Secretary to Government to G.H. Barlow Bart, **Governor-in-Council**, Fort St.George, 27 September 1811, MDR 2960, 122-140
44. Exemptions in favour of the company's weavers to be revoked was considered by the Government in 1814, as reflected in correspondence to the Chief Secretary, in Cons. 28 April 1814, From Mr. T.A. **Oakes**, 20th in Cons., 28 Feb. 1814. For extracts of this Correspondence, General Report of Board of Revenue. Vols.10, 11 & 12, pp.237-238.
45. Collector Guntur, to Board of Revenue 14 September 1832, gudr 3988, **pp.40-44.**
46. Ibid.,
47. Ibid.,
48. **I.D. Gleig** Collector Masulipatnam to BOR, 1 April, 1833, PBR 1359, **pp.3506-3508.**
49. Ibid.,
50. Ibid.,
51. Ibid.,
52. Extract from Letter from the Secretary to Government dated 18 July 1826, VDR 4752, **p.225**; Resumption of Moturpha in the 2nd Division of the Visakhapatnam District, See A.Robertson Collector to the Commissioner Northern Circars, **Waltair**, 27 September 1852, VDR 6655, **pp.156-170**
53. The literature on the agrarian economy of the region attributes the primary causes, like the decline of the landed elites and economic crises responsible for the decline of the landed elites and the subsequent failure of the Permanent Settlement.
54. M.Lewin Collector Rajahmundry to **BOR,24** September 1835, GDR 4648, **pp.186-187**
55. Amount claimed by Zamindar of Cottah and Ramachandrapuram on account of Loom Tax. See Petition from Rajah Ramachandrauze, Zemindar of Cottah and Ramachandrapuram, 20 June 1835, GDR 4648, **pp.238-54.**
56. John Read Collector to William Patrie, BOR, 10 November 1800, MDR 2998, **pp.121-123**
57. Crawley Collector to BOR, 1833, GDR 4648, **p.54**
58. P.Narasimha Reddy, Telugu **Sametalu**: Jana Jeevanamu, Tirupati, 1983, Ch.4.6 pp.309.



59. C.D.Maclean Manual of Administrative of the Madras Presidency. Vol.3, Glossary, entry under Dhoty p.275.
60. For details, see the list of the property of Cocherlacotah Venkata Juggunnadha Rao, Proprietor of Polavaram and Pattedeema Estates examined on 16 May 1846, GDR 6742, pp.235-246; Literature of this period, Hamsavimsati and Sukasaptati do contain the description of the varieties of Dhovaties worn by different caste groups. For instance karnam wearing a white dhovati, dhovati with a black border worn by a Reddi.
61. C.D.Maclean Manual of Administrative of the Madras Presidency, Vol.3, Glossary.
62. For a detailed description on 'Paga' an item of costume see CD. Maclean Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presiencey, 3, Glossary, p.721.
63. Ibid.,
64. Tallpaka Tiruvengalanayaka, Parama Yogi Vilasamu, p.455, the fashion prevalent among the karnam was discerned. A similar description was noticeable in Hamsavimsati of late 18th century Telugu work, see for details Suravaram Pratapa Reddi; Andhra Samqheeka Charitra. Hyderabad, 1949, (rept.1982), Nanduri Venkata Satya Rama Rao, Andhra Sahityamu Samqheekha Jeeveena Pratipalamu (A.D. 1022 - A.D. 1856), Pentapadu, 1979.
65. Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century 1. The Structure of Every Day Life The Limits Of Possible. Great Britain, 1981, Chap.4, pp.311-323
66. List of the property of Cocherla Cotah Venkta Jaggannadha Rao, minor son of late Cocherlacotah Rama Chandra Venkata , proprietor of Polavaram and Paattedeeseema Estates, examined on 16 May 1846, GDR 6742, pp.231-247.
67. Ibid., pp.235-237.
68. Motichandra, 'Costumes and Textiles in the Sultanate period, JITH, (1961), pp.5-61; Motichandra, 'Indian Costumes and Textiles from the Ancient to the Twelfth century' JITH. 5 (1960), pp.1-41.
69. List of the property of Cocherlacotah Venkata Jaggannadharao, minor son of (late) Cocherlacotah Ramachandra Venkata Croostnarow, proprietor of Polavaram and Putteseema Estates, examined on 16 May 1846, GDR 6742, pp.235-237.
70. 'Rajam Kaifiyat: Mackenzie Collections', Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Grama Kaifiyatlu: Srikakulam Zillah Hyderabad, 1990. See Glossary

71. Broad cloth was considered to be a very precious luxurious items by the common people, consequent of which the early Europeans widely used this item for giving presents to Indians. For instance in 1679, **Streynsham** master presented different dimensions of Broad cloth to those native who extended their hospitality towards them. In arranging their Commercial contract, he used broad cloth for presenting gifts to merchants at Masulipatnam and Petapoli see for details. A memorial of **Streynsham** master, Agent of the coast and Bay, & Co., his journey from Fort St. George, Madraspatam to Machillipatam & Co. Parts to visit those Factory's 19th March 1679, (Appendix to Chapter V), in Gorden Mackenzie, Kistna District Manual, pp.130-146; List of the property of Cocherlakotah Venkata Jagannadharaw, minor son of late Cocherlakotah Ramachandra Venkata Croostnarow, Proprietor of Polavaram and **Patteeseema** Estates, examined on 16 May 1846, GDR 6742, pp.235-237.
72. William A. Dobbyn, see Collector to Anthony Sudlier, Chief and Council, 9 October 1790. Account sale of Broad cloth from 1 May 1789 to 30 April 1790 MDR 2840, p.118.
73. Cloth imported at Masulipatnam for five years from 1 January 1785 to 31 December 1789, in William A. Dobbyno, sea custom Collector to Anthony Sadlier, Chief and Council, Masulipatam, 9 October 1790, MDR 2840, pp.112-117.
74. John Read Collector, Masulipatam to William Patrie, MBOR, 15 May 1800, PBOR 252, pp.4418-4424.
75. Ibid., p.4422.
76. Ibid., p.4422.
77. Arzee from Daumarauz Cammarauz Guardian of the Polavaram taluka to T. Prendergast, 9 May 1847 in T. Predergast Collector, Rajahmundry to BOR, 16 June 1847, GDR 6743, pp.166-171.
78. ibid.,
79. This reference is based on the definition provided in Kunduri Iswara Dutti, Inscriptional Glossary of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1967, Appendix IXXXIV where Madiearu, is defined as Madichira. Pattau **Vastram** (silk cloth) and the equivalent of this is Arsinam.
80. Arzee from Daumarauz Caumarauz Guardian of the Polavaram Taluk to T. Prendarghast, Collector, 9 May 1847, GDR 6743, p.166-171. The expenditure on this marriage was, because of the strained circumstances of the estate, much reduced and was not truly indicative of the lavish expenditure Zamindars indulged in 81. For description of Institutions of Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah's court see, M.A. Nayeem, Mughal Administration of Deccan under Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah. 1720-48 A.D., Hyderabad, 1985, pp.84-87.

82. Bhadriraju Krishnamurti and Poranki Dakshinamurti, Mandaleeka Vrithi Padakosamu: 2 Handloom entry under Maduparkam
83. Ibid.,
84. **F.R. Hemingway**, GGD, Madras, 1902, **p.102.**
85. **P. Narasimha Reddy**, Telugu Sametalu : Jana Jeevanamu Tirupati, 1983, **p.310.**
86. **E.B.Havell**, Reports on the Arts and Industries of Certain Districts of the Madras Presidency. 1885-1888 **pp.19-20**
87. Tallapaka Tiruvengalnadudu, Paramayogi Veelasamu, **P.478**, & 531; and Palakaveni Kadiri Pati, Sukasaptati, 2, **p.413** in Suravaram Pratapareddi Andhra Sangheekacharitra. 1982 and N.V.S. Rama Rao, Andhra Sahityamu, 1979.
88. Tallapaka Tiruvenkgalanadudu, Paramavogivilasamu, **p.531**, in Suravaram Pratapareddi, Andhrula Sangheeka Charitra. 1982.
89. **P.Narasimhareddi**, Telugu Sametalu : Jana Jeevanamu, Tirupati, 1983, **pp.310-311**, where 4 proverbs are given explaining the use of **cumbali** in fashion styles.
90. **F.R. Hemingway**, GGD. Madras, **pp.90-91.**
91. **John Read**, Collector Guntur to BOR, 11 November 1800, MDR 2998, **pp.136,137.**
92. Ibid., **p.136.**
93. The Companies indent lists for Coast Investment always specifies the intension of the court of Directors to procure these textiles at reasonable rates. See for details Letters from Court of Directors , CDDE 1-40.
94. For details on Private trading activity see Chapter 9
95. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St. George, 3 **july**, 1795, CDDE, pp 83 - 85.
96. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St. George, 28 May, **1794**, **CDDE,7** p63.
97. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St. George, **CDDE,11** pp51-53.
98. See Company's price of Chay goods and Piecegoods in Northern Coromandel between 1787 - 1830 for further details.
99. Ibid.,
100. Revenue Consultation 5 August 1790, MDR 2794 C, **pp.622-632.**

101. Anthony Sadlier, Chief & Council, Masulipatnam to BOR, 26 April, 1793, MDR 2798 pp 467 - 474.
102. John Rowley, **Commercial** Resident Ingeram to Fallofield, 22 May, 1794, GDR 831, p5.
103. Letter from Court of Directors, 2 May 1821, CDDE 34, **pp.129-130**; Letter from Court of Directors, 10 March 1824, CDDE 364, pp.229; Letter from Court of Directors, 26 June 1822, CDDE **35, pp.35-36**.
104. John Rowley, Commercial Resident Ingeram to Fallofield, 22 May, 1794, GDR 831, **p5**.
105. **W.Brown**, Collector, Visakhapatnam to Board of Revenue, 1 August 1790, PBR 162, **pp.7698-7704**.
106. **Vincentio** Corbrett, Commercial Resident, Masulipatnam to BOR, 14 October, 1803, GDR 832, pp 412 - 426 especially 417.
107. W.U. Arbuthnot, Collector, Visakhapatnam to BOR, 3 **October--** **\_\_\_\_\_PBR** 1584, pp 14914 - 916.
108. Arbuthnot , Collector, Vizagapatnam to C.R. Cotton, Madras, 5 January, 1839, VDR 6643, pp 3-18.
109. C.F. Bird, Assistant Collector, Rajahmundry to BOR, 15 January 1845, PBR 1953, pp.1146 - 1148. Page 1148 in fact, includes a number of enclosures concerning the textile investment, the prices of the various cloths, and the effect of companies withdrawal from the textile economy of the district. C.F. Bird, Assistant Collector, Rajahmundry to BOR, 15 January 1845, GDR 6741, pp6-11
110. Ibid.
111. idid.,
112. A.Crawley Collector Rajahmundry to the officiating Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department; Fort St.George, 14 April 1834, GDR 4647, **pp.72-73**.
113. ibid.,
114. Officiate secretary to Govt. Sea custom office to the see to **Govt.** in the Judicial Department, 12 March 1834, GDR 4659/A, **pp.181-186**.
115. John Antsey Rajahmundry to BOR, 5 September 1827, GDR 4641, **p.177**; Crawley, Collector Rajahmundry to BOR, 7 July 1831, GDR 4644, **p.15**
116. Crawley, Collector Rajahmuyndry to BOR, 26 July **1832**, GDR 4645, **pp.126-131**.

117. The economic fluctuactions in the Godavari district of 1830s affected almost totally as the revenue collections from all sources also fluctuated similarly.
118. **Crawley**, Collector Rajahmuyn dry to BOR, 6 September 1833, PBR 1379, pp.11225-228.
119. **I.Goldingham**, Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 21 Noverber 1836, MDR 6318, pp.310-311
120. **W.C. Arbuthnot**, Collector, Visakhapatnam, to T. Pycroft, Board of Revenue, 29 November, 1845, PBR 2001, pp.16797-16805.
121. Ibid.,
122. **T.Prendergast**, Collector, Rajahmundry to T. Pycroft, Board of Revenue, 11 December, 1845, PBR 2004, pp.17465-69.
123. **I.Bird** Assistant Collector to BOR, 15 Janaury, GDR 6741, pp 12
124. Ibid.,
125. **R.T. Porter** Collector, to T. Pycroft, Board of Revenue, 20 October, 1845, PBR 1992, pp.14242-55.

### **9. Company, Commerce and Cloth Production: The Textile Economy, 1750 - 1850**

No study of the textile economy of Northern Coromandel will be complete unless one examines the various factors that affected the production of textiles and their consumption both within the region as well as in more distant markets. In the century that this study focused upon, numerous factors, some emerging within the local economy, some others having more distant origins, impinged upon the world of the weavers. The cumulative effect of these factors was, in the first instance, to produce fluctuations in the local economy, and, in the end, to contribute to the peripheralization of the region's textile production, and ultimately, to subordinate it to the British textile industry.

Between 1750 and 1850, the demand for the textile varieties of the Northern Coromandel region fluctuated drastically, owing to the interaction between metropolitan economies and those of the periphery. Dislocations in this trading connection occurred, because of the political turmoil in the European continent, technological developments in England, and changes in colonial policy. Even the internal factors like political and economic dislocation effected by the colonial wars of the Company, the persistent domination of landed elites even after two decades of political hegemony in the region, to a large extent influenced the pattern of textile production and consumption in the northern Coromandel.

One illustration of the manner in which political events radically influenced the textile economy was the drastic decline in the English East India Company's Investment at Masulipatnam between 1770 and 1780, as indicated in the Table No Prior to 1785, the Company's efforts to establish orderly administration and cohesiveness in its controlling structures failed due to the political turmoil that engulfed the Deccan during this period. As a result, the Company's investment was affected adversely. The '**calamitous** war' in the Carnatic distressed the weavers of Masulipatnam district to such an extent that they moved away into the adjoining **territories**.

Apart from political events, which, in any case, tended to diminish in importance as the Company's hold over the region strengthened, another major factor that shaped the course of the textile economy was the activities of the private traders. These private traders constituted, in fact, an obstacle in the Company's march towards complete commercial suzerainty.<sup>2</sup>

By 1780, the European demand for chay goods spurred private mercantile activity in Masulipatnam to a considerable degree, and these private traders competed with each other for getting more supplies of textiles.

For instance, out of 2,30,000 pagodas invested on chay goods in **Masulipatnam** district in 1786, the Armenians and Portuguese merchants settled at Madras spent an amount of 20,000 pagodas; 1,00,000 pagodas were expended on chay goods by the French; and the Dutch could spend only between 4000 and 5000 pagodas, even

though prior to the Carnatic war the Dutch spent an amount of 40,000 pagodas.<sup>3</sup> Graph 9:1 depicts the value of chay goods exported by Company and various merchant groups from the Masulipatnam district.:

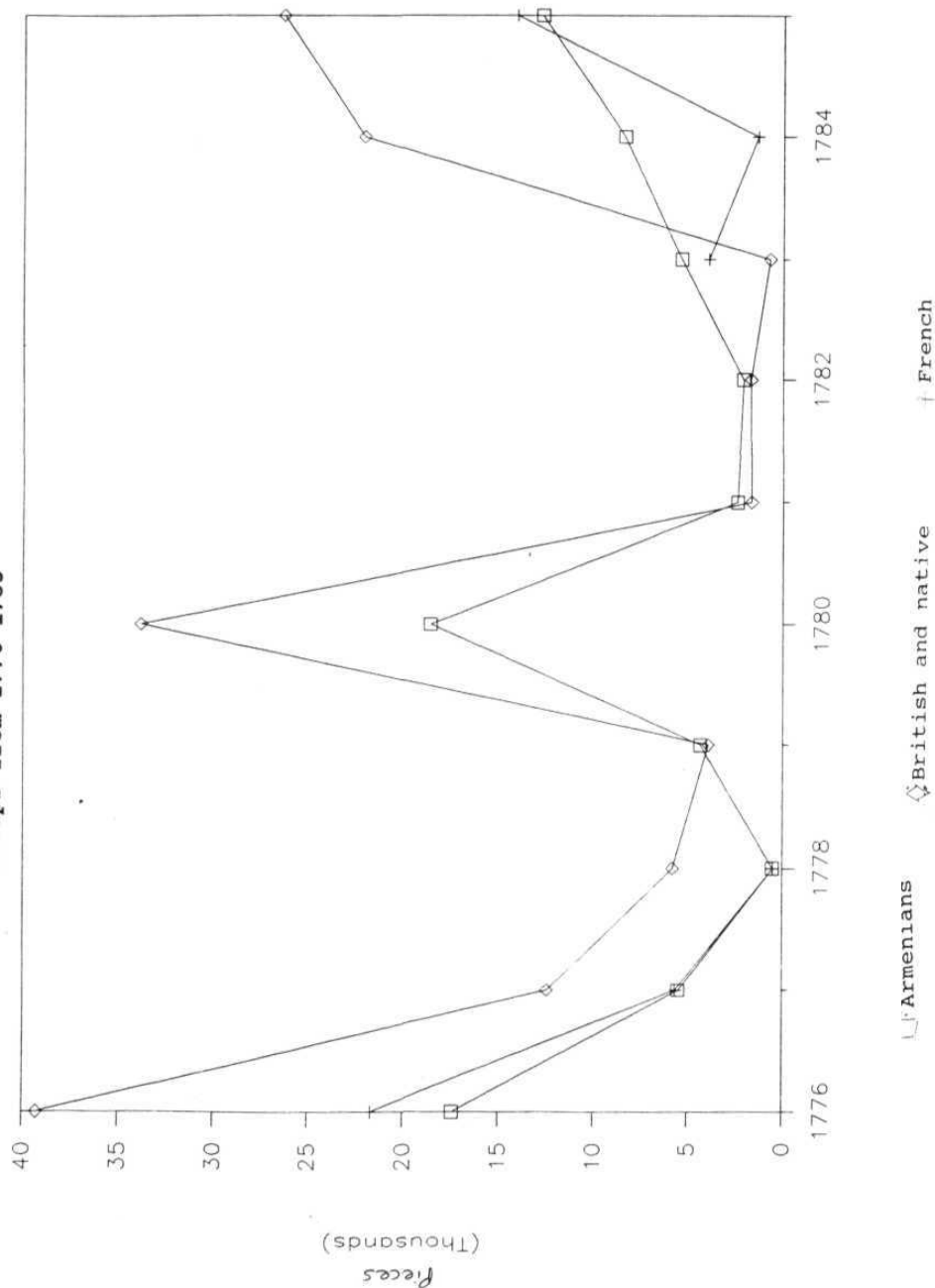
Although theoretically subject to statutory controls, these private traders were able to operate with considerable freedom. Quite often, they bought the cloth ready-made, thus avoiding the risks of advance investment, and were seen by the Company as interfering interlopers. Their presence and economic operations also led to the possibility of weavers who were under contractual obligations to produce cloth for the Company being tempted instead to turn it over to these private traders who held out more lucrative prices. Indeed, complaints were even voiced by officials of the East India Company that the weavers were supplying finer quality textiles to other European companies and to private traders.

The chay goods, especially allegars, callowpores, and Sastracundies were meant for African markets, while the red coloured romals of different assortments found their way into France, Germany, Holland and other European countries. The activities of the private traders and foreign agents caused a great concern to the East India Company, because the high prices offered by the latter induced the weaver to supply superior and standard quality goods. As a result, the Company's investment was debased and embezzled.



GRAPH: 9.1.

Chay goods exported from Masulipatnam by different Private Merchant Groups from 1776-1785



In particular, the French agents and the French East India Company constituted especially serious threats to the desire of the East India Company to acquire a monopsonistic position in the chay goods trade of Masulipatnam.<sup>7</sup> Under the label of the French assortments, not only were a coarse variety of romals exported but even a considerable quantity of finer varieties of romals were sent. Approved patterns for the Dutch and African markets were also listed under this denomination. While the Danish assortment of romals were essentially middle variety goods, those romals meant for the Dutch, German and African markets were of a stout quality with bright calicoes. Armenian musters were composed of two kinds of romals, ordinary stout variety and superfine variety of 36 punjums. A few superfine romals of complicated designs were sent into the West Indies.

From 1793 onwards, the European wars and Napoleon's Continental system radically affected the French trading activity in the Coromandel region, and thereby provided a chance for the East India Company to acquire a monopsonistic position in the textile trade.<sup>9</sup> The Company with its newly acquired political power had decided to put an end to the influence of these various groups of private merchants, posed a threat to its trading activities.<sup>10</sup> From 1793, onwards, for instance, the commercial residents were authorized to purchase all those goods, which were being provided by the French at Pondicherry, Yanam and other factories.

Incessant efforts enabled the commercial officials to establish near total control over the textile trade by 1793. As the danger of the private agency was slowly warded off, the Court of Directors contemplated the viability of turning England into a great European mart for the manufactures of the Coromandel coast. While intending to give a fair assurance to the weavers of the region by allocating proper prices, it had cautioned the residents to follow moderate price fixation, for the consumers of the coast goods were mostly low class **groups**. The proportion of goods supplied from the coast however, was very limited, and there was still scope for dumping more goods into these markets especially those of the so-called stout coast calicoes.<sup>13</sup>

The out break of war between England and France in 1793 affected the sales of coast goods in London also. The sales of chay goods particularly Hand kerchiefs were seriously affected, as they did not find any ready sales, because the French markets were entirely closed against them as a result of the economic policies of Napoleon. The Company, therefore, reduced its demand for these goods drastically. Nevertheless, contemplating a good fortune for the chay good textiles, it empowered the Company officials to extend contracts beyond the need, so as to compel all weavers producing goods for European markets to register for the Company's service. The intention was to reduce the scope for receiving advances from foreign or individual **agents**.

Prior to the out break of war, the investment of foreign traders other than the English East India Company amounted to

1,50,000 Madras pagodas in the Masulipatnam district. Even though, the goods supplied to these private agents were distinct from those of **Company's** assortments, nevertheless, the Company saw in these operations an element of attraction that would turn away weavers from the Company's service. As a guard against the intrusion of these foreigners into the weaving world, the Company by 1795, had introduced the other textile varieties also in its indent. For this, it asked the concerned commercial authorities of the coast to furnish necessary details that would ultimately help the Company to include all those varieties '**permanently**' into the Company Investment Indents.<sup>15</sup>

The war in Europe could have depressed the market for Indian cloth, but it actually created new opportunities. The West Indies markets, which were earlier being supplied mainly by France now opened up for the products of the Coromandel Coast, especially for the manufactures of Masulipatnam. The Company, therefore, allotted 3,00,000 Pagodas for the appropriation of the West Indies **trade**. But the European market itself remained uncertain. In 1797 for example, the Court of Directors reported the difficulties which it had faced while disposing of the coast goods in the European **markets**.

The unusual scarcity of money that was long experienced by the British merchants together with the risks and uncertainty attending the exportation of goods to nearly every part of Europe but more especially to France and Holland with which countries there was for a long period no direct commercial intercourse operated a very heavy drawbacks from the prices at our sales of the year 1796.

As a result of these difficulties most of the Indian goods of various description especially those of piece goods, were being accumulated in Hamburg and some other European depots, at a time when the demand for them was high and supply was low. The reason was that many of them were situated in countries which were at the time involved in actual hostilities. Moreover, the transmission of these bulky articles by land from the ports to which they were consigned were risky and expensive. This naturally caused an increase in prices thus leading to a fall in demand among the middling and lower classes, the major consumer group of these fabrics.<sup>19</sup>

From April onwards, the situation improved and led to an increase in demand for coast goods, and the goods were sold at an increase of price which was on the average 20% greater than that of the previous year.

This increase in price was an index of the continuing demand for Indian fabrics in Europe, specially in the Northern countries. The Court of Directors itself recognized that the demand for coloured goods would increase when Europe returned to a peaceful state.<sup>19</sup>

Fluctuations in the Company's indents which ultimately affected production on the Coromandel was often the result of the this Company's strategies to respond sensitively to the changing demand in its **farflung** market. For Chay goods **demnd** of Company's demand for Masulipatnam between 1787-1815 see Appendix 1:1 Thus,

in the 1800 indent for coast Investment of 1801, calico cloth was also included owing to the increased demand for this article.<sup>20</sup>

The demand for colour goods was very low in the African and West Indian markets. Therefore, the Company had not increased orders for those goods beyond the earlier Indent, because (1) the supply of the blue and coloured cloths was pretty large in the earlier season and (2) the condition of these traders had not improved materially. But the demand for calico was increasing continuously and this was reflected in the Company's orders also.<sup>21</sup>

The chay goods investment of Masulipatnam received a set back by 1801 itself. The looms of the district could supply chay goods to an extent of 3,50,000 pagodas but owing to the lull in the external markets, the Company ordered only for an amount of 1,00,000 pagodas. This included even the new patterns of handkerchiefs. In order to provide employment to those weavers supplying chay goods, the Court of Directors suggested the possibility of getting the required supplies of calico from the looms of Masulipatnam, and allocated an amount of 50,000 pagodas for the first season.

Having established a virtually monopsonistic position the East India Company nevertheless found it extremely profitable to continue the supply of various varieties of cloth to other European purchasers, private as well as organized. For instance, **the** East India Company provided various varieties of chay goods to the Philippines Company. The East India Company was also making similar supplies to the Dutch and the French.

The textile trade of Masulipatnam district with France ceased from 1793 onwards. Subsequently, the East India Company tried to seize the opportunity by supplying a large assortment of French varieties. The various descriptions of coloured Handkerchiefs constituted a highly profitable item. Contemplating large profits on the French Assortment, the court of Directors sent repeated orders for these varieties from 1795 onwards. Strangely, however, for a few years the orders do not seem to have been met nor could the Court get any information on these items.

It was only in July 1800, that the first sale of " French" goods took place, in which the Company offered considerable quantities. These items were left unsold, however, as the French beat the English to it, and had supplied the market with these assortments. It became evident that though the French trade with India was suspended, still the manufacture of the Handkerchiefs was continued, and Armenians could get these assortment on a large scale, and supply them to the French **markets** at a time when the Company thought that there was no foreign competition on the Coromandel coast.

This was further confirmed when the Company initiated a clever plan to assess such an impact on the market as a whole. The Company acquired almost all patterns sent from America and produced substitutes by imitating these patterns on the British looms. Later those were exported to West Indies, with a fraudulent tag declaring them to be "the produce of India".

Those goods were disposed off at a very large price. However, in course of time, these imitated fabrics were found to be very inferior in wear, and especially as to the colors "which soon fade both in the sun, and in the wash, the consequence is not only that the market is glutted with such articles, but that the genuine Indian and British being nearly similar in appearance, the whole assortment is fallen into disrepute, and the prices have undergone a great consequent abatement". 22

Even when the goods were offered at a reduced rate at the sale of 1801, the quantity sold had again been very low, owing to the reduced material condition of buyers in those markets. Such circumstances induced the Company to contract the order for such articles, the demand for which was reduced considerably.

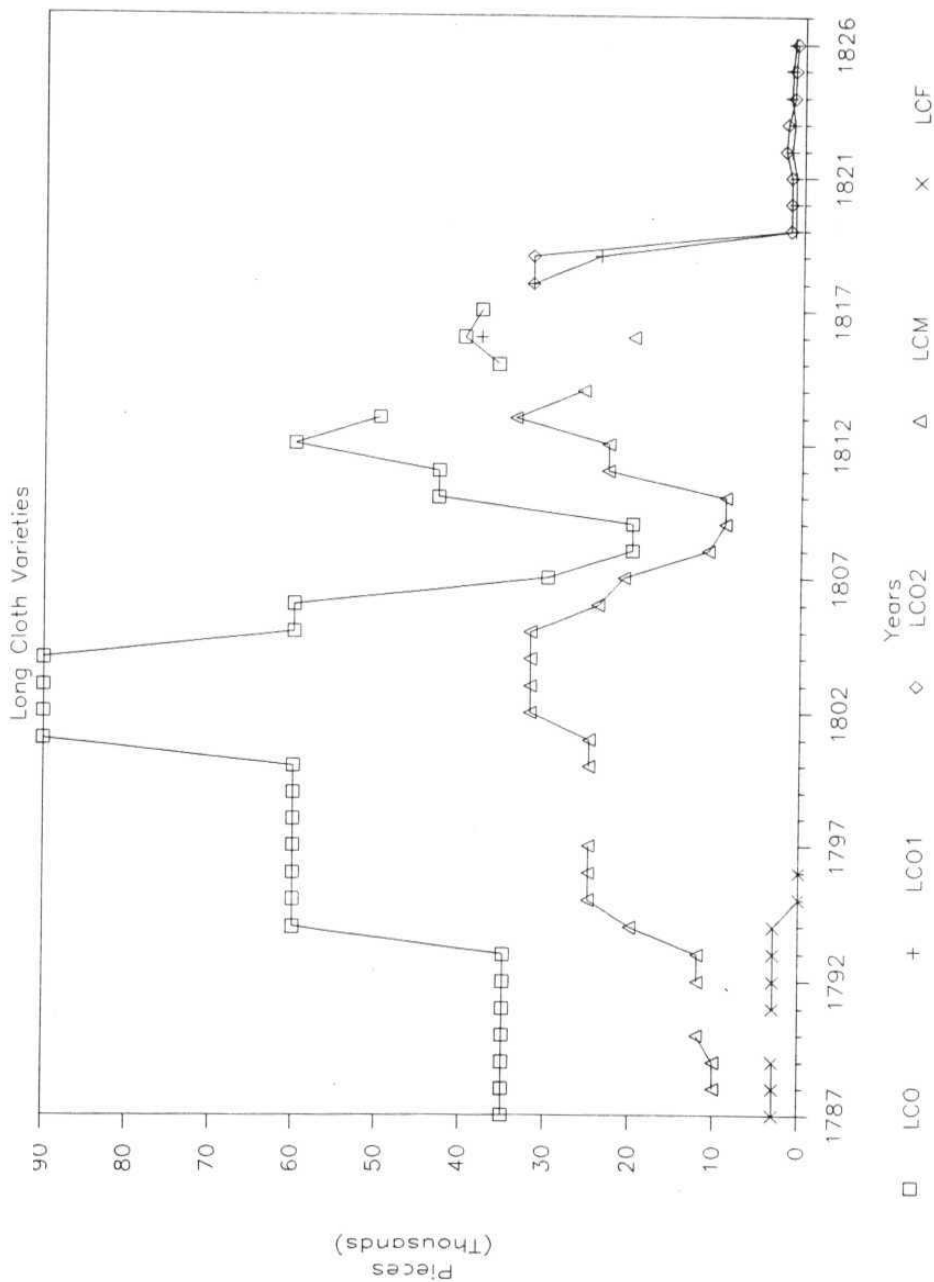
However, by 1810, the chay goods industry of the Masulipatnam district was completely marginalised owing to the technological improvements in England. The Company stopped its investment by 1814, as it could supply similar fabrics from its looms in England .

From the Visakhapatnam factory, long cloth of different varieties found its way into European economies, and the impetus for this trade continued till 1830s. The specific varieties of long cloth were, ordinary variety containing from 13 1/2 punjums to 16 punjums, and middle variety of 17 and 18 punjum cloths. The demand of the East India Company for these varieties was clearly demonstrated in Graph 9:2 For some time, the demand for

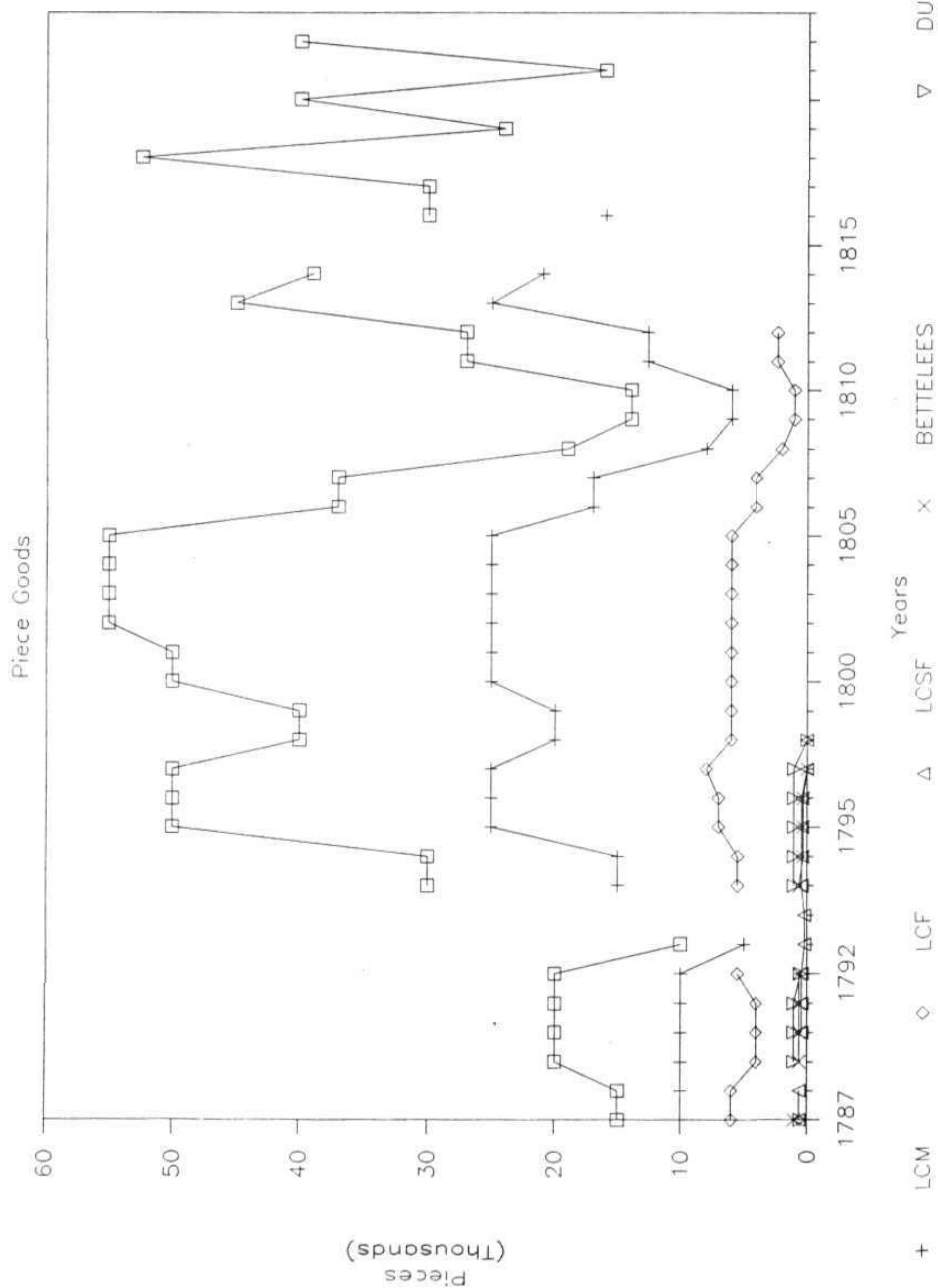


cost factors and non availability of superior kind of thread, the officials were forced to shift this demand towards Ingeram and **Maddepollam** factories.<sup>25</sup> A new variety, **Salempores**, found its way into the Coromandel textile economy from 1800 onwards, as the Company could not procure the same from Ganjam district. It caused great concern to the weaver, as he had to accommodate these into the available loom technology.<sup>26</sup> The Company, therefore for some time excluded this variety **from** the factories investment. However, in course of time the weavers of Visakhapatnam district reconciled to this and started producing these varieties too. Appendix 1:2 shows the Company's demand for Salempores durin the this period. The Company's investment on these long cloth and **salempore** varieties continued, even though on a lesser scale, till 1830. Interestingly, it was the weavers from the districts of Visakhapatnam and Godavari who became, in this region, the last victims of Industrial Revolution of England. While the products of the Masulipatnam weaver were dislodged from the distant trading networks due to the development of competitive industry in England as early as 1815, the Visakhapatnam weaver retained his pre-eminent position for a longer period, because of the demand for long cloth which could not be manufactured on the new looms of the English industry. For instance in 1814, the collector of Visakhapatnam stated that nearly 80 percent of the looms were employed for the production of **punjum** cloths of 14 and 18 **punjums**. And the demand for this variety was increasing because of the constraints on the British textile industry of the time. As the Collector put **it**:

# 9.2. Visakhapatnam Investment



# 9:3 INGERAM INVESTMENT



The punjum cloth of Visakhapatnam has in the worst of times been a profitable speculation, it being the description of heavy coarse, but well made cloth, that is not likely to be manufactured in Europe to advantage, the enhanced price of the raw material there not admitting of profitable competitions, it will therefore at all times meet purchasers.

Even the Visakhapatnam cloth had, nevertheless, to face competition from Manchester goods by the 1830s and this ultimately caused a decline in the price of punjum cloth. In 1840 the collector of Visakhapatnam district contemplated a total stoppage of this trade, as the mill made cloth superseded those of India in the London market completely. Subsequently, the quantity of cloth usually meant for the London market was diverted to Calcutta for shipment to Eastern markets.

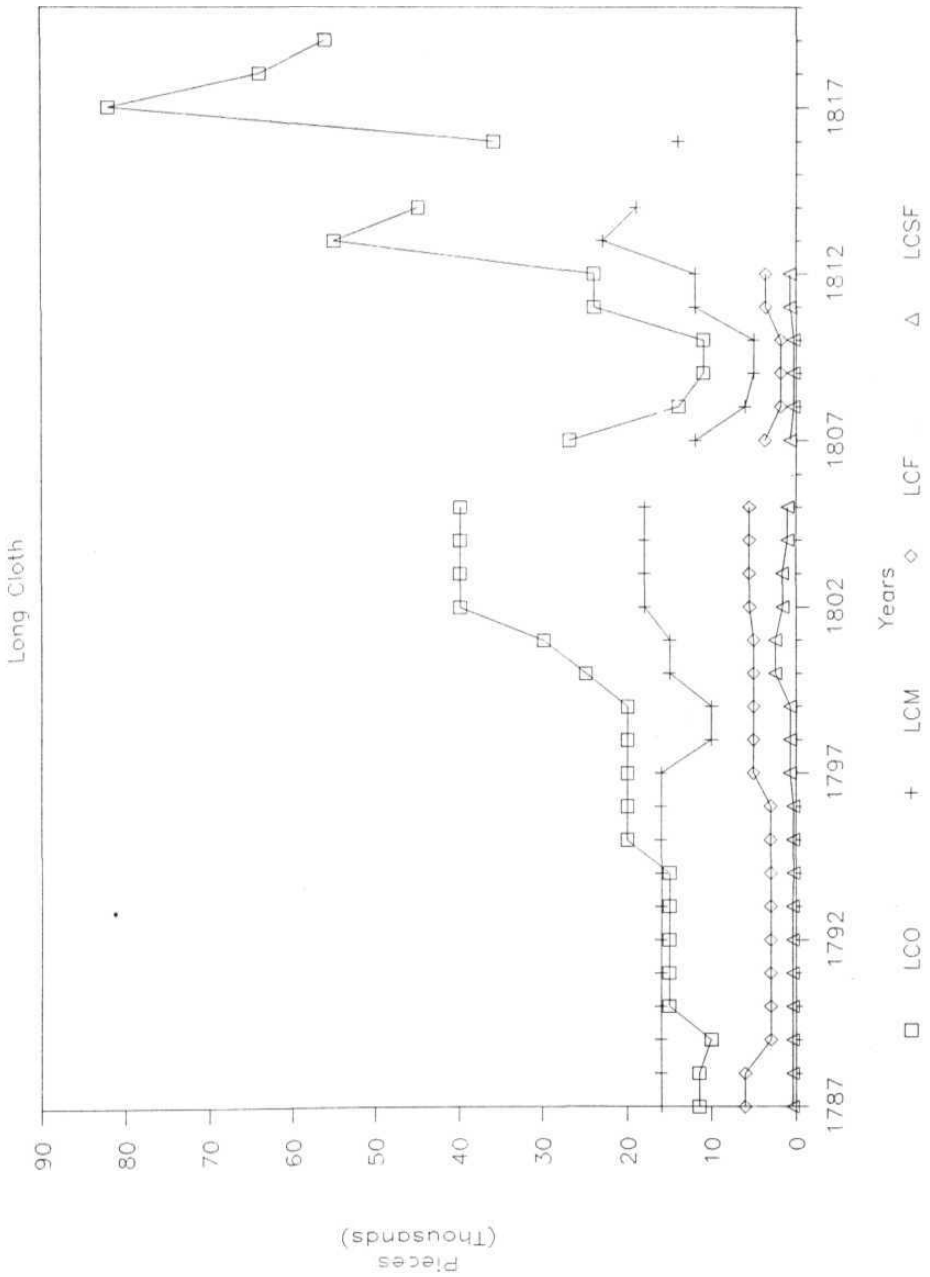
In the Godavari district a large quantity of long cloth and other plain textile varieties were provided in order to meet the demand coming from Ingeram and Maddepollam factories. With regard to the long distance trade, the weavers of the district suffered differently depending on their specialization, and the gradual disappearance of the varieties from the Company's investment during this period. The direct impact of this was felt most heavily by those weavers producing the fine sorts of cloth, especially long cloth fine and super fine varieties. The demand for these varieties completely declined by 1810 and 1800 respectively as the little demand there was was provided from the Maddepollam factory. Even other varieties like Bettelees flowered, Dungarees, Percaules etc. were no longer included in trading. The reason perhaps was the development of British manufactures that could substitute these varieties in different markets as early as 1800.<sup>28</sup> However, it would appear that the

Company's demand was mostly for coarser and middle varieties of **punjum** cloth. The position of Ingeram and Maddepollam textiles during this period are shown in Graphs 9:3 & 9:4. The new varieties that were added were much below ordinary varieties like 12 1/2 **punjums** and 13 **punjum** cloths. While the Company's demand for other varieties of textiles from various places declined completely, it was only the **punjum** cloth of Visakhapatnam and Godavari district that retained its position, though on a smaller scale till 1830s.

Between the 1780s and the 1830s, the Company's demand for textiles reached a high peak, and then began to decline, owing to the factors that influenced the Company's involvement in the textile economy's operation. What was the position of the four Northern Factories (Masulipatnam, Ingeram, Maddepollam and Visakhapatnam) in the textile trade of the Company? Between 1786 and 1820, as shown in the Table No.9:1 that the Visakhapatnam, Ingeram and Maddepollam factories, and Masulipatnam factory up to 1815 provided nearly half of the investment of the entire Madras presidency. Interestingly, between 1820 and 1830, the Ingeram, Maddepollam and Visakhapatnam factories provided almost the full investment, as the long cloth from these factories still retained its hold in the European market. This phenomenon was not perceived in the case of the Southern factories, as these factories were gradually amalgamated or abolished starting from 1815.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam has recently argued that "textile exports from Northern Coromandel region peaked in about 1700 and that they declined thereafter". **Specifically**, he suggests, "within this picture of stagnation in the export from Coromandel, there

# 9:4 MADDEPOLLAM INVESTMENT



is further perceptible a shift from procurement in the northern part of the region to more Southerly areas. This suggests that while the Company exports from Coromandel as a whole stagnated, exports from the Krishna Godavari and the Warangal Khammam areas actually declined".<sup>29</sup> The evidence on the total investment operations of the East India Company as shown in Graph 9:5 in the Madras Presidency presented above clearly refutes this argument.

Another curious picture that emerges from a careful examination of the district records is that the decline in exports visible in the recorded figures is not solely attributable to a decline in the demand from the Company. On the contrary, when one looks at the data on indents and the actual amounts supplied, it becomes apparent that often there was a considerable shortfall in the supply, as shown in the Bar Graph. Between 1821 and 1827, for instance, there was a total shortfall of 11,842 bales from the districts of Visakhapatnam and Godavari.<sup>30</sup> Evidently, the weavers of this region were not always able to cope with the demand as the Graph 9:6 clearly shows. This could have been due to the constraints of the production system and/or the problems of raw material costs and availability.

One of the commonly held notions in considerations of the impact of colonialism on weavers of the region is that decline in the East India Company's demand for finer varieties of cloth adversely affected producers of such varieties. It may be correct to argue, as G.N. Rao does, that the decline of the rural aristocracy contributed to a reduction in demand for finer

varieties of cloth in the first half of the 19th century in the northern Coromandel. In a sense, this is an indirect result of colonial penetration of the regional economy, a process which contributed to the decline of the traditional aristocracy. But the most important question which needs to be posed is whether the Company directly contributed to the decay of production of fine textiles in the first half of the 19th century by decreasing its demand for such fabrics.

The evidence we have for this region does not permit us to argue that this was a universal phenomenon. On the contrary, it would appear that even in the last quarter of the 18th century, the Company's demand was not always for finer textiles. Rather, it was mostly for middling and coarser varieties of textiles. The Table showing the Export Trade of various factories under the East India Company provides particulars on this. This is clearly indicated by the figure shown in Tables in Appendix 1:1,1:2,1:3 &1:4

The Company's commercial policies and associated administrative strategies had thus not only managed to extinguish all competition, but also, in the process, drew the **primary** weaver into the world **economy**. As a result, colonial policies and market shifts elsewhere had their impact on the weavers of Northern Coromandel. But these were not the only factors at work. The weaver produced not only for the overseas markets. The local and regional markets were as important.

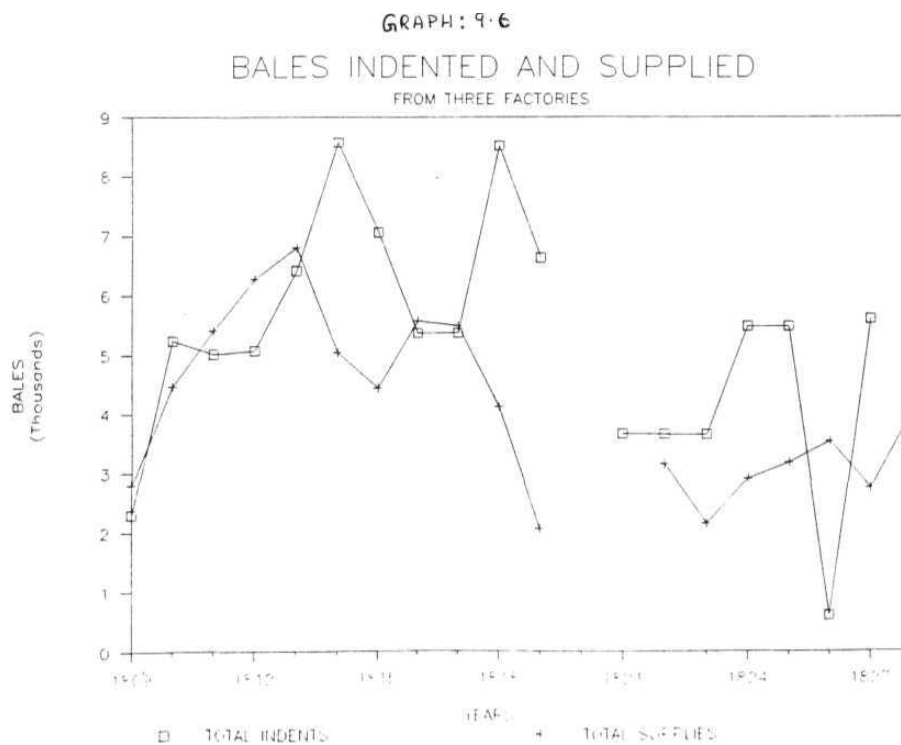
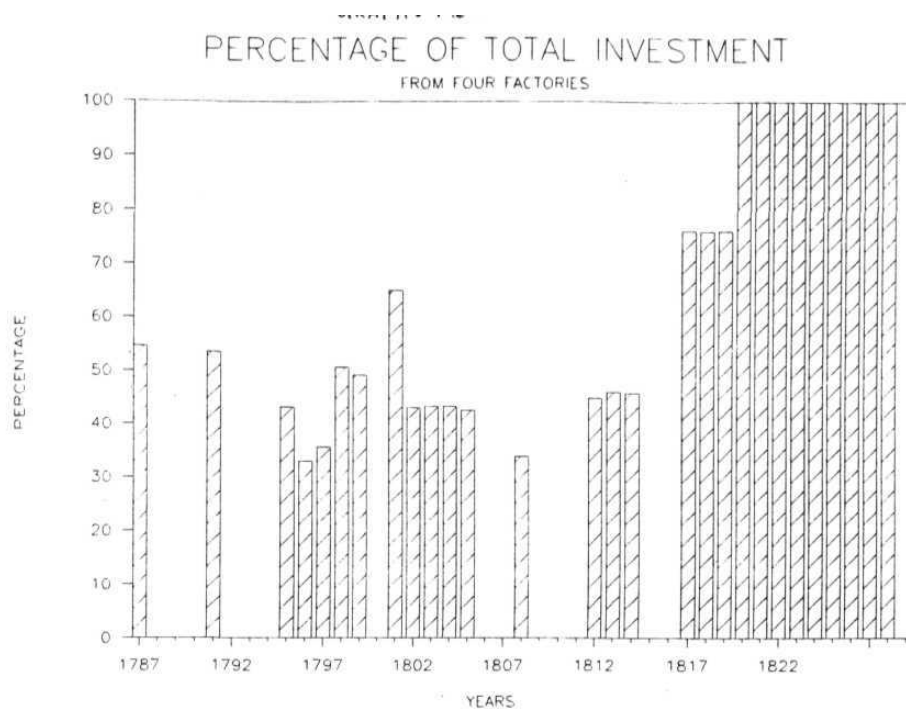


TABLE: 9.1

**Total Textile Investment of the Company in the Northern  
Coromandel from 1786 to 1830**

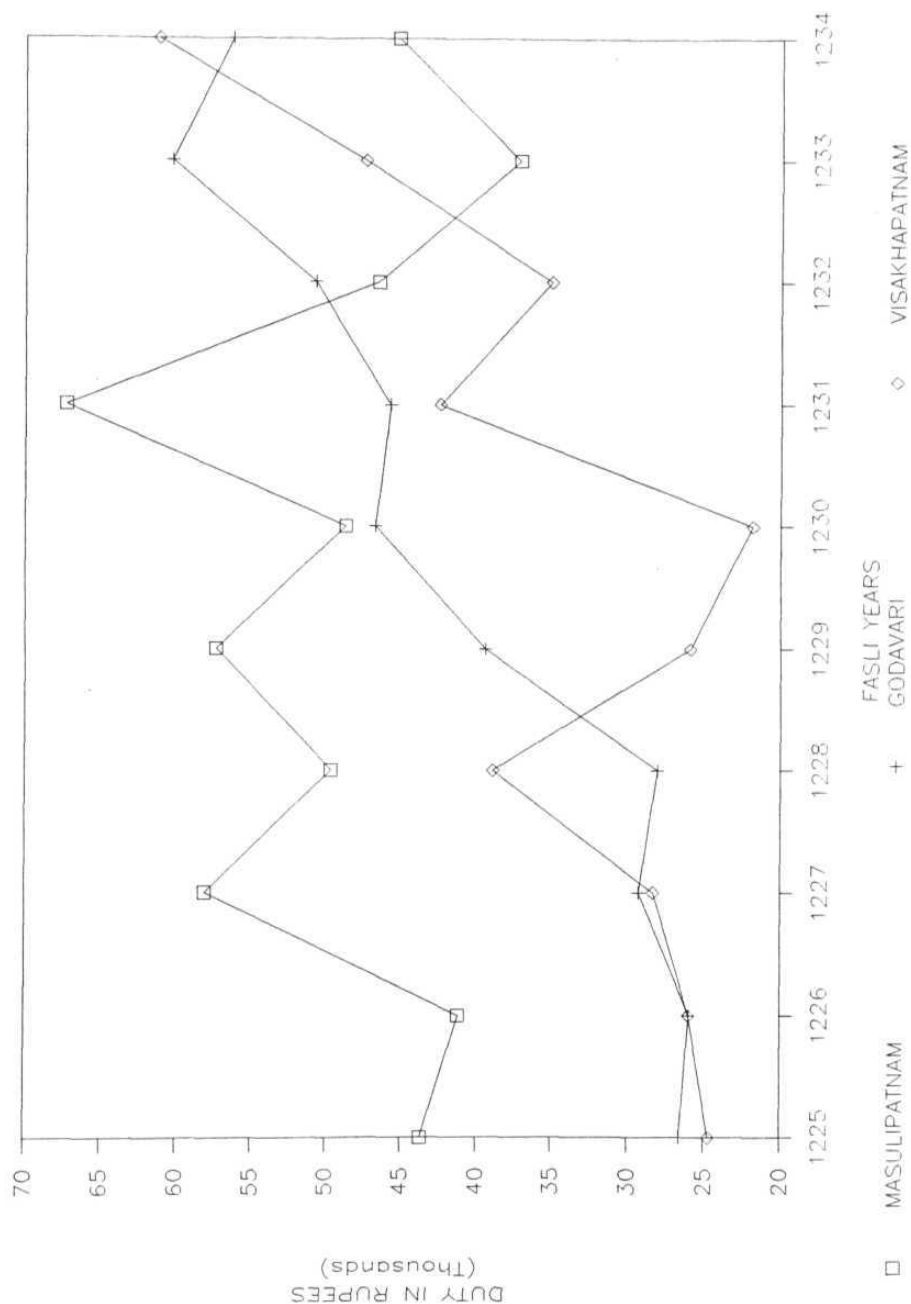
Years	Presidency Goods			Vizagapatnam			Ingeram			Maddepillam			Masulipatnam			Ganjam			Total		
	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Bales	Value	Value
1787	699	129168	1600	103786	1068	96337	1126	92250	233	79001	137	85701	5794	679833							
1791	1170	159053	1666	109171	1161	96595	1143	91172	305	68866	182	16904	7931	684791							
1792	1288		1666				1143		332		432		7159								
1793	1226		1675						557	13914	416	75536	10383								
1794	1123		1936		1713		1143		463		416		11306								
1795	1459	211000	2935	211000	2762	266700	1307	112700	762	115000	583	70000	1637100								
1796	1492	214000	2933	228000	2763	248000	1307	117000	766	120000	916	36696	22786	2156000							
1797	1470	213304	2833	218200	2782	245165	1088	113086	927	162194	447	31821	21682	2072034							
1798	725	95144	2833	218200	2199	192523	1178	161812	400	67087	399	31821	13719	1263085							
1799	723	96917	3015	232525	2199	192523	1184	110552	671	110885	399	22634	14250	131388							
1801	1633	152326	3015	250828	2699	234995	1753	169641	659	401215	333	22634	19118	1623891							
1802	1893	164668	4066	300692	2866	248562	2162	199341	2111	307737	1416	101070	28537	2452991							
1803	1793	165274	4066	300692	2866	248562	2162	199341	2111	307737	1416	101070	28200	2434547							
1804	1793	168273	4066	300692	2866	248562	2162	199341	2111	307737	1416	101070	28200	2434547							
1805	1797	170074	4166	300832	2866	248562	2144	192913	1566	235190	1416	101070	26572	2311986							
1806			2768	204937	1933	167692	1440	129972	668	105870	950	671813									
1807	15	6738	2768	204937	1933	167692	736	295	295	52472	474	33906	8257	707729							
1808	8	3744	1400	103897	965	83668	603	54474	297	52474	303	27542									
1809	8	3743	1001	74927	699	60175	603	54474	613	119763	732	63343									
1810	8	3743	1001	74927	699	60175	603	54474	613	119763	732	63343									
1811	19	7038	2277	195507	1400	120728	1338	124963	613	119763	732	63343	13269	1249666							
1812	19	7038	2277	195507	1400	120728	1338	124963	613	119763	732	63343	13269	1249666							
1813	12	4626	3641	313382	2333	198450	2600	220066	45	7194	1253	112142	18971	1604968							
1814	10	3836	2924	265373	2000	179653	2133	190933	35	6149	958	88476	15588	1400006							
1815																					
1816	10	3836	2168	197278	1533	124540	1666	148994	24	4354	716	66124	11091	1000182							
1817			3900	266400		246884		246884													
1818	10	3900	2166	220237		190606		190606													
1819	10	3802	2166	192649	1866	169449	1866	170132													
1820			2166	192649	1866	167449	1866	170132													
1821			3650	906333																	
1822			3650	906333																	
1823			5475	1378791																	
1824			5475	1378791																	
1825			6000	1506500																	
1826			5600	1405724																	
1827			6000	1452937																	

Source: Compiled from CDDE. 1-40



The centres producing the cloth to meet the demand of local economies and regional centres were not drastically affected by the various changes occurring during this period. The local trading activity and the movement of different fabrics in Visakhapatnam district is an index of the circulation of the weaver's product within the micro region. One can perceive a clear pattern of location and growth of centres demonstrating the social determinants of textile production. For instance, the price of cloth consumed by ordinary people never extended beyond one rupee. Sometimes, however, they bought also cloth of value of two rupees, as they could separate the cloth into two pieces , each piece valuing half to one rupee. These cloths were worn busually by the common ryots as well as coolies or labourers.<sup>32</sup> There was an extensive movement of these varieties through Chowkies located on roads through which merchandise was generally conveyed. These Chowkies. Bobblill, Rajam, Uuajunghee, Seereepuram, Poondoor, Boddaram, Lacavaram, Veeragottam and + Parvethipuram were fairly concentrated into a small region. Most of these chowkies were situated near the frontiers, and the amount of duty collected on piece goods indeed, was a clear indication of the internal trading activities of the weaving world. For instance between 1225 and 1234, there was a remarkable increase in the collection of duty on piece goods from the Visakhapatnam district as reflected in Graph 9:7

## 9.7 DUTY PAID ON PIECEGOODS



The impact of millmade cloth on the districts local trade appears to have been very little, as no cloth of foreign manufacture was flooding the market. On the other hand, the demand for coarse and middle variety of cloths whose value did not extend beyond two rupees might have increased because there was an increase in population during this period. The officials after reviewing the entire textile trade of the district recommended in 1837 an exemption of duty on those cloths the value of which had not extended beyond two rupees, because these cloths were used generally by the cultivators, coolies, and would also benefit the manufacturer and merchant alike.<sup>34</sup>

In Godavari district, the cloth consumed by the ordinary sections of society seldom exceeded one rupee in value. The spatial distribution of the weaving centres providing the cloth for ordinary consumption level, of society can be plotted out, taking as an index the transit duties collected on different cloth varieties from the chowkies. Out of 54 chowkies where the transit duties were collected, there were 25 chowkies contributing an amount of revenue exceeding rupees 100 on cloths valued below one rupee, and cloth varying from one rupee to two rupees.<sup>35</sup> Incidentally the chowkies also represented the major textile production centres like Tuni, Pitahpur, Uppada, Peddapore, Amalapuram, Ambazepeta, Peddapatnam, Muumedivaram, Kottapeta, Rajahmundry, Mundapatah, Drakshramam, Nellapilly, Amravatum, Panumadum, Punugonda, Attili, Nadavapully Bundamurlanka, Mulkepolam Ramachandrapuram, Assuntah The Table 9:2 would provide an idea about the trading pattern

TABLE:9.2

Amount of Transit duty collected on cloth of different values at 54 Chowkies of Rajahmundry District from factory Fasli 1230 to 1235

FUSLI YEARS	1230				1231				1232				1233				1234				1235			
	Cloth Valued Below 1 Rupee (Rupees)	Cloth Valued 1-2 Rupees	TOTAL	Cloth Valued Below 1 Rupee (Rupees)	Cloth Valued 1-2 Rupees	TOTAL	Cloth Valued Below 1 Rupee (Rupees)	Cloth Valued 1-2 Rupees	TOTAL	Cloth Valued Below 1 Rupee (Rupees)	Cloth Valued 1-2 Rupees	TOTAL	Cloth Valued Below 1 Rupee (Rupees)	Cloth Valued 1-2 Rupees	TOTAL	Cloth Valued Below 1 Rupee (Rupees)	Cloth Valued 1-2 Rupees	TOTAL	Cloth Valued Below 1 Rupee (Rupees)	Cloth Valued 1-2 Rupees	TOTAL			
Choukies	199	160	359	185	190	375	175	120	295	130	192	322	128	132	260	182	138							
	71	52	123	62	99	161	61	79	140	62	74	136	60	64	124	63	70							
	151	131	282	142	190	332	190	140	330	189	200	389	187	191	378	190	197							
	110	102	212	95	81	176	85	61	146	90	102	192	88	92	180	91	97							
	37	30	67	25	15	40	30	10	40	83	45	128	31	33	64	34	39							
	152	141	293	141	161	302	121	131	252	124	135	259	122	125	247	124	131							
	52	27	79	41	47	88	42	28	70	43	55	98	41	44	85	43	50							
	12	11	23	10	22	32	15	19	34	17	29	46	15	18	33	17	24							
	47	29	76	41	37	78	43	29	72	45	57	102	43	45	88	44	51							
	54	51	105	40	75	115	42	56	98	44	56	100	42	44	86	45	52							
	Juggempettah	52	41	93	31	62	93	41	45	86	42	54	96	41	46	87	43	60						
	Erraveram	190	160	350	170	180	350	180	169	349	133	200	333	130	133	263	131	139						
	Analapore	161	11	172	141	141	282	144	120	264	145	156	301	141	144	285	140	150						
	Unbuzeepettah	170	150	320	120	170	290	100	101	201	103	115	218	101	107	208	106	113						
	Peddapatam	102	82	184	82	106	188	100	83	183	152	104	256	150	54	204	153	160						
	Moomedeveram	82	61	143	69	80	149	70	61	131	73	35	108	71	75	146	74	81						
	Cottapetta	24	21	45	22	42	64	39	21	60	42	54	96	40	44	84	43	50						
	Wadapully	125	110	235	101	130	231	104	112	216	157	169	326	155	157	312	154	163						
	Rajahmundry	91	62	153	65	82	147	71	65	136	73	85	158	71	78	149	76	84						
Mundepetta	68	42	110	48	64	112	42	53	95	43	55	98	41	44	85	41	50							

Injeram	29	21	50	21	42	63	19	41	60	22	41	63	21	25	46	24	31
Anravatam	101	83	184	70	73	143	69	52	121	71	72	143	70	75	145	74	81
Pundoolapaka	41	42	83	30	61	91	41	39	80	44	49	93	42	46	88	45	51
Narasapore	29	31	60	20	52	72	22	31	53	23	35	58	21	25	46	24	33
Samuldeevee	2	3	5	4	6	10	2	3	5	4	8	12	4	7	11	6	8
Penomodam	111	110	221	97	120	217	107	40	147	109	121	230	100	108	208	107	114
penogondah	141	120	261	101	140	241	11	100	111	114	126	240	112	110	222	108	112
Beemavarani	30	14	44	32	19	51	41	19	60	43	55	98	42	39	81	38	43
Uttely	111	92	203	92	121	213	72	102	174	77	87	164	73	74	147	71	80
Voutdenamedy	21	19	40	11	21	32	8	19	27	9	21	30	6	7	13	12	9
Eravah	45	39	84	32	50	82	18	25	43	19	32	51	18	22	40	38	27
Urttcutta	79	63	142	52	71	123	55	52	107	58	67	125	52	56	108	56	6
Nadavapully	91	79	170	63	89	152	54	60	114	57	71	128	55	59	114	51	66
Bendamoorlunka	97	86	183	72	107	179	71	81	152	74	86	160	72	76	148	57	79
Mulkepoiem	111	91	202	82	100	182	83	70	153	85	47	132	83	87	170	63	93
Capaveram	14	16	30	10	8	18	10	10	20	12	24	36	10	14	24	27	20
Chagul 100	17	14	31	12	9	21	21	3	24	24	36	60	20	26	46	53	28
Ramachandrapora	112	111	223	92	121	213	91	87	178	93	103	196	91	95	186	80	100
Cottah	56	32	88	31	44	75	27	42	69	31	42	73	29	33	62	59	39
Mugaltore	22	10	32	10	27	37	8	19	27	9	20	29	7	11	18	19	15
Yalamanchely	37	20	57	27	40	67	20	20	40	23	29	52	20	22	42	41	27
Ausuntah	113	23	136	71	41	112	60	31	91	65	83	148	63	67	130	29	70
Doovah	54	13	67	20	102	122	46	92	138	91	45		79	84	163	88	87

Source: G.A. Smith Collector to BOR 16 October 1837, PBR 1599, pp.  
13649-52:

Textile trade of the (essentially the coarsest varieties) district as Graph 9:7 indicates that in the Godavari district, the duty collected increased by almost 100 % in the decade between 1815 and 1825. This can lead to the inference that internal trade in piecegoods was growing.

In Masulipatnam district, the continuation of artisanal activity depended much on the movement of culture in various trading centres to which it had trade links. And the location of the various branches of textile industry itself was a pointer to gauge the impact of consumption patterns on the formation of specialized production centres. Moreover, there was affiliation between the growth of port towns and textile production, as reflected in the case of Masulipatnam. It was the weaver from the Masulipatnam district who was harshly affected, because of the technological developments in Europe, followed by subsequent necessary diversions in colonial policies.

There were distinct production centres in Masulipatnam district which specialized in producing chay goods, white piece goods, and chintz goods. <sup>37</sup> The fluctuations in the trading activities of Persian merchants was a crucial factor in determining the fortunes of weavers and painters, of cloth, the two essential elements in this branch of textile production. The growing importance of Masulipatnam port town depended to a large extent on this trade.

The production centres of the district usually produced



textile varieties like table lines, towels, handkerchiefs, such articles as were required for printing and painting turbans, **palampores**, and chintz . It was this branch of cloth industry that continued to exist during the 19th century.<sup>38</sup> This industry showed some promise, even though it was exposed to the mill made competition around the 1820s.

Another branch that was affected little during this period was the regional export branch of the chay goods industry. As noticed earlier in this section, the chief centres of production declined owing to the withdrawal of the Company from this trade. In the 1830s, the chay goods industry was limited to the Persian markets, the Hyderabad market, and the Masulipatnam market. In Masulipatnam markets the customers for these goods were mainly muslims.<sup>39</sup> The continued presence of chay goods industry in 1830s was due to the cultural ethos of the muslim population of the time which was a major consumer of chay goods. A similar factor would have operated even among Hyderabad muslims.

Another variety of cloth the production of which continued, and thus sustained the textile economy of Masulipatnam was that of piece goods. The extent of this can be assessed by taking into consideration the amount of cloth that passed through various Chowkies of the district, and the amount of duty that was collected on piece goods. By 1837, as shown in the Table 9:3 Chowkies, located necessarily at those points on the roads by which merchandise was generally conveyed.

TABLE: 9.3

Statement showing the amount of duty collected in white and printed cloths under one rupee value as well as or those from one to 2 rupees in the several sayer chowkies in Masulipatnam District, in Fasli 1244

Chowkies	White Cloths		Printed Cloths		Total		Grand Total
	I	II	I	II	I	II	
1. Bunder	616-13-10	2666-6-4	160-10-	2940-1-1-	777-7-10	4706-7-5	5483-15-3
2. Jaggaipettah	58-3-6 1/2	264-13-2	---	---	58-3-6 1/2	264-13-2	323-8 1/2
3. Joaljom	56-3-9	262-13-4					319-4-1
4. Tenoor	48-11-9	173-4-1					221-15-10
5. Chentalapooty	19-3-6	58-8-5					77-11-11
6. Ellore	171-1-1	609-15-6					780-15-7
7. Condapally	14-1-9	153-15-8					168-1-5
8. Chentapally	64-6-2	595-5-9					659-11-11
9. Weyoor	43-3-4	271-11-11					314-15-3
10. Ralang	624-9-10	769-7-5 1/2					1394-1-3 1/2
11. Goorah	54-5-	435-8-1 1/2					489-13-1 1/2
12. Noozed	7-8-2 1/2	77-12-1 1/2					85-14-4
13. Mylavaram	44-5-4	128-14-3					173-3-7
14. Aumtapally	35-15-4	42-14-6					78-13-10
Total	1,858-13-5	6,511-6-7 1/2					10,570-15-1 1/2

Source: J.C. Wranghton Collector, Masulipatnam to BOR, 27 October 1837,  
PBR 1582, pp. 14442-444

\*I. Duty on cloths below one rupee Value  
II. Duty on cloths from one to two rupees value

TABLE: 9.4

Amount of Transit duty collected on piece-goods  
at different Divisions of Masulipatnam District  
from Faslis 1225 to 1248

Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total	Chowkies Names
1225	27040	2965	1644	634	2512	2687	1340	316	288	345	1162	962	1439	509	43649	1 Masulipatnam
1226	22260	2965	1655	775	2257	2466	1208	334	459	457	2297	1023	1866	477	41216	2 Ellore
1227	36098	3225	1803	1113	3336	2615	1722	416	926	451	2104	983	2714	568	58081	3 Condapully
1228	29931	2769	1481	960	3216	2273	1588	362	707	454	2448	883	2073	535	49687	4 Weyore
1229	31523	3547	1919	1501	3387	4451	1762	747	875	1000	2284	1210	2335	813	57360	5 Chullapally
1230	23615	4034	1880	1415	3003	3792	1637	759	870	1028	2914	1169	1991	647	48761	6 Ralunghy
1231	43547	3050	1727	1537	2850	4254	1212	496	1011	807	2911	1138	2295	456	37300	7 Goorah
1232	22924	2805	1660	1344	2726	6206	1028	397	885	650	2422	1027	1977	544	46600	8 Noozed
1233	20718	2114	1012	534	1962	5998	477	204	515	660	1324	493	826	383	37227	9 Mylavaram
1234	26349	2358	792	829	2620	4939	1012	730	720	184	1711	1038	1831	177	45298	10 Annuntapully
1235																11 Juggiah Pettah
1236																12 Tirewoor
1237																13 Goodjoor
1238																14 Chintalapody
1239																

Source: C. Robert Collector to BOR 24 April 1826, PBR 1061, pp.3827-33 for Faslis 1225 to 1235; I. Goldingham acting Collector to BOR, 12 July 1836, MDR 1619, pp.1-23; I. Blane Acting Collector to BOR, 9 April 1838, MDR 6320, pp.295-323; P. Grant Collector to BOR, 1 December 1838, MDR 6321, pp.313-340; P. Grant, Collector to BOR, 12 July, 1834, MDR 6223, pp.137-156.

Nearly half the total in land trade was concentrated in and around the Bundar chowkey. An extensive trade in ordinary and painted textiles, the value of which did not extend beyond two rupees. passed through this chowki. In addition, all the chintz trade was conveyed through this chowky.<sup>40</sup> The duty collected on white and painted cloths of certain value between from Fasli 1235-1248 display the position of each chowki in over all trading networks of textiles perceivable in the Table 9:4

The trade in lower varieties especially those of below one rupee was limited to a few chowkies like Eluru and Ralangee, whereas from the remaining Chowkies the cloth that went out was essentially the other category. Most of the weaving centres of the Masulipatnam district thus depended on those varieties meant for middle class consumption as indicated in the Table below:.

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The survival of weaving villages in the vicinity of these chowkies was, therefore intertwined with the nature of consumption patterns of those distant receiving centres. For instance, the fluctuations in the chintz trade owing to socio-political factors that persisted in Persia had a direct repercussion on the chintz trade. The decline in the Persian demand for chintz directly affected the urban economy of Masulipatnam town.<sup>42</sup> In addition to this external factor, there was a powerful internal factor at work, namely, the shortage of painters without whose skill, chintz could not be produced. Many of these painters had died during the famine of 1830s.<sup>43</sup>

A major factor in the **Masulipatnam** cloth industry of the time was the trade with the Nizam's Dominions. From 1838-39 onwards there was a gradual increase in the total value of cloths exported to this region. Moreover, the contribution of the textiles, in the over all frontier trade was nearly 50 percent of the total trade.<sup>44</sup>

The production centres from where the cloths were conveyed for trade in and around Chowkies like Jaggiahpeta, Tirwoor, Goodjoor and Chintalapooddy depended primarily on the Nizam's Dominions. These four chowkies constituted major frontier divisions through which the frontier trade was conducted.<sup>45</sup> The exports from the Masulipatnam district into Nizam's Dominions consisted essentially of cloth, rawsilk, cotton, cotton twists, silk thread, thread twists, along with many other articles. The level of trading activity of Masulipatnam cloths in Nizam's Dominions can be seen in the actual transit duty collected on piece goods at these frontier **Chowkies**. The size of cloth trade with the Nizam's Domonions is indicated in Table 9:5

Thus the trade relationship between the Nizam's territories and Masulipatnam was reciprocal and interdependent. While the Masulipatnam weaver depended, for his survival on the exports to the Nizam's territories, the raw materials for his fabrics came from the Nizam's dominion.

TABLE:9.5

Value of Trade by land from Masulipatnam to Nizam  
Territories from Faslis 1247 to 1260.

Fusli Years		IMPORTS										EXPORTS				
		Official Years	Coosambau Flower	Serenjee Chay Root	Gingely Oil Seeds	Tamarind	Opium	Cloths	Total	Raw Silk	Cotton	Cloths	Cotton Twists	Silk Thread	Thread Twists	Total
1247	1837															
1248	1838		1255	15742	2188	16086	15742	2695	202318		3659	119719		23994	1293	464415
1249	1839		1272	34982	1413	3689	21168	3613	237791		4382	84422		37511		456655
1250	1840		6487	36006	8680	7979	58052	2386	183433	15865	3300	114621	1325			462119
1251	1841		5618	33542	3227	6901	99571	2193	204832	32574	3616	146866	1016			545115
1252	1842		3729	33586	3339	18601	101064	3937	238936	27886		175424				300310
1253	1843															
1254	1844															
1255	1845															
1256	1846															
1257	1847			26176	1503	14305	254433	8034		3095	3694	306074				912868
1258	1848		3022	25254	1615	6562	266202	7780	381933	2446	2871	449659				983635
1259	1849		2411	39521	4097	20054	119548	6708	295714	4346		416559			1698	683054
1260	1850		2106	23796	3460	23816	212603	6644	422060	11053		455041			4196	765388
1261	1851		1422	38428	5447	37417	237243	8097	480161	5922		395644			8502	753715
1262	1852															

Source: Compiled from MDR, Nos. 6395, 6396, 6401, 6402, 6403.

In Guntur district there were two sections of weavers. One catering to the demand created by the localities, and another the distant **centres**. The most important centres from where the cloths of low value that is up to 1 rupees, were primarily obtained were Guntur, Tadicondah, **Mungalagheri**, **Rayapudi**, Prattipadu, Amaravati, Chebrole, Nundipadu, Tenali, Modicore, Ponnur, Colleparah, Rajahpettah, Chilakaluripadu, Innacondah, Narasarapeta, Nauikel, Repalli, Battiprole, Dhulipaudi, Kurapadu, **Atchempettah**, **Kondavidu**, Sattenapalli, Modecoondoor, Dutchapally, Joolacalloo, Machavarom, Macherlah, and Maudogalah. The weavers from these places were specialised in producing textiles like Dhovaties, Punchalu, **Madipunchalu**, cheeralu, buchakanies, coarse cloths, **angavastrumlu**, Talapagalu Jamavarlu, Chelalu, Ravekalu, Ootariyalu, Khandawalu, and Voneelu. Even though these items were usually purchased by poorer sections of people, they contained two varieties that were meant for brahmins and **komaties**.

Production of high quality textiles centred around places like Guntur, Tadicondah, Mangalgheri, Rapudi, Chebrole, Amaravati, **Vengherpuram**, Prathipadu, Nundepadu, Raupetah, Parala, **Visakhapatam**, Tenali, Modecoor, Ponnor Colluparah, Rajahpettah, Poodoor, Chilakaluripadu, **Commalapaudu**, Innakondah, **Rampercherlah**, Vellatoor, Narsaraopeta, Nacrikul, **Bellemkondah**, Buttiprolu, Dhulipadu, Kurapadu, Atchempettah, Kondavidu, Sattenapalli, Modecoodoor, Dutchepalli, Joolakulloo, **Mochavaram**, **Timmerkotah**, **Mercherlah**, Mandugalah and frontier centres like Pedugulah, Gotte **mokaklah**, and Gottepallahas shown in Table 9:6

**Amount of Duty collected on cloth of different value at  
various chowkies of Guntur District in 1837**

Chowkies Names	Cloth Below One Rupee	Cloth Between One&two Rupees	Other Piece Goods	Total Value Of Piece Goods	Value Of Cumbalies	Grand Total
Guntoor	283	691	97	1073	5	1078
Taudeconda	139	241	31	413		413
Mungelagherry	367	1421	3203	4992		4992
Rayapoody	92	221	17	331	4	335
Chabrole	61	119	8	190		190
Amaravetty	56	109	18	185		185
Venghepooram	42	194	2	239	3	242
Prattepaul	87	224	1	313	3	316
Nundepaul	53	221	3	277		278
Baupetlah	27	121	4	153		153
Paralah	28	691	4048	4768	2	4770
Ventapollam	32	54	6821	6909		6909
Chundole	32	56	103	192	18	210
Nizampatam	46	109	6	161		162
Cottapollam	13	11		24		24
Chinna Ganjam	3	14		17		18
Tanaly	181	324	420	927		927
Modecoar	122	366	16	505	8	514
Ponnoor	78	270	39	388	29	415
Colleparah	121	250	3	375		375
Rajapettah	88	150	376	615		615
Poloor	25	127	3	156		157
Chilacaloorpaul	95	380	30	156	1	506
Incole	10	50	75	135	2	138
Commulpaul	17	99	2	120		120
Inncondah	652	618	107	1378		1378
Rompcherlah	53	158	5	217		217
Vellatoor	14	136	34	185		185
Narasarowpettah	214	328	50	593		594
Nacrikal	70	128	6	205		205
Bellumcondah	37	87	3	128		128
Rapuliy	277	807	183	1269		1269
Bhuttepole	64	80	777	922		922
Canagalah	34	34	551	621	10	632
Dhoolpoody	34	267	136	438	67	506
Coorapaul	73	271	27	372	1	373
Atchemmapettah	270	252	100	622		622
Condaveed	474	370	15	860		860
Suttanapully	69	258	37	365		365
Madecondoor	63	212	15	292		292
Datchapully	75	195	7	278		178
Joolculloo	110	273	26	411		411
Maucheveram	67	176	20	265		265
Timmeracotah	29	174	24	228		228
Maucherlah	90	245	71	407		407
Maudoogalah	105	318	11	435		435
TOTAL	4998	11925	17554	34478	157	34635
Frontier Chowkies						
Colloor	2	7		10		10
Pondugalah	21	86	8	116		116
Gottemookalalah	16	65	1	83		83
Gottepollah	17	85		103		108
TOTAL	58	244	11	314		314
GRAND TOTAL	5056	12170	17565	34792	157	34949



The production aimed at the external markets expanded at a few centres like Mungalagheri, Peralah, **Ventapollem**, Tenali, **Rajahpettah**, **Buttiprolu** and Kanagalah in Guntur district. The weavers from these centres could establish trade links over a wide spread area in the Deccan, and to a considerable extent found a place in distant marketing centres. Even though a considerable quantity of production was meant for local consumption, the weaver had to supply to the nearby districts. However, a potential market for their products were found in places in Masulipatnam and Chittoor districts, Bombay, Jaulnah Colombo and Ankolah.<sup>48</sup> Textile exports to various centres from Guntur 1837 to 1842 are shown in Table 9:7. The Map shows the trading destinations.

Under the steps initiated by the colonial government, the centres of production and the weavers associated with these were affected differently. The weavers working for a growing mass market were benefited, when an exemption on inland duty was accorded in 1824. All weavers producing cloths for their own use, including pariahs and barbers who had looms were exempted from paying duty on those pieces meant exclusively for their private use. In 1826, when the Company intended to abolish sayer duties on cloth valued below one rupee, such a step was seen as an impetus to the manufacturer too. ”

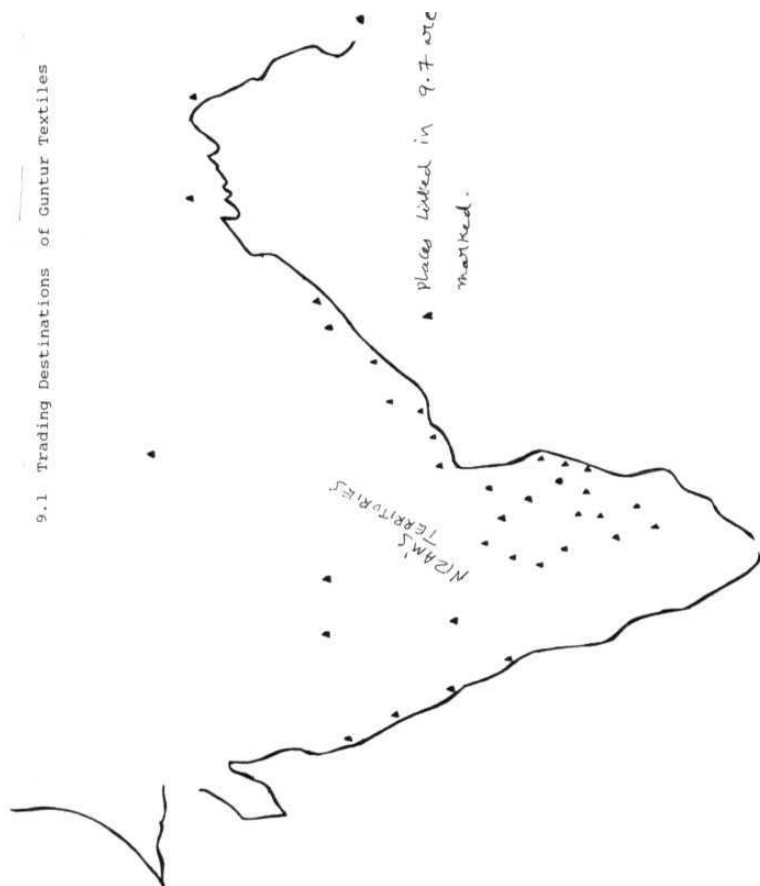
TABLE: 9.7

Total value of cloth exported from Guntur District from  
Faslis 1247 to 1253

DESTINATIONS	1247	1248	1249	1251	1252
1. Guntoor Zillah	338807	349714	38769	269293	249793
2. Masulipatam	17954	15169	16965	20283	25191
3. Rajahmundry	9968	4668	2729	755	1138
4. Vizagapatam	18461	8869	2721	1373	1447
5. Ganjam	17225	5871	2263	5263	10244
6. Nellore	6375	9080	14479	2799	2458
7. Cuddapah	2055	2591	2728	560	341
8. Madras	699	4479	8691	1780	1728
9. Banglore	2331	10876	803	2038	2751
10. Trichonopoly	4132	6648	7503	5401	3378
11. Chittoor	54657	45158	48193	39245	39301
12. Tanjore	2820	3048	4716	13	60
13. Canara	7914	11388	2325	3692	
14. Streeangapatam	7839	7755	8970	5719	6413
15. Madura	2523	4132	380	1372	839
16. Bellary	970	767	88	646	434
17. Arcot			486	4	
18. Chenglepote	1523	2082	4626	2498	3040
19. Coimbatore	1309	1117	354	161	110
20. Salem	454	131	216	58	
21. Bombay	34044	37676	8695	40172	44398
22. Bengal	3612	6006	1019	109	294
23. Jaulnah	54926	38961	47438	48768	33938
24. Nigamsteritory	32255	10117	9111	17271	3560
25. Pondicherry	31	5	441	161	459
26. Pegu	3886	5226	2865	7199	1269
27. Columbo				39986	38596
28. MaldiveIslands		872		285	
29. Goa	2908	1595	7245	720	1760
30. Rasunrhee	19		997		122
31. Darwar	394		1123	3730	1551
32. Goomsoore				13098	
33. Vredhachellam				1293	95
34. Cauladee				97	
35. Nagpore				2219	5401
36. Kurnool				10	7
37. Awkolah					16437
38. Mangalore					8671
39. Cannanorr					98
40. Bhuratpoor					19
41. Cudalore					17
42. Bussaroor				9215	6117
43. Jarnanore					
44. Arcaon	637	173			
45. Coombhaconam	39603	31486	26929		
GRAND TOTAL	338807	625673	636320	547203	513291

source: Collector to BOR, August 1839, gudr 5397, pp.53-54, pp.77-78; H. Oakes, Collector to BOR, gudr 5402, pp.193-95; H. Oakes to E. Haveli, gudr 5402, pp.309-10.

9.1 Trading Destinations of Guntur Textiles



The fall in the external demand would have led to a glut in the local markets and consequently to a fall in the price of textiles. This did not however immediately distress the weaver, especially those producing for local consumption, since there was a simultaneous fall in the price of grain.<sup>50</sup> This meant that there was no substantial reduction in the weavers standard of life. The weaver producing for European markets however was affected severely.

Though domestic weaving was not displaced by the mill made competition till late in the century, still the chief centres producing for external markets were affected heavily by the 1840s. The number of looms producing textiles for external markets registered a gradual increase in this period, but they could not reach the position that they had in earlier decades. The profits of the trade declined greatly, because the competition for their products occurred in the markets where the specialized products of these centres were traditionally marketed. The Ventapollam hand kerchiefs and other goods of this district were displaced by the European products by virtue of their lower prices.<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, such competition could not be waged at the price level alone. British goods sought to capture the markets traditionally dominated by Indian textiles by turning out imitations of these.<sup>52</sup> Thus, initially at least, the competition was waged in markets fairly distant from the production centres. This can lead us to the inference that the production for the local markets and consumption was not

adversely affected by competition from the mills of England. In fact, the data for the period 1820 - 1850 clearly shows an overall increase in the number of looms. This appears especially paradoxical because this was a period in which the Company was withdrawing from the textile economy, and when the region was being racked by famines and adverse seasons. One of the factors responsible for this was certainly the persistence of local demand.

Can we also conclude that the increase in the number of looms reflected a growth trend in the textile economy ? G.N.Rao has argued against drawing such a conclusion, pointing out that the number of looms and weavers was not an accurate indicator. However, he suggests three possible explanations for the rise in the number of the looms. One was that British textile imports could not penetrate the interior markets; the second was that there was a shift to coarser varieties, production of which could have increased; the third was the agrarian situation, which, Rao argues, was in a state of stagnation and decay, thus pushing low caste cultivators and labourers into the weaving profession, swelling the number of looms and weavers.

Strangely, G.N.Rao dismisses the arguments of Morris D.Morris, who suggested that population growth was a factor. The population figures for the region do indicate an increase as shown in the Table 9:7

Table 9:8

## Population in various Districts of Northern Coromandel

Years	Ganjam	Visakha patnam	Rajah mundry	Masuli patnam	Guntur	Total
1821-22	332015	438174	738206	529849	454754	13476923
1823				557264		
1826-27			654260		476787	
1827-28			660906	579125	478259	
1828-29					478563	
1829-30					509365	
1830-31			695016			
1831-32					513217	
1832-33				544672	357038	
1833-34					255511	
1834-35						
1835-36					234667	
1836-37	488174	1047414	438174	544672	267426	13967395
1837-38					267426	
1838-39			570481		302155	
1839-40			534446		308860	
1840-41			533836		315396	
1841-42			546809		318888	
1842-43			561041		344729	
1843-44					366164	
1844-45						
1845-46			631997			
1846-47			887260			
1847-48						
1848-49						
1849-50				521286		
1850-51			1012036			
1851-52	926930	1254272		520866	570083	21581697
1856-57	949747	1284243	1081703	623808	593213	2240785

**Source:** Compiled from the District Records, Proceedings of Board of Revenue, and Census Report of 1871

Data from the census of 1871, and the district records indicate that except in Guntur (where the famine of the 1830s catastrophically decreased the population), all other areas recorded a growth of population.

These figures are, no doubt, subject to controversy and dispute.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the high

levels of artisanal activity in the 18th century may have sustained a population growth.<sup>56</sup> Such a population growth would, it can reasonably be assumed, support the weaving industry by maintaining or increasing the demand.

While population growth was an important factor in the region as a whole, there were various factors at work in the different districts of Northern Coromandel which affected the weaving industry, a picture of which can be seen in the graph of loom tax collections.

In the Rajahmundry district, there was a brief setback to the weaving industry in the 1830s. G.N.Rao has suggested that this was caused by price competition of British millmade cloth, and the famine in the Guntur district. An equally important reason was the declining position of the rural elites, and also adverse seasons.<sup>57</sup>

How then was there an upswing in the number of looms in the 1840s ? One major reason was that the district resumed its textile with Asian destinations like Penang, Mauritius, Rangoon, Pegu, and Sumatra. This trade, as the Table indicates, showed a significant increase. Appendix 1:6, 1:7 & 1:8 shows the value of textile trade of the region with these Asian destinations. In fact, the increase was of such magnitude that the Company did not deem it necessary at this juncture, to protect the weaver through tax concessions. As the Collector of Rajahmundry pointed out:

The Board invite an opinion regarding the measures which may appear proper to be adopted for the encouragement of the cloth trade. I fear it is not in the power of government to do any thing to place it to its former prosperity and I am afraid to think that it is not expedient at this period of time to extend any particular indulgences to weavers. Some fifteen years ago when the demand for the Company's investments and those of private merchants were suddenly stopped persons were thrown out of their employ a remission of the moturpha on looms and of transit duties on cloth would no doubt have been a material alleviation of the privations and hardship which must have been extensively and severely felt, but since then time has restored the balance which was disturbed. The superfluous hands have been taken from the looms and occupied in agriculture and many persons have gone to seek employment at Moulmeen, and even it is said emigrated as coolies to Bourbon and Maurikius a new business has sprung up for the weavers in cloths suited to the Asiatic market of a kind not brought to the country from England and their circumstances are perceptively improving under its influence. I thus look upon the present class of weavers as quite distinct from those who existed in the days of the trade with England and as it is so long since that set has passed away and the present one seems to require no particular fostering I do not perceive that it is in any way incumbent on government at present at least to make sacrifices of any kind in their favour

Another argument raised in this context is that although the number of looms may have increased, the value of the cloth produced was decreasing.<sup>60</sup> It is evident, however, that the decrease in value of cloth was merely an aggregate decrease. Disaggregated data, provided in Tables 8: indicates that the decrease was not uniform, either over the entire region or over the range of fabrics.

Exports to the territories of the Nizam were also important for the textile economy of Masulipatnam district, as already indicated. More crucial here was the large scale textile trade of the district with Persia. The loom tax collections show a drastic fall in 1831-32, and an increase thereafter. The fall could be attributed to the famine in the region. The increase



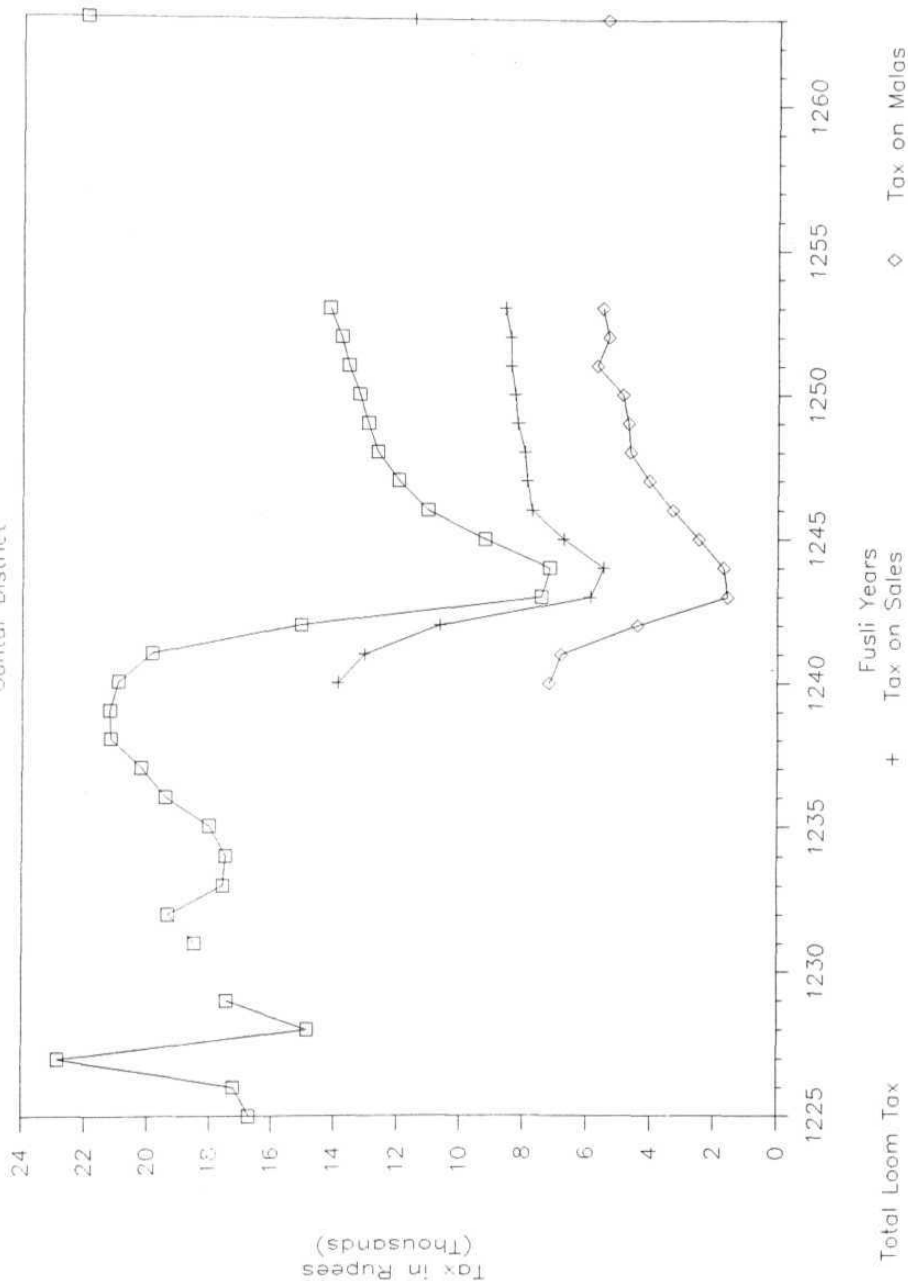
was due, it can be suggested, to the continuation of the trade **with** Persia, despite increasing competition from British mills. The continuation of the Persian trade, in fact, helped to compensate for the cessation of the chay goods trade in 1810. The **moturpha-loom** tax collections in 1855-56 were, in fact, greater than the amounts collected in 1821-22. The situation in Guntur district was also the same. Here too, by the 1850s, the tax collections virtually reached the position obtaining in the 1820s.<sup>61</sup>

The tax collection figures thus show a slow but perceptible growth. But this growth did not uniformly affect all the categories of the weavers. As the graph 9:8 shows, the number of looms operated by the low caste mala weavers increased at a slower pace, implying, therefore, that the benefits of the new prosperity went primarily to the traditional weaver.

While in Guntur and Masulipatnam the textile economy showed a clear growth trend in the 1840s and 1850s, the situation in the Visakhapatnam district was in stark contrast. Ironically, it was here that the weaver continued to produce **punjum** cloth till 1840. After that, however, the industry declined **rapidly**. The reason for this was that unlike the other districts of the region, Visakhapatnam had very few export markets other than the European ones. Once the latter was closed to it, the textile industry collapsed.

# 9.8 Loom Tax Collections

Guntur District



The other major factor in the textile economy of the region was imports of British textiles.

### Imports

What was the nature of textile imports into the region? Were there any imports from Europe directly into the region and to which group were these textiles meant? There were, towards the end of the eighteenth century, two major kinds of imports. One was the import of the textiles from production centres in India. The other was European textiles. For example, the imports of Indian textiles into the Masulipatnam district consisted of Mogga dooties of sylhat, Mogga dooties of Assam, raw silk of fine sort from Cassimbazar and raw silk muctoal from Cassimbazar, and Radnagore. Radnagore, Maldaved, seorporny and Cassimbazar silk piece goods were imported into Masulipatnam. Cotton piece goods, the twist from Dakha, and the coarse from other places were brought into the Masulipatnam district, the details of which are given in Appendix 1:<sup>63</sup>

Around 1830s, the items coming into the district from distant trading centres were mainly silk piece goods and white piece goods of Madras and Calcutta. These were Ballacheny Bottadars from 15 to 22 cubits long and 2 1/4 borad value from 20 to 40 rupees. Balachny cootneys valued from 3 to 5 rupees; damasks per yard from 4 to 5 rupees; taffetas Bengal from 8 to 12 rupees; Rawsilk per bundle of 2 1/4 pucka maunds from 850 to 1000 rupees; rawsilk cheek muctoal per bundle of 2 1/4 pucka maunds from 180 to 750 rupees.<sup>64</sup>

All these items were mainly consumed by the elites for whom they were as much symbols of their status as functional fabrics.

A similar cultural function was served by the European imports, which in this period, mainly consisted of broad cloth. For the amount of Broad cloth imports into the district see Appendix 1:~~70~~ In an earlier period, the Company officials used Broad cloth as a gift item to placate social groups like Merchants, Dubashes and Zamindars who were the primary mediators for their commercial activities. The presence of large military forces necessitated or stimulated the import of Broad cloth of different varieties into the region. But, this trade network received a set back owing to the disbanding of the forces, and the reduction of Zamindari influence after the settlement of 1802.<sup>65</sup>

By the turn of 18th century, there was a near total decline in the imports of Broad cloth at Masulipatnam as merchants also refused to receive these varieties in lieu of money advances.<sup>66</sup>

What was the situation in the first half of the 19th century? The evidence suggests that only a limited quantity of 'European Thread' was coming in at the port of Masulipatnam according to the data on sea customs. Other than European thread, no millmade cloth was coming into the region. By 1840s the European thread imports were seen as a threat to weavers profits, as the weavers ordinarily used country cotton thread in their products.

The impact of the East India Company's textile trade on the textile economy of Northern Coromandel was thus highly **differentiated**, in terms of time, in terms of textile varieties, as well as in terms of the localities. For example, the chay goods investment declined completely by 1815 while the piece goods investment continued till 1830.

The regional trade of the various production centres persisted, evidently, till the 1840s. It was after this period, that this trade began to be adversely affected by the import of European fabrics which began to compete with the local products, not in the localities of production, but in the destinations where they were marketed.

The rapid and short term deterioration of the regional economy in the 1830s and the consequential famines may have drastically affected the textile economy. But by the 1840s, the weaver was able to bounce back, as it were, to a fairly prosperous situation, mainly because of the rise of new markets in South East Asia, and the continuation of the Persian trade in Chintz. The persistence of traditional markets, and even the remarkable resilience he had displayed time and again, was not enough, however, to protect the weaver of the Northern Coromandel from the overwhelming tide of the products of the mills of England.

## Notes

1. The Chief's Minute on the Question of Balances Due by the Company's Merchants, MDR 2900 A, pp.137-42,
2. Samuel Statham, Warehousekeeper, to Charles Floyer, Chief Masulipatnam, 26 July 1786, MDR 2900 A, pp.5-19.
3. For a detailed discussion of the role of Private Traders in the 17th and 18th centuries See Ian Bruce Watson, Foundation for Empire : English Private Trade in India 1659-1760, Delhi, 1980.
4. Extract of letter from the Board of Trade. MDR 2901, pp.7-38.
5. Letter from Court of Directors , 29 November 1788 Commercial Department, Despatches from England (hereafter CDDE).2, 1788, p.72.
6. Letter from Court of Directors 23 June 1793, CDDE 6, pp.33-49.
7. Letter from Court of Directors 28 May 1794, CDDE 7, pp 59-129. For a discussion of French activities in Bengal, see Hamed Hossain, The Company weavers of Bengal, pp.79-82; And for a detailed discussion of the role of private traders in the 17th and 18th centuries, see Ian Bruce Watson, Foundation for Empire: English Private Trade in India, 1659-1760 Delhi, 1980
8. The Company's indent lists of textiles in Madras Presidency details on colours, designs, quality and measurements of each variety of cloth to be provided at various factories of the Presidency. See CDDE 1-40, Tamil Nadu Archives.
9. Diptendra Benerjee, Cotton Weavers of Bengal, p.25-26.
10. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 28 May 1794, CDDE Vol.7, p.67, 68.
11. Ibid., p.63.
12. Ibid., p.65.
13. Ibid., 97, 98.
14. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 3 July 1795, CDDE Vol.8, pp.19-20, espec. pp.83-85.
15. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort, St.George, 8 June 1796, CDDE Vol.10, pp.26,27.

16. Ibid., p.27; Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, CDDE Vol.11, pp.20,21.
17. Ibid., p.23,24.
18. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, CDDE 13, pp.34-36.
19. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort, St.George, 18 March 1807, CDDE Vol.14, pp.27,28.
20. ibid.,pp.36-45.
21. Ibid., p.56.
22. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, 3 July 1795, CDDE Vol.8, pp.71, 72.
23. Letter from Court of Directors to Board of Trade, Fort St.George, 18 March 1807, CDDE Vol.14, 47-48
24. I.Smith, Collector, Visakhapatnam to Board of Revenue, 12 April 1814, VDR 3752, pp.111-120, espec. 114 para 7.
25. Letter from Court of Directors to BOT, 18 March 1807, CDDE 14, pp. 47
26. Ibid.,
27. I.Smith, Collector, Visakhapatnam to Board of Revenue, 12 April 1814, VDR 3752, pp.111-120, espec. 114 para 7.
28. G.A.Smith Collector to BOR, 16 October 1837, PBR 1599, pp. 13649-52
29. S. Subrahmanyam, 'Rural Industry' (1990), p.105.
30. I.Gwatkin, Commercial Superintendent Madras to the Ckief Secretary to Government, 3 December 127, CDC 48, pp.953-959
31. For example, see Rama Chatterjee, 'Cotton Handloom Manufacturers of Bengal, 1870-1921,' EPW, 22, (1987), pp.988-97, and G.N.Rao, 'Changing conditions and Growth of Agricultural Economy in the Krishna and Godavari Districts, 1840-1890' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis) Andhra University, 1973, p.73; C.F. Bird Assistant Collector to Rajahmundry to Board of Revenue, 15 January 1845, GDR 6711, pp.6-11, attributed to the continual declining position of weavers in the district to the general failure of Zamindars and landed proprietors. Commercial Department Consultations, 41, p.518, which indicates that the company was willing to accept cloth of 12 punjum whereas, earlier the coarsest variety accepted was of 13 punjums.

32. W.U. Arbuthnot, Collector, Visakhapatnam to Board of Revenue, 3 October 1837, PBR 1583, pp.14914-916.
33. Ibid.,
34. Lewin, Collector Rajahmundry to Board of Revenue, 30 April 1835, GDR 4663, pp.93-102; C.F. Bird Assistant Collector to Board of Revenue, 15 January 1845, GDR 6741, p.6-11.
35. G.A. Smith, acting Collector to Board of Revenue, 16 October 1837, PBR 1599, pp.13649-13652.
36. Ibid.,
37. I.Goldingham to Board of Revenue, 21 November, 1836, MDR 6318, pp.310-11.
38. Ibid.,
39. Ibid.,
40. C.Roberts Collector, Masulipatnam to Board of Revenue, 19 April 1826, PBR 1061, 3827-3832
41. I.C. Wranghton, Collector Masulipatnam to BOR, 27 October 1837, PBR 1582, pp.14442-444.
42. I.Goldingham acting Collector to Board of Revenue, 21 November 1836, MDR 6319, pp.1-23.
43. Collector to Board of Revenue, 9 April 1838 MDR 6320, pp.295-323, espec. 298. 44. "The Frontier duty consisted of two duties, one the General transit duty at 5 percent collected on the 36 articles and the other the Frontier duty strictly collected on the specific articles at the rates specified in clauses 1st and 2nd section XIV Regulation I of 1812. The Collection on account of Inland or transit and Frontier duties at percent in the Frontier Divisions are so much blended with one another that they cannot now be separate", R.T. Porter Collector to Board of Revenue, October 1843, MDR 6326, pp.320 325, espec.p.321.
45. Ibid.,
46. Conclusion drawn from the value of duty collected on different qualities of textiles at different chowkies of Guntur district in further 1246, where 50 chowkies were mentioned.I. Goldingham Collector, Guntur to Board of Revenue, 18 October 1837, PBR 1599, pp.13655-56.
47. Ibid.,
48. Ibid., as the value of cloth turned out at these places for varieties meant for external trade was high. statements of value of cloth meant for exports from Guntur district, gudr, passim.



49. I.Goldingham Collector, Guntur to Board of Revenue, 18 October 1837, PBR 1599, pp.13655-56.
50. H.Oakes, Collector to Board of Revenue, 28 August 1844, gudR 5402, pp.296-299.
51. See for example H. Oakes, Collector Guntur to Board of Revenue, 28 August 1844, gudR 5402, pp.296-99, which described the displacement of Vetapallem handkerchiefs.
52. The Collector, Masulipatnam to Board of Revenue, 21 November 1836. MDR 6318, pp.310-12, describes this phenomenon in the Persian Market. The Persian customers were, however, quite caney and prudent, apparently, as the collector reported that Indian goods soon received the ground lost because they were more durable than the English mill fabrics. The Britain in fact learnt the art of making chintz only in the 18th century. For a discussion of this, See Homage to Kalamkari, Bombay 1979, pp.20, 79, the use of Indian designs, some times imported on Chinoserie was not only, to cater to the new taste for the 'oriental' but also to compete with Indian goods in the world markets. 53. G.N.Rao, 'Stagnation and Decay', (1978) pp.232-233.
54. Morris, D. Morris, 'Trends and Tendencies in Indian Economic History', IESHR, (1968), p.381.
55. See the discussion relating to this by Parveen and Leela Visaria in the CEHI 2, pp. 463-69
56. Proto- Industrialization theory suggests a connection between industrial activity and rise in fertility levels because of lowering of the age of marriage. See D.C.Coleman, 'Proto-Industrialization: A Concept too many', EHR, (1983), pp. 435-48. It needs to be examined whether this argument can be applied to this region too.
57. G.N.Rao, 'Stagnation and Decay', (1978) pp.232-233.
58. C.I. Bird Collector Rajahmundry, to Board of Revenue, 15 January 1845, GDR 6741, pp.5-12; C.I. Bird Collector Rajahmundry, to Board of Revenue, 20 October 1844, PBR 1950, pp. 1146-48 along with its enclosures provide more details on data pertaining to the position of the weaving economy.
59. Ibid., p.10
60. G.N.Rao, 'Stagnation and Decay', (1978) ; Konrad Specker, 'Madras Handloom', (1989), pp.153-155.
61. Even in Masulipatnam district the loom tax collections reached to an earlier position by fasli 1264. J.I.Knox cCollector Masulipatnam to BOR, 20 October 1857, MDR 6344, pp.312-357;

62. W.U. Arbuthnot, Collector, Visakhapatnam, to Board of Revenue, 24 September 1840, VDR 6644, pp.345-357
63. William A. Dobbyn, Sea Custom Collector to Anthony Sadlier, Chief and Council Masulipatnam, 9 October 1790, MDR 2840, pp.112-117
64. T.H.Crozier, assistant Collector in-charge to Board of Revenue, 6 April, MDR 6318, pp.34-73.
65. William A. Dobbyn, Sea Custom Collector to Anthony Sadlier, Chief and Council Masulipatnam, 9 October 1790, MDR 2840, pp.112-117
66. By 1786 itself the demand for broad cloth declined completely at whole sale as well as retail markets. Samuel Statham, Export Ware House keeper Masulipatnam to Charles Floyer, Chief and Council, 3 October 1786, MDR 2837, pp.131-134
67. R.T. Porter, Collector to Board of Revenue, 31 January 1845, MDR 6329, pp.259-261,

## 10. Conclusion

This study was an attempt to delineate the broad contours of the world of the Northern Coromandel weaver in a time in which the region was subjected to various kinds of changes. In the century between the middle of the eighteenth century when the East India Company began to erect new structures of dominance in the area, and the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Company, its power consolidated, was beginning to radically transform the region, the weaving communities of the Northern Coromandel were subjected to the influence of a wide range of forces.

Earlier studies of the textile economy of the Coromandel, most notably that of S Arasaratnam, have examined the changing fortunes of the weavers of the region in the context of the growing interaction of the regional economy with the expanding colonial enterprise of the European powers. This study sought to trace the course of the consequences that flowed from the imposition on the region of a new political hegemony, and in particular, to explore the restructurings and realignments that resulted from the consolidation of the colonial system.

The study, therefore, attempted to explore the way in which patterns of social and political relations of the weaving world interacted with the colonial polity and economy. It sought also to examine the areas in which changes occurred, and to determine the factors that influenced the patterns of change.

The impact of the changes was visible in the social as well as the economic spheres. The examination of the evidence reveals that the policies adopted by the Company tended to blur the finer nuances of caste distinctions, and to extinguish traditional caste specializations. Traditionally, weaving communities had evolved a high degree of specialization, and virtually each subcaste had a specific textile variety associated with it. Under the new dispensation, however, they were compelled to produce, not what they wanted, but what the Company, that is to say, distant markets, wanted. Long Cloth production in Visakhapatnam district was a particularly flagrant example of the Company being able to bend the will, as it were, of the weavers, and to yoke their specialized skills to produce what the market required.

The Company contributed to the blurring of caste boundaries in another way also, by facilitating the increased participation of non-traditional weavers in the textile economy. Traditionally, low ranking communities, especially the Mala and the Madiga had spun thread or produced textiles. This was a phenomenon that can be traced at least to the 15th century, when it was possibly aided and reinforced by the emergent egalitarian ideology of Vaishnavism. But the creation of new demands by the arrival of the European Companies may have given a further impetus to their growth, and the operations of the East India Company further increased the possibilities of Malas being recruited into the textile economy, accounting for the unusually large numbers of Mala weavers recorded in the 19th century

censuses. The fractures in the traditional boundaries between castes did not, of course, mean the total eclipse of the various institutions, rites and rituals connected with caste. In fact, paradoxically, the Company, which through its commercial policies was contributing to the undermining of caste specialization, was also, through administrative necessity, reinforcing caste structures. Dependent as it was on caste heads for mediating between itself and the primary weavers, the Company had to strengthen their power, implicitly or explicitly. Then again, caste came to the fore when weavers organized themselves to protest against oppression, although here too, there was a degree of ambivalence since some of these aggregations of weavers cut across the traditional lines of caste cleavage.

Moreover, many traditional caste institutions seem to have persisted, despite the many social changes drifting over the region. The manner in which marginalized weavers were transformed into mendicant communities attached to and protected by the weaving castes, was an illustration of such persistence.

Another socio-cultural phenomenon which undoubtedly helped weaving communities to survive in the face of radical changes in the production patterns was the significant relationship between clothing and cultural practice. The cultural codes of traditional societies, which prescribe particular varieties and modes of dress for specific occasions, were evident in the Northern Coromandel too, and these appear to have withstood the processes of cultural transformation. The survival of the weaver in this region was, in no small measure, dependent on these cultural codes, which must have helped to maintain the skills of

groups specializing in the production of specific varieties of cloth required under the various prescriptions. The political economy of rituals determined, as it were, the survival of certain segments of the textile economy.

As noted by many scholars, the East India Company was not always able to impose its will on the society or the economy. Indeed, in the beginning, in the eighteenth century, the Company tried, to shore up traditional networks of production and trade to protect its investment, supporting, for example, the activities of the Banjara traders, or the Copdars. It was only in the 19th century, that the Company began to look for ways of more directly controlling the production and distribution of textiles as well as raw materials like indigo, chay root and cotton. In this search for supremacy, the Company necessarily came up against the problem of the intermediary.

Intermediaries traditionally acted as commercial buffers between the external markets and the weavers, managing the marketing of the completed cloth. The East India Company, as elsewhere, attempted to extinguish the power of intermediaries like the copdars. In an attempt to control the production process, the Company also created new administrative divisions, primarily aimed at reducing the power of the intermediaries by redrawing their constituencies. But, the Company did not succeed. It was not able to curb the power of the copdar. Nor was it able to otherwise effectively interfere with the regional intermediaries.

The Company did succeed, however, in reducing the power and influence of the merchants of the region. There were several kinds of merchants who operated in Northern Coromandel. Although the evidence does not indicate great merchant princes like the Jagat Sheths or even those like Kasi Veeranna in the region, and in fact one of the local problems seems to have been an acute shortage of capital, the local merchants were, nevertheless, men of wealth and status who could hold their own against the constant attempts of the East India Company to restructure the economy and commerce in the region. The merchant families which had been traditionally dominant in the textile economy proved to be very resourceful and adaptable, and tried to cope with the new conditions. There were setbacks to some of them, and there appears to have been a breakdown of the traditional extended family commercial operation, and the emergence of a more individualized and competitive mercantile world. But on the whole they survived the vicissitudes of the time. One group, which weathered the commercial storms well, and took advantage of the strategic concerns of the colonial state to further their interests was that of Mogul Merchants, who were expatriate Iranian merchants operating from Masulipatnam.

The superimposition of a new and changing order on the world of the weaver caused strains and tensions. The consequences of such strains and tensions were manifold. The weavers responded to the new pressures, often in a militant manner, and did not hesitate to give expression to their discontent. A general assumption is that once the Company established its hold over the region, the weavers became quiescent, and that they meekly

accepted the new order. Artisans, in distinction to the peasantry, have been assumed to be not militant. What emerges from this study is that the weavers were acutely conscious of their situation, and the possibilities for collective political and legal action to secure redressal of their grievances. Not only did they display remarkable organizational skills, but they were able to sense the ways in which the new juridical and state structures could be exploited.

The militancy of the weavers was, no doubt, tempered by the ways in which they were locked into the traditional social, political, economic and legal matrices. One of the ways in which the artisan groups were tied to the local alliances and the rural structures was through a wide variety of formal and informal taxes reflected in the patterns of revenue systems. The contributions of the weavers formed a major component of the entire revenue system, next only to that of the agricultural groups. These contributions strengthened the landed elites and other local institutions. In turn, these reinforced institutions and elites were thus enabled to increase their hold over the weavers. The changes brought in by the Company into the traditional patterns of revenue administration affected the indigenous links and paved the way for the incorporation of the weavers into the matrix of the colonial economy. At the same time, the persistence of traditional cultural systems, and the perpetuation of jajmani relations helped to sustain certain specialized activities of groups of weavers.



One factor that affected the weaver, and therefore, his social environment, was the demographic factor. In times of crises like famines or significant demographic shifts caused by large scale migrations, the textile economy tended to be disrupted, and the consequential effects of this on the society and the economy were marked.

One of the major questions that confronts the historian of this period is regarding the impact of the colonial economy on the Coromandel weaver. What was the extent to which the weaver was affected, first by the closure of the Company factories, and second, by the importation of British textiles ? The evidence from the districts of Northern Coromandel indicates that even as the Company was shutting down its purchasing operations, the production of textiles in Northern Coromandel did not decline drastically. On the contrary, we find that there was an apparently anomalous increase in the number of looms after 1830, a year by which all the Factories were closed. There may have been several reasons for this. One was the increase in the population of the region. Another was that the increasing imports of British textiles did not reach this region, leaving the local weavers free to cater to the local demand. One important social consequence of the economic changes in the nineteenth century was the marginalization of the Mala weaver. In the wake of the European industrial revolution, as the Indian weaver began to be displaced, the traditional weaver began to return to the coarser cloth which he had relinquished to the Mala weaver several centuries before. This meant, in turn, that the Mala weaver was now pushed out of the textile economy altogether.

Although this study was primarily an investigation of the weavers of Northern Coromandel, a question which needs to be addressed, even if only in an indirect manner, is the question which confronts any investigator of this period: what was the impact of the emergent colonial state on the society and economy of the region ? The various studies that exist of the region lead us to the conclusion that in general, the new dispensation did not, perhaps because it could not, radically alter the basic agrarian structure , at any rate, in the first century of its rule. In the case of the textile economy and the world of the weavers, there were, however, some significant changes. No doubt, here too the new State was compelled to retreat for a time from radical departures from past practice, and to recognize, and thus reinforce traditional elites and customary practices. Indeed, even this retreat was, ultimately, to subserve the commercial goals of the Company.

At the same time, the operations of the Company did alter the way in which the indigenous mercantile communities functioned, both by extinguishing traditional merchants, and accelerating some developments like competition and individualism, which had already begun to emerge. Again, administrative reorganization of the territorial spaces within which the weavers had functioned earlier, leading to a breakdown of older loci of power, was an important new factor. It was this, perhaps, that helped the Company also to break the rigidities of caste specialization and to force the weavers to produce the requirements of the Company. These changes were

facilitated by the new juridical structures erected by the State, although, these were sometimes used by the weavers to protect their traditional rights and privileges.

Elements of continuity then, contended, even in the world of the artisan, as in the world of the peasant, with elements of change. As in the case of the agrarian economy, here too, it would seem, the new commerce and the new polity created the conditions in which some elements of the traditional weaver's world could reap a rich harvest, for we do find many substantial weaving families continuing into the twentieth century, though now in the new guise of prosperous textile merchants. This is not to imply that the emergent state was creating the conditions for the growth of indigenous capitalism. On the contrary, what was a thriving industry, and one which could have been the basis for an indigenous industrial development, was in the end stifled, and extinguished.

Thus, the major argument set out in the study is that the process of incorporating India into the international economy in the course of the hundred years from 1750 transformed the world of the Coromandel weaver in many significant ways. Yet, by the end of the period, the weaver remained an integral element of the economy, continuing to produce, and to a limited extent, export, textiles, surviving, thus, into the 1850s, when the flood of industrial products from Lancashire was to radically alter the world of the weaver.

TABLE:1.1

## Company's Investment at Masulipatnam Factory

YEARS	Allegars	CALLONPORES			SASTRICUNDIES			GINGHAM RED			GINGHAM BLUE			MASULIPATNAM ROMPLS PATTERNED				
		PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE		
1787	4800	22	5424	2400	22	2712	6000	24	7260	600	16	495	600	16	495	10000	32	16225
1788	4800	22	5412	2400	22	2706	6000	25	7623	600	16	495	600	16	495	10000	38	16225
1789	4800	22	5424	2400	22	2712	6000	25	7623	1000			1000			10000		
1790	2400	22	5424	2400	22	2712	6000	25	7623	1000			1000			8000		
1791	2400	22	2712	2400	22	2712	6000	25	7623	1000			1000					
1792	2400			2400			6000									8000		
1793	2400			2400			6000			1000			1000			5000		
1794	2400			2400			6000			4000			1000					
1795	4000			4000			6000			2000			2000			8000		
1796	4000			4000			6000			4000			4000			8000		
1797	4000			1000			6000			4000			4000			8000		
1798	1000			1000			2000			500			500			8000		
1799	1000	19	975	1000	19	975	2000	22	2225	500	15	381	500	15	381	8000	28	11292
1800	1000	19	975	3000	19	4000	22	4450	500	15	381	500	15	381	8000	28	11292	
1801	4000	19	3900	3600	19	3405	6000	22	6675	400	15	305	400	15	305	12000	28	16939
1802	12000	19	11700	12000	19	11700	12000	22	13350	2400	15	1831	2400	15	1831	36000	26	48177
1803	12000	19	11700	12000	19	11700	12000	22	13350	2400	15	1831	2400	15	1831	36000	26	48177
1804	12000	19	11700	12000	19	11700	12000	22	13350	2400	15	1831	2400	15	1831	36000	26	48177
1805	4000	19	3900	4000	19	3903	6000	22	6675	2400	15	1831	2400	15	1831	36000	26	48177
1806				1000	16	800												
1806				2000	19	1950	2700	22	3006	800	15	610	800	15	610	15000	26	20114
1807				350	16	250												
1807	1000	19	1000	1000	19	975	1400	22	1557	200	15	152	200	15	152	15000	26	20114
1808				200	16	160										8000	26	10718
1809	1000	19	1000	1000	19	975	1400	22	1557	200	15	152	200	15	152	8000	26	10718
1810	1000	19	1000	1000	19	975	1400	22	1557	200	15	152	200	15	152	7000	26	9366
1811	2300	18		200	16	160										14000	26	18735
1811	2300	18		2400	19	2340	3200	22	3559	500	13	343	400	13	343	14000	26	18735
1812	2300	18	2156	2400	19	487	3200	22	445	500	13	343	400	13	343	14000	26	18735
1813	400	18	376	200	19	195	400	22	445							3000	26	4012
1814	400	18	376	200	19	195	400	22	445							2000	27	2750
1815																		
1816	400	18	376													1400	29	2052

MASULIPATNAM											
ROMALS AB1						ROMALS 2			ROMALS 3		
ROMALS						ROMALS 4			ROMALS 5		
LARGE											
PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE
4800	44	10340	1000	59	2956	2000	67	6710	2000	64	6490
4800	44	18560	1000	59	2956	2000	67	6710	2000	64	6490
5000						2000			2000		
			1000			1000					
5000			1000			800			2000		
4000			800			1400			1600		
6000			1400			1400			2500		
6000			1400			2000			2500		
6000			3000			1500			1400		
6000			2000			1500			2000		
6000	38	15920	2000	51	5142	1500	58	4378	500	60	1500
6000	38	15920	2000	51	5142	1500	58	4378	500	60	1500
10000	38	19140	2000	51	5142	1500	58	4378	1000	60	3001
30000	36	54512	6000	49	14800	6000	51	15567	3000	51	7703
30000	36	54512	6000	49	14800	6000	51	15567	3000	51	7703
30000	36	54512	6000	49	14800	6000	51	15567	3000	51	7703
6000	36	10902	2000	49	4935	2000	51	5189	700	51	1798
6000	36	10902	2000	49	4935	2000	51	5189	700	51	1798
3000	36	5454	1000	49	2467	500	51	1297	1000	51	2569
3000	36	5454	1000	49	2467	500	51	1297	1000	51	2569
2600	36	4724	900	49	2221	400	51	1037	900	51	2311
4000	36	7268	2100	49	5182	900	51	2335	2100	51	5392
4000											
4000	36	7268	2100	49	5182	900	51	2335	2100	51	5392
1000	36	1825									
1000	36	1825									

ROMALS 6				ROMALS 7				ROMALS 8				ROMALS 9				ROMALS 10			
VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	PIECES	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	PIECES	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PIECES
4730	2000	27	2712	800				26	2000	26	2640	2000	22	2200	800	20	835	800	
4730	2000	27	2722	800				26	2000		2640	2000	22	2200	800	20	835	800	
	2000			800					2000			2000			800			800	
	1000			1000								2000			2000			2000	
	800			800					2000			1600			1600			3000	
	1400			1400								2500			2500			3000	
	1400			1400					2500			2500			2500			3000	
	2000			1400					3000			1500			1500			3000	
	1500			1400					2000			600			600			3000	
2080	1500	23	1776	1400	27	1090	2000	23	2396	1500	19	1435	1000	10	908	2000	2000		
2080	1500	23	1776	1400	27	1090	2000	23	2396	1500	19	1435	1000	10	908	2000	2000		
2080	2000	23	2368	800	27	1909	2000	23	2396	1500	19	1435	1500	18	1363	3000	3000		
8033	6000	21	6455	2400	27	3270	3000	20	3126	4500	18	4088	4500	17	4033	9000	9000		
8033	6000	21	6455	2400	27	3270	3000	20	3126	4500	18	4088	4500	17	4033	9000	9000		
8033	6000	21	6455	2400	27	3270	3000	20	3126	4500	18	4088	4500	17	4033	9000	9000		
3825	3000	21	3227	1200	27	1635	1500	20	1563	2500	18	2271	2500	17	2240	4500	4500		
1339	1500	21	1613	300	27	408	700	20	731	1000	18	908	1000	17	896	2000	2000		
1339	1500	21	1613	300	27	408	700	20	731	1000	18	908	1000	17	896	2000	2000		
382	700	21	754	100	27	136	1000	20	1045	500	18	454	500	17	448	1000	1000		
382	700	21	754	100	27	136	1000	20	1045	500	18	454	500	17	448	1000	1000		
382	600	21	645	100	27	136	900	20	937	500	18	454	500	17	448	900	900		
956	1400	21	1506	200	27	272	2100	20	2188	1200	18	1090	1100	17	985	2100	2100		
956	1400	21	1506	200	27	272	2100	20	2188	1200	18	1090	1100	17	985	2100	2100		

Source: Compiled from CDDE, 1-40

YEARS	Longcloth Ordinary			Longcloth Midling			Longcloth Fine			Longcloth Superfine		
	Pieces	Price	Value	Pieces	Price	Value	Pieces	Price	Value	Pieces	Price	Value
1787	15000	46	34000	10000	52	26000	6000	67	20100	600	205	6150
1788	15000			10000			6000			600		
1789	20000			10000			4000					
1790	20000			10000			4000			400		
1791	20000	46		10000	52		4000	70	14080	400	220	4400
1792	20000	50		10000			5500	70	5599	400		
	10000	50	25300	5000	57	14300				200	31	319
										200	28	288
1793	30000			15000			5500			400		
1794	30000			15000			5500			400		
1795	50000			25000			7000			400		
1796	50000			25000			7000			400		
1797	50000			25000			8000					
1798	40000			20000			6000					
1799	40000	54	108538	20000	61	61349	6000	75	22635			
1800	50000	54	135673	25000	61	76686	6000	75	22635			
1801	50000	54	135673	25000	61	76686	6000	75	22635			
1802	55000	54	149240	25000	61	76686	6000	75	22635			
1803	55000	54	149240	25000	61	76686	6000	75	22635			
1804	55000	54	149240	25000	61	76686	6000	75	22635			
1805	55000	54	149240	25000	61	76686	6000	75	22635			
1806	37000	54	100434	17000	61	52167	4000	75	15090			
1807	37000	54	100434	17000	61	52167	4000	75	15090			
1808	19000	54	51574	8000	61	24549	2000	75	7545			
1809	14000	54	37988	6000	61	18414	1000	75	3772			
1810	14000	54	37988	6000	61	18414	1000	75	3772			
1811	27000	51	69525	12660	58	37030	2340	72	8424			
1812	27000	51	69525	12660	58	37030	2340	72	8424			
1813	45000	51	115875	25000	58	73125						
1814	39000	51	100425	21000	58	61425						
1815												
1816	30000	51	77700	16000		46840						
1817	30000		195940									
	52500		50944									
1818	24000		190606									
	40000											
1819	16000		169449									
	40000											
1820												

Prices shown are per **Corge**, in Madras Pagodas

Source: Compiled from the **Commercial** Department: Despatches from England

1.3 COMPANY'S INDENTED CLOTHGOODS FROM MADDAPOLLEM FACTORY

Years	Longcloth Ordinary			Longcloth Midling			Longcloth Fine			Longcloth Superfine		
	Pieces	Price	Value	Pieces	Price	Value	Pieces	Price	Value	Pieces	Price	Value
1787	11500	46	26450	16000	52	41600	6000	67	20100	400	207	4100
1788	11500			16000			6000			400		
1789	10000			16000			3000			400		
1790	15000			16000			3000			400		
1791	15000	46	34500	16000	53	11600	3000	70	10560	400	225	4512
1792	15000			16000			3000			400		
1793	15000			16000			3000			400		
1794	15000			16000			3000			300		
1795	20000			16000			3000			300		
1796	20000			16000			3000			300		
1797	20000			16000			5000			700		
1798	20000			10000			5000			700		
1799	20000	54	54269	10000	61	30674	5000	72	18018	700	187	6545
1800	25000	54	81400	15000	61	46008	5000	72	18018	2500	*187&162	22125
1801	30000	54	81400	15000	61	46008	5000	72	18018	2500	*187&162	22125
1802	40000	54	108533	18000	61	52210	5500	72	19820	1600	*187&162	14210
1803	40000	54	108533	18000	61	52210	5500	72	19820	1600	*187&167	14210
1804	40000	54	108533	18000	61	55210	5500	72	19820	1000	187	9350
1805	40000	54	108533	18000	61	55210	5500	72	19820	1000	187	9350
1806												
1807	27000	54	73285	12000	61	3680	3700	72	13334	700	187	6545
1808	14000	54	38000	6000	61	18403	1800	72	6487	300	187	2805
1809	11000	54	29846	5000	61	15336	1800	72	6487	300	187	2805
1810	11000	54	29846	5000	61	15336	1800	72	6487	300	187	2805
1811	24000	51	62100	12000	63	37800	3600	68	12375	700	192	6737
1812	24000	51	62100	12000	63	37800	3600	68	12375	700	192	6737
1813	55000	51	142312	23000	58	67275						
1814	45000	51	116437	19000	58	55575						
1815												
1816	36000	51	93240	14000	58	40988						
1817	82000		246884									
1818	64000											
1819	56000											
1820												

Source: Compiled from CDDE, 1-40



TABLE: 1.4

## Company's Investment at Visakhapatnam Factory

YEARS	LONG CLOTH ORDINARY	LONG CLOTH ORDINARY 2			LONG CLOTH ORDINARY 3			LONG CLOTH MIDDLING			LONG CLOTH FINE		
		PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE	PIECES	PRICE	VALUE
1788	35000	38	67375										
1789	35000												
1790	35000												
1791	35000												
1792	35000												
1793	35000												
1794	35000												
1795	60000												
1796	60000												
1797	60000												
1798	60000												
1799	60000	47	141570										
1800	60000	46	139500										
1801	60000	46	139500										
1802	90000	46	209250										
1803	90000	46	209250										
1804	90000	46	209250										
1805	90000	46	209250										
1806	60000	46	139500										
1807	60000	46	139500										
1808	30000	46	69950										
1809	20000	46	46500										
1810	20000	46	46500										
1811	43000	51	110725										
1812	43000	51	110725										
1813	60000	51	154500										
1814	50000	51	128750										
1816	36000	51	92571										
1817	40000												
1818	36000												
1819													
1820													
1821													
1822													
1823													
1824													
1825													
1826													
1827													



1:5 Piece goods exported from Visakhapatnam district between 1 May 1835 too 30 April 1845.  
Quantity in Numbers Value in Rupees

	14 PUNJUM CLOTHS			12 PUNJUM CLOTHS			12 PUNJUM CLOTH		
	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	Qty.	Value	
-----Years-----									
1835 & 1836									
1836 & 1837									
1837 & 1838									
1838 & 1839									
1839 & 1840									
1840 & 1841									
1841 & 1842	8968	57566-	687	1975-2-	28	140-	666	1255-	
1842 & 1843	19167	110210	1093	3142-6	2612	13060-	2352	3935	
1843 & 1844	11901	4769	...	...	9543	38172-	7791	1200	
1844 & 1845	14578	58312	61	122	3178	127158-	1629	4115	
Total	54614	267692	1841	5329-8	4397	178530	5426	10505	

TABLE:1.6  
Export of Cloth to South East Asian Markets from Godavari  
District from 1821-1844

Years	Total Value	Pegu	Batavia	Penang	Bourbon	West coat of Sumatra	Persian Gulf
1835\36	116675	67800	5931	4006	18469	19858	611
1836\37	125250	79767	611	16333	2432	24330	2187
1837\38	266566	92222	9117	32135	61059	67920	4413
1838\39	215930	86842	12166	441	62525	42188	11768
1839\40	158540	133293	12300	---	---	10075	2872
1840\41	180377	157063	21503	---	1640	---	171
1841\42	184385	163865	84	14928	308	84	1513
1842\43	258815	129202	14630	---	103650	14630	7511
1843\44	274027	121525	62	4825	98791	2850	43456
1844\45	452082	165716	4775	---	252661	5000	22927

**Source:** Predergast, Collector Rajmundry to Pycroft BOR, 11 December 1845, PBR 2004, pp.17465-490

	Arakan				Chittiangang				Moulmein			
	Painted		White		Painted		White		Painted		White	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
1834-35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1835-36	108	148-4	...	...	...	...	27	62-8	18	43-	...	...
1836-37	...	...	639	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1838-39	...	...	...	...	874	2316-12	88	148-	...	...	...	...
1939-40	1838	2698-2	146	716-4	956	1721-4	4	32-	...	...	...	...
1840-41	...	...	907	2983-2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1841-42	752	1017-8	143	263-2	187	304-8	22	61	...	...	...	...
1842-43	3300	4782-12	51	121	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1843-44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	5598	8646-10	1886	6184-8	2044	4405	132	285	...	...	...	...

Source: R.T. Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to T. Pyecraft, 20 October, 1845, P808, 19

1:8 Cloth Imported at Masulipatnam for five years from 1 January 1785 to 31 Decaiber 1789.

Year	Variety	Where was produced or imported from	Quantity imported in Puckka Candies	Price paid in rupees	Total value	Quantity sold in Puckka mounds	Average of qty. sold in Puckka mounds	Total amount of sale in rupees	Present price to	Quantity needful for the annual consumption
1785	Mogga Dooties 1st sort	Sythat	1 3/4	140	4900	1 3/4	200	7000	1 st sort	
1785	Ditto 2nd "	Assam	1 3/4	120	4200	1 3/4	160	5600	at 160	1 /2
1786	Ditto 3rd "		1/2	100	1000	1/2	140	1400	2nd sort	
1787	Ditto 1st sort	Sythet	1/2	160	1600	1/2	200	2000		
1788	Ditto Ditto		2 1/2	140	1700	2 1/2	180	9000		
1785	Raw slik 1st sort	Cosumbazar	1/4	333	1665	1/4	350	1750		
	Ditto 2nd sort		1 1/4	320	8000	1 1/4	330	8250	1 & 2nd	
1786	Raw silk Muctoal	Cosumbazar	3/4	160	2400	3/4	200	300	from 900	
1786	Raw silk Muctoal	Cosumbazar	3/4	160	2400	3/4	200	3000	to 650	
1786	Raw silk Muctoal 2nd	Radnagone	3/4	320	4800	1 1/4	200	5000	Muctoal	
1787	Raw slik muctoal	Cosumbazar	1 1/4	160	4000	1 3/4	400	14000	from	at 3 3/
	Ditto 1st		1 1/4	375	13125	1 3/4	400	24600	240 to	
	Ditto 2nd	Radnagone		320	19200	3	360	24600	200 ynds	
1788	Raw Silk Muctoal 2nd	Radnagone	3/4	300	4500	3/4	320	4800		
1788	Ditto Muctoal	Cosumbazar	3 1/2	150	11200	3 1/2	220	15400		
1789	Ditto Ditto	Cosumbazar	43 1/4	160	15000	4 3 1/4	240	22800		
Total			18 3/4							
1785	Silk piece goods	Radnagone	6472		34048	acc.to		53663	from 30 Rs.	
1786	Ditto Ditto	Maldaved	19117		82479	quality			to 3 Rs.	40000
1787	Silk Ditto	Seorponny	8875	acc to	45691					
1788	Ditto Ditto	Cosumbazar	7671	quality	39660					
1789	Ditto Ditto		11528		57279					
Total			53663							
1785	Cotton piece goods	the twist	12		90				from 40 Rs.	
1786	Ditto Ditto	from Dakakar	145		1580			1554	to 2 Rs per	310
1788	Ditto Ditto	the coarse	95		1067					
1789	Ditto Ditto	from other	827		3868					
1790	Ditto Ditto	places	479		1138					
Total			1554							

Source : William A. Dobbins Sea Customs to Anthony Sadlier Chief and Council Masulipatnam, 9 October 1790, MDR 2840, pp.112-117

1:9 Account Sale of Broad Cloth and from 1 May 1789 to 30 April 1790.

Variety	Yards	Price	Amount
1. Superfine Scarlet thick	20 5/8	3-18 per	72-6-60
2. Superfine Scarlet thin	7	2-18	
3. Superfine fine Green thick	22 3/4	3-	
4. Superfine blue thick	8 5/8	2-33-60	
5. Superfine	43 1/4	3	155-4-7
6. Superfine white	30 3/4	2-18-	8-15-60
7. Superfine yellow	8 3/4	2-9	19-24-60
8. Superfine Buff	3 5/8	2-9	8-5-9
9. Superfine green thin	5 7/8	209	13-7-70
10. Superfine Penjoy	13	2-9	29-9
11. Superfine wine colour	15 1/2	2-22-40	40-24-60
12. Superfine meddle cloth	25 3/4	2-21-	73-24-20
13. Fine yellow	22 1/4	1-4-40	25-1-10
14. Fine scarlet	36 1/4 & 1 foot	1-1-18	54-31-40
15. Fine Blue	65 1/4	1-4-40	73-14-50
16. Fine Green	12 3/4	1-4-40	14-12-30
17. Aurora	42 7/8	1-5-68	49-30-24
18. Ordinary Green	17 1/2	-30-64	
19. Ordinary Blue	162 3/4	-30-29	111-24-50
20. Ordinary pappenjoy			-32-19
21. Ordinary Red	122 3/4	31-40	116-5-50
22. Ordinary Yellow	20	32-19-	17-32-61
23. Casemirs	27 7/8	1-17-	41-1-30
24. Perpituanos Green	60	-10-66	18-1-39
25. Perpituanos Blue	75 7/16	-10-	20-34-30
26. Yellow	57 7/8	-10-45	16-35-21
27. Scatet	2 5/8	-14-60	1-2-57
28. Velvet crinison	3/8	-3-37	1-14-50
29. Velvet Green	1/2	-3-27-	1-31-10
30. Velvet white	2 1/4	3-3-	6-33-60
31. Copper	240 1/2	3-30-48	

No profit during in the Sale of the above article as they were sold at invoice price as usual.

Source: Samuel Statam Warehouse-Keeper Masulipatnam, to Chief and Council Masulipatnam, MDR 2840, p.118.

Statement showing the Dubious balances, outstanding which are to be transferred from the head of available balance, c at the late factories of Ingeram and Maddepollam, upon the authority from Government of Fort St.George.

Name of the Debtors	Factory	Year	Balance on the 31 Sept. 1831	Remarks
Gande Tantrih Cobdar of Mauretaroo in Zillah of Rajahmundry [Komati]	Maddepollam	1821/22	2085-5-	This cobdar died, has brother named Soobanah posses a <u>square tiled house</u> , he is by profession a <u>broker</u> .
Calapoo Veensah Cobdar of Amalapore in Zillah of Rajahmundry	Maddepollam	1821/2	1977-5-8	This cobdar <u>has a square tiled house</u> in the same village, which was seized by the court on account of private affairs, and he now exercises no calling.
Machapelly Padmanabodoo Cobdar of Neelapilly in zillah of Rajahmundry [Komati]	Maddepollam	1821/22	2629- 10	This cobdar is engaged <u>in trade</u> and has a <u>good tiled square house</u> at Neelapilly, besides which <u>he has a house with garden at Palicole</u> , which is occupied by his uncle named Vacha Paupiah.
Vacha Paupiah Cobdar of Palicolle in the Zillah of Rajahmundry	Maddepollam	1821/22	1205-15-3	The cobdar has a good <u>square tiled house in the same village</u> , but <u>carries on no dealings whatever at present</u> .
Gauda Vencataramodoo Cobdar of Mauretaroo in Zillah of Rajahmundry [Komati]	Maddepollam	1821/22	1-2-11	The cobdar has a <u>tiled square</u> his second son name Baupenah is carrying <u>on dealings in cloth</u> .
Seemadry Vencataredby Cobdar of Doora in Zillah of Rajahmundry [Komati]	Maddepollam	1821/22	2889-5-10	The cobdar is dead, and his two brothers named Gapaularataram and Rameswamy, <u>are dealing in cloth</u> they <u>have a tiled square house</u> in the same village.
Gauda Anchenah Cobdar of Panomedam in Zillah of Rajahmundry [Komati]	Maddepollam	1821/22	1517-6-2	This cobdar is dead, and his eldest son by name Veeranah, <u>deals in cloth</u> and other has a <u>tiled square house in the same village</u> .
Gauda Jogiah Cobdar of Bandarlanka in Zillah of Rajahmundry [Komati]	Maddepollam	1821/22	2694-3-2	This cobdar is eldest to Gauda Vencataramodoo and living in a <u>tiled square house of his own</u> at the same village, and dealing <u>in paddy and other</u>
Gauda Seeviah Cobdar of Mauretaroo in Zillah of Rajahmundry [Komati]	Maddepollam	1821/22	247-15-3	This cobdar is dead, and his eldest son by name Padmanabodoo <u>deals in cloth</u> and other and has a <u>tiled square house</u> .
Vacha Paupiah Cobdar of Palicole in Zillah of Rajahmundry	Maddepollam	1817	639-12-1	This cobdar has a good <u>square tiled house</u> in the same village but carries <u>on no dealings</u> at present.



Vultoor Vencatasah Cobdar of Maumedala in Zillah of Rajahmundry	Ingerm	1824/25	2614- -8	<u>Moozodoboy Sannaze and Coggola Sarbiah</u> as securities have been presented in the Rajahmundry and a decree in favour of the Commercial Resident has been passed, since which the former is dead and his estate is in possession of his widow. It is supposed the amount could be recovered from her by putting the said decree in execution The House of the latter was twice plundered by left destitute.
Madenty Somanah Cobdar of Cottapilly in Zillah of Rajahmundry	Ingeram	1826/27	931-8-10	Madenty Boochannah, and Moogodla Veerasah secu- rities were prosecuted in the Court and decree against them declared them to pay the amount exclusive of fines, under certain conditions.

Source: A Crawley Collector, Rajahmundry to Deputy Warehouse keeper, Madras, 23 February 1832, Commercial Department Consultations  
61, pp.113, 114, 115.

No.2 Ingeram and Meddipollem

Statement showing the items which have still to be adjusted in the books of the above factory with the mode of their adjustment.

Description	Remaining to be adjusted	By transfer to the territorial Department	By credit in the Books	Profit and Loss	Balance to be recovered	Total	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<b>Advances to Salt Contractors:</b>							
P. Chinniah	71-6-3	---	---	71-6-3	---	71-6-3	By the statement marked of 2 enclosed in the better from the collector of Rajhundry dated 28th August 1834, it would appear that these men have left this country and thier place of residence is unknown.
P. Soorapah Rauze	843-2-5	---	---	843-2-5	---	840-2-5	
I. Neersimooloo	127-2-1	---	---	127-2-1	---	127-2-1	
I. Ramadboo	310- -	---	---	310- -	---	310 - -	
M. Chendraith	845-2-7	---	---	845-2-7	---	845-2-7	
P. Lingiah Cotton Contractor	170 - -	---	---	170 - -	----	170 - -	
<b>Advance for cloth in the year 1815</b>							
Nullah Survasem	1199-15-2	---	---	1199-15-2	---	1199-15-2	The cobdar is dead, his estate has been sold at auctionally by order of Zillah Court of Rajhundry during the Mr. Dod well's Residency and the proceeds thereof were duly received by the said Mr. Dod Well's in part payment of the balance and no other estate or property vide Collector's Statement No.2.
Nullah Aukarah	1119-4-2	---	---	1119-4-2	---	1119-4-2	This man is involved and left his country and residing at present in Amalapone, distressed for common necessities of life!- see Collector

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Vacha Papiiah 1817	639-12-1	---	---	---	639-12-1	639-12-1	It is stated in the column remarks in the Collector's sta- tement No.2, that the cobdar has a good tiled house. The Board in their letter to him dated 10 September 1834, stated that the house might be sold and the proceeds carried towards liquidating the debt to which no answers has been received.
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Valtoory Vencataseh	2614- -8	---	---	2614- 8-	---	2614- -8	Munzoolory Sunnrauze and coopoola Sambiah as securities have been presented in the Zillah of Rajahmundry and a decree in favour of the CR has been passed since which the former is dead leaving a widow and it is understood that she is distressed for comon necessaries of life and the house of their latr has been twice plunder by Gangs of Robbers and it is supposed that she is left destitute vide Collector's Statement of No.2.
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Madenty Somanah	931-8-10	---	---	931-8-10	---	931-8-10	The cobdar is dead. Madenty Boochanah & Moogoola Verasah as securities were prosecuted in the court and a decree has been passed against them, directing them to pay the amount exclusive
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of fines under certain conditions it is understood that they possess no property whatever at present - vide Collector's Statement No.2.

Doddapulta Basavapah and Doddapatta Sambiah	1485-1-11 1/2	---	537-	---	948-1-11 1/2	1485-1-11	These two balances are being paid by instalments see letter from the Collector of Rajahmundry to the
Chappeltee Veenasa Taudiapillay Annappa & Samanthee Sambiah	949-3-11	---	341-8-	---	607-11-11	949-3-11	Marine Board and commercial Committee dated 20th August, 1834.
Advance for Cloth	15247-12-1	---	---	15247-12-1	---	15247-12-1	The item is the balance of debts of sundry cobdars for which one Vincata charloo became responsible that persons has absconded.
Wootocory Samalingam	3750-13-11	---	---	---	3750-13-11	37-13-11	Suits have been filled against these
Bappa Putty	1589-1-7				1589-1-7	1589-1-7	four defaulters see Paragraph 4 of the
Berocca Veerasalingam	1521-8-				1521-8-	1521-8-	Collector's letter to the Board dated
Moogoolah Munganah	1539-1-5-				1539-1-5-	1539-1-5	28th August 1834.
Dead Stock at Ingeram and Maddapollam	1756--3	8174-15-9	933-9-5	8787-7-1	---	17896--3	The sum includes the value of Ingeram and Meddepollam Dead stock mentioned in the statements of the Collector marked A & B dated 29th August 1834 and Statements A & B, dated September 1834, also unnoticed articles in the Collector's account sale dated 12 th September 1835. This sum includes the

articles mentioned in a Statement A & B, of the Collector dated September 1834, the transfer of which was sanctioned by Govt. unddeer date 11th November, 1834, it also includes rupees 478-4-5, the value of articles retained by the Collector for preserving the commercial records as these latter articles are required, and cannot be sold, the only way apparently of writing their value off the Books is by transerring them to the TerritorialDeartment. It also included 91 rupees the value of 18 stones taken for slicies by the Collector amount realized by sale of dead stock and unnoticed articles.

Ingeram Buildings	48250-6-8	---	---	X--	48280-6-8-	4828-6-8	
Maddepallam Buildings	37153-5-4	---	102--	198--	36853-5-4	37153-5-4	The Ingeran and Maddepollam Buildings are at present rented to two losses and are to be sold at the end of the present year as per order of Government dated 18th April 1826. Z. This loss acurard on the sale of the received house vide annual statements of the Collector for 1832/33, and the amount up to be credited was realized by the sale of the sane..

<b>Total</b>	138282-13-2	8171-15-9	1914-1-5-	32464-13-2	95729-14-10	133282-13-2 1/2
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Source: Letter of Arthur Maclean, Secretary, Fort St. George July 1836, Commercial Department Consulation 61, pp. 116, 117, 117 A

VIZAGAPATAM

Statement showing the items which have still to be adjusted in the books of above with the mode of their adjustment

HOW TO BE ADJUSTED

Description	Remaining to be adjusted	By credit in the Books	Profit & Loss	Balance to be recovered	Total	Remarks
<hr/>						
BUILDINGS:						These buildings were
Warehouse, tanks and wells at						sold on the 20th
Wallair washing green and						February 1835 and the
stores for washing cloth	3846-12-2					sum of rupees 163-3-1
						gained by the sale.
Add profit by sale	103-3-10					
	4,010- -	3846-12-2	163-3-10	---	4,010	
<hr/>						
Musters of Cotton:						
Bourbon cotton seed and						
wool cords	46-4	---	46- -	---	46-4-	To be written off to
						profit and loss as
						per order of Govern-
						ment dated 30th Sep.
						1834.
<hr/>						
Advance for Cloth						
P. Deyoany Rauze and						
V. Appad Rao Godpilley	59-14-10	---	59-14-10	---	59-14-10	To be brought under
						the head of desperate
						Balance as
						recommended by the
						collector in his
						letter dated 12
						September 1824.
<hr/>						
1828/29						
G. Wopunkah &						
Cukoo Kannah Godpilley	2007-14-10	---	---	2007-14-10	2007-14-10	A suit is pending
						against these
						defaulters see the
						Collector's letter of
						the 12 September
						1834.
<hr/>						

1824/25

Soomapooday Sumnasy and  
others

61486-4-7

---

61486-4-7

---

61486-4-7

For this balance one  
Venkatachariloo was  
security. This man  
having absconded and  
left no property  
behind him the debt  
is considered irre-  
coverable.

1829/30

Meety Mullapah and  
Goampellam

1274-11-4

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1274-11-4

1274-11-4

A suit is pending

Rupees

68885-1-7

3846-12-3

61755-11-3

3282-10-2

68885-1-7

Source: Letter of Arthur MacLane, Secretary, Fort St. George, August 1836, Commercial Department Consultations 61, pp.118 A & B.



APPENDIX - 3

List of **weavers' representatives** who stayed on at Nellapalli on the request of the Enquiry Committee after the dispersal of the other weavers.

S.No.	Name of Mootahs	No.of weavers who came from eah Mootah	Name of Head weavers common weavers and other chosen by weavers to represent their respective Mootahs
1.	Caprepollam	50	Thora Latchmodoo (HW) Gadam Chetty Mullaya (G) Voodavaly Ratnamaga (C) Moopooroo Vencatasam (P) Mogadary Gungoody (CW) Enoomarty Baulloo (CW) Bodoo Ranganichloo (CW) Thody Putta Hareyapah (CW) Anda Saravacha (Cw) Radam Kistna (CW)
2.	Dungaroo	70	Nullam Boochanah (HW) Pompana Nagooloo (HW) Goody Mutha Bodanah(HW) Cocheral Cotah Pararjoo (G) Boodarazoo Verrjanah (C) Conacooloo Malayah (P) Lao Murah (P) Thodhy Puttalpary Chetty(CW) Jaladhmey Veerasam(CW) Anda Gungooloo(CW) Vassan Potamulloo(CW) Tholoo Ramoodoo(CW)
3.	Pasalapoody	80	Coorooro Paddadoo (HW) Peechica Somalingam(HW) Peechica Gunpooloo (HW) Dagala Venkatapally (P) Sacoo Woortajiah (P) Chena Narsemooloo (G) Taleydavara Camayah (C) Bula Lingoo (CW) Yacala Nagooloo (CW) Thontama Chitty Gooroligam Goroo Paravautalo (CW) Ndoo Nagooloo(CW) Nallah Veersam
4.	Hassanla <b>Badah</b>	130	Thomtom Chetty Somanah(HW)

Yenoomarty Pittosan(HW)  
 Thomtanchetty Namaseviyam(  
 Mallo Veeramaloo(HW)  
 Cooloor Venkataramah (G)  
 Chitty Lattanah (G)  
 Tumaroo Venkataramah (G)  
 Thalvarty Venkayah (C)  
 Sadanal Akgaisam (P)  
 Sadanal Venkataramadoo (P)  
 Thomtinchitty Saravatah CW  
 Nooly Paupiah (CW)  
 Nella Parry Chetty (CW)  
 Thoddy Pathala Buchana CW  
 Causaw Boochana (CW)

**5. Mundapettah**

79

Thedoobanoo Conapah(HW)  
 Goodey Balayah(HW)  
 Grendana Nellayah(HW)  
 Banda Auccoloo(HW)  
 Cooloor Venkataramah (HW)  
 Chitty Lattanah (G)  
 Poonamarauxe Venkataran  
 Gandolu Appayah(P)  
 Aunnala Veersam (P)  
 Poochala Boochy Paupaadoo(C  
 Poochala Boochy Malloo(CW)  
 Thodeyputta Soraboo(CW)  
 Coondam Ramoodoo(CW)  
 Chagaparamtaloo(CW)  
 Chinta Tommaya(CW)

**6. Doolah**

87

Thamadala Gungooloo(HW)  
 Bundala Veerabadryah(HW)  
 Mundanayooloo (HW)  
 Caussaw Mulloo (HW)  
 Colour Venkata Ramayah (G)  
 Chetty Lattnah (G)  
 Condavally Gooroovapah (P)  
 Lacoo Temalle (P)  
 Veasawanadoola Saradoo (CW)  
 Chalah Modoolingam (CW)  
 Nooley Paupiah (CW)  
 Valoo Samalingam (CW)  
 Booloo Canayapah (CW)  
 Bopa Veerasam (CW)

**7. Angareh**

Beeracha Lingayah (HW)  
 Auslepoo Gungodoo (HW)  
 Bundara Paupiah (HW)  
 Gola Connayah (HW)  
 Cooloor Venkataramah (G)  
 Chitty Lattanah (G)  
 Naooley Auchanah (P)  
 Canoocola Aayapah (P)  
 Gunlah Gooroorapah (CW)

			Pichee <b>Veerapah</b> (CW) Cooleynadoo <b>Lingoo</b> (CW) Earoo <b>Varadapah</b> (CW) <b>Jogoo</b> Appiah (CW) Toomoor <b>Veerapah</b> (CW)
8.	<b>Upparah</b>	70	Dayam Balayah(HW) Bodey <b>Mulloo</b> (HW) <b>Manam Paddy</b> (HW) Jagoo <b>Soomrah</b> (HW) No <b>Gumastah</b> Rachpoody Jogyi Rajoo (C) Cona <b>Permall</b> (P) <b>Neemagada</b> Janasee (P) Goodtty Noocanah (CW) Endanapadey Chetty (CW) Palala Noocanah (CW) Toolaya Balaloo Goondevarapoo Narsoo (CW) Goroo Tellapah (CW)
9.	<b>Aravattam</b>	120	Woodoolah <b>Teerooputty</b> (HW) <b>Janadam Aappayay</b> (HW) Goondoo Jaggoo (HW) Sankuoa <b>Auyanah</b> (G) Badrarazoo Paradarazoo (C) Bazavadah Veerashaw (P) Saib Bada (P) Golavaly Paupiah (CW) <b>Toloo Tallapah</b> (CW) Parena Ramoodoo (CW) Woopoodoo Venkata <b>Ramoodoo</b> CW Bundara <b>Chinaloomayan</b> (CW) Nooley <b>Namaloo</b> (CW)
10.	<b>Padapoonadey</b>	100	Goomey <b>Tommayah</b> (HW) <b>Goomey</b> Seevanagodoo (HW) Goomey <b>Venkataramoodoo</b> HW Bundala Mulloo (HW) Auyagary Badrayah (G) Bundala Venkatachalam (P) Tola Nagodoo (P) <b>Caranam Auyagary Latchmasan</b> Tola Nagoolop (CW) Codavaly Ramoodoo (CW) Aushapoo <b>Veerapah</b> (CW) <b>Nalla Tooommayah</b> (CW) Anna Aneodoo (CW) Anchy Chitty <b>Veerasham</b> (CW)
11.	<b>Bandarlanka</b>	100	Lackamchitty <b>Veerabarayah</b> HW <b>Wooham Chinnayah</b> (HW) Chintah Gooroovapah (G) <b>Carnam Audeydan Lutchmenaro</b> Gundala Bala Gooroovoo(P)

			Beelara <b>Veerasham</b> (P) Latchem Chitty <b>Pallasem</b> CW Condah <b>Shevanah</b> (CW) Chintah <b>Timmayah</b> (CW) Picheca Polayah (CW) Teppa <b>Mulloo</b> (CW) Bundala <b>Easyputti</b> (CW)
12.	Cotaravoo <b>Conah</b>	150	Gola Lingaloo (HW) Bundala <b>Tommayah</b> (HW) Pocala <b>Tarroocayah</b> (HW) Bola <b>Nagooloo</b> (HW) Geelala <b>Nagamah</b> (G) Audorty Venkayah C) Saib <b>Mahammdoo</b> (P) Techeyrady Paupadoo (P) Chenta Putah <b>shankarah</b> (CW) Pichicanama <b>Shevayam</b> (CW) Bundala <b>Moonelumzeyodoo</b> (CW) Bundala <b>Veerapah</b> (CW) Andram <b>Goongoodoo</b> (CW) Padarty <b>Narrayadoo</b> (CW)
13.	<b>Vallpollam</b>	20	Chapady <b>Veerasham</b> (HW) Thumtom Chitty <b>Chennamuloo</b> Thepana <b>Boochanah</b> (HW) Noohooly <b>Narrain</b> (HW) Chapedy <b>Bapanaya</b> (G) Colapully <b>Zamoodoo</b> (C) Conoocoory <b>Venkatasham</b> (P) Dassara <b>Annayah</b> (P) Talapasiah (CW) Duntanchitty <b>Paddh Paddy</b> CW Bunlooloo <b>Aundey</b> Madavaty <b>Soorayah</b> (CW) Chettypully <b>Narain</b> (CW) Cadavaty <b>Goorooneah</b> (CW)
14.	<b>Padapalam</b>	100	Goroo <b>Rachayah</b> (HW) Sahoo <b>Bochannah</b> (HW) Maroomah <b>Saroovasam</b> (HW) Vooppoo <b>Gunty Veerasam</b> (HW) Audoority <b>Lularamoodoo</b> (G) Vanapa <b>Rama Jogy</b> (C) Saik <b>Imam</b> (P) Saik <b>Deram</b> (P) Yakala <b>Neemanah</b> (CW) Moovala <b>Gungooloo</b> (CW) Buttoo <b>Veevanagodoo</b> (CW) Chenlakundy <b>Vencatayah</b> (CW) Goroo <b>Parantaloo</b> (CW) Madanala <b>Basavapah</b> (CW)
15.	<b>Amalapuram</b>	120	Vooppoo <b>Gunta Saraboo</b> (HW) Bundala <b>Paranaloo</b> (HW)

			Mooloopally Banloo (HW) Veeraloo Paupiah (G) Gunda Mulliah (G) <b>Canmaroosooo</b> Bassavarazoo (C) <b>Somoo</b> Teerooputty (P) Teepur Chetty <b>Canmoadoo</b> (P) Chentaputla Veerapah (CW) Maloocha Tajee Moorty (CW) Mauvooroo Saraboo (CW) <b>Ankum</b> Gungooloo (CW) <b>Polla</b> Battala Mulloo(CW)
16.	<b>Pundalapaca</b>	20	Voopala Gavooriah (HW) <b>Thontom</b> Chitty Saraboo (HW) Covoor Narasiah (HW) Picheeca Chinnalommiyah HW Voopooo <b>Rungarah</b> (G) Golapully Antanah (C) Noochoola <b>Gunla</b> Bagaloo (P) Saik Hurah (P) Yakala <b>Muloo</b> (CW) Donton Chitty Basaviah (CW) Molacala <b>Pedamullah</b> (CW) Aussapah <b>Sambaya</b> (CW) Pischee <b>Paddacommiah</b> (CW) Gunjala <b>Sevalingam</b> (CW)
17.	<b>Darmavaram</b>	52	Yandanapottoo (HW) Yaandanapoottoo Saravah HW Venkalashar Toondoor <b>Tommkayah</b> (HW) Yandavah Potttoo (G) Rachapoody <b>Toomeerazoo</b> (C) Sica Venkataramoodoo (P) Aatthey Saib (P) Cuttah Chinnayah (CW) Yandanah Paupiah (CW) <b>Iagavarapoo</b> Venkayah (CW) Dugoomula Narsoo (CW) Caudah Venkayaa (CW) Yandana Shashadree (CW)
18.	<b>Tanoocoo</b>	52	Camarosoo Cadarapah (HW) Nacha <b>Zamoodoo</b> (CW) <b>Maudatom</b> Venkatawarsoo (G) <b>Beema</b> Vazooloo Soorapah(C) Prudery Lingooloo (P) <b>Tolah</b> Mootaloo (P) Carala Bassavaiah (CW) Paravitan Paupiah (CW) Vesavandoola Pauyiah (CW) Veepoorey Gungooloo (CW) Gungey Chetty Nayooloo (CW) Caundoooor Gungooloo (CW)

19.	<b>Rajahmundary</b>	17	Veerah Chinnayah (HW) Coolavaley Gungodoo (HW) Padamulloo <b>Kishmamah</b> (C) Padamulloo <b>Manicaloo</b> (G) <b>Mallamulloo</b> Saravapah (P) Saib <b>Madah</b> (P) Shaboopunmeny Auddanah (CW) <b>Tummeychetty</b> Boochanah CW) Chintalapoondy <b>Latchmoodoo</b> Pooloosala <b>Mulloo</b> (CW) Bommana Baulloo (CW) Vapoola Paddy (CW)
20.	<b>Ralangy</b>	45	Mubaloo Ramoodoo (HW) Nacha Gopaloo (HW) Cedda <b>Sevalingam</b> (HW) Toomalapully <b>Ampanah</b> (G) Maiyetty Tencchoo (C) Gocaraconda <b>Venkatachalam</b> P Ramayamam Venkatachalam (P) Anda <b>Samboo</b> (CW) Bokeyralla Veerpah (CW) Tadeychitty Gungooloo (CW) Camaney Padayah (CW) Veloory Boochannah (CW) Vadye Narsoo (CW)
21.	Doovah	12	Seenagala Terooputty (HW) <b>Manchoo</b> Paupadoo (HW) Parvala Lingaloo (HW) <b>Goonloo</b> Narain (HW) Candaloory Paupiah (HW) <b>Simmadree</b> Teerooputty (G) Caumarsoo Chinna Mulloo (C) Bettara Venkata Ramoodoo C Lamechetty Appiah (P) Bandala Vencoo (P) Contla Ramoodoo (CW) Coopoonoor Kestnah (CW) Byree Latchmoodoo (CW) Enoogurty Teerooputty (CW) Cheeka Venkayah (CW) Cuttla Rajannah (CWO)
22.	Tooney	8	Auccassa Boochee <b>Tommodoo</b> Mangoory Pootiah (HW) Caulapoo Bassavapah (HW) Bary Chetty Lattanah (HW) Palaputty <b>Ramanah</b> (G) Calavanoo Vencala Ramanah Soonooacara Paranlaloo Racapulley Gooroovapah (P)
23.	<b>Roostoomabad</b>	20	Vadey Tommayah (HW) Ye Baupiyah (HW)

			Vacoova Ramiyah (G) Vacoova Mallayah (C) Zumpah Soorayah (P) Zumpah Rayaloo (P) Gunnnychitty Padaparnlaloo Uddappady Tommiah (CW) Toogoo Ramoodoo (CW) Booladany Paupiah (CW) Tommechetty Venkatardoo Navoory Narsoo (CW)
24.	<b>Beemavaram</b>	20	Anda Goorovaipah (HW) Varadah Veerasham (HW) Coperly Poley Chetty (G) Tomperty Shashadree (C) Saib Maukoodoons (P) Caunoo Mahomed (P) Bundaroo Venkatasham (CW) Aucoorty Vencoo (CW) Teerooputty Toliah (CW) Muttoopilly Arookoo (CW) Luncoomsleva Nandy (CW) Ledany Goorlingam (CW)
25.	<b>Penumatham</b>	80	Davenee Maumedygaree Mullo Davenee Manumedygaree Mullo Simmadree Paupiah (G) Causoonadoony Vencapah (C) Pundala Laroofoo (P) Leeloory Chenanarayah (P) Sala Pamasaw (CW) Nalla Ramilingamgery Verasa (CW) Nalla Ramalingangery Sarobo Vasusow Ranasaw Veera Sevalingam (CW) Putchee Neelum Guddy (CW)
26.	<b>Marataroo</b>	50	Causaw Ramasaw (HW) Zaladaney Veerasaw (HW) Sinadree Paupiah (G) Chabooloo Ramayah (C) Moochala Atchennah (P) Beeroo Condiah (P) Salah Ramasaw (CW) Veeraw Seevaligam (CW) Puchee Neelam Guddy (CW) Nalla Ramalingagary Verasaw (CW) Nalla Ramalingagary Saraboo (CW)
27.	<b>Chentapurty</b>	54	Perrah Paupiah (HW) Condannah Mosloloo (HW)

Zoommoolapally Venkatachalm  
 Zoommoolapally Reddy (C)  
 Charoocoor Venkata Pamoodoo  
 Aubudul Cauder (P)  
 Talla Saravapah (CW)  
 Talla Roodrayah (CW)  
 Anda Bagay (CW)  
 Veerapaupiah (CW)  
 Chalaparalaloo (CW)  
 Varadadanayah (CW)

**Source:** Proceedings regarding enquiry into the conduct of Mr.  
 Sadleir while Resident at Ingeram 1775 to 1776 Public  
Department Sundries, Vol.23, pp.180-189].

- H W Ideal weavers
- C W Common weavers
- C Concopting
- P Peew



List of Weavers connected with the protest of 1816 in Visakhapatnam District.

Name of the Weaver with Initials	Village	Mootah
Bundaroo Paroomallo	Boni	
Domloory Ramdoo	Cooselavadah	
Maunim Sectaramdoo	Gotepallee	
Bojah Gooravanah	Anantavaram	

Weavers who absconded from attending the Enquiry Committee

Vanapillee Appiah  
Pentapillee Nersemooloo  
Catta Appiah

Weavers who were forced to sign a petition against the Copdars

Neelee Gungodoo		
Arjee Yarookavudoo		
Caupoo Pammiah		
Caupoo Vencanah		
Alunky Chenniah		
Jammundy Ammanah		Codoor
Andra Baupahiah, Gauree Verasa		Rajam
Andra Veersah		Dimili
Doddy Chinna Saraboyah		Gooravampallam
Seram Juggapah		Gooravamapalem
Jmmandy Sambaya Gauree Mulloo		Codoor
Andra Basavapah		Ankapalli

The Weavers who were aware of the circular of 23rd October 1817, but to whom the contents of the circular were not revealed by the concerned.

Seram Sunnasy	Bone	
Jaroo Sunnasy	Bone	
Mody Yerrapah	Bone	
Coboly Domantloo	Bone	
Uoda Appaiah	Bone	
Pentapille Narsemloo	Bone	
Inally Arriah		Pavavadah
Codelasoo Chinniah		Pavavadah
Indanna Yellamandully		Pavavadah
Toloo Vencapah		Pavavadah
Goordy Chekaloo		Pavavadah
Naudem Somnah		Pavavadah

Bossah Appaiah	Gooravamapalem
Nomala Reddy	Gooravamapalem
Caupoo Tammiah	Gooravamapalem
Giddory Vencapah	Gooravamapalem
Pampana Milloo	Gooravamapalem
Kossory Appiah	Gooravamapalem

Jammandy Seetaramdoo	Codoor
Gouri Appahah	Codoor
Batapadu Pariah	Codoor
Arjee Appiah	Codoor
Jammandy Juggipah	Codoor

Bommadoo	Rajam
Dody Yerraohavadoo	Rajam
Hoasana Iyapah	Rajam
Meesala Somanah	Rajam
Coly Chinniah	Rajam
Moodem Moosaloyah	Rajam

Weavers who complained against Sayer Darogha

Parsetty Paupiah	Dimili
Nookelly Singiah	Dimili
Pummesettee Singiah	Dimili
Pappao Tantiah	Dimili
Cosoory Chinniah	Dimili

Heavers representatives from different **Macaums** who appeared before the Committee with proper authorization from the weavers of their respective Macaums

Capoo Tammiah	Goorvamapalen	Goorvamapalem
Cadame Sooreyydoo	Goorvamapalen	weavers
Bozza Appiah	Appanapollem	
Namola Pedda	Velemaraiah	
Cosooree Appiah	Pollagelaplen	
Mondoo Permanul	Rampooram	

Maudabuttoola Appiah	Anantavaram	Boni
Maunim Yerra Appiah	Gottapally	with 298
		weavers
		signatures
Pentapully Narsamloo	Singanabunda	
Jogy Sunnassee	Coosoodoovada	
Vaunapilly Ramaloo	Vellunky	
Seeram Sunnassee	Giddajala	

<b>Jammady</b> Juggapah	Codoor	Codoor
<b>Allanam</b> Chinniah	Codoor	with 275 weavers signatures
Beta <b>Veeranahah</b> Mouuoory Malliah <b>Semsette</b> Tummiah Vaunapillee Appaiah	<b>Signanadpollem</b> Taloocoody Potalavalasaa <b>Gollepillem</b>	Codoor Codoor Codoor
Meesala <b>Beemooaloo</b>	<b>Luchavoram</b>	<b>Rajam</b> with 426 weavers signatures
Meesala <b>Somanah</b>	<b>Luchavoram</b>	
<b>Maudem</b> Moosaliah Cosana <b>Iyapah</b> <b>Cottemsetta</b> Sunnassee Maudana <b>Cunnayah</b>	Luchavoram Simmadepooram <b>Mamedepolem</b> Ankapilee	
<b>Coulapoo</b> Nullasah	<b>Payokarowpeta</b>	Payokarowpeta with 211 weavers signatures
Allada <b>Tammiah</b>	Payokarowpeta	
<b>Allanakam</b> Veenagah <b>Commina</b> Iyapah Tunginah Vencanah Gooddaty Tatiah	Payokarowpeta Payokarowpeta <b>Nellapoody</b> Nellapoody	
Jndana Yellamunchille	Vencatapooram	Parvadah with 453 weavers signatures
Jndana Yerrpah	<b>Vencatapooram</b>	
<b>Taloo</b> Vencakpah Godda Chichaloo Codetachoo Cunniah Umdoone Appiah	Pavavadah Pavavadah Pavavadah <b>Modrepalam</b>	
Mondoo Juggpah	<b>Dimiloo</b>	<b>Dimli</b> with 246 weavers signatures
Ponnagunte Vencapah	Maloopoakah	
<b>Dontamsetty</b> Veeramalloo Mauvooree Veerasaih Jununde Sunnassee Taddapoo Sunnassee	Ganapurty Bungaracahpillah Cuttooboloo Wadooropurtee	
Mondoo <b>Ramkistnahan</b> <b>Goompana</b> Dandiah <b>Allunkum</b> Veerasah	Cuttaoboloo Cuttaoboloo Gunnapety	weavers who were flogged in this <b>Macaum</b>
<b>Moopamah</b> Somahah	Gunnapety	

<b>Bundaroo Tatiah</b>	<b>Nukkapally</b>	<b>Nukkapally</b>
Polevala Chinniah	Nukkapelly	314 weavers
<b>Meduly Appanah</b>	Nukkapelly	signatures
Chookala Ramanah	Letchmepooram	
Giddoootoory Caumooloo	Gogedpapolem	
Jagoo Somanah	Darlapoody	
<b>Medaty Appannah</b>		Weavers who were
Bundaroo Tantiah		Flogged in this
Nandum Seetaramoodoo		Mocaums
Tarjala Paapoodoo		
<b>Polaka Geengodoo</b>	<b>Pydepollam</b>	<b>Boyavaram</b>
<b>Roperty Sunnassee</b>	<b>Macapopolam</b>	with 103
		weavers
Comacoola Yerrookauodoo	Boyaveram	signatures
Manmedy Achanah	Boyaveram	
Bata Bapannah	Darmasagaram	
Iyendra Douleedee	Darmasagaram	
Urjoo Goorrayah	Nullamillee	Uppadah
		with 284
<b>Dodde Sunnassee</b>	<b>Uppadah</b>	weavers
		signatures
Coondum Chinniah Chelloyah	Uppadah	
Andra Chinnayah	Davarapillee	
Prepoo Chinniah	Sroongarapoo Cotah	
Buddegguntee Jogie	Dabbarauize pettah	

Letter sent to Board of Trade Madras, 29th November, 1816 against the prolonged oppression which the weavers of Visakhapatnam District had to put up under the Bania caste Copdars, having the mark of the following weavers.

Voodadow Appahaloo  
 Gadam Padmmasway  
 Gadam Chinna Namaswamy  
 Ginagum Veerapah  
 Andra Basayagary Veerasa  
 Thady Sarabay  
 Vanapally Paroomaloo  
 Hemundy Samboodoose Mullapah  
 Thontham Chetty Jappah Arraveerasam  
 Andra Basapah  
 Andry Sevoy  
 Vaoyary Chinnay Yarapahnah  
 Yara Basapah  
 Hemundy Amunah  
 Batah Paray  
 Soranapoody Ramanah  
 Seasum Gagappah  
 Dody Pada Saraboyah  
 Andra Chinniah

Thontum Setty Iyapah  
Jummandy Ummanah  
Woodemdum Appadoo  
Gadum Padachomaraayah  
Gadum China Namasawayah  
Jarragum Veerapah  
Verra Appadoo  
Dody Sarboyah  
Seerum Juggapah  
Wooyery Chinniah  
Vanapally Paromallo  
Bata Basayah  
Simmindy Samboodoogoury  
Mulloo  
Andra Meerasam  
Andra Baupanaya  
Gory Veerchah  
Andra Seevianh  
Andra Basaviah  
Yerra Basavanah

**Source:** This table was compiled from the information provided in the report of the Investigation Committee appointed to look into the complaints which the Visakhapatnam weavers had against the Bania caste Copdars, and other natives. For details see F.A. Savage, Commercial Resident Ingeram and W.A. Fraser, Deputy Commercial Resident, Maddepollam to Hugh Elliot, Board of Trade, Fort St. George 1818, CDC 13, pp.291-328 and its enclosures 329-575.

List Of Textile Varieties Produced And Marketed  
In Northern Coromandel

Textile varieties exported from Masulipatanam by Armenian Merchants to Persia,

1. Amberches
2. Arcachenes
3. Bargagies
4. Baulbunds
5. Buschs
6. Basamahs
7. Bascahfurds
8. Bacheauncys
9. Bargojies white
10. Carpets
11. Catonars
12. Cholies
13. Cholies Painted
14. Furdies
15. Caumbunds
16. Chint romalls
17. Chint Batadars
18. Chints
19. Cajacks
20. Chaundeny
21. Chints painted
22. Chandinees
23. Cashes amainay
24. Chint Turbands
25. Caun Posh
26. Dagalahs
27. Dusburchas
28. Dustercaawns
29. Durpurdahs
30. Ejarvah
31. Gingham
32. Gulbundo
33. Hajaumaty Iamavars
34. Izari
35. Iaumymaud
36. Izzarres
37. Painted Imarvas
38. Rungopauny Imarvas
39. Kasaloo
40. White Kasaloo
41. Long Cloth
42. Lungiees
43. Lachucks
44. Lungy assahs
45. Lachuck white
46. Lachauck Painted
47. Lahagauloo

48. Lung Chints
49. Half Long cloth
50. Laufe
51. Lungeyslaw (Esala)
52. Merchays
53. Mungaleeh
54. Musmaseeloo
55. Mutarphy
56. **Neemah** asteenus
57. **Patacka**
58. Palampores
59. White Palampores
60. **Rajoys**
61. **Romalls**
62. Painted Romalls
63. Rungapanny Romalls
64. White Romalls
65. Saudies
66. Saudies half
67. Soojanies
68. Small Saudies
69. Sarasanloo
70. Turbands
71. Tukavars
72. Tucka funds
73. Vadany white
74. Vadanies
75. White cloth

**Textiles meant for East India Company from**

**VIZAGAPATANM**

Long cloth ordinary  
 Long cloth midling  
 Long cloth fine and Super fine  
 Salempores Ordinary  
 Salempores midling  
 Salempores fine and Super fine

**INGERAM:**

Long cloth ordinary  
 Long cloth midling  
 Long cloth fine  
 Long cloth Superfine

Dungaries  
 Percaules 18 cords long  
 Percaules 24 cords long  
 Beteelas flowered.

**MADEPOLLAM:**

Long cloth ordinary  
 Long cloth middling  
 Long cloth fine  
 Long cloth Superfine

	Punjums	Punjums
Long cloth ordinary	13 1/2	Long cloth superfine - 32
	14	36
	15	
	16	
Long cloth middling	17	
	18	
Long cloth fine	20	
	22	
	24	

**Chay** goods meant for East India Company

MASULIPATNAM:

Machilipatnam Romalls ———21 Punjams  
 Machlipatnam Romalls ———18 Punjams  
 Machlipatnam Romalls - ———18 Punjams  
 Sartracaudies  
 Callowapoories  
 Allegars  
 Gingham Red  
 Gingham Blue

Romals as per musters

1. 3 6 Punjams
2. 2 9 Punjams
3. 2 9 Punjams
4. 2 6. Punjams
5. 2 6. Punjams
6. 24 Punjams
7. 24 Punjams
8. 24 Punjams
9. 2 2 Punjams
10. 20 Punjams
11. 11 Punjams

**Exports from Godavari District :**

**For inter regional Commerce--South East Asian Market.**

1. Duyemrauper Cloth
2. Moories
3. Punjum Cloths



4. **Putchms**
5. Punchalachapooloo
6. **Seyem** Rauper Cloth
7. Togaroo **Roomals**
8. Rungoopanythawns
9. Chintz **Romals**
10. Doovanaauchoo Romals
11. Women Cloths
12. Chintz Mootarfaloo
13. Chintz Cholies Thawns
14. **Jamavarooloo**
15. **Reckala** Chaupooloo
16. Angauastramooloo
17. Wootareyela Chaupoloo
18. Dungries
19. **Boda** Putchums

**Textiles meant for Nizam's Territories.**

20. Cundooves or Uppada Cloths
21. Dovaty Cloth
22. Fine Cloth
23. Head Cloth
24. **Zaman** Cloth
25. Muslins
26. **Salampores**
27. Wrapper Cloths
28. Turbands
29. French Settlement imported into
30. Men's cloth
31. Saleempores
32. Women's Cloth
33. Dhovates
34. Punchas
35. Maddy Punchas
36. Cheeraloo
37. Budhakanies
38. Coarse Cloths

**Guntur: Textiles meant essentially for Local Consumption**

39. **Angustums**
40. Cloths for the Head (Tala Goodaloo)
41. **Jamavaraloo**
42. Chelaloo
43. **Ravekaloo** or cholies
44. Ootryaloo
45. Khandwaloo
46. Voneeloo

**47. Chay goods Varieties meant for Spanish Investment**

- 48. Allegars
- 49. Colloppores
- 50. Romals of Soots
- 51. Romals of Ventepollam

**52. Colloppores New Dutch Musters blue/**

- 53. Salahs
- 54. Allegars Salaho
- 55. Sastracundies Salahs
- 56. Matheforoes
- 57. Allegars Small Check
- 58. Amberchas
- 59. Pallemppores Kasodoo
- 60. Devalgree
- 61. Pataches
- 62. Lahagah
- 63. Lungees
- 64. Lachas
- 65. Jamavares

**Source:** District Records and Proceedings of Board of Revenue.

## A NOTE ON CURRENCY, MEASURES AND WEIGHTS

**CURRENCY:**

In Northern Coromandel the currency in use till 1820 was Madras Pagodas.

One Madras Pagoda	= 4 Rupees
One rupee	= 20 Fanams
1 Fanams	= 4 dubs

Company rate of exchange was 1 Madras Pagoda = 192 dubs (1 Rupee = 12 fanams. The shroffs and renters varied the rates of exchange (of Fanams to Rupee).

**Source:** F.R. Firminger Fifth Report, p.136. of the Select committee on the affairs of the East India Comrany, 1812 (rpt. New Delhi, 1984.)

**MEASURES:**

In Northern Coromandel the local measurements of cloth by the cubit was determined by the length of the arm, rather than by the yard.

4 Fingers Breadth	=	One Bettadoo
2 Bettaloo	=	One spand
2 spand	=	One cubit
2 Cubit	=	One arms length, measured from the tip of the finger to the middle of the chest
4 Cubits	=	One Bara

This measurement was followed essentially for measuring local cloth as well as imported Long cloth. But other varieties like China and other silk satins, Broad cloth, Blankets, Carpets, and others. of European and Foreign manufacturers were measured by yards, inches and Gerahs. The Gerah is equal to one sixteenth of the yard or 2 1/4 inches.

**Source:** I. Goldingham, Acting Collector, to BOR, 1st November, 1836, MDR 1618, pp.274-281.

The company assortments like **Punjum** cloths, **Salempores** and Chay goods were measured taking into consideration essentially the number of threads which the piece of the cloth would contain. A punjum was a skein of sixty or 120 threads, and the quality of these cloths depended on the number of **punjums** which a piece of cloth contained. The company's measurement of textile investment was as follows:

Number of punjums = one piece  
 20 piece = one Corge

Number of corges which a bale contained varied depending on the measurements of a variety.

Measurement of Grain:

1 Pooty	=	20 Tooms	=	960 seers
1 Toom	=	4 mercal	=	48 seers
1 Mercal	=	2 half	=	12 seers
1 ara mercal 1/2 mercal	=	2 quear mercal	=	6 seers
1 Pavoo Mercal				
1/4 mercah			=	3 seers
1 Maneka	=	2 Tuvus	=	2 seers
1 Tuva	=	2 Solas	=	1 seer
1 Sola	=	2 half solas	=	1/2 seer
1/2 sola	=	2 Giddas	=	1/4 seer
1 Gidda	=	2 half giddas	=	now talk 1/8 seer
1/2 Gidda	=	2 quarter giddas	=	1/16 seer

Source: J.C.Lushington, collector to BOR, December, 1852 MDR 6339,  
 pp.61-67.

#### APPENDIX 4

##### CALENDAR OF EVENTS RELATED TO THE WORLD OF WEAVERS IN NORTHERN COROMANDEL 1750 - 1840

- 1765 Political domination of the Company in Northern Coromandel begins.
- 1774 Direct involvement of the Company in weaving villages of Madras and Cuddalore.
- 1774 Attempts initiated by Anthony Sadlier to eliminate intermediary copdars, by giving powers to **Gumastahs**, Head Weavers, Concopolys and Peons in the Villages coming under the jurisdiction of three Factories namely, Ingeram, **Maddepollam** and Visakhapatnam. Creation of a new space within the wider territorial units by creating administrative units
- 1775 weavers Revolt against the Company's reorganization process; Appointment of an Enquiry Committee to enquire into the issue;
- 1776 The Company reverted to the old system of granting contracts to Merchants by abolition of the new proposal initiated by Anthony Sadlier, and accepted joint contract proposal.
- 1778 Acceptance of Seetiah concopoly as Contractor at **Maddapollam** and Jogee Pantulu at Ingeram.
- 1786 Separation of the two factories of Ingeram and Maddapollam.
- 1786 Basil Cochrane's attempts to introduce direct linkage with the weavers by reorganizing the production management.
- 1765 -1787 Black merchants, supplying chaygoods to the Company at Masulipatnam factory.
- 1787 Introduction of new clauses - security and penalty leading to the **elipse** of traditional mercantile community at Masulipatnam, emergence of Naick community at Masulipatnam, and European community at Ingeram and Maddepollam
- 1787 The East India Company acquired the Guntur Circar from Salabat Jung after his death as per the treaty with the Nizam.
- 1787 Contractors or Merchants held responsible for undertaking the washing and **embaling** the goods meant for Company's investment.
- 1788 Acceptance of Native Merchant as the main element for conducting Company's investment in Godavari District

- 1790-92 Famine that effected the entire region, mostly the settled agrarian zones in Godavari District
- 1793 Exemption from loom tax all weavers registered for Company's service in Haveli lands. To induce them to settle in Company's immediate possession, certain remissions were granted; extension of the same to Zamindar after its sequestration.
- 1793 Napoleonic wars and subsequent Napoleonic continental system, affecting the demand for piece goods in Northern Coromandel.
- 1793 The Court of Directors authorized the Commercial Residents to purchase all French assortments at Masulipatnam and other ports.
- 1794 After the abolition of Chief in counsils, the collectorates of Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Machilipatnam and Guntur were established.
- 1794 Granting of Dustuks to the Head Washermen called Maistries for fetching washermen for Company's service at the factories.
- 1794 Unemployed washermen causing trouble in Visakhapatnam District
- 1795 The Court of Directors intention of extending the Bengal Judicial Regulations to the conduct of its commercial concern on the coast.
- 1795 Weaver's Petition to Commercial Resident at Masulipatnam complaining against the Gumashtah who was compelling them to clear off the outstanding balances
- 1795 In Godavari district Passalapudi Mootah Weavers resentment against the company's rejection of the inferior cloth.
- 1796 Sending special contractors to Principal Buyers at Nagapore for cotton supply.
- 1796 Insurrection among the weavers of Visakhapatnam District against the oppressive actions of Jaggapah.
- 1797 Judicial Regulation concerning Company's weavers.
- 1798 Revolt of Weavers of Ingeram factory against the economic and commercial pressure created by the Company officials, spread out over a vast area.
- 1798 Disturbances created by Mahanauttee people in Godavari District and the effect on the weaving activity.

- 1799 Abolition of duties on cotton and thread imported into the region, and remissions granted to zamindaries and hill dorahs
- 1799 Judicial Regulation for conducting the Company's investment in Madras Presidency.
- 1801 Assumption of Palanadu by the Company.
- 1802 Introduction of Permanent Revenue Settlement; Regulation concerning weavers; Exemption from Moturpha loan tax collection all weavers registered for Company's service in Zamindari area too, and remission was included in the assets which the Zamindars had to receive.
- 1802 Introduction of copdari system at Ingeram factory.
- 1802 Representation by the Company's Copdars against the Head inhabitant of the Vaddasolaroo village who appear to have taken a biased role in disputes between the weavers and Kapus.
- 1803 Extension of Copdari system to Visakhapatnam replacing the existing Aumani system
- 1803 A serious conflict between the Sales and the Viramushties in Godavari district
- 1805 Establishment of a branch of London Missionary Society at Visakhapatnam.
- 1806 Judicial Regulation of 1806 for executing the Company's commercial activities, intended to redesign the relations of weaver and the Company.
- 1806 Prohibition of the Company officials to employ Company's weaver for their trading purposes
- 1809 Company's acquisition of Monopoly right over the Salt Trade of the region.
- 1813 Court of Directors intention to abolish the factory at Masulipatnam
- 1814 Abolition of Factory at Masulipatnam, and consequent opening to Private Trade.
- 1814 Resumption of Moturpha tax collection in Guntur District
- 1816 A massive but peaceful Weavers revolt in 1816 organized by the weavers of Visakhapatnam District who revolted against the economy of the bania caste copdars.
- 1818 Reinstitution of conflicts between Boyana Appenarayadoo a hill Dorah and Gotamcokla Ramachandra, affecting weaving world of Visakhapatnam district.

- 1819 Fixing of Company's 'Chop' on all cloths manufactured in weavers houses essentially to prevent illicit private trade
- 1820 Plunder and Robbery committed by the bands of hill dorahs called Mookiwars and Mannigars, and their effect on weaving world of Visakhapatnam district
- 1820 Formation of General factory at Ingeram, with the inclusion of other factories Visakhapatnam and Maddapollam factories.
- 1820 Introduction of New currency system in Presidency of Madras, Madras Rupees, divided into Annas and Paise, which replaced the earlier currency units of Pagodas Fanams and Cash
- 1821 Reorganization of the existing structural arrangements of weaving villages - creation of Mutahs; appointment of Gumastahs and Senapaties with distinct roles to perform at these Mutahs
- 1826 Exemption of Moturpha tax to Company's weaver was considered illegal, and the Company reviewed the tax collections in 1826 in Godavari district
- 1828-30 Migration of weavers of Godavari district to Bourbon and Penang
- 1830 Abolition of factories at Maddapollam, Ingeram and Visakhapatnam, and the retreat from the textile economy.
- 1830 Famine in Guntur District.
- 1830-33 Famine, high floods and Storm that affected Godavari district
- 1833-34 Ditto
- 1835 Around this period the Vetapalem handkerchiefs and other textile varieties of Guntur district were replaced by European products at Bombay, and other centres, the traditional markets for Guntur textiles.
- 1837-38 Hurricane and inundation in Godavari district
- 1839 Proposed modification in the collection of sea custom duties, affect hardly an inferior variety of textile goods.
- 1840 The Manchester cloths have entirely superseded the Visakhapatnam Punjam cloth in the London Market.



- 1840 Masulipatnam Chintz goods were replaced by the European Chintz at Persian and Indian markets, the important traditional markets to which there were large scale exports from the district.
- 1840 Change in the trading routes of textile economy, and long existence trade tilted towards Asian markets.
- 1835-40s Import of Arkan rice into the Northern Coromandel provided an opportunity to the weaver to purchase grain at a reasonable rate, when the price for his product was- much low.
- 1840 Abolition of duty on those piece goods, the value of which did not exceed Rs.2.
- 1844 Equalization of Tax on all Pariah looms

## Glossary of Textile Terms

**Allegars.** Dyed cotton cloth coming under the category of chay goods. The Coromandel allegars were apparently of cotton, mostly striped, either red and white or blue-and white. Checked allegars were noticed. Concentrated essentially in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts. European demand for this 20 Punjams cloth declined completely by 1814 ;also referred to as **allegas**, **allegars**. re-exported to African markets.

**Ar'se cloth.** Arsinam, corruptly arse cloth. Silk cloth. Also as Madiceru.

**Bettelles.** Bettelles fine and flowered, supplied from Ingeram in later half of the 18th Century, and the demand for this declined by 1800, primarily due to the imitation of the same in Europe where the new technological developments made possible.

**Bafta** Plain cotton cloth, average length 15 cubits; either white or dyed.

**Callowpores** Callawaypoose: A cheap striped or chequered cloth, patterned in the looms, apparently bought only for the slave traders; Western India. In Northern Coromandel, Masulipatnam surroundings supplied this cloth.

**Cheera.** A woman's garment, a petticoat, a skirt or gown.

**Chelas** Possibly Handi Sela from Sanskrit chela, Maila, a kind of scarf or mantle. In 17th century records it is described as a cotton handkerchief, usually striped blue-and-white. In the last decade of 18th century, chelas were being exported by the company under the turn of Spanish Investment from Masulipatnam factory.

**Chintz** Chitigudda in Telugu. Proper cotton stuffs painted in colours with white spots, same as Bandana silk. Generally however cotton stuffs with patterns of different colors impressed upon a white or light coloured ground hand painted and block printed, Masulipatnam and Madras primarily. Same as Kalamkari or Zulum Haree

**Chintz Cholies Thawns.** Printed or painted cloths meant for women garments. See also cholies.

**Cholies.** Same as Ravekalu in Telugu.

**Cumbali.** A coarse woollen blanket made in every district with the wool of the country. Local consumption item of commoners.

**Dhovati** A man's lower garment. Is a plain loin cloth. Same as dotramu, or panche,

**Dungry** Dangidi in Telugu a coarse cotton fabric used by the poorer classes. The stapler kinds were employed in making sails for native sailing vessels and tents. Dungry is woven with two or more threads together in the warps and wefts. From Godavari District it was an item in European investments and after 1830s it was exported to Pegu, Penang Northern South East Asia places.

**Gingham** called gentamu in telugu. The main distinguishing feature of this variety was the unusual texture with multiple-stranded warps and wefts, cloth patterned on the loom, was coming from Masulipatnam factory, and the demand was primarily for red and blue varieties of 22 **punjum** cloth. Known as **gin-temu** in telugu, meaning weaving cloth a double thread and the European demand for this declined by 1810

**Izarees** Plain white. South India. Medium quality 8 yards long, 1 yard wide. Domestic and general use. Seventeenth century. Mostly, Godavari Visakhapatnam districts of Northern Coromandel supplied in 18th and 19th centuries.

**Jamah** Hindustani, A long gown having a very large quantity of cloth, from 11 to 30 breadths, in the skirt which at the upper part is folded into innumerable plaits. The body part is tied in two places on each side, being double breasted. Pyjama is musلمان trousers.

**Jidda cloth** A coarse cloth. In Masulipatnam and Guntur Districts **Jangama** weavers used to produce this cloth.

**Kanduvalu/Jamavaruloo/Ootryaloo.** An upper garment. Same as Angavastrum, Jamavarulu, Ootryaloo.

**Long cloth.** Plain white cotton cloth, esteemed in Europe on account of its length usually about 37 yards or 72 cubits. Concentrated in Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts of Northern Coromandel, the long cloth varied in quality and price depending on the number of **pun** jams that each piece contained. The company's muster had same length 72 cubit and 2 1/4 breadth but varied between ordinary 12 1/2 **punjam** to 50 **punjums** of super fine quality. Some as **punjam's** cloth. Barabavulu or Parakalagudda was local name for this variety. The demand for this continued till 1840

**Lungees** Cotton plain or painted cloth similar to the dhoti, reaching below the knees, very different from langotee or loin cloth.

**Mathapores:** Possibly Mutafoons, Matafoons, etc. Western India. A low-grade chequered calico bought for the Malay Archipelago, but not mentioned after 1650. However, it was a textile item demanded by the company from Masulipatnam factory along with other Dutch musters

**Moorees** Plain white, base cloth for chintz making South India, Masulipatnam. Medium to fine quality. 9-10 yards long, 1.25 yards wide. Fashion wear and re-export trade. Seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. **Madi Punchalu**. Ceremonially pure dhovati worn at home at meal times.

**Muri** One of the categories of staple cotton cloth woven on the Coromandel Coast, usually of superior quality and much in demand in Europe as a substitute for linen cloth. It was also used for chintz making. The traditional centre of manufacture was Masulipatnam but later it was also woven in the Madras area. The usual dimensions were about 9 yards by 1 yard 8 inches. It is not quite clear what exactly the Tornatano variety was like.

**Muga, Moonga, Mooga.** North-east India, especially Assam. The characteristic colour of muga-cloth is a bright yellow, more glory than the Bengal wild silk known as Tussur. Popular consumption variety among the zamindaries and other elite sections of the Northern Coromandal region in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Muslins** The finest class of cotton goods like Mulmul khas, Abrawau or running water and Shobnaum or evening dew.

**Neemah** A waist cloth with sleeves. Coat made of muslin, has sleeves and is tied across the breast. It descends below and covers half of the leg and is worn by male Mahomedans in hot weather. An important consumption item of the zamindaries of the region.

**Pallempores.** Printed calico or chintz produced at Masulipatnam, and used mainly as covers and coverlets in England. However, by second half of the 18th century, it emerged as an important export variety of textile to Persia and other places by Mogul merchants.

**Patchams** Cheap dyed cotton cloth, usually striped, worn as waist cloth, varying in style according to the particular local market for which it was intended.

**Percalles** Percallaes, Pericals. South India. Plain white base cloth for chintz making. A high grade plain cotton cloth, especially noted for fineness and regularity of weave as well as for durability. Essentially coming from the Ingeram and Maddepollam factory area. In the second of the eighteenth century, Visakhapatnam appeared to have occupied an important production centre for this variety and two varieties were exported to Vizagapatnam with dimensions 18 cubits long by 2 1/4 and second, 24 cubits long by 2 1/4 breadth during the later half of the eighteenth century.

**Punjum** cloths. Same as Long cloth.

**Ravekala.** Same as cholee.

**Romals, Masulipatnam.** Linen cloth used as handkerchiefs or neck cloth, contained both large and ordinary varieties, ranging between 36 punjums to 11 punjums. Located essentially in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts. Found their way into European markets - like France, Germany and Holland punjum cloth was the first variety displaced by the arrival of mill made pieces from Europe.

**Rungupanithawns.** Painted or coloured cloths.

**Salalas, Sallabo, South India:** A dyed cotton cloth, the style varying according to the particular market for which they were intended. In Northern Coromandel, the company bought Salahs, allegah salalu and Sastraundu sallas under the items of Dutch Masters, at the turn of eighteenth century from Masulipatnam factory.

**Salempores** Staple cotton cloth coming from Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts in Northern Coromandel. It varied widely in quality and price. The usual dimensions were 16 x 1 yard, but varied between an ordinary variety of 12 1/2 punjum to superfine variety of 36 punjum cloth. Used for Block printing in England. In Telugu it was called as Salambariguddah.

**Sastracunties** A cloth patterned on the loom with tie and dye technique. A type of cloth of 20 punjum cloth, the warp and wefts of which tie-dyed before weaving in Masulipatnam factory area. Same as Sacerguntes, Sauergantes. re-exported to African markets.

**Sash.** Especially western India. Arab Shab Muslin. A generic term for muslin turban-cloths, usually of fine quality, and sometimes embroidered or brocaded.

**Soosees** Soosies. Striped or chequered fabric of silk or mixed cotton and silk, woven chiefly in the **Malda-** Kasim bazaar area, but also available in other parts of India. Used extensively for trouserings and petti coats.

**Tafetta** A fabric of twisted thread, made both in silk and cotton.

**Talapagalu** Same as Pagahs.

**Vonies** Half sarees

## Glossary of General Terms

**Ameen/Amil** Government officials kept incharge of collecting revenue from government lands. In the weaving world, the entire management was placed under Aumeens in Visakhapatnam in 1790s, and in early nineteenth century, Aumeens were kept incharge of few Mocaumes also.

**Arzi**, A petition.

**Aumani**, Land and weaving villages usually placed under the direct management of collector, on behalf of Government as distinguished from those which were farmed out.

**Banjara**, Usually recorded as Brinjaries, Banjaraloo and Lambadies. Itinerant traders travelled over the country with pack - bullocks, carrying products like grain, salt, and cotton from market to market. Appeared to have come to Deccan with Mogul camp as commissariat carriers. By second half of the 18th century an important trading group that supplied cotton from distant places to the weavers of Northern Coromandel.

**Basti**, A town.

**Batta**, Batha in Telugu. Daily allowance paid to servants in addition to regular pay, for travelling, temporary dearness of staple food-grain etc. Some times also meant payment of extra allowances to the circar peons, for being employed over the weavers for collecting the tax or any required information, or forcing them to work for the company.

**Bootoopooroshy**. A tax upon the inferior castes prevalent in Guntur district, called as Pallaputtada in Southern districts and Bootaparaster in Tallinga. As to the nature of the tax, different connotations were described in the records.

**Cadeem**. The occupant ryots or ancient ryots in Northern Circars as distinguished from resident cultivators.

**Cadjans**. Dried leaves of talipot and palmyra palms used for writing on with an iron style for account. The letters are sometimes blackened with ink. Copdars maintained their accounts some times on Cadjans.

**Camatagaudu**, Ploughman, Husbandman

**Cuddapahs**. The counter agreement executed by the tenant or weaver in exchange for his lease of land or contract.

**Candy**. Bazaar weight. 20 maunds equals to one candy. Approximate

actual value was 1 candy equal to 500 lbs.

**Canocooly.** Hire paid to the shroffs sorting out coins at a given rate per each coin.

**Cawlah.** Book of **cadjans** used by the **curnum**.

**Chillara Pirooloo.** The petty crops.

**Chowkies.** A custom house. A toll gate. A custom house officer kept incharge of a chowki was called chowkidarudu.

**Choudree.** The head of the cultivators or ryots.

**Chittah.** Daily account of all collections or charges.

**Cist. Kist.** 'Shist or 'Sist' Stated payment, instalment of rent.

**Conicopoly.** Corresponding Telugu term was **curnam**. They were native accountants kept incharge of various functions at the factories like beating conicopoly, and washing conicopoly

**Coontah.** Used in land measure one 64th parts of a coochell.

**Cootchell.** A land measure in northern Circars yielding such a **heap** equal to 8 gorroos or 1,000 contahts. Approximate actual value, 1 cootchell equals 25 acres.

**Copdar.** Correctly Kopudarudu in Telugu, meaning contractor for long cloths. Location of the copdar was limited to the Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts.

**Corge.** Measure of quantity of cloth. 20 tawns or pieces equal to one corge.

**Cowle.** The written assurance or agreement as granted by Government to the cultivator of soil.

**Cusbah.** Market town. Principal village.

**Cutcherri.** A revenue or police office or its establishment.

**Dubashee.** Dubash Literally two languages, Interpreter, translator.

**Dallali.** or Dalali (H) . Brokerage, agency, commission. A tax upon brokers.

**Darogha.** Native officers kept incharge of various departments prior to colonial hegemony in the region. Later on they were placed as the head of a police, custom or excise station.

**Dasari Vallu,** A Vaishnavite mendicant attached primarily to the

low caste groups like Malas.

**Deshmukh.** A hereditary head revenue officer of the district.

**Despondiahs.** The officer incharge of receiving accounts of the villages from the karnam, and send them to the government. Emoluments included Russoms based on the established usage.

**Devangullu,** A major weaving community of the region

**Dhony.** Doni in Telugu. A large vessel used on the Coromandel coast, from having been originally dug out of a single tree. Most of the transport of textiles from the weaving villages to the nearby factories on river channels was done mostly with the Dhonies only.

**Dowle.** A mode, or manner through which probable revenue were estimated.

**Dustack.** The order written by the native officer collecting the revenues.

**Fanam.** A unit of money, either silver or gold. Despite local variations in values, prior to 1818, under the old Madras Monetary System 42 fanams were equal to one star pagoda. A Madras silver fanam was therefore worth one star 2d. In 1799, GIC fixed exchange permanently at 350 Arcot Rupees per 100 Pagodas or 12 tanam and 68 cash per rupee.

**Fasli.** The Islamic year, also corresponding to the harvest year reckoned from the Hejira. Fasli 1257 corresponds with 1848-49 (=1258 + 590). The Madras Government fixed its commencement to 12th July.

**Garce.** Measure of capacity. 400 mercales equal to one garce. Approximate actual value was one garce equal to 185 cubic feet, 320 cubic inches.

**Gavaravallu,** Arrack sellers

**Gentoo.** Derived from Portuguese gentio a gentile or heathen. The name of the telugu country.

**Golavallu,** Cow-keepers

**Grama Kharchu.** The private expenses of a village; the charges borne by it independently of the payments on account of revenue.

**Gumastha.** Agent, clerk, native accountant in the revenue or commercial department, substitute for village officers who were minors or other-wise incapacitated from attending to their duties. Gumastha was the highly paid person in the Native Establishment of the various factories in Northern Coromandel and they were also kept incharge administrative



units of weaving villages like Mootahs in early (19th century).

**Haveli Gramaloo.** The villages which were formerly kept under the immediate management of the then Nabob.

**Hundi.** A bill of exchange. Exchange, rate or commission paid for a bill of exchange, the premium or discount on a bill.

**Huzzoor.** The presence of the public officer.

**Jagir, A** country or land given by Government as a reward for services, or as a fee or pension.

**Jamabandi.** A settlement of the total assessment or a written statement of the same.

**Jangamvallu,** An orthodox saivite mendicant attached to followers of saivite religious ideology.

**Janravauloo,** A major weaving caste localised in Guntur and Masulipatnam districts.

**Jeroyetty Ground.** Jirayati cultivated lands were assessable lands, as opposed to Inam lands,

**Kabooliyat Sunned.** A counter agreement.

**Katti,** A measurement of land, which differed in various districts in the Government accounts a 'cutty' is rated at 40 acres and 14 guntas.

**Komativallu,** Same as banias

**Kotwal.** The chief officer of the police (of a city or town).

**Kunchum.** Kuntsamu (Tel). A measure of grain, four manikas or one quarter of a toom.

**Kistbundah.** that which specified the amount for time for payment of instalments.

**Koondaty Cundam.** The red clay soil.

**Kristna Ragadah.** The black soil close to the Kistna river.

**Lambadi.** An itinerant trading group, engaged mostly in carrying grain. Closely resembled to those of banjara and sooganties.

**Lascar.** Generally an army, camp, contonment, crew. Therefore a single member of such as a sailor.

**Lova.** A valley

**Macaum.** A division of a revenue district, usually consisting of six or seven villages. In 18th century Northern Coromandel, Makaum was an administrative units or weaving village.

**Mahamandar.** A cultivator of high caste.

**Mahataeed,** The Village peon.

**Maistry.** Mestri in Telugu. Head workman

**Mala Maggalavaru,** Non traditional weaver prevalent in Masulipatnam and Guntur Districts.

**Manika,** A dry measure, 1/4 of a Kuncham and 1/6 of a Toom.

**Mannepuvaru.** Munnewaroos, Mannemu denotes the hill lands, or high lands or agency tracts, therefore the people who reside in these tracts were being called Mannepuvaru, and a lord or high land chieftain was called mannidu, manneedu, or mannekadu.

**Marakal.** Called marakamu in Telugu. measure of capacity. 8 measures or seers.

**Maugani lands.** The wet paddy lands.

**Maumool.** Established custom or tradition.

**Maund,** Manugiti was the local name. A measure of weight equivalent to 25 pounds. A maund was the same as a tumu and was equal to 16 manchas, 20 patties or 40 Seers, 20 maunds made a Khandi (500 lb)

**Metta.** High dry land.

**Mookhiwaras,** People who resided in upper hill tracts or lovahs of Visakhapatnam district. Same as Mannawars

**Mootah,** A portion of a District placed under the supervision of a Samoodar. In weaving world of Northern Coromandel Mootah was one of the structural arrangement initiated by the company, encompassing a particular number of looms and placed under a Copdar.

**Muchalika.** A written agreement agreeing to the rates of assessment imposed by the government, whether the proprietors or cultivators of land, or the copdar agreed to provide the agreed contract. .

**Mulliah.** Head or leader among the Devangas.

**Mutasaddi,** A clerk, or an accountant.

**Muturpha**, Tax levied on artisans, traders and other merchandized groups. Nature of the tax vary within the region.

**Muzumdars**. Officer required to keep the accounts of Jammabundy from the taluks and provide these accounts to the circar on demand. As per the established usage he would receive Russums and **savarams** as emoluments.

**Nazaranah**, Presents in money exacted by the landholders from the cultivators, weavers and other groups.

**Niligaru**, A class of indigo dyers.

**Padma Sale Vallu**, A pre-dominant weaving community specilised in weaving of cotton cloths.

**Pagoda**. A coin long current in South India and equivalent to 4 rupees and it was current till 1819, from which period the rupee came into being as main exchange.

**Paleru**. Labourers attached hereditarily to the lands of the cultivators in northern Coromandel.

**Parah**. Measure. A short hoe, a spade, measure introduced for measuring salt in 1809

**Pargana**. A portion of the district, comprising many villages.

**Patta**. Document given by Zamindar or collector of revenue to the cultivator stating the terms on which the land is held and the amount payable.

**Pattu Sale Vallu**, A major weaving community producing primarily silk fabrics, essentially located in East Godavari and Visakhapatnam Districts.

**Payakari**, Cultivators residing in one village and cultivating in another village.

**Pedda Kapu**. The head of the cultivators or ryots.

**Rangirajulu** Painters and Printers of cloth

**Rawanah**. Dispatching goods, and collecting duties or charges levelled on these goods were called Rawanah charges.

**Rusum**, A commission collected by the village officials and Zamindars from cultivators, weavers and other groups.

**Sadhana Surulu**, Mendicants attached to the Padma Sale community.

**Sahukars**, Same as banias.

**Samayamuvuru**, A class of Mendicants attached to the Padma Sale community.

**Sayer**. A transit duty, custom tolls.

**Senapati**. A general, commander, a leader or headman. In Nothern Coromandel, Senapaties were a caste of weavers, dominant in Visakhapatnam district.

**Seristadars**. Officer who kept the accounts of collection from the taluks and of the money issued from the government treasury. Commission received was called Tahareer.

**Sunned**. The deed or order

**Tahareer**. Emolument received by seristadars for their service. It was 1/2 percent on the Jammabundy or settled by them between the circar, Zamindar and the inhabitants. In Masulipatnam and Guntur, weavers also contributed towards this.

**Takid**, A written order warning direction by authority .

**Talukh**. The District

**Tamidalu**, Natcheny, Chollu or Ragulu cynofury coracanu

**Tanadar**. The revenue manager or native collector, whose duty was to collect money from the villages of their land and remit it to the circar.

**Tanah**. A portion of the district under the Aumeen.

**Telia Patti**, White cotton.

**Togatavallu**, Weavers specialized in weaving red coloured cloths, located mainly in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts.

**Tom, Tom**. tappeta, small drum. There are several kinds generally made of jack-wood and covered with deer-skin. A symbol of public expression used for announcing an order, or a decree or any government orders.

**Toom**. Measure of capacity. 4 coonchams equal to 1 toom and 20 tooms equal to one pooty or candy. The measure however was variable within the region.

**Valsa**. emigration of people in a body from villages through fear of calamity.

**Vasool.** The collection.

**Veeramushitivallu,** An orthodox saivite mendicants attached to the Devanga and Komati castes.

**Vetti.** Corruptly yettee. Drudgery, unpaid work.

**Woppandum.** Oppandamu. A contract, undertaking an assignment.

**Yerrapattee.** Red cotton.

**Source:** I Wish Collector, Guntur to BOR, 6th October, 1826, gudr 3982, pp.221-243, where and Alphabetical list of revenue terms used in the Guntur District is found; Charles Philips Brown Dictionary Telugu - English 1903, Madras, (Revised 1986); CD. Maclean Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency 3, Glossary. 1885 rept., 1985,. H.H. Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms and of useful words occurring in official documents relating to the administration of the Government of British India (rept. 1968, New Delhi).

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Guntur District Records  
Masulipatnam District Records  
Visakhapatnam District Records

**General Reports of The Board of Revenue, 1787-1835**

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