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Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics,
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Poona
A Socio-Economic Survey.
Part I. Economic.

BY

D. R. GADGIL,

Assisted by the Staff of the Institute.

[Price Rs. 15 or 30 S.]

1945

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PREFACE

The origin of this survey lies in the attempt made by the Institute to extend its work in the field of urban economics after the completion of its first two projects of investigation. In the first instance it was conceived of as investigation having special reference to small scale industry as it was believed that conditions in Poona were specially favourable for such an undertaking. In planning the work it was found that the collection of basic data relating to small scale industry scattered throughout a city could be easily and profitably combined with a good deal of other investigational work. The extension of the scope of the work made the scheme so expensive as to be beyond the resources of the Institute and we began to explore the possibility of obtaining help from the Poona City Municipality towards such increased expenditure. This in its turn further widened the scope of the investigation as it was felt that in case Municipal help on an adequate scale was obtained it would be best to plan a fairly comprehensive economic survey.

The original application to the Municipality submitting a scheme for an economic survey was made in August 1935. It requested the Municipality to bear the estimated cost of the survey other than the expenses in connection with the permanent staff of the Institute. The Municipality approved of the project in March 1936 and the Institute made arrangements for starting the work of the survey in April 1936. The work was, however, temporarily held up and a proper start was made only in August 1936.

In its original scheme the Institute had contemplated that the primary collection of material should be completed in a year. However, this was soon found to be an underestimate, chiefly because of the continued extension of the scope of the work which was found possible and felt to be necessary during its progress. Ultimately the period required for this purpose was nearly two years, some part of the investigational work being completed only in the early months of 1938. On account of the extension of the scope of the survey the City Municipality increased its original grant and the total help given by the Poona City Municipality towards the survey amounted to Rs. 5,340.

The area of the City Municipality formed only a part of the total urban unit of Poona. We, therefore, applied also to other local authorities within this area for help. The Poona Suburban Municipality gave, as a result, a grant of Rs. 500 but the Poona Cantonment Board was unable to extend any financial help. In consequence, the work of the survey was confined to the areas of the Poona City and Suburban Municipalities. The non-inclusion in the survey of the Cantonment area must be taken to be an important defect in the scope of the survey.

The cantonment area has many peculiarities which mark it out from the city and the suburban area and make it a distinct economic and social unit. At the same time connections of the Cantonment in some kinds of trade, etc. are very close with the city area. In respect especially of such activities, therefore, the picture presented by our survey is incomplete.

Details regarding the procedure adopted and the agency employed in the planning and conduct of various parts of the survey have been given in connection with the description of results of the separate investigations. Among published surveys from other countries the *Social Survey of Merseyside* was thought to afford a suitable model in many respects and a good deal of our work was planned on the lines indicated in the Merseyside Survey. The agency employed differed from one aspect of investigation to another and was not completely uniform even for individual investigations. It might, however, be noted that it was not found possible to utilise, on a significant scale, the services of research students in the conduct of this work.

The collection of the primary material occupied almost two years, though the bulk of the work was carried out and completed during the year 1937. The tabulation of the material and the writing of the report were originally estimated also to take one year. That estimate was exceeded by a very large margin. For this the reasons are many. In the first instance, the data actually collected were much more ample and more complex than those originally planned for. Secondly, there was the fact of inexperience in the work of tabulating, collating and evaluating the data. More than all these the factor chiefly responsible for the delay was a personal one, viz. my preoccupation with other work and, for a part of the time, ill-health. The responsibility for planning and conduct having originally been undivided the results of the work have had to wait upon personal factors to this large extent. Finally, of course during the last two years the time taken for publication has heen greatly added to by the difficulties experienced by the printing establishments.

Even though the responsibility for the work has been undivided its actual performance has been shared to a very large extent, apart from the body of *ad hoc* investigators, by the staff of the Institute. Mr. L. V. Gogate was in general charge of most of the field work. Mr. R. G. Kakade was specially entrusted with the intensive surveys of the handloom weaving industry and the brass and copper-ware industry and also carried out some other pieces of work such as that of the enquiry relating to casual labour. He also prepared preliminary drafts of reports in connection with all these enquiries. Mr. N. V. Sovani was chiefly responsible for preparing the drafts of various chapters. The work of collecting the historical material in connection with the first chapter has also been almost entirely done by him. Mr. D. V. Deodhar has been in charge of the statistical part of the work through all the stages.

Our acknowledgements for help in connection with the conduct of the investigation would have to be so numerous that it is impossible to make them, in any detail, at this place. Our thanks are due to the authorities of the Poona City Municipality whose help alone made possible the launching of this work. Even though later events made the initial estimates of expenditure appear inadequate, it is due chiefly to the help given by the City Municipality that the work was accomplished. We have also to thank the authorities of the Suburban Municipality for the financial help given. The various Presidents of the City Municipality and a large number of councillors helped us by enabling us to form contacts with various areas and with various trades and communities. The Presidents and councillors of the Suburban Municipality were similarly helpful. Above all, we obtained ready co-operation and assistance from prominent persons in most industries, trades, professions, etc. and from a large number of social, economic and community organisations in the Poona area. It was this that made possible the collection of the varied and extensive data required by us. The staffs of the City and Suburban Municipalities were also extremely helpful in all aspects of our work. Among these we might make special mention of the help rendered by Mr. S. R. Bhagwat, Mr. Wable, Mr. Dalvi, Dr. Mohile, Mr. Kale and Mr. Khopkar.

The first volume now being published contains an account of the main investigations carried out as part of the survey and sets out the economic data in relation to which the survey was chiefly planned. The second volume which will appear in due course will deal chiefly with data relating to social aspects.

Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics
18th January 1945

D. R. Gadgil

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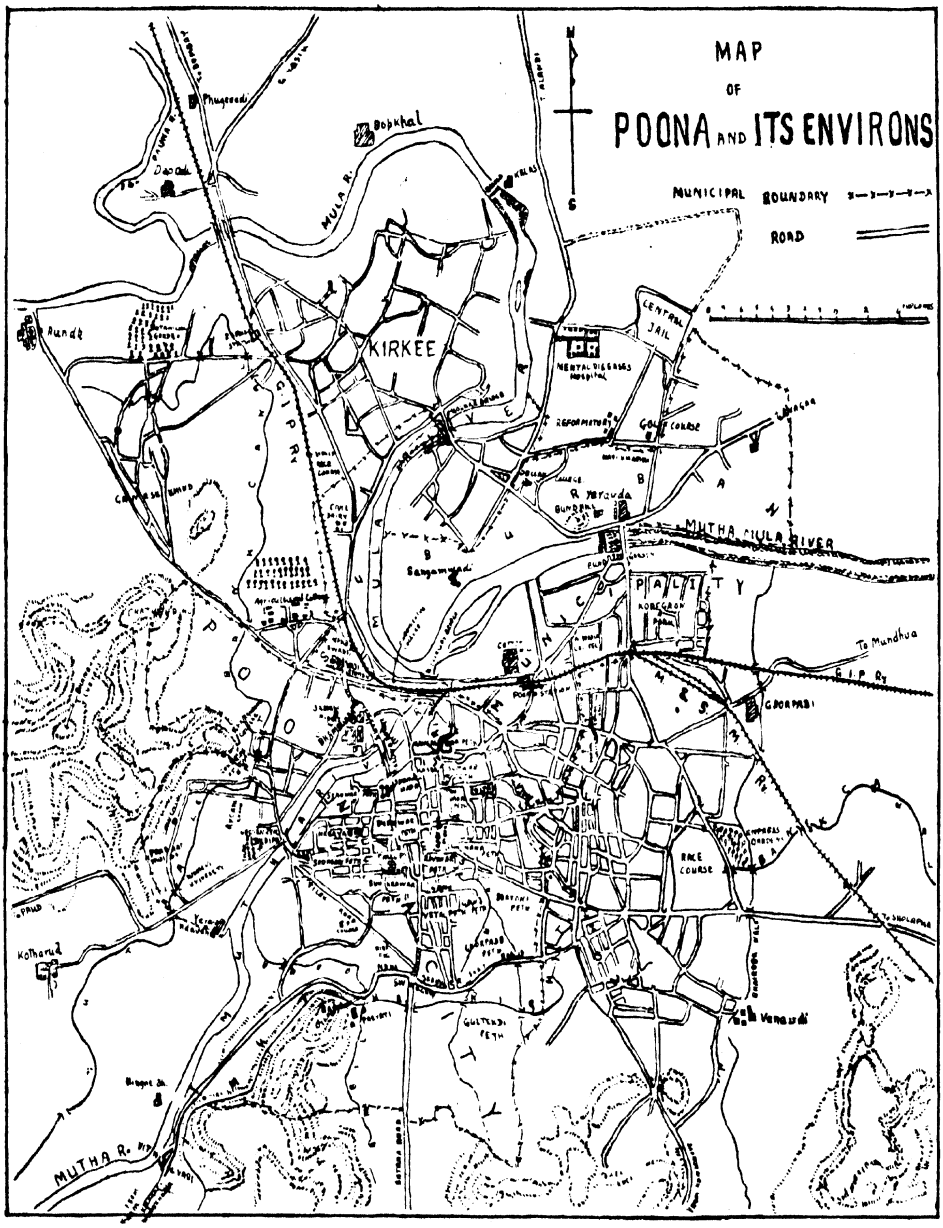
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107	Foot note 1	"engaged weaving"	"engaged in weaving
136	Table No. 45 item 6	"Bramhin"	"Brahmin"
181	8	§ 30. Mattress., etc.	§ 30 A. Mattress, etc.
201	42	§ 41	§ 43
207	4	§ 42	§ 44
208	15	"the some instances".	"in some instances".
209	38	"Table No. 48."	Table No. 50.
210-211	heading	Table No. 48.	Table No. 50.
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MAP
OF
POONA AND ITS ENVIRONS
MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
ROAD
KIRKEE
MUTHA MULA RIVER
MUTHA R.
MULA R.
Phugewadi
Dapodi
Bopkhal
Aundh
Kothrud
Vanowrie
To Mundhwa
G.I.P. Rly
CENTRAL JAIL
MENTAL DISEASES HOSPITAL
REFORMATORY
GOLF COURSE
RACE COURSE
GHORPADI
POONA
CANTONMENT

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SURVEY

§ 1. **Geographical Setting of the City.** Poona City is the Head-Quarters of Poona District, Bombay. It is situated in 18° 31′ N. and 73° 51′ E. and is on the G. I. P. Railway, 119 miles south-east of Bombay. It is also a terminus of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. It is 1,850 feet above the sea-level and, in a straight line, about 63 miles from the coast. It is the military capital of the Deccan and from June to October the seat of the Government of Bombay.[1]

The geographical setting of the city is best described in the following quotation. "On the right bank of the Mutha river, in a slight hollow, the city and cantonment are bounded on the west by the Mutha, on the north by the joint Mula-Mutha, on the east by their feeder the Bahiroba, and on the south-east and the south by the spurs and uplands that rise to the northern slopes of the Sinhgad-Bhuleshwar hills. ... On other sides, except up the Mutha valley to the south-west, the city and the cantonment are surrounded by uplands and hills. On the north-west is the soilless Ganeshkhind upland, and on the west, from the rocky slopes of the Chatarsing or Bhamburda hills, bare waving ranges rise to the central peak of Bhambhava. To the south rises the low but sharp-cut and picturesque temple-crowned top of Parvati, and behind Parvati the broken outline of the Sinhgad-Bhuleshwar range."[2] Sinhgad or Kondana fort is situated about twelve miles to the south-west of the city at a height of 4,322 feet.

Poona lies on an extensive plain, surrounded by singularly scarped hills from 1,900 to 2,300 feet high. The land between the Mula-Mutha and the Sinhgad hills is a plain, rising slightly to the south and the east, the surface unbroken except near the river and along four of its smaller feeders which cross the plain from south to north. To the extreme west of the city is Ambil Odha running south-east to north-west. This stream rises in the hills behind the Parvati. Another stream used to flow south to north through the city along the present Shivaji Road. In the times of the Peshwas it was dammed just outside

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1 Imperial Gazetteer, (1908), Vol. XX, p. 181.

2 Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII, Part III, 1885. (Hereafter referred to as "Gazetteer" or "Poona Gazetteer," unless otherwise stated) p. 267. The present city limits are described in Chapter II.

the present city limits on the Satara Road and was diverted into the Ambil Odha by the construction of an artificial channel, closely skirting the Mutha Right Bank Canal. The water that overflowed, even after the diversion, was carried along the same old route by the construction of a gutter called the Peshwa Nala. Through the heart of the city flows another stream known as the Nagzari. It rises in the hills $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of the city and runs south to north, draining both the banks for half a mile on either side. It joins another stream, the Manik Nala, marking the eastern boundary of the city, as it falls into the Mutha river. This stream rises in the south, winds a north-west course and joins the Mutha about 300 yards above its meeting place with the Mula. The eastern limit of the Poona Cantonment is traversed by the Bahiroba Stream which runs south to north and joins the Mula-Mutha. The city has a fall from south to north of about seventy feet, being fifty feet a mile. The eastern belt, beyond the Manik Nala, has a gentle fall towards the Bahiroba Stream.

§ 2. **Poona through history.** The available historical records do not furnish a separate history of Poona City till well into the seventeenth century. They refer to Poona and its surrounding parts or, what may be called, 'the Poona region.' Till the beginning of the seventeenth century the history of Poona City cannot be separated from that of the Poona region. The earliest reliable and express reference to the Poona region is to be found in the copperplate inscriptions of the Rashtrakuta Kings. A reliable account of the Poona region before the Rashtrakutas is not available. In the village of Kazad in Indapur Taluka in Poona District, some coins of the Traikutaka King Dahragana (A. D. 465) were discovered.[1] From this we might hazard a guess that Poona was under these Kings at that time. The silver coins discovered at Junnar show that the region was also probably under the Andhra Kings.[2] There is, however, a gap of many centuries between these kings and the Rashtrakutas. The Rashtrakutas seem to have conquered this region from the Chalukyas in the year A. D. 754.[3]

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1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 31st March 1907-8, p. 24.

2 Poona in Bygone Days, Parasnis, 1921 p. 78.

3 Dantidurga Rashtrakuta scored a victory over the Chalukya king, Kantivarman II and as a result the former occupied "Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara and Kolhapur districts, as the find spots and the villages mentioned in the Samangad plates would show." The Rashtrakutas and their Times, Dr. A. S. Altekar, 1934, p. 39. According to the Gazetteer, the earliest mention of Poona City is to be found in the writings of Ptolemy. According to Ptolemy the city was called 'Punnata.' Many historians have identified this with a town in the Mysore State. The latter seems to be the correct view. The view of the writer in the Poona Gazetteer is not confirmed from any other source. Cf. A. Rehm, "How Old is Poona?" The New Review, Calcutta July 1940, pp. 34-41.

A copperplate inscription of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna I, dated A. D. 758, mentions the Poona region. It refers to the Poona region as *Puṇya Vishaya* ("पुण्यविषयान्तर्गत बोपखळुग्रामः यस्य पूर्वतो कलसः । दक्षिणतः नदी मुईला । पश्चिमतः दर्प्पपूडिका । उत्तरतो भेसउरीग्राम : ।).[1] Another copperplate inscription of king Krishna I, dated A.D. 768, refers to the Poona region as *Punaka Vishaya.*[2] The Rashtrakuta inscriptions mention that *Punaka Vishaya* contained one thousand villages.[3] In the Rashtrakuta inscriptions of the tenth century the town itself is mentioned as *Punaka Wadi* (पूनक वाडी).[4]

Punaka is, therefore, the name by which Poona was known in ancient times. Mr. Sten Konow commenting on this writes : " The modern form shows that *Punaka* is a Prakrit form derived from an older *Puṇṇaka* or *Punnaka*, because the dental *n* of the *Puna* cannot represent an originally single *n*. The etymology of the name is accordingly uncertain. It can just as well be ' *puṇyaka* ' as usually supposed by Pundits, as " *puṛṇaka*".[5] As will be mentioned later on, in a description of Poona city, in the sixteenth century in Bengali, Poona is mentioned as *Purnanagar*. Commenting on this Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar observes that ' *puṛṇa* ' is the Sanskrit form of the Prakrit word *puṇṇa*.[6]

Punyapur, according to the Gazetteer, means "cleanser". This sacredness was attached to the town because of the confluence of the rivers Mula and Mutha in its neighbourhood. Hindus have always looked upon such confluences as sacred.[7] Another explanation of the origin of the name suggests that the town derived its name from the temple of Puneshwar situated within the old town limits.

The Rashtrakutas were overthrown in 973 and Poona passed under the Yadav kings of Daulatabad. That the Poona District was held by the Yadavas, after the Rashtrakutas, is indicated by several monuments of that period still to be seen in the district.[8]

In 1294, Raja Ramdev, the last Yadava king, was attacked by Alau'd-Din Khalji. The Yadava king had to submit and to accept the suzerainty of the Delhi Sultans. In subsequent expeditions, Sultan

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1 भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ त्रैमासिक, शके १८४१ पौष.

2 Talegaon Copperplates of Krishna Raj I, Shaka 690, Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XIII, No. 25, p. 278.

3 A. S. Altekar, Op. cit., p. 136.

4 महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश, विभाग १७, पृ. प-१४०. The original source of this information is, however, not mentioned in the ज्ञानकोश.

5 Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XIII, No. 25, p. 278.

6 श्रीचैतन्याची पुणे जिल्ह्यातील तीर्थयात्रा, डॉ. दे. रा. भांडारकर, बृहन्महाराष्ट्र वार्षिक १९३९.

7 Gazetteer, p. 402.

8 Dr. H. D. Sankalia, "Monuments of the Yadava Period in the Poona District", Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, June 1941.

Alau'd-Din conquered the whole of the Deccan. Poona and its surrounding parts thus came to be governed by the Mohammedan rulers of Delhi. The memory of the Mohammedan conquest survives in the local story that Hisa Mohidin and four other Muslim ascetics came to Poona and turned the two temples of Narayaneshwar and Puneshwar into two Muslim shrines or *dargahs* of the Elder and the Younger Sheikh Salla respectively. According to the traditional account, Burya Arab built the fort of Chakan and from thence administered Poona.[1] Poona thus developed into a small town of the Mohammedans and came to be known as *Kasbe Pune* (कसबे पुणे).

Meanwhile in 1320 the Khalji Sultans at Delhi had been displaced by the Tughluqs. In the reign of Muhammad Tughluq,[2] one Hasan Kango Bahamani, a Sardar of Muhammad Tughluq, raised the standard of rebellion and founded the Bahamani Empire in 1347 and the whole of the Deccan came under the rule of the Bahamani kings[3].

From 1481 the Bahamani kingdom began to decline. In a few years' time it broke up into five different kingdoms. Of these one was the Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar founded by Malik Ahmad in 1490. Another was the Adil Shahi at Bijapur also founded in 1490. Poona and the surrounding territory came under the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmednagar. In 1510, Shri Chaitanya from Bengal, in his wanderings through the country, came to Poona. His disciple, Govind Das, has left an account of his impressions regarding the city as it was then. He speaks of a lake in the vicinity of the town, where several Brahmins and their disciples

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1 " यवनी पादशहात दिल्लीस जाहाली शके ५१३ त्यापासून दक्षिणेत यवनी अंमल चालला त्यात शके ११६८ आकराशे आडसष्ट सन हजार ६५६ यांत पीर पेगंबर फकीर आवलिया पुण्याजवळ आले तेथे कुंभारी कासारी दोन्ही गावे लगत असता माल्याचे बैल मेलेले फिकिरानी उठविले आणि पुणेश्वर केदार व नारायण दोन देव हिंदूचे होते ते करामतीने उठऊन किले पुरंदरी नेले तेथ त्या स्थली दर्गे करून राहिले तो शके १२१२ बाराशे वारात बरया आरब याणे चाकणच्या किल्याची बोपज (?) करून आपण तेथे राहून पुण्यांत अंमल केला तेव्हा पुणे कुंभारी कासारी तीन गांव मोडून येक गांव केला ... कोट पांढरीचा नवीन बांधला." शिवापूर देशपांडे वहीची अत्रे नक्कल. (पृ. १७-८), पुरंदरे दप्तर, भाग ३, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, १९३४, पृ. १२९.

2 "Islami, the author of *Fatuhu's-Salatin-Shah Nama-i-Hind*, says that in 1340 Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Taghluq Shah, having settled his affairs at Daulatabad resolved to march his troops towards Kondhyana (Kondana) which was then ruled by Nag Naik, the Chieftain of the Kolis...Nag Naik came before the Sultan and sued for pardon. The Sultan withdrew his forces and returned to Daulatabad." Quoted by Prof. Chaghtai, "Poona in the Muslim Period," Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, June 1941. Also recorded by Ferishta.

3 Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, the illustrious minister of the Bahamani kingdom, had divided the kingdom into eight administrative provinces to ensure good and efficient administration in 1463. Bir and other districts, including the present Poona, were then added to the estates of Nizamu'l-Mulk and its management was entrusted to the son of Malik Ahmad. Gazetteer, p. 219.

were busy in repeating vedic hymns. Govind Das found the town full of *pathshalas* where the Bhagwad Gita and the Bhagwat were taught.[1]

During the latter part of the sixteenth century the Bhonsalas rose to power and eminence under the Nizam Shahi kings. Maloji Bhonsle, the grandfather of Shivaji, and his brother Vithoji, rose from insignificant *mansabdars* to great positions by sheer dint of valour and ability. In 1595, Nizam Shah conferred on Maloji and Vithoji the Jagir of Poona and Supa.

In the year 1600, the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, began his grand and powerful attack on southern India and in the same year captured Ahmednagar. The seat of the Nizam Shahi was, therefore, transferred to Daulatabad where Murtaza Nizam Shah II ascended the throne. The Mughals were, however, unable to consolidate their conquest. Under Malik Amber, the able minister of Nizam Shah, the Nizam Shahi revived invigorated. Gradually Malik Amber gained lost ground. The territories formerly occupied by the Mughals were gradually reconquered and came under the Nizam Shahi. The Mughals could not ignore these developments and under Prince Khurram (Shah Jehan) they again pressed their offensive against the Nizam Shahi with great vigour. In 1617, Malik Amber bowed before the storm, ceded the Balaghat which had been seized from the Mughals and surrendered Ahmednagar and other parts to the Mughals.

Three years later Malik Amber disregarded the treaty with the Mughals and taking advantage of the unsettled political conditions at Delhi, conquered Ahmednagar and the surrounding territory. Shahaji Bhonsle, the son of Maloji, who had come to man's estate in the meanwhile, had become a prominent Sardar of the Nizam Shahi and had been then serving under Malik Amber. In 1621, Malik Amber ordered him to conquer Poona. In 1620 Poona seems to have been governed by one Rayrao on behalf of Bijapur. It was governed from the fort of Bhuleshwar or Daulatmangal. At the news of the termination of the friendly relations between Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi, Rayrao began to collect money by oppressing the subjects. Shahaji was dispatched against him by Malik Amber to turn him out of the district. On the performance of this service Shahaji obtained the Mokasa or the superintending powers of the Parganas of Poona and Shirwal from Nizam Shah.[2]

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1 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Op. Cit. A few Bengali verses from Govind Das's account may be quoted. In *Purṇanagar* he says :

एइस्थाने बहुलोक निपुण विद्याय । शतपट चतुष्पाटीमध्ये शोभा पाय ॥
भागवत जेइ जन करे अध्ययन । ताहारे पंडित बोली माने सर्व जन ॥
गीता आर भागवत जेइ नाही जाने । ताहाके पण्डित बोली केइ नाही माने ॥
—गोविन्ददासेर कडचा.

2 शिवचरित्र साहित्य, खंड १, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, १९२६, पृ. ९.

Shahaji, however, soon fell out of favour with Malik Amber. Then he began to act as an independent chief in his Jagir of Poona, Shirwal and Karyat Patas. He suffered initially a defeat at the hands of Sabaji Anant, the commander of the Nizam Shahi forces, but soon retrieved this defeat by successfully resisting the forces of Malik Amber which had been sent to oust him from his Jagir. Shahaji then became a Sardar under the Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur.[1] From 1625 to 1628 he faithfully served the Bijapur kings. With the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1627 the political conditions at Bijapur altered unfavourably for Shahaji. Malik Amber had died in 1626. The Nizam Shahi was being threatened by Shah Jehan who had become the Emperor at Delhi. Nizam Shah sent out an invitation to Shahaji requesting him to join him. Shahaji accepted this offer and in 1628 went over to Nizam Shah.

Shahaji fought against the Mughals bravely. In 1630, however Nizam Shah traitorously murdered Lakhaji Jadhavrao, Shahaji's father-in-law. Upon this Shahaji broke off his connexion with the Nizam Shah and retired to the districts of Poona and Chakan. He raised the banner of revolt and created mighty disturbance in the Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi dominions. From several grants it appears that Poona was in his possession up to 1630.[2] Then Murar Jagdeo Pandit, a Sardar of the Adil Shahi, attacked Poona in 1631 and captured it. He plundered the city and literally rased it to the ground. An ass-driven plough was driven over the whole place[3]. A terrible famine followed in the wake of this and Poona and its surrounding parts became deserted. Shahaji then sought preferment under Shah Jehan. After a period he again changed his master, and staged a come-back to the tottering Nizam Shahi as a kingmaker. In 1636, the Mughal general, Khan Zaman, attacked him and came up to Poona. Shahaji was making valiant and persistent attempts to bolster up the failing Nizam Shahi. But his efforts were of no avail. The Mughals, acting in combination with Adil Shahi, pressed home their attack. Shahaji had at last to yield and had to make peace with them. In December 1636, he gave up the shadowy Sultan Nizam Shah to the Mughals, ceded to them Junnar and seven other forts still held by him and himself entered the service of Bijapur. Muhammad Adil Shah confirmed the grant of the ancient Jagirs of Chambhargunda, Supa and Poona, the border-land between the Mughal and the Bijapur

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1 पत्रसार संग्रह, पत्रे नं. २२६, २२७, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, १९३०.

2 पत्रसार संग्रह, पत्रे नं. २७४, २६९, २८२, २८५.

3 ९१ कलमीतील उतारा. " त्याजउपरि कसबे पुणें येथें मोरो तानदेव देशपाञ्चे भिमातीरी भुमेगिरी करीत होते...ते समयी मोर तानदेव देशपांडे पूणेकर पुंड जाहले. त्यावर राय दिवाण निसबत मुल्हार जगदेवराव याणी स्वारी करून पाळत राखून रानातून धरून आणले. नखी सूया टोंचून मार देऊन कैद केला. पुण्यातील कोट मोडून शहर मारले. खराचा नांगर पांढरीवर फिरविला. श्री भुलेश्वर गड बांधला. त्याचे नांव दौलतामंगळ ठेवले. बहुत वैराणी मुलखाची झाली. तेव्हां मेहेरबान होऊन मुरारपंती कुल पुणे प्रांत चाकण जुन्नर किल्ला तदत वाई शिरवळ सुभे इंदापूर प्रांत शहाजी राजे यांस दिला ". cf. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 31, pp. 5032-33.

territories, so that Shahaji should bear the brunt of future Mughal invasions of the Bijapur territory.

Shahaji was now a servant of Adil Shah and the latter detailed him for service in the southern Karnatak. Shahaji was thus prevented from staying in Poona and managing his own Jagir. In 1637, he appointed Dadoji Konddev, one of his trusted assistants, as his representative in Poona. He was charged with the management of the Jagir and was assisted by one thousand horse under the command of the Abyssinian, Shiddi Hallal. It appears that Shahaji's son, Shivaji and Jijabai, Shivaji's mother, were sent to Poona 3 or 4 years later.[1]

Dadoji Konddev immediately set about the task of reconstructing and consolidating the Jagir of his master. His first concern was to recreate the city of Poona from its ruins. Since Murar Jagdeo's devastating raid on the city the place had been almost deserted. It was supposed to be a 'cursed' place as Murar Jagdeo had levelled it with an ass-drawn plough. Dadoji Konddev performed some religious ceremonies to drive away the evil spirits haunting the place. He had the whole ground ploughed again by a plough made of pure gold. A Koul (कौल),[2] to the inhabitants of the city, running for five years, was issued.[3] The territories round the city were dilapidated and had gone barren. Dadoji Konddev, with consummate skill, restored law and order in the land. The fields that had remained fallow for years were again brought under cultivation. The city of Poona again became a habitable place and Dadoji Konddev constructed a palace, in the city, known as Lal Mahal, for his young master, Shivaji. Poona became the central place of the Jagir and began to acquire importance.

In 1656 or thereabouts Shivaji began his activities with the aim of establishing the Maratha Empire and succeeded in founding a small independent kingdom in a few years. Shivaji's efforts at establishing Swaraj were strenuously opposed by the Adil Shahi and by the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. With express instructions of extirpating this menace to Mughal power, Aurangzeb dispatched Shaista Khan to the Deccan, in 1660. Shaista Khan launched his attack vigorously and in May 1660 he stormed and captured Poona. He encamped at Poona and stayed in Lal Mahal. In 1663 Shivaji scored a success over him by a clever manœuvre and compelled him to retire from the city. As Poona was too open to attack and was bare of any natural defences, Shivaji removed his capital to Rajgad.

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1 शिवभारत, अध्याय १०.

2 Koul (कौल): Koul is an Arabic word which means "a word". It generally signifies a given word or a promise. In historical times Koul came to mean in Marathi a written royal assurance of protection or encouragement or patronage to an area, a trade or a person.

3 शिवापूरकर वही अत्रेकृत नक्कल पान २९-३०, शिवचरित्र प्रदीप, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, १९२५, पृ. ७१.

Shaista Khan's defeat at the hands of Shivaji, however, did not dislodge Aurangzeb from his cherished determination of destroying the Maratha power. In 1664, the veteran general of the Mughal Emperor, Mirza Raja Jaysingh, was dispatched to the Deccan by imperial command. He had orders to uproot and destroy Shivaji. Raja Jaysingh pursued his campaign methodically and, slowly but surely, captured a large part of Shivaji's kingdom. Poona was captured (March 1665) by the Mughals and it remained in their hands till it was again restored to Shivaji by imperial *ferman.* Raja Jaysingh pressed home his attack and Shivaji had to yield to the superior might of the Mughals. In 1665 a treaty was signed between Shivaji and the Mughal Emperor and Shivaji had to surrender a large part of his territories. In 1666, Shivaji had to go to Delhi at the imperial behest. Aurangzeb conferred on him his old Jagir of Poona and Supa excepting the forts of Kondana (Sinhgad) and Chakan. On his escape from the custody of the Mughal Emperor, Shivaji again declared his independence and consolidated a large kingdom in the Deccan.

With the death of Shivaji in 1680, Aurangzeb revived his plans of conquering and subjugating the whole of the Deccan. In 1682, Aurangzeb opened his grand southern offensive with the avowed intention of " ferretting out the mountain rat " and himself led the attack. Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji, who had succeeded to the Maratha throne, could not stem this rising tide and the Mughals began to conquer the Maratha territory at great speed. In 1685, Poona was stormed and conquered by Khan Zaman and this time it remained under the Mughals for a long period.[1] In 1702, Prince Muhammad Mohiu'l-Millat, son of Prince Kam Baksh, son of Aurangzeb, died at Poona in his teens and he was buried in the precincts of the shrine of the Younger Sheikh Salla. Aurangzeb himself came to Poona in 1703 to direct the operations for the capture of Sinhgad or Kondana. He pitched his tents in the Borban near Poona, the site of the present Bhavani ward of the city.[2] Khafi Khan records that Aurangzeb renamed the town of Poona as Mohiyabad.[3]

The grand offensive of the Mughal Emperor was, however, petering out. The Maratha nation, defeated but still unbowed, played a waiting game and bided its time. Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, who had succeeded Sambhaji, died in 1700 at Sinhgad. Queen Tarabai, Rajaram's

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1 Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 333. According to the जेधे शकावली Poona was captured in 1683. " शके १६०५ रुधिरोदगारी संवछरे-कार्तिक मासी शाहादखान पुणियात येऊन वैसला. " जेधे शकावली.

2 " शके १६१२ प्रमोद नाम संवछरे किले कोंढाणा सिव्हगड फत्ते करून आवरंगशा याणी पुणियात बोर वनांत छावणी केली. मोहियाबाद पेठ बसाविली उर्फ बुधवार " धडफळे यादी. Op. cit ; The date in धडफळे यादी, however, seems to be wrong. Khafi Khan gives 1703 as the year of Aurangzeb's stay in Poona. Also cf. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 31, p. 4929.

3 Muntakhabu'l-Lubab of Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 51. Quoted by Prof. Chaghtai, Op. cit.

widow, took his place and very ably conducted and directed the Maratha affairs up to 1707. In the same year Emperor Aurangzeb died at Ahmednagar, his dream of a great southern conquest unrealised.

Available historical documents show that Balaji Vishwanath, who later on became the Peshwa, was the Subhedar of Poona Prant or district in 1699.[1] He was evidently administering the district on behalf of Queen Tarabai. Poona during this period was under a double government. Both the Marathas and the Mughals claimed sovereignty over it. In 1707, Rambhaji Nimbalkar, a subordinate of Nizam-ul-Mulk, captured Poona.[2] For eight years the city was under Rambhaji Nimbalkar. In 1713, the Mughals conferred on him the Jagir of Poona district.

Meanwhile, following the death of Aurangzeb, Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, was released from Mughal custody in 1708. His claim to the Maratha throne was disputed by Queen Tarabai and she tried her utmost to oppose him. Her efforts were of no avail and many Maratha Sardars went over to Shahu. Prominent among these was Balaji Vishwanath. With the help of this able diplomat and general Shahu soon established himself and reorganized the Maratha realm. In November 1713, Balaji Vishwanath was made the Peshwa or the Prime Minister. In 1715, Balaji Vishwanath persuaded Baji Kadam, Nimbalkar's administrator at Poona, to give it over to the Marathas. Baji Kadam agreed to do so on the condition that Rambhaji Nimbalkar's recently acquired Jagir of Poona was recognized and respected by the Marathas.[3] The Peshwa took over the charge and appointed Ambaji Trimbak Purandare as the administrator of the city. In 1718 the ill-feeling between the Peshwa and Rambhaji Nimbalkar ran high and Nimbalkar plundered the city as a reprisal. The Peshwa was, however, well in the saddle by then and his forces drove Nimbalkar away from Poona. The Peshwa thus became the undisputed master of the city.[4] According to the grant made by the Mughal Emperor in 1720, Poona became one of Shahu's eight Swaraj districts.

In 1720, Balaji Vishwanath died and his son Bajirao I became the Peshwa. The Maratha power now increased rapidly and the face of

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1 भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळाचें तृतीय संमेलन वृत्त, पौष, १८३८, पृ. १५०. also Cf. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 7, p. 793.

2 "शके १६२९ सर्वजिन नाम संवछरे वैशाखमास बाजी कदम फौजदार व गुंडाबा नाईक सेखदार हे रंभाजी निंबाळकर आसफज्या कडील सरदार याजकडोन आले त्याणी पुण्यात आंमल बसऊन ठाणे घातले. आठ वर्षे आंमल पुण्यात होता." धडफळे यादी. Op. cit.

3 Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 438.

4 The धडफळे यादी gives a slightly different account with a different date. "शके १६३७ मनमथ नाम संवछरे कार्तिक मासी बाळाजी विश्वनाथ प्रधान याजकडील वाकोजी ढमढेरे फौजनसी येऊन रंभाजी निंबाळकर याजकडील ठाणेदार पुण्यात होते ते उठऊन दिल्हे आणि पंतप्रधानाचे ठाणे बसले" धडफळे यादी Op. cit. In the above we have followed Grant Duff.

Maratha diplomacy was resolutely turned towards Delhi. With this new orientation of policy, the Peshwa began to feel the pressing need of a central place or capital from which to conduct his far-flung affairs. Bajirao I fixed on Poona and Shahu approved the choice. In 1725, Shahu conferred on Bajirao I the Jagir of Poona.[1] Poona as the capital of the Marathas now began to expand and grow. In 1730 Bajirao built for himself the Shanwar Wada (palace) in Poona. In the reign of Balaji Bajirao, son of Bajirao I, with the growing prosperity of the Maratha realm the city expanded still more.

In 1761, however, the Marathas sustained a mortal defeat at Panipat. The Peshwa died of this severe shock in the same year. He was succeeded by his young son Madhavrao. Taking advantage of the disorganization after the death of the Peshwa, the Nizam attacked the Marathas. The chaos and the disorganization of the Maratha forces were so great that the Nizam directly attacked and overwhelmed Poona, in 1763.[2] At his approach the population of Poona fled from the city and the important state offices were shifted to Sinhgad. His forces ransacked the city, burnt and damaged it. Madhavrao, however, was a man of ability and soon turned the tables by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Nizam at Rakshas Bhuvan in 1765. The last two decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of Nana Fadanavis who ably governed the realm for the young Peshwa, Sawai Madhavrao.

In 1795 Sawai Madhavrao committed suicide and was succeeded by Bajirao II. Nana Fadanavis was now a *persona non-grata*. A struggle for power and supremacy developed between Nana Fadanavis and Daulatrao Shinde of Gwalior. In December 1797, Sarjerao Ghatge, Shinde's lieutenant, arrested Nana Fadanavis in Poona. Sarjerao Ghatge then let his forces plunder the city for several days.[3] In 1800 Nana Fadanavis died. The Peshwa was incapable of controlling and organizing the various Maratha Sardars. Sardar Yeshwantrao Holkar, who wished to pay off old scores, bore down on Poona and captured it in 1802. He plundered and looted the city. The Peshwa fled away to Bassien and signed a treaty with the English. This treaty was practically the end of the independent Maratha Empire. What remained and continued for some more years was the pale shadow of a once mighty power.

According to this treaty the English were to restore the Peshwa to the throne. So the English forces under General Wellesley invested and captured Poona on 20th April 1803, and the Peshwa

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1 Selections from the Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. I, p. 47.

2 For an account of the conditions in Poona then see Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 38, Letter Nos. 87, 94, 95.

3 Grant Duff, Vol. III, p. 150.

was reinstalled. In 1804 and the subsequent years a terrible famine ravaged Poona and the surrounding parts. During the next few years the disintegration of the Maratha power continued apace. Many Maratha Sardars made peace with the English and accepted their sovereignty. The Peshwa began to feel the growing burden of the English yoke. His attempts at throwing it away were unsuccessful and on 17th November 1817 the English forces occupied Poona and deprived the Peshwa of whatever power he had.[1] Poona thus came to be governed by the English.

§ 3 **Development of the City.** The first problem met with in analysing the growth of a town is to determine its original nucleus. As Prof. Stephenson observes : "As I see it the problem of the medieval town, like other historical problems is one of fact finding."[2] This is particularly true of Poona. Poona was razed and burnt more than once. The oldest parts of the town are at best as they were in 1637 when it came under Shahaji.

Poona was originally a small village situated upon a raised plateau slightly away from the Mutha river, being the southern portion of the present Kasba ward. The position of the original nucleus is indicated by the position of the temples of Ganapati and Kedareshwar in the Kasba ward and by the situation of the houses of the old *patils* and other *watandars* of the town in the vicinity of these temples. The temple of Ganapati was ordinarily situated at the entrance of a town and the Kasba Ganapati has of all temples in the town the oldest structural remains and characteristics.[3] The site of the present temple of Kedareshwar probably represents the position of the temple of the guardian deity of the town. The present temple was rebuilt in the times of Bajirao I,[4] but historical documents show that it dates far back[5] and the importance of the deity is indicated by the name given to one of the gates of the old town. The sites of the original houses of all the oldest families of Poona, so far as can be traced, lie in the neighbourhood of these temples. The more important part of the old nucleus was thus away a good distance from the river. The old town was not dependent on the river for its water supply and there is a complete absence of any old *ghats* on the river which are an unfailing characteristic of all old riverine towns of

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1 For an eyewitness account of the final occupation of Poona by the English in 1817, see Grant Duff, Vol. III, p. 430.

2 Analysis 24, Methods in Social Science, Ed. Stuart A. Rice, The University of Chicago Press, 1931, p. 381.

3 We are indebted to Dr. Sankalia of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, for the suggestion and information.

4 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 30, Letter dated 13-2-1730, p. 4849.

5 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 31, Letter dated 13-10-1670, p. 4888, Cf. शिवचरित्र साहित्य, खंड ८, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, १९४२, पृ. ६४-६८.

the Deccan. We do not therefore agree with the view of the Gazetteer that the original nucleus of the town was near the Younger Sheikh Salla.[1]

The next problem is as to why the original Punewadi or Punakawadi grew into a town.[2] The town did not command any of the major ancient trade routes of the Deccan. There is no mountain pass for descending into the Konkan in the Sahyadri ranges directly in the western hinterland of Poona. The eastern country is an open Desh country and most of the important trade routes of old did not touch Poona. Poona only commands the communications to its immediate hinterland, the Maval tract. Its chief asset seems to be that it was near an important ford of the Mutha river.[3] It was therefore a strategic position for military purposes. Initially under the Mohammedans Poona was used as a military base. The original town had in the smallness of its size and the degree of fortifications, the characteristics of a castle town. These

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1 According to the traditional account of the development of Poona, the town developed from an amalgamation of three villages, Kumbhari, Kasari and Punewadi. As the town grew in size two other villages to their east, Mali and Munjeri, were incorporated into the town. This account, however, raises many doubts. According to this account the sites of five villages were crowded in an area of less than a square mile. This appears to be extremely unlikely in view of the relative location and formation of *wadis* or small villages in Maharashtra. The names of the villages in the above account are most probably names of certain places. With regard to the words 'Mali' and 'Munjeri,' the correct view, as suggested recently, seems to be that they indicate types of land, and not the names of particular villages. This seems to be the more likely as the terms 'Mali' and 'Munjeri' occur frequently in historical documents connected with several towns in Maharashtra. We think that the term 'Kasari' can also be similarly interpreted. Kasari is derived from 'kas' meaning ungraded agricultural land. Kasarbari and Kasare-ghat, the names of two passes in the Khandesh and Nasik districts respectively, exemplify the use of the word 'kasar.' Reference may also be made to names like 'Kasar-kada' given to fields even today. Kumbhari of course signifies potter's land. For a discussion of the term 'Munjeri' see शिवचरित्र साहित्य, खंड ७, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, १९३८, प्रस्तावना पृ. ११.

2 Cf. "Of the three conditions which, either together or separately, are essential to the existence of the large town; namely that it shall possess peculiar manufacturing facilities or peculiar facilities for the storing and exchanging of commodities or that it shall be the seat of the revenue consuming classes, the *nati consumere fruges*, Poona can pretend to the last alone. In a barren hilly tract, affording no materials for manufactures, and very ill-situated for an emporium, it owned its advancement from a small village to a city of two hundred thousand people solely to the residence in it of the successive Peishwas; and on the downfall of their power would probably have shrunk gradually to its original dimensions. But the wreck of the Mahratta nobility with such revenues as under us they were able to retain, still clung to it. We also made it our principal civil and military station in the Deccan, and discovered too that during the five rainy months it possessed a much more agreeable climate than that of Bombay. Its declension, therefore, has been arrested, and it is likely to continue to be a town of from seventy to a hundred thousand people." The Deccan Ryots and their Land Revenue, H. Green, Professor in the Poona College, 1852. p. 70.

3 This ford is represented by the present site of the Kumbhar Gate causeway near the Younger Sheikh Salla.

characteristics are also marked in the medieval towns of Europe.[1] Another feature of the ancient towns, shared by Poona, was their accessibility to flowing water for purposes of sanitation. Poona had access to the Mutha river, the Nagzari and another stream, which may be conveniently mentioned as the original Peshwa Nala.

Under the Mohammedans the town was fortified. Barya Arab, the Thanedar at Poona, is traditionally held responsible for the construction of the fortifications. Under him Poona was chiefly a garrison town. The Gazetteer notes that the army and its followers with a few Mohammedan villagers were alone allowed to live within the wall. The traders, the Brahmins, Hindu cultivators and others with the village officers lived outside the wall[2]. This was the first stage in the development of Poona.

The second stage begins in 1637 when the dilapidated and almost abandoned town came into the final possession of Shahaji. In 1637 the city consisted of four wards; Kasba, the original town within the old town wall, Murtazabad[3], the present Shanwar founded by Murtaza Nizam Shah and Malakapur[4], the present Raviwar, founded by Malik Amber. The Shahpura[5], the present Somwar ward, was also an old ward which is mentioned as early as 1610. The Shanwar ward was along the river bank. The Raviwar and the Somwar wards were along the two banks of the Nagzari, while the Kasba ward had access to both the Mutha river and the Nagzari. When Shaista Khan captured Poona in 1663 he founded another ward called Astapura, the present Mangalwar on the eastern bank of the Nagzari to the west of the Somwar ward. It was probably in existence even before as a quarter of the village menials. At the end of Shivaji's reign Poona comprised five wards namely, Kasba, Raviwar, Somwar, Shanwar and Mangalwar. Another ward was added

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1 Cf. Outline of Town and City Planning, Thomas Adams, Russel Sage Foundation, New York, 1935, Chapter I.

2 P. 402. This is also supported by the Purandare Daftar. " कोट पांढरीचा नवीन बांधला कोटाचे भोंवती वस्ती दरगे व मोहतफी देशमुख व देशपांडे व स्थायी उपरी अदमी ऋग्वेदी ब्राह्मणाची घरे धर्माधिकारी यांची होती गोलक सेटे व महाजन व्यवहारे यांची घरे होती. " भाग ३, पृ. १२८. Prof. Stephenson giving Pirenne's theory of the origin of medieval towns in Europe writes: "No matter what the site or whose the soil, the nucleus of the medieval town was a settlement of traders, generally a stockaded quarter outside older fortifications." Op. cit. p. 373.

3 This ward is mentioned as early as 1610. See होनप-देशपांडे दप्तर, शिवचरित्र साहित्य, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, पृ. ११३

4 धडफळे यादी. Op. cit. also cf. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 31, p. 4876.

5 शिवचरित्र साहित्य, Op. cit. ले. ९३, पृ. ११३. This ward is distinctly referred to in papers relating to 1610. The information in the धडफळे यादी that it was founded by Shahaji appears therefore to be wrong.

to the city in 1703 when Aurangzeb founded the Mohiyabad ward,[1] the present Budhwar. To the east of the ward was Raviwar, to the north, Kasba, and Shanwar to the north-west and west.

The third stage in the development of the town begins with its adoption by Bajirao I as the capital of the Maratha realm in 1720. Poona then comprised six wards, the original Kasba, Raviwar, Shanwar, Budhwar, Mangalwar and Somwar. In 1721 Bajirao I appointed Bapuji Shripat as the Subhedar of Poona and charged him with the responsibility of developing the town. In 1730 Bajirao I built for himself the Shanwar Wada. In 1728 the old fortification near the river, known as Kille Hissar, was razed and levelled and the site was given to various Sardars for house building.[2] In 1734 Bajirao founded the Visapur[3] or the Shukrawar ward to the south of Budhwar and west of Raviwar. The Peshwa Daftar also records that in 1738 an auspicious *shanti* or peace-making religious ceremony for the whole town was held to drive away the evil spirits.[4]

Balaji Bajirao, the third Peshwa, added four new wards to the city, namely Vetal or Guruwar, Nagesh or Nihal, Ganesh and Narayan. Vetal was situated west of the Nagzari, south of Raviwar and east of Shukrawar. This was created in 1750.[5] The creation of the Ganesh ward was authorised in 1755.[6] It was between the west bank of the Nagzari and the Raviwar ward. The Nihal or Nagesh ward was created in 1755.[7] This was to the east of the Nagzari and the north of the Ganesh ward. The Narayan ward was also created in Balaji Bajirao's reign.[8] It was a further extension of the Shanwar ward, up-stream along the river bank.[1] Originally, perhaps, it was a part of the Shanwar ward and was later on raised to the dignity of a separate ward.

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1 An order [आज्ञापत्र] issued by Shivaji II, son of Queen Tarabai, found in the Jamav Section, Peshwa Daftar [Unpublished] states : " क्षत्रीय कुलावतंस श्री राजा सिव छत्रपती यादी देशपांडे पाटील पुणें यासी आज्ञा केली ऐसीजे कसबा पुणें येथील पाटलाचे सेरीची जमीन कोरी होती... अवरंगजेब बादशहा याणे जमीन निराली करून पेठ वसविली मोही पेठ असें नांव ठेवले त्या पेठेंत सेटेपणा असला पाहजे करतां..." Cf. also Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 31, p. 4929.

2 " शके १६५० कसबे पुणें येथें पुरातन नदी किनारा कोट किले हिसार होते तो कोट श्रीमंत बाजिराव बलाल प्रधान याणी पाडून मैदान केले मग मुछदी यास वगैरे लोकांस घरे बांधावस जागा दिल्ही पोषमासी कोट पाडिला " धडफळे यादी Op. cit.

3 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol.30, p. 4803.

4 " मांगाचे डोईवर पेढीयाची घागर देऊन गावांभोंवतीं टोणगा फिरविला सांत केली असे पेठा-पेठानी खर्चाची पटी घेतली असे " Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 22, Article 379.

5 Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. III, p. 214.

6 Peshwa Daftar, Jamav Section, Rumal No. 172, [Unpublished].

7 Gazetteer, p. 275.

8 " यादी आपाजी लक्षुमण बर्वे मोकासी पेठ नारायण काा पुणें पेठ मजकुरीची जप्ती सरकारात काय कोणे गैरवाका समजाऊन केली आहे त्यास श्रीमंत कैलासवासी नानासाहेब याणी पेठ वसवावयाची आज्ञा माझे तीर्थरूपास केली आणि पेठेचे सर्व अधिकार आम्हास करार करून दिल्हे...." Peshwa Daftar, Jamav Section, Rumal No. 174, [Unpublished].

In 1749 the main shrine on the Parwati Hill was built. In 1761 the Lakdi Bridge fording the Mutha river was constructed at the western end of the Narayan ward. In 1746 the Mangalwar ward ceased to be a ward of the city, according to the Peshwa Daftar.[2] About 1750 the Katraj aqueduct was built and water was brought through an arched masonry channel to the Shanwar Wada. As a feeder to the Katraj aqueduct and a place of recreation and ornament Balaji Bajirao, the third Peshwa, built in 1755 the Parwati Lake at the south-west corner of the city, by scooping out and enlarging the Ambil Odha stream and clearing for the lake a space measuring 550 yards by 225 containing twenty-five acres.[3] The Ambil Odha was dammed and diverted, and sluices provided in the dam to fill the lake from the floods of the stream. Three smaller lakes were formed in the old channel where lotus was grown for its flowers. The surplus discharge from the Katraj aqueduct flowed into the lake which also served as a feeder to it in summer months.[4]

Balaji Bajirao had planned to build a fortification wall round Poona in 1755 and had entrusted the work to Jiwajipant Khajagiwale. The work was, however, abruptly left off in an unfinished condition. According to the local story, the Peshwa was reprimanded for it by Ram Raja, Shahu's successor to the throne, and the Peshwa was ordered to stop the work of construction. In Grant Duff's opinion, however, the Peshwa on second thoughts realised that walls might be a danger as their strength might tempt the head of the state to stand a siege in the city instead of retiring to the strong hill fort of Purandar.[5] Consequent-

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1 The following interesting entry occurs in the Peshwa Diary of 1773-74. "पेठ सदाशिव कसबे पुणे तुम्हाकडे होती त्यास नारायण पेठेत वस्तीस दाटी जाहली सबब पेठ बचो रघुनाथ याजकडे देविली असे." Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. VII, p. 347.

2 "थल आस्तापूर पेठ होती ते खराब पडली ते जमीन माली याचे दुमाले करून पेठवरी तनखा बैसला होता तो माली याजकडे लाविला." Peshwa Daftar, Jamav Section, Rumal No. 178. [Unpublished]. The Peshwas' Diaries, in 1765-66, however, refer to this ward. Vol. VII, p. 369.

3 Gazetteer, p. 327.

4 The following interesting entry is found in the Peshwa Daftar: "पुण्यात पाण्याचा तुटवडा फार जाला आहे व नलाचे पाण्यात किडे पडले आहेत म्हणोन ऐकिले. त्यांस खासा स्वारी पुण्यास आली असता येक महिना पाणी पुरेल कीं नाहीं व नलाचे पाण्यात किडे पडले कीं काय ते लिहिणे. तत्यांत विहिरी खणल्याने पाणी पडेसे असल्यास दाहावीस विहिरी खणावयाचे काम चालीस लावणे." Letter dated 28-3-1773. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 39, p. 6813.

5 It should be mentioned in this connection that Poona in Bajirao I's days appears to have been already surrounded by some sort of a wall. One of Bapuji Shripat's letters, written some time before 1729, clearly mentions such a fortification. "पुण्याच्या कोटाच्या व शाहार दरवाजियाच्या किल्या आवध्या रा हरिपंताजवल आहेत त्यांतून शाहार दरवाजियाच्या किल्या आपल्याकडे देवाव्या म्हणून लिहिले." Selections from the

ly he abandoned the project. From the remains of this incomplete wall, however, its eastern outline can be roughly traced. As the Gazetteer records: "Starting from the north-east corner of the old fort, near the Younger Sheikh Salla's tomb, the new wall was carried east along the Mutha to where it met the Kobra Stream." (Nagzari). Near the Younger Sheikh Salla's tomb was the Kumbhar or Potter's Gate. "From the Potter's Gate to the Kobra Stream the wall went along the high ground forming the Kumbhar Ward and the Kagadi Pura. From the south-west limits of the Kagadi Pura the wall turned to a bend of the Nagzari and then south along its left bank."[1] It can be traced up to the Bara Mori in Ganesh Peth. From the Younger Sheikh Salla to the Nagzari it was 350 yards in length and from the Nagzari to the Bara Mori about 850 yards.

In the reign of Madhavrao, two new wards were added to the city; Bhawani and Sadashiv. The Sadashiv ward was created in 1769 to the west of the Shukrawar ward and south of the Shanwar ward.[2] The Bhawani ward on the eastern bank of the Nagzari was created in 1767[3]. Papers in the Peshwa Daftar relating to 1768 also refer to a ward named Muzafferjang.

The fourth stage in the development of the city began when Sawai Madhavrao was made the Peshwa in 1774. In his reign three new wards were added to the city; Rasta, Nana and Ghorpade. The Rasta or Sivpuri ward was created in 1783.[4] This was to the east of the Nihal ward and south of the Somwar ward. Its eastern boundary was roughly the Manik Nala. In 1789 the creation of the Nana or Hanumant ward was authorised by the Peshwa.[5] This ward was situated to the east of the Ganesh ward, north of Bhawani and south of Rasta and was bounded on the eastern side by the Manik Nala. The Ghorpade ward was

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Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 30, p. 4496-97. In another letter he records that Bajirao had ordered a house to be built for himself (Shanwar Palace) within the city walls. "पुणियांत राहावें लागतें या (करि) ता राहातें घर व सदर सोपा व कारकुनास घर कोटांत तयार करणे." Letter dated 15-5-1729. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 30, p. 4522. The old wall round the city was destroyed by Murar Jagdeo in 1631. The wall referred to by Bapuji Shripat, therefore, seems to be different from and later than, the old wall. As to when or by whom it was built we know nothing at present. In 1724, Pilaji Jadhav was kept as a prisoner within the city walls. "राजश्री पिलाजी जाधव व त्याचें कबिले कोटांत ठेविले...वरकड चाकरीची माणसे होती ते आवघी कोटाबाहेर ठेवली आहेत." Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 17, p. 1532.

1 Gazetteer, p. 273.

2 Peshwa Daftar, Jamav Section, Rumal No. 174. [Unpublished.]

3 Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. VII, p. 379.

4 Peshwa Daftar, Jamav Section, Rumal No. 176. [Unpublished].

5 Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. VIII, p. 357.

established in 1781[1]. It was on the west bank of the Nagzari and south of the Ganj ward. The diary of Sawai Madhavrao also refers to the creation of another ward called Navpura in 1785.[2] This ward, as the entry shows, was to the east of the Bhawani ward. It does not exist today and cannot even be traced in later years.

In 1782 the city was provided with a drainage.[3] In 1778 Sardar Anandrao Raste constructed an aqueduct and brought water to the Rasta ward for public use. The water was brought from Kondhave, a village 7 miles east of Poona. In 1790 Nana Fadanavis also constructed an aqueduct and brought water to the city from Narhe Ambegaon, 6 miles to the south of Poona. Another aqueduct called the Chaudhari aqueduct constructed by Rup Ram Chaudhari brought water to the Shukrawar and the Bhavani wards. According to the Gazetteer, this was constructed some time after the Nana Fadanavis aqueduct.

In the reign of Bajirao II, it seems that no new ward was created. Bajirao II's diary mentions a ward named Narasipura in 1804.[4] This was probably a small ward round the Narsoba temple in the present Sadashiv ward and was probably later on merged into the latter. Bajirao II was a great builder of palaces. Before his accession there was only the Shanwar Palace. He built at great cost four other palaces one each in Budhwar, Shukrawar, Sadashiv and Ganesh. Another palace besides the Shanwar Palace was also built in the Shanwar ward. He also intended to decorate the city of Poona. The following interesting entry occurs in the Poona Residency Correspondence : " His Highness continued to be very talkative and spoke to me of his plans for the improvement of Poona by planting trees, erecting Chaultries, building garden houses, etc. His Highness expressed a great desire to build a house in the English style."[5]

When in November 1818 the English occupied the city and deposed the Peshwa, the British troops encamped in tents to the east of the city within the present Poona Cantonment limits. The Poona Cantonment thus dates from 1817. Formerly in 1803, when General Wellesley arrived at Poona to reestablish Bajirao II, he had selected

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1 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 31, p. 4995.

2 Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. VIII, p. 354.

3 The drainage is described by the Gazetteer. "Two-thirds of the city including the nine wards to the west of the Nagzari stream have underground sewers into which house and privy drains carry the sullage and liquid discharges. The sewers empty into an intercepting drain 2½ feet broad and 4½ feet deep arched over on the top. The intercepting drain called the Gandha Nala is carried along the river bank from one end to the other of the city where it discharges into the river, One sewer discharges into the Nagzari stream itself....The eastern third of the city had no sewers." p. 326. also Cf. The Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, July 1883.

4 Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. V, p. 280. It is also referred to in 1810. Ibid, p. 297.

5 Poona Residency Correspondence, Close's Embassy, Vol. VII, Letter No. 1784, dated 27 May 1805.

Garpir as the most suitable site for a British Cantonment. Here the forces left to guard the Maratha capital lived till just before the battle of Kirkee.[1] The Poona Cantonment " is a rectangular plot of land about 2·72 miles from north to south and varying from 1·36 to 1·62 miles from east to west. It is bounded on the north by the Peninsula Railway, on the east by the Bahiroba stream, on the south by a line drawn from the Vanavadi Hay stacks past the back of the Military Prison to the cemetery on the Satara road, on the south-west and west by the Bhavani and the Nana wards of the city, and on the north-west by the line of the Council Hall road which separates it from the suburban municipality."[2] After the addition of the Cantonment in 1818 the city did not expand further till well into the twentieth century. Then many suburbs grew up round the town. That part of the development is, however, comparatively modern and will be discussed more fully in Part II of this survey.

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1 Poona, Lt.-Col. H. A. Newell, Indian Army, 1918, p. 53.

2 Gazetteer, p. 350.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION

SECTION I : CENSUS HISTORY

§1. **The census unit:** The census unit, named "the City of Poona", has changed from time to time. It is necessary to give a brief sketch of these changes. Upto the Census of 1911, the census unit known as "Poona City" comprised the City Municipality, the Suburban Municipality and the Poona Cantonment, an area roughly amounting to 10,223 acres. It is interesting to note that Kirkee was not included in 'Poona City' before 1911, though a brief note in the Census Report of 1901, Vol. II, recorded that the 1872 figures for Poona included those of Kirkee also and that the Suburbs containing 3,061 persons were added in 1888. (This probably refers to the area now known as the Suburban Municipality).

In 1921 the census unit was changed. The Census Superintendent for 1921, following the then Collector of Poona District, referred to Poona City, as "Greater Poona" and this was fixed as the census unit in 1921. "Greater Poona" consists of the City and Suburban Municipalities, the Poona Cantonment, the Kirkee Cantonment, the Government House Area and a good deal of the land of eight or nine villages (namely Parvati, Ghorpadi, Vanavadi, Bopodi, Yeravda, Aundh, Bhamburda and Yerandvane). The total area of the census unit, as constituted in 1921, and known as Greater Poona, is 25,423 acres. This means more than a doubling of the previous census area. At the censuses of 1931 and 1941 this arrangement was continued.

In Table No. 1 all the figures for the census year 1911 and for the census years previous to that have been adjusted to the new census unit, as it existed in 1921 and 1931, "so as to represent what might have been the figures had the area now taken as Greater Poona been taken in in those years also".[1]

§2. **Population Estimates before 1881:** Regarding the population of Poona city before the Census of 1881, the Gazetteer has the following. "The earliest record of Poona population is for 1780 when it is roughly estimated to have numbered 1,50,000 souls. During the eight years (1796–1803) of unrest in the beginning of Bajirao II's reign, the population fell considerably, chiefly through the depredations of Daulatrao Shinde, his father-in-law Sarjerao Ghatge and Yeshwantrao Holkar, and the great scarcity of 1803. At the beginning of British rule

1. Census Report, Cities of the Bombay Presidency, Part 1, 1921, p. 74.

the estimated population varied from 1,13,000 to 1,00,000; and in 1825 Bishop Heber puts down the number at 1,25,000[1]. The first reliable record is for 1851 when it numbered 73,209. The opening of the railway in 1856[2] raised the number to 80,000 in 1864 and since then there has been a steady advance to 90,436 in 1872 and 99,622 in 1881[3]. Of the 1872 total, 80,000 were Hindus (including 587 Jains), 9,013 Musalmans, 262 Christians and 361 others".[4]

§3. **Movement of Population after 1881** : In 1881 the population of "Greater Poona" was 1,44,340 and in 1931 it was 2,50,187. It thus showed an increase of 1,05,847 or of nearly 70 per cent. during fifty years.

Table No. 1 — Census Population.

Unit	1941 (Provisional)	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
Greater Poona		250,187	214,796	188,701	175,463	182,099	144,340
City Municipality	237,560*	162,901	133,227	117,256	111,381	118,790	99,622
Suburban „	19,994	16,676	14,233	9,918	9,694	7,506	...
Poona Cantonment	40,447	35,807	32,726	32,226	32,777	35,094	30,129
Kirkee		16,302	18,357	14,028	10,797	10,951	8,012
Suburbs	.	18,501	16,253	15,273	10,814	9,758	6,577

* Including the population of Parvati, Yerandvana and Bhamburda or Shivajinagar.

From Table No. 1 we find that the population of Greater Poona increased by 37, 759 persons during 1881-91. More than half of this increase, about 19,000, took place in the City Municipal area. During the same period the growth in the Poona and Kirkee Cantonments amounted to 4,965 and 2,939 respectively. One interesting feature of this growth in all the three sections of the city is that it is predominantly among the male section of the population and particularly so in both the Cantonments. The growth of 4,965 in the Poona Cantonment comprised 4,707 males and 258 females. In Kirkee the growth of 2,939 was made up of 2,290 males and 649 females. As both these areas are mostly military in character, this need not occasion surprise. These increases or variations may further be merely adventitious in character, owing to movements temporary or otherwise, of military units. In the city municipal area, however, we come across a similar feature. The growth of

1 "Poona may be reckoned to contain about 1,10,000 inhabitants, having lost from a 10th to a 5th since the removal of Baji Rao with his court and army." Report on the Territories Conquered from the Peishwas, Mount Stuart Elphinstone, 1818, p. 5. According to a return made by Mr. H. D. Robertson, the first British Collector of Poona' the population of the City of Poona was 105,000. History of the Possessions of the Honorable East India Company, R. Montgomery Martin, London, 1837, Vol, I, Appendix, p. 361.

2 G. I. P. Railway connecting Poona with Bombay.

3 The figures for 1872 and 1881 do not include the population of the Poona and Kirkee Cantonments which was 28,450 in 1872 and 37,381 in 1881.

4 p. 287.

19,228 was constituted by 11,146 males and 8,082 females. The Suburbs showed a normal proportion of both sexes in their growth. During the decade the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway was constructed. It opened up the Southern Maratha Country. The Mutha Canal was also constructed during the decade. The canal made garden cultivation possible on an extended scale in and around Poona city and generally increased the agricultural prosperity of a large tract surrounding it. The whole of Maharashtra, with its focus in Poona city, was witnessing at this time a sort of renaissance. A new political and educational awakening was taking place. The Deccan Education Society with its twin original institutions, the New English School and the Fergusson College, was founded in the city during this decade. It also witnessed the foundation of other institutions, to prosper greatly later on, such as the Nutan Marathi Vidyalaya and the Maharashtra Education Society. The Deccan Paper Mill at Mundhwa (in the vicinity of the Poona Cantonment) started working in 1885. The Arya Bhushan and the Chitrashala Printing Presses were also established during the same period. All this denoted the general prosperity of the city during the period which was not marked by any severe failure of rains or the visitations of epidemics.

During the next decade, 1891–1901, the population of the city decreased by nearly 6,000. There were severe famines towards the end of this decade. The Raja Bahadur Weaving and Spinning Mill was started in 1892. The decrease in the population was mostly due to the mortality from plague. " From 1896 ", records the Census Report of 1901, " there has been a registered mortality from plague of 23,000 and many cases must have passed under other names."[1]

It is interesting to note how population moved in various sections of the city. We find that it decreased by about 7,000 within the City Municipal area. The Poona and Kirkee Cantonments lost 2,317 and 154 respectively. The Poona Suburban Municipal area shows an increase of 2,188 and the Suburbs also show a gain of 1,056. The growth in both these sections of the city might have been the result of people habitually residing in the City Municipal area having shifted to the surrounding parts to escape from the plague epidemic.

Another interesting feature was that in the three sections of the city, where the population recorded a decrease during the decade, the decrease was in a large measure confined to males. The decrease of 7,409 in the City Municipal area was made up of 5,932 males and only 1,477 females. In the Poona and Kirkee Cantonments of the total decrease of 2,471, males accounted for 2,337. In the Kirkee Cantonment females actually increased by 356. In contrast with this the growth in the Suburban Municipal area and the Suburbs was shared almost equally by both the sexes. Even if the conditions of Poona and Kirkee Cantonments

1 Census Report, Bombay, 1901, p. 34.

are considered abnormal and left out of account, the larger decrease of males in the City Municipal area requires explanation. It is possible to suggest that the plague epidemic resulted in the people sending their women and children out of the city. The earners, being mostly males, could not leave their place of business. And thus the males in the city bore the brunt of the whole epidemic. This, however, is only a tentative suggestion unsupported by detailed evidence.

During the next decade, 1901–1911, the population of Greater Poona increased by 13,238. The growth was specially significant as plague was raging in the city even during this decade. The Census Report of 1911 records: "It (city) has suffered from five serious epidemics of plague in the last ten years and has lost 30,000 inhabitants from this disease."[1] The growth in the City Municipal area, during the decade, came to 5,875 and it was composed of 4,907 males and 968 females. In the Kirkee Cantonment the growth of 3,231 was made up of 2,541 males and 690 females. In the Suburban Municipal area the females showed a decrease of 349, but males an increase of 573.

The growth of the population during this decade suggests that the people had lost their terror of the plague epidemic. They did no longer abandon their homes. They got inoculated and stayed where they were.[2] So also people coming from outside into the city now defied the epidemic. Inoculation had come to stay.

The population showed an increase of 26,095 in 1921. More than half of this increase, 15,971, occurred in the City Municipal area. The Suburban Municipal area recorded an increase of 4,315. In both of these the growth was equally shared by males and females. This was a definite break from the past. In the Poona Cantonment the females decreased by 290 during this decade. In the Suburbs also females had decreased, the actual decrease being 426. No explanation for these developments is available in the Census Report.

During this decade there was no serious epidemic of plague but there was an influenza epidemic in 1918. It is, however, impossible to estimate its effects quantitatively. For, separate figures of influenza mortality for Poona city are not available. In 1918 the Poona District, including the city, suffered a total loss of 58,342 persons due to influenza.[3]

During 1921–1931 the population of the city increased by 35,391. Nearly 75 per cent. of this growth was confined to the City Municipal area. Of this nearly 17,000 were males. The population of the Suburban Municipal area increased by 2,443, of which 1,418 were males. In the

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1 Census Report. Bombay, 1911, p. 11.

2 Haffkine's discovery of the plague bacillus and the manufacture of anti-plague serum came about in 1897.

3 Census Report, Bombay, 1921, p. 24.

Poona Cantonment the growth amounted to 3,081 and of these 1,667 were males. Kirkee showed a loss of 2,055, mainly confined to males, which was probably due to the diminution of the number of troops. In the Suburbs the growth of 2,248 was made up by 1,798 males and 455 females. Though the Suburbs did not show a decrease in the number of females, as in the last decade, still the increase remained predominantly masculine in character.

Since the above was written, the 'provisional' figures of the Census of 1941 have become available. These have been accordingly included in the tables. Only a brief comment on them is possible at this stage. The procedure adopted at the Census of 1941 was altogether different from that of the previous censuses. The census operations in 1941 were conducted for 72 hours instead of 24, as at the previous censuses. We are afraid that this procedure might introduce quite a significant degree of double counting in the final figures.

The figure for the City Municipality in 1941 includes the population of some parts of Greater Poona that came under Suburbs in 1931 and cannot therefore be compared with the figure for the City Municipality in 1931. The population of the Suburban Municipality has increased by about 20 per cent. during 1931-41. A growth of about 14 per cent. is recorded in 1941 by the population of the Poona Cantonment. The rate of growth in both the latter areas during 1931–41 is comparatively greater than that in the previous decade.

§4. **Birth-place**: In the last section, we traced the movement of population in the city. In tracing this movement we have not referred to the part played by migration. This was because the migration figures are available only for the Poona Taluka (Greater Poona, including Aundh and Mundhwa) as a whole. Moreover the birth-place statistics, which are the only migration statistics available in the Indian Census Reports, do not correctly reflect the inward or outward flow of migrants to or from the city. In collecting these statistics the census takes the birth-place as the sole test of the enumerated person's normal residence and assumes that he has migrated to the place of enumeration from his place of birth. Again, these statistics are collected at ten-year intervals i. e. at the time of the censuses only. They, therefore, give the total net result of all the migrations during the previous decade and ignore the large number of migrations that produced the net result. These limitations of the available statistics prompted us to leave them out of the discussion of the movement of population. The figures for the various sections of the city are not separately available. These figures again are available only for the years 1911, 1921, and 1931. Of these, the figures for the last two years are alone comparable. The figures of 1911 were given for Poona city as then existing, i.e. the City and Suburban Municipalities and the Poona Cantonment. Here we present the available data for the years 1921 and 1931.

Table No. 2 — Birth Place.

Proportion per 1000 of the whole population (Poona Taluka)

Region of Birth	1931	1921
Poona District	637	603
Bombay Presidency including States and Agencies	251	241
Hyderabad State	23	29
Madras	16	18
Punjab	14	...
C. P. and Berar	5	11
U. P.	4	5
French and Portuguese Settlements in India	3	6

As is obvious, the figures are very insufficient for drawing any elaborate comparisons or conclusions. From the table it appears that the percentage of those born in Poona District has increased slightly since 1921, as also the percentage of those born in the Bombay Presidency.

The other percentages are too small for significant comment. The absence of any one born in the Punjab in 1921 is probably due to the absence of Punjabi Regiments in the Poona and Kirkee Cantonments. As regards the migrant elements in the population of Greater Poona the following remark of Mr. Sedgwick, the Census Superintendent of Bombay in 1921, may be quoted. He writes: "In the matter of birth-place Poona is not a particularly cosmopolitan place. Poona City Municipality is essentially old-fashioned, and is simply the hub of Maharashtra. Few strangers from other parts of India will be found there."[1]

§5. **Sex-Ratio**: While tracing the movement of population we have already indicated the growth or decline of the members of each sex from decade to decade. We now present the available data regarding the sex ratio in the population in a different form. In Table No. 3 the data for only two census years (1921 and 1931) have been given. The data for 1911 were given for the two Municipalities and the Poona Cantonment as a whole. This prevented any comparison with the data of later years, as the latter were given for the various sections of the city. The data regarding the sex ratio of the city's population for the years previous to 1911 are not available in the Census Reports.

Table No. 3 — Number of females per 1000 males.

	1931	1921
City Municipality ...	877	912
Suburban Municipality ...	740	748
Poona Cantonment ...	733	723
Kirkee Cantonment ...	640	501

1. Census Report, Bombay, Vol. IX, 1921, p. 75.

The figures show that in the City Municipality the females have declined in number but are generally steady in the Suburban Municipality. Our survey sample gave a higher proportion of females generally as compared with these proportions. The number of females per 1000 males in the sample was 942 in the City Municipal area and 935 in the Suburban Municipal area. The reasons for the higher proportion females in our sample population are enumerated in Sec. II of of this chapter. The sex ratio of the population in both the Cantonments is abnormal. This is natural in all Cantonments and requires no comment.

§6. **Population by Religion**: No reference has been made up to now to the growth or decline of the population belonging to the various religious communities in the city. Table No. 4 gives the actual population belonging to various religions at different censuses in different sections of Greater Poona. The table does not call for detailed comments on individual items. A few interesting features might be noted. During the decade 1911–1921, the Muslims in the City Municipal area, unlike the Hindus in the same area, showed a decrease. But this was not shared by the Muslims in the Suburban Municipal area. The number of Jains was fairly steady in the City Municipal area during 1921–1931, but it recorded a decrease in the Suburban Municipal area during the same period. The Zoroastrians showed a decrease during 1911–21 in both the municipal areas but showed an increase in the Poona Cantonment. The apparent explanation would seem to be that the Zoroastrians, from the two municipal areas, shifted in numbers to the Poona Cantonment area. The reason for this shifting, however, can not be definitely traced.

§7. **Age Composition** : We next give the age statistics of the population, irrespective of religion, in various sections of the city for the years 1921 and 1931. The age statistics for 1911 are given for the city as a whole and are therefore useless for comparative purposes. Previous to 1911, no separate age statistics for the city even are available. We have therefore to rely on the figures of the last two censuses only.

Before proceeding further, the short-comings of the Indian age statistics in general should be emphasized. The value of the age statistics in Indian Census Reports is questionable. Overstatement or understatement of age are very common and the percentage of error is at times fantastic. These statistics are considered fairly reliable only in the larger groupings. In Table No. 5 no figures for the Poona Suburbs are given because

Table No. 4 — Religion. (Census)

	City Municipality				Suburban Municipality				Poona Cantonment				Kirkee Cantonment				Poona Suburbs	
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921*
Total Population	162,901	133,227	117,256	111,381	16,676	14,233	9,374	9,162	35,807	32,726	32,226	32,777	16,302	18,357	14,028	10,797	18,501	16,253
Hindus	142,012	116,760	101,732	97,298	12,935	11,483	7,230	6,987	17,852	16,471	16,166	18,108	10,333	12,142	9,107	7,694	15,267	13,886
Muslims	15,098	11,665	12,070	11,332	1,930	1,389	999	970	6,881	5,834	6,983	5,863	3,003	3,225	2,061	1,457	2,013	1,465
Jains	2,004	1,998	1,411	1,133	96	122	57	35	861	894	569	305	131	67	94	77	30	58
Zoroastrians	181	159	227	†168	380	224	254	†202	2,394	2,010	1,677	†1,530	87	49	73	†88	225	211
Christians	2,964	2,303	1,209	952	1,273	919	776	904	7,600	7,228	6,612	6,618	2,198	2,525	2,178	1,426	916	608
Tribal	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sikhs	54	2	...	1	17	9	...	2	43	172	...	225	534	320	...	27	12	5
Jews	532	333	591	483	45	87	58	62	171	107	153	124	11	27	21	25	28	12
Buddhists	11	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	5	10	...	4	...	...	...	3	5	7
Others	...	4	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	5	...	482	...	5	1

* Excluding Mundhwa and Aundh.

† Parsees only.

they are not available. The figures are available for the unit known as the Rest of Poona Taluka, which does not all lie within the boundaries of Greater Poona. The former includes many villages on the periphery of the city and does not reflect the age composition of the population in the Poona Suburbs. We have therefore thought it fit to exclude those figures from this table.

The age composition of the populations in both the Cantonments is, as Mr. Sedgwick says, "highly abnormal".[1] These conditions are inevitable in a Cantonment. We have therefore refrained from offering any comments on the age distribution of both the Cantonments and have confined ourselves to the two municipalities only. The figures for the Poona City Municipal area show that the proportions of the age groups, 0–15, 15–45, 45 and over, are practically the same at both the censuses. No movement is visible. It is interesting to compare these figures with the age statistics of the sample contained in our survey. According to the census figures, the percentages of the age groups 0–15 and 15–50, were 34·8 and 57·4 respectively in 1931. In our sample the same percentages were 37·0 and 52·5. The disparity between the two sets of figures is striking. When, however, it is remembered that our survey was taken seven years after the census and that it was confined to resident families, the difference in these figures is not unexpected. Allowance has to be made for the time factor and for the non-inclusion of the vagrant population in our survey sample.

In 1921, males between 15–45 were roughly 27 per cent. of the population in the City Municipality. This percentage rose roughly to 29 in 1931. Of the total male population in 1921, males between 15–45 were slightly more than 50 per cent. This percentage increased roughly to 56 in 1931. Thus there seems to be an increase of males in this age group, a familiar characteristic of the population of a growing urban centre. The same age groups in the female population, however, are almost unchanged from 1921 to 1931. The figures for the Suburban Municipal area show no movement whatsoever in the age groups 0–15 and 15–45. The percentages of populations in these age groups are broadly the same in both the census years. These figures and percentages can also be compared with similar figures in our survey. The census figures of 1931 reveal that the percentages of population in the age groups 0–15 and 15–50 were 31·7 and 61·7 respectively. The same proportions as revealed in our survey figures, were 38·2 and 54·4. Again the disparity is great and the differences are greater in the Suburban Municipality than in the City Municipality figures. It should be noted that this disparity is in the same direction in both the municipalities. The survey figures for the age group 0–15 is higher than the census figures in both. So also the survey figure of the

1 Census Report, Bombay, Part III, 1921, p. 76.

Table No. 5 — Age (Census).

Age	City Municipality						Suburban Municipality					
	1931			1921			1931			1921		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
0— 5	20,966	10,432	10,534	13,453	6,521	6,932	2,045	1,028	1,017	1,377	693	684
5—10	18,129	9,594	8,535	15,985	8,209	7,776	1,692	871	821	1,557	737	820
10—15	17,544	9,519	8,025	14,808	8,288	6,520	1,612	840	772	1,443	786	657
15—20	18,015	9,682	8,333	12,362	6,730	5,632	1,805	1,000	805	1,116	601	515
20—25	19,224	10,290	8,934	13,490	7,076	6,414	2,147	1,243	904	1,596	945	651
25—30	15,890	8,765	7,125	13,503	7,291	6,212	1,862	1,169	693	1,733	1,060	667
30—35	14,517	8,318	6,199	12,494	6,520	5,974	1,666	1,084	582	1,608	945	663
35—40	11,021	6,213	4,808	9,005	4,975	4,030	1,264	819	445	1,111	732	379
40—45	8,571	4,577	3,994	9,499	4,899	4,600	987	639	348	1,128	707	421
45—50	6,226	3,118	3,108	4,774	2,530	2,244	683	426	257	593	366	227
50—55	4,754	2,393	2,361	5,943	2,745	3,198	452	256	196	641	364	277
55—60	3,120	1,545	1,575	2,089	1,136	953	255	127	128	232	135	97
60—65	2,467	1,178	1,289	3,554	1,683	1,871	196	93	103	316	178	138
65—70	1,023	513	510	818	429	389	83	42	41	73	43	30
70 & over	1,434	647	787	1,450	663	787	119	56	63	106	71	35
Total	162,901	86,784	76,117	133,227	69,695	63,532	16,868	9,693	7,175	14,630	8,369	6,261

Table No. 5 (*Continued*)

Age	Poona Cantonment						Kirkee Cantonment					
	1931			1921			1931			1921		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
0—5	4,368	2,149	2,219	2,999	1,430	1,569	2,118	1,051	1,067	1,542	759	783
5–10	3,792	1,882	1,910	3,423	1,758	1,665	1,670	804	866	1,604	822	782
10–15	3,806	1,844	1,962	3,044	1,640	1,404	1,518	741	777	1,391	762	629
15–20	4,019	2,376	1,643	2,772	1,577	1,195	1,900	1,240	660	1 903	1,294	609
20–25	4,459	2,915	1,544	4,600	3,302	1,298	2,254	1,549	705	3,655	3,037	618
25–30	3,833	2,544	1,289	3,850	2,529	1,321	1,883	1,346	537	2,632	1,99	636
30–35	3,137	2,103	1,034	3,020	1,857	1,163	1,617	1,170	447	1,676	1,125	551
35–40	2,258	1,392	866	2,221	1,356	865	1,027	674	353	1,218	837	381
40–45	1,811	1,068	743	2,176	1,145	1,031	771	486	285	935	590	345
45–50	1,337	758	579	1,168	669	499	535	340	195	499	298	201
50–55	1,040	594	446	1,322	670	652	377	231	146	563	328	235
55–60	762	418	344	607	307	300	257	130	127	200	126	74
60–65	580	318	262	865	408	457	206	100	106	295	149	146
65–70	262	129	133	242	144	98	84	41	43	89	46	43
70 & over	343	167	176	417	198	219	85	37	48	155	72	83
Total	35,807	20,657	15,150	32,726	18,990	13,736	16,302	9,940	6,362	18,357	12,241	6,116

Table No. 6 — Age, Sex and Civil Condition (Census).

Age	Poona City Municipality—1931									Suburban Municipality—1931								
	Unmarried			Married			Widowed			Unmarried			Marrried			Widowed		
	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.
0—5	20,841	10,402	10,439	114	27	87	11	3	8	2,032	1,022	1,010	13	6	7	...	...	...
5-10	16,840	9,183	7,657	1,255	405	850	34	6	28	1,488	812	676	199	58	141	5	1	4
10-15	14,699	8,801	5,898	2,780	708	2,072	65	10	55	1,258	772	486	346	66	280	8	2	6
15-20	9,477	6,968	2,509	8,227	2,664	5,563	311	50	261	787	644	143	982	345	637	36	11	25
20-25	7,363	5,439	1,924	11,239	4,716	6,523	622	135	487	613	522	91	1,469	697	772	65	24	41
25-30	2,830	1,612	1,218	11,834	6,880	4,954	1,226	273	953	221	191	30	1,527	929	598	114	49	65
30-35	1,535	821	714	11,303	7,159	4,144	1,679	338	1,341	118	102	16	1,401	929	472	147	53	94
35-40	380	307	73	8,332	5,496	2,836	2,309	410	1,899	50	39	11	1,024	730	294	190	50	140
40-45	230	181	49	5,930	3,986	1,944	2,411	410	2,001	37	27	10	742	550	192	208	62	146
45-50	142	115	27	3,674	2,577	1,097	2,410	426	1,984	20	14	6	466	359	107	197	53	144
50-55	100	80	20	2,615	1,904	711	2,039	409	1,630	13	7	6	293	223	70	146	26	120
55-60	35	27	8	1,487	1,150	337	1,598	368	1,230	8	6	2	132	106	26	115	15	100
60-65	26	19	7	1,067	848	219	1,374	311	1,063	4	2	2	91	77	14	101	14	87
65-70	12	8	4	403	336	67	608	169	439	1	1	...	40	31	9	42	10	32
70 & over	27	16	11	508	373	135	899	258	641	2	...	2	36	28	8	81	28	53
Total ...	74,537	43,979	30,558	70,768	39,229	31,539	17,596	3,576	14,020	6,652	4,161	2,491	8,761	5,134	3,627	1,455	398	1,057

Table No. 6 (*Continued*)

Age	Poona City Municipality—1921									Suburban Municipality—1921								
	Unmarried			Married			Widowed			Unmarried			Married			Widowed		
	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.
0— 5	13,279	6,473	6,806	166	45	121	8	3	5	1,356	680	676	17	9	8	4	4	...
5—10	15,218	8,060	7,158	714	136	578	53	13	40	1,433	710	723	109	16	93	15	11	4
10—15	11,521	7,776	3,745	3,150	488	2,662	137	24	113	1,025	692	333	387	80	307	31	14	17
15—20	5,864	5,265	599	6,157	1,404	4,753	341	61	280	495	387	108	570	199	371	51	15	36
20—25	3,551	3,296	255	9,194	3,627	5,567	745	153	592	494	436	58	1,035	493	542	67	16	51
25—30	1,586	1,298	288	10,627	5,636	4,991	1,290	357	933	228	197	31	1,380	824	556	125	45	80
30—35	734	592	142	9,855	5,515	4,340	1,905	413	1,492	120	92	28	1,346	807	539	142	46	96
35—40	338	278	60	6,763	4,301	2,462	1,904	396	1,508	67	45	22	899	640	259	145	47	98
40—45	305	223	82	6,270	4,154	2,116	2,924	522	2,402	65	42	23	863	613	250	200	52	148
45—50	117	93	24	2,977	2,118	859	1,680	319	1,361	22	12	10	434	323	111	137	31	106
50—55	112	80	32	2,924	2,123	801	2,907	642	2,365	34	23	11	397	307	90	210	34	176
55—60	51	40	11	1,057	846	211	981	250	731	4	2	2	135	104	31	93	29	64
60—65	86	67	19	1,414	1,145	269	2,054	471	1,583	8	6	2	165	134	31	143	38	105
65—70	17	14	3	345	279	66	456	136	320	1	...	1	40	34	6	32	9	23
70 & over	28	20	8	447	369	78	975	274	701	3	2	1	49	46	3	54	23	31
Total	52,807	33,575	19,232	62,060	32,186	29,874	18,360	3,934	14,426	5,355	3,326	2,029	7,826	4,629	3,197	1,449	414	1,035

age group 15–50 is lower than in the census figures in both. The similarity between these sets of figures only emphasises the remarks made earlier. In the population of the Suburban Municipality the percentages of the age groups 0–15 and 15–45 in 1931 do not show any variations from the percentages in 1921, pertaining to either sex.

§8. **Age, Sex and Civil Condition**: Table No. 6 presents the figures regarding the civil condition of the population in various sections of Greater Poona, classified according to age and sex. As in the case of the age statistics, these figures are also given for the years 1921 and 1931.

In the population of the Poona City Municipality the percentage of the total unmarried to the total population was roughly 40 in 1921 and it rose to 46 in 1931. The percentage of the total widowed to the total population was roughly 14 in 1921 and it receded to 11 in 1931. The percentage of the total unmarried males to the total population was 25 in 1921 and 27 in 1931. The percentage of the total unmarried females to the total population was roughly 14 in 1921 and it increased to 19 in 1931. The latter rise was probably due to some mistake in the classification of unmarried females at the Census of 1931 as has been made clear in Section II of this chapter. The percentage of the total married males to the total population was the same in 1921 and in 1931 viz. roughly 24. That of the total married females, however, varied from 23 per cent. in 1921 to 20 in 1931. In the Suburban Municipal area the percentage of the total unmarried population was 37 in 1921 and 39 in 1931. The percentage of the total widowed to the total population was 10 in 1921 and 8 in 1931. The percentage of the total unmarried males to the total population in 1921 was 23 and in 1931, 25. The percentage of unmarried females to the total population was the same in 1931 and 1921 i. e. 13 roughly. The percentage of the married males to the total population was roughly 32 in 1921 and 30 in 1931, while that of the married females to the total population was steady roughly at 22 in 1921 and 1931.

We now turn to examine these statistics from a different angle, that of age groups. Of the total unmarried males in 1921, in the Poona City Municipality's population, 33 per cent. were between the ages 15–45. In 1931 this percentage had increased to 35. The percentage of unmarried females between 15–45 to the total unmarried females was 7 in 1921 and it shot up to 21 in 1931. As has been shown later, this was probably due to a wrong classification of unmarried women in 1931. Of the total widowed males in 1921 widowers between 15–45 were 41 per cent. This percentage increased to 57 per cent. in 1931. The percentage of the widowed females between 15–45 to the total widowed females rose from 49 in 1921 to 64 in 1931. This large increase in the "widowed" class in this age group in both the sexes cannot be satisfactorily explained.

In the Suburban Municipal population the percentage of the unmarried males between 15 and 45 to the total unmarried males was 35 in 1921 and 37 in 1931. The percentage of the unmarried females of the same age group to the total unmarried females was 14 in 1921 and 12 in 1931. The figures appear to be fairly steady. The percentage of the widowed males between 15–45 to the total widowed males, however, shows a rise from 53 in 1921 to 63 in 1931. In contrast with this the percentage of the widowed females between 15–45 to the total widowed females remained stable at 49 both in 1921 and 1931. The increase in the widowed males of this age group again cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

§ 9. **Literacy** : We examine below the literacy statistics as given in the Census Reports. The figures for Poona City are available separately only for the years 1921 and 1931. In Table No. 7 are shown the total number of literates and 'literates in English', according to sex. Our comment is restricted to the figures for the City and Suburban Municipal areas.

Table No. 7 — Literates and Literates in English by Sex.

		Literates			Literates in English		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
City Municipality	1921	35,200	27,292	7,908	12,750	11,564	1,186
	1931	51,826	39,609	12,217	19,507	16,844	2,663
Suburban Municipality	1921	2,602	1,960	642	1,137	839	298
	1931	4,035	3,134	901	1,761	1,223	538
Poona Cantonment	1921	11,510	8,701	2.809	6,348	4,567	1,781
	1931	11,495	8,440	3,055	6,574	4,518	2,056
Kirkee Cantonment	1921	4,402	3,974	428	1,580	1,365	215
	1931	2,926	2,415	511	1,220	1,025	195

In the City Municipal area the percentage of total literates to the total population was 26 in 1921 and it increased to 32 in 1931. Of the total number of males 39 per cent. were literate in 1921 and 47 per cent. in 1931. 13 per cent. of the total females were literate in 1921 and 16 per cent. in 1931. Of the total literates in 1921, 36 per cent. were literate in English. This percentage increased to 38 in 1931. The percentage of males literate in English to total literate males was steady at 42 both in 1921 and 1931. The percentage of females literate in English to the total literate females changed from 15 per cent. in 1921 to 22 per cent. in 1931.

In the Suburban Municipal area 18 per cent. of the total population was literate in 1921 and in 1931 the percentage increased to 24. In 1921, 23 per cent. of the total males were literate and in 1931, 32 per cent. The percentages of literate females to total females in 1921 and 1931 were 10 and 13 respectively. Of the total number of literates 44 per cent. were literate in English in 1921 and in 1931 this percentage was unchanged. In 1921, 43 per cent. of the total literate males were literate in English. This percentage declined to 39 in 1931. In contrast to this, 46 per cent. of the total literate females were literate in English in 1921 and this percentage increased to 60 in 1931.

In both the areas literacy increased at the same rate between 1921 and 1931 i. e. about 6 per cent. While the percentage of male literates in English to the total male literates had declined in the Suburban Municipal area it had remained steady in the City Municipal area. In both the areas, the percentage of females literate in English to the total literate females increased rapidly during 1921 and 1931, but the pace was faster in the Suburban Municipal area.

SECTION II : THE HOUSEHOLD CENSUS.

§ 10. **Procedure** : In the previous section we have presented information regarding the composition and growth of the population of Poona as revealed chiefly by the census statistics. We now proceed to give a more detailed picture of this population at the time of our survey as revealed by our enquiry into a sample of household families within the area. While one part of our survey consisted of a direct enquiry into the nature of economic activities carried on by various classes of persons in the area, the other part consisted of an enquiry into the social and economic conditions of families or households in the City and Suburbs. The Household Census conducted by us followed, in the main, the lines laid down by the Merseyside Survey.[1] It was a census and a survey of families residing in a selected sample of houses. It is necessary, in the first instance, to explain how this sample was obtained. The City and the Suburbs are divided for purposes of the municipal elections and other administrative purposes into a series of wards, and houses in Poona are numbered consecutively not for each street but for each ward. The house numbers in each ward constitute an independent series. Most of the wards exhibit a certain degree of homogeneity and the ward divisions are of long standing. It was, therefore, decided to adopt the ward as the primary unit for the selection of the sample. It may be noted that the house numbers in a ward do not follow the alignment of streets in any regular manner. But this was no handicap in selecting a

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1 The Social Survey of Merseyside, Ed. D. Caradog Jones, University Press of Liverpool, Vol. I, 1934.

random sample of houses. The original order of the numbers is often disturbed by later interpolations of extra numbers due to partitions or divisions of houses and in some cases by the disappearance of certain numbers owing, for example, to demolition of houses. For our purpose—that of a survey of the socio-economic condition of families—those houses in which no family resided at all were not significant. Hence we further omitted the numbers of such houses from the list of consecutive house numbers in each ward prepared by us, whenever the fact that the house was not used for residential purposes could be ascertained from the Municipal records. From lists prepared in this manner for each ward we selected the house numbers of every *fifteenth* house, beginning with the first number on the list. This gave us the sample of houses, the condition of families resident in which had to be investigated.

It will be noted that for the purpose of the selection of our sample we adopted the house and not the family as the basis. We did this for two reasons. In the first instance, an exhaustive list of families, such as that afforded by the voter's list in Merseyside, was not available to us. In the second instance, in view of the fact that in Poona an independent tenement per family is unusual, the house as a whole had to be surveyed for a proper appraisal of the housing and other living conditions. This no doubt gave us a sample which was more concentrated at certain points than would have been the case if we had taken the sample from a list of families. It was, however, not possible to get over this difficulty. Table No. 8 sets out the houses included in the sample in the various wards classified according to the number of families residing in each house at the time of the survey. It shows that the degree of concentration in the sample at certain points has been marked. This concentration would definitely give a bias to the sample if the large house units tended to contain homogeneous populations of specialized types. This is, however, not ordinarily the case. The big chawls included in our sample all contained a mixed population generally representing the social and economic conditions prevalent in the locality or the ward but not confined to particular occupations or castes. In certain exceptional instances the concentration in the sample has resulted in placing undue emphasis on certain characteristics especially in particular localities. The most notable instance is the result of the inclusion of the Sassoon Hospital residential quarters in the Suburban sample. The comparison of the house sample population with the census population of 1931 made in §11 brings out the extent to which the sample population conforms to the general type.

The houses originally selected were not adhered to in all cases in the final sample. Owing to a variety of reasons some of these houses had to be omitted and others substituted for them. The main reasons for doing this were that the house was occupied

Table No. 8 — Classification of selected Houses by the number of Tenements in each (H denotes houses & *T* tenements)

Wards		Number of Tenements														Tenements common	Schedules omitted	Total Families Selected
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11–20	21–40	41 and over	Total			
1 Shivajinagar	H	22	12	8	9	2	6	1	2	...	1	5	1	...	69			
	T	*22*	*24*	*24*	*36*	*10*	*36*	*7*	*16*	...	*10*	*62*	*23*	...	*270*	...	18	252
2 Sadashiv	H	18	12	12	11	6	10	6	2	...	2	5	1	...	85			
	T	*18*	*24*	*36*	*44*	*30*	*60*	*42*	*16*	...	*20*	*65*	*32*	...	*387*	...	19	368
3 Narayan	H	11	7	10	3	2	4	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	39			
	T	*11*	*14*	*30*	*12*	*10*	*24*	...	...	...	...	*30*	...	...	*131*	...	...	131
4 Shanwar	H	9	5	7	5	6	5	2	3	...	1	...	...	...	43			
	T	*9*	*10*	*21*	*20*	*30*	*30*	*14*	*24*	...	*10*	...	...	...	*168*	...	4	164
5 Budhwar	H	16	10	3	4	3	2	2	3	...	...	4	...	...	47			
	T	*16*	*20*	*9*	*16*	*15*	*12*	*14*	*24*	...	...	*56*	...	...	*182*	*4*	...	186
6 Raviwar	H	32	16	13	10	2	1	1	3	1	1	6	1	1	88			
	T	*32*	*32*	*39*	*40*	*10*	*6*	*7*	*24*	*9*	*10*	*77*	*21*	*55*	*362*	*9*	...	371
7 Kasba	H	26	15	14	11	5	3	3	6	3	2	2	2	...	92			
	T	*26*	*30*	*42*	*44*	*25*	*18*	*21*	*48*	*27*	*20*	*26*	*45*	...	*372*	*2*	...	374
8 Mangalwar	H	12	2	5	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	...	27			
	T	*12*	*4*	*15*	*4*	*10*	...	...	...	...	*10*	*25*	*66*	...	*146*	...	...	146
9 Somwar	H	7	6	3	5	3	2	...	...	1	...	6	2	...	35			
	T	*7*	*12*	*9*	*20*	*15*	*12*	...	...	*9*	...	*87*	*49*	...	*220*	...	1	219
10 Rasta	H	13	14	3	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	35			
	T	*13*	*28*	*9*	*4*	*10*	*6*	*7*	...	...	...	...	...	...	*77*	...	...	77
11 Nihal	H	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	7			
	T	*1*	*4*	...	*4*	*5*	...	...	...	*9*	...	*20*	...	...	*43*	...	2	41

12	Ganesh	H	8	4	3	4	1	1	...	1	2	3	1	...	...	28			
		T	8	8	9	16	5	6		8	18	30	18			126	4	...	130
13	Nana	H	16	12	6	2	2	1	2	4	2	4*	9	2	...	62			
		T	16	24	18	8	10	6	14	32	18	40	124	52		362	3	...	365
14	Bhavani	H	19	7	11	5	4	3	3	1	4	...	5	2	...	64			
		T	19	14	33	20	20	18	21	8	36		71	61		321	...	1	320
15	Ganj	H	18	6	6	1	2	4	3	1	...	3	1	...	1	46			
		T	18	12	18	4	10	24	21	8		30	11		43	199	...	1	198
16	Vetal	H	18	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	...	4	1	...	40			
		T	18	8	12	16	5	6	7	8	9		63	25		177	1	...	178
17	Shukrawar	H	23	13	7	16	10	8	9	1	6	2	12	1	...	108			
		T	23	26	21	64	50	48	63	8	54	20	178	23		578	2	...	580
18	Ghorpade & Gultekadi	H	6	3	4	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15			
		T	6	6	12	8										32	...	1	31
	Total P. C. M.	H	275	150	119	95	54	52	34	28	21	20	65	15	2	930			
		T	275	300	357	380	270	312	238	224	189	200	913	397	98	4,153	25	47	4,131
1	Sub. Rds.	H	4	2	5	4	3	4	4	5	...	2	4	...	1	38			
		T	4	4	15	16	15	24	28	40		20	52		91	309	...	1	308
2	Yerawada																		
3	Navi Khadki																		
4	Sangamwadi	H	12	16	5	...	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	37			
		T	12	32	15		5			8	18					90	...	...	90
5	Wakdewadi																		
	Total S. M.	H	16	18	10	4	4	4	4	6	2	2	4	...	1	75			
		T	16	36	30	16	20	24	28	48	18	20	52		91	399	...	1	398
	Grand Total	H	291	168	129	99	58	56	38	34	23	22	69	15	3	1,005			
		T	291	336	387	396	290	336	266	272	207	220	965	397	189	4,552	25	48	4,529

NOTE :—In some cases more than one economically unrelated families lived in one tenement. The number of such tenements is shown in this (*) column. Some schedules had to be omitted because of incomplete information. Their number is shown under the column marked (†).

entirely for purposes other than residential, or that it was deserted or temporarily locked up. In a very small number of cases we had to change a selected number because the resident families would not furnish the required information. When a house number had to be changed we chose in its stead the nearest available neighbouring number. The procedure adopted in the substitution of one number for another was also regularised. The number substituted was first the number. previous to the selected number in the ward list and if that number also could not be covered then the one next to the selected number. Table No. 9 sets out the detailed information regarding the numbers chosen, substituted and covered in each ward. It will be seen that numbers had to be substituted owing mainly to the house originally selected not having been occupied by resident families for one reason or another, at the time of the survey. This would indicate that the number of houses actually used for residential purposes was somewhat smaller than that indicated by the ward lists prepared by us. Consequently our sample would become somewhat larger than one in fifteen.

Table No. 9 — Changes made in the Selected House Numbers. (H. S.)

S. No.	Ward	Changed Numbers due to					
		Demo-lished	Unhabi-table	Un-in-habited	Used for non-re-sidential purposes	Refusal	Total
1	Shivajinagar ...	...	4	6	4	...	14
2	Sadashiv ...	...	4	...	4	1	9
3	Narayan ...	...	5	...	...	3	8
4	Shanwar ...	1	...	...	2	...	3
5	Budhwar ...	...	4	...	2	1	7
6	Raviwar ...	...	7	5	10	1	23
7	Kasba ...	10	1	8	1	4	24
8	Mangalwar ...	1	4	3	..	...	8
9	Somwar ...	...	1	2	4	1	8
10	Rasta ...	...	1	2	1	2	5
11	Nihal ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	Ganesh ...	1	...	...	1	...	2
13	Nana ...	1	5	5	5	1	17
14	Bhavani ...	1	5	3	2	1	12
15	Ganj ...	...	2	2	5	...	9
16	Vetal ...	1	1	2	1	...	5
17	Shukrawar ...	1	3	3	7	3	17
18	Ghorpade & Gultekadi ...	2	...	...	1	...	3
	Total P. C. M. ...	19	46	41	50	18	174
	Sub. Rds. ...	...	...	...	...	1	1
	Suburban Wadis ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total S. M. ...	...	...	...	...	1	1
	Grand Total ...	19	46	41	50	19	175

The choice of investigators presented certain difficulties. Private social workers, parish clergymen or panel doctors who were used in the London Survey for either collecting or cross-checking the information were entirely absent in Poona. The school attendance officers used in the Merseyside Survey were also not available. In the absence of these agencies we decided to employ the services of primary school teachers. The main qualifications required by investigators in this work were that (i) they should know something of the conditions of life and work of the people in the locality, (ii) they should be able to do their work in the locality without arousing hostility or suspicion, (iii) they should be moderately competent and reliable. All these conditions, it was thought, were satisfied by primary school teachers. We were fortunate to secure the active help and co-operation in this work of the then Administrative Officer of the Poona School Board, Mr. Wable. He picked up for us, for work in the different localities, experienced and reliable teachers and the organisation of this investigation was largely effected through him. The total number of teachers employed in this work was 51. Of these 9 were female teachers. The average number of schedules filled by a teacher was 90. But the number varied greatly from teacher to teacher, the highest number of schedules filled by a single individual being 190.

The form used in our survey followed closely the Merseyside Card. A translation of it is appended at the end of this chapter. The extent of the reliability of the information obtained through the survey is discussed in connection with each important head of information. It must, however, be noted at this stage that the response of the people questioned was surprisingly friendly. The number of forms that had to be rejected was very small i. e. 48; and only 72 of the accepted forms contained information that was not complete in every particular. There was one direction, however, in which our attempts to obtain information failed almost completely. This was the inquiry into the incidence of sickness. There seemed general reluctance amongst people in most of the wards of the city to answer questions relating to the incidence of sickness. An attempt made through the Chief Medical Officer of the Municipality to collect information in respect of illness in the selected houses through enquiries made by Sanitary Inspectors did not also meet with any success.

Every precaution was taken to ensure as large a measure of accuracy as possible in the data collected. The terms used in the questionnaire were carefully defined and detailed explanations regarding each head were printed on one side of the form used. The purpose of the enquiry and the significance of each item was explained to every investigator before he commenced work and each form was examined for completeness and internal consistency before it was admitted. An independent

check of a small proportion of the forms filled in by each investigator was also carried out.

In one important respect the scope of our household survey differed from that of the surveys usually carried out in Western cities. In Europe and America the objective of these surveys has ordinarily been to find out the extent of existing poverty. Hence their scope is deliberately restricted to classes or occupations falling below a certain income grade. We did not adopt this practice but decided to obtain information from all families in all the selected houses to whatever occupation or income grade they might belong. The main reason for doing this was that information available in India regarding the distribution of incomes among the middle classes is also extremely meagre. The usual source of such information, the income-tax return, does not cover the same wide field in India as it does in England and we have no other avenues of information. Hence it was thought proper to utilise the opportunity for obtaining data regarding the distribution of income of all classes among the various income grades. Our household census thus presents a picture of the social and economic conditions not only of the poor but of all classes in society. Obviously the smaller numbers would make the representation of conditions in the middle and the rich classes not as complete and as reliable as for the poor. Even so the data being entirely new would certainly prove interesting.

The family was defined, following the Merseyside definition, as " any group of persons living together as a separate economic unit ". Information was also sought regarding the extent to which persons belonging to the families defined in this manner stayed outside Poona—an enquiry which it was thought might shed some light on the migrant elements in the city.

§ 11. **Comparison with the Census Statistics** : The follwing tables compare the information obtained through the household census with the corresponding data collected at the time of the Census of 1931. The boundaries of the Poona City and Suburban Municipalities in 1937 were not identical with those at the time of the census. Certain areas which were parts of the area called "Poona Suburbs" in 1931 have since been included within municipal limits. However, the area of the Poona City and Suburban Municipalities was, in 1937, somewhat less than the total area of the three census units in 1931 i. e. Poona City Municipality, Poona Suburban Municipality and Poona Suburbs. As it is not possible to adjust the census figures of 1931 to the area in 1937 we have set out the figures for all the three areas in 1931. The difference made, especially in the percentage figures, on account of the slight variation in the areas covered at the two dates would, it is believed, be negligible.

The total population of the three areas in 1931 was 1,98,078 and the total number of persons included in our House Survey was 18,054. Between the years 1931 and 1937 there was, of course, some growth in the population of Poona City. The extent of this growth is, however, entirely a matter of conjecture. It would be hazardous to estimate the numbers of the population in 1937 from the numbers included in our sample. Though the houses were selected with the object of obtaining a sample of one in fifteen it has been pointed out that the substitution made for those houses which were not used for residential purposes or were unoccupied, has resulted in the sample being somewhat larger than that originally intended. It is, however, difficult to say how much larger it actually was. It would, perhaps, be a safe guess to say that the household census sample represented from 7 per cent. to 8 per cent. of the total population of the City and Suburbs and that the population of the area at the time of the survey was somewhere between 2·2 lakhs to 2·5 lakhs.

Table No. 10 — Distribution by Religion (H. S. Families and Census Population)

	Hindu	Muslim	Jain	Zoroastrian	Christian		Jew	Total
					Catholic	Others		
Poona City Municipality (H. S.)	3,470	494	68	4	20	57	15	4,131
Suburban „ „	306	40	...	14	30	8	...	398
Total „	3,776	534	68	18	50	65	15	4,529
			PERCENTAGES					
P. C. M. (H. S.)	84·0	11·9	1·7	0·1	0·5	1·4	0·4	100
S. M. „	76·9	10·0	...	3·5	7·5	2·0	...	100
Total	83·6	11·8	1·5	0·4	1·1	1·4	0·3	100
P. C. M. (1931 Census)	87·2	9·3	1·2	0·1	0·1	1·7	0·3	100
S. M. „ „	77·8	11·4	0·6	2·4	3·1	4·8	0·3	100
Suburbs „ „	82·7	10·8	...	1·1	1·6	3·2	...	100
Total „ „	85·8	9·6	1·1	0·4	0·5	2·1	0·3	100

Table No. 10 shows that the population obtained by our house sample was in its essential characteristics very similar to that recorded at the time of the Census in 1931. As has been pointed out already, the subdivisions of the total area in 1931 and 1937 were not coincident; but the differences are not such as to make any material difference to the main features of the composition of the population. In the division by religion the main groups show proportions which are very similar in both cases. In some of the minor divisions, however, the proportions are markedly different.

Table No. 11 — Percentage Distribution of Population by Age Groups and Sex.

(H. S. and Census 1931)

Place	Total Population			0–5			5–15			15–50			50 and above		
	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.
Poona City Municipality (H. S.) ...	100	51·5	48·5	13·5	7·0	6·5	23·5	12·2	11·3	52·5	27·1	25·4	10·4	5·0	5·4
Suburban Municipality (H. S.) ...	100	51·7	48·3	13·9	7·4	6·5	24·3	12·1	12·2	54·4	28 0	26·4	7·8	4·5	3·3
Total (H. S.) ...	100	51·5	48·5	13·5	7·0	6·5	23·5	12·2	11·3	52·6	27·2	25·4	10·2	5·0	5·2
P. C. M. 1931 Census ...	100	53·2	46·8	12·9	6·4	6·5	21·9	11·7	10·2	53·6	29·4	24·2	11·7	5·8	5·9
S. M. 1931 Census ...	100	57·4	42·6	12·1	6·1	6·0	19·6	10·1	9·5	57·4	35·5	21·9	10·6	5·9	4·7
Suburbs 1931 Census ...	100	58 9	41·1	11·7	5·6	6 1	19·3	10·0	9·3	58·1	36·9	21·2	11·1	6·3	4·8
Total 1931 Census ...	100	54·4	45·6	12·7	6·3	6·4	21·4	11·4	10·0	54·4	30·7	23·7	11·5	5·8	5·7

When the census population and the house sample population in Table No. 11 are compared in respect of sex proportions it will be noticed that the proportion of females in the house sample is somewhat higher than in the census population. Two reasons would seem adequately to explain the difference. In the first instance the house sample represents population residing within habitations which carried a municipal house number. It, therefore, excluded all those who had no such fixed abode. The population of vagrants and destitutes who did not reside in any such house would not be represented in the house sample, which would not also cover the merely floating or itinerant population of railway trains, waiting rooms, etc. Both these elements are included in the census population. It can be safely presumed that in the population, excluded from the house census, the males greatly outnumber the females. Secondly, the census population includes the population of such institutions as hospitals or the Reformatory and the Prison at Yeravada. These were not included in the house sample. In these, especially in the Yeravada population, as is clear from the census details, the proportion of females is markedly low. This would be the main fact responsible for the difference in proportions between males and females in the two populations. The same factors would also influence somewhat the proportions of the populations falling between the various age groups. For, not only would the classes not represented in the house sample be composed chiefly of males but further mostly of adult males. When the census population is compared with the house sample population the chief point of difference that is revealed is that in the age groups 0-5 and 5-15 the proportions at the census were slightly lower than in the house sample and that in the age groups 15-50 and, 50 and above, the position is reversed. The reasons given above could at least partly explain this difference; though this would perhaps not completely cover the degree of difference in the population above the age of 50.

One feature of the comparative distribution between age groups of the two populations is that while in the census population the distribution within the age groups of males is in some respects markedly different from that of the females, in the house sample population the distribution for males and females is very similar. The difference between the proportions is seen to be considerable in the census population in all the age groups. While the difference between the members of male and female adults in the Suburban and Yeravada group is easily explained, the reason for the considerable difference in the two non-adult age groups even for the Poona City population are not easily understood. In all the three age groups up to 50 the house sample population, on the other hand, shows only a slight variation as between the manner in which the female and the male populations have been divided. In the house sample population the variations in the male and female proportions in the age group above 50 is more considerable than elsewhere. Even in this age group the difference

between the two proportions in the census population is greater than that in the house sample population.

It might in general be remarked that as our investigation was carried out under more favourable conditions than a census enumeration and as the enquiry was more detailed the information regarding age as given by our house enquiry would be much less liable to error than the information collected at the census.

The phrase " Civil Condition " is used in the Census Reports to denote the condition in respect of marriage. A comparison of the "Civil Condition" of the census population in 1931 and the house sample population in Table No. 12 yields interesting results. In regard to juveniles the house sample shows a still further lowering of the proportion of child marriages since 1931. While in 1931 the census recorded as many as 4 per cent. of the males under 15 as being married the house sample reveals a percentage that is negligible. This shows a general levelling up of the age at marriage of males towards the limit laid down by the Sarda Act. In the case of girls the number married is not negligible but it also shows a decline from the level recorded in 1931. While in 1931, 12·6 per cent. of the population of females below 15 was returned as married the corresponding proportion in the house sample was only 5·6. The limit of age for marriage of girls laid down by the Sarda Act is 14 years. The age group below 15, therefore, just includes a certain proportion who are legally marriageable. In castes and communities traditionally accustomed to perform marriages of girls at very early ages parents would, in a large number of cases, just wait to reach the legal age limit before the girl is married off. Hence unless the sentiment in this respect undergoes considerable change we must continue to expect a certain proportion of girls below 15 to be married. There must, of course, be also some instances in which the legal age limit is disregarded by parents. The number of such cases does not appear to be very large. We have specially counted the number of instances in which girls under the age of 14 were reported to have been married. Their total was 181 and their distribution by communities is indicated in Table No. 13.

Not all these marriages need have been, however, contracted in direct contravention of the law. For, the Child Marriages Restraint Act is not in force in a number of Indian States and some of the above instances may be of marriages solemnised in such areas. The Act was passed in 1929 and the number recorded by us might also contain some cases of girls married before that date. The large majority do not appear to have been so married. This raises the question as to whether there might have been some concealment of child marriages in the information supplied to our investigators. It is difficult to answer

Table No. 12 — Percentage Distribution of Population by Age groups, Sex and Civil Condition. (H. S. and Census 1931)

	Percent. of Males				Percent. of Females				Percent. of Total			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Total
0—15 (H.S.)												
Poona City Municipality „	99 7	0·3	...	100	94·2	5·6	0·2	100	97·0	2·9	0·1	100
Suburban Municipality „	100·0	...	...	100	93·7	6·3	...	100	97·0	3·0	...	100
Total „	99·7	0·3	...	100	94·3	5·6	0·1	100	97·0	2·9	0·1	100
15 and over												
Poona City Municipality „	25·9	65·1	9·0	100	4·7	68·2	27·1	100	15·6	66·5	17·9	100
Suburban Municipality „	20·8	71·2	8·0	100	4·7	73·7	21·6	100	13·0	81·7	5·3	100
Total „	25·4	65·6	9·0	100	4·7	68·8	26·5	100	15·4	67·0	17·6	100
Total all ages												
Poona City Municipality „	53·5	40·8	5·7	100	37·5	45·4	17·1	100	45·7	43·1	11·2	100
Suburban Municipality „	50·4	44·5	5·1	100	39·2	47·4	13·4	100	45·0	46·1	8·9	100
Total „	53·4	41·2	5·4	100	37.5	45·4	17·1	100	45·6	43·3	11·1	100
0—15 (1931 Census)												
Poona City Municipality „	96·2	3·8	...	100	88·6	11·1	0·3	100	92·5	7·3	0·2	100
Suburban Municipality „	95·3	4·7	...	100	83·2	16·5	0·3	100	89·3	10·5	0·2	100
Suburbs „	93·2	5·6	1·2	100	80·5	19·3	0·2	100	86·8	12·2	1·0	100
Total „	95·7	4·1	0·2	100	87·1	12·6	0·3	100	91·6	8·1	0·3	100
15 and over												
Poona City Municipality „	27·2	66·6	6·2	100	13·3	58·3	28·4	100	20·9	62·6	16·5	100
Suburban Municipality „	23·3	71·9	5·8	100	7·0	70·1	22·9	100	16·2	71·1	12·7	100
Suburbs „	27·7	67·3	5·0	100	4·3	70·4	25·3	100	18·8	68·5	12·7	100
Total „	26·9	67·1	6·0	100	11·9	60·4	27·7	100	20·2	64·1	15·7	100
All ages												
Poona City Municipality „	50·7	45·2	4·1	100	40·2	41·4	18·4	100	45·8	43·5	10·7	100
Suburban Municipality „	43·0	53·0	4·0	100	34·7	50·5	14·8	100	39·4	51·9	8·7	100
Suburbs „	45·1	50·8	4·1	100	32·6	51·3	16,1	100	40·0	51·2	8·8	100
Total „	49·2	46·8	4·0	100	38·4	43·3	18·3	100	44·1	45·7	10·2	100

Table No. 13 — Classification of the married girls below 14 by Religion and Hindu Castes (H. S.)

	Brahmin	Maratha	Sutar Mali	Lingayat	Gujarati & Marwari	Sali	Depressed Class	Other Hindus	Muslim	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Shivajinagar	...	2	2	...	...	...	7	1	1	13
2 Sadashiv	1	3	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	5
3 Narayan	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	5
4 Shanwar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 Budhwar	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
6 Raviwar	...	6	...	3	1	...	3	7	4	24
7 Kasba	...	7	...	...	1	1	...	2	3	14
8 Mangalwar	...	3	...	...	...	...	10	1	1	15
9 Somwar	...	3	1	...	...	...	3	1	...	8
10 Rasta	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Nihal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Ganesh	...	10	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	15
13 Nana	...	4	2	...	...	...	1	2	1	10
14 Bhawani	...	1	1	...	1	5	4	...	3	15
15 Ganj	...	1	...	...	...	6	4	1	...	12
16 Vetal	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	4
17 Shukrawar	2	8	4	1	...	...	...	3	1	19
18 Gultekadi and Ghorpadi	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	4
Total P. C. M.	3	55	12	4	4	12	40	21	14	165
1 Suburban Rds.	...	5	2	...	...	...	5	3	...	15
2 Yeravada	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
3 Navi Khadki	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Sangamwadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 Wakadewadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total S. M.	...	6	2	...	...	...	5	3	...	16
Grand Total	3	61	14	4	4	12	45	24	14	181

this query with any definiteness. It is, however, believed that the concealment, if any, would be very small. Our investigators obtained information about the married state only incidentally in the course of a detailed inquiry mainly directed elsewhere. Among peoples who still practise child marriages the exact state of the law is not well-known and its enforcement has not been such as to make it remain continuously in the attention of the public. Hence it may be safely surmised that the violation of the law is not much more widely practised in Poona than is revealed by our figures.

Turning to the adult group the house sample shows a slightly lower proportion of unmarried males than in the census. One of the reasons for this may be the exclusion, as pointed out above, of the vagrant and institutional population from the house sample. The difference is not in any case material. The variations between the proportions of married adult males in the two populations is also very small. Widowers, however, bulk much more largely in the house sample than in the census population. There does not appear to be any satisfactory explanation of this feature of the house sample data. It may merely be a statistical accident. Very great disparity in the figures is revealed when we compare the proportion of the unmarried females at the Census of 1931 with that in the house sample population. Whereas this proportion in the former is 11·9 per cent. it is only 4·7 in the latter. The disparity is so great that a cogent explanation of it had to be sought. The only explanation which seems tenable is that there has been some mistake in the classification at the time of the Census of 1931. This conclusion seems the most likely in view of the following data. The proportion of unmarried females to the total female population of the age of 15 and above works out in the Census of 1931 at 13·3 for the Poona City Municipality and 11·3 for the population of the Poona City Municipality, the Poona Suburban Municipality and the Poona Suburbs together. Both these proportions are extraordinarily high. They have not been worked out in the body of the report on Poona City and no comments have been offered on them. The corresponding proportions in the Poona population as recorded at the Census in 1921 were: Poona City Municipality 3·61; Poona City Municipality and Poona Suburbs 3·82. It would need a revolutionary change in social conditions to bring about the difference recorded in the ratios during the ten years from 1921 to 1931. The Child Marriage Act would, as has been pointed out above, tend to affect the proportions of the married in females below the age of 15; it would not have any direct effect on the age group above 15. The improbability of this figure is further confirmed when it is compared with the corresponding proportions in other areas. Table No. 14 sets out the proportion of unmarried females above the age of 15 to the total female population

Table No. 14 — Proportion of Unmarried Females to the Total Female Population in the respective groups.

	Bombay City	Sholapur City	Poona Dist.	Ahmed-nagar Dist.	Satara Dist.
Census 1931					
0–15 ...	94·7	78·3	78·0	73·6	73·4
15 and over ...	9·1	2·5	3·5	1·3	1·3
Total ...	35·1	32·0	32·8	30·3	30·1
Census 1921					
0–15 ...	87·4	76·1	76·4	73·0	70·3
15 and over ...	7·7	2·5	2·4	1·6	1·2
Total ...	29·7	29·5	30·4	29·7	27·9

in 1931 in Bombay City, Sholapur City, Satara, Ahmednagar and Poona Districts. Bombay and Sholapur are two nearby cities in which the Maratha population bulks largely and the Poona District figures are comparable in so far as the age and sex composition and the social structure of the Poona City population is similar to that of the surrounding rural area. The population of Bombay City is definitely industrial in character and hence its composition differs somewhat from the composition of the population of the country-side or that of a city like Poona. Moreover it contains elements like that of the Zoroastrian population in which the age at marriage of females is markedly high. It is, therefore, impossible that this proportion should be higher in Poona City than in the City of Bombay. Yet this is what the census statistics seem to indicate. The ratios for the population of Sholapur City and Poona District are distinctly low and stand at a very great distance from the Poona figure for 1931. The comparative figures for the Census of 1921 are given in the table in order to exhibit the extent of the movement in the selected areas that the census statistics reveal for the decennium 1921–1931. They show that the proportion increased in Bombay City by less than 20 per cent. and that it did not increase at all in Sholapur. In interpreting Poona District figures it should be remembered that they include the figures for Poona City also. Hence the movement indicated in the Poona District figures is really due to what we believe to be the wrong figures for Poona City. If we deduct the Greater Poona figures from the District figures for both the censuses the resulting proportions are as follows:–1921–2·09, 1931–1·68. These curiously enough show a movement downwards instead of upwards. All this evidence necessarily points to the particular census ratio in 1931 for Poona City as not reflecting actual facts but as the result of some serious mistake in their classification. It appears that this mistake has occurred chiefly in the age groups 15–20 and 20–25. Table No. 15 sets out the proportions for these particular age groups for all the areas indicated above, for both the years 1921 and 1931. This table again reinforces the conclusions stated above and indicates

Table No. 15 — Proportion of Unmarried Females to the Total Female Population in different Age Groups.

Age Group	P.C.M.	S. M.	Suburbs	Total	Bombay City	Poona Dist.	Sholapur Dist.
Census 1931							
15-20 ..	30·2	17·8	13·3	27·4	25·4	9·4	6·6
20-25 ...	21·5	10·1	5·5	19·0	12·3	4·5*	3·1
Census 1921							
15-20 ...	10·6	21 0	6·1	10·8	22·6	7·30	5·6
20-25 ...	4·0	8·9	3·5	6·8	9·1	2·9*	3·0

* For age-group 20-30.

that the Poona figures for 1931 are so abnormal that they cannot be trusted. It was necessary to deal with this problem at some length in order, in the first instance, to satisfy ourselves that our investigation had not gone seriously wrong in this primary matter. Further it is a serious step to impugn the accuracy of census statistics in this manner and we could take the step only on the presentation of the completest evidence. It also leaves a great deal of misgiving regarding the extent to which census statistics can be safely relied upon.

It is not easy to compare directly the information relating to education and literacy obtained from the census with that obtained from the house sample. This is chiefly because while the census classifies the population into those literate and those illiterate we had in the house enquiry schedule included a third class, that of educands. The educands were, however, not further divided into those who had attained literacy—according to the census definition and those who had not attained it. This makes it impossible to split up the class of educands and retotal the house sample classification in order to make it comparable with the census classification. The survey statistics could, therefore, be confidently used for gauging the progress of literacy during the six years i.e. 1931–1937 only in age-groups above 15. The educands in this age group may safely be considered as having already attained literacy. Therefore, the numbers of these educands may be added to the numbers of those recorded as being literate to make up the total number of literates in the age group for comparison with the census figure. When this is done the comparative statistics, (Table No. 16) reveal a marked progress in the literacy attainments of both the adult males and females. They show that in 1937 the proportion of adults of both sexes who were literate was much larger than in 1931. The difference in these proportions is of such a magnitude that the two sets of figures do not appear to be comparable with each other.[1]

1 Some allowance must, however, be made for the inclusion of certain classes in the census figures. The classes excluded from the house sample, like vagrants, would be composed very largely of illiterates.

Table No. 16 — Percentage Distribution of Population in different Age-Groups according to Educational Status.
(H. S. and Census 1931)

		Males				Females				Total			
		Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Total	Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Total	Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Total
0-15	(H. S.)												
P. C. M.	„ ...	3·3	40·0	56·7	100	2·6	28·8	68·6	100	3·0	34·5	62·5	100
S. M.	„ ...	0·7	42·5	56·8	100	0·7	18·7	80·6	100	0·8	30·8	68·4	100
Total	„ ...	3·0	40·3	56·7	100	2·4	27·9	69·7	100	2·5	34·3	63·2	100
15 and over													
P. C. M.	„ ...	62·4	9·1	28·5	100	25·2	2·9	71·9	100	44·3	5·9	49·8	100
S. M.	„ ...	59·8	2·9	37·3	100	16·2	1·3	82·5	100	38·9	2·1	59·0	100
Total	„ ...	62·1	8·6	29·3	100	24·6	2·7	72·7	100	43·9	5·5	50·6	100
All ages													
P. C. M.	„ ...	40·0	20·6	39·4	100	17·0	12·9	70·1	100	29·0	16·6	54·4	100
S. M.	„ ...	37·7	17·7	44·6	100	10·3	8·0	81·7	100	24·4	13·0	62·6	100
Total	„ ...	40·1	20·4	39·5	100	16·5	11·9	71·6	100	28·6	16·4	55·0	100
0-15	(1931 Census)												
P. C. M.	„ ...	23·7		76·3	100	12·4		87·6	100	18·6		81·4	100
S. M.	„ ...	11·7		88·3	100	8·7		91·3	100	9·9		90·1	100
Suburbs	„ ...	9·0		91·0	100	3·3		96·7	100	6·0		94·0	100
Total	„ ...	21·4		78·6	100	11·1		88·9	100	16·4		83·6	100
15 and over													
P. C. M.	„ ...	56·8		43·2	100	18·0		82·0	100	38·9		61·1	100
S. M.	„ ...	40·0		60·0	100	15·2		84·8	100	30·4		69·6	100
Suburbs	„ ...	35·7		64·3	100	6·6		93·4	100	24·4		75·6	100
Total	„ ...	52·4		47·6	100	16·6		83·4	100	36·6		63·4	100
All ages													
P. C. M.	„ ..	45·7		54·3	100	16·3		83·7	100	31·8		68·2	100
S. M.	„ ...	32·3		67·7	100	12·5		87·5	100	23·7		76·3	100
Suburbs	„ ...	31·8		68·2	100	4·0		96·0	100	18·7		81·3	100
Total	„ ...	42·3		57·7	100	14·4		85·6	100	29·6		70·4	100

§ 12. **House Survey Information**: We now present the data collected during the house survey under a number of different heads. The information is presented independently for each ward. It has been pointed out above that the municipal house numbers are given in an independent series for each ward. Hence the original selection of the house sample was made for individual wards. The information collected during the survey was also compiled and tabulated per ward. The results have, therefore, been presented by wards. It is, of course, true that the larger the number of units in a sample the more representative it is likely to be. In the Merseyside Report the area surveyed had been divided into districts containing not less than 400 forms. Also in a number of such investigations sub-groups of less than 200 units are ordinarily avoided. We gave consideration to the possibility of combining certain wards or parts of wards together in order to present the data in larger units but decided that this was not desirable. It will be observed that the size of the wards differs very widely. In the tables presented by us the two extremes are represented by Shukrawar with 580 families and Ghorpade-Gultekdi with only 31. Five of the units in these tables are large, there being more than 350 families in each of these units. It might have been possible, no doubt, to amalgamate the data relating to contiguous wards in order to make up other large units. It was, however, thought that no advantage would flow from such a procedure. Many contiguous wards were known to differ in social and economic character. Deliberately to add up the data relating to them was to deny any advantage that might flow from presenting the data for the city sectionally. The small samples relating to certain individual wards make it no doubt difficult to say that the sample is representative of the population of the ward as a whole ; but even the very small samples reveal sometimes interesting facts which would be lost in the larger units. For example, the sample for the Rasta ward shows a large concentration of the population in the higher income classes. For that ward as a whole the sample may or may not be fully representative ; but the Rasta group has special characteristics and reveals in comparison with other contiguous groups many social and economic features of interest. And these have importance with reference, if not to the locality, at least to the class they represent. It was chiefly considerations of this character that made us decide in favour of keeping to the ward division instead of coalescing wards to make up larger units.[1] The limitation of the smallness of the sample in certain wards will, of course, have to be borne in mind in the discussion that follows.

Comments have already been offered on the statistics relating to the city as a whole in connection with the comparison with the figures of the

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1 In the case of the two small contiguous wards of Ghorpade and Gultekadi we have, however, made an exception and combined the figures. Even the combined sampel is, however, so small that it has not been noticed in the remarks.

Census of 1931. In what follows attention will be focussed chiefly on the comparison between the data for the different wards.

The data collected by means of the sample house survey have been tabulated in different ways. In the first instance the data have been tabulated in respect of certain characteristics of all the persons who were included in the survey. This tabulation yields a number of class and sub-class totals. The first division of the total number of persons was into adults and non-adults and then into males and females. The term adult was taken to denote the division at the age of 15 both for males and females. This age was chosen chiefly because it corresponded with the line of division adopted in the census statistics. Also 15 may be taken to denote the average of the beginning of employment of boys and near the minimum age, with the proper enforcement of the Sarda Act, of child bearing for women. In each of these large divisions three other bases of classification were adopted. These were education, civil condition and employment. In respect of age composition these same statistics relating to persons were also tabulated slightly more elaborately giving instead of the two classes. adult and non-adult, four age groups — 0–5 ; 6–15 ; 16–50 ; 51 and above. We also present in this section the calculations. regarding the total and the per capita house room and income. For the other set of tables we take as the basic unit the family and not the person and seek to present information on a large number of points relating to families in carefully graded classes. In this chapter we consider chiefly the information tabulated in respect of the persons included in the survey.

§ 13. **Educational Status** : Table No. 17 sets out the educational status of the four classes of persons. The classification distinguishes between those literate and those illiterate from among persons who were not receiving any education at the time of the survey. Those who were then receiving education of one sort or another were classified separately. The table reveals a wide disparity of conditions as between the different wards. On the one hand we find that in Mangalwar and Bhavani the number of adult male illiterates actually exceeds the number of male adult literates and in Ganj the one number approaches the other closely. On the other hand in the Rasta group, illiteracy is negligible among adult males and it is also very small in Shanwar, Somwar, Narayan and Budhwar. If we turn our attention to the number of adult male educands in the different wards the variations are of a similar order and the gradation of the wards is also almost the same. The samples for the wards which show a high percentage of illiterates contain very few adult males who were still receiving any kind of education. On the other hand Rasta shows a high proportion of educands and the other wards having a high percentage of literacy also exhibit a large number of educands. One significant difference in the position of the wards in this regard is that while in Budhwar the number of illiterates among adult males is low the number of educands among them is also low, much

Table No. 17 — Distribution of Male & Female, Adult and Non-adult Population by Educational States (H. S.)

Ward	Male									Female								
	Adult			Non-adult			Total			Adult			Non-adult			Total		
	Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Literate	Educand	Illiterate	Literate	Educand	Illiterate
1 Shivajinagar ...	173	28	120	7	71	109	180	99	229	69	14	205	4	38	134	73	52	339
2 Sadashiv ...	350	107	81	3	157	154	353	264	235	216	47	259	8	117	165	224	164	424
3 Narayan ...	134	34	24	3	64	56	137	98	80	96	10	75	2	35	59	98	45	134
4 Shanwar ...	176	36	14	...	66	69	176	102	83	115	14	86	...	63	61	115	77	147
5 Budhwar ...	195	27	30	2	59	65	197	86	95	107	8	122	1	49	94	108	57	216
6 Raviwar ...	370	28	98	14	125	152	384	153	250	116	6	320	11	90	177	127	96	497
7 Kasba ...	269	33	173	9	85	169	278	118	342	80	3	380	4	44	198	84	47	578
8 Mangalwar ...	76	5	96	3	31	72	79	36	168	6	...	180	4	11	107	10	11	287
9 Somwar ...	176	36	14	...	66	69	176	102	83	115	14	86	...	63	61	115	77	147
10 Rasta ...	100	32	4	1	50	39	101	82	43	84	17	33	1	52	29	85	69	62
11 Nihal ...	38	4	11	...	18	22	38	22	33	13	...	37	...	12	20	13	12	57
12 Ganesh ..	102	10	67	2	24	53	104	34	120	15	1	147	6	13	66	21	14	213
13 Nana ...	249	14	169	9	123	177	258	137	346	63	7	337	14	51	172	77	58	509
14 Bhavani ...	182	12	196	24	48	179	206	60	375	22	1	376	8	21	168	30	22	544
15 Ganj ...	139	17	121	...	51	121	139	68	242	23	2	239	1	78	102	24	80	341
16 Vetal ...	168	19	46	4	73	75	172	92	121	57	4	160	7	40	72	64	44	232
17 Shukrawar ...	446	63	172	10	146	205	456	209	377	148	11	515	5	115	229	153	126	744
18 Ghorpade } Gultekadi } ...	28	...	22	5	2	27	33	2	49	4	...	46	...	2	26	4	2	72
Total P. C. M. ...	3,361	487	1,532	105	1,283	1,821	3,466	1,770	3,353	1,294	151	3,691	75	849	2,031	1,369	1,000	5,060
1 Suburban Roads ...	216	12	119	2	79	112	218	91	231	61	5	247	2	37	154	63	42	401
2 Yeravda ...	28	...	25	...	19	20	28	19	45	4	...	49	...	7	26	4	7	75
3 Navi Khadki ...	8	...	11	...	5	6	8	5	17	...	...	16	...	...	10	...	...	26
4 Sangamwadi ...	7	...	7	...	6	4	7	6	11	...	...	14	...	1	8	...	1	22
5 Wakdewadi ..	6	1	4	...	4	9	6	5	13	1	...	10	...	3	9	1	3	19
Total S. M. ...	265	13	166	2	113	151	267	126	317	66	5	336	2	48	207	68	53	543
Grand Total ...	3,626	500	1,698	107	1,396	1.972	3,733	1,896	3,670	1,360	156	4,027	77	897	2,238	1,437	1,053	6,265

lower than it is in a ward like Sadashiv. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in wards like Raviwar and Nana. This is obviously to be explained by the fact that while in wards inhabited by persons chiefly of the professional classes the number of educands above the age of 15 is high this, number is small in wards inhabited chiefly by the trading classes, though the literacy in these latter wards is bound to be high.

Turning to literacy amongst adult females the whole position is found to be strikingly different. The proportion of literates in this group is very much less than among adult male. The variations among wards are, however, of the same type and affect the same wards as in the case of adult male literacy. In only three wards, Rasta, Shanwar and Narayan, is the number of literate females recorded higher than that of illiterates. In Rasta the proportion is markedly large. At the other extreme Mangalwar has one literate to 30 illiterates in this group and those showing a proportion higher than that of 1 to 10 are Bhavani and Ganj with Ganesh just failing to reach the figure. Similar conditions are revealed by the statistics of adult female educands. Rasta leads, as usual, by a large margin. Sadashiv comes next in proportion, followed by Shanwar, Somwar and Narayan. The Mangalwar sample did not contain a single female educand above the age of 15 and that for Bhavani and Ganesh only one each.

When dealing with literacy among non-adults the most significant comparison is that between persons in the age-group 6–15[1] and the number of educands. It will be noticed from the tables that the number recorded in this age-group of those who were no longer receiving any education but had attained literacy was very small. This class consists of those who had received some schooling earlier but were no longer at school. Among males many such persons were recorded only in Bhavani. In other wards their numbers were negligible. This might be due to the fact that generally those who went to school remained there till the age of 15 or it might be due to the fact that those who went to school but left it only after a few years' schooling either never attained literacy properly or soon relapsed into illiteracy. In the known circumstances the latter seems to be the more likely explanation.

The non-adult group includes, of course, children below the age of about 6 who would not normally either be literates or educands. Therefore, in confining our attention to persons in the age-group 6-15 we may be said to be dealing with numbers who may be fairly expected either to be attending school or to have left school after attaining literacy. In this respect the disparities between the positions of the different wards are, of course, not so wide as in the literacy attainments of adults. But even here the disparities are large enough to emphasize the differences in conditions and to call attention to certain significant facts. If we add up

[1] For the number of persons in the age-group 6–15 see Table No. 8.

the numbers of the educands and of those literate among non-adult males in a ward in the age-group 6–15 we find that in Rasta the proportion of the former to the latter is more than 90 per cent. and between 75 per cent. and 85 per cent. in Budhwar, Narayan, Sadashiv, Shanwar and Vetal. At the other extreme, in Bhavani the corresponding proportion is distinctly less than 50 per cent. and in both Mangalwar and Ganesh it is only a fraction above 50 per cent. It should be remembered that in those wards which are badly off in the matter of education there is little to ensure that those who are recorded as educands today will as adults retain some trace of literacy. It will, then, be realised how conditions which may not appear very widely disparate in the non-adult educand statistics lead to results of great disparity in the actual attainment and retention of literacy among adults.

The impression regarding the attainment and progress of literacy conveyed by the statistics relating to non-adult males is strengthened when we turn to a consideration of the figures relating to the corresponding group of females. Here it seems that while in the groups of population which are advanced in this respect the percentage of literacy is as high amongst girls as among boys, in the educationally backward wards the position of girls is distinctly worse than that of boys. We may use for illustration the same sets of statistics as used above, calculating the percentage of educands and literates in the ward sample in the total number falling in the age-group 6–15. On doing this Rasta shows a proportion of higher than 90 per cent. ; Shanwar has a percentage higher than 80, a figure which is curiously enough higher than the corresponding percentage for boys. The other "advanced" wards, however, show a falling off in the proportions. In no other ward is this percentage above 70 per cent. In Sadashiv it approaches 70, while in Vetal, Budhwar, Narayan and Somwar it varies between 58 and 62. Thus except in Rasta and Sadashiv the other "advanced" wards reveal the situation with regard to girls' education as being worse than that for boys. When we turn to the "backward" wards the comparative worsening is even greater. Thus in Mangalwar and in Bhavani the percentage of educand and literate girls is only between 20 and 25 per cent. of the total number of girls in the age-group 6–15. In Ganesh this is barely 30 per cent.

In this connection it has to be remembered that information given in the tables does not take into account any students that were found to be living entirely by themselves in the sample houses. Such students as messed together among themselves or stayed in rooms and boarded out have been left out of the tables. Only the educands who were members of the families or stayed with any of their relatives or boarded with another non-student individual or family have been included as members of that household and find a place in the tables. The number of students staying by themselves noted in the sample houses in the various wards was 135. The information relating to these students is dealt with in a separate note at the end of this chapt(

§ 14. **Earners and Non-earners:** Another set of statistics (Table No. 18) tabulated from the data relating to persons included in the household sample was that regarding earners, non-earners, and the unemployed. This information is dealt with in detail in another chapter. In this place attention is called merely to the relative numbers, in the various categories in different wards. When comparing the numbers of earners with non-earners in the various wards it will, of course, be necessary to deduct the numbers of students from the numbers of non-earners in each ward. For purposes of this table pensioners have been classed as earners, while those who obtained only a provident fund or a gratuity on retirement from service have been classed as non-earners. The non-earners would include defectives, the disabled, those over-age as well as those who were disinclined to work. The mere management of one's property, when this was not a business of some sort, has not been counted as an earning activity. It will be noticed that when the number of students is deducted from those of non-earners, the proportion of the remainder to the number of earners does not show wide or significant variations, from ward to ward. The most usual proportion in the various wards seems to be that of one non-earner to about ten earners. And this holds, both in wards like Bhavani and Ganesh as well as in those like Sadashiv and Budhwar. The variations away from this approximate relation are not very wide and they do not seem to be significant except in three instances. In Raviwar the number of non-educand non-earners is only 27 as compared with a total number of 428 earners and in Ganj the corresponding figures are 8 and 233 and in Mangalwar 9 and 158. In Raviwar the population consists largely of migrant trading communities and among these adult males can carry on work to a longer age than among other occupations; it may also be that some of them return to their native place when they become unfit for work on any account. In Ganj the population consists largely of handloom weavers of whom a large proportion is that of the migrant Padmsalis. In their case also necessity drives on people to working till a late age, weaving or the preparatory processes making it possible to do so. In Mangalwar the bulk of the families belong to the local depressed classes. In this case the only explanation of the few non-earners might be hard necessity.

The recorded number of the unemployed is not large and the variation by wards cannot be interpreted easily or significantly. The numbers in Ganj and Kasba stand out prominently and these may reflect the unemployment among artisans in handloom weaving and in brass and copperware respectively. The Vetal figure may also be explained by reference to the latter industry. But the Shanwar figure cannot be explained and the number of unemployed in Ganesh and Bhavani must be taken as showing the degree of unemployment amongst general unskilled labour. The whole question of the significance of the numbers of the unemployed is, however, dealt with separately.

Table No. 18 — Distribution of Male and Female, Adult and Non-Adult Population by Earning Status (H. S.)

Wards	Male									Female								
	Adult			Non-Adult			Total			Adult			Non-Adult			Total		
	Non-Earners	Earners	Unemployed	Non-Earners	Earners	Unemployed	Non-Earners	Earners	Unemployed	Non-Earners	Earners	Unemployed	Non-Earners	Earners	Unemployed	Non-Earners	Earners	Unemployed
1 Shivajinagar ...	52	259	10	175	12	..	227	271	10	235	51	2	174	2	.,	409	53	2
2 Sadashiv ...	144	383	11	313	1	..	457	384	11	467	54	1	290	..	,.	757	54	1
3 Narayan ...	50	138	4	122	1	..	172	139	4	156	25	..	96	..	..	252	25	..
4 Shanwar ...	49	166	11	135	...	..	184	166	11	192	22	1	124	..	..	316	22	1
5 Budhwar ...	47	200	5	123	3	..	170	203	5	221	16	..	144	..	..	365	16	..
6 Raviwar ...	55	428	13	286	5	..	341	433	13	396	45	1	278	.,	..	674	45	1
7 Kasba ...	74	383	18	259	4	..	333	387	18	371	92	..	245	1	..	616	93	..
8 Mangalwar ...	14	158	5	99	7	..	113	165	5	132	54	..	122	..	..	254	54	..
9 Somwar ...	38	231	3	158	9	..	196	240	3	187	53	..	177	1	..	364	54	..
10 Rasta ...	44	90	2	89	1	..	133	91	2	129	5	,.	82	..	.,	211	5	..
11 Nihal ...	5	48	...	40	...	..	45	48	...	40	10	..	32	..	..	72	10	.,
12 Ganesh ...	25	145	9	77	2	..	102	147	9	130	33	..	83	2	..	213	35	..
13 Nana ...	55	364	13	300	9	..	355	373	13	313	92	2	235	2	..	548	94	2
14 Bhavani ...	45	330	15	237	14	..	282	344	15	268	130	1	194	3	..	462	133	1
15 Ganj ...	25	233	19	175	5	1	200	238	20	175	19	.	170	2	..	345	21	..
16 Vetal ...	33	189	11	146	6	..	179	195	11	192	29	..	119	..	..	311	29	..
17 Shukrawar ...	115	556	10	351	10	..	466	566	10	529	45	..	348	1	..	877	46	..
18 Ghorpade (Gultekadi) ...	7	43	...	31	3	..	38	46	...	41	9	..	27	1	..	68	10	..
Total P. C. M. ...	877	4,344	159	3,116	92	1	3,993	4,436	160	4,174	954	8	2,940	15	..	7,114	969	8
1 Suburban Roads ...	32	311	4	190	3	..	222	314	4	249	64	..	193	..	..	442	64	..
2 Yaravda ...	4	49	...	37	2	..	41	51	...	44	9	,.	33	..	..	77	9	,,
3 Navi Khadki ...	...	19	...	11	...	..	11	19	...	12	4	..	10	..	..	22	4	..
4 Sangamwadi ...	1	13	...	10	...	,.	11	13	...	10	4	..	9	..	..	19	4	..
5 Wakdewadi ...	1	10	...	13	...	..	14	10	...	9	2	..	12	..	..	21	2	..
Total S. M. ..	38	402	4	261	5	..	299	407	4	324	83	..	257	..	..	581	83	..
Grand Total ...	915	4,746	163	3,377	97	1	4,292	4,843	164	4,498	1,037	8	3,197	15	..	7,695	1,052	8

As might have been expected, the conditions relating to the employment of women are not so similar in the various wards. The situation regarding the employment of women differs radically from that amongst men. While only a small fraction amongst adult males are non-earners this position is reversed amongst women. This is, of course, a common phenomenon and the distribution of the employment among women shows the variations caused by the economic condition and status of the population in the different wards. In no ward do the numbers of earners amongst females approach the numbers of non-earners; but in Ganj they are substantially more than half that number. The explanation of this, in addition to the general poverty of the population sample in Ganj, must be held to be the dominance of handloom weaving in this ward. As we shall see below, more women among hand-loom weavers are employed in occupational work than in any other class; and this for two reasons. Firstly, it is possible and necessary for them to help in the preparatory processes of weaving and secondly, the extremely precarious and scanty earnings from this craft make it necessary for them to supplement, as far as possible, the earnings of the head of the family by employment either in the craft or outside. Next to Ganj the proportions of female earners to non-earners is high in Bhavani, Mangalwar and Ganesh. No particular explanation beyond the poverty of the population groups in these wards can be offered for these figures. As will be noted later, the population of these wards consists mostly of the labouring classes largely of the general casual type and the women-folk in these classes have in a large number of instances to work in addition to managing the household. On the other hand the proportion of women in employment can be used as an index to pick out the wards in which there is a concentration of population groups better off than the average. Here again the small Rasta group leads decisively. It records an extremely small number of adult female earners. At a somewhat long distance come Budhwar and Shukrawar. The position of Budhwar might have been expected from the literacy and other statistics. The position of Shukrawar in this regard is somewhat surprising. For, this is a rather mixed ward including a population of various castes and of different incomes and occupational groups. The explanation of the small number of women earners in this ward is possibly to be sought in the fact that even though occupied partly by low income groups these belong to communities like Marathas who only reluctantly send their women-folk to work. At some distance from these two wards come Raviwar, Sadashiv and Shanwar. It will be noticed that while the indications given by the literacy index are in some respects similar to those yielded by numbers of women workers, they also show significant differences in the positions occupied by the different wards. Narayan, for example, which stands fairly high with respect to literacy in all aspects, is differently placed from the other "advanced" wards in the proportion of women-earners.

The number of earners among juveniles revealed by the house sample is not large. We know of no other set of statistics with which these can be compared. The Indian Census does not furnish any information regarding the age of earners and the enquiries such as the family budget enquiries that have been conducted in various cities in India also do not afford any data of this type. In default of comparative statistics from India reference may be made to those available for English cities. It is not possible to compare our sample directly with the samples of English city surveys because the English samples are usually selected from a restricted group. We can, however, compare our figure with the results of the general English Census. According to the 1931 Census, of the total occupied population in, for example, the Merseyside Boroughs 33 males in a 1,000 and 64 females in a 1000 belonged to the age-group 14–15.[1] Employment below this age is not legally possible in England and this may, therefore, be taken to correspond to the total of juvenile employment i. e. employment of persons under the age of 15 as in the Poona house sample. The Poona figures give us a proportion of 21 per thousand for males and of 16 per thousand of females among the total occupied population of the sample. This shows a definitely lower proportion of juvenile employment in males and a specially low one comparatively in females in Poona. The question whether the Poona figures are likely to be underestimates and if so to what degree is discussed elsewhere. It is, however, clear that this is largely a question of the availability of employment and that in a place like Poona the chances of juvenile employment being definitely restricted, the proportions are always likely to be small. Unfortunately this does not mean that the non-earning juveniles are passing their time profitably in any other manner. (It should be noted that earners for our classification always mean persons whose energies are mainly spent in earning their living and would not include students who partly earn their living). No special comments are called for on the distribution by wards of the numbers of juvenile earners. The only point to be noticed is the specially high proportion of these in Bhamburda and Somwar. Bhavani and Mangalwar have as usual high comparative numbers but Ganj seems to have an unexpectedly low figure. Other wards prominent in this respect are Vetal and Nana. The "advanced" wards have naturally very few or no juvenile male earners. The majority of the ward groups shows no figures of juvenile female earners in the house sample. The total number recorded (15) of such earners is also so small that its detailed distribution among the wards cannot be made the basis of any significant comparisons or conclusions.

§ 15. **Civil Condition**: We shall now turn to a consideration of the statistics relating to civil condition (Table No. 19). Figures of unmarried adult males give some indication of the prevalence of early or late marriages as among the different wards. In no ward, of course, is the number of unmarried adult males as large as the number of the married.

1 Social Survey of Merseyside, Vol. II, p. 15.

Table No. 19:— Distribution of Male & Female, Adult and Non-adult Population according to Civil Condition (H. S.)

Ward	Male									Female								
	Adult			Non-adult			Total			Adult			Non-adult			Total		
	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed
1 Shivajinagar ...	78	217	26	185	2		263	219	26	18	208	62	162	13	1	180	221	63
2 Sadashiv ...	191	317	30	314	...		505	317	30	52	327	143	285	5	...	337	332	143
3 Narayan ...	66	105	21	123	...		189	105	21	17	105	59	90	5	1	107	110	60
4 Shanwar ...	79	124	23	135	...		214	124	23	15	135	65	124	...	..	139	135	65
5 Budhwar ...	79	145	28	125	1		204	146	28	11	148	78	142	2	...	153	150	78
6 Raviwar ...	112	336	48	290	1		402	337	48	9	320	113	254	24	...	263	344	113
7 Kasba ...	117	308	50	263	...		380	308	50	14	310	139	232	14	...	246	324	139
8 Mangalwar ...	28	132	17	106	...		134	132	17	1	137	48	107	15	..	108	152	48
9 Somwar ...	68	181	23	167	...		235	181	23	10	169	61	169	8	1	179	177	62
10 Rasta ...	50	80	6	90	...		140	80	6	26	83	25	82	...	...	108	83	25
11 Nihal ...	10	41	2	40	...		50	41	2	...	41	9	32	...	...	32	41	9
12 Ganesh ...	45	117	17	78	1		123	118	17	1	109	53	69	15	1	70	124	54
13 Nana ...	91	293	48	308	1		399	294	48	7	288	102	226	10	1	243	298	103
14 Bhavani ...	74	278	38	251	...		325	278	38	9	281	109	182	15	...	191	296	109
15 Ganj ...	64	192	21	179	2		243	194	21	6	186	72	159	12	1	165	198	73
16 Vetal ...	63	152	18	152	...		215	152	18	13	149	59	115	4	...	128	153	59
17 Shukrawar ...	167	448	66	360	1		527	449	66	25	409	180	330	19	...	355	428	180
18 Ghorpade } Gultekdi } ...	11	36	3	34	...		45	36	3	...	36	14	24	4	...	24	40	14
Total P. C. M. ...	1,393	3,502	485	3,200	9		4,593	3,511	485	244	3,501	1,391	2,784	165	6	3,028	3,666	1,397
1 Suburban Roads ...	77	244	26	193	...		270	244	26	18	226	69	178	15	...	196	241	69
2 Yeravda ...	7	40	6	39	...		46	40	6	...	40	13	32	1	...	32	41	13
3 Navi Khadki ...	4	14	1	11	...		15	14	1	...	14	2	10	...	...	10	4	2
4 Sangamwadi ...	2	9	3	10	...		12	9	3	1	10	3	9	...	...	10	10	3
5 Wakdewadi ...	2	9	...	13	...		15	9	...	...	10	1	12	...	...	12	10	1
Total S. M. ...	92	316	36	266	...		358	316	36	19	300	88	241	16	...	260	316	88
Grand Total ...	1,485	3,818	521	3,466	9		4,951	3,827	521	263	3,801	1,478	3,025	1,81	6	3,288	3,982	1,484

In some wards, however, the number of unmarried males over the age of 15 is as large as 60 per cent. or more of the number of married males. Such wards are Rasta, Narayan, Shanwar and Sadashiv. On the other hand there are wards in which the same proportion falls below 33 per cent. In Mangalwar the proportion is less than 25 per cent. and similar proportions hold in Yeravda and the Wadis. Other wards where the ratio is 1:3 or more, are Bhavani, Ganesh, Nana, Ganj, Raviwar and Suburban Roads. The proportion of unmarried females to the total is uniformly much lower than that in the case of the males in all wards; but the comparatively high and low positions are occupied by the same wards as in respect of the males. In respect of widowers and widows, however, the position of the wards reveals a change in position. Thus the highest proportion of widowers is to be found in the Shanwar and Narayan wards; while the lowest proportions are to be found in Rasta, Sadashiv, Ganj, Suburban Roads, Somwar, Vetal and Mangalwar. It will be observed that the latter group contains an even proportion of wards that would be ordinarily called "advanced" and "backward". In the case of widows it is found that their numbers are recorded as being larger than half the number of total married or nearly one-third of the total adult women in two wards viz. Budhwar and Narayan. On the other hand in Rasta and Bhamburda widows number less than a third of the total number of married or less than a quarter of the recorded number of adult females. These figures will have to be interpreted in the light of the composition by communities of the different wards.

Among non-adult males no widowers have been recorded and only nine, who were married, one each in five wards and two each in Bhamburda and Ganj. Among non-adult females six widows have been returned. The number of married among the non-adult females is much higher and the variations in proportions rather large from ward to ward. Their proportion is particularly high in Ganesh and Mangalwar and is higher than 8 per cent. of the number of the unmarried in Raviwar, Bhavani and Suburban Roads. On the other hand no married non-adult female was returned in Rasta and Shanwar and their proportion to the unmarried females in the group was less than 2 per cent. in Budhwar, Sadashiv and in Yeravda and the Wadis.

§ 16. **Sex-ratio and Age-composition**: Not much comment need be made on Table No. 20 giving the details by wards of the sex-ratio and of the age composition of the sample population in the different wards. Considering the size of the population the variations in the ratios and distributions are likely to be accidental and no significance can be attached to them. The ratio of females to males is higher in the sample populario n than in the 1931 Census population. Among the wards Mangalwar records the highest proportion of females and Budhwar comes next. The wards showing the lowest proportions are Nana, Narayan and Vetal. An examination of the age distribution figures however, shows the deficiency as being due chiefly to a disproportionate,

Table No. 20 —Distribution of Male and Female Population by Age-Groups and the Sex-Ratio (H. S.).

	Ward	Male					Female					No. of Females per 1,000 Males	Total population
		0-5	5-15	15-50	50 & over	Total	0-5	5-15	15-50	50 & over	Total		
1	Shivajinagar ...	70	117	266	55	508	66	110	237	51	464	913	972
2	Sadashiv ...	111	203	451	87	852	108	182	405	117	812	953	1,664
3	Narayan ...	41	82	158	34	315	36	60	147	34	277	879	592
4	Shanwar ...	49	86	183	43	361	47	77	167	48	339	941	700
5	Budhwar ...	53	73	216	36	378	59	85	186	51	381	1,008	759
6	Raviwar ...	110	181	413	83	787	87	191	360	82	720	916	1,507
7	Kasba ...	110	153	395	80	738	90	156	381	82	709	960	1,447
8	Mangalwar ...	39	67	153	24	283	49	73	157	29	308	1,089	591
9	Somwar ...	49	118	227	45	439	70	108	200	40	418	953	857
10	Rasta ...	35	55	113	23	226	24	58	113	21	216	955	442
11	Nihal ...	13	27	45	8	93	13	19	44	6	82	883	175
12	Ganesh ...	29	50	143	36	258	25	60	125	38	248	962	506
13	Nana ...	117	192	370	62	741	93	144	351	56	644	868	1,385
14	Bhavani ...	88	163	337	53	641	68	129	330	69	596	929	1,237
15	Ganj ...	64	117	238	38	458	67	105	224	40	436	952	894
16	Vetal ...	57	95	199	34	385	42	77	193	28	340	884	725
17	Shukrawar ...	120	241	591	90	1,042	121	228	581	93	1,023	983	2,055
18	Ghorpade) Gultekadi ...	12	22	40	10	84	11	17	39	11	78	929	162
	Total P. C. M. ...	1,167	2,042	4,538	842	8,589	1,076	1,879	4,240	896	8,091	943	16,680
1	Suburban Rds. ...	76	117	302	45	540	68	125	277	36	506	938	1,046
2	Yeravda ...	14	25	44	9	92	11	22	46	7	86	935	178
3	Navi Khadki ...	4	7	16	3	30	5	5	15	1	26	867	56
4	Sangamwadi ...	3	7	12	2	24	3	6	14	...	23	959	47
5	Wakdewadi ...	4	9	9	2	24	2	10	10	1	23	959	47
	Total S. M. ...	101	165	383	61	710	89	168	362	45	664	935	1,374
	Grand Total ...	1,268	2,207	4,921	903	9,299	1,165	2,047	4,602	941	8,755	942	18,054

ly smaller number of female children being recorded in these wards. In none of them is the proportion of females between the ages of 15 to 50 to males in that age group lower than the normal. The proportion between the female and male population in this particular age-group is the lowest in Raviwar and Sadashiv. Sadashiv also records the sample of females in the age-group above 50 as being very much higher than the number of males of corresponding ages. All these must be considered as being mostly statistical accidents. No striking or significant variations are to be found in the distribution according to age-groups of the male and female population in the different wards.

§ 17. **Income**: Table No. 21 sets out the figures of total and per capita earned and unearned incomes recorded in the different wards for the sample families. As might have been expected, the variations in the per capita income are fairly considerable. There are, however, some reasons why they are not larger still. In the first instance, in some of the wards e. g. Shukrawar, the area of the ward being large, the population is mixed in all respects. Secondly, even where there is some marked differentiation in the types of population in the different wards this is far from complete. Quite apart from domestic servants, other groups such as those of unskilled and skilled workers are to be found in wards generally supposed to be, say, middle class wards. On the other hand, trading streets are sometimes located in wards ordinarily inhabited by the poor as, for example, in Nana and Bhavani; this adds to the sample population of these wards a few unusually rich families.

Earned income includes all income obtained both in the main occupation of the person as well as in any subsidiary remunerative work on which he might have been engaged. Unearned income means income from property or from such sources as help from relations, charity, etc. Before offering any comment on the information contained in the table it is necessary to say something regarding the nature and reliability of the data contained in it.

The information regarding the earned income of each earner was obtained in the survey schedule under two different heads: (1) Income from the main occupation, and (2) income from other sources. The data regarding the income from main occupations may be considered as very reliable so far as the salary earners and wage earners are concerned. There was, on the whole, very little reluctance shown in the giving of information regarding these sources of income. There seems to be no difficulty in an accurate return of the salary unless there was a deliberate attempt to mislead. There was neither an incentive nor any inclination towards this. Regarding wages the main difficulty arose in respect of the total number of days for which a person was employed. In a large number of cases where the employment was not permanent this difficulty was specially acute. We attempted to meet this by specific columns representing the number of days of either voluntary or involuntary unemploy-

Table No. 21 —Total and Per Capita Earned, Subsidiary and Unearned Incomes (H. S.)

Serial No.	Ward.	Earned.		Unearned.		Total.		Subsidiary Earnings.	
		Rs.	per Capita	Rs.	per Capita	Rs.	per Capita	No. of Cases.	Rs.
1	Shivajinagar ...	1,39,454	143·5	37,831	39·0	1,77,285	182·5	10	5,266
2	Sadashiv ...	2,55,271	153·3	78,586	47·3	3,33,857	200·6	4	260
3	Narayan ...	63,506	107·2	14,783	25·0	78,289	132·2	5	325
4	Shanwar ...	86,994	124·3	23,480	33·5	1,10,475	157·8	3	349
5	Budhwar ...	1,00,632	132·6	38,639	51·1	1,39,272	183·7	1	72
6	Raviwar ...	2,21,579	146·9	17,598	11·7	2,39,177	158·6	1	72
7	Kasba ...	1,16,673	80·6	34,649	24·0	1,51,322	104·6	3	294
8	Mangalwar ...	42,420	71·5	6,072	10·5	48,492	82·0	3	127
9	Somwar ...	1,06,409	124·1	12,976	15·2	1,19,385	139·3	6	363
10	Rasta ...	82,851	187·6	12,398	28·1	95,249	215·7	4	308
11	Nihal ...	12,291	70·2	828	4·8	13,119	75·0	1	60
12	Ganesh ...	49,162	97·3	3,047	5·8	52,209	103·1	1	60
13	Nana ...	1,45,251	105 0	7,002	5·1	1,52,253	110·1	3	645
14	Bhavani ...	1,01,193	81·8	7,797	6·4	1,08,990	88·2	3	734
15	Ganj ...	69,065	77·3	5,948	6·7	75,013	84·0	...	...
16	Vetal ...	81,287	112·2	14,324	19·7	95,611	131·9	1	25
17	Shukrawar ...	2,24,403	108·6	39,425	19·1	2,63,828	127·7	4	441
18	Ghorpade | Gultekdi } ...	8,044	49·6	519	3·2	8,563	52·8	...	...
	Total P. C. M. ...	19,06,486	114·5	3,55,903	21·3	22,62,389	135·8	53	9,401
1	Suburban Roads...	1,96,006	187·7	34,580	33·3	2,30,586	221·0	4	5,608
2	Yeravda ...	13,650	76·7	3,329	18·6	16,979	95·3	...	...
3	Navi Khadki ...	4,430	79·1	38	0·7	4,463	79·8	1	120
4	Sangamwadi ...	3,634	77·3	144	3·1	3,778	80·4	2	111
5	Wakdewadi ...	2,481	52·8	152	3·2	2,633	56·0	...	...
	Total S. M. ...	2,20,201	160·3	38,243	27·9	2,58,444	188·2	7	5,839
	Grand Total ...	21,26,687	117·8	3,94,147	21·9	25,20,834	139·7	60	15,240

ment during the preceding month. The investigators were instructed to enquire whether the extent of employment during the previous month was normal or for any reason, such as seasonality or sickness, abnormally low or large. They were asked to estimate, in the light of this information, the total number of days of employment during the preceding year as a whole and then to calculate the total income of the wage-earner for the year. This estimate was put to the earner himself and his corroboration obtained thereto. Thus, even though this process entailed a certain amount of guess work, the resulting estimate may be supposed to be broadly accurate. The task of estimating the annual income for classes other than wage-earners and those in receipt of salary was somewhat difficult. There were large numbers of small businesses in which the persons occupied did not keep any kind of accounts. Among these may be mentioned such classes as hawkers, the miscellaneous tobacco and *pan* shopkeepers, etc. In these cases an estimate of the average daily takings and of the residual profits was necessary. However, even here the level on which the business was conducted was so low and the character of the business was so simple that persons, acquainted with the general nature of the businesses and the standard of living of the classes engaged in them, could not guess very wrong. The difficulties in the case of artisans, such as hand-loom weavers and workers in copper-and brass-ware, were twofold in character. In the first instance, it could not be said that their employment in business through the year was continuous and secondly, independent calculations had to be made for determining their net earnings as a result of such employment as they obtained. In the more important of these cases we had the data, collected as a result of the direct industrial enquiry, to fall back upon. But these data could not be utilised for checking or correcting the estimates of incomes in the house schedules, because the two enquiries were conducted simultaneously by separate agencies and the tabulated conclusions of one could not be made available for the other. The estimates of these incomes were, therefore, entered as obtained by the investigators on information from and on discussion with the householder himself. On a review of the whole of these data we do not consider that a large margin of error has crept into them. There is perhaps greater reason to doubt the accuracy of income returns from businesses in the higher income groups. In the case of shopkeepers or businesses of middling scale the reluctance to give information was found to be somewhat greater. For these classes it was also difficult for investigators to make an informed guess. Therefore, the figures taken down were those given by the householders, sometimes only after a little cross-questioning. When we reach the stage of those who pay the income-tax the incentive to concealment seems definitely less. But even here a differentiation in the accuracy of the returns must be made as between those who received their income in the shape of salaries and those who derived it from business profits.

While the income derived from main occupations was thus critically estimated the same methods could not be pursued in respect of the income from subsidiary occupations and that from property. In certain cases the fact that a person had subsidiary sources might be known to the investigator but this would not be so for the large majority. There was, however, no reluctance exhibited in giving information regarding subsidiary employment and such omissions as might have occurred need not be considered material, especially as only a very small proportion of earners is engaged in any subsidiary occupation.

The return for the income from property was perhaps the least satisfactory of the returns in this group. The investigators had no means of knowing the extent of the property held by an individual. In this case, therefore, only such information could be obtained as the householder chose to reveal. The only portion of this income about which the investigator might obtain knowledge from other sources was the income from rent of house property. If the owner lived in a partially rented house, as was very often the case, the rent of the part let out was income directly known to the investigator. In a similar manner, house-owning, in the same ward nearby, would also be generally known. Therefore, in the returns from property rent of house property finds a very prominent place. In respect of all other sources of income such as land, government securities, shareholding, etc., the investigator merely took down what the householder told him and it is expected that in the large majority of cases there was underestimation to a greater or less degree. The error that this would introduce would, we believe, be chiefly in the higher income classses i. e. those with an yearly income above Rs. 1,000 and especially those with an income above Rs. 2,000. Owning of property, other than house property, cannot be said to be widely diffused and the comparatively high percentage of the return of income from house property shows that this part of non-earned income was at least fairly satisfactorily returned. It may be considered that for the higher incomes our survey does not supply data adequate for judging the distribution of persons among the various sub-groups in this category. Our sample of this class is too small for any conclusions to be drawn from it regarding the composition of this class. The income returns for these ranges of income are also the most suspect. It may, therefore, be taken that while the house survey reveals fairly accurately the proportionate distribution of the population between the various broad classes of income it does not give sufficiently accurate information for the highest grade. This, however, does not leave a serious gap, as the income-tax returns provide the necessary information for this grade.[1]

Table No. 21 sets out the information relating to the earned income, the total income and the income from property for the different wards ;

1. *Foot note on next page.*

it also gives the total as well as the per head figures in all classes of income.

Even though the composition of the sample population in each ward is somewhat mixed, the table shows a considerable variation in the average incomes for the different wards. The range extends from nearly Rs. 216 to as low a figure as Rs. 82 for the city wards and naturally an even lower figure for the rural Wadis. The wards that lead in the total income figures are in order Rasta, Sadashiv, Budhwar and Shivajinagar. On the other hand, the wards that occupy the lowest position are apart from the Wadis, Mangalwar, Ganj and Bhavani. In the former group the average per head income is higher than Rs. 180 per annum while in the latter it is lower than Rs. 90 per annum. The particular distribution of the wards is not surprising in view of the data previously studied. It may be noted that Shivajinagar occupies a place in the advanced section in these statistics for the first time. This is because the population sample in this ward is very mixed, containing, on the one hand, the semi-rural population of old Bhamburda and a small depressed class colony and on the other, a sample of families living in the new higher middle class extension. So that while for statistics regarding literacy and civil condition the numbers in the latter group were not able to impress the average, they were able to do so in the case of the income average for the whole sample. Another noteworthy point in this connection is the leading place occupied by wards inhabited by the middle classes. Rasta and Sadashiv wards contain populations belonging mainly to the professional and salaried classes. It may, therefore, appear surprising that these wards should lead in income averages instead of the wards inhabited mainly

(*Continued from last page*)

1 NUMBER OF PERSONS ASSESSED TO INCOME-TAX

Poona City Circle

Grade of Income					No. of persons assessed	
					1937–38	1938–39
Rs.	2,000	to	Rs.	4,999	1,005	635
,,	5,000	to	,,	9,999	184	201
,,	10,000	to	,,	14,999	86	46
,,	15,000	to	,,	19,999	75	15
,,	20,000	to	,,	24,999	18	18
,,	25,000	to	,,	29,999	6	4
,,	30,000	to	,,	39,999	10	8
,,	40,000	to	,,	49,999	4	3
,,	50,000	to	,,	99,999	9	6
,,	1,00,000	&		Upwards	...	2

On a rough estimate we put the total number of families in Poona at 60,000. The above figures for 1937–38 would thus give the percentage of families with incomes of Rs. 2,000 and above, at 2·7. In the sample in our survey this percentage is 4·0.

Table No. 22 — Analysis of Families in respect of Number and Area of Living Rooms, Domestic Servants, Members Outside, etc. (H. S.)

Ward	No. of families	Persons per family	No. of families with two or more members	Persons per family of two or more members	No. of rooms	Rooms per family	No of Khans	Khans per family	Khans per person	Total No. of Houses	No. of owner-resident families	No. of families employing domestic servants	No. of domestic servants	Total monthly salary of Domestic servants	Salary per domestic servant	No. of families with members outside
														Rs.		
Shivajinagar	252	3·85	196	4·67	504	2·00	1,314	5·22	1·35	69	43	49	80	626	7·8	103
Sadashiv	368	4·53	344	4 67	972	2·65	2,566	6·98	1·55	85	66	154	197	729	3·7	71
Narayan	131	4·53	128	4·60	340	2·60	846	6·46	1·43	39	34	54	71	270	3·8	11
Shanwar	164	4·27	148	4·62	407	2·48	1,158	7·05	1·65	43	34	77	94	286	3·0	39
Budhwar	186	4·07	161	4·56	413	2·22	1,143	6·15	1·51	47	28	102	117	290	2·5	72
Raviwar	371	4·06	317	4·58	730	1·97	1,764	4·76	1·17	88	37	93	99	302	3·1	54
Kasba	374	3·87	326	4·26	648	1·73	1,618	4·33	1·12	92	63	25	33	178	5·4	42
Mangalwar	146	4·05	136	4·28	186	1·28	466	3·20	0·79	27	15	4	5	22	4·4	10
Somwar	219	3·92	195	4·27	383	1·75	1,015	4·63	1·19	35	24	24	30	174	5·8	32
Rasta	77	5·73	71	6·15	253	3·29	732	9·51	1·66	35	20	40	47	172	3·7	12
Nihal	41	4·27	40	4·35	57	1·39	145	3·54	0·83	7	4	5	5	11	2·2	3
Ganesh	130	3·90	112	4·36	193	1·48	411	3·16	0·81	28	16	5	6	19	3·2	9
Nana	365	3·79	317	4·21	575	1·58	1,280	3·51	0·93	62	30	10	10	42	4·2	22
Bhavani	320	3·87	273	4·36	446	1·40	957	3·00	0·78	64	28	24	31	255	8·2	38
Ganj	198	4·52	188	4·70	297	1·50	753	3·81	0·84	46	33	3	3	6	2·0	7
Vetal	178	4·07	162	4·37	348	1·96	990	5·56	1·38	40	26	15	19	116	6·1	41
Shukrawar	580	3·57	465	4·19	969	1·68	2,578	4·44	1·25	108	71	76	92	453	4·9	51
Ghorpade) Gultekadi (	31	5·23	29	5·51	47	1·52	109	3·52	0·67	15	9	...	...	...	...	5
Total P.C.M.	4,131	4·03	3,609	4·48	7,768	1,88	19·845	4·81	1·19	930	581	760	939	3,952	4·2	622
Suburban Rds.	308	3·40	248	3·98	534	1·73	1,777	5·77	1·70	38	5	25	77	1,212	15·8	30
Yeravda	53	3·36	53	3·36	63	1·19	153	2·89	0·86	)	10	1	1	10	10·0	...
Navi Khadki	15	3·93	15	3·93	23	1·53	56	3·73	1·00	} 37	6	...	...	...	...	...
Sangamwadi	13	3·62	13	3·62	18	1·38	39	3·00	0·83		8	1	1	2	2·0	1
Wakdewadi	9	5·22	9	5·22	17	1·89	31	3·44	0·66	)	6	...	...	...	...	1
Total S. M.	398	3·45	329	3·97	655	1·65	2,056	5·16	1·50	75	35	27	79	1,224	15·5	32
Grand Total	4,529	3·99	3,938	4·43	8,423	1·86	21,901	4·84	1·22	1,005	616	789	1,018	5,176	5·1	654

by the business communities. This may perhaps be explained in the following manner. The wards in which wholesale trade is chiefly concentrated, that is Nana and Bhavani, are also those containing a large population of the poorest elements in the city. The two business wards in which such a large admixture does not obtain are Budhwar and Raviwar. They do not actually lead the average income group but are within the first five. The explanation of this may be that even in these business wards smaller businesses numerically dominate and that in them and especially in the case of the few of the really rich, included in the sample, there occurs a considerable amount of underestimation. Looking to the column relating to income from property it will be observed that the ward order is slightly different from the order in the total income group. The leading wards are Budhwar, Sadashiv, Shivajinagar, Shanwar and Rasta. These figures are perhaps the least reliable, and they show not so much total property holding as the property holding of the population mainly in the shape of houses. On any other supposition the low position held by a ward like Raviwar could not be explained. The only general comment that is necessary on the whole table is to point out the extremely low level of the average income in the large number of wards. This shows a level of poverty which is truly appalling when it is realised that the figures refer to a large and important urban group. The details of the picture of this poverty will be studied in a later chapter. Secondly, attention may be drawn to the comparatively large figure of income from property even though this is an obvious underestimate. As might have been expected, the variations in the averages for wards in the income from property are much more considerable than in the earned income. On the facts collected by us, the total per capita income of the population of Poona amounts to little less than Rs. 140 per annum. Making a liberal allowance for income not returned, we may estimate the actual average at a maximum of Rs. 150. This is a figure which may usefully be compared with the various estimates of regional or national incomes arrived at by other methods.

§18. **Size of Family**. Table No. 22 sets out the number of persons per family, the number of rooms and the area occupied by each family for the various wards. The table shows a somewhat surprising variation in the number of persons per family in the different wards. Some wards, mainly Rasta, Sadashiv, Narayan and Ganj, have an average of 4·5 persons or more per family, while others viz. Shukrawar, Nana, Shivajinagar and Kasba have an average family of less than 3·9 persons. The range of variation is that from 5·7 for Rasta to 3·5 for Shukrawar. However, there seems to be no obvious common feature between the populations of the wards having either the large or the small size and it would appear that the variation in the number of single individuals included in the different samples has affected the average size of family in the different wards to a material extent. In order to ascertain the extent to which this has happened, separate calculations

have been made regarding the size of families in each ward sample, excluding single individuals. The results of these calculations are shown in a column in the table. This column shows that after taking out the single individuals the range of variation is considerably lowered. If we neglect the extraordinarily large figure of 6·15 for Rasta, the range is now narrowed down to, from 4·76 for Budhwar to 4·19 for Shukrawar. This would show that if the factor of the single individual is taken out the variations in the size of family from one ward to another are not considerable. The number of single individuals is proportionately larger in the population samples of Shivajinagar, Shukrawar and Suburban Roads. It is also fairly high in Raviwar, Nana, Kasba, Budhwar and Bhavani. These may represent either migrant elements, or the poorer strata of population in which the age of marriage of males is high on account of economic circumstances. The number of single individuals is proportionately low in Narayan, Rasta, Sadashiv, Mangalwar and Ganj and no single individual was recorded in the sample for Yeravda and the Wadis. This fact and the low size of the family are both remarkable and throw some light on the semi-rural conditions in this latter group. The average size of the family, which is about 4·5 individuals, is in conformity with the general conditions of the Bombay Deccan and the Poona population as shown by the decennial census.

§ 19. **Living Rooms and Area.** The number of rooms per family vary naturally with economic conditions. We find that while Rasta, Sadashiv, Narayan and Shanwar show the highest number of average rooms per family, Mangalwar, Bhavani and Ganj show the lowest. It should be noted that the number of rooms or the area per family depends not only on the economic condition of the family but also on the varying level of rentals in the various wards ; so that in a ward like Budhwar the number of rooms per family and the area per person would not be large because of high rentals, even though the average income may be among the highest. The total number of rooms occupied by the average family is low even in the richer wards. In the poorer wards not only is the number of rooms small but the quality of housing accommodation is also deplorable and each room represents a much smaller area than in the richer wards. It was not possible in our investigation to get an accurate estimate of the area of living room actually occupied by each family. The irregular nature of room-building and the impossibility of the investigator visiting every part of the house ruled the measurement of area out of question. There is, however, a local standard of measuring area which is in general use. In Poona it is usual to talk in terms, not only of rooms but also of '*khan*', when referring to house accommodation. The '*khan*' is far from being an accurate or a standardised measure, but it is considered roughly equivalent to 50 square feet. We asked our investigators to note, in addition to the number of rooms, the number of *khans* occupied by each householder as estimated by him. Two

columns in the table give information regarding the number of *khans* per family and per person in the different wards. The relative position of the different wards, as shown in these columns, is also that determined by the two factors of the average income and the level of rentals. In Rasta, Shanwar and Sadashiv the number of *khans* per family is 7 or above and the number of *khans* per person more than 1·5. On the other hand, in Bhavani, Mangalwar, Ganesh and Ganj the number of *khans* per family averages between 3 and 4 and the number of *khans* per person is less than 0·9. It is indicative of the quality of housing in the rural areas that in all respects, i. e. the number of rooms per family, the number of *khans* per family and the number of *khans* per person, Yeravda and the Wadis fall within the limits denoted by conditions in the poorest wards of the city.

§ 20. **Owners and Tenants.** Among questions included in the house schedules was one which asked whether the householder was a tenant or the owner of the house in which he resided. That the large majority of the householders in Poona are tenants and not owners follows naturally from the fact that the average house holds more than four families. It may be noted in parenthesis that this conclusion does not strictly follow from the premises. For, it may be that families staying separately in the same house may yet be joint-owners of the house. A few such cases were actually recorded in our sample. For the sample as a whole, the proportion of families of owners to the total number of families recorded was a little less than 14 per cent.[1] As among the different wards, there is some variation in the incidence of this proportion. The variations are not, however, large though they show, as the constituents of the two extremes, the same wards as are shown by the indexes of economic condition. Thus in Rasta and Narayan the percentage is more than 25 and in Shanwar more than 20. While it is less than 11 per cent. in Mangalwar and Somwar and less than 10 per cent. in Bhavani, Raviwar and Nana.

It is even more interesting to compare the proportion of owner-residents of houses to the total number, not of families but of the houses included in our sample. This information is also set out in Table No. 22. The table shows that the proportion of the number of owner-residents to the number of houses is nearly 62 per cent. for the whole sample. This means that if you enter a residential house in Poona it is much more likely than not that you will find the owner of the house residing in it. This also shows perhaps a comparatively large degree of the diffusion of house property in the city. The proportion is characterised by the usual variations from ward to ward. In this respect Narayan leads with a proportion of

1. 'Owner' indicates in the context only the owners of houses in which they were residing at the time. This does not cover the whole class of house owners because there might be persons, who, though owning a house or houses, may yet be living in houses not owned by them.

owner-residents to the number of houses in the sample of over 85 per cent. while in Sadashiv and Shanwar this is between 75 and 80. In no ward is this percentage less than 40. Raviwar, Bhavani and Nana form the last group, with the percentage between 40 and 50. The rural condition of the Wadis is revealed in these statistics also. In their case the proportion of owner-residents is well over 50 per cent. of the total number of families and is greater than 90 per cent. of the total number of houses. Suburban Roads, on the other hand, show the lowest figures in both these respects, being less than 2 per cent. in one and less than 15 per cent. in the other. This fact may be explained by a combination of circumstances. In the first instance, it is perhaps true that the bulk of house property in the Suburban Roads area is owned by persons who are habitually non-resident. This is clear from the low ratio of owner-residents to the number of houses; but the specially low percentage of owner-residents needs further explanation. The obvious explanation would seem to be that the number of tenants per house in this area is large. This, however, is not true in the sense in which it would at first appear. In the first instance, a large number of the families making up the Suburban Roads sample was enumerated in one institution—the Sasoon Hospital; but the other and the more important reason is that the sample contains a large number of families of domestics living in the houses included in the sample. In the Suburban Roads area the houses or bungalows usually contain accommodation for the domestic servants of the householder and a number of these live with their families on the premises. These families were naturally enumerated in our sample as separate families. As a fact they do compose a large portion of the population of the area.[1] This also explains the curious fact that whereas one would expect in this area a large number of domestic servants per family to be revealed in the statistics, in our actual sample the proportion of domestics to the total number of families covered is not appreciably larger than the average and is actually a good deal lower than in many wards of the city. This is because, in this area, the total number of families enumerated itself includes a large number of families of domestic servants.

§ 21. **Domestic Servants.** Another index of economic status contained in the house schedules was the extent to which the families, in the sample, employed domestic servants or engaged some kind of domestic help. In Table No. 22 are given the number of persons employed by the families in the sample in each ward as domestic servants or helps. The total number of persons so employed, in all the families in each ward, is merely added up in this table. The table, therefore, gives, not the number of families employing one or more persons as domestics, but the total number of persons so employed by all the families in the sample together. The variations in the proportion of such persons

1. Out of the total number of 308 families enumerated in the Suburban area 91 were enumerated in the Sasoon Hospital. Of the rest, 54 families were of domestics staying on the premises occupied by their employers.

are naturally very large as between the different wards. On the one hand, there are some wards in which the number of domestics employed does not come up to even 5 per cent. of the total number of families in the sample. Such wards are Nana, Ganj, Mangalwar and Ganesh. In Bhavani and Kasba the proportion falls between 5 and 10 per cent. On the other hand, there are wards in which this proportion is very high. In Rasta and Budhwar the total number of persons employed as domestics is well over 60 per cent. of the number of families in the sample. No domestic servant was returned in the Yeravada sample and the employment of only one person was recorded as a domestic servant in all the schedules for the Wadis and Navi Khadki. Together with the number of domestic servants we had also asked for information regarding the total monthly pay of these servants. For the entire number recorded in all the house schedules, the average pay per domestic amounted to Rs. 4·2 per month. This indicates that the large majority of persons employed were not full-time domestic servants but were employed for only part of the time for domestic help.

Another manner in which the data regarding domestic help could be examined is by indicating the number of families in each ward employing such help. The relevant figures are given in the table. These show that in Budhwar and Rasta more than half the families employed one type of domestic or another and the proportion of such families to the total was between 40 and 50 per cent. in Shanwar, Sadashiv and Narayan. On the other hand in Ganj, Mangalwar, Ganesh and Nana less than 5 per cent. of the families in the sample employed a domestic servant or help of any kind.

A comparison of the total number of domestic servants employed with the number of families employing them shows that only a very small number of families employing a servant or help employed more than one domestic ; a total of 760 families employed 939 domestics. In most wards, therefore, the number of domestics, employed per family employing them, was little over one. Only in one ward in the city, Shivajinagar, was this number higher than 1·5. By contrast, the average number of domestics per employer family in the Suburban Roads was more than three.

The data relating to the pay of the domestic servants also indicate the same differences. While the average pay for the whole city is only a little over Rs. 4 per domestic, the similar average in Shivajinagar is nearly Rs. 8 and in the Suburban Roads it is over Rs. 17. So that, in the latter samples not only are more domestics employed per family but a much larger proportion of these are also whole time servants.

§ 22. **Migration.** We tried to obtain some information in the schedules regarding the extent to which families in Poona, in our sample, comprised families partly residing in Poona and partly outside. We made it clear to the investigators that this enquiry had reference not to relatives, near or distant, of the family staying outside but only to

Table No. 23 — Composition of Members Outside (H. S.)

Ward	Families with members outside	Persons							Civil Condition		
		Males	Females	Children	Total	Non-earner	Earner	Unemployed	Single	Married	Widowed
Shivajinagar ...	103	92	88	118	298	191	106	1	130	126	42
Sadashiv ...	71	114	70	79	263	167	90	6	123	114	26
Narayan ...	11	11	10	1	22	11	11	...	2	14	6
Shanwar ...	39	59	43	55	157	109	48	...	73	73	11
Budhwar ...	72	111	85	54	250	155	94	1	76	138	36
Raviwar ...	54	35	41	42	118	83	35	...	48	61	9
Kasba ...	42	41	29	55	95	62	32	1	30	45	20
Mangalwar ...	10	8	6	6	20	13	7	...	9	8	3
Somwar ...	32	18	28	21	67	54	13	...	22	37	8
Rasta ...	12	12	5	2	19	10	9	...	6	10	3
Nihal ...	3	2	1	...	3	...	3	...	1	2	...
Ganesh ...	9	9	10	3	22	13	9	...	2	20	...
Nana ...	22	13	13	13	39	27	12	...	15	22	2
Bhavani ...	38	41	29	15	85	48	37	...	22	48	15
Ganj ...	7	6	4	4	14	8	6	...	3	10	1
Vetal ...	41	43	43	12	98	52	46	...	18	55	25
Shukrawar ...	51	43	40	17	100	56	43	1	27	62	11
Ghorpade } Gultekdi } ...	5	2	3	1	6	2	4	...	2	2	2
Total P. C. M. ...	622	660	548	468	1,676	1,061	605	10	609	847	220
Suburban Roads ...	30	12	22	25	59	43	16	...	29	24	6
Yeravda ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Navi Khadki ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sangamwadi ...	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...
Wakdewadi ...	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...
Total S. M. ...	32	14	22	25	61	43	18	...	30	25	6
Grand Total ...	654	674	570	493	1,737	1,104	623	10	639	872	226

Table No. 24 — Classification of Students residing by themselves.

Educational Institution	Total students	Caste and Religion											Age					Civil Condition		Earners		Total Expenditure (annual) in Rs.								
		Deshasth Brahmin	Konkanasth Brahmin	Other Brahmins	Maratha, Mali, etc.	Gujrati incl. Jains	Artisan castes	Mahar	Lingayat	Other Hindus	Moslem	Christian	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	Single	Married	Scholarship	Tuitions	Below 100	100-B. 150	—B. 200	—B. 250	—B. 300	—B. 400	—B. 500	—B. 750	Not given
1 Primary School ...	6	1			5								4	1	1			6						5					1
2 Vernacular Training College ...	4	1						2			1			1	3			1	3				3						1
3 Vedic ...	5	2	3											1	4			4	1										5
4 Secondary School...	25	11	4	2	2	1	4				1		2	16	6	1		23	2		1			7	5		5	1		7
5 Industrial School ...	12	4			2	5			1					1	5	5	1	5	7		1			1	2		5	1	2	1
6 Arts College ...	58	25	14	6	7	2	1		1	2				16	37	4	1	54	4		5	1	2	4	9		25	9	5	3
7 Agriculture and Engineering ...	16	7	2	3	1	1			1			1		3	13			14	2	1	1			1	2		8	2	3	
8 Law College ...	9	3	1	2			1			2					6	2	1	4	5						2		5		2	
Total ...	135	54	24	13	17	9	6	2	3	4	2	1	6	39	75	12	3	111	24	1	8	1	5	18	20		48	13	12	18

Educational Institution	Room occupied by					No. of khans per student							Average monthly rent per student Rs.									General Remark
	1	2	3	4	5 & more	0·5-Below 1	1	Above 1 to 2	A. 2 to 3	A. 3 to 4	A. 4 to 5	Above 5	1·0-B. 1·5	-B. 2·0	-B. 2·5	-B. 3·0	-B. 3·5	-B. 4·0	-B. 6·0	-B. 8·0	8 & above	Free	
1 Primary School ...		1		4	1	5	1						5	1									
2 Vernacular Training College ...	1	2			1	1	2	1					3	1									All the students were males.
3 Vedic ...					5			5														5	
4 Secondary School...	16	7			2	4	1	14	2	3		1	2		3	2	4	2	7	1		4	
5 Industrial School ...	7	4			1	1	3	5	2	1			1			1		2	5	3			
6 Arts College ...	21	29	6		2	17	16	24	1				5	1	7	5	10	1	15	16		8	
7 Agriculture and Engineering ...	11	5					7	8		1						2	1	3	4	5	1		
8 Law College ...	7	2				2		6	1							2			4	2	1		
Total ...	63	50	6	4	12	30	30	63	6	5		1	16	3	10	12	15	8	35	17	2	17	

members of the same economic family. This, we had thought, might throw some light on migration. There are, however, a large variety of reasons why members of a family in Poona may stay elsewhere and *vice versa*; and the mere fact of having members staying outside does not indicate that the family is migrant. A glance at Table No. 23, giving the details regarding the composition of members staying out, will show that the bulk of such members do not belong necessarily to one particular type i. e. they are not mainly adults or children or mainly earners or dependents. The composition of this population staying away is so similar to the composition of the general population that no definite or significant conclusion can be drawn from the data. The only point in this regard on which comment may be offered is the number of families enumerated in each ward who had some members outside. The average of such families for the whole sample is only about 15 per cent. But in two wards the proportion is specially large. In Shivajinagar and in Budhwar more than 40 per cent. of the families in the sample had some member or members staying outside. In no other ward, it may be noted, was this proportion as large as even 25. In Ganj it was less than 5 and in Shukrawar, Nana, Mangalwar, Narayan and Ganesh it varied between 5 and 10 per cent.

§ 23. **A Note on Students.** The cases of students residing by themselves, enumerated in the schedules, were separately grouped and classified. A total of 135 such students was recorded. Table No. 24 gives information regarding these in a classified form. No elaborate comments are called for on this table. Of the total students in the sample nearly 67 per cent. were Brahmins and 50 per cent. of these were in Arts Colleges. Marathas came next, but formed only 13 per cent. of the total number in the sample. Among age-groups, 20–25 years, was dominant comprising 56 per cent. of the students. Next came the 15–20 years group containing 29 per cent. Nearly 82 per cent. of the students were unmarried. Only one student held a scholarship and 8 students did some tuition work to supplement their income. All others depended on remittances or allowances. In the case of 36 per cent. of the students the yearly expenditure per student was below Rs. 400. It was below Rs. 250 per student in the case of 15 per cent., below Rs. 200 per student in the case of 14 per cent. It was found to be between Rs. 400–500 in the case of 9 per cent. and in another 9 per cent. of students it was between Rs. 500–700. Nine students were found provided with free meals. Nearly 47 per cent. of the students lived in single rooms while the rest shared their rooms with others. It appears that the former lived in rooms with an average area of 1½ *khans*. Area per head in the case of 22 per cent. of the students was three-quarters of a *khan* and one *khan* per head in the case of another 22 per cent. Seventeen students enjoyed free boarding facilities. Twenty-five per cent. of the students paid a monthly rent between Rs. 4 and Rs. 6 each and roughly 12 per cent. between Rs. 6 and Rs. 8 each.

APPENDIX

Instructions to investigators for filling Household Questionnaires

General : A list of house numbers to be covered during the enquiry will be supplied to the investigator. Separate questionnaires should be filled in for each resident family in the selected house. Investigators should immediately report cases of (i) refusal to give information, and (ii) a single house bearing more than one Municipal number, etc.

Use one questionnaire for one family only. Information regarding every individual in a family must be entered in the questionnaire. Guests, temporarily staying with the family, should not be taken into consideration. Persons not related to the family and yet permanently staying with it should be treated as members of the family. Persons paying for their boarding and lodging with the family should be also classified as above and the fact should be noted in the column (7). 'relation'

In case, many persons are living together in one tenement and are jointly paying rent, the name of the person in whose name the lease stands should be entered against (1) "name" and all others should be entered as 'common tenants' in the column (7) 'relation'.

1. **Name :** The name should be that of the head of the family (male or female).

3. **Caste :** Under this heading details of sub-castes should be given. In the case of non-Hindus, other sectional differences, if any, such as Catholic, Bohra, Pathan, etc., should be noted.

A. **Earners :** Persons continuously following some gainful occupation should be entered under this head. Persons not earning, for the time being, because of illness or a temporary lack of employment, etc. should still be treated as 'earners'.

7. **Relation :** Under this heading should be entered the relation of the person concerned to the head of the family.

11. **Occupation :** Under this head details regarding the occupation or employment and the nature of work, etc. should be given as in the following examples ; clerk in the Agricultural Department, assistant at a grocer's, owner of a *pan-shop*, carpenter in a furniture workshop, etc.

12. **Duration :** The period (years or months) over which the person is following the present occupation should be entered in this column.

17. **Absence from work :** The number of working days lost through illness or other personal circumstances should be entered in this.

Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona 4. Poona House Survey Questionnaire.

1. NAME_____ 2. Religion_____ 3. Caste_____

4. Name of the Street_____ 5. Peth (Ward)_____ 6. House No._____

Date_____ Signature of the investigator_____

(A) Earners (including unemployed).	Relation	Age	Marital condition	Education	Occupation	Period employed in present occupation	Employer's name	Place of work	No. of days at work during last month	No. of days for which employment could not be obtained	Working days lost due to sickness, or other personal reasons	Rate and method of payment	Monthly earnings	Estimated annual earnings	Duration of continuous unemployment.
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
(i)															
(ii)															
(iii)															
(iv)															

22 (B) Dependents.	Male or female Age Marital condition Relation Education														

23	(C) Subsidiary income (annual) (i) (ii) (iii)		Rs.	Remarks :—

(D) Living accommodation.

24 (i)	Total No. of persons.
(ii)	No. of rooms.
(iii)	No. of *khans*.
(iv)	No. of water taps and the no. of families using them.
(v)	No. of latrines and the no. of families using them.
(vi)	Open space or court yard (a) Separate (b) Common.

25 (i)	No. of windows.
(ii)	Owner or tenant (iv) Monthly rent.
(iii)	Other details

26 (E) Domestic Servants.

	Type of work	Male or female	Part or full time	Monthly salary	Lodging and boarding arrangements
(i)					
(ii)					
(iii)					
(iv)					
(v)					

27 (F) Incidence of sickness

	Relation of the patient to the head of the family	Suffering from	Duration of illness	Type of treatment received.	Medical expenses
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

28 (G) Outside members.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(i) Relation								
(ii) Age								
(iii) Male or female								
(iv) Marital condition								
(v) Education								
(vi) Earner or non-earner								
(vii) Residence outside Poona : temporary or permenant								
(viii) Occupation								

(H) Remarks :—

18. **Rate and method of payment**: The various methods of payment, such as monthly salary, daily or weekly wages, piece work, etc. should be distinctly stated. The rate of wages, the rate of payment or earnings on piece or contract work, etc. should be also carefully entered.

20. **Annual earnings**: Monthly and yearly earnings of salaried persons could be easily calculated. This will be also possible in the case of those receiving daily or weekly wages or those who are being paid by piece rates, though the latter will involve a somewhat more complicated calculation. Adequate and carefully ascertained deductions for non-working days (illness, leave, etc.) should be made in all these calculations.

B. **Non-earners**: Under this should be noted those who are unable to work (small children, old persons, etc.) and also those who are able to work but do not work or earn. Non-earners, not related to the family but supported by it, should also be entered in this column.

Education: In the case of persons who have received some school education the standard upto which education has been received should be noted. In the case of degree, diploma, etc. holders, these should be noted. Those who can read and write, even though they might not have attended any school, should be entered merely as 'literate'. Those who cannot read or write are 'illiterates'. A person who is continuing to receive education should, in addition, be noted as an 'educand'.

C. **Subsidiary income**: In this column should be included all income obtained by members of the family, apart from that derived from their principal occupations. Earning from subsidiary occupations should be clearly stated, as also all non-earned income. The nature of each part of this income should be clearly stated, as for instance, land or house rent, interest on sums lent, monetary help from public institutions, money coming from any other source, etc. Income derived from the different sources should not be lumped together but should be separately noted. In each case the income entered should be yearly income.

D. **Living room**: This should be estimated after excluding areas or places which are unfit for habitation, as also those that are not so used, such as, latrines, bathrooms, etc.

25. **Description of the house**: Under this head a general description of living conditions is expected. It should generally cover the following points: The nature of the building (note storeys or floors) stone, brick, mud, etc., tiled roof, corrugated iron sheet, thatch, etc. The general cleanliness or otherwise of the house should be noted, as also the condition of ventilation, whether the surroundings of the house are dirty because of open gutters or refuse boxes, etc.

E. **Domestic servants**: Under this should be noted persons that are in regular employ of the family, full-time or part-time, and are paid, for their work, such as, maid servant, cook, chauffeur, etc.

F. **Sickness in the family** : Under this head cases of minor ailments, such as cold, cough, etc. need not be noted. Detailed information regarding malaria, pneumonia, enteric fevers, chronic eye diseases, asthma, etc., and their duration, should be carefully entered. Whether the treatment was received from *Vaidya*, Doctor, or *Hakim* and the expenses incurred for it should also be noted down. By 'duration of illness' is meant the period during which the person concerned was, on its account, unable to attend to his work.

G. **Outside members** : Members of the family living outside Poona should be noted under this. Mere relations, however close, should not be noted if they do not form part, economically, of the same family.

CHAPTER III

CENSUS OF ESTABLISHMENTS

§1. **Procedure**: In the absence of any reliable information regarding the occupational distribution of the population or the number of businesses of various types existing in the city, it became necessary for us to undertake a preliminary enumeration of occupations and establishments. We could not carry out an elaborate survey of all establishments as is attempted in a census of production. A meticulous house to house census was also out of account. We had, therefore, to content ourselves with a somewhat less thorough method of enumeration. For the purpose of this preliminary count we divided the whole of the city in a number of areas, each of which was put into the charge of a batch of investigators. These investigators had to organise their work in such a manner that each side of a road, lane or path in their division was traversed once by one investigator. The investigator in going up or down a road was instructed to stop at each house which did not appear to be purely a place of residence and in which some business was carried on, and take down certain particulars about the business or businesses on the cards furnished to him. On the cards, furnished to the enumerators, were printed the following heads: (i) Peth (ward), (ii) House No., (iii) Name of road, (iv) Name of business or its owner, (v) General class of business, (vi) Shop or workshop, (vii) Retail or wholesale, (viii) Nature of production or business, (ix) Power used, (x) No. of employees. The enumerator was instructed to fill in all the relevant particulars about each establishment on a separate card. Instructions were also given not to omit any kind of establishment whatsoever, whether factory or workshop, or a shop or the office of a business concern or of a professional man. The enumerators were paid according to the number of cards filled by each; this, it was thought, would leave them no temptation to scamp the work. A check of between 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the entries was carried out by the staff of the Institute.

§2. **Limitations**: The limitations of this preliminary enumeration are obvious. The enumerators did not go into each house or structure to enquire whether any business activity was carried on within it. They entered a house only when they thought, on account of some overt sign, that it was likely that such activity was actually being carried on. Thus, it is likely, that while the margin of error in the enumeration is very small in respect of such activities as are necessarily carried on with overt signs as, for example, shops, the enumeration would be liable to considerable imperfection where the activity was carried on indoors, without much evidence of it outside. It would thus happen, that the enumeration of artisan workers, especially those who worked for others, would

tend to be largely defective. We found that this was actually the case when we carried out later a house to house census of weavers and brass and copper workers. The main purpose for which this preliminary count was taken was that of ascertaining approximately the number of the various types of industrial and trading establishments in the city. This information was required in order to form the basis of the selection of a sample for later detailed investigations. The results obtained by the enumeration were accurate enough for this purpose. The enumeration furnished us with the approximate number of establishments of all the more important types. It also gave a rough indication of the different sizes of the various establishments as reckoned by the total number of employees. This latter information, however, was not obtained by actual counting but by mere enquiry; hence the number recorded, though accurate enough as an index of size, was not, in many cases, numerically exact.

Some of the omissions in the original enumeration were corrected during the course of the later investigation into the structure and working of individual industries. These later investigations were themselves not completely exhaustive as to the number of establishments. Those in charge of these investigations were supplied with the list of concerns in each industry as recorded in the preliminary enumeration and were asked to make enquiries regarding the total number of units in the particular industry or trade in each locality and to note down, on blank cards, units which had not been enumerated before.

It was noticed that the largest proportion of omissions was that in the enumeration of brick works. This is easy to explain. The large majority of brick works are situated on remote sites and the enumerator would not notice their existence unless he was previously aware of their location and specially went out of the beaten track to enumerate them. Excepting the brick works, the type of activity in which the largest proportionate omissions were noticed was generally home-work. Where artisans worked in their own houses, especially on orders placed with them by merchants, there was usually no inducement for the artisans to advertise the activity and this would then tend to be neglected by the enumerator. The preliminary enumeration of weavers, brass and copper workers or *bidi* workers or leather workers was thus considerably in defect. In the first two cases the deficiency was made good by a house to house census and in all the other important artisan handicrafts by close enquiry through later investigations. On the other hand it was found that where the economic activity was bound to be conducted in such a manner as to advertise it to the public the omissions made by the enumerators were very small. This, for example, happened with printing presses, goldsmiths and other workers in precious metals, basket makers, etc.

It may be noted that no cross-check on this information regarding the number of establishments could be exercised from the data recorded in the sample household enquiry conducted by us. This sample enquiry afforded us information regarding the occupations of earners in the families included in the sample; and it gave a reliable index to the occupational distribution of earners in the city. But it could not shed any light on the number of establishments of various types in which these earners worked. The preliminary enumeration was, chiefly of use in ascertaining approximately the number of the various types of establishments. It could not give exhaustive information regarding workers in all occupations because, on the one hand, it took count of only certain types of establishments, (it could not obviously include domestic servants and those employed in Government offices) and on the other hand, the information yielded by this enumeration related only to the total number of all kinds of persons employed in an establishment. The total was not classified and the information was only approximately correct.

§3. **Types of Industrial Establishments**: Even though the preliminary enumeration was conducted chiefly to gather information which could form the basis of the later sample investigations, it yielded considerable information, with a varying margin of error from occupation to occupation, regarding the number and location of certain types of establishments which should prove to be of interest. Table No. 25 sets out this information, as partially corrected by later investigations.

We have stated above that in taking down information about each establishment the enumerator was expected to note the number of persons employed in it. This work was, however, performed in a perfunctory manner and the resulting enumeration is considerably wide of the mark. On the whole, the result is an underestimate. Most enumerators interpreted the term worker to indicate only hired labour and did not include, in the total number employed, the employer, when he was himself a worker in the establishment and also sometimes omitted members of his family who worked in it. The number of outworkers connected with the establishment could not, of course, be included ; and later detailed enquiries in particular establishments revealed that there was a general under-enumeration of the total number of workers employed, in this preliminary census.

While the table does not give fully accurate information regarding the total number employed in the various occupations it indicates fairly accurately the relative importance of the various avenues of employment available in Poona. The employment offered by the Rajabahadur Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill is not shown in this table. The census

of weaving establishments was conducted by us, apart from the preliminary enumeration. The brass and copper ware workers were also covered by a special census. The number of workers, including outworkers, employed by *bidi* works and the perfumery works has been obviously greatly underestimated in the table. Making due allowance for these, it is clear that the total employment given by shops in the city was larger than that offered by industrial establishments. The major types of industrial employment were offered by handloom weavers' establishments, brass and copper ware works, *bidi* and snuff works, printing presses, perfumery works, gold and silver smiths' concerns, brick works, etc. Among shops again, it will be noted, that no specialised trades are important but that the bulk of persons are employed by, what may be called, consumers' goods' shops and services.

Even allowing for this underestimation, the general impression conveyed by Table No. 25 is that of the dominance of the small unit. In a large number of industries the majority of establishments fall within the class 'employing two or less persons'. The concentration in the smallest class is specially marked in goldsmiths and silversmiths, dyeing and printing, blacksmiths, basket makers, tinsmiths, flour mills, etc. Among those who, while having a majority or a substantial number in the lowest class, also figure prominently in the second class i. e. 'employing 3 to 5 workers' are leather works, caps and turbans, pulse manufacture, rope making, carpenters' workshops, etc. The position of rope making in this class seems to be due not to the fact that the size of the unit is large but rather to the fact that it provides employment for the women and children in the family more universally than the other crafts mentioned earlier. The unit in rope making never goes beyond the family. The only important industries not having a predominant number of establishments in the smallest unit class and in whom a considerable number of establishments employed more than 5 persons, were printing presses, brass and copper ware, workshops, brick works and *bidi* works. Printing presses, brass and copper ware, furniture workshops, *bidi* workshops and perfumery goods' workshops, however, reveal a comparatively wide range of distribution of the establishments over the various unit-size classes. Only a few cases of establishments showing more than 20 workmen were recorded. It may, however, be noted that these statistics refer entirely to workers employed within the establishments. They do not, therefore, throw any light on size of the number of outworkers to whom the establishment gave employment.

Table No. 25 also reveals the concentration or dispersion of industrial and other establishments through the different wards of the city. The picture presented is interesting in many respects. We may first deal with instances of marked concentration. It is natural that brick-kilns which must be located away from residential centres and on sites on which the water supply is fairly plentiful, should be concentrated in a few localities. The reasons for the apparent concentration in rope or

Table No. 25 — Classification of Industrial Establishments by Wards

Serial Number	Wards	I—Metal and Engineering								II—Mechanical		
		Gold & Silver Smiths	Brass & Copper Ware	Iron Workshops (Turning, Moulding, etc.)	Cast Iron Work	Weights and Measures	Scientific Apparatus	Miscellaneous Iron Works	Total I	Tin Smiths	Iron Smiths	Musical Instruments
1	Shivajinagar ...	3	...	...	1	...	1	4	9	1	...	...
2	Sadashiv ...	46	...	5	3	...	...	5	59	14	1	2
3	Narayan ...	17	...	1	...	2	...	...	20	1	..	...
4	Shanwar ...	20	1	5	...	1	...	1	28	2	1	2
5	Budhwar ...	30	...	1	...	...	...	3	34	...	...	3
6	Raviwar ...	69	4	5	...	...	...	13	91	9	2	...
7	Kasba ...	13	22	3	...	...	...	3	41	3	1	...
8	Mangalwar ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	3	1	1	...
9	Somwar ...	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	4	1	....	1
10	Rasta ...	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	1	...	...
11	Nihal ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	5	8	...	...	...
12	Ganesh ...	4	1	...	...	1	...	2	8	1	1	...
13	Nana ...	7	3	1	...	...	...	12	23	4	1	...
14	Bhavani ...	1	2	1	...	1	...	6	11	1	1	...
15	Ganj ...	4	3	...	...	...	...	4	11	2	1	...
16	Vetal ...	14	37	1	2	1	..	...	55	...	2	...
17	Shukrawar ...	35	16	7	2	...	...	9	64	9	8	10
18	Ghorpade (Gultekadi (...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Total P. C. M. ...	270	94	30	8	6	1	70	479	50	20	18
1	Suburban Roads ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
2	Yeravda ...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	...
3	Navi Khadki ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Sangamwadi ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
5	Wakdewadi ...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total S. M. ..	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	4	...
	Grand Total ...	274	94	30	8	6	1	70	483	50	24	18
	Groups of Workers											
1	Not Given ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	..	2	...	...	...
2	1 and 2 ...	242	28	18	2	4	...	34	328	48	20	14
3	3 to 5 ...	24	38	7	5	2	...	19	95	2	4	4
4	6 to 10 ...	5	16	3	...	...	1	12	37	...	...	...
5	11 to 20 ...	1	8	2	1	...	...	4	16	...	...	...
6	21 to 50 ...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...
7	51 to 100 ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
8	101 and over ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	..	...	...
	Units Using :—											
1	Electric Power ...	...	7	10	1	...	1	...	19	...	...	...
2	Oil Engines ...	...	5	2	1	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
	Total No. of Workers Engaged ...	443	817	92	39	11	7	317	1726	66	45	34

and by Groups of Workers Engaged in them.

and other Repairs						III—Building, Earth Work and Wood Work								IV—Food, (*a*) Food			Serial Number
Motor Repair	Vulcanizing, etc.	Locks, etc.	Sewing Machines	Tools	Total II	Brick Works	Lime Kilns	Pottery	Furniture	Motor Body Builders	*Tonga* Body Builders	Others	Total III	Bakeries	Gram, Rice, etc. Roasters	Pulse Makers	
2	1	...	...	...	4	...	7	..	...	...	...	...	7	...	3	...	1
4	...	...	...	1	22	9	3	...	18	4	2	2	38	1	2	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	1	...	..	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	3
2	1	...	...	...	8	...	2	...	5	...	...	...	7	...	2	...	4
...	4	1	1	...	9	...	...	...	4	1	...	3	8	2	1	...	5
...	...	2	...	2	15	...	...	3	5	...	...	15	23	4	10	7	6
3	2	...	...	...	9	9	1	...	1	...	1	1	13	2	10	..	7
...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	2	1	2	...	8
...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	9
1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	10
...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	1	4	...	...	...	11
...	...	...	...	...	2	..	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	5	...	12
...	1	1	1	...	8	...	...	15	1	3	1	1	21	3	10	...	13
...	...	..	...	1	3	...	2	2	...	...	1	...	5	4	7	6	14
...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	48	15
...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	16
3	7	2	2	1	42	1	2	6	3	...	...	8	20	8	10	...	17
...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	18
15	18	6	4	5	136	19	18	27	42	9	6	35	156	29	69	61	
...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	
15	18	6	4	5	140	19	18	27	42	9	6	35	156	29	83	61	
...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1
4	12	6	4	5	113	2	10	19	23	...	3	24	81	13	60	20	2
8	3	...	...	...	21	6	6	8	8	...	3	10	41	12	19	31	3
2	2	...	...	..	4	1	...	...	5	4	...	1	11	3	2	8	4
...	1	...	...	...	1	10	2	...	3	3	...	...	18	...	...	2	5
1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	5	1	...	...	6
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
5	4	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	1
1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2
73	57	6	5	6	292	427	68	57	243	73	15	78	961	128	140	236	

Table No. 25—(*Contd.*)

Serial Number	Wards	IV—Food, Drink & Tobacco.									V—	
		(a) Food				(b) Drink	(c) Tobacco					
		Flour Mills	Oil Presses	Others	Total (a)	Aerated Water	*Bidi*	Snuff	Total (c)	Total IV	Knitting Works	Dyeing and Printing (cloth)
1	Shivajinagar ...	5	...	...	8	...	1	...	1	9	...	...
2	Sadashiv ...	11	1	...	15	...	3	...	3	18	1	4
3	Narayan ...	7	2	...	11	...	...	...	...	11	...	3
4	Shanwar ...	7	...	2	11	...	...	1	1	12	1	...
5	Budhwar ...	5	...	...	8	...	1	2	3	11	2	9
6	Raviwar ...	4	3	...	28	...	5	7	12	40	...	7
7	Kasba ...	11	...	1	24	...	...	1	1	25	...	...
8	Mangalwar ...	3	2	...	8	...	..	...	...	8	...	...
9	Somwar ...	2	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	5	...	1
10	Rasta ...	3	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
11	Nihal ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	Ganesh ...	2	...	...	9	...	5	...	5	14	...	...
13	Nana ...	6	...	...	19	...	6	...	6	26	...	...
14	Bhavani ...	8	...	...	25	1	6	...	6	31	...	...
15	Ganj ...	3	...	...	52	...	3	...	3	55	...	2
16	Vetal ...	3	...	...	3	..	3	...	3	6	...	..
17	Shukrawar ...	17	...	...	35	2	18	2	20	57	1	5
18	Ghorpade] Gultekadi] ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total P. C. M. ...	97	8	3	267	3	51	13	64	334	5	31
1	Suburban Rds. ...	...	...	1	10	1	...	...	...	11	...	...
2	Yeravda ...	4	...	4	13	...	...	...	...	13	...	...
3	Navi Khadki ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
4	Sangamwadi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
5	Wakdewadi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..
	Total S. M. ...	4	...	5	23	1	...	...	...	24	...	...
	Grand Total ...	101	8	8	290	4	51	13	64	358	5	31
	Groups of Workers											
1	Not Given ...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	3	..	...
2	1 and 2 ...	79	8	4	184	1	3	...	3	188	1	26
3	3 to 5 ...	14	...	4	80	1	20	5	25	106	...	4
4	6 to 10 ...	5	...	...	18	1	11	2	13	32	3	...
5	11 to 20 ...	2	...	...	4	...	6	2	8	12	...	...
6	21 to 50 ...	1	...	...	2	...	8	3	11	13	...	1
7	51 to 100 ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	2	1	...
8	101 and over ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	2	...	...
	Units Using :—											
1	Electric Power ...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	9	...	1
2	Oil Engines ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	2	2	...
	Total No. of Workers Engaged ...	245	14	23	786	14	931	317	1248	2048	84	83

Table No. 25—(*Contd.*)

V—Textiles, Fibres and Leather							VI—Paper, Printing & Stationery				VII- Miscellaneous					
Caps and Turbans	*Patwekaries*	Beds and Matresses	Rope Making	Basket Making	Leather Articles (Sandals, Boots, Bags, etc.)	Total V	Printing Presses	Ruling and Binding	Stationery, etc.	Total VI	Perfumery	Soap	Others	Total VII	Total I—VII	Serial Number
...	...	...	61	1	...	62	2	...	...	2	...	...	1	1	94	1
...	...	4	...	...	14	23	16	1	2	19	8	...	1	9	188	2
...	...	...	...	...	2	5	1	...	...	1	..	...	...	...	39	3
...	...	1	...	...	1	3	9	6	...	15	1	1	1	3	76	4
21	8	1	...	...	10	51	10	6	2	18	1	...	2	3	134	5
...	9	5	...	21	9	51	5	..	1	6	6	1	3	10	236	6
2	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	1	2	8	2	1	3	6	104	7
...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	8
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	14	9
..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	..	...	1	...	...	...	...	14	10
...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	15	11
..	...	...	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	31	12
..	...	...	...	2	20	22	...	1	3	4	...	1	...	1	105	13
..	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	2	...	3	...	3	56	14
..	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	73	15
..	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	2	...	1	...	1	71	16
7	13	...	...	20	20	66	2	...	2	4	3	2	1	6	264	17
...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	18
30	30	11	61	49	81	298	55	15	13	83	23	10	12	45	1531	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	14	1
...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	2
...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	34	
30	30	11	62	49	81	299	56	15	13	84	23	10	12	45	1565	
...	...	...	1	...	...	1	4	...	...	4	1	3	...	4	14	1
22	26	10	14	43	59	201	9	9	4	22	8	...	7	15	948	2
6	4	...	38	6	20	78	9	5	3	17	3	2	4	9	367	3
2	...	1	9	...	2	17	11	...	6	17	7	2	1	10	128	4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	1	...	6	2	2	...	4	57	5
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	11	...	...	11	2	1	...	3	37	6
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	10	7
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	4	8
...	...	1	...	...	...	2	22	...	...	22	...	...	...	...	61	1
...	...	2	...	...	...	4	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	18	2
66	43	19	235	76	177	783	1122	58	46	1226	174	82	32	288	7324	

Table No. 26 — Distribution of Retail

Serial Number	Wards	I—Building Materials, Furnishing and Household Requisites										II—Food, (A) Food :—(a) Raw				
		Hardware	Building Materials	Furniture	Gold and Silver-ware	Fuel Depots	Coal and Coke	Brass and Copper-ware	Crockery and Glass-ware	Miscellaneous	Total I	Grocers	Dairies	Fish and Mutton	Green Vegetables and Fruiterers	Fodder and Concentrates
1	Shivajinagar ...	...	1	5	1	12	1	...	...	...	20	33	2	1	3	1
2	Sadashiv ...	11	9	...	12	25	10	...	...	2	69	91	20	...	9	3
3	Narayan ...	..	2	...	...	7	2	...	...	...	11	33	10	1	1	...
4	Shanvar ...	...	1	...	...	17	7	...	...	...	25	30	13	...	8	1
5	Budhwar ...	5	2	2	19	13	14	3	13	1	72	42	5	...	1	...
6	Raviwar ...	42	...	1	110	15	12	44	8	2	234	76	3	16	13	13
7	Kasba ...	2	...	1	7	24	10	...	...	...	44	61	2	1	18	3
8	Mangalwar ...	1	1	...	5	3	3	...	...	...	13	25	1	...	3	1
9	Somwar ...	...	5	1	1	9	2	...	...	...	18	41	3	...	5	...
10	Rasta ...	...	...	1	1	9	8	...	...	...	19	22	3	...	2	...
11	Nihal ...	...	...	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	4	5	1	...	...	1
12	Ganesh ...	...	4	...	11	5	2	...	...	...	22	23	12	9	...	...
13	Nana ...	3	1	3	2	21	8	...	...	...	38	49	6	2	8	6
14	Bhavani ...	3	...	1	2	15	7	1	...	...	29	49	...	10	3	4
15	Ganj ...	...	...	...	4	6	2	...	...	...	12	24	...	...	3	...
16	Vetal ...	...	...	...	2	9	5	28	...	...	44	29	2	8	4	...
17	Shukrawar ...	7	6	...	32	15	19	23	...	2	104	176	21	49	2	1
18	Ghorpade & Gultekadi ...	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...
	Total P. C. M....	74	32	16	209	205	115	99	21	7	778	815	104	97	83	34
1	Suburban Rds. ...	...	2	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	10	14	12	3	12	...
2	Yeravda ...	...	...	...	...	4	...	1	1	...	6	13	16	2	3	...
3	Navi Khadki ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	12	...	...	...
4	Sangamwadi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
5	Wakadewadi ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	3	...	...
	Total S. M. ...	...	2	...	...	9	4	1	1	...	17	34	40	8	15	...
	Grand Total...	74	34	16	209	214	119	100	22	7	795	849	144	105	98	34
	Total number of workers ...	183	120	33	471	419	179	157	30	12	1,604	1,507	277	116	103	38

Shops by Wards

Drink and Tobacco																		
Materials		(A) Food :--(*b*) Prepared						B—Drink				C—Tobacco						
Miscellaneous	Total A (*a*)	Restaurants	Boarding and Lodging or	Sweetmeats	Bread and Biscuits	Total A (*b*)	Total A	Sugarcane Juice	Cold Drinks	Liquor	Total B	*Pan* and Tobacco	Tobacconists	Opium, *Bhang*, Etc.	Snuff	Total C	Total II	Serial Number
1	41	24	4	3	...	31	72	11	1	1	13	17	...	1	...	18	103	1
...	123	27	13	1	...	41	164	14	8	...	22	22	3	4	...	29	215	2
1	46	3	...	...	...	3	49	2	...	2	4	8	...	...	...	8	61	3
...	52	8	7	...	...	15	67	4	...	...	4	13	...	...	...	13	84	4
1	49	40	9	14	2	65	114	7	5	...	12	37	1	2	3	43	169	5
...	121	26	5	9	...	40	161	4	1	2	7	29	6	2	1	38	206	6
...	85	16	1	3	1	21	106	3	...	...	3	27	...	1	1	29	138	7
...	30	13	...	2	...	15	45	2	1	2	5	12	1	...	...	13	63	8
...	49	11	8	3	...	22	71	3	...	...	3	15	...	1	...	16	90	9
...	27	6	1	2	1	10	37	1	...	1	2	7	...	1	...	8	47	10
...	7	3	...	...	...	3	10	...	1	...	1	5	...	...	...	5	16	11
...	44	10	4	1	...	15	59	2	4	1	7	13	...	1	...	14	80	12
...	71	15	...	2	...	17	88	2	...	3	5	39	2	1	...	42	135	13
1	67	22	1	1	...	24	91	1	1	1	3	19	1	1	...	21	115	14
...	27	5	...	...	...	5	32	...	...	2	2	9	1	...	...	10	44	15
...	43	6	1	3	...	10	53	1	...	1	2	9	2	2	...	13	68	16
5	254	63	12	15	3	93	347	6	4	1	11	53	29	2	5	89	447	17
...	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	18
9	1,142	298	66	59	7	430	1,572	63	26	17	106	334	46	19	10	409	2,087	
2	43	36	6	...	...	42	85	...	...	2	2	16	...	1	...	17	104	1
...	34	4	...	...	...	4	38	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	6	44	2
...	14	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	3
...	3	1	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4
...	5	1	..	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	5
2	99	42	6	...	...	48	147	...	...	2	2	22	...	1	...	23	172	
11	1,241	340	72	59	7	478	1,719	63	26	19	108	356	46	20	10	432	2,259	
16	2,057	1,331	320	137	12	1,800	3,857	151	46	54	251	415	79	24	24	542	4,650	

Table No. 26 — Distribution of Retail

Serial Number	Wards	III-Textiles, Fibres, & Leather							IV—Paper, Stationery, etc.			V—Toilet, Sports & Toys, etc.						
		Tailoring	Cloth	Clothes (ready made)	Caps and Turbans	Cord and Cordage	Footware and Leather Articles	Total III	Stationery	Book Sellers	Total IV	Hair Cutting	Laundries	Florists	Glass Bangles	Perfumery	Toys and Sports	Total V
1	Shivajinagar ...	9	...	...	...	...	2	11	4	2	6	12	8	...	...	...	2	22
2	Sadashiv ...	52	20	1	...	...	2	75	24	4	29	27	25	12	5	2	...	71
3	Narayan ...	9	...	...	...	...	...	9	2	...	2	2	2	...	1	...	...	5
4	Shanwar ...	25	7	...	...	...	...	32	11	8	19	12	10	4	4	2	...	32
5	Budhwar ...	109	94	34	10	...	2	269	60	18	78	10	14	17	...	12	6	65
6	Raviwar ...	39	75	3	...	12	20	149	18	1	19	16	10	8	3	5	...	42
7	Kasba ...	29	2	...	...	...	...	31	2	1	3	9	6	...	12	3	...	30
8	Mangalwar ...	4	2	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	8	1	...	1	...	...	10
9	Somwar ...	11	...	...	...	...	...	11	3	...	3	7	4	1	1	...	...	13
10	Rasta ...	9	2	...	...	...	...	11	5	...	5	9	1	1	2	...	...	13
11	Nihal ...	6	...	...	...	..	...	6	1	...	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	4
12	Ganesh ...	5	2	...	...	...	...	7	...	1	1	7	2	...	1	1	...	11
13	Nana ...	10	1	...	...	...	6	17	...	..	..	15	13	1	3	1	...	33
14	Bhavani ...	20	...	...	...	1	1	22	1	...	1	10	2	1	1	...	...	14
15	Ganj ...	7	4	...	...	...	2	13	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	2
16	Vetal ...	8	3	...	...	...	...	11	2	...	2	4	2	3	1	...	...	10
17	Shukrawar ...	55	24	4	5	...	3	91	12	2	14	45	17	6	6	10	18	102
18	Ghorpade & Gultekadi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
	Total P.C.M....	407	236	42	15	13	58	771	146	37	183	201	121	54	42	36	26	480
1	Suburban Rds....	1	1	...	...	...	4	6	...	...	...	13	5	...	...	...	...	18
2	Yeravda ...	7	1	...	...	...	2	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
3	Navi Khadki ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
4	Sangamwadi ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	..	...	...	...	..	...	..	...
5	Wakadewadi ...	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	..	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
	Total S. M. ...	12	2	...	...	...	6	20	...	...	...	13	7	...	1	...	...	21
	Grand Total ...	419	238	42	15	13	64	791	146	37	183	214	128	54	43	36	26	501
	Total number of workers...	838	642	161	30	24	104	1,799	275	62	337	371	231	109	49	47	36	843

Shops by Wards

VI—Vehicles and Accessories				VII - Miscellaneous												
Cycles and Gas Lamps	Motor Spare Parts, Etc.	Petrol Pumps	Total VI	Watch and Watch Repairs	Chemists	Electric Materials	Tinning	Trunks, Umbrellas, Etc.	Sign-board Painting	Photographers	Photographic Materials	Frame Makers	Radios and Phonographs	Miscellaneous	Total VII	Total Retail Shops	Serial Number
13	...	6	19	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	184	1
28	...	...	28	7	5	1	2	1	4	4	..	...	1	1	26	513	2
6	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	94	3
14	..	...	14	1	2	3	2	...	4	2	...	1	1	2	18	224	4
26	9	..	35	13	28	5	1	8	14	10	7	11	4	8	109	797	5
17	...	...	17	7	12	2	3	...	1	...	...	2	...	3	30	697	6
12	3	...	15	1	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	4	265	7
8	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	8
8	...	...	8	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	144	9
6	...	...	6	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	104	10
2	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	4	37	11
6	...	...	6	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	128	12
11	5	...	16	1	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	245	13
13	2	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	3	6	202	14
5	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	77	15
5	...	...	5	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	143	16
50	2	7	59	8	2	3	1	4	1	4	...	2	1	...	26	843	17
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	18
230	21	13	264	40	57	15	14	14	29	24	7	17	7	17	241	4,804	
12	...	4	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	155	1
2	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	64	2
...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	3
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	4
2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	5
16	...	5	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	252	
246	21	18	285	40	57	15	14	14	29	24	7	17	8	17	242	5,056	
436	50	45	531	68	105	34	17	39	48	46	13	24	11	38	443	10,207	

Table No. 27 :—Distribution of Wholesale Establishments by Important Wards

Group	Type	Raviwar	Nana	Bhavani	Rest of Wards	Total	No. of Persons Engaged
I	Building Material, etc.						
	Timber (Bdg.)	10	11	42	24	87	307
	Hardware	4	...	...	2	6	16
	Brass & Copper ware	11	...	...	2	13	24
	Soap, Match boxes, Etc.	4	3	...	5	12	25
	Fuel Depots	...	2	1	4	7	18
	Total I	29	16	43	37	125	390
II	Food, Drink & Tobacco						
	(A) Food						
	Grain & Grocery	8	47	40	20	115	335
	Gul	...	...	18	1	19	94
	Rice	...	3	...	6	9	31
	Vegitable Oil	...	2	1	3	6	7
	Miscellaneous	3	2	2	3	10	22
	Total (A)	11	54	61	33	159	489
	(C) Tobacconists	2	6	4	2	14	34
	Total II	13	60	65	35	173	523
III	Fibres & Leather.						
	Cotton, Silk, Etc.	1	2	1	1	5	11
	Leather & Other Leather Articles	7	2	1	...	10	33
	Total III	8	4	2	1	15	44
	Grand Total ...	50	80	110	73	313	957

Table No. 28 :—Distribution of Some Important Professions by Wards.

Serial No.	Wards	Pleaders	Medical Practitioners	Ayurvedic and Yunani Practitioners	Nurses	Astrologers and Palmists	Total
1	Shivajinagar	3	11	2	..	1	17
2	Sadashiv	54	48	13	10	2	127
3	Narayan	14	7	5	1	2	29
4	Shanwar	28	13	7	6	1	55
5	Budhwar	35	39	16	2	3	95
6	Raviwar	18	14	14	3	2	51
7	Kasba	17	10	4	1	...	32
8	Mangalwar	...	...	1	...	...	1
9	Somwar	1	6	3	1	1	12
10	Rasta	7	11	3	3	1	25
11	Nihal	...	...	1	2	...	3
12	Ganesh	2	3	2	...	1	8
13	Nana	1	3	4	...	1	9
14	Bhavani	3	1	1	...	...	5
15	Ganj	1	...	3	...	1	5
16	Vetal	2	5	5	...	1	13
17	Shukrawar	34	27	21	...	...	82
18	Ghorpade & Gultekadi	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total P.C.M.	220	198	105	29	17	569
1	Suburban Rds.	4	13	...	1	1	19
2	Yeravda	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Navi Khadki	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Sangamwadi	...	...	...	...	...	...
5	Wakadewadi	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total S. M.	4	13	...	1	1	19
	Grand Total	224	211	105	30	18	588

basket-making are not similar. The concentration in rope making is due not to any factor relating to raw materials, processing or marketing, but rather to the residence in close proximity of a large number of families of a caste which has rope making as its hereditary occupation. Basket-making is another occupation which is followed by members of the caste whose hereditary occupation it is and also owes its concentration partly to the situation of the market for its product. A large part of the demand for the basket-makers' output comes from the vegetable and fruit market. In Poona the bulk of the trade in vegetables and fruit is handled at the Fulay Market (formerly the Reay Market). Hence the main lane of the basket-makers is situated next to this market in Poona and the bulk of them are to be found plying their craft in its neighbourhood. The concentration in turban and cap making is to be explained by another reason altogether. It is that in this industry the shop and the workshop are not usually divorced. The manufacture is carried on, as a rule, in the rear portion of the shop ; the concentration is, therefore, an index of the shop-concentration and is not due to any necessities of manufacture. Turning to cases of wide dispersion it is not surprising to find flour mills distributed over all wards. People naturally prefer to have a flour mill within an easy walking distance; pulse, which they buy ready-split in the market is, on the other hand, made in establishments which happen to be concentrated in that part of the city where there is comparatively ample room for drying it. While the services of a flour mill are universally in demand, the goldsmith and the silversmith might appear to stand on a very different footing. But the large numbers of these artisans in Poona and their wide dispersal through the various wards suggests that the demand for their services is also fairly general throughout the city; a position which, it is not surprising to find, is also held by cobblers and other workers in leather. It is significant that the printing presses are also not concentrated in any particular portion of the city but are found located in all its parts. Some industrial pursuits like *bidi* making did not show a marked degree of either concentration or dispersion. The concentration that is to be found in the two major handicrafts of the city viz. handloom weaving and brass and copper work, appears to be due to reasons of historical settlement and not to existing economic conditions or circumstances.

§ 4. **Retail and Wholesale Shops** : In enumerating shops (Table Nos. 26 and 27) an attempt was made to differentiate between wholesale and retail shops. The attempt was, however, only partially successful. It is not always possible to make out clearly whether a shop is retail or wholesale and a large number of wholesale shops do not confine their activities exclusively to wholesale dealings. The statistics of wholesale shops as such have, therefore, to be accepted with considerable reservation. It is not surprising that wholesale shops should be concentrated in a few wards—the business wards of the city.

The distribution of retail shops (Table No. 26) reveals dispersion that might have been expected and does not require much comment. Grocers, *pan* and *bidi* shops, coal, wood and fuel depots show a high degree of dispersion. The ubiquitous nature of establishments catering for cycle repairs and requisites shows the great popularity of that vehicle in the city. A slightly lesser degree of dispersion is that revealed by stationers and general merchants, vegetable and fruit shops, tailors and barbers. At the other extreme are those which do not serve common or oft-recurring needs. Brass and copper ware shops, specialised glassware or hardware shops or those selling ready-made clothes are found to be highly concentrated. The concentration of meat and fish shops is partly the result of the lack of substantial demand in certain wards but is also mainly the result of municipal regulations. It will be noted that while cobblers are well dispersed over the city, footware shops are highly concentrated. The concentration of florists, which is considerable, may also be a little unexpected. Among the more important types of shops a fair degree of concentration is also shown by cloth shops, by chemists and by booksellers.

§ 5. **Professional Persons**: Incidentally the number of some types of professional persons was also enumerated during the course of the count. The reliability of this enumeration would depend entirely on the extent to which it was felt necessary by members of this class to display signboards before their premises or offices. The enumeration of pleaders' and medical practitioners' offices may from this point of view be taken to have been the most accurate. The same may apply to a case like that of the astrologers. Table No. 28 shows the distribution of pleaders' and doctors' signboards through the various wards. It, however, eliminates any duplication through there being signboards bearing the same name at two or more different places. The concentration of both these types of professional men in certain wards of the city is interesting. The medical practitioners are seen to be only a little more evenly spread than the legal practitioners and they are both seen to be concentrated in the same wards. Only in Shivajinagar and Rasta is the number of medical practitioners substantially larger than that of pleaders, while the reverse relation holds between the two only in Shanwar and Narayan. The medical practitioners in the above table are only those who have been trained in the western system of medicine. In the count the number of medical practitioners trained according to the indigenous system was found to be 105. These were distributed more evenly than the other medical practitioners. For, while the largest number of both types is to be found in the four wards – Sadashiv, Budhwar, Shukrawar and Raviwar– the indigenous practitioners were found in proportionately larger number in wards not favoured by those trained according to the western system.

Note on the Occupational Statistics in the Census

A prerequisite of any attempt at an economic survey of a city is an occupational classification of its population. Without some idea as to how the workers of the city are distributed among the various occupations it would be impossible to plan a survey of the various industries and trades of the place. We had, therefore, to begin with an attempt at enumerating the industrial, trading, etc. establishments, so that an adequate sample of each occupation might be selected for the purpose of the economic survey. It might be suggested that the information recorded in the report of the Census of Poona City for the year 1931 was already available and that it could, without great inconvenience, have been utilised by us. There were, however, a number of objections to utilising the figures given in the tables of occupation, or means of livelihood, of the Census. The census figures referred to a somewhat distant date (1931) and the census classification was, in a large number of instances, too general to be helpful in indicating the specific occupations which were of importance in the city. But above all, these statistics in the Indian Census contain such large errors of enumeration and classification that it is extremely unwise to use them as the basic data for any investigation, or for that matter, for almost any other purpose. As the matter is of some importance we proceed to show below, from internal and comparative evidence, how untrustworthy are the census statistics of occupations for Poona (1931) and why we make no use of them at any stage in our report.

It should be noted, in the first instance, that while the total number of those following some occupation or another in Poona in 1931 was recorded as 82,640, the number of those whose occupations were unspecified or unclassified was 14,618. Of these, 9,815 were recorded under the sub-class 'Insufficiently described occupations.' The report of the Census explains this number as being due to the class of general labour for which there is a large demand in a place like Poona. What is even more surprising, however, is that 4,803 persons should have been recorded under the order " Other unclassified non-productive industries." When it is remembered that the only specific order which the census classification provided under the general subclass "unproductive" is that of Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes' it will be realised what serious error of classification this large number indi cates. The same magnitude of error is revealed by a close examination of the number that is classified under specific heads and orders. The most significant results are given by an analysis of the numbers recorded under ' Textile industries '. Table No. 29 sets out the figures given in the tables of the 1931 Census and also, for purposes of comparison, those given in the tables of the Census of 1921. The area covered

by the two censuses was identical, and the system of occupational classification used was also almost the same at both. The method of recording workers and dependents was somewhat different at the two dates. Hence, while the table shows for 1921 the actual workers classified into male and female, for 1931 the data are given separately for the total following the occupation and for those following it as the principal occupation. The discrepancy in the numbers in the two censuses is, however, so large that it cannot be explained by this variation in the method of recording workers. The census enumeration of workers in the 'Textile industries' embraces the following classes which are numerically important in Poona: (i) workers in the handloom industry, (ii) workers in textile factories, (iii) workers in industries subsidiary to the handloom industry and (iv) workers in the rope-making industry. It is clear from Table No. 29 that the enu-

Table No. 29:—Textile Workers. (1931, and 1921 Censuses)

Type	1931				1921	
	Total Following Occupation		As Principal Occupation		Total Workers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
TEXTILE INDUSTRY	1,489	301	1,331	222	2,700	1,162
Cotton Spinning, Sizing & Weaving	735	87	618	43	1,965	801
Rope, Twine, String & Other Fibres	92	91	82	91	436	321
Wool Carding, Spinning & Weaving	50	1	50	1	26	3
Silk Spinning & Weaving	515	120	484	85	141	18
Dyeing, Bleaching, Etc.	97	2	97	2	132	19

meration or the classification was seriously defective so far as the textile workers were concerned. The results of an exhaustive census of handloom workers carried out by us are given in the next chapter. In 1931, when the effects of the depression had not yet begun to be felt, the number of handloom workers was presumably larger than that in 1937, Whatever that be, their number, together with that of workers in the spinning and weaving mill, could not have been as low as the number recorded in the Census of 1931. With regard to the sub-classes, it will be observed that the 1931 Census shows a remarkably large number engaged in the silk industry. This can only be explained on the hypothesis that all handloom workers manufacturing cotton goods who used a little silk in their fabrics were put at this Census under silk spinning and weaving. The numbers given in the 1921 Census tables seem more credible under all heads.

The defective character of the 1931 data could be illustrated by reference to other classes also. The brass and copper industry has always held an important place among Poona handicrafts. The

1921 Census records a total number of 659 workers in brass, copper and bell metal industry; the corresponding figure for 1931 is only 170. The detailed enquiry made by us in 1937 revealed the latter to be an entirely inadequate and erroneous figure. Or again, consider workers in the tobacco industry, which includes *bidi*-making and ought, therefore, to figure prominently in the Poona occupational census. The 1921 Census reports 97 males and 645 females as engaged in the manufacture of tobacco, opium and *ganja*; the corresponding figures for 1931 are 146 males and 40 females ! Among other more obviously deficient enumerations in 1931 are the numbers recorded under the printing and book industry and the number of Post-office employees. The 1931 Census further tells us that there were only 7 prostitutes in Poona in that year as against the 258 of 1921 ! This striking deficiency is not remedied even by allowing for the number recorded under certain other occupations as that of dancing girls. Cases of grossly wrong classification are to be found in the record of 1,661 workers under the sub-class which is entitled "Other miscellaneous and undefined industries (toy-making, etc.)" and of 502 under " Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers." The former is a case of the class being treated as a residual class (which, of course, it is not) and the latter is a result of *tonga* drivers and bullock cart drivers being wrongly put in this class instead of in the one above. A final curiosity of the occupational statistics to which attention may be drawn is the large number of "village watchmen" (over 200) that are shown in Poona in both the 1921 and 1931 Censuses. We have commented only on the more obvious mistakes. It was necessary to do this in order to justify our not having used the census occupational data anywhere in the course of the report and to reinforce in passing what we have always maintained—the futility of the occupational data of the Indian Census. We, however, append. for what it is worth, a table (Table No. 30) setting forth the main results of the census classification of occupations in the years 1911, 1921. and 1931. The census area of Poona in 1911 was materially smaller than that in 1921 and 1931.

Table No. 30 :— Occupation or Means of Livelihood in Greater Poona. (1931, 1921 and 1911 Censuses)

Type of Occupation	1931		1921		1911	
	Total Following Occupation		Total Workers		Total Workers	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
All Classes ...	69,005	13,635	77,957	19,950	52,702	14,952
Total class A—Production of Raw Materials (Exploitation of Animals & Vegetation) ...	7,315	1,561	5,673	2,297	5,199	1,391
Total Sub-order 1 (a)—Cultivation ...	5,511	1,121	4,842	2,087	4,054	1,115
Agricultural Labourers ...	4,311	983	3,149	1,632	3,067	864
Total Sub-order 1 (b)—Cultivation of Special Crops, Fruits, Etc. (Market Gardeners, Flower and Fruit growers) Planters, Etc. ...	1,171	329	327	109	464	35
Total class B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances ...	26,069	4,338	28,252	7,030	27,297	8,044
Total Sub-class III—Industry ...	14,649	2,845	14,771	3,950	15,126	5,247
Total order 5 — Textiles ...	1,489	301	2,700	1,162	2,861	1,161
Total order 7 — Wood ...	1,761	131	1,920	107	1,455	313
Carpenters, Turners, Joiners, Etc. ...	1,417	18	1,518	16	1,250	14
Total order 8 — Metals ...	623	38	1,433	83	2,301	128
Workers in Brass, Copper and Bell Metal ...	165	5	626	33	1,595	85
Total order 11 — Food Industries ...	1,268	430	708	748	1,423	2,034
Manufacture of Tobacco, Opium, Etc. ...	147	50	97	645	499	1,350
Total order 12 — Industries of Dress & Toilet ...	3,964	589	3,303	595	3,011	643
Tailors, Milliners, Etc. ...	1,642	193	1,335	229	1,142	251
Total order 14 — Building Industries (Lime burners, Cement workers, Etc.) ...	1,708	458	1,639	179	1,242	86
Total order 17 — Miscellaneous and Undefined Industries ...	2,954	745	2,107	747	*	*
Toy Making, Taxidermy, Etc. ...	1,388	273	*	*	8	...
Printers, Engravers, Book-Binders, Etc. ...	168	1	421	4	482	2
Scavenging ...	809	452	907	717	443	649
Total Sub-class IV—Transport ...	3,379	72	3,631	666	4,623	911
Total 20 — Transport by Road ..	847	43	864	587	3,001	903
Cart-owners and Drivers, Coachmen, Etc. ...	66	..	447	68	1,567	13
Pack Elephant, Camel, Mule, Ass, owners, Etc....	468	34	40	1	53	...
Total order 21 — Transport by Rail. ...	2,405	27	2,138	70	1,266	5
Railway Employees (Except Coolies) ...	1,130	1	1,196	37	1,266	5
Labourers on Construction of Railway, Coolies, Etc. ...	1,275	26	942	33	...	...
Total order 22 — Post Office, Etc., Services ...	127	2	552	9	314	3
Total Sub-class V—Trade ...	8,041	1,421	9,850	2,414	7,548	1,886
Total order 31 — Hotels, Cafes, Restaurants, Etc. ...	1,738	290	839	86	457	117
Owners and Managers of Hotels, Etc. ...	1,632	275	657	73	374	112
Total Order 32-Other Trades in Food Stuffs ...	2,584	698	3,691	1,513	2,945	1,174
Dealers in other Food Stuffs (Except, Dairy Product, Animal Food, Etc.) ...	1,526	436	*	*	*	*

* Comparable figures not available.

Table No. 30 — (*Contd.*)

Type of Occupation	1931		1921		1911	
	Total Following Occupation		Total Workers		Total Workers	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Total class C—Public Administration and Liberal Arts ...	18,359	1,168	18,460	959	12,295	1,209
Total Sub-class VI—Public Force ...	7,780	5	9,803	13	4,981	1
Imperial Army ...	6,291	2	8,498	5	3,357	1
Police ...	1,230	2	1,085	5	1,534	...
Village Watchman, Etc. ...	259	1	220	3	81	...
Total Sub-class VII (Total Order 44)—*Public Administration* ...	6,599	325	5,358	283	2,597	105
Service of the State ...	5,973	172	4,593	106	1,618	...
Total Sub-class VIII—Professions and Liberal Arts ...	3,980	838	3,299	663	3,249	497
Total Order 48—Instruction ...	1,845	382	870	306	879	266
Professors and Teachers of All Kinds ...	971	345	827	300	879	266
Total Order 49—Letters, Arts and Sciences (other than Total order 44.) ...	905	73	545	31	644	18
Musicians, Actors, Dancers, Etc. ...	300	69	220	15	227	12
Total class D—Miscellaneous ...	17,262	6,568	25,410	9,493	9,277	4,853
Total Sub-class IX—Persons Living on their Income ...	1,542	375	1,417	749	1,468	606
Total Sub-class X—(Total order 51)-*Domestic Servants* ...	4,722	1,736	5,371	1,732	5,011	2,461
Domestic Servants (Except Motor Drivers and Cleaners) ...	4,105	1,714	5,012	1,729	5,011	2,461
Total Sub-class XI—(Total order 52)—*Insufficiently Described Occupations.* ...	6,777	3,038	15,105	5,799	2,050	971
Cashiers, Accountants, Etc. in Unspecified Offices, Etc ...	842	155	4,840	440	498	...
Labourers and Workmen Otherwise Unspecified..	5,873	2,881	9,626	5,354	1,400	971
Total Sub-class XII-Unproductive ...	4,221	1,419	3,517	1,213	748	815
Beggars and Vagrants ...	562	268	859	936	653	788
Procurers and Prostitutes ...	...	7	11	258		
Other Unclassified Non-productive Industries...	3,659	1,144	176	15	*	*

* Comparable figures not available.

CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRIES

§ 1. **Introduction.** It is intended in this and the next chapter to give mainly a descriptive account of the industries and trades of Poona. This account is based upon an investigation into a sample of concerns in all important trades and industries conducted during the year 1936–37. These investigations were begun towards the end of the year 1936—during the month of October — and were completed by October 1937. A number of investigators were employed in this work and the various industries and trades were divided among them. All investigators were instructed to fill in a uniform questionnaire when taking down information regarding the different units within a trade or an industry. Separate detailed questionnaires were drawn up for workshops, for wholesale and retail trades and for artisans working to order.

The sample investigation into industries and trades was undertaken on the basis of the results of the initial census of establishments whose procedure and results are described in Chapter III. The census cards for separate trades and industries were classified in a number of ways and the approximate number, location and size of establishments in the different classes were ascertained. The sample for each industry or trade was chosen according to the indications given by the results of the census. There was, of course, no fixed percentage adhered to in determining the choice of the sample. Where the number of establishments in the industry was small the percentage of the total units investigated was comparatively large while, when the individual units were numerous, the percentage of the sample was somewhat less. The other consideration borne in mind in determining upon the sample was that it should be made as representative as possible. So that an attempt was made to include in the sample some units of each type and from each locality. We also tried to include within the sample units of varying sizes. When the number of establishments in a trade or industry was small, say, below 20 the sample usually covered from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. of the establishments; when the number was large, say, above 100 only from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. might be covered. But there was no strict uniformity even about this; because if an industry covered a large variety of products or types of establishments, the sample would have to be larger than where the product of work and the methods and the size were, to a large extent, similar from unit to unit in the industry.

It must be made clear at the outset that the information set out below is liable to a margin of error which cannot easily be calculated,

In the large majority of cases our investigators had no access to the books or accounts of the establishments about which information was collected. It was also not possible for us to cross-check directly in any manner the information supplied by the owner of an establishment, especially in regard to the volume of the business, its finance and the margin of profit. It must be remembered that in India we possess no reliable information regarding employment or volume of production in industries other than the factory industries. The extreme unreliability of the census statistics has already been commented upon. Regarding the scale of business or the volume of production there never has been any reliable enquiry, whether exhaustive or by sample. And though we feel that the mass of information supplied to us is such that it can safely be used for presenting a general picture and making approximate estimates, it has to be remembered that the data have been collected by a voluntary canvass, during the course of which the records of the establishment were mostly either not available or not given to the investigators. It may, however, be noted that in all instances where books of accounts, etc., were kept we asked our informants to base their statistical information on them as far as possible.

While the large bulk of our data was collected by means of a sample survey, attempts were made to obtain exhaustive information in respect of certain specially important activities. The most ambitious of such attempts was a census of all households engaged in the handloom and the brass and copper-ware industries. These two artisan industries were among the most important economic activities in Poona at the time of our survey. Also there is a comparative lack of accurate data regarding Indian artisan industries. This induced us to seek for specially detailed information in relation to these two in Poona. Because of this special effort the handloom and brass and copper industries are described in separate sections at the beginning of the chapter; the rest of the industries are dealt with in the broad general groups formed on lines indicated in Table No. 25.

§2. **Handloom Weaving Industry**: ***Historical***: Historical materials for putting together a connected account of this industry are yet scanty; but it would appear that for the larger part of even the times of the Peshwas only coarse cotton cloth was produced locally. In the *watans* granted by the Peshwas to different persons for establishing wards in Poona, occasional mention is made of these coarse manufactures as perquisites. Fine cloth required by the courtiers and the court of Poona, was ordinarily obtained from outside centres which had then attained prominence. Silk weaving, it appears, was practically unknown in Poona, till about the end of the eighteenth century. Silk manufactures were brought from places like Paithan and Yeola.[1] According to the

1. Considerable patronage was afforded by the Court of the last Peshwa to the handloom industy of Nagpur. see. R. Jenkins,: Report on the Territories of the Raja of Nagpur (1827).

traditional account, some weaver families from Paithan and Yeola were encouraged by the Court of the Peshwa to migrate to Poona towards the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was the beginning of the silk-weaving industry of Poona. Early years of court patronage presumably enabled this industry to establish itself firmly. With the fall of the Peshwas, however, the industry must have suffered an inevitable set-back from which it would have begun to look up by about the middle of the century. After this its progress must have been rapid, as is shown by the size which it had attained at the time when the Gazetteer was compiled. The following summary of the account contained in the Gazetteer will prove useful as a background to recent history and present conditions.

There were 1,100 to 1,300 handlooms in Poona during the year 1883-84. The industry was divided into two distinct branches: cotton and silk. Cotton weaving was not as thriving as silk weaving. The former employed from 400 to 500 handlooms. Workers belonged to both the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities. Amongst the Hindus, 300 looms were worked by Koshtis and 150 by Salis. Except for two families from Madras, the Hindu weavers were said to have come from Paithan, Yeola, Sholapur, Indapur and from Narayan Peth in the Nizam's Territories. They resided chiefly in the Somwar, Vetal, Bhavani, Rasta and Shukrawar wards of the city. The Muslim weavers, who owned about 50 looms, came to Poona from Malegaon in the Nasik District. As a rule, the Hindus produced women's robes or *saris* and the Muslims, turbans. The articles produced were coarse and cheap. Yarns, generally used, ranged between 20^s and 30^s. To buy the yarn most weavers had to borrow money at two per cent. per month. The cotton articles of Poona were intended chiefly for everyday use by the poorer classes. The wares were sold locally to Shimpi dealers in the Budhawar ward. 'Steam made' fabrics had, by this time, made their appearance in the market. It was feared that they might drive Poona handloom products out of the market, as the local cost of production was higher. Handloom turbans were, however, not affected by machine competition.

The silk weaving industry in Poona had attained so much importance by this time that it ranked second amongst the local industries and was so flourishing that it eclipsed to a great extent the well-established silk industry of Yeola in the Nasik District. In 1883-84 the industry employed from 700 to 800 weavers. Nearly two-thirds of the looms were owned by 'Momins and Julaha Musalmans' who had come from Hyderabad, Dharwar, Narayan Peth and Gulmatkal in the Nizam's Dominions and settled at Mominpura in the Ganj ward of the city. The Hindu silk workers were found in Kachi Ali and near the Someshwar

1. Pp. 296-97.

temple. They included Khatris, Koshtis and Salis. The only silk used was China silk. *Pitambars* and *paithanis* were the only articles produced. Unlike the Yeola silks these were sometimes brocaded as well as gold bordered. Some of them were sold locally and some were sent to Bombay, Pandharpur, Satara, Sholapur and other trade centres. Poona continued to cater for the custom of upper classes, but a definite tendency of the demand for the lighter and cheaper varieties to increase was visible. In spite of restricted markets and a virtual failure of demand in a series of famines, the value of the annual outturn of silk fabrics in Poona was then estimated at Rs. 2,50,000. The wide-spread market and the high cost of raw materials helped the capitalist dealer to dominate the industry. The weavers either borrowed money from Shimpi and Marwar Wani silk dealers and bought silk yarn and gold thread or worked as labourers receiving the materials from dealers and being paid wages by piece-rates.

The period of the Gazetteer seems to record the high water-mark of the development of the Poona handloom industry. In the closing years of the 19th century a process of decline was set in motion owing chiefly to the competition of better organised centres of the Indian industry as for example, Coimbatore, Ahmedabad and Benares. The competition of foreign fabrics was, owing to the peculiar nature of the local products, only indirect. Evidence regarding the condition of the industry at the close of the 19th century is available in the provincial monographs on cotton and silk fabrics. The former states that there were between 850 and 900 looms at work in the city, the number varying somewhat with the season and the state of the crops.[1] Among cotton goods these looms produced *saris*, *dhotis*, *uparnas*, *khans*, *sutadas*, *pagotis*, etc. *Garbhasuti* or mixed silk-cotton fabrics are mentioned in the monograph though not in the Gazetteer. The monograph on silk fabrics records the opinion that the silk industry had declined but little.[2] It was stated to be consuming the silk of Bengal and Persia besides the silk of China and to be producing *saris*, *paithanis*, *pitambars*, *muktas*, etc. By the use of attractive aniline dyes Poona silks were said to have gained a slight advantage over Yeola products in local markets. On the evidence of the monographs it is, however, clear that there was a deterioration in the position of, especially, the silk industry and that at the end of the century the production, in Poona, of cotton goods with silk borders was distinctly larger than that of pure silk fabrics.

With the intensification of the tendencies witnessed in the earlier period, the handloom industry of Poona continued to decline from year to year. In 1916, according to Mr. E. C. Ansorge,[3] it was half of what it was

1. A Monograph on the Cotton Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency, Enthoven. 1897, p. 14.
2. A Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency, 1900, p. 32.
3. Enquiry into Silk Industry, 1916, Vol. II, p. 34.

in 1904. With the changing fashions and tastes of the customers, the nature of the products also underwent a change. Poona now began to produce cheaper and newer varieties of women's garments by the increasing use of mercerised yarn. In 1932, according to Mr. N. M. Joshi[1], the number of looms working in the brisk season of the year, was between 400 and 500. The detailed census conducted as part of the present survey revealed that in 1936-37 nearly 500 handlooms were at work in Poona during the brisk season. Since 1936-37 the industry, it is reported, has rapidly gone from bad to worse.

Census of Weavers : The figures noted above in tracing the history of the Poona handloom industry are mere estimates made by different persons, officials or non-officials, on different occasions. The exact extent of the industry could be ascertained only by a regular census. An attempt in this direction was made by Government in 1921 when an "Industrial Census" was first carried out in India. The Census for the Bombay Presidency attempted to distinguish between factory workers and home workers. According to it, there were 1,060 home workers employed in cotton sizing and weaving and only 2 in silk weaving in the whole of Poona district. Besides these there were 166 insufficiently described weavers. Of the cotton workers a fairly large number must have been recorded in Poona city. As silk weaving was not carried on anywhere in the district, the figure obviously relates to the city. It is very difficult to understand how the figure for silk workers was arrived at. Its incorrectness is too patent to require any comment. Mr. Marten, the Census Superintendent, himself wondered whether the figures for the cottage industries were of 'any absolute value'[2]. The census of handlooms might alternatively have conveyed some idea about the extent of the industry in certain localities. But in the Bombay Presidency no census of handlooms was taken.

The almost entire lack of a previous accurate record about the size of the industry, the great difficulty experienced in getting the number of weaving establishments noted in our preliminary enumeration and the importance of the industry in Poona, led us to embark on a detailed census of weavers' families in Poona. It was obviously impossible to enter every house in Poona in order to enquire whether it contained a loom; at the same time there was no way of overtly discovering the presence of a weaving establishment in a place. We, therefore, began with the assumption, entirely valid in Poona, that the weavers all belonged to specific weaver castes and planned a survey of all the families of such castes. As this survey was carried out with the help of the members of each particular caste and as these castes are all comparatively small and

1. Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics Publication No. 5, 1936, p. 119.

2. Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, Part I, p. 251.

socially close-knit, there was little danger of any household escaping enumeration. The census served the purpose not only of enumerating weavers and weaving establishments but also of revealing the condition and occupations of those who had left off weaving as a profession in comparatively recent times. Certain weaving castes who were known to have left off the vocation for many decades past were not included in the survey.

The census was carried out in Ganj, Bhavani, Nana, Vetal and Ghorpade wards of the city, and covered all the families of Momins, Padmasalis and the Swakulsalis who came from Narayan Peth in the Nizam's State. 23 Swakulsali families from Paithan, residing in Ganj, were also included for comparative purposes in the census.[1] In all 796 families were enumerated. Table No. 31 shows the classification of the 796 families according to their castes and their distribution in different wards of the city.

Table No. 31 — Classification of Weavers' Families by Castes.

Castes	Ganj	Bhavani	Nana	Vetal	Ghorpade	Total
Padmasali	231	282	88	...	...	601
Swakulsali	67	...	...	20	...	87
„ (Paithan)	23	...	...	...	...	23
Momin	46	...	...	24	15	85
Total	367	282	88	44	15	796

The census revealed that the Padmasalis, who were not even mentioned by the Gazetteer, formed the bulk of the weaving population of Poona in 1936–37, and over 75 per cent. of the families of caste-weavers surveyed by us. In the census, 233 units of work employing 499 looms amongst them, were registered. In Table No. 32 the 233 units of work are classified according to the size of each unit and their distribution in different wards of the city.

Table No. 32 — Distribution of Units of Production by Wards.

Ward	Number of looms										
	1	2	3	4	5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26 & over	Total
Ganj	73	32	4	6	4	6	1	...	...	1	127
Bhavani	35	8	3	2	2	3	1	1	...	...	55
Nana	23	3	4	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	34
Vetal	12	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Total	143	48	11	11	7	9	2	1	...	1	233

1. As a general rule the Swakulsalis from Paithan are no longer engaged weaving.

The classification of the 233 units of production according to the size of each unit and the caste of the owners of establishments is given in Table No. 33.

Table No. 33 — Distribution of Units of Production by Caste of Owners.

Caste	Number of looms										
	1	2	3	4	5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26 & over	Total
Padmasali	103	32	8	10	7	9	1	1	...	...	171
Swakulsali	30	12	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	46
Momin	10	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
Total	143	48	11	11	7	9	2	1	...	1	233

The tables reveal certain interesting facts. Firstly, over 98 per cent. of the total number of units were so small as to escape from the application of the Indian Factories Act. Secondly, out of 191 small units of production, with one or two looms, 105 or over 55 per cent. were in Ganj ward. Thirdly, the Bhavani and Nana wards, in which there were practically no looms working in 1883-84, claim 37 per cent. of the total looms for the whole city in 1936-37. Fourthly, about 82 per cent. of the total units are with one or two looms. Padmasalis, in 1936-37, owned 171 out of 233, i.e. over 73 per cent. of the units of production in Poona, while the Momins and Swakulsalis, who dominated the industry in 1883-84, worked about 29 per cent. of the total looms in Poona, in 1936-37.

As regards the status, whether independent or dependent, of the owners of the units of production, little can be said definitely. The status is liable to change from time to time and further, it is feared, that the information returned during our census regarding this item was not always correct. Table No. 34 showing the status of the 233 units of work as owned by different caste-weavers, is based on the information obtained.

Table No. 34 — Classification of Weaving Establishments by Status of Owners.

Caste	Independent	Dependent		Total
		on Merchants or on *Karkhandars*	on the co-operative society.	
Padmasali	118	50	3	171
Swakulsali	23	5	18	46
Momin	13	1	2	16
Total	154	56	23	233

As the Co-operative Society went into liquidation in 1937-38 the weavers, who formerly depended on it for the supply of raw materials

and the disposal of finished products, must presumably, if still in the business, be depending on merchants or *karkhandars*. Table No. 35 sets out the classification of the status of owners of the units of production of different sizes.

Table No. 35—Classification of Units of Production by Status of Owners.

Status	Number of Looms										
	1	2	3	4	5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26 & over	Total
Independent	82	37	7	9	6	9	2	1	...	1	154
Dependent	61	11	4	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	79
Total	143	48	11	11	7	9	2	1	...	1	233

The table shows that 154 or over 66 per cent. of the total number of units of production were independent and the rest dependent.

Information regarding the type of work on which the looms were engaged was obtained for 478 out of the total of 499 looms. It showed that 311 looms or over 65 per cent. of the total, were engaged in weaving cotton fabrics. Further, of these 311 looms, 222 used mercerised yarn for the warp and the remaining 89 used ordinary cotton yarn both for the warp and the weft. The number of looms using silk, pure or artificial, was 167. It should be mentioned here that the differentiation made above is not necessarily water-tight. The same loom may be used for weaving pure silk articles or mixed cotton and silk articles or cotton goods according to demand or as ordered by the merchant or the *karkhandar*. Again, cotton goods ordinarily woven in Poona have silk, and sometimes, like the silk fabrics, gold-thread in the border. As regards the castes engaged in weaving different types of cloths it was found that a comparatively larger proportion of Momins and Swakulsalis were working on silk fabrics than of the Padmasalis. Table No. 36 brings this out.

Table No. 36 — Distribution of Looms according to Type of Production.

Caste	Cotton		Silk	Total
	Ordinary	Mercerised		
Padmasali	64	211	80	355
Swakulsali	21	9	68	98
Momin	4	2	19	25
Total	89	222	167	478

Organization of Industry: Following the census a detailed study of a sample of the units of production was undertaken. The classification of the units in this sample is set out in Table No. 37.

Table No. 37 — Classification of Sample of Units of Weaving Establishments.

Ward	Padmasali	Swakulsali	Momin	Total
Ganj	28	16	8	52
Bhawani	8	...	...	8
Vetal	...	1	...	1
Total	36	17	8	61

Units of all sizes were included in the sample. This sample of nearly 26·2 per cent. of the total number of units of production in the city, included 220 looms or 46 per cent. of the total number of looms. The organisation of the handloom weaving industry of Poona might now be described in detail in the light of the study of these 61 representative sample-units of production.

Labour: Workers from *karkhandars'* families who were not paid for their labour, were also included in the count of the total labour employed in the establishments. In the case of outside labourers or wage-earners, it was not possible to arrive at the total number actually working for a particular unit of production. The difficulty arose from the fact that all the processes in the industry were not carried out under one roof. Some of the work of unwinding and winding of yarn on tin-bobbins is almost universally given out to women who work in their own homes. Similarly the work of warping might be got done by a *karkhandar* from a warping mill, or sometimes, readymade warps were purchased. The number of workers noted in our questionnaires represented only those wage earners who worked under the roof of the *karkhandar.*

Supervision of the work of the establishment was generally carried out by the *karkhandars* who were, in most establishments, also working-weavers themselves. In the bigger establishments, however, supervision and other managerial work attained so much importance that separate individuals were charged with that kind of work alone. In the 61 units there were only 5 managers as such in 4 big establishments, 3 units having one each and one, two. As this kind of work is generally done by male members of a *karkhandar's* family or by the *karkhandar* himself, no question arose of their remuneration. Further, no clerk was found to have been employed by any one of the 61 *karkhandars.*

The work of weaving high grade fabrics on a handloom requires much skill. The weavers are, therefore, generally ranked as skilled workers. Ordinarily, there should be as many skilled weavers as there are active looms. But according to our census the number of weavers slightly exceeded the number of looms. We recorded 239 weavers working on 220 looms. This meant that 19 persons more than the minimum number were engaged in the process of weaving. From a detailed classification it was found that 6 of these persons were engaged in *karkhanas* which employed only wage-earners. It might be that this was due to a number of looms in these establishments having been thrown idle a few days before the questionnaire was filled and the services of the appropriate number of weavers, not having yet been dispensed with in the meantime. The remaining 13 extra persons belonged to the families of *karkhandars*. These 13 persons were found in 10 units of production: one each in 7 and two each in 3. Of the 239 weavers, 5 were classed as apprentices. Out of the remaining 234 weavers 130 weavers or over 55 per cent. belonged to the *karkhandars'* families, and the rest were outsiders who were paid wages for the work done. On a classification of the 61 weaving establishments according to the staff of skilled workers employed by each, it was found that 8 were run entirely with the labour of wage-earners, 4 partly by wage-earners and partly by members of *karkhandars'* families and the remaining 49 units were worked purely by members of *karkhandars'* families. All the weavers worked for 8 to 10 hours a day, with rest for an hour or so for the mid-day meal. As, however, these establishments lack the discipline of a factory, the effective hours of work could scarcely exceed 6 or 7, even though they were sometimes to be seen working at night.[1] Wage-earners were paid by piece-rate. The rate varied with the type and quality of the fabric produced. Below are given some of the rates of wages prevailing in 1936–37, for weaving articles of different types.

1.	*Paithani.*	Rs. 4 to 5 and Rs. 7 if ground decorated with floral designs.
2.	*Pitambar.*	Rs. 3 to 4.
3.	*Shalu.*	Rs. 10.
4.	*Khanawal.*	As. 12 to Re. 1½ and Rs. 2-8-0 if ground decorated with floral designs.
5.	*Kad.*	Re. 1 to 1-4-0.

1. The extent of absenteeism and turnover in the industry were also considerable. During the year 1935-36, the monthly absenteeism, according to Dr. Venkatraman, was between 10 per cent. and 23 per cent.; also hardly 10 per cent. of the weavers in 1935–36 were in the employment of the same *Karkhandars* for over 3 years. Cf, "The Economic Condition of Handloom Weavers." The Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XI, Part I. p. 84 and p. 98.

6. *Saris* with silk. Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2-8-0. If gold thread was used in the heading and designs, such as in *rasta* and *faraspeti*, higher rates were charged.
7. *Saris* with mercerised warp and gold border, Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4-0.
8. *Saris* with ordinary cotton yarn in the warp and silk or mercerised yarn in the border, As. 12 to Re. 1.
9. Cotton piecegoods such as shirting, coating, etc. 1 to 2 as. per yard.

It must be remembered that the rates of wages of weavers in Poona were not standardised. The rates given above merely indicate the general level of rates prevailing in the city during 1936-37. The actual rates ruled below or above these rates, mostly below, according to the demand for skilled labour at particular times, and the economic position of the contracting parties.

The group of unskilled workers comprises those who were engaged in preparatory processes such as warping, unwinding, pirn-winding, joining and twisting, etc. This work cannot be considered as wholly unskilled. It may rather be called semi-skilled work. This kind of semi-skilled work was as a rule entrusted to women and children, but there were two weaving establishments in our sample which employed together 8 adult males for this work. As against these 8 adult males, there were 103 female workers and 72 children engaged in the semi-skilled work. Most work of this kind is done outside the premises of *karkhandars* by outworkers. Out of 103 female workers and 72 children, 58 females and 21 children belonged to the families of *karkhandars*. The women workers not belonging to *karkhandars'* families are paid by piece rates. Of the children 16 were paid wages on a monthly basis. These wages ranged from Rs. 3 to Rs. 10 per month. Some of the children were also employed on the condition that no remuneration would be paid to them during the apprenticeship period. The remaining were paid by piece rates. Below are given some of the rates prevailing in 1936-37, for certain preparatory processes.

Unwinding.	Re. 1, unwinding yarn required for 6 articles.	
Pirn winding,	Re. 1, for yarn required for 6 articles.	
Warping,	Rs. 0-12-0	per seer for silk.
Do.	Rs. 1-0-0	per lbs. 10 (doubling.)
Do.	Rs. 0-4-0	per lb. (single.)

Sizing (only for single yarn,) Rs. 0-4-0 per hank.

The sons of caste-weavers ordinarily acquire a knowledge of their traditional craft by working, for some years, under the supervision of the adult weaver in the family. But this is not possible for the sons of wage-earning weavers. These have to be placed

under the control of some master-weaver or a *karkhandar* for training. There is no regular system of training apprentices in the different processes in the industry. There is no fixed period of apprenticeship and the relations between an apprentice and his master are nowhere defined. In our survey instances were noted in which the apprentices were very badly treated. Similarly there were no established conventions as to what, the *karkhandar* or the master-weaver under whom an apprentice is working, should pay the apprentice during his apprenticeship period. An apprentice is made to go through various stages of work, which do not always follow one another in a definite series. In Poona, a large number of boys used to be employed formerly in helping the weavers of *paithani* in weaving gold flowers or other ornaments into the body of the web. As the demand for *paithanis* has dwindled, very few boys are now seen engaged in this work. The number of boys who were weaving on handlooms was, as has been stated before, only 5. When actually employed on the work they are paid at the same piece-rate as other skilled weavers.

Technical structure : In the technical structure of the industry, no considerable advance had taken place by 1936–37. The methods employed in most of the preparatory processes were crude and primitive. Warps, for instance, were still prepared with the help of pegs, which were fixed on a wooden frame or in some cases on a wall, in a definite order. While taking each thread of the warp round the pegs care had to be exercised to see that the required ' lease ' was being obtained. For preparing a warp, the device of wheel warping was also seen to have been adopted by some *karkhandars* in Poona. In this improved method, a great number of ends, say 2 to 3 boxes, are warped at a time, and much time and energy are saved. This process was on the way of becoming specialised. There were some warping mills in Poona which undertook to prepare warps on piece-rates. The result was that many yarn-dealers availed themselves of this opportunity and sold ready-made warps to their weaver customers. Before warping, the yarn in a hank is taken over tin bobbins, by placing the hank on a cone and by making it spin on its own axis. The ' hand bobbin-winding machine ' in which 16 to 24 bobbins are filled at a time, was not yet in vogue in Poona. Similarly the hand pirn winding machine on which 16 to 24 pirns can be filled at a time, was nowhere seen in Poona. At the time of the survey only one pirn was filled up with the help of a *charkha*. In Poona very little sizing work was done. Sizing is required only for cloths in which single yarn is used, but these were not woven in Poona on any considerable scale. The little sizing that was done, was done by the old method in which the size is applied to a warp and then the warp is brushed continuously at a rapid pace by a comb, after being stretched on two iron bars.

The fly-shuttle had not been introduced fully in Poona. Out of the 478 looms, for which reliable information was obtained, 132 looms

were found to have not been fitted with the fly-shuttle slay. The percentage of throw-shuttle handlooms thus came to 27·6, which is a considerable proportion. The throw-shuttle hand-loom, it is claimed, has an advantage in weaving decorations or flowers in the web of the fabric. But as the demand for such fabrics had been decreasing fast, the throw-shuttle should have been replaced by the fly-shuttle much earlier. The Padmasalis were the first and the Momins the last to adopt the fly-shuttle. Out of 233 weaving establishments in Poona, 159 had adopted fly-shuttles. Amongst these 159 units, 147 were owned by Padmasali *karkhandars*, 11 by Swakulsalis and only 1 by a Momin weaver. The throw-shuttle looms in Poona were used mainly for producing silk fabrics. Out of 140 looms that produced silk goods, 102 were throw-shuttle looms. There was yet much scope for improvement as regards the device for weaving designs on the border. The handlooms that were employed in the production of *paithanis*, *pitambars*, *khanawals*, etc. were fitted with a crude type of jacquard[1]. There were 99 such looms—96 throw shuttle and 3 fly shuttle—in Poona in the year 1936-37. The looms fitted with a dobby numbered 326, 21 throw-shuttle and 305 with the fly-shuttle. Some of these looms were fitted with the 'universal dobby.' There were, besides these, 24 handlooms that were engaged in weaving plain cloth. The reeds and the shafts of healds of the looms in Poona were prepared locally. The looms were nowhere fitted with a warp-beam and so the warp was in ball-form. This involved much wastage of time and energy in manipulating lease-rods while the weaving is going on. The ordinary Poona handloom cost from Rs. 20 to Rs 30, on an average, and lasted for about 20 years. The annual repairing and rehauling charges, including sometimes the cost of substituting a new reed or a set of healds, amounted to approximately Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 on an average.

Capital structure: Little factual data could be obtained regarding the capital organisation of the handloom weaving industry. Scarcely 10 *karkhandars*, out of 61, supplied us with any information under this head. The weaver-*karkhandar* required working capital, both for purchasing raw materials and for the carrying of stocks which was necessary owing to the seasonal character of demand. But small *karkhandars* had in most cases no funds of their own even for purchasing the required amount of raw materials. Therefore, they had on all occasions to approach money-lenders who also dealt in raw materials in the majority of cases. If cash was advanced by the dealer to a weaver-*karkhandar* he charged interest at the rate of 6¼ per cent. per mensem or in some extreme cases, at a still higher rate. If raw materials were sold on credit he charged higher prices for them. But in cases in which the *karkhandar* had no credit with

1 For the actual process of weaving silk-fabrics with gold borders, and with or without silk designs in the body, see Poona District Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 89-90.

the dealer-cum-money-lender, he demanded some security from the weaver even for the advancing of raw materials. The weaver had no alternative, in such cases, other than the pledging of finished articles that might be on his hands. The dealer laid down rigid conditions for the repayment of the loan or the payment of the price of the raw materials. Big *karkhandars*, who were supposed to have good credit, got some concessions from the dealer-cum-money-lenders, in respect of the advance either of cash or of raw materials. The case of the out-worker stood on an entirely different footing. The one advantage that he enjoyed over the independent *karkhandars* was that he could occasionally get small sums of money, without interest as part payments of his wage. There were a few moneylenders who, while not dealing in raw materials, financed the industry. Some of them accepted finished articles in repayment of the loan advanced. The Southern Central Poona District Weavers' Co-operative Society when it was functioning was not able to advance enough or cheap credit to any considerable number of weavers.

Purchase of raw materials: As the quantity of raw materials required by handloom *karkhandars* in Poona was comparatively small, they did not find it convenient to place their orders directly with producers of silk or their agents in Bombay. Raw silk was no longer worked up in Poona into silk yarn. The Poona weavers purchased ready-made silk yarn and other raw materials in small instalments from local shop-keepers. Most of the different types of silk yarns were imported from Japan. The gold thread was from Surat. The prices of the different raw materials ruling in Poona in 1936-37 are given below.

(*a*) *Spun silk* :—Japanese

Count	Rate per seer.
120	Rs. 8-0-0
140	,, 8-0-0
160	,, 9-0-0
210	,, 10-8-0
280	,, 16-0-0

One box of spun silk thread generally contained 5 seers. It was used for the warp in the border and for weft.

(*b*) *Silk yarn* :—Japanese : from Rs. 12 to Rs. 12-8-0 per seer. The weight of silk varied according to the dampness or dryness in the air. The dealers in silk yarn, therefore, safeguarded themselves from probable loss by deducting 2 tolas from every seer. Thus the seer was for practical purposes of 78 tolas. The silk yarn had to be de-gummed before it was used in weaving. Double thread was generally used for warp and single for weft. Silk yarn from Belgaum, Shahapur, Mysore, Bangalore, etc. had not been used in Poona since about 1930.

(c) *Artificial silk* :—	120s	Rs. 0-14-0 per lb.
	150s	,, 0-15-0 per lb.

(*d*) *Yarn* :—Yarn made of staple fibre was used a little by weavers some 5 to 6 years before the period of survey in the manufacture of silk goods. But as goods made of that yarn proved to be less durable, it ceased to be used in Poona. It was formerly obtained, at the rate of Rs. 0-12-6 per lb. (un-dyed) from local shop-keepers who imported it, through Bombay agents, from America and Japan.

(*e*) *Cotton yarn* :—Mercerised.

Count.	Rate per box of 10 lbs.
40s	Rs. 11-4-0 : double.
60s	,, 13-2-0 : ,,
80s	,, 15-0-0 : ,,

The rates were averages.

(*f*) *Cotton yarn* :—Ordinary (non-mercerised)

Count.	Grey.		Bleached.
	Single.	Double.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
40s	6-14-0	8-10-0	8-11-0
60s	9- 6-0	10- 3-0	10-11-0
80s	12- 8-0	13- 2-0	13-12-0

These were average rates.

(*g*) *Gold and silver thread* :—Gold and silver thread was no longer produced in Poona on any considerable scale, at the time of the survey. In a box containing thread there were generally 8 hanks, each weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas and 2,200 yards long. Single hank could be purchased at retail. The selling prices of the gold thread were determined by the extent and quality of gold used in its production. The rates of gold and silver thread fluctuated with the rates for gold and silver. Below are given some of the ruling retail rates in Poona in 1936-37 for gold and silver thread.

Silver thread.	Rs. 0-8-6 to Rs. 0—9—0 per tola
	Rs. as. p.
Gold thread. : 8 Mashi	0-13—0 per tola
: 10 ,,	1—1—0 ,, ,,
: 12 ,,	1—3—0 ,, ,,
: 15 ,,	1—5—0 ,, ,,

Dyeing : This was performed by a few enterprising *karkhandars* in Poona. The other *karkhandars* either purchased dyed yarn or got this operation done in some local dyeing houses. The silk thread, which

was used in the manufacture of such fabrics as *paithani, pitambar, shalu, khanawal,* etc. not requiring habitual washing, was dyed with "direct cotton colours" for obtaining red, yellow saffron, green, pink and other shades. The dyeing operation was done by weavers themselves in most cases, and was very simple and economical, costing about 8 as. to 12 as. for dyeing one seer of silk thread. Spun silk was not dyed locally. For dyeing yarns which were used in the manufacture of mixed and cotton *saris* which are often washed, indanthrene and sulphur dye-stuffs were used. "Basic" dye-stuffs were not used in Poona on any appreciable scale. Sulphur colours were used mostly for obtaining "black" shades, because of their cheapness. Below are given some of the rates for dyeing 10 lbs. of yarn, ruling in 1936-37 in Poona.

Indanthrene Blue	...	Rs. 6—0—0	per box of 10 lbs.
,, Green	...	Rs. 5—0—0	,, ,,
,, Rest (except black)	...	Rs. 3—0—0	,, ,,

The number of *karkhandars* who purchased dyed yarn was very large.

It was not possible for all weaving *karkhandars* to purchase their requisites of raw materials with cash. Of the 61 *karkhandars* in the sample, 13 made cash purchases of their raw materials. 22 *karkhandars* worked for others (12 for merchants and 10 for other *karkhandars*) and had thus no need to purchase raw materials on their own account. The remaining 26 purchased their raw materials on credit. Independent *karkhandars* who had funds enough to purchase raw materials with cash got them at cheaper rates. Generally, however, the *karkhandars* were in constant need of money, with the result that they had either to purchase their raw materials on credit and pay higher prices or even remain at times idle. Credit was granted for 15 days, on furnishing, in some cases, adequate security. After the expiry of this period an interest at the rate of 1 to 1½ p. c. per mensem was charged on the amount of the bill; but in some extreme cases it was complained, that interest ran even from the day of the delivery of raw materials. Outworkers were better placed in some respects, than these *karkhandars*. Work was provided for them for most of the year, though it was at times very meagre. Besides, they got advances from the suppliers of work in times of need. On the other hand, they had to put up with certain disadvantages. While advancing raw materials to them, the suppliers of work charged them high prices as though the materials concerned were sold on credit. Further, the items of purchases made were not, it was complained, entered into the account-books by the merchants at appropriate times. This gave rise to a suspicion amongst outworkers about the correctness of these accounts and thus embittered the relations of the two classes.

Most of the small *karkhandars* found it convenient, though not necessarily economical, to purchase ready-made warps of 6 *saris*. Big independent *karkhandars*, however, purchased their yarn in bulk in larger volume.

Seasonality : The demand for Poona wares was still seasonal. It was brisk in the marriage and the fairs' season, which commences roughly from November and ends in May. In the production branch, the brisk season commenced a couple of months prior to the demand season. The monsoon months were thus the slack season for production.

Production: Production in Poona was confined almost entirely to *saris* including the special varieties called *paithani* and *shalu*. Besides *saris*, *pitambars* were also woven in Poona. But the demand for goods like *paithanis* and *pitambars* had fallen greatly due to change in fashion and tastes, and weavers had taken to weaving *shalus* and *kads* instead. The demand for the latter was also very limited, and *saris* of mercerised yarn with or without gold-thread border were, in 1936–37, commonly woven by a majority of weavers in Poona. Bodice-pieces, known as *khanawals*, were also being manufactured in Poona. Our census showed, that 415 looms or over 86 per cent. of the total number of looms in the city, were engaged in the production of *saris*, including *paithanis* and *shalus*, over 6 per cent. in the production of *khanawals*, over 2 per cent. in *pitambars* and the rest, i. e. 5 per cent. approximately, in piece-goods, such as coating, shirting, etc. Again out of the 415 looms that were producing *saris*, 113 were engaged in the production of silks, pure or mixed, (from 30 to 40 in the production of silk *saris* and the rest in *paithanis* and *shalus*). The remaining 302 or nearly 73 per cent. of the total looms for *saris*, used cotton yarn (231 mercerised and 71 non-mercerised). This meant that *saris*, including special varieties, formed the staple production of the Poona handloom industry; further the special varieties called *paithanis* and *shalus* were fast losing ground in favour of *saris* of cotton yarn.

In Poona, 5 types of *saris* were produced in 1936–37. These were *paithani*, *shalu*, silken *saris*, *saris* made of mercerised yarn and those made of non-mercerised cotton yarn. Of these five, the first three form the 'silk group' and the latter two the 'cotton group'. As regards the first group, it may be noted that there is no difference between a *paithani* and a *shalu* in respect of length, breadth, heading, decoration in the ground, etc. The real difference lies in respect of the varying design in the border of a *shalu* and its fancy colours; a *paithani* has always a broad square design in the border. Similarly, in the second group, there was no difference in the weave and the design of the two types. The only difference was in the different materials used in their manufacture. An attempt is made below to work out the approximate costs of production of some of the above types as in 1936–37.

Table No. 38 — Cost of Production of certain types of Handloom Products.

Type and Description	Cost of raw materials	Cost of preparatory processes	Weaving charges	Total Cost	Selling price to shop-keepers
1 *Shalu*: Warp pure silk, weft of Japanese silk, fancy colours and designs in the border; heading of gold-thread, with or without decoration or flowers in the ground; 9 to 10 yds. × 50″ to 54″. Weight nearly 80 tolas (54 tolas silk and 20 tolas gold thread). The weight may vary according to the amount of gold-thread used in the ground.	Rs. silk both in warp and weft 15-0-0 gold-thread 15-0-0 30-0-0	Rs. Dyeing, warping, winding etc. 2-8-0	Rs. 15-0-0 for 15 to 20 days.	Rs. 47-8-0	Rs. 52-0-0
2 *Silk sari*: Warp of silk (Japanese or Indian), weft 80s single; fancy colours and simple and attractive designs; heading of silk, with gold thread border; ground plain; 9to10 yds × 50″ to 52″. Weight nearly 45 tolas. (15 tolas silk, 20 tolas yarn, 4 tolas gold thread and 5 tolas sundry silk.)	20 tolas silk 5-0-0 silk for heading 0-6-0 cotton yarn 80s 1-12-0 gold thread 3-0-0 10-2-0	1-8-0 including charges for dyeing both silk and yarn.	2-8-0 for about 4 days.	14-2-0	15-0-0
3 *Cotton sari with gold thread border*: Warp of mercerised yarn 84s double and weft of non-mercerised yarn 84s single; fancy colours and attractive designs in the border; heading simple of mercerised yarn 140s; ground plain (sometimes checks are also obtained.); 9 yds × 50″ to 52″.	Warp 84s mer. 1-6-0 weft 84s/2 1-6-0 yarn for border mer. 60s 0-8-0 Japan silk white or dyed for heading No. 140. 1-0-0 gold thread for border 2-0-0 6-4-0	1-0-0 to 1-4-0 excluding dyeing charges	1-0-0 to 1-4-0 for 2 to 3 days.	8-4-0 to 8-12-0	9-0-0 to 9-8-0
4 *Cotton sari without gold thread border*: Warp and weft both of non-mercerised yarn and of lower count. The rest of the description same as above. In the design of the border mercerised yarn is used.	1-12-0 to 1-14-0	—	0-12-0 to 0-14-0 including preparatory processes.	2-8-0 to 2-12-0	3-0-0 approximately

The *saris*, the cost of production of which we have roughly worked out in the above table, were considered in the market to be standard

goods. By lowering the quality of the goods, the cost of production could be materially reduced and the goods sold to merchants at prices much lower than those given above.

Little can be said definitely as regards the volume of production in Poona. While conducting the weavers' census, an attempt was made to arrive at an estimate of the production of the handloom industry of Poona also. *Karkhandars* and weavers were asked about the actual production of their looms for the month previous to the time of the census and were also asked to give an estimate of the production of the previous year. The information obtained contained elements both of under and overestimation. It was, however, not possible to check any part of it in order to discover the actual margin of error. The following figures compiled from the census returns give, therefore, merely a rough idea about the production of the handloom industry in Poona. We set out in Table No. 39 the estimated monthly production of all types of important articles produced in Poona during the year 1936–37.

Table No. 39 — Production of Handloom Industry.

Name of the article	Number of articles	Approximate average price per article	Estimated Value of the output
		Rs.	Rs.
1. *Pitambar*	26	15 to 18	400
2. *Paithani*	120	20	2,400
3. *Shalu*	104	50	5,200
4. *Khanawal*	338	6 to 7	2,800
5. *Kad*	23	10 to 12	250
6. Silk *Saris*	1,151	13 to 15	15,000
7. *Saris* of mercerised yarn with gold-thread border.	2,851	8 to 9	24,250
8. *Saris* of non-mercerised yarn and without gold-thread border.	453	3½ to 4½	1,800
Total	5,066		52,100

These figures are based on data collected during the brisk season of the year. The annual production may be obtained roughly by multiplying the volume and value figures by 9. The value of the annual outturn of the handloom industry of Poona might, therefore, be placed at between Rs. 4½ to Rs. 5 lakhs.

Sale of finished articles : The problem of the sale of finished products arose mainly in the case of independent *karkhandars*. The out-workers were bound by contract to hand over their finished articles to the supplier of work, either the *karkhandar* or the dealer in raw materials. In the 22 cases of out-workers that were studied in detail, it was found that 10 worked for *karkhandars* and the remaining 12 for shopkeepers. On further analysing the latter class it was found that 5 of these worked for more than one dealer at a time and also that 3 worked partly as out-workers and partly as independent producers. The independence of

even some of the so-called independent *karkhandars*, was found to be nominal. Some of the independent *karkhandars* who purchased their raw materials from the dealers on credit, were required either to hypothecate to the dealer whatever finished products they had on hand as security for the payment for the supply of raw materials or to enter into an agreement by which the finished products had to be sold to the dealer concerned, at prices fixed before-hand. In this way, many even of the big *karkhandars* were bound down to dealers in raw materials. While buying the finished products, the merchants made certain special deductions. These were : (1) *dharmadaya* or charity, generally one anna and three pies per article, (2) *kasar* or discount, a deduction of four annas to ten annas per article from the price paid. In some cases, it was complained, undue advantage was taken by merchants of the weak financial position of weavers and discount even upto one rupee was deducted. Thus the marketing organisation of the industry was in the hands of merchants who financed it. There were a few big *karkhandars* who sold a small fraction of their output directly to the customer whether at Poona or outside.

The domination of the merchant-financier had not proved advantageous to the local industry. Instead of prospering, it has declined and is still declining. The baneful effect of this dominance was discerned in two directions. Firstly, the industry lagged technically far behind other weaving centres in the country. The merchants failed to introduce new and modern designs in local manufactures. This, the critics aver, was deliberate. They argue that, by the continuance of out-of-date designs and patterns, the merchants hoped to reap better profits, because, since the weaver could not get a ready custom in the local areas for such articles, he had no other alternative but to approach the merchants and sell them the articles at whatever prices they chose to offer. The case of the *pitambar* and the *paithani* amply illustrates the point. As a rejoinder, the merchant-financiers might point to the introduction of *shalus* and *kads*. But in respect of designs of these new lines of production also, Poona, unfortunately, was not marching abreast with Benares, Cambay and other progressive centres in India. It appeared that Poona wares generally failed to attract the custom of higher and middle classes in urban areas.

Secondly, the merchant-financiers who controlled the trade in Poona handloom products were also interested in the handling of the competitive products of a number of other centres of production. They felt, therefore, no special interest in conserving or advancing the cause of local industry, except in so far as they could obtain specially attractive terms in handling local manufactures. The interest taken by Poona merchants in exploring or exploiting markets commanded by them was not directed specially to the furtherance of the interests of Poona industry. The producers at Poona were for the larger part ignorant about the extent and the disposition of the markets for their products and even

if they had such knowledge it would have been almost impossible for them to undertake any reforms in disregard of or unaided by the merchants who were their virtual masters.

The extent of the competition that the products of Poona handlooms had to face from other Indian centres of production differed from product to product. In the "silk group" little direct competition was felt by *paithanis* or *pitambars* but the volume of production of these was insignificant and was continuously declining. In *shalu* and *khanawal* Poona products had to compete directly with those from other well organised centres of Indian industry like Benares, Cambay and Dhanduka. In this group the competition was the keenest in the class of silk *saris*, the competitors here being a large number of handloom weaving centres all over India. The extent of the competition may be judged by the fact that in 1936-37 silk *saris* from Cambay, which were in all respects, such as weave, colour or design in the border, equal to Poona products, were sold at an average price of Rs. 12-4-0 at Poona as against Rs. 13-8-0 which was the average ruling price of local manufactures.

In the "cotton group" the competition that Poona industry had to face was still keener. In this case, competition arose not only from other handloom centres but also from small powerloom factories and big weaving mills. The extremely unfavourable position in this respect of the Poona industry is illustrated by table No. 40 which sets out the prices of common type of cotton *saris* manufactured in Poona and of *saris* of almost similar description from other centres, as they ruled at Poona in 1936-37.

Table No. 40 — Comparative Prices of Cotton Saris.

	Handloom Centres				Powerloom Factory	Mill
	Poona	Madura	Nagpur	Cambay	Gajanan, Sangli	Swastik, Bombay
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Mercerised sari: 84^{s}X52^s with silk border and heading; 9 yds. X 52"	4-12-0	3-14-0	5-0-0 to 5-8-0	5-8-0 silver thread border	2-15-0 to 3-4-0	3-8-0

In the handloom group, Madura products were the cheapest. The Nagpur *sari* was the dearest; it was, however, generally accounted to to be superior in quality to all the others. In quality and especially general attractiveness all the others surpassed the Poona products, the only thing said in favour of which was that they lasted well. The quality of the products of the powerloom factory and the weaving mill was not the same as that of the products of handlooms; but the saving in respect of price offered by these products was so great that their competition was felt keenly in all the lower priced goods, by all centres of handloom industry.

The comparative backwardness of the industry at Poona was reflected in the employment situation of handloom weavers. The demand for Poona products was dull and hence the employment available to weavers was falling from year to year. This led to the permanent displacement of some from the industry, the underemployment of many and a general trend towards the lowering of weavers' wages. A natural result was that many weavers' families did not find it possible to continue in their traditional occupation and had to seek employment in other lines. We have noted above that some traditional weaving communities in Poona had already discarded their caste occupation in the past. Such communities were not included in our survey; but a desertion of the traditional occupation was fairly common even among the communities surveyed by us. All families in which the head of the family had discarded the traditional occupation, even though in some of them some other members might still be engaged in a branch of the industry, were treated by us as being deserters. In our survey a total of 369 deserters' families were recorded. The following table sets out the classification of this number as among the different weaving castes.

Table No. 41—Distribution of Deserters' Families by Caste.

Caste.	No. of Families Surveyed.	No. of Deserters' Families.
1 Padmasali	601	248
2 Swakulsali	110	53
3 Momin	85	68
Total	796	369

It will thus be seen that more than 46 per cent. of the families surveyed, were found to have deserted their traditional occupation. Further some of the weaver families, which were registered as being engaged in the industry at the time of the census were generally thrown out of the employment in the slack season. The number of such temporarily employed families could not be estimated. During the period of unemployment they took to other occupations. The women in many deserters' families continued to work in the traditional occupation. But in cases in which the male members of the family were underemployed, the women discarded the traditional occupation and took to some other remunerative occupations. If, this latter type is called partial desertion, 223 families of the total surveyed, fell into this class. From among these, members of 196 families (187 Padmasali and 9 Swakulsali) were employed in *bidi*-making, of 22 families in general unskilled labour.

The weavers were ordinarily very conservative and generally reluctant to desert their traditional occupation, unless forced to do so by dire necessity. The depression of 1930, coupled with an ever-increasing competition of outside centres, dealt a severe blow to the handloom industry of Poona. Since that year the tendency towards desertion seems to have gained momentum. We tried to gather some information from deserting families on this subject. The information was obtained from 217 families, out of a total of 369 deserters' families. On classifying the information it was found that 53 or 24 per cent. of the deserting families surveyed had discarded their traditional occupation before 1931, 137 families or 63 per cent. had left it during the period from 1931 to 1935, and the remaining 27 or 13 per cent. during the year 1935–36. How much of this desertion among weavers was due to the depression and how much to the ever-increasing competition, it was not possible to say.

The deserting caste-weavers had taken to numerous other occupations. But the general physique of the weavers being very poor, they could not be employed in hard and strenuous work. If a weaver was employed to work as a labourer under a mason, he was almost invariably paid lower wages, because, it was said, that he could not work as strenuously as a labourer of another caste. The deserters, therefore, generally tried to seek work in sedentary occupations like *bidi*-making or as assistants in shops, etc. Our census showed that out of 369 deserting families, 198 or 54 per cent. of the families took to *bidi*-making and 58 or 16 per cent. took partially to *bidi*-making and partially to domestic service. The remaining 113 families took to occupations other than *bidi*-making and domestic service. Out of the 256 families, who took to *bidi*-making wholly or partially, 198 were Padmasalis.

Handloom industry and co-operation: In Poona, no weavers' co-operative society existed in 1937–38. A co-operative society started some years earlier with government assistance had to be wound up within a short time of its establishment. The main reason for the failure of the society seemed to be that the government experts were unacquainted with the conditions in the industry and that the management expenses were very high. The rigid rules of business followed by the society were irksome to weavers. The rate of interest charged was also high. Instead of trying to open entirely new lines of business, the management, it was said, should have tried to develop the existing markets and lines. They should have been content with small margins and might even have confined themselves to co-operative purchase of raw materials. As it was, the society never earned the confidence of the weaving community and the experiment proved fruitless.

§ 3 **Brass and Copper Industry** : ***Historical*** : The metals included under this designation form a group which may aptly be described as the " Copper group, " as it includes copper and the alloys of copper. Amongst these alloys brass stands first by its wide use and general

importance. In the order of importance bell-metal ranks next, with German silver and gun-metal following close on its heels. Alloys of copper other than these were not worked in Poona and were not included in our investigation. Of the five metals named above, brass, copper and bell-metal have been extensively worked in Poona for the past 70 or 80 years. The use of German silver is not older than two decades. Gun-metal must have been worked at the time of the Peshwas for the casting of small cannon. Its use in industry, in the modern period, was very limited.

Information regarding this industry at the time of the Peshwas is very meagre. Its condition has to be inferred from stray references. Thus the presence of Kasar dealers who used to buy the clippings of copper can be traced from the Peshwas' Diaries[1]. It appears that the Kasars were mainly dealers in copper and brass ware, whether imported or not, rather than manufacturers thereof. There are letters written from the Poona Court to subordinate officers in other places asking them to dispatch brass articles required by the Peshwas. According to lists and descriptions of classes of houseowners, traders and artisans living in various wards of the city at the beginning of British rule (1820–30) it appears that Kasars were traders and not craftsmen. Tambats, who are classified in these lists, as craftsmen, are described, in the Raviwar list, chiefly as following the occupation of tinning and only secondarily that of manufacture of vessels. The number of Tambats is small in all the available lists.[2]

The brass and copper industry seems to be one of the industries established chiefly in the nineteenth century. It does not appear to have made much headway during the first half of the century and the census returns of 1850 and 1859 contain no reference to it. The tradition about the first migrations of the Twashta Kasar community puts their date only about a hundred years back. A description of Poona City written in 1868 records the presence of hawkers engaged in the sale of brass and copper wares[3]. It makes no definite reference to manufacturers of brass and copper ware.

The growth of this industry seems to be mainly associated with the importation of brass sheets from England, Australia and other countries, which began in considerable quantities with the construction of the rail-

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1 Vide, License to Dulabshet Govindji and Govind Pandurang regarding a mint. " खुर्दा पाडिता तांब्याचा चुरा पडेल तो व खुर्दा करावयाजोगे तांबे नसेल ते कासार उदमी यास विकावे, अडथळा पडणार नाही. " Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. VIII, p. 240.

2 Peshwa Daftar, Jamav Section. [Unpublished]

3 " बोहरी रस्त्यानें ओरडतात कीं, कांहीं भांडी, पातेली, ताम्हण, तपेली ", पुणें शहराचें वर्णन, ना. वि. जोशी, १८६८, पृ. १४२.

way to Poona in 1856.[1] The development and growth of the industry in the next few years was so rapid that the Gazetteer mentioned it as the foremost flourishing industry. According to the Gazetteer, in 1883, this industry supported 70 dealers and 2,320 workers. This number was made up of 810 Tambats, 500 Jingars, 50 Otaris or casters and 960 Kasars. " Within the last fifteen years their numbers have been more than doubled by local Maratha Kunbis whom the high profits of brass working have drawn from the fields and the labour market, but who so far confine themselves to the rough parts of the work."[2] In the distributive branch persons from other communities like Gujarati and Marwadi Wanis and Misgars had established themselves firmly.

Towards the end of the eighties an attempt was made by Mr. Anandrao Bhau Godambe to undertake large scale production of brass and copper ware with the aid of machinery. A company named ' Poona Metal Works ' was started in Kasba ward for the manufacture of pressed articles. After running smoothly for 20 years this had to be closed down in 1908. It was taken up by its former sole agents, the firm of Hakamchand Ishwardas, and renamed ' Gujarat Metal Factory '. This concern is in business to this day. Except for this venture the organisational structure of the rest of the industry has remained almost unchanged.

No detailed statistics regarding the extent or the development of this industry are available for the period between 1883 and the year of our survey. Brass and copper workers have been enumerated in the reports of the decennial Census but these census statistics are very untrust-worthy. We do not, therefore, attempt to trace the growth or decline of this industry with their help. We took a census of the industry in May 1938[3] and found that the actual workers engaged in it numbered 1,292 and the persons engaged in the trade either as shopkeepers, servants, etc., numbered roughly 250. As already pointed out, the number of workers engaged in the brass and copper ware industry, as given in Table No. 25, was an underestimate.

The industry was, at the time of the survey, concentrated in certain wards of the city. The following table shows the industrial units, classified according to their location at the time of the survey.

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1 "During the last twenty-five years the metal trade of Poona has steadily grown. Poona has displaced Ahmednagar which used to be the chief metal mart in the Deccan, and supplies are now sent not only over the whole Deccan, but also to the Berars, Khandesh and the Nizam's territory. The finer vessels of Nasik and Sangli are rivalled by the Poona wares. Even in the finer articles, in a few years Poona will probably displace Nasik and Sangli." Poona Gazetteer, p. 311.

2 Gazetteer, p. 299.

3 The methods followed in taking the census were similar to those described above in the case of the handloom industry, except that the enumeration could not be confined, in this case, to specified castes and extended to all localities and households ascertained to be engaged in the industry.

Table No. 42 — Number and Location of Brass and Copper Ware Establishments.

Ward	No. of Establish-ments	Ward	No. of Establish-ments
1. Vetal	83	7. Ghorpade	2
2. Kasba	64	8, Narayan	2
3. Shukrawar	28	9. Shanwar	1
4. Ganesh	22	10. Sadashiv	1
5. Ganj	9	11. Nihal	1
6. Raviwar	4	Total	217

According to the Poona Gazetteer, in 1883 the industry was concentrated in Vetal, Kasba, Ganesh and Shukrawar. The distribution as revealed by our census, has not altered much though a certain amount of dispersion of units into other wards of the city is noticeable.

This industry is seasonal to a considerable extent. The busy season is from November to May; from May to August the work is definitely slack. Between December and June usually fall the Hindu marriage seasons and this is also the time during which many village fairs, etc. are held. In anticipation of this demand the months between November and May are the busiest for this industry.

Organisational structure :— The organisation of the brass and copper industry in Poona might be studied in relation to the process of manufacture or to the stage of mechanization reached. The industrial units might be divided into three broad types: (*a*) completely mechanized, (*b*) semi-mechanized and (*c*) non-mechanized. The first of these specialized in the pressing process and did most of the work by machinery. In the second, generally corresponding to the casting process, hand-work exceeded machine-work. In the third all the manufacturing work was done by hand. The brass and copper ware establishments in Poona were distributed among the three main types in the following manner : (*a*) completely mechanized 1, (*b*) semi-mechanized 58, (*c*) non-mechanized 158.

(*a*) There was only one factory in Poona. In this factory hand-processes were employed to a considerable extent in the manufacture only of certain articles, such as buckets. Tinning of vessels was also done entirely by hand. This factory mostly turned out brass-ware; it produced copper and iron ware only on a small scale. The manufacture of German silver and aluminium goods was undertaken only to order. The articles were manufactured by means of die-presses. Cutting, punching, finishing and polishing of brass or copper articles were also done

by machinery. The rate of manufacture of articles depended upon the design and size of the articles; small articles passed through the processes at a slower pace than large articles.

All machine operators got from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per month as wages. The workers in both the tinning and the bucket departments were also paid similar wages. The polishing work was given on piece-rates to a number of contractors who worked on the premises. There were 6 or 7 such contractors. Each contractor employed from 8 to 20 men, some as coolies and some as regular operators. More than 100 workers worked at polishing. The contractor was paid at the rate of Rs. 3 per maund (40 seers). He paid his assistants wages, ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 22 per month, according to their skill and ability. The contractors' gross earnings amounted to about Rs. 50 to Rs. 90 per month. The designs of articles were made by a designer from Gujarat who got Rs. 175 per month. He had his own independent department, with 3 mechanical assistants and 3 apprentices. The mechanics got from Rs. 25 to Rs. 35 per month, and the apprentices from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per month. The factory employed nearly 305 persons including 3 clerks, 3 guards, 2 motor drivers and 3 coolies who worked on the motor-lorry.

Besides the manufacture of brass and copper ware this concern manufactured brass disks from brass scrappings. The brass scrappings were imported from outside Poona at a rate varying from Rs. 16 to Rs. 17 per maund. There were two establishments owned by this concern which manufactured brass disks. One was the factory in Nihal and the other was in Ghorpade.[1] The latter had been bought from a Punjabi and disk-making in it had begun a couple of weeks before our inquiry. In the old factory the annual production of disks was over 10,000 maunds valued at from Rs. 3,00,000 to Rs. 3,25,000. The scrappings were first beaten, then melted and then cast into circular moulds like small balls. These balls were heated and then pressed in a pressing machine. The workers who beat the scrappings got four annas per maund and so earned from Rs. 25 to Rs. 35 per month. The casting was done by contractors who were paid at the rate of twelve annas per maund. One contractor with 8 assistants manufactured about 20 maunds per day. His assistants were paid Re. 1 or fourteen annas per day. He himself earned from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per day. The balls were heated in a furnace and the furnace-man got Rs. 40 per month. The process of inserting these balls into the pressing machine was repeated several times, till the required thinness was attained. The man who inserted the balls into the machine got Rs. 3 per day and the other two workers on the machine got Re. 1 each per day. The circles were then cut. The man working on the cutting machine got Rs. 30 per month.

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1 This has been included in the semi-mechanized type.

Wages were paid at the commencement of the month following. Accounts of contractors were drawn up at the end of every month and were settled along with the wages of workers. Small sums were, however, advanced both to the contractors and workers, when asked for.

The concern, which was a partnership, had invested about Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 lakhs, in the site, buildings and machinery. It maintained a circulating capital of about Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 lakhs in the form of raw materials, finished articles and credit advanced to the customers, etc. The concern purchased its raw materials, brass and copper sheets and scrappings, through its agent in Bombay. Bills for these were paid in instalments. Interest at the fixed rate of 6 per cent. was charged by the agent on the balance due. Besides this, *adat* or commission at the rate of five annas per Rs. 100 worth of goods purchased through him, was paid to the agent. The concern had no occasion to approach outside financiers for accommodation.

(*b*) The semi-mechanized type was concerned chiefly with the casting process. Certain types of work such as, for example, the manufacture of dinner plates and that of boxes for *pan* fall according to the nature of processes and organisation between the second and the third type. Four units which manufactured dining plates and one unit which manufactured boxes for *pan* have been included in the semi-mechanized type. The rest of the units in this type numbering 53 were engaged in casting work. Among these 53, there were four units working on Government contracts for manufacturing weights and measures. These concerns confined themselves to this work ; when there was no work on contract from Government they closed their factories.

The following table shows the location of the establishments in this type and classifies them according to the number of workers engaged.

Table No. 43 — Distribution of Semi-mechanised Brass and Copper Ware Establishments according to Ward and No. of Workers.

Ward	No. of Units with Male Workers										Total No. of Workers
	1	2	3	4	5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21 & Above	Total	
Vetal	...	1	1	3	4	8	...	1	2	20	163
Kasba	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	7
Shukrawar	1	1	...	...	2	2	2	...	1	9	89
Ganesh	...	...	12	3	2	2	...	...	...	19	74
Ganj	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	3	13
Ghorpade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	16
Narayan	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	5
Shanwar	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	15
Sadashiv	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	4
Total	1	5	13	7	11	13	3	2	3	58	386

There were 37 units in all with 5 or less than 5 operatives, accounting for a total of 133 workers ; 13 units with workers between 6 to 10 each, engaged 98 workers; 8 units employing 11 and more workers each, accounted for 155. Out of these 58 units about 35 units could be broadly called out-workers. The rest were independent *karkhandars*.

For the manufacture of cast ware, old brass articles, brass scrappings or foreign brass ingots were melted and then remoulded. The raw materials were either purchased locally from itinerant sellers or imported from outside. The price varied from Rs. 6-4-0 to Rs. 7-8-0 per maund of 16 seers. There were two methods of casting brass-wares. The first was used for casting solid articles, the second for hollow ware. The first method was simple. The casting of articles that were hollow inside was a skilful and somewhat difficult process. It fell into two sub-divisions: moulding and casting proper. In Poona such articles were manufactured in two parts, the upper and the lower, and the two were then dovetailed The only exceptions to this were the manufacture of water-cocks and *ghungru* or bells, which were cast as a whole. The manufacture of the latter had been the close preserve of workers from Northern India.

The raw materials necessary for casting work were zinc, aluminium, borax, castor oil, resin, tar, coke and coal. Their cost, per maund of castings, amounted to, from Re. 1 to Re. 1-2-0. The man in charge of the furnance got ten annas a day, while the caster got Re. 1 per day. Besides casting he prepared the moulds. The castings were almost always irregular. They were sent to the turning and then to the filing department. The turner and the filer got from twelve annas to Re. 1-8-0 and from ten annas to Re. 1 respectively. The small units which could not afford buff machines got their polishing done by special polishing factories. There were 3 to 4 polishing factories in Poona. The buff operator got from eight annas to twelve annas per day. The polishing factories charged from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per maund of 16 seers according to the size of the article, larger ones were charged at a lesser rate and smaller ones at a higher rate. In the larger units, output per worker was greater than in smaller units as a result of specialisation. A unit of medium size, employing 10 to 20 workers could earn a profit of Re. 1 per maund after defraying all expenses. Bigger units made bigger profits. Owners of smaller units did not often, it was said, earn enough to maintain themselves.

Detailed information regarding the capital structure of this type of unit was not available to us. It might be stated generally that *karkhandars* employing more than 10 workers each, were financially fairly well-off. Units with 5 to 10 employees each seemed to suffer for want of capital. The rest were chronically in financial difficulties and had to approach from time to time the shop-keepers for funds.

The usual hours of work were from 8 A.M. to 12 noon and 1 P.M. to 6 P.M. There was no fixed system of wage payment in the smaller esta-

blishments. Wages were paid at different dates in different factories, either at the end of the month, or in the first week or on the 15th of the month following. Advances were usually given when asked for. There were no women workers. Juvenile labourers were found in some units, especially working the bellows. The place of work was usually uncomfortable owing to gases released by the tar-dust used for filling up the cavities of moulds in the casting branch and also owing to the high temperature. Respiratory diseases were common among workers in the casting branch. Consequently workers had, it was said, to absent themselves from work for almost a month in the year.[1]

The ownership of these establishments was distributed among persons belonging to different castes in the following manner: Maratha, 35; Somvamshi Arya Kshatriya, 12; Pardeshi, 6; Bhoi, 2; Vanjari, 2; and Gujarati, 1. Originally, casting was almost all done by persons belonging to one caste, known sometimes as Jingar but generally called Somvamshi Arya Kshatriya. Persons of this caste owned only 12 out of the 58 concerns. In 1883 there were no concerns owned by Marathas. At the time of our enquiry their number was 35. Similarly people from other castes entered this business because of its flourishing character during the intervening period. The casters had yet a large field before them. Complete mechanization had not as seriously affected the casters as it had the beaters. They could still produce no less than 80 articles in whose manufacture machine production did not materially affect them.

(c) The third or the non-mechanized type corresponds to the beating process. This could be classified under two heads; beating cast plates according to indigenous methods and beating foreign brass sheets. The latter had completely ousted the former. This was obviously due to the enormous saving in labour and time involved and the superior quality of the foreign sheets. In the manufacturing of indigenous plates old metal was utilised. Articles made by beating from native cast plates were generally considered more durable than the articles made from foreign brass sheets[2]. Foreign brass sheets were imported into the city by local merchants. Sheets were of three qualities, thick, thin and middling. Copper sheets cost from Rs. 12-4-0 to Rs. 13 per maund of 16 seers, and the brass sheets from Rs. 10-12-0 to Rs. 11-8-0 per maund of 16 seers.

At first a workman traced on the sheet the shape and size of pieces required for the upper and the lower parts of the vessel to be made and cut out the two pieces. The metal was then alternately softened in the

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1 N. M. Joshi, Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan, 1936, p. 125.

2 The indigenous process of casting sheets or plates has been fully described in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume XVIII, Part II, Poona, p. 184.

fire and hammered, the alternate hammering and beating being repeated till it was beaten into shape. The two pieces were then soldered. The vessel was afterwards heated and the joint was once more hammered. The next process was polishing. For polishing, the pots were steeped for 2 to 4 days in a solution of tamarind pulp, then rubbed with powders of charcoal and brick, and hammered again till the whole surface was covered with hammer marks. The work was accomplished by bands of workers, generally exceeding three, dividing the labour amongst themselves. The workers worked for 10 to 11 hours a day in a busy season.

Almost all the units of this type worked as out-workers. They obtained work from shopkeepers at rates varying from twelve annas to Rs. 4 per maund of 16 seers according to the size and design of the article. Most of the field of work for this type had been captured by machinery and whatever had been left, was being entrenched upon further. At the time of our survey, there were hardly more than ten articles which were manufactured entirely or chiefly by the beating process. Consequently orders for work from shopkeepers were discontinuous during the whole year. When no orders were obtained the *karkhandar* purchased new sheets on his own account and marketed the finished articles himself. In doing this he got a bare maintenance but kept busy during the slack season. The smallness of the margin in such enterprise was due chiefly to the financial weakness of the *karkhandar* who had to depend on the shopkeepers, firstly, for the financing of the purchase of raw materials and secondly, for the disposal of the finished product. Some *karkhandars* purchased old broken vessels at the rate of about Rs. 12 per maund of 16 seers, and sold them again to shopkeepers after repairing them, at the rate of, say, Rs. 14 per maund. A *karkhandar* doing this kind of work, could not make more than twelve annas a day, after defraying all the expenses. The expenses consisted of wages and the cost of the raw materials for soldering and charcoal for the furnace. The expenses of soldering, including the fuel, came to ten annas to twelve annas per maund. Wages paid to assistant workers varied according to the output of each. They generally ranged between six annas to fourteen annas per day.

Shopkeepers giving work to the *karkhandars*, kept a running account with them. This account was partially settled two or three times in a year and finally closed at the end of the Hindu commercial year. This system entailed, it was said, great hardship on the *karkhandars*. They did not know, how much work they had finished nor did they completely know their financial obligation to the shop-keepers till a particular day. When the *karkhandar* required money he went to the shop-keeper and got the required amount as an advance. This practice of advances had proved to be a curse to the *karkhandars*. They went on drawing advances exceeding their wages-bill and consequently found themselves deeply in debt to the shop-keeper. The same practice of

taking payments in advance was followed by workers in these factories. The *karkhandar* in his turn made advances to his employees. A large number of labourers was thus chronically in debt. The employees were tied down to the *karkhandars* and the *karkhandars*, in their turn, to the shopkeepers.

Certain conditions governed the distribution of outwork by shopkeepers. The shopkeepers issued brass sheets to the master workman by weight and the latter was to return finished articles and cuttings and scrappings of the metal of the same weight. According to an established custom in the trade, it was taken for granted that in a maund of 16 seers, 12 seers of metal was worked up in finished articles and the remaining 4 seers returned as cuttings and scrappings. The outworker was, therefore, paid only for 12 seers in a maund even if he had worked up more. Owing to this practice the outworker suffered, on an average, the loss of approximately Re. 1 in wage per maund. Similarly, in case of copper work it was presumed that the loss of metal in heating is $\frac{1}{2}$ seer, even though in actuality it does not amount to much more than $\frac{1}{4}$ seer. While drawing up the account, certain deductions were made on every 100 maunds of finished work, and odd seers were not paid for. At the time of making payment, the bill was almost always paid in rupees only. Further, *kasar* or discount at the rate of 2 per cent. was deducted from the amount of the bill. If the work was not completed during the allotted time, something in the nature of a fine was charged for the extra period. Besides all these, the master workman had to pay one anna per maund of 16 seers for charity. In some extreme cases, it was complained, this charge was made both at the time of advancing the sheets and when the finished articles were returned. In table No. 44 all the units under this type are classified according to their location and size

Table No. 44 :—Non-mechanized Brass and Copper Ware Establishments Classified according to Location and No. of Adult Male Workers

Ward	No. of Units with Adult Male Workers								Total No. of Adult Male Workers	Information not Given	
	1	2	3	4	5	6-10	11-15	Total		No. of Units	Estimated No. of Adult Male Workers
Vetal	10	10	16	11	6	9	1	63	237	...	...
Kasba	9	16	10	9	1	3	...	48	136	13	47
Shukrawar	1	6	2	3	1	4	1	18	81	1	2
Ganesh	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	7	1	2
Ganj	...	2	1	1	...	2	...	6	25	...	...
Raviwar	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	4	7	...	...
Ghorpade	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	15	...	...
Narayan	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40
Total	22	36	31	25	8	18	3	143	510	15	91

The communities chiefly engaged in this type of work were Twashta Kasar, Kunbi Tambat and Misgar. Of these the first two were Hindu while the third was Mohammedan by religion. There were about 150 Kasars working in 62 units. The Twashta Kasars had a compact caste organisation. They stopped work, like Maratha or Kunbi Tambats, on every *Amavasya* and on certain religious holidays. Besides these holidays they rested on the day on which a death occurred in their community. This practice was also followed, but not very strictly, by Kunbi Tambats. There would be about 350 workers belonging to the Kunbi Tambat community. The number of Mohammedan workers in the whole industry did not exceed 15. Women and children were sometimes found working in the non-mechanized establishments. The number of children, below 14, working in the industry might have been about 20. There was an almost equal number of women workers in the industry. In most cases these were employed for minor operations such as heating the articles or working the bellows. Women working in the industry belonged to the families of the *karkhandars* themselves. The children when they were not members of the *karkhandar's* family got from three annas to five annas a day.

Production: An attempt at estimating the production in this industry was made by us, during the early months of the year 1938. For this purpose we tried to ascertain the volume of production in every unit of work in the city. It would not be out of place to note at the outset some of the difficulties that we had to face in preparing the estimate and to indicate the margin of the error that is likely to be present in these calculations. The foremost difficulty was that experienced in inducing the *karkhandars* to give the required information. Secondly, many *karkhandars*, even when willing to give information, kept no regular books of accounts. Often enough, therefore, the figure of total production of a unit was based not on account books but on rough calculation made by the owner. In the case of outworkers the work of estimating production, though laborious, was not so difficult. As relations between outworkers and the *karkhandars* were usually strained they welcomed investigations by outsiders. They had their own account books into which entries were made by the *karkhandars* but which were often very illegible. These books of the outworkers were of the utmost help in building up our estimates of total production. The estimates of production for the different units could not be separately worked up for the different metals or alloys. The same units worked in a number of these. It might in general be said that nearly 80 per cent. of the total production was claimed by brass, 12 to 13 per cent. by copper and the rest by German silver, bell-metal and aluminium together.

In 1938, Poona produced nearly 250 articles of various patterns and sizes, while towards the end of the eighties of the last century it pro-

duced only 161. The increase in the types of articles was attributable to two things. In the first place, the process of manufacture had changed. The beating process which formerly held the field, had yielded ground to the mechanical process of die-pressing. Scarcely 15 articles were now made by the beating process. This technical transformation had enabled the industry, by economising labour and other costs, to expand its production and also to explore new lines. The local mechanized unit alone produced nearly 150 types of articles, and accounted for nearly 33 per cent. of the total production of the city. It must, however, be remembered that there had been comparatively little change in the casting process. Secondly, the Poona brass and copper ware industry had all along been progressive. It stopped manufacturing certain out-of-date articles and also such articles as locks, etc. when their production became uneconomic. It had introduced a number of new and fashionable patterns in the markets such as the water-heater, the tiffin carrier and others. The Poona industry had also in recent years entered the field of the production of certain articles required for household sanitary installations such as water cocks, flushing cocks, water-supply tanks, etc.

We estimate the total annual production of brass and copper articles in Poona in 1937–38 as manufactured by different processes, to be as follows ;—

(i)	Completely mechanized type	...	21,000 Mds.
(ii)	Semi-mechanized type	...	18,150 ,,
(iii)	Non-mechanized type	...	27,000 ,,
	Total	...	66,150 ,,

It should be noted that the estimate refers only to new production. The repairing and the re-manufacturing of old and broken articles is not included in the above figure. Our estimated production has not been related to the average annual imports of brass and copper sheets and scrappings. In a centre like Poona, the latter is no reliable index to production; because, the amount of the local brass and copper scrappings, and those from the Kirkee Ammunition Factory, were not included in the imports.

Marketing of finished articles : Independent manufacturers either disposed of their articles to the local shop-keepers or sold them through the marketing branch of their own concern. There were scarcely 10 concerns, which sold their goods through their own shops. All of these, except one, transacted both wholesale and retail business. At the head of the trade organization there were about half a dozen dis-

tributors. Next to them there were wholesale dealers, who got the articles manufactured from outworkers by supplying them raw materials. These might number roughly 50. The distributors purchased their stocks of goods from the wholesale dealers without themselves undertaking or commissioning any kind of production and sent them to their outside clientele, wholesale or retail. The last agency through which the goods reached the hands of consumers, was the retail shop. There were 37 retailers in Poona city at the time of our survey. The above classification is obviously not water-tight. There were some wholesale shops which did retail business, and *vice versa*. In all there were 94 shops in the city.

The owners of these 94 shops are classified according to their castes in the table below. In this table Twashta Kasars and Jain Kasars have been grouped together.

Table No. 45 — Distribution of Brass and Copper Ware Shops by Location and Caste of the Owner

Caste of the Owner	No. of Shops Situated in.					Total
	Raviwar	Vetal	Shukrawar	Budhwar	Sadashiv	
1 Marwadi & Gujarati ...	26	19	10	...	...	55
2 Kasar ...	18	1	5	1	1	26
3 Maratha ...	...	1	4	...	...	5
4 Somavamshi Arya Kshatriya ...	1	3	...	...	...	4
5 Misgar ...	2	1	...	...	...	3
6 Bramhin ...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Total ...	47	25	20	1	1	94

The number of Marwadi and Gujarati dealers was more than half the total number of shopkeepers. Out of these 55, about 45 were wholesale dealers who accounted for nearly 80 per cent of the total production of Poona brass and copper ware. The shops were kept open from 8 A. M. to 8 P. M. The brisk season began with November and ended with June. On an average, there were 2 salesmen per shop. There was only one shop employing more than 10 persons. Similarly there were only 3 or 4 shops which employed only one person. In all there were about 250 persons employed in this trade, including the owners of shops.

The retailers purchased their stocks from the local wholesale dealers. Generally, 1 per cent. commission and credit for 21 days, which was at times extended even upto one month, were allowed. If the bill was not paid within the stipulated period interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per

annum was charged by the wholesale dealer. The outside wholesalers got better terms from the local dealers than those obtained by the retailers. The former were allowed 1½ per cent. more commission than the latter. The sales in the city of Poona were mostly cash sales and in small quantities, while those to mofussil traders were mostly on credit. Besides dealing in new articles, the shop-keepers also purchased old brass and copper vessels. There were nearly 60 to 70 shops doing this kind of business. There were 4 or 5 shops which mainly dealt in old brass and copper vessels and scrappings. These old vessels and scrappings were required by *karkhandars* who manufactured cast articles. The shop-keepers purchased old vessels by weight. They paid seven annas and nine pies for one seer of copper vessels and sold them usually at the rate of eight annas and six pies per seer. Brass vessels were purchased at the rate of six annas per seer and sold at the rate of six annas and six pies per seer. The *karkhandars* smelted the broken pots or sometimes merely polished the vessels or articles that were in good condition. Sometimes, instead of purchasing the vessels outright, shopkeepers accepted them for repairs. The repairing was got done from outworkers at the rate of Rs. 3 per maund. Some wholesale dealers in cast articles purchased unpolished articles from the outworkers and got them polished on buff machines in polishing factories, at a rate varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per maund. One handicap of this trade was the rapid deterioration of the appearance of goods in moist climate especially in the rainy season. The shopkeepers had to make some allowance, every year, to keep the stock in salable condition. Mr. Heard estimated this allowance at 10 per cent. in Benares[1]. In Poona, however, the percentage of deterioration did not appear to be as large as this.

Transport : The costs of transport were of considerable importance to the industry. Almost all its raw material was imported and a considerable percentage of its finished products was marketed outside Poona. The transportation of goods was done in three stages. The first stage ended with the arrival of raw materials at the Poona railway station from the place of their despatch, Bombay. The G. I. P. Railway charged different rates for scrappings, sheets and finished articles; these were five annas and seven pies, five annas, and seven annas and three pies respectively per maund of 40 seers. The second stage consisted of taking the goods from the railway goods yard to the shop of the enterpriser. If the raw materials were imported by a factory then they were at once taken to the factory for manufacture into finished articles. But there were very few *karkhandars* who imported their own raw materials from Bombay. Most of the raw materials were imported by the shopkeepers and hence the importance of the second stage. Before entering the city limits, the goods had to pay an octroi duty of six annas

1 Note on the Metal Work Industry of Benares, Report on the Industrial Survey of Benares, B. R. Bhatt, 1923, p. 60

per maund and a charge of four annas per bundle weighing upto 3 maunds (i. e. 120 seers) for carting, etc. The third stage consisted of taking the raw materials from the shop to the *karkhana* and the finished articles from the *karkhana* to the shop. The charges for the same were one anna for a Bengali maund. The means of transportation used were, railway in the first stage, the bullock cart or a motor-lorry in the second and a bullock cart or a labourer in the third. The factory of the first type had kept a motor-lorry for bringing raw materials to the factory and for despatching the finished articles to its godowns in Vetal.

Motive power : Lastly, we come to the problem of motive power for driving the machinery in the first and the second types of units. Except one or two concerns, which generated their own power by means of oil-engines, all the others got their supply of motive power from the Poona Electric Supply Company Ltd. The rates of the Company for supplying electrical energy were on a sliding scale with the result that the average rate per unit was automatically lowered with increased consumption of energy.

Industrial Associations : There were at the time of the survey two registered associations in this industry. One was 'The Brass and Copper Merchants' Association, Ltd., Poona', and the other 'The Bhandi Kamgar Sangh, Poona'.

The Brass and Copper Merchants' Association was of recent origin and an outgrowth of the Mahajan Sabha of the old days. It was registered sometime in 1937. The liability of each member was limited by guarantee to a maximum contribution of Rs. 5 each, in case the Association went into liquidation. The Articles of Association defined its objects thus: (1) To foster the trade in brass and copper wares by creating goodwill between the local merchants on the one hand and the outside merchants and the workers on the other. (2) To act as arbiters in all cases of differences between the above parties. (3) To get the grievances in connection with the Railways, the Municipality and Income-Tax redressed by concerted action and (4) To spend money from the property of the Asso- ciation on public charities. The main activity of the Association had, however, been the control of relations of its members with their workers. These were defined by rules which were included in the Articles of Association. According to these rules, every merchant-member had to obtain in writing from the workers approval of these rules before giving them work. If the worker was unwilling to give this approval his name had to be reported to the Association. Accounts of work were to be drawn up at the end of every six months, and bills paid at the rate fixed by the Association, after charging the customary *dharmadaya*. It was within the power of the Association to alter, lower or raise the rates of wages. A worker was expected to work for one employer at least for a year. He could give up work earlier, on complaint of harassment, after getting due permission from the Association. In case of

dispute between a merchant and a worker who worked for him regarding the repayment of outstanding debt by the latter, the matter was to be referred to the Association whose verdict was to be binding on both the parties. The Association also arbitrated in all matters of disputes regarding the period allowed, interest, weight, etc. arising out of transactions between a merchant on the one hand, and his customer or a worker on the other. A worker wishing to obtain work from two or more than two merchants had to get permission from the Association to do so. Similarly a merchant had to get the previous permission of the Association to employ a new worker. If he failed to do so, he was to be held responsible to the previous employer for the amount of debt payable to him by the worker concerned. The second object, viz. arbitration, was fulfilled by the setting up of a machinery for that purpose. The board of arbitrators consisted of a representative each of both the parties and a nominee of the Executive Board of the Association. Any party might appeal in writing, within 15 days, against the decision of the arbitrators to the General Body, whose decision was final and binding on both the parties. The party disregarding the decision was to be held liable to pay all the charges of registering the arbitration award in court. If any difference of opinion arose between a member and a non-member regarding the brass and copper industry or trade, it was to be settled through arbitration, if both the parties desired to do so. A non-member had to pay a prescribed fee for availing himself of the arbitration machinery of the Association. The decision of the arbitrators was, of course, held to be equally binding on him.

The Association had upto the time of the survey done practically nothing for getting grievances redressed from the Municipality, the Railway or other authorities. As for the disposal of the charity fund the Association had laid down that every one wishing to open a new shop, was to pay Rs. 125 to the Association which was to spend the amount on the temple of Mahadeo in Vetal if the shop was to be in Vetal and on the temple of a local deity if it was to be in Raviwar or Shukrawar and if it was to be in Marwadi Ali in Raviwar, according to the decision of the Marwadis. The award and other decisions of the Association had up till then been accepted as final by all the members except Marwadi merchant-members who had left the Association. There was no recognized means of enforcing them except that an artisan refusing to work at the rate fixed by the Association received no employment from members and traders stopped business with recalcitrant members of their trade. Merchants alone, local or outside, could become members of the Association, by paying an entrance fee of Rs. 7. All the merchants in Poona were not members of the Association. The number of non-members was, however, small.

'The Bhandi Kamgar Sangh, Poona,' was registered in 1938, under the Indian Trade Unions Act. It was started with the object of safeguarding the interests of manufacturers of brass and copper wares by

bringing about unity among them and for taking part in such activities as were conducive to the same object. On the 2nd of December 1937, all the brass and copper ware manufacturers in Vetal, went on strike for the redress of their grievances. These grievances were concerned not only with the rate of wages but also included such matters as the *dharmadaya* and other deductions. The demands were the creation of a trust of all the amounts collected by way of charities, to be utilised in the interest of the workers, reform in the method of the account of loss of metal in manufacture, etc. The strike went on for about 12 days and led to the setting up of an Arbitration Board consisting of representatives of both the sides, together with Mr. N. V. Gadgil and Mr. Keshavrao Jedhe, the two local M.L. A.'s. The Board arrived at a compromise regarding wage rates. Rates of wages for all the articles were raised, by from two annas to eight annas per maund of 16 seers, according to their pattern and size. No decision was reached regarding the rest of the demands. Subsequent to this arbitration, the union or *Sangh* was started to maintain unity amongst the workers. The *Sangh* included both the *karkhandars* and their employees. The earnings of the employees ranged between six annas to eight annas per day before the strike, but as a result of the strike, these had been increased from ten annas to fourteen annas a day. The union had a membership of over 300 workers.

Lastly there was an association of the Twashta Kasar caste. This was the traditional caste organisation and was not a formally registered body. The Twashta Kasar caste had its own temple of Kalika where it celebrated its festivals. The workers in the caste met occasionally at this temple to consider questions affecting their traditional occupation of making household utensils. They also had gone on a strike in December 1935, which culminated in increased rates of wages for them. This caste organisation of Kasars was in no way connected with the Bhandi Kamgar Sangh.

§4. **Gold and Silver Smiths** : The workers in precious metals form a body of numerous artisans in Poona. In the Poona Gazetteer they were noted under the title of " ornament makers ", and their total number placed at 683. Their occupation was described in the Gazetteer in the following manner. " They make and mend gold and silver ornaments, set gems and work in precious stones."[1] In writing about workers in precious metals it is difficult to distinguish sharply between the selling of gold and silver ornaments and goods and their manufacture. In spite of the spread of the habit of buying ready-made gold and silver goods from the shops, the old habit of having goods made to order prevailed to a large extent. Hence, a substantial amount of wage-work had persisted in this industry. A very large proportion of

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the artisans had also shops of their own. In the majority of these shops, no wares were exhibited, barring a few silver trinkets and no ready-made goods were available for sale. They were merely places where most of the craft work was carried out and orders for it received. From this, the next stage was the shop where not only was wage-work accepted and carried out but a small stock of ready-made goods was also kept for sale. This stock would consist mainly of petty silver goods in common demand. From this the transition was easy to a shop which was mainly a silver-ware and ready-made ornaments shop but which also accepted orders for all kinds of goods of gold and silver and also for jewellery. Such a shop would have almost no work carried out on its own premises but would get most of its work done on wage-work by artisans from outside. These were the main types of establishments in this work, one type imperceptibly merging, on the border, into the other.

As amongst the artisans and shops there was, of course, a certain amount, of specialisation. But this was not always sufficiently sharply marked out. Table No. 46, however, makes an attempt to classify establishments in the industry into some broad categories.

Table No. 46 — No. of Goldsmiths' Establishments Classified according to Type of Business and Number of Workers Engaged.

Type of Business	No. of Workers								Total Establishments	Total No. of Workers
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 and Over		
Wage-work ...	136	40	9	...	...	...	...	...	185	243
Ready-made Goods & Wage-work ...	11	18	12	3	1	1	2	...	48	120
Engravers and other Specialists ...	8	10	2	...	1	2	...	1	24	71
Ready-made Goods and Banking ...	2	4	5	5	1	1	...	...	18	56
Others ...	5	5	4	1	...	...	...	...	15	31
Total ...	162	77	32	9	3	4	2	1	290	521

It will be observed that the large majority of persons in the industry were persons who accepted wage-work. The large majority of persons who were engaged on wage-work had, as noted above, shops of their own. We noted only a very small number of persons who had no shops. These did not work at their homes but at the shops of others where they were paid for the job either on the basis of a fixed piece-rate wage or on some system of share in the earnings. Such cases were, however, rarely noted.

The main gold and silver business has for many decades been concentrated in Moti Chauk in Raviwar and the continuation of the same road falling within the boundaries of Budhwar. The Gazetteer has the following regarding this localisation : " Ornament sellers numbering

328 ... sell smaller silver and gold ornaments and have about fifty shops in Motichauk street in Aditvar "[1]. During the last sixty years there had been no change in the localisation of the shops except that they had slightly extended further into the street in Budhwar. While this street was the main centre of the ready-made goods trade and also of the orders for the more costly and skilled work in ornaments and goods, the more humble type of work was carried out in almost all wards of the city. The demand for the services of this body of artisans was of a varied type. The bulk of the demand was for plain silver-ware. This was mainly composed of silver utensils for occasional use in the household such as water vessels, trays, *pan supari* vessels and utensils used in worship and the commoner kinds of silver ornaments. A fair demand for the latter came into the city from the neighbouring villages. There was also a fair amount of repair work in connection with silver-ware and silver and gold ornaments. Next to this in importance was the demand for the plainer gold ornaments such as bangles, various types of bracelets, rings, strings of beads or other types of plain neck-wear. These goods constituted the bulk of the demand, as also the least skilled part of the work. Apart from these there was a certain amount of demand for much more skilled work such as all kinds of ornamental silver-ware, the more elaborate gold ornaments and enamelling, engraving and plating work.

The distribution of establishments naturally showed concentration in the wards inhabited by the middle classes. In the poorer wards and in shops in outlying wards catering for the rural population, the demand was almost exclusively for small silver ornaments and their repair. In the middle class wards the bulk of the demand was of the nature outlined in the preceding paragraph, while the demand for the superior type of work flowed mostly to the shops in Raviwar or to certain reputed artisans in other places.

The average shop was a small affair covering an area of from 1 to 2 *khans* (50 to 100 sq. ft.), the rental of which, of course, varied widely according to the locality. Though we recorded one or two shops paying as low a rent as Rs. 3 the bulk of them paid sums between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 per month. On the higher side the rents soared up a great deal depending upon the site and the area occupied. The equipment of the shop and the artisan was simple. It consisted chiefly of the anvil, the bellows, the hammers, the pincers, the pots and crucibles, the moulds and nails and other equipment for ornamental work. The cost of the minimum of such equipment was put down as low as Rs. 15. The bulk of those who gave information put down the cost of their equipment at between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40. When a much larger amount was invested in the equipment this did not mean that the type

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of equipment was different but only that because the number of workers in the shop was larger than one or because the work executed was of a specially skilled type, the number of units in the equipment had to be more varied. In only one case was the equipment of, what may be called, the mechanical type. This was a machine for pressing silver sheets from which to prepare the plainer types of vessels.

The establishments included in our sample all showed almost no paid artisans being employed. The work was usually carried on by adult male members of the family who had acquired the requisite skill[1]. A few of the artisans with special repute, who got considerable orders, employed other skilled artisans, one or two, to help them. Some of the bigger shops also employed skilled workers but they got the bulk of their work executed for them by outside artisans on wage-work at the current rates. A large number of artisans obtained work through two sources: (i) work directly brought to their shops by customers and (ii) work on commission which they obtained from the bigger shopkeepers. It was, however, not possible to determine the relative importance of the two sources. Some artisans of repute said that they were never in want of work and obtained most of it directly. Some of these also found it necessary to employ other skilled workers to assist them, as a regular practice or at least during the busy season. On the other hand many among those with average skill complained that there was an increasing tendency among customers to resort to the *sarafs* (bigger shops, especially those that did some banking) and not to come to them directly. This, they said, resulted in undermining the artisan's position and left him at the mercy of the *saraf*.

As a considerable part of the work of these artisans was repair work and original work of petty and varied type, there was no way of directly measuring its volume through the month or the year. The only way of giving some indication of the work performed is to indicate the earnings from wages during the month or the year. It was naturally not easy to obtain even approximately accurate estimates of average earnings. The level of monthly earnings was put by a substantial minority of the artisans interviewed at as low a level as Rs. 18 to Rs. 20. These catered mostly for the least skilled of the silver-ware demand coming chiefly from the poorer classes of the villages. The bulk of the replies put the average income from wage-work at from Rs. 25 to Rs. 40. It was said that the income was higher than the average by about Rs. 10 per month during the marriage season when business was particularly brisk. These represented the earnings of workers with average skill. A few highly skilled workers and specialist workers reached much higher levels of earnings. Cases

1. The overwhelming majority of workers was male. It might, however, be noted that both in the sample investigated and in the house schedules one female worker each had been noted as following this occupation.

were reported of artisans obtaining even more than an average of Rs. 100 per month from wage-work ; but these have to be reckoned as being entirely exceptional. These were the few that had so much work entrusted to them that they found it necessary to employ other skilled artisans to assist them.

The industry was subject to marked seasonal fluctuations in demand. The months of the rainy season were universally dull and depressed. The demand began to look up by Diwali and reached its briskest during the main marriage season which is in summer.

The industry had passed through many vicissitudes and many changes in type of demand. Confining ourselves to the history of the last hundred years we may begin with a quotation from Thornton's Gazetteer. This records conditions as they appeared towards the middle of the nineteenth century and has the following among its account of the trade and industries of Poona. "No market is now found for jewellery and precious stones, which were much sought after when Poona was the seat of native rule".[1] This perhaps refers only to the falling off of the demand for the more highly valued jewellery. A certain tradition of craftsmanship seems to have been maintained in spite of the disappearance of the court. For, we find Birdwood including one plate illustrative of Poona jewellery forms in his section on jewellery[2], and also find mention of " silver and gold jewellery " among products for which Poona workers are recorded as having earned a reputation for themselves throughout Western India.[3] The Gazetteer devotes a paragraph to ornament-makers but it gives little technical or economic information regarding them except that "They make and mend gold and silver ornaments, set gems and work in precious stones. They work to order and make Rs. 5—20 a month."[4] We find no details in the Gazetteer regarding the type of work on which the artisans were engaged. We may, however, presume that it was ornament-making, chiefly of the traditional type.

A number of changes in the character of the demand had been reported to have taken place during recent years. The design of ornaments manufactured had undergone considerable change in respect of many older types. Some of these were no longer fashionable and newer types had taken their place. In silver-ware also the fashion in types and forms of utensils in demand had undergone a change. There was, it was said, a considerable new demand for ready-made small ware being given as presents on festive occasions and also a demand for electroplated and other ware for similar purposes. Apart from the changes in the type of demand other

1. Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company and of the Native States on the Continent of India, Ed. Thornton, 1854, Vol. IV., p. 163.
2. Birdwood : Industrial Arts of India, Vol. II. 1880. Plate No. 51.
3. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Ed. W. W. Hunter, 2nd Ed. 1886, Vol. XI, p. 213.
4. p. 299.

factors had affected the total demand for the services of artisans. The demand for gold ornaments had gone down very considerably since 1930. The high price ruling for gold in 1931 and subsequent years had induced a large number of people to part with a considerable amount of the gold they might previously have held in one form or another. The stocks of gold in the hands of people had thus been considerably depleted and the general depressed conditions together with the continued high price of gold had made it impossible for people to buy gold as before. In former times even though gold might not be brought afresh every time there yet existed a considerable demand for the artisan's services for repairing or refashioning ornaments. The depletion of old stocks and the inability to buy new gold had together, it was said, brought the demand for repairing or making gold ornaments to an extremely low level. The demand for silver-ware was not reported to have absolutely declined in the same manner. But even in this respect Poona artisans complained on the score of the change in the character of the demand having resulted in a diminution of a demand for their services. The changed demand substituted a considerable amount of ready-made ware for goods made to order; and the demand was generally for lighter and flimsier as against the typical solid and heavy Poona products of old. It was said that, in consequence, a considerable amount of silver-ware was imported into the Poona market. The imports came from Bombay, Nasik, Kolhapur, Shahapur, Sangli and even Madras. It was said that the rates of wages for artisans at most of these places were lower than those obtaining in Poona and hence merchants found it profitable to import ready-made ware from those places. On account of these circumstances the general condition of artisans was said to be very depressed. The average earnings had fallen considerably in recent years and there were those among our respondents who complained that they hardly got work for three days in the week and found it even difficult to pay regularly the rent for their shops. The only persons among the artisans who did not complain about the conditions of the trade were those who were either highly skilled at producing ornamental ware or had specialised in some of the newer branches of work such as engraving, electro-plating, gilding, etc. The demand for lighter, cheaper goods and goods of newer varieties had given rise to the demand for the services of these specialists but there was a much more than proportionate decrease in the demand for the services of the older type. It might, at the same time, be said that the more skilled Poona artisans catered for a demand that did not arise in Poona alone but came from the richer classes from all parts of Maharashtra.

The shops of the artisans were kept open for approximately 10 hours in the day. There was no regular system of apprenticeship or training. A lad ordinarily learned the trade in the family or at the shop of some artisan, belonging usually to his caste. The large bulk of artisans in the trade belonged to castes with whom this was the traditional occupation.

Of the 45 families, included in our house schedule sample, earners amongst whom followed this craft, only 6 belonged to non-goldsmith castes.

§ 5. **Gold and Silver Thread Makers**: The gold and silver thread industry in Poona dates back presumably to 1766–67, for we have record of a Koul granted to the artisans in this trade in that year.[1] The history of the industry, however, could not be further traced till 1883. The Gazetteer recorded that the manufacture of gold and silver thread was then (1883) a prosperous industry in the city. "Gold and Silver Thread Makers mostly live in the Shukrawar and Aditwar wards. They are chiefly Lad Sonars, Konkani Sonars, Khandesh Sonars, Adher Sonars, and Vaishya Sonars, Lads proper, Marathas, and Pardeshis. About twenty-five families are Patvekaris or bar-makers, seventy-eight are Tarkasas or thread-drawers, and seventy to eighty families are Chapdyas or wire-beaters. There are also about 200 Valnars or thread-twisters mostly women....Of the thread-makers or Tarkasas, the thread-beaters or Chapdyas, and the thread-twisters or Valnars most are Lads . . . The rest are Kunbis and other classes, including a few Deshastha Brahmans, who took to thread-making because it was flourishing . . . Most of the gold and silver used in making the thread is brought to Poona from Bombay by Marwar Vani and Shimpi dealers." [2]

After the Gazetteer we have a notice of the Poona industry contained in the monograph on Gold and Silver Work in the Bombay Presidency. This monograph merely records that the " manufacture of gold and silver thread . . . is a prosperous industry in Poona." It further mentions that the wages earned by workers in this industry range from about one anna to four annas per tola for silver and from ten annas to Rs. 3 for gold work." But the men are not continuously employed." [3]

The industry is also mentioned in the " Report on Art-Crafts of the Bombay Presidency," published by the Department of Industries, Bombay. It records that in Poona, in 1930, there were about 7 to 10 factories manufacturing fine gold thread. " In addition there are also 4 factories which draw out thick wires from the bars. About 125 persons work here and they employ time-honoured methods. Comparatively speaking more gold thread than silver thread is manufactured in Poona . . . Labour is employed on contract system and their earnings range from Re. 1-4-0 to eight annas a day." [4]

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1. "केसो कृष्ण व आबाजी गणेश यांनी हुजूर येऊन विनंती केली कीं, तारकसी व कलाबतुकारचोबीचे वगैरे कारीगार शहरीहून वगैरे जागाहून कसबे पुणे तेथें आणूं त्यांस कौल द्यावा...सदरहू कारीगार आणून तारकसी कलाबतूचा कारखाना चाली लावू म्हणून...कारीगारांचे नांवे आलाहिदा पांचा सालांचा कौल सादर केला आहे. त्याप्रमाणे कारीगार घेऊन येणें." Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. II, pp. 287–88.
2. p. 297–98.
3. C. L. Burns, A Monograph on Gold and Silver Work in the Bombay Presidency, 1904, p. 22.
4. G. P. Fernandes, Report on Art-Crafts of the Bombay Presidency, Department of Industries, Bombay Presidency, 1932, p. 24.

At the time of our survey there were only 3 establishments engaged in this trade. The three together employed only 17 persons. Of these 9 were working in one establishment and the remaining 8 were equally divided between the other two. Our sample consisted of one of these 3 concerns. This was a private limited concern. It did not engage in the drawing of gold or silver wire but concerned itself only with the making of gold and silver thread. It employed 4 skilled labourers and the area occupied by the workshop was 700 sq. ft. The equipment of the factory consisted of a pressing machine, a frame with 200 spindles and an electro-plating machine. There were also 3 electric motors. The total cost of the equipment was about Rs. 3,500. The yearly repairing and rehauling charges were roughly Rs. 100. The raw materials necessary were silk, cotton yarn, artificial silk, gold and silver wire. Silk, usually of the Kashmir variety, was bought at Surat or Bombay. Artificial silk, mostly of Czechoslovakian origin, was also purchased at Bombay. The gold and silver wire was bought locally or in some cases brought from Benares. The concern in our sample annually consumed 2,100 tolas of silk, priced at Rs. 525, 75 tolas of gold wire worth Rs. 2,800 and 2,100 tolas of silver wire, worth Rs. 3,700. The total annual volume of production of this concern was 8,400 tolas of silver and gold thread, together worth Rs. 8,000. A large part of this, a little less than half, was sent to Cambay. The remaining was sent to Madura, Dindigul, Nagpur and Bangalore. A certain quantity was also consumed locally. The monthly wages of a skilled worker varied between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25, and those of an unskilled one from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12. An apprentice was usually paid between Rs. 10 to Rs. 18 per month. There were some outworkers in this industry, like the *patwekaris* and the *tarkasas*. They mostly did job work. A *patwekari* was paid Rs. 5 per 100 tolas and a *tarkasa* Rs. 10 per 100 tolas. The hours of work were usually 8 per day. The brisk season in this industry was usually between November and March. In December and January the business was particularly brisk.

§ 6. **Iron Workshops**: According to our census of establishments there were in all about 30 workshops in the city. Of these 10 were included in our sample. Of these, 3 each were in Kasba and Raviwar, 2 in Sadashiv and one each in Shukrawar and Shanwar. Of these 6 were started between 1932–34, and 3 others between 1921–24. Only one workshop was in the field since 1909. The concerns in the sample could be roughly divided into three types: (*a*) those that did turning and fitting work, (*b*) those that did casting and moulding work and (*c*) those that did welding work. Of the 10 concerns included in our sample 6 belonged to the first type, 2 to the second and one to the third. The remaining workshop was in a class by itself as it was engaged in manufacturing machines of various kinds such as grinding machines, rice hullers etc.

(*a*). Of the 6 workshops of the first type, 3 were in Raviwar, 2 in Sadashiv and the remaining in Kasba. Three of them were owned by Marathas, 2 by Pardeshis and the remaining by a Brahmin. All these concerns did turning and fitting work. One of them did engraving work also and another did turning work only. All the necessary casting and moulding work was passed on to, or got done from, the workshops of the second type.

The equipment necessary for these concerns consisted of drilling machines, lathes, vices, electric motors and other tools. The most common of the mechanical equipment was the lathe. Only one concern had a drilling machine. The cost of the total mechanical equipment in three concerns varied between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,800. Of the remaining concerns, one had a mechanical equipment costing Rs. 11,000, another costing Rs. 5,200 and the third costing Rs. 350. The annual repairing charges varied according to the size of the equipment. In the largest concern they came to about Rs. 50 annually.

The total employment besides the owners in these concerns was 13. Of these 3 were unskilled workers, of whom one was an apprentice. In three of the concerns, three persons each were engaged ; in one concern two, and in the two remaining, one each. All the owners worked in the workshops and were all skilled workers. Only three skilled workers other than owners, were engaged and all the three were employed in one workshop. These three workers were paid Re. 1-4-0, Re. 1 and twelve annas respectively. The unskilled workers were usually boys and were paid a daily wage varying between three annas to four annas except when they were unpaid apprentices. The raw and accessory materials required by these workshops consisted of screws, bolts, iron, steel and brass bars, etc. Materials, worth between Rs. 50 and Rs. 150 each, were annually consumed by three of the concerns and worth between Rs. 300 and Rs. 400 each, by two others. In the remaining concern expenses connected with these were only Rs. 15 annually. Most of the materials were purchased locally.

In two of the concerns the initial capital invested was between Rs. 800 and Rs. 1,000 each and in two others between Rs. 150 and Rs. 250 each. In one of the remaining concerns the initial investment came to Rs. 10,000 and it was Rs. 4,000 in the other. Most of the initial capital invested was self-owned. In one case only a part of the initial investment was raised by means of a loan against the owner's life insurance policy. Business was uniformly fair all the year round.

(*b*) Two workshops, belonging to the second type, were engaged in moulding and casting work. One was in Shukrawar and the other in Kasba. One was owned by a Paradeshi and the other by a Maratha. The former was started in 1933 and the latter in 1928. For casting, these concerns used mostly wooden or clay moulds. The usual products of these workshops were railings of various designs, plough-shares, weights and various utensils made by the casting

process. Piston rods for auto-cars were also occasionally made by them. Their equipment consisted of lathes, blow furnances, crucibles, files, and other tools. The capital equipment in one of the concerns was worth Rs. 120 and Rs. 1,200 in the other. The latter was a big workshop and was also equipped with a steam engine. The owner of this had contracted a loan of Rs. 300 at 3 per cent. The annual repairing charges in the larger concern came to about Rs. 50.

The smaller concern was managed by a single person while the other employed 6 persons, excluding the owner himself. All these workers, with one exception, were skilled workers. All the workers were Marathas. In the larger concern 3 workers were paid Rs. 20 per month each, and the other three were paid Rs. 10, Rs. 11, and Rs. 12 per month respectively. Working days in a month came to about 20 or 22. This concern employed additional hands when there was more work and these temporary workers were paid at the rate of Re. 1-4-0 per day. Both the concerns employed carpenters as out-workers, mostly for making the moulds and patterns for casting work. The larger concern also employed a blacksmith and another worker for polishing. The former was paid Re. 1 per day and the latter Rs. 10 per month.

The materials required by these concerns were pig iron, brass, gun-metal, aluminium, etc. The smaller workshop used up materials worth about Rs. 150 annually. Materials worth about Rs. 650 per year were used up by the larger concern. Most of these were purchased locally. In both the concerns rainy season was reported to be a dull business season.

(c) Only one workshop in our sample did welding work exclusively. According to our census of establishments there were in all four workshops in Poona City where welding work was undertaken. This concern was one of these four. It was in Kasba and was owned by a Parsi. It was started in 1932. The owner dealt in second-hand material, mostly metal. Some turning and moulding work also came to him. He, however, got this done by other turners and moulders in the city and himself charged a commission on such business. He confined himself only to welding work. Welding, in a way, partially displaces moulding and turning. If a metal part was broken, the old custom was generally to get it cast. Thus the moulders and the turners got work. With the advent of welding the broken parts came to be welded together. Thus the welder gets the work that the moulders and the turners formerly used to get. With the mass production of spare parts of all types and sizes in the field, however, the welders were also losing work. It was ordinarily found much cheaper to replace a broken part with a new one than either to weld or to cast it. There were two main processes of welding ; the oxy-acetylene process, and the electric welding process. In the workshop in our sample the first process was being used. The equipment necessary for the first type of welding was an acetylene generator

or a cylinder of dissolved acetylene, oxygen cylinder with regulator and pressure gauge, blow pipe, wires of different sizes and of different metals, fluxes, masks, gloves, and a small heating and an annealing furnace. The capital equipment in the workshop in our sample was worth about Rs. 650. The accessory materials required in welding were generally parts of the equipment that were used up, like oxygen cylinders, rods, flux, carbite, coal, oil, etc. The cost of the annual consumption of these in the workshop under reference came to nearly Rs. 300. The annual repairing charges came to Rs. 12. The transportation charges per year came to Rs. 120 roughly. The *hundekari* or the carting agent was the usual agency employed for this purpose and carrying of oxygen cylinders was his main work.

The owner himself worked in the workshop. He also employed a skilled assistant and an errand boy. Both the servants were Goanese. The skilled worker was paid Rs. 12 and the boy Rs. 4 per month. Both of them were paid Rs. 2 each extra for tea, etc. per month. The welder had to protect himself from the scorching heat by masks, gloves, shields, screens and various other means and had to wear special goggles to protect his eyes from sparkling metal particles and powerful rays, which injured the eye-sight. It was stated by our informant that even with all the protective aids a welder's eye-sight was affected after about 15 years of work. The welding work done by the workshop was worth about Rs. 100 per month. Most of the work that came to the workshop was supplied by the turners and moulders in the city, who in turn received work from it, as already stated. Customers coming directly to the workshop were few. In this trade the brisk season was from November to the end of March.

(*d*) This was a rather special kind of workshop. In fact it was a factory and came under the Factories Act. It was engaged in producing various kinds of machines and spare parts. This factory was in Shanwar and had started working in 1909, as an iron factory. The work then undertaken by the factory was the manufacturing of umbrellas. It stopped working in 1915, but was again started in 1918 under the present management. In 1926 the manufacturing of umbrellas was abandoned and the old machinery was disposed of. New machinery for iron founding was then installed.

Among the articles produced by this factory were grinding machines, rice hullers, water pumps, spare parts of machines, etc. The owner informed us that at the time of the enquiry he had on hand a stock of these articles valued at about Rs. 2,000. This stock had accumulated because of the general fall in demand. The concern formerly used to manufacture mortars but had lately abandoned the line. Repairing of machinery was also done at the factory. In addition to all this the concern ran a flour mill, which brought in about Rs. 2-8-0 daily. The equipment of the factory consisted of an oil engine (25 H. P.), 4 lathes, 2 drilling machines, 2 planing machines, 2 grinding mills, 2

rice hullers, a mortar mill, a cupola furnace, a blower, and a number of mould-patterns etc. The total equipment was valued at Rs. 10,000. The machines, we were informed, gave satisfactory service for a period of about 12 years. All repairing, etc. was done at the factory itself. The monthly expenses on lubricating oil, kerosene, etc. came to about Rs. 8. In all 17 persons were employed at the factory. Of these one was a clerk with a monthly pay of Rs. 30, and another a door-keeper with Rs. 16. The remaining 15 were skilled workers. Their daily wages ranged between eight annas and twelve annas. The payment of wages was at irregular intervals. Usually small sums were advanced to workers from time to time. But the full payment of wages to workers was made after a month and a half. No apprentices were employed by the factory.

The total gross income of the concern was Rs. 10,000 per year at the time of our enquiry. The owner stated, however, that it had been in the neighbourhood of Rs. 30,000 per year five or six years before. The sales of the manufactured articles were spread over a wide area. These sales were made through an agent who also canvassed and secured orders. He was allowed 10 per cent. commission on the business. All the capital was self-owned. The raw material required was chiefly pig iron, the annual consumption of which was about 15 tons.

§ 7. **Manufacture of Scientific Apparatus and Instruments**: There was only one concern in Poona, exclusively engaged in the manufacture of scientific apparatus and instruments. It was in Yerandawana and was started in 1922. The workshop occupied an area of 1,000 sq. ft. and an additional 500 sq. ft. for offices, stores, etc. The concern manufactured optical instruments like spectrometers and optical benches, electrical instruments like resistance boxes, galvanometers and potentiometers and such other apparatus as was generally required in school or college laboratories for experiments in physics. The annual production of the concern was worth from about Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000. The equipment consisted of 4 lathes, one drilling machine, one spraying machine, 3 wood-working machines and an electric motor (10 H. P.). The total cost of the equipment was about Rs. 5,000 and its average life was given as 10 years. The annual repairing and other charges together came to about Rs. 250. All the machines were more or less precision instruments and were required to be very carefully handled.

The annual sales of the previous 5 years had averaged between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 6,000. The articles produced were chiefly bought by the colleges affiliated to the Bombay University and a small proportion was also bought by other college and school laboratories all over India. The sales were mostly made directly. About 20 per cent. of the total sales were made through the various dealers in scientific instruments. The raw materials used in the concern were brass, copper and iron rods, strips and tubes, resistance wires of various kinds, optical parts, such as prisms and lenses, insulating material, etc. Resistance wires, colouring material and optical parts were ordered from abroad in small lots. The other

materials were purchased at Bombay. The cost of the annual consumption of the raw materials was between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000. The purchases were made directly and on a cash basis.

The concern employed 7 persons in all. Of these 6 were skilled workers and one unskilled. Of these 3 were Brahmins, one Maratha, one Muslim and one Christian. Rs. 6,000 were invested in plant and tools and Rs. 10,000 in premises and buildings. A part of this was self-owned. Nearly Rs. 7,000 were borrowed. Upto the time of the enquiry no interest had been paid but from that time onwards, the owner stated, that he would have to pay interest at 4 per cent. per annum.

§ 8. **Miscellaneous Ironworks**: The Gazetteer noted under blacksmiths the following: "Blacksmiths, numbering 358 mostly live in Raviwar, Nana, Shukrawar, Sadashiv, Kasba, and Bhavani wards. They are chiefly Maratha and Panchal Lohars and a few Ghisadis. The Maratha Lohars say that they came, during the Peshwa's supremacy, from Ahmadnagar, Bombay, Khandesh and Sholapur. . . . The boy-workers are paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to 6 *d.* (1–4 as.) a day. . . . Ghisadis make horse-shoes and field tools, but are chiefly employed as tinkers. . . . Besides the blacksmith shops Poona city has twenty-seven iron pot factories in Aditwar ward, ten of which belong to Kunbis and ten to Malis, four to Telis or oilmen, and three to Bohoras. The workmen are chiefly Kunbis and Musalmans and a few Brahmans. The workers make little more than a living, most of the profits going to dealers."[1] According to our census of establishments there were in Poona (*a*) 9 concerns manufacturing iron pots, etc., (*b*) 6 concerns manufacturing iron furniture, (*c*) 9 horseshoe makers, and 46 other minor concerns. In all the concerns together 317 persons were engaged. These various types of establishments have been treated separately.

(*a*) According to our census of establishments there were 9 concerns in Poona manufacturing iron pots and 74 persons were engaged in them. Our sample consisted of one of these concerns. It was in Shukrawar. This concern manufactured *ghamelis*, *tava*, buckets, etc. from imported iron sheets. It was started in 1898 and was a family concern. The owner and both his sons worked there and only one worker was employed as outside help. His daily wage was eight annas. The owner belonged to the Somvanshi Kshatriya community. The concern occupied an area of 12 *khans* on the ground floor of the owner's house. The tools used were mostly hammers and a drilling machine together worth about Rs. 50. The chief accessory material used was galvanised iron sheets. A large part of the annual requirements of such sheets was brought from Bombay. On an average iron sheets and other accessory materials, such as, iron bars, nails, etc. worth Rs. 50, were used up by the concern each month. The gross monthly sales came to about Rs. 100. The sales were mostly confined to Poona and were directly

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made. The brisk season was between January and April.

(*b*) According to our census of establishments there were, in all, 6 iron furniture workshops in Poona. Of these three were in Sadashiv and one each in Budhwar, Shukrawar and Nana. Our sample consisted of three, of which two were in Sadashiv and one in Shukrawar. Of these one concern used machinery. The other two were smaller concerns which used handpower.

The bigger concern employed 11 persons, including the owner. Of these 4 were skilled and 7 unskilled. The daily wages of the skilled workers ranged from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8-0. Those of the unskilled workers were about ten annas per day. The concern mainly manufactured bedsteads. The equipment of the workshop consisted of 4 drilling machines, one shearing machine and other tools. The cost of the equipment was about Rs. 400. The annual repairing and rehauling charges came to about Rs. 50. Electric power was used and its average monthly cost varied between Rs. 10 and Rs. 12. The working capital required was stated to be about Rs. 3,000. The owner stated that he borrowed part of the capital at rates of interest varying between 9 per cent. to 24 per cent. per annum.

The other two workshops were small concerns, one employing 3 and the other 2 persons. One was owned by a Ghisadi and the other by a Gujarati. All the persons employed were described as unskilled. The daily wage of an unskilled worker was ten annas. Their products consisted mainly of spring cots, cradles, gates, shelves, chairs, etc. Their equipment consisted of drilling machines, hammers, anvils, etc. The cost of the equipment in the two workshops was about Rs. 75 and Rs. 100, respectively. The total monthly gross sales in both were about Rs. 100 each and these were mainly confined to the city proper. The sales were made directly in both cases. The accessory materials required were mainly coal, iron bars, nails, etc. All these were purchased locally. In one concern the annual cost of raw materials used was given as Rs. 350. There was no marked seasonality in this industry.

(*c*) There were in all 9 concerns of iron shoe makers in the city, according to our census of establishments. Of these 4 were in Raviwar, and one each in Sadashiv, Budhwar, Nihal, Rasta, and Nana. A total of 19 persons was engaged in these concerns. The sample consisted of one concern only. This was in Sadashiv. The owner himself worked and engaged two outside workers. All were described as unskilled workers. The servants and the owner were all Mohammedans. One of the two workers was paid Re. 1-1-0 per day and the other got a daily wage of ten annas. The owner stated that the business was with his family from the days of his forefathers. The Peshwas had made grants of lands to them and the owner was, at the time of the enquiry, enjoying the income from those lands. The equipment consisted of a

large anvil, hammers, furnace, vice, etc. The chief work was the shoeing of horses and bullocks. For a complete and new refit the charge was twelve annas per horse or bullock. If old iron shoes were used the charges were halved. The usual daily work consisted of the shoeing of 4 bullocks and 2 horses. The monthly gross takings were in the neighhourhood of Rs. 150. The customers were from Poona city and surrounding rural parts. The accessory materials were iron strips for making iron shoes or ready-made iron shoes and nails. Iron strips were bought at the rate of 8 seers per Rupee. These were locally purchased. The investment in the concern was Rs. 50.

§ 9. **Tin-smiths**: No tin-smiths were mentioned in the Gazetteer. At the time of our inquiry there were in all 50 tin-smiths' shops or establishments in the city and 66 persons were engaged in them. Of these 14 were in Sadashiv, 9 each in Raviwar and Shukrawar and the rest unequally dispersed in other wards of the city. Of these our sample consisted of 8 shops or establishments. Their chief work consisted of making small articles such as oil pumps, funnels, etc. out of tin-plates. This industry being comparatively recent in origin was not a hereditary one. The majority of persons engaged in it were Hindus, chiefly Marathas or Malis. Of the 8 tin-smiths included in our sample, 4 were Malis, 3 Marathas and one Mohammedan. The equipment necessary for this trade was not costly and consisted of a few implements, namely hammers, anvils, two or three pairs of scissors, bellows, etc. This equipment did not cost more than Rs. 10 to Rs. 15. The raw materials required for the trade were mainly galvanized iron sheets i. e. tin-plates. A tin-plated iron sheet (8′×8′) cost Rs. 3. The tin-smiths mostly used sheets from old kerosene tins, which cost about four annas to six annas each. These old tins were collected by people of the Mahar community and sold to the tin-smiths. Other requirements, such as tin, sulphuric acid and coal for the furnace, were bought locally. The exact quantities used by individual tin-smiths could not be ascertained. In general it may be said that an average one-man establishment used materials worth between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 per month. In the case of establishments employing one or more assistants this figure rose to Rs. 30 or Rs. 40. In our sample, out of the 8 concerns 6 were one-man concerns. The other 2 employed one man each. The shops were places of work and were small in size, roughly 1 or 2 *khans*. The rents varied between Rs. 2-8-0 and Rs. 9 per month. The earnings in this trade were hard to estimate. Roughly the earnings of a one-man establishment were between Rs. 7 and Rs. 15 per month. In larger establishments they were between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25. There were no apprentices in this trade. The work did not require much skill or intelligence and no special training was necessary. Our informants told us that an assistant usually left his employer after 3 or 4 years and set up in business by himself.

§ 10. **Blacksmiths** : According to our census of establishments there were 20 blacksmiths' shops in the city. Of these 8 were in Shukrawar, 2 each in Raviwar and Vetal and one each in Sadashiv, Shanwar, Kasba, Mangalwar, Ganj, Ganesh, Bhavani and Nana. Of these 3 were included in our sample. Two of these were owned by Ghisadis and one by a Lohar, members of the traditional castes practising blacksmithy. With all the three, the business was a family business. Repairing of iron instruments was their chief work. They also produced knives, sickles, etc., but in small quantities. The repairing of agricultural instruments, like ploughshares was their main work. Their customers came chiefly from the surrounding rural parts. All the three were family concerns and all adult members of the family worked in them. No outside hand was engaged. In all 7 persons were engaged in these concerns. Two of them were women. The concerns did repair work at fixed rates. Their equipment consisted of a furnance, anvil, hammers, vices, etc. The cost of this equipment did not exceed Rs. 10. One of the concerns had a drilling machine. The raw materials necessary were iron bars and coal. These were purchased locally. The monthly gross takings of these concerns varied between Rs. 20 and Rs. 40.

§ 11. **Makers and Repairers of Musical Instruments** : The Gazetteer did not mention any repairers of musical instruments or even sellers of these. At the time of our survey there were in all 18 establishments of the repairers of musical instruments in the city and 34 people were engaged in them. Of these 10 were in Shukrawar, 3 in Budhwar, 2 each in Sadashiv and Shanwar and one in Somwar. Our sample consisted of 4 establishments. Out of these, 2 were in Budhwar and one each in Somwar and Shanwar. The main work of these establishments consisted of the repair of instruments such as harmonium, *sitar*, *tabala*, etc. A few of them undertook the manufacturing of these instruments, mostly to order. Almost all of them dealt in ready-made instruments. These were brought chiefly from Bombay and in some cases from Northern India.

The people engaged in this industry belonged mostly to the Gurav community, though two or three establishments were owned by Brahmins. Nearly every establishment was a family concern with little or no outside help engaged. Thus out of the 13 people engaged in the establishments in our sample, 8 belonged to owners' families. Of the remaining, one was a carpenter, while the other four were skilled workmen. These were, however, not employed by the concerns throughout the year. They were called in when needed. They were paid a monthly salary only if they were engaged for a certain period of months at a stretch. Otherwise, they were paid at piece rates. Most of those who were engaged in this industry were skilled workers. Harmonium repair did not call for any extraordinary skill. Skilled work was particularly required for the mending and tuning of stringed instruments. Besides the cunning of hands, this also demanded a sensitive ear and

the required proficiency was difficult to attain without some natural aptitude in that direction. Such labour was naturally scarce. All our informants complained about the scarcity of skilled workers.

Most of the establishments made a living from the earnings from repair work. The repair work came mostly from the city itself though a few establishments obtained work from regions as far as Sholapur, Hubli, Dharwar, Khandesh, C. P. and Berar. It would seem that a substantial part of the work came from the class of people known as *varkaris* or pilgrims. These establishments needed tools such as those used by the carpenter i. e. hammers, saws, chisels, drills etc. The average cost of this equipment was put at Rs. 100 per establishment. The materials that were used in the repair of the instruments were chiefly wood, leather straps, goats' skins, etc. These were bought locally. Some larger establishments, however, brought these from Bombay or from other distant places. The proceeds of the sales of manufactured instruments were not a steady source of income. The owners of two establishments, however, informed us that their earnings through sales of instruments were larger than those from repair work. Net profits from the sales of instruments were computed by them at about 10 per cent. of the price.

§ 12. **Motor Repairing Works**: According to our census of establishments there were in all 15 motor repairing workshops in Poona city and 73 persons were engaged in them. Of these 4 were in Sadashiv, 3 each in Shukrawar and Kasba, 2 each in Shivajinagar and Shanwar and one in Rasta. Of these 7 were included in the sample. Of these 2 each were in Shanwar and Shukrawar and one each in Kasba, Budhwar, and Sadashiv. These could be divided into two types ; those that specialised in motor repairing only and those that not only did motor repairing but also some other additional work, such as the production of some scientific instruments, or that of weights and measures, etc. Of the 7 concerns in the sample 4 belonged to the first type and 3 to the second type. One of the concerns belonging to the first type was owned by a person who was also the proprietor of a bus service and he had the workshop set up only for the repair of his own lorries.

The concerns belonging to the first type did repairing and rehauling of auto-cars, battery charging, replacement of parts, etc. All the 3 concerns did the work of battery charging. One did spray painting. Their equipment consisted of lathes, battery charging plant, electric drills, tools, jacks, press and also measuring and testing instruments. The cost of equipment in the 3 concerns was put at Rs. 500, Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 4,500 respectively. The last concern had some machines, not possessed by the other two, such as a boring machine, a honing machine, and spray painting equipment. The annual repairing charges were estimated at roughly 10 per cent. of the cost the equipment in this workshop. The equipment of the concerns of the second type consisted of lathes,

drilling machines and other accessory tools. One of the three concerns had spray painting equipment but had no lathe. The cost of the capital equipment in these was Rs. 750, Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 3,000 respectively. A total of 47 persons, including the owners, were engaged in these 7 concerns in the sample. Of these 9 were owners, all of them highly skilled workers, 19 skilled and 10 unskilled workers. Of the remaining, 2 were clerks employed in a single concern and 7 were apprentices. The largest concern employed 15 workers excluding the owners. The salaries of skilled workers ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs. 60 p. m. and that of unskilled workers between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15. The clerks got about Rs. 17 per month. An apprentice was in the first instance an unpaid worker. As he became more and more efficient in his work he got a rising scale of payment. In these concerns the turning, welding and moulding work was usually entrusted to outworkers. The accessory materials required in these workshops were screws, bolts, wires, spare parts, etc. Most of these were bought locally. The annual gross earnings in two of the three concerns of the first type were Rs. 1,700 and Rs. 2,000 respectively. The volume of business transacted by the remaining and the larger concern during a year was worth Rs. 12,000. The yearly earnings of concerns of the second type were Rs. 1,200, Rs. 2,000, and Rs. 4,000 respectively. The rainy season was a dull season for the repairing and other work carried out by these concerns.

§ 13. **Vulcanizing Works**: The process of vulcanizing is a recent discovery and the vulcanizing works in Poona city are of very recent origin. According to our census of establishments there were in all 11 vulcanising works in the city. Of these 5 were in Shukrawar and one each in Shivajinagar, Shanwar, Kasba, Somwar, Nihal and Nana. Of these three were included in our sample and they were in Shanwar, Somwar and Shukrawar respectively. One of them was started in 1927. The two others in 1934 and 1935 respectively. All the three concerns included in our sample were two-men establishments. All of them were owned by Nayars from the Province of Madras. No local workers were engaged. The owners themselves worked. They certainly did a skilled worker's job. In the three concerns in our sample the two men managing each concern were either brothers or cousins and the earnings were shared by them. In addition to the repair work undertaken, these concerns also dealt in old and worn out tyres. They bought these at cheap rates and sold them at profit to cobblers in the city, who used them as soles for cheaper types of foot-wear. The equipment necessary for the vulcanizing process was vulcanizing plant and other accessory tools, such as files, moulds, etc. The vulcanizing plant cost about Rs. 250 and its average life was roughly 10 years. The mechanical equipment of concerns in the sample was worth Rs. 300 each approximately. The annual repairing charges came to about Rs. 5. The small accessories like files, etc. had to be often replaced. The raw materials necessary were vulcanizing

compound, petrol, kerosene, etc. The concerns in the sample annually consumed raw materials worth between Rs. 200 and Rs. 250, each. All these were locally purchased by cash payments. The initial capital invested in all the three concerns was self-owned. Their yearly gross incomes were roughly between Rs. 600 and Rs. 650 each. In this industry the rainy season was a dull business season.

§ 14 **Brick-kilns**: According to the Gazetteer " Potters and Brick and Tile Makers numbering 291 live mostly in the Kasba, Nana, Narayan, Vetal, Raviwar, Bhavani, and Ghorpade wards. They are divided into Maratha and Pardeshi Kumbhars.....Bricks are sold at 10 *s.* to 18 *s.* (Rs. 5–9) and Tiles at 6 *s.* to 10 *s.* (Rs. 3–5) the thousand."[1] At the time of our enquiry there were in all 19 establishments of brick-makers and 427 persons were engaged by them. Of these 10 were included in our sample. Most of the establishments were situated in Kasba. The kilns were located on the outskirts of the city. There were 15 kilns near Parvati, 2 at Yerandavana and one near Swar Gate. One more kiln was in Sangamwadi, still further away from the city. There were in all 354 persons engaged in the 10 establishments in the sample. Most of them belonged to the Kumbhar caste, not a few were Marathas and the rest Mahars, Mangs, etc. Among the owners of these establishments 8 were Kumbhars, one a Brahmin and one a Mohammedan. Most of the brick-makers in our sample had started work some time about 1918–1920.

Of the total 354 persons employed in the 10 concerns in the sample, 184 were adult males, 86 females and 83 children. The number of workers employed in individual concerns varied between 25 and 50. Of the ten establishments 5 employed more than 45 persons each, 4 employed between 25 to 35 workers each and the remaining one employed only 9 workers. Brick manufacturing was a seasonal trade and little work was undertaken in the rainy season. Most of these workers therefore obtained employment only during the eight dry months of the year. The chief raw material used in this industry was clay. This clay was required to be free from lime. If it was strongly impregnated with lime the bricks become light and were useless for building purposes as they could not stand being soaked in water. Bricks made of clay, without any trace of lime, were heavy and durable. Good clay of this kind was available at Katraj, Sangamvadi, and in villages around Vithalwadi and Kondhwa. The owner of the fields from which the earth was secured was required to pay a royalty of Rs. 60 per annum per acre to the Government. The royalty was paid for using agricultural land for industrial purposes as well as for the earth used. The brick-maker obtained the earth at Re. 1 to Re. 1-2-0 per cart-load, inclusive of the transportation charges. Raw materials worth between Rs. 4,800 to Rs. 5,000 each were consumed

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annually in 3 concerns in the sample and between Rs. 3,200 and Rs. 3,500 each in 4 other concerns. In the remaining 3 concerns the annual consumption of raw materials was worth about Rs. 2,000 each.

Clay was first sieved to free it from stones, etc., and this work was done on piece rates by women workers paid at a rate of about three annas per cart-load. It was then moistened, pounded and mixed. This work was done by workers either on piece or time rates. The daily earnings of such workers came to about twelve to fourteen annas. The prepared clay was made into balls by female workers, each ball large enough to make one brick. Every such worker got about five annas per day. From the clayballs bricks were made by other female workers with the aid of wooden moulds and they got about seven annas each per day. These bricks were removed and placed out to dry by boys whose daily wages were five annas each. The bricks, when dry, were baked in old-fashioned kilns. Only one brick-maker in our sample used a kiln of the Bull's Kiln type. A large part of the fuel used was made up of the refuse and sweepings from the city, bought from the Municipality. A normal old-type kiln baked about 50,000 bricks in 3 or 4 months' time. Baking was an operation which required careful management. If the bricks were overbaked they became useless, if under-baked they became brittle and were priced very low. In every kiln, however carefully fired and looked after, a certain percentage of bricks was necessarily over or under baked. No figures regarding the average wastage on this account were available. The man who looked after baking was paid Re. 1 per day.

Under-baked bricks were sold at Rs. 7 per 1,000 and properly baked bricks at Rs. 15 per 1,000. The brick-maker undertook delivery at the depot or works of local customers. In 3 concerns in the sample the annual production of bricks was worth between Rs. 7,500 and Rs. 7,800 each, between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 5,200 each in the case of 3 others and between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 3,200 each in 3 of the remaining concerns. In the remaining concern it was worth about Rs. 10,000. Most of the bricks produced by these concerns were sold locally.

§ 15. **Lime-kilns** : The Gazetteer mentions that " Lime Burners numbering thirty-three mostly live in Shukravar ward. They are chiefly Lonaris.... They buy lime nodules from the neighbouring villages of Hadapasar, Mahammadvadi, Phursangi, and Vadki at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* to 2 *s.* (Re. $\frac{3}{4}$ – 1) a cart. They burn the nodules, mixing them with charcoal and cowdung cakes in circular brick kilns which take three to six days to burn.... They complain that their calling is failing from the competition of well-to-do Parsis and Brahmans and of Mahars and Mangs ".[1] At the time of our survey there were 18 concerns engaged in this industry and 68 persons were employed in them. Our

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sample consisted of 3 of these. Though the business premises of these concerns were located in various wards of the city, their kilns were all situated on the outskirts of the city in Shivajinagar, near Parvati, on the Ambil Odha or at Yeravda and Sangamwadi. The majority of the owners were Lonaris, one was Brahmin and another a Mohammedan. The total number of workers engaged in this industry throughout the year was about 70. During the brisk season (January–April), however, 150 to 200 workers in all worked at the kilns. All the workers were daily wage earners. The daily wages varied from six annas to ten annas. Almost all workers were adult males. Only two concerns employed a small number of women workers. They were paid six annas a day.

The kilns used for heating or burning limestone had a capacity varying from 144 to 1,440 cubic feet. They were built of bricks and were circular in shape. The 3 concerns in our sample owned 3, 7 and 6 kilns of various capacities, respectively. A kiln lasted for 4 or 5 years. The average cost of kilns in our sample was between Rs. 90 and Rs. 110. The lime stone was purchased from local dealers who brought it from Jejuri, Kedgaon and other places 20 to 30 miles away from Poona. Lime was sold at the rate of from Rs. 26 to Rs. 30 per 100 cubic feet.

The annual production of lime in the three concerns in the sample was worth Rs. 480, Rs. 5,400, and Rs. 7,000 respectively. For carrying lime from the kiln to the customer's place a charge of from eight annas to ten annas per cart-load was usually made.

§ 16. **Potters**: Only 27 families were enumerated as being actually engaged in producing earthenware. Almost no earthenware was produced in Kasba where the bulk of the Maratha Kumbhars reside. Earthenware was produced chiefly in Nana and a little in Shukrawar and Raviwar. The equipment was the simple traditional equipment of the potter, of which the potter's wheel was the most costly. The cost of equipment varied between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10. No potter employed any outside labour. Both adult males and females in the family were equally useful in the craft. There were an equal number of workers of both sexes. The number of workers in an individual establishment depended, therefore, on the number of adult males and females in the family. It was, however, essential that at least two adults should be available for the work. The earth required was obtained from neighbouring villages like Katraj, Kondhwe, Sangamwadi, etc. and was supplied by persons who traded in it. This was mixed with horse dung, locally procured, and soaked for a given time in water. The mixture was kneaded and properly prepared before being used. The other material required was fuel which was chiefly wood and municipal refuse. The bulk of the production consisted of the ordinary pots and pans used in the households of the very poor. There were certain other specialised products, for which the demand was more

general. These were pots for garden plants, small clay toys, jars or beakers for storing water, demanded especially during summer and special occasional demand like that at Divali. Our sample consisted of 9 establishments with the number of workers in them varying from 2 adults to 6 adults. The total number of workers in the 9 establishments was 26. The value of estimated monthly production for the average establishment worked out at approximately Rs. 45, of which a sum of approximately Rs. 15 represented cost of raw materials and fuel. This left, without allowing for rent, about Rs. 30 per month as the wages earned by 2·9 average adult workers. The demand for the products of the industry was almost entirely local, the Poona artisans being able to sell their wares in the adjoining villages only to a small extent. The artisans disposed off their wares to wholesalers in the Fulay Market or sold on their own account at weekly or other markets, though a small sale was also effected by hawking the products from door to door. The capital requirements of the potter were negligible ; for, his equipment was traditional and needed little by way of annual repair or replacement. The chief capital requirement arose out of the need for buying a substantial supply of raw materials and fuel, especially at the beginning of the monsoon. The potter also required a fairly plentiful water supply. As in all declining trades the families following the occupation belonged to castes who claimed it as their traditional occupation. Neither in the establishments covered in the detailed investigation nor in the families included in the sample household schedule, was there observed a single case of a family outside the hereditary potter castes being engaged in producing potters' ware. No special training was available or given to those in the industry. The skill acquired was obtained through watching and helping adults at work.

§ 17. **Furniture Makers** : The Gazetteer mentions only " furniture sellers" and also the fact that "almost all the sellers of articles of native furniture, earthen pots, boxes, bedsteads, stools, carpets, and mats are makers as well as sellers"[1]. It should be remembered that furniture making, as a separate and specialized branch of the general carpenter's business, is an industry of recent origin. During the course of our enquiry we came across a firm of furniture makers who had been making nothing but furniture since 1882. One owner told us that the business had been in his family for two generations But most of the other informants had started business sometime around 1912–13, some about 1925–26 and some as late as 1930. At the time of our inquiry there were in all 42 establishments of furniture makers and 243 persons were engaged in them. Of these 18 were in Sadashiv, 5 each in Shanwar and Raviwar, 3 in Shukrawar, 4 in Budhwar and one each in Kasba, Mangalwar, Rasta, Vetal, Nana, Narayan and

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Nihal. Of these 15 were owned by Marathas, 14 by Brahmins, 9 by Gujaratis, 2 by Mohammedans and one belonged to a Madrasi Brahmin. Our sample consisted of 6, of these, 4 in Sadashiv and one each in Shukrawar and Raviwar. The establishments in the sample fall into two groups, the first, comprising those which employed more than 25 workers each and the second, comprising those which employed 5 or less than 5 workers each. Of the 6 establishments included in our sample 3 belonged to the first group and 3 to the second.

Of the three establishments belonging to the first group, one employed 41 workers, the second 34 workers and the third 27 workers. Of the 102 persons employed (including owners), 37 were skilled and 33 unskilled workers, 4 clerks, 17 apprentices and 8 children. Of the three factories included in the second group one employed 5 workers and the other two employed 3 workers each. Of the total 11 persons employed, 7 were skilled workers (including owners), one unskilled and 3 children.

The equipment used in these concerns was partly supplied by the owners and partly by the workers. Such common tools of work as hammers, saws, etc. were brought by the workers but other instruments, such as drills, vices, presses, circular and cross-cut saws were provided by the employer. The employer also kept a stock of instruments, of the type brought by the workers, with him. But these were used only in an emergency. Concerns belonging to the first group had an average equipment worth Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 each. Those belonging to the second group had an equipment worth Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 each on an average. The former had to spend annually about Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 each on repairs and the latter spent from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 each on the same item. Articles of furniture manufactured by these concerns were tables and chairs of all types, teapoys, cupboards, sideboards, filing and dressing cabinets, bedsteads, cradles, etc. Each concern specialized in certain types of these goods, at the same time making other types of articles to specific orders of customers. Most of the concerns, more particularly the smaller concerns, did some amount of repair work also. The chief raw material used was, of course, wooden planks of all sizes. The wood used was Burma teak, red teak, deodar, ply wood, etc. The owners of the concerns of the first group bought most of their requirements of foreign wood in Bombay. The octroi duty was two annas and six pies per maund. Local wood was also used in some cases but very rarely as it was heavy, uneven and suitable chiefly for building purposes. The materials necessary for polishing, etc. were bought locally.

The wages and the rates of payment of workers employed in these concerns were nearly on the same level in all establishments. The carpenters got Re. 1-8-0 per day and the polishers got from twelve

annas to Re. 1-4-0 per day. In some factories carpenters and other workers were paid according to the quantity of work done. The labour cost of a table measuring 3′ × 2′ was about Rs. 2 and that of a table measuring 3′×6′ was Rs. 8. Every establishment had one or more sawyers or *arekasas* for cutting the planks or blocks of wood as per specifications. A pair of sawyers was paid Rs. 3-8-0 for cutting or sawing wood measuring 100 cubic feet. The boys that were employed in these factories were paid from two annas six pies to four annas a day and they received a kind of training by working with the carpenters. After working for a couple of years with a trained artisan the boys usually picked up the trade.

Only a very rough idea regarding the annual turnover of business in these concerns could be gathered. Establishments belonging to the first group transacted business worth from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 each annually while those of the second group did business worth from Rs. 600 to Rs. 3,600 each. No marked seasonality was noticed. Most of the bigger manufacturers purchased their raw materials during the rainy season as timber was somewhat cheaper in that season because of lack of demand from the building trades. The market for the manufactured goods was mostly local, though a few of the larger manufacturers were able to book orders from towns in neighbouring districts. They sent their articles as far as Sholapur, Karad, etc. The transport to outside centres was mostly by motor lorries.

§ 18. **Motor Body Builders**: At the time of our census of establishments there were in all 9 establishments of motor body builders in the city and 173 persons were engaged in them. Of these one was owned by a Mohammedan and the others were all owned by Marathas. Of the 9 establishments, 4 were in Sadashiv, 3 in Nana and one each in Budhwar and Nihal. Our sample consisted of 5 of these, two each in Sadashiv and Nana and one in Budhwar. The oldest of them was started in 1924 and some others as late as 1930. Before 1920 motor body building was carried on only in Bombay. By 1935 this was done almost in every big town in Maharashtra. In these establishments the work of building and repairing motor and bus bodies was undertaken. Carpenters, blacksmiths and leather workers were all employed by them. The carpenters employed on the woodwork brought their own implements and tools with them. This was also done by the blacksmiths, the leather workers and the painters. The only equipment or tools required at the factories were drilling machines, vices, hammers, measuring tapes, etc. The total cost of equipment was between Rs. 150 and Rs. 400 according to the size of the workshop. Of the total 109 workers employed in the 5 workshops in our sample, 69 were skilled and 40 unskilled workers, the latter being mostly boys. Carpenters, leather workers, smiths and painters were all among skilled workers. The leather workers looked after the leather fittings and the making of

cushions, etc. The smiths managed the iron and steel fittings, the tin sheet roof, etc. and the painter painted the whole body. There were in our sample, 40 carpenters, 13 leather workers, 9 painters and 7 blacksmiths. The managerial and office work was done by the proprietors or their relatives. Only the carpenters and the unskilled boy assistants were hired on a daily wage rate. The carpenters were paid from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0 per day. The boys were paid from three annas to five annas a day. The others were paid on piece rate basis i. e. for work done on a single body. This rate in the case of leather workers was from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 10 per body. The painter was paid Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per body while the smith got Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per body. There were no outworkers in this industry except the leather workers, who were allowed to take the materials necessary for the making of cushion, etc. to their homes. Other workers worked on the premises. There were no female workers.

The raw materials used in the manufacture of motor bodies were chiefly wooden planks of teak, deodar etc., oil cloth, canvas, coco-nut fibre, screws, bolts, steel plates and rods, paints and varnishes, glass sheets, etc. All these materials were bought locally. Only one factory bought iron and steel fittings and paints and varnishes in Bombay. The transportation and octroi charges in this case came to about Rs. 350 to Rs. 400 per year. It was not possible to determine exactly the amount of raw materials annually used by each individual concern. The workshops were in operation all the year round. The specially brisk seasons were the months of March and April and October and November. In these seasons the employment of skilled workers in these concerns ruled at almost double the level of other months. The reason for the briskness was that during these months the Regional Transport Authorities renewed the licences of motor cars and buses. At this time of the year, therefore, almost all the old buses required a thorough overhauling and much repair. At the same time some new bodies were also usually ordered to be built. Our informants gave us to understand that the additional skilled labour required by them during these seasons was always available and that they rarely ran short of it.

The initial capital with which most of these concerns had started was about Rs. 1,000 each. This capital was mainly used for purchasing sundry equipment, paying an advance in respect of the rent of the premises and towards defraying the cost of raw materials necessary for building one or two bodies. After being in business for a certain time the owners found it easy to get credit. Credit was the crying need in this industry. The payment for building a body was never made by a customer in lump but usually by instalments. Thus the money invested in raw materials, etc. was not quickly realised. The body

builders were, therefore, always in need of short-term loans. Rents of places of business varied according to the size of the area occupied and also according to locality. Most of the concerns found it convenient to hire an open space. On these they erected their own work-shops. Rents varied between Rs. 12-8-0 to Rs. 50 per month. The gross volume of business turned out during one year was worth Rs. 5,000 in the case of the smallest concern in the sample, with the largest concern it was worth Rs. 35,000. The gross annual turnover of the remaining three concerns was worth between Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 18,000 each.

§ 19. **Bakeries**: The Gazetteer mentioned no bakeries. According to our census of establishments there were 29 bakeries in Poona and 128 persons were engaged in them. Of these 8 were in Shukrawar, 4 each in Raviwar and Bhavani, 3 in Nana, 2 each in Budhwar, Kasba, Ganesh and one each in Sadashiv, Mangalwar, Somwar and Rasta. Our sample consisted of 9 bakeries. Of these 2 each were in Raviwar, Bhavani and Shukrawar, one each in Budhwar, Kasba and Ganesh. All the concerns were started after 1918. The bakeries were mainly engaged in making bread, biscuits, cakes, etc. Of the 9 concerns included in the sample, 2 were the largest in the city. These two used machinery in some of the processes while the other establishments in the sample were mostly household or family concerns, where practically no machinery was used. One of the two larger concerns employed 45 persons and came under the Factories' Act. The other employed 17 persons. In the remaining concerns almost no outsiders were employed. Occasionally some relative of the family was engaged and in some cases, a boy to distribute and deliver goods. In the smaller concerns the equipment necessary was an oven together with its accessory equipment, such as, metal sheets. The cost of an oven was about Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 and it lasted for 7 to 8 years. The repair charges for an oven came to from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per year. A metal sheet cost from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 and lasted for about 2 years. In one of the two big concerns the cost of the equipment was Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 35,000 in the other. The mechanical equipment in the former consisted of a mixer, a roller and a cutting machine. In the other it was composed of 2 mixers, one roller and 2 cutting machines. Both used electric power and were mainly biscuit factories.

The annual production of one of the larger concerns was worth Rs. 1,00,000. It was worth Rs. 30,000 in the case of the other. The daily production in the former was from 1,000 lbs. to 1,500 lbs. and between 400 lbs. and 500 lbs. in the latter. The remaining concerns mainly produced bread, cakes, etc. In only two of these concerns was the production of biscuits larger than that of bread. Biscuits of all qualities were produced by them. The daily production of bread in these two concerns was between 15 lbs. to 20 lbs. each and that of

biscuits between 35 lbs. and 40 lbs. each. In the other five concerns the daily production of bread in two was 20 lbs. each, in two others 40 lbs. each and 30 lbs. in the remaining concern. These concerns produced about 10 lbs. to 15 lbs. each of biscuits daily. But these were of an inferior quality. The largest concern in the sample sent its goods all over Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnatak and the C. P. The second concern's market was mainly confined to Poona and the adjacent districts. The demand for the products of the remaining concerns was entirely local, their chief customers being the restaurants in the city.

The raw materials necessary in this industry were flour, sugar, butter, flavouring essences, etc. The essences, baking cocoa and icing sugar were imported from foreign countries. Sugar, flour, etc. were bought locally by all the concerns. The chemicals required by the two larger concerns were brought from Bombay. All the concerns usually bought goods on credit from local dealers and the accounts were usually settled at the end of every month. In the two large concerns capital worth Rs. 1,00,000 and Rs. 30,000 respectively had been invested. In the case of the former half of it was borrowed at the rate of 7½ to 9 per cent per annum. In the case of the latter Rs. 15,000 were borrowed at the rate of 12 to 14 per cent per year. In the smaller concerns the capital invested generally varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 250 per concern. Some part of this, in each case, was borrowed at the beginning. At the time of our enquiry, however, none of the smaller concerns had any outstanding capital debts. For baking, drying, etc. the smaller concerns used coal and other suitable fuel and the fuel charges were an important item in the cost schedule.

As has been made clear already all the smaller concerns were mostly family concerns. The two larger concerns employed a total of 64 workers. Of these 7 were skilled and others unskilled. In one of the two larger concerns the highly skilled workers were given monthly salaries varying between Rs. 25 and Rs. 100, while in the other these varied between Rs. 25 and Rs. 70. The unskilled workers were paid a monthly salary varying between Rs. 15 and Rs. 30 in both the concerns. In this industry there was no marked seasonality.

§ 20. **Grain Roasters** : According to the Gazetteer "grain roasters numbering 223 mostly live in the Raviwar, Ganj, Bhavani, Vetal, Kasba and Shukrawar wards. They are chiefly Maratha and Pardeshi Bhadbhunjas.... The Pardeshi Bhadbhunjas are said to have come fifty years ago from Cawnpore, Lucknow and Mathura in Upper India. They are proverbially dirty but hard working. They buy the grain and the pulse from grain dealers, and after parching it sell it at a profit of twelve to twenty per cent. Their women and their children from the age of ten or twelve help them in their calling, sitting in the shop and soaking and drying grain. In spite of their help, a grain-roaster's family does not

earn more than £.1 to £.1-10*s*. (Rs. 10-15) a month".[1] At the time of our survey there were in all 83 grain roasters' shops or establishments and a total of 140 persons were engaged in the industry. Some of these were only shopkeepers and some were outworkers. The latter produced the materials but did not sell them as they had no shops. Our sample consisted of 10 establishments, of which 5 were manufacturers as well as shopkeepers, 2 only shopkeepers and 3 purely outworkers. Of the 10 concerns in our sample, 4 were in Shukrawar, 2 each in Nana and Ganesh and one each in Raviwar and Shanwar. Almost all the people engaged in this business were Bhadbhunjas by caste, with the exception of a few Marathas and Marwadis. The latter, however, seemed to be more occupied with the selling end of the business.

Most of the establishments were household concerns in which all the members in the family worked. In only two establishments was paid labour employed, totalling 3 adults and 2 children. The adults were paid Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per month each and the children Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per month each. The hours of work were 12 per day. The outworkers were provided with raw materials, such as, rice and other grains. They cleaned soaked, dried and parched these at home. Rates of payment for work varied according to the different sorts of grains and the products made out of them, viz. parched rice : one anna to one and half annas per *payali* (4 seers) ; beaten rice : two annas per *payali* ; parched ground-nut : one anna per *payali*. Some dealers in grains made a business of supplying raw materials to the outworkers and selling the parched or baked stuff. It was not possible to determine accurately the number of outworkers in this industry. The equipment for parching and baking consisted of a large-sized hollow frying pan and two or three open iron pans. The frying pan was usually laid in brick and mortar and cost from Rs. 25 to Rs. 40. The open pan cost from Rs. 2 to Rs. 7 according to the size. The women folk of the family usually spent a few hours every day going round the city and collecting such fuel as could be gathered without any cost. The actual expenses for fuel did not, on an average, amount to Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 per month.

Most of the roasters bought the grains in the local market. Only one large concern brought rice from Maval and Konkan. The average monthly production of various articles per establishment came to about 60 seers of parched gram valued at Rs. 8 ; 100 seers of parched rice valued at Rs. 6 ; 50 to 60 seers of beaten rice worth Rs. 6 ; 20 to 80 seers of sweet goods worth Rs. 20. The gross receipts averaged between Rs. 40 and Rs. 50 per concern. The gross receipts of the large concern in the sample which employed 5 or 6 workers, were about Rs. 75 to Rs. 80 per month. The monthly gross receipts of an outworker's family as a whole came to Rs. 40 or Rs. 50. The outworker in this trade also did some business on

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his own initiative and the earnings given above include the income from such business as well. The average work he did during a month amounted to the roasting or baking of 60 to 80 maunds of various kinds of grains. If some quantity of this was spoiled by over heating, etc· the outworker had to make good the damage. The percentage of such wastage was, however, very little. The demand for these goods was brisk in the summer e.g. March to June. During the rainy season demand and business were both slack. The demand was purely local and no large quantity of goods was sent out of Poona City.

§ 21. **Flour Mills**: Flour mills, in our survey, included not only mills which ground various grains into flour but also those that were engaged in pounding or husking rice, polishing turmeric or even grinding salt crystals or cotton seeds. The title Flour Mills only indicates that in a majority of these mills grinding grain was the chief line of business. Flour mills were established in the early years of this century with the introduction of oil engines. With the development of electric engines and the introduction of electric power in the city, the number of these mills increased still further. According to our census of establishments there were in all 97 flour mills in Poona city and 237 persons were engaged in them. Of these 17 were in Shukrawar, 11 each in Kasba and Sadashiv, 8 in Bhavani, 7 each in Shanwar and Narayan, 6 in Nana, 5 each in Shivajinagar and Budhwar, 4 in Raviwar, 3 each in Ganj, Mangalwar, Rasta and Vetal and 2 each in Ganesh and Somwar. Of these 83 used electric power and the rest were worked by oil engines. In almost all cases the engines were 10 H. P. machines.[1] The oil engines were mostly run on crude oil. Out of these 97 flour mills 27 were included in our sample. Of these 3 were in Nana, 6 each in Sadashiv and Shukrawar, 2 each in Shanwar and Narayan and one each in Budhwar, Raviwar, Rasta, Somwar, Mangalwar and Bhavani. Eighty-six of the mills in the city were owned and run by Hindus, 7 by Mohammedans and 4 by Christians.

As has been already remarked all these mills did not confine themselves solely to grinding grain. Some also ground certain other things such as salt crystals, spices, etc. Some of the mills also did the husking and polishing of rice and the pounding or crushing of pulses. For these purposes they used special machines known as crushers and hullers. For preparing flour, only the grinding machine was necessary. Of the 27 mills in our sample, 18 mills had only a grinding machine and 4 had one crusher each in addition. Two of the latter type had also a huller each. Two of the remaing 5 had a huller each together with a grinding machine, while the rest had only a huller each and no grinding machines. Eighteen mills in the sample used electric power

1. In one exceptional case there was a 25 H. P. machine. Here, however besides a flour mill, the unit possessed a lathe and a small workshop for repairing machinery.

while the rest used oil engines. The electric machines required a smaller initial outlay of capital and the area and the labour required was considerably smaller in their case. They could be switched on and off as required. An electric motor (10 H. P.) generally cost about Rs. 300 and a grinding machine about Rs. 100. A more powerful electric motor had to be used if there was more than one grinding machine and a huller or a crusher besides. An oil engine could be purchased approximately at the rate of Rs. 150 per H. P. The life of an electric motor was put at 10 years. The oil engines lasted longer. When a mill had to be newly set up it was necessary under the law that the setting up should be done by a contractor licensed by government. For later inspections a mill had to pay Rs. 7-8-0 annually. In the case of oil engines rehauling was necessary every month. Oiling charges were also a recurring item of expenditure. The pair of mill stones in the grinding machine had to be changed after 7 or 8 months and a new pair generally cost about Rs. 15. While in operation they had to be roughened at least twice a week and this cost nearly Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per month per grinding machine. The shafting had to be changed every two years and it cost about Rs. 10. The leather straps frequently gave way and they had to be replaced. A leather strap generally cost Rs. 20. The ball-bearing had to be changed at an annual cost of nearly Rs. 20. Machinery was usually purchased at Bombay directly or through agents. A 10 H. P. machine working for full one hour could grind nearly 120 seers of grain. At the prevailing rates of payment this amounted to work worth fifteen annas per hour. In the case of husking four times as much work was done per hour. The prevailing rate of payment for husking was Rs. 3-12-0 per 80 seers. The general complaint was, however, that there was not enough work. On an average 2½ hours' work per day per unit was stated to be the general rule.

In the 27 flour miles included in our sample a total of 52 persons were engaged. Of these 37 were unskilled and 14 skilled workers. Only one clerk was employed. In the case of unskilled workers the monthly pay varied from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15. A skilled worker's monthly pay ranged between Rs. 15 and Rs. 25. In the specialised mills, where only husking and crushing was done, the monthly payment to a skilled worker varied between Rs. 30 and Rs. 35. But even here the payment to unskilled workers was as noted above. Skilled labour was necessary for the operation of oil engines and the apprenticeship, in this case, extended over a couple of years. The general complaint was that candidates for such apprenticeships were hard to find. In the case of electric machines an apprenticeship of 15 days was quite sufficient to acquire the necessary skill. Female workers found employment mainly in husking mills. The owners were generally skilled mechanics. Monthly wage payment seemed to be the general rule, but in some mills daily wages were paid. The working hours were generally 8 per day and extra payment

was made for extra work. The rainy season was the slack season of the year. Husking was totally absent and even grinding work was below the normal in that season. The slackness was especially pronounced in localities inhabited by Hindus of higher castes. The brisk season for husking generally started after the harvesting. The brisk season for grinding was in summer.

§ 22. **Oil Presses**: According to the Poona Gazetteer, "Oil Makers numbering 221 chiefly live in Mangalwar, Raviwar, Sadashiv, Nana, and Vetal wards. They are mostly Marathas and Lingayats....They extract oil from the cocoa-nut, sesame, *karla* Verbesina sativa, *kardai* Carthamus tinctorius, *undi* or oilnuts, groundnuts and hemp seed. Their women help them and their boys from the age of twelve or fourteen. They earn 3 *d.* to 1 *s.* (2-8 *as.*). They suffer from the competition of kerosine and other imported oils and are falling to the position of labourers."[1]

As the Gazetteer notes the decline in this industry had set in as early as 1885 and it seems to have continued up to the present. In 1929-30 the number of *ghanis* in Poona city was estimated at 15. Of these 5 were stone *ghanis* and the rest wooden.[2] At the time of our survey there were only 8 establishments of oil pressers. Of these 3 were in Raviwar, 2 each in Mangalwar and Narayan and one in Sadashiv and 14 people were engaged in them. Of these 3 were included in our sample, 2 from Mangalwar and one from Raviwar.

All the people engaged in this industry were Telis by caste and oil-making was their traditional and hereditary occupation. Their main business was the extraction of oil from groundnuts, *kardai*, etc. by the old method of oil crushing i. e. *ghanis* operated by animal power. Their equipment consisted mainly of one or more *ghanis*, a pair or more of bullocks and a few utensils. Our informants could not give us any idea regarding the cost of construction of *ghanis*, as almost all of them had inherited them from their forefathers. Its repairing costs were given in most cases as nil. The *ghani* consists principally of the mortar, the pestle and the weight beam. The *ghani* process of extracting oil is the cold process as distinct from the hot process which is followed by oil mills. A *ghani* lasted for many years. A bullock usually cost about Rs. 60 to Rs. 100 and was of service for about 10 years. In our sample, one establishment had 4 *ghanis* and 5 bullocks and the remaining two owned 2 *ghanis* each and a pair of bullocks each. In the larger establishment 6 persons, 4 men and 2 women, were working, in one of the other two, 5 persons, 2 men, 2 women and one child, were engaged. In the remaining 4 persons, 2 men and 2 women, were working.

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1. p. 293-94
2. Rao Bahadur D. L. Sahasrabuddhe, "Note on the Oil-crushing Industry in the Bombay Deccan". Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, 1929.

The raw materials used were *karadai*, groundnut, *karala*, etc. Oil was extracted from each of these separately or jointly. The monthly production, as ascertained, was 9 or 10 maunds (40 seers) of oil in two establishments and about 20 maunds in the case of the third establishment. The 3 establishments in the sample taken together had a total monthly sale of Rs. 600 roughly. The large establishment made up nearly half of this total and the rest was about equally shared by the remaining two. The net income of the larger concern was Rs. 100 per month and of the two others was round about Rs. 60 each. The demand for oil, served by these concerns was mostly local. Most of the oil was sold on the spot. The women folk in the house also sold it by going from house to house as hawkers. The *ghani* was not, however, continuously at work. On an average the working days of a *ghani* during the year amounted to between 240 to 270. This industry is declining continuously. The introduction of mechanical *ghanis* and oil-mills is mainly responsible for this. Attention may be drawn to the fact that at the time of our survey no oil from coconut or sesame was extracted in Poona.while the Gazetteer mentions both these as the chief materials from which oil was then extracted in Poona.

§ 23. **Bidi Factories :** The Gazetteer does not mention any *bidi* manufacturers. According to the census of establishments there were in all 51 *bidi* factories in Poona and 931 persons were engaged in them. Of these 18 were in Shukrawar, 6 each in Nana and Bhavani, 5 each in Raviwar and Ganesh, 3 each in Vetal, Ganj and Sadashiv and one each in Budhwar and Shivajinagar. The sample consisted of 14 out of these 51 concerns. Of these, 3 were in Ganesh, 2 each in Raviwar, Vetal, Shukrawar and one each in Sadashiv, Nana, Bhavani, Shivajinagar and Ganj. There appears to be a serious underestimate of the number of total persons employed in this industry in the census of establishments. According to it there were 34 bidi factories employing ten or less than ten persons each, 6 factories employing 10 to 20 persons each, and 11 factories employing more than 20 persons each. In all therefore, as per the census of establishments, there were 931 persons engaged in this industry. This figure is obviously wrong. It should be remembered, that it is very difficult to estimate the total number employed in this industry because of the high proportion of outworkers. *Bidi*-making gave employment at home to a large number of women and also children. Some indication of the extent of this employment is given by the data recorded in our census of weavers' families. *Bidi*-making was revealed by this count to be the most important single occupation of families of weaver castes. A total of approximately 650 persons among these families were engaged in it. Of these, 440 were women, 150 men and 60 children. Among earners recorded in the families in the sample household enquiry, 183 were found to be engaged in *bidi*-making. Roughly a third of this number belonged to weaver castes. It would thus appear that *bidi*-making

employed from about 2,000 to 2,500 persons in Poona. The 14 factories which constituted our sample of this industry included a majority of the biggest concerns in the city. It was possible in this detailed investigation to include an estimate of the number of outworkers employed by each concern. The results of this investigation, therefore, differ materially from those given by the preliminary census of establishments in which only workers on the premises of the concerns were included. In our sample 6 factories employed less than 20 persons each and 5 employed between 40 to 80 persons each. Of the remaining 3, one employed about 140 persons, another 250 and the third 520 persons. The total employment in the sample came to about 1,300 persons. Of these over 600 were out-workers. There were in all 7 clerks and 25 others were described as managers.

No machinery was used in this industry. The capital needed was mostly liquid capital, for purchasing raw materials and for paying wages. One result of this was that the business could be started on a very small scale and could be gradually increased to any size. Though the fixed capital requirements were small, the realization of the proceeds of the sales of the manufactured goods was a very long drawn out process. Most of the sales were effected on a credit basis and if the *bidi*-manufacturer was to continue in business it was necessary for him to have considerable financial staying power.

Of the 13 concerns included in the sample 2 did not pay any rent, as the proprietors owned the areas in which the shop and the *karkhanas* were located. Two others had to pay rent only for the shops, ranging between Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per month. All others had to pay rent for shops, *karkhanas* and also for godowns in some cases. The total monthly rent paid by each of the three larger concerns for shops, *karkhanas* and godowns together were Rs. 70, Rs. 139 and Rs. 208 respectively. The largest concern had rented two godowns at Rs. 80 per month. In the case of 3 of the remaining 6 concerns in the sample, the total rent for shop and *karkhana* was Rs. 30 each. In the case of other 2 it was Rs. 15 each and Rs. 90 in the case of the remaining concern.

The raw materials necessary for the manufacture of *bidi* were dried Tembhurni leaves, tobacco and thread. Tembhurni leaves were brought from Itarsi, Sohagpur, Nagpur and Gondia. Leaves of an inferior quality were available near Poona, in the hills around Khed-Shivapur and were also used to a small extent. Some *bidi*-manufacturers of Poona had bought jungles of Temburni at Nagpur and Itarsi in order to supply their own factories. Tobacco was bought at Nipani or Nadiad.

The following figures give a rough idea about the expenses incurred in the manufacture of 1,000 *bidis*.

Tembhurni leaves	2 As. to 4 As.
Thread	1 to 2 Pies.
Tobacco	2 As. to 5 As.
Wages	8 As. to 10 As.
Packing	9 to 15 Pies.
Total Expenses	13 As. to Rs. 1-4-0
Sales Proceeds	14 As. to Rs. 1-5-0

The rolling and the making of *bidi* was work requiring skill which, however, could be acquired easily. Generally it could be picked up in about 2 or 3 months. The rates of wages paid to workers depended to some extent on the fineness of rolling. The degree of fineness was determined by the owner of the concern and in his absence by some one appointed by him. The output of a worker varied from 500 to 1200 *bidis* a day. All workers were paid at a piece rate according to their individual daily output. The rate of payment was largely uniform throughout the city. For a worker who worked in the factory the rate varied from eleven annas to twelve annas per 1,000 *bidis*. The rate was slightly lower for out-workers. It varied from ten annas to eleven annas, per 1,000 *bidis*. In some cases the workers supplied the leaves for the *bidis*; the rates were here higher and ranged between thirteen to fourteen annas per 1000 *bidis*. For an outworker who supplied leaves they ranged between twelve annas and thirteen annas per 1,000 *bidis*. The average daily earnings of a worker in a bidi factory would thus vary between six annas and Re. 1 and in the case of out-workers between five annas and fourteen annas a day. It was an established custom that the workers were given, at the end of every year, some sort of bonus, usually in the form of clothes, etc. In one establishment, however, such bonus was paid in money.

The demand for *bidis* was extensive. The *bidi* factories of Poona in addition to satisfying the local city needs partially supplied markets in all parts of India and some special brands found their way to such distant markets, as those of Ceylon and Burma. There was no marked seasonality in the demand for *bidis*. Demand was, however, a little stimulated just before the rainy season. This was because in far off places, where communications were difficult in the rainy season, large quantities of *bidis* were laid in stock before the rains started.

§ 24. **Snuff-makers**: The Gazetteer does not give the number of snuff-makers in the city but records the following: "Before it is exported, tobacco is partly pounded into snuff by Brahman dealers.....Poona snuff finds a market in Northern India as far as Benares. Of the total exports (of tobacco) of 727 tons (20,355 *mans*) about 121 tons (3393 *mans*) valued at £ 2341 (Rs. 23,410) go as snuff"[1]. According to our census of establishments there were in all 13 establishments manufacturing snuff in Poona and a total of 317 persons were engaged in them. Of these 7 were in Raviwar in a lane known as the Juni Tapkir Galli or the old Snuff Lane, 2 each in Budhwar and Shukrawar and the remaining 2 in Shanwar and Kasba respectively. Our sample consisted of 7 of these. Of these 2 each were in Raviwar and Shukrawar and 3 others in Budhwar, Shanwar and Kasba. Four of these establishments were owned by Brahmins, 2 by Marathas and the remaining and the largest concern by a Marwadi. Owners other than

1 p. 308.

Brahmins were new comers into the industry. The two oldest concerns in the sample had a standing of about 120 to 150 years in the business. In all the concerns in the sample a total of 233 persons were engaged, one concern alone employing 150. The concerns in the sample could be divided into three groups according to the number of workers employed: (1) One concern employing 150 workers. (2) Two concerns employing 30–32 workers each (3) Four concerns employing 4 to 9 workers each.

The main business of these establishments was to burn and grind tobacco and to turn it into snuff by treating the powder with various perfumes, etc. A unit of equipment consisted of a mortar, grinding mill, pestles, and its average cost was about Rs. 15. A large concern possessed a large number of such units. The repairing and rehauling charges were given as almost nil. Only in one establishment in the 3rd group was the work of grinding and mixing done by machines. In this concern the equipment consisted of a mixing machine costing Rs. 500 and an oil engine of 9 H. P., valued at about Rs. 3,500. The annual repairing charges were about Rs. 50.

Of the 150 workers employed in the largest concern, 110 were males and the rest females. All of them were Hindus. They were all unskilled and were paid on piece rates. The rates were four annas for grinding a seer of tobacco and five annas a seer for powdering it further in the mortar so that it could be passed through a very fine sieve. A seer of snuff could be manufactured in about 2 or 3 hours. The working hours per day were 8. The workshop premises were owned by the proprietor. The monthly volume of production in this concern was between 15 and 17 maunds and this was worth about Rs. 4,000. The main raw material necessary was tobacco and this was usually bought from Nipani and Belgaum. This concern used up tobacco worth about Rs. 500 each month. The sales were distributed all over Maharashtra and the Nizam's Dominions. The yearly transport charges came to about Rs. 300 to Rs. 400.

In the 2 concerns belonging to the 2nd group a total of 62 workers were engaged. Of these 45 were males, two of them clerks, and the rest females. All except the clerks were unskilled workers. Both the concerns were of about 30 to 35 years' standing. In one of the concerns all workers were paid on piece rate basis and the rates were identical with those prevailing in the 1st group. In the other concern monthly salaries were paid. The two clerks were paid Rs. 30 each. The salary of male workers ranged from Rs. 18 to Rs. 15 and that of female workers from Rs. 15 to Rs. 12. The working hours were 8 or 9 daily. The proprietor of one of the concerns owned the house where the workshop was situated. The other concern paid a monthly rent of Rs. 16 for a godown in Shanwar, Rs. 15 for the shop and Rs. 31 for the workshop. Sales were made directly in both cases and their gross monthly value ranged between Rs. 800 and Rs. 1,000. The sales were distributed all over

Maharashtra and the Nizam's Dominions. The annual transportation charges were between Rs. 250 and Rs. 350. A large part of the raw material required was brought from Belgaum and Nipani.

In the 3rd group 21 persons in all were employed and 4 of them were clerks. All the persons were males. Sixteen of the workers were unskilled. In one of the concerns the workers were employed only in the summer months. In one concern the 2 clerks employed were paid a monthly salary of Rs. 25 each; while in another concern, also employing 2 clerks, one was paid Rs. 16 per month and the other Rs. 8. The monthly salaries of unskilled workers varied between 15 and Rs. 20. In one concern, where, as already mentioned, machines were being used, the man working the machines was paid a monthly salary of Rs. 30. All the workers were Hindus and the hours of work were generally 8 to 10 per day. The monthly production in two of the three concerns, where no machines were used, was worth Rs. 400 in one and Rs. 700 in another. In the concern which used machines, the annual production was worth about Rs. 90,000. It annually consumed tobacco worth Rs. 10,000. Most of this was as brought from Belgaum and Nipani.

§ 25. **Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill**: There was one cotton spinning and weaving mill working in Poona at the time of our survey. It was situated in the Poona Suburban Municipal area. This mill had been established in 1892. The mill had changed hands since its establishment. It suffered from a serious outbreak of fire in 1934. This caused, it is said, the destruction of almost the whole spinning department and involved a stoppage of working from March 1934 to August 1935. The mill had a complement of about 15,000 spindles and 550 looms in 1936–37. It was, in 1936–37, a public limited company. The bulk of the shares, were at this time held by one family who were also its managing agents. On account of the general betterment of conditions and prospects in cloth market the mill had commenced working on double shift in October 1936. The average number of persons employed in the mill when it was working only on the day shift was, in 1936, about 780; the average number employed, after the starting of the night shift, was about, 1400.

The mill used up all its production of yarn in its weaving sheds and had no excess yarn for sale. Its total production of cloth, in 1936–37, amounted to about 125 lakhs yards, the sale of which realised approximately Rs. 20 lakhs. The mill made its purchases of cotton mostly in Bombay. Calcutta was stated to be the most important centre for the sale of its products, only about 20 per cent of its annual production being sold in Poona and the neighbouring districts. Higher rates of octroi duties and railway freights were stated to be the handicaps of the Poona mill as compared with mills in the neighbouring centre of Sholapur. The mill specialised in the production of finer cloth. Cost of cotton, therefore, proportioned more than half of the total cost of production of its manufactures, while

the wages bill was a little less than a sixth. The total payments made in wages for 1936-37 amounted to about Rs. 3·1 lakhs. Table No. 47 sets out the numbers and the average daily earnings of the important categories of workers employed on the day shift in this mill, in July 1937.

Table No. 47.—Cotton Mill Workers*, Number and Average Daily Earnings.

Type of work	No. of workers	Average daily Earnings	Type of work	No. of workers	Average daily earnings
		Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.
Single side siders (Time Rate) ...	72	0-11-5	Coolies ...	23	0—8-11
Doffers (Time Rate) ...	50	0—7-0	All Adult Operatives :-		
Two loom weavers (Piece Rate) ...	275	0-15-5	Operatives in "process" occupations ...	689	0-12-9
Jobbers { Spinning side (Time Rate)	8	1- 5-4	Operatives in Engineering and "Common" Occupations ...	85	0-12-8
Jobbers { Weaving side (Piece Rate)	14	1-12—7	All Occupations ...	774	0-12-9

§ 26. **Knitting Works**: The first knitting factory in the city was started in 1920. According to our census of establishments there were altogether 5 knitting factories in the city and 84 persons were engaged in them. Of these 3 were included in our sample. They were in Sadashiv, Shukrawar and Shanwar respectively. All of them were owned by Hindus, 2 being owned by Brahmins. These concerns mainly produced cotton goods, such as, underwears, socks, stockings, sweaters, etc. The most important type of manufacture was underclothing chiefly vests. The equipment of these concerns consisted of machines for knitting, sewing, calendering and pressing and such other accessories as sewing machines, bobbins, etc. The capital equipment of these three concerns was valued at Rs. 2,400, Rs. 9,000 and Rs. 13,000 respectively. The annual repairing and rehauling charges were Rs. 25, Rs. 100 and Rs. 250 respectively. The average life of the various machines used in this industry was placed at from 5 to 10 years. In all the concerns in the sample electric power was used. These concerns employed in all 36 persons, excluding the owners. Of these 21 were skilled and 13 unskilled. The remaining two were described as "managers" and were working in one concern. Of the 13 unskilled workers 2 were females and 2 children. Both the women workers were engaged by one concern. The monthly pay of

* Table compiled from information contained in the Report of the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee, Bombay, 1940 Vol. III, Chapter II.

skilled workers averaged between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25 and that of unskilled workers between Rs. 10 and Rs. 8. The boys were paid about Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 per month. The two persons engaged as managers in one concern were paid a monthly salary of Rs. 25 and Rs. 30 respectively. The daily hours of work were generally 9 in all the concerns. Young boys were taken up by these concerns as apprentices and trained into skilled workers.

The chief raw material necessary for these works was grey yarn. Materials necessary for dyeing and bleaching were of secondary importance. The monthly consumption of yarn by the smallest concern was worth Rs. 450. The annual expenses on raw materials in the remaining two concerns were Rs. 6,500 and Rs. 13,000 respectively. Most of the raw materials were brought from Bombay. The annual production of the factories was valued at Rs. 7,000, Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 40,000 respectively. The sales of the smaller concern were confined to the Poona District. But those of the other two concerns were spread over a wider region ranging from the C. P. and Khandesh Districts to Sholapur, Satara and Kolhapur. The largest concern made its sales through an agent and allowed him 5 per cent commission on sales. The remaining concerns effected their own sales independently. For the transportation of articles produced the two larger concerns made use of both the railway and the motor bus. The annual transportation charges in one of the two concerns came to about Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 and to about Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 in the other. The articles produced by these concerns were in great demand in the winter months. They had to build up stocks in the rainy season in order to meet this demand. Rainy season was, therefore, the brisk season in the industry. This industry had to face severe competition from imports of Japanese hosiery.

§ 27. **Dyers and Printers**: The Gazetteer[1] mentions dyers and printers under two castes of craftsmen, Niralis and Bhavsars. It does not, however, give the number of dyers' families or establishments in Poona. According to our census of establishments there were in all 31 establishments in Poona which were engaged in dyeing and printing. Of these 10 were in Budhwar, 7 in Raviwar, 4 each in Sadashiv and Shukrawar, 3 in Narayan, 2 in Ganj and one in Somwar. Of the 31 establishments in Poona, 11 were owned by Marathas, 6 by Mohammedans, 4 by Brahmins and 2 by Bhavsar Shimpis. The rest were owned by Hindus of other castes.

In these establishments pieces of cloth, cotton, woollen and silk, were dyed, printed, and in some cases, spray painted. All the establishments in our sample, barring one concern, worked on the garments and the fabrics supplied by the customers. These were dyed or printed at certain fixed rates. In one concern alone, which was the biggest in the sample as well as in the city, fabrics and garments of all sorts were

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bought by the concern, then dyed and printed and sold on its own account as finished products. Such finished products included *sarees*, bed sheets and covers, pillow-covers, etc. This concern, like other concerns, also did the work of dyeing and printing for customers.

A majority of the concerns in our sample were family concerns where no outside help was engaged. Out of the 11 concerns only 4 employed outside help. The biggest concern employed 32 persons. Out of the remaining three one concern employed 5 persons, another employed 2 and the third only one. The raw materials necessary were dyes, colours, oil, fuel, etc. and these were mostly bought locally. The equipment used in the small concerns was very simple and consisted of a few pots and pans for boiling and rinsing cloth and some additional apparatus for printing purposes, such as printing blocks and stencils. Printing was done by means of blocks or by spraying colour through the stencils. The cost of equipment varied between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200, except in the case of the biggest concern. The equipment of this concern consisted of a boiler worth Rs. 1,100, hydro-extractor worth Rs. 500, spray plant worth Rs. 700, electric motor worth Rs. 300, etc. The total equipment was worth nearly Rs. 3,000.

The total number of persons employed in all the concerns included in the sample was 62, the biggest concern alone employing 32. Of the total 62 persons employed only 2 were women and 7 children. All others were adult males. Out of the 62, 30 were described as skilled workers and most of the owners of the small establishments came under this category. In the biggest concern, out of the total 32 persons employed, 11 were skilled workers 16 unskilled workers, 2 boys or apprentices and 3 were described as managers. In this concern the hours of work were 9 per day.

These establishments based their charges on the number of garments or pieces that were dyed or printed and in the case of long cloth or unstitched materials, per yard of cloth dyed or printed. In the biggest concern the workers were paid time wages. The skilled workers in this industry earned from Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 each per month and the unskilled between Rs. 10 to Rs. 20. In the biggest concern two boys were undergoing training. Of the eleven concerns in the sample, the biggest concern had an annual out-turn worth about Rs. 75,000. In 4 of the remaining concerns which employed outside help, the value of work done varied between Rs. 60 and Rs. 150 per concern per month. The value of work done per concern per month in the remaining concerns varied between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15. The demand in the case of small concerns was purely local. The biggest concern, which sold ready-made goods, sold its goods throughout the Poona District, and in the adjoining districts and States. The rainy season was the slack season.

§ 28. **Turban Makers**: There was no mention of turban makers in the Gazetteer. This is a surprising omission. The turban was

a common head-gear in olden times and it was generally used by the higher castes in Hindu society. The Poona turban or *pugri* was much in fashion in those days and also was much in demand from without the city. With the advance of time the particular type of head-gear lost its vogue and the demand for it languished. According to our census of establishments there were in all 12 concerns in the city specializing in this type of work. Of these 9 were in Budhwar, 2 in Shukrawar and the remaining one in Kasba. Our sample consisted of two establishments and both of them were in Budhwar. Almost all of the concerns in the city were rather small establishments and made and sold their wares at the same place. The space occupied by both the concerns in the sample was small being 8′×20′. The people engaged in this industry belonged chiefly to two castes viz. Bahusar Kshatriya and Namdeo Shimpi. The occupation was hereditary. One of the establishments in our sample had been in the industry for the last 50 years and the other at least for 20 years.

The equipment required in the trade was small and consisted mostly of pairs of scissors, needles, threads, cardboards, etc. The raw materials used were silk and cotton cloth, gold and silver thread or lace, etc. Stitching was done by hand. In the inferior kinds of turbans linen was used. The number of people working in both the concerns in our sample did not exceed two each, with an extra, being in both cases a boy, for sundry work. The work was mainly done by males, though women were occasionally employed to do the rough stitching. In the two establishments included in our sample 2 workers each were employed. In one establishment both the workers belonged to the same family. In the other establishment the owner, who was also a regular worker, had engaged the services of another skilled worker. He paid him Rs. 25 per month. The monthly output of both these concerns averaged about 300 turbans each, their approximate cost being Rs. 900. The monthly profit per establishment came roughly to Rs. 45. The demand for turbans was brisk in the marriage season.

§ 29. **Cap Makers**: At the time of our survey there were in all 15 establishments engaged in making caps. The cap makers could be divided into two classes, those who made and sold the caps on the same premises and those who commissioned outworkers to make the caps and then sold them. The latter kind of establishments were really shops that dealt chiefly in cloth. They employed outworkers for making the caps, provided them with the raw materials and paid them according to the volume of work turned out. Of the 15 establishments in the city, 4 belonged to the first type and 11 to the second type. All the establishments were in Shukrawar and Budhwar and 60 people were working in them. The exact number of outworkers could not be determined. The people engaged in this trade were mostly Namdeo Shimpis and Bahusar Kshatriyas. Our sample consisted of 3 establishments. Of

these two were in Budhwar and one in Shukrawar. The equipment and the raw materials necessary for making caps were very similar to those required by the turban makers viz.; cloth, needles, card boards, etc. They also required in addition sewing machines. Of the three establishments in our sample, one possessed 3 sewing machines and the other two had two machines each. Most of the materials necessary were bought locally. Of the three establishments, one employed 8 workers, the other 7 and the third 2. The owners of these shops were also workers and they are excluded from the above figures. Of the workers only 2 were described as outworkers. The annual outturn of caps was valued at Rs. 10,000 by the largest of the three concerns and for the other two it was valued at Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 600 respectively.

§ 30. **Patvekaris :** Under " gold and silver thread makers " the Gazetteer speaks of *Patvekaris* or bar-makers but these artisans are different from those covered by our enquiry. According to our census of establishments there were in all 30 *Patvekaris*, including both those who only kept a shop and those who chiefly canvassed business from door to door like hawkers. Of these 13 were in Shukrawar, 9 in Raviwar and 8 in Budhwar. Our sample consisted of 6. Of these two each were in Shukrawar, Raviwar and Budhwar. One of these was a hawker. The others maintained working premises or shops. *Patvekaris* were mainly engaged in the work of stringing gold and silver and pearl ornaments. It was a craft ancillary to that of the goldsmith. It, therefore, generally flourished in the neighbourhood of the goldsmiths' or ornament shops. The *Patvekaris* also made special string or thread objects such as *rakhi*. But this was only a subsidiary line for them.

The equipment necessary for this handicraft was needles, a hook attached to a wooden bar, a pair of sceissors, etc. The cost of equipment did not exceed Rs. 2-8-0 in all the cases in the sample. In the 5 shops of *Patvekaris* included in the sample, excluding the hawker, there were in all 10 people working. All these were family concerns and no outside help was engaged. The owners and workers in these shops were all skilled workmen. All the *Patvekaris* were Hindus. The profession had been handed down to them at least through three previous generations.

The materials required were cotton and silk yarn, imitation pearls, gold and silver thread, etc. In two shops in the sample the monthly expenses on these varied between Rs. 40 and Rs. 50. These were large concerns managed by 3 persons each. In the remaining three shops the cost of raw materials per month was between Rs. 7 and Rs. 10 each and that of the hawker was about Rs. 3 per month. The earnings in these concerns consisted mainly of payments at fixed rates for the work of stringing. Some of these rates were as follows : necklace, one anna to three annas per *putali*; *vajrateek*, twelve annas to Re. 1 ; *thushi*, twelve

annas to Rs. 2, etc. The average monthly income of the two larger concerns ranged from Rs. 75 to Rs. 85 each. In the two remaining concerns the monthly income was round about Rs. 25 each. The hawker earned on an average about Rs. 15 per month. The summer or the season of marriages was a brisk season for this trade. The *Patvekaris* complained that their craft was fast declining with the rise in the price of gold and the advent of new types of ornaments.

§ 30. **Mattress and Pillow Makers:** There is no mention of mattress and pillow makers in the Gazetteer. At the time of our survey there were in all 11 concerns engaged in making mattresses, pillows etc. Of these 5 were in Raviwar, 4 in Sadashiv and one each in Budhwar and Shanwar. Our sample consisted of 4 establishments. Most of the people engaged in this industry belonged to the Pinjari community and were Mohammedans by religion. Of recent years Hindus had entered this line. Of the 11 establishments, 7 belonged to Mohammedan Pinjaris and 4 to Hindus, 3 of whom were Brahmins. A peculiarity of this trade was the large number of people who did not have fixed establishments but worked as itinerant craftsmen. They wandered from street to street and canvassed for work which was performed on the spot i. e. at the place of the customer. The total number of such craftsmen could not be exactly stated. The hawkers, unlike the establishments, had only their instruments to work with and had to be supplied with all the raw materials necessary. They never sold any ready-made goods. The establishments belonging to the Hindus were of 6 to 8 years' standing while most of those belonging to the Mohammedan Pinjaris, whose traditional vocation was carding, were of long standing. It is necessary to divide these establishments into two classes; first, concerns in which the vocation was practised traditionally without the aid of any machinery and second, the concerns that used machines to some extent and belonged to those who were not carders, hereditarily. The basis of this division is not religious but has that appearance because all the Hindus were new entrants.

Most of the concerns belonging to the first type were family concerns where women of the family worked side by side with the male members. The appliances used by these concerns for carding cotton were simple and traditional. They consisted of a bow and a sort of a baton which was used as a hammer on the bow. The bow and the baton were in most cases inherited and our informants gave the cost of a bow as roughly Rs. 10. These bows were made of bamboo and cane and lasted over a series of years.

Cotton and cloth were the main raw materials used. The hawkers usually carried their appliances with them when canvassing orders and the raw materials used were usually supplied by the customers, the Pinjari being paid only for his labour. The carding operations were charged at nine pies per seer of new cotton and one anna per seer of old

cotton. Stitching charges were from nine pies to one anna for a dozen stitches. People owning shops or establishments sold carded cotton or even sold finished products like mattresses, pillows, etc. The average earnings of a Pinjari hawker amounted to about Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 per month, if the employment was continuous, which, however, was not always the case.

The four concerns belonging to the second type were better organized and were financially more sound. Every one of them possessed a carding machine. In one or two cases these were bought second hand at prices varying from Rs. 600 to Rs. 900. A new machine cost from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. These establishments were not family concerns but were organized as workshops. They engaged clerks, hired labour and outworkers. Three concerns had a staff of 6 persons each and one employed 7 persons. Besides carding machines they also possessed sewing machines and a cycle cart or carts for transport.

They bought their own raw materials, chiefly waste cotton from the local cotton mill. The price of cotton varied between six annas to twelve annas per seer in the case of waste and low grade cotton while good quality cotton cost from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4-0 per seer. All the employees in these establishments were paid on a monthly basis. The errand boys earned from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 per month, while the carders, stitchers and others received from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 per month. In times of heavy business, outworkers, mostly Pinjaris, were employed on piece work basis, such as, Re. 1 for one mattress, three annas per pillow, etc. These rates varied according to the quality of the materials used and were higher for silk coverings.

§ 31. **Rope Makers**: The Gazetteer noticed that Mangs made ropes and brooms[1] but it did not mention the number of rope makers in the city. According to our census of establishments there were in all 62 families who made ropes and a total of 235 persons were engaged in the industry. This, however, seems to be an under-estimate. All these families resided in Shivajinagar, either in the Municipal Mang Colony or near the Lloyd Bridge. Those living in the Municipal Mang Colony were all Mangs while those living near the Lloyd Bridge were Kanjaris. The Municipal Colony was situated in Shivajinagar on the western bank of the Mutha river. A total of about 400 people of the Mang community lived there. They plied two crafts, rope making and broom making. Almost every family was engaged in both these crafts. As both the crafts did not require much skill, even the children in the family worked at them. The necessary equipment consisted of a couple of iron bars and a sort of hand machine for twisting, known as *saling*. The raw material necessary for rope making was hemp fibre. It was bought by the people in this colony from the Mangs and Kanjaris of Hadapasar and other surrounding parts of Poona and was sold at the rate of

1 p. 301.

Rs. 12 to Rs. 14 per *palla* (120 seers.) The families in the colony could not, of course, afford to buy it in large quantities. At one time, a family bought about 12 seers of fibre.

Two kinds of ropes were generally made, the thicker variety known as *kasara* and the thinner one known as *dor*. One family could make about 20 *kasaras* during a day. The length of the *kasara* or the *dor* varied generally from 15 to 20 feet. A *kasara* was priced at about one and half anna to two and a half annas and *dor* at two annas to three and a half annas. On a rough estimate a family could produce ropes worth Rs. 2 per day. The margin of profit per family was hardly eight annas to ten annas per day. The families were ordinarily so poor that they could not buy the raw material for the next day's production unless the produce of the previous day was sold. The finished articles were mostly sold in the city by hawking. During a single day ropes worth from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 were made in the Colony as a whole.

§ 32. **Basket Makers** : According to the Gazetteer, there were 304 basket makers in Poona city, mostly living in Nana, Bhavani, Raviwar, Ganesh, Ghorpade, Mangalwar and Kasba wards. " They are chiefly Buruds who say they came from Aurangabad, Ahmednagar and Satara about two hundred years ago. They are divided into Jats, Kanades, Ligayats, Marathas, Marvaris, and Tailangs who do not eat together and do not intermarry. Their average earnings are 10*s*. to 14*s*. (Rs. 5–7) a month, and most families have at least two or three wage earning members. They say their craft is falling as baskets are now made of iron instead of bamboo. " [1] This craft seems to have steadily declined since then. There were some 49 Burud workshops in the city and in all 76 persons were engaged in this craft, at the time of our enquiry. Of these 21 were in Raviwar, 20 in Shukrawar, 5 in Ganesh, 2 in Nana and 1 in Shivajinagar. The concentration of basket makers in Shukrawar and Raviwar wards of the city was due to special factors. In Shukrawar they were concentrated near the Fulay Market where bamboo baskets were in great demand. Raviwar was a business centre, where also baskets, etc., were in large demand. The concentration in Raviwar and Shukrawar was, therefore, mostly for business reasons. Our sample consisted of 13 establishments almost all of whom were in Raviwar. All these were family concerns.

Their chief work consisted of making various articles from split bamboo. These were mostly articles for household use such as baskets. They were sold by the women in the family by hawking from door to door. The equipment required for making these articles was very small and chiefly consisted of one or two sickles and blocks of wood, worth from Rs. 1½ to Rs. 4. The capital invested in the concerns varied between Rs. 4 and Rs. 20 each. Raw materials necessary for this craft were chiefly bamboos and cane.

1 p. 300.

The latter was, however, required only in small quantities. Most of these were bought locally from timber merchants. Bamboos were also purchased at the door when brought in headloads by people from the surrounding rural parts of the city. Bamboos of ordinary size and appearance could be purchased at twelve annas per load of about 25 bamboos. Bamboos of special quality cost as much as Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per 100. It was, however, the ordinary kind which was mostly used. The average family bought one or two loads at a time and this generally sufficed for one day's work.

The total monthly earnings from sales, etc. in the majority of cases was between Rs. 25 and Rs. 40 per concern. One concern owned by a Rajput, who specialised in making *tabuts*, gave its yearly sales as worth nearly Rs. 1,000. No concrete idea could be given regarding the sales of the various articles except in the case of baskets for packing fruit and vegetables which were almost exclusively sold in the Fulay Market. Baskets of larger sizes were sold at the rate of 6 or 8 per rupee and those of small sizes, 8 to 10 per rupee. About 400 to 500 baskets of various sizes were sold in the market daily. The practice of sending fruit and vegetables in wooden boxes was, however growing and consequently the demand for baskets was gradually decreasing.

This craft was hereditary and all the members of a family worked at it. The number of families engaged in this craft was, however, diminishing. The demand for the various articles that they made was not of the expanding type. In former days every house roof had a bamboo underframe and bamboo workers were in great demand. With the advent of corrugated iron sheets this demand had almost lapsed. Also formerly in most households a considerable number of baskets were always in demand for storing and holding grain or other produce. Receptacles of metal have now mostly taken away this demand from basket makers. The increasing use of cedar wood boxes in place of bamboo baskets has already been referred to. The demand for the other articles which was purely local seemed to be also on the wane. The members of this community were finding it increasingly difficult to continue in their hereditary occupation.

§ 33. **Leather Workers** : According to the Gazetteer "Leather Workers numbering 594 mostly live in Nana, Ghorpade, Shukravar, Gunj, Bhavani, and Raviwar wards. Except a few Jingars or saddlers who sell horse-gear in Aditvar, they are chiefly Maratha Chambhars and Pardeshi Mochis. ... They work in leather, cut and dye skins, and make shoes, sandles, and water-bags. They sell shoes at 1*s.* to 3*s.* (Rs. $\frac{1}{2}$ — $1\frac{1}{2}$) and mend shoes at $\frac{3}{4}d$ to 3*d* ($\frac{1}{2}$ — 2 *as.*) a pair. Their women help them. ... Pardeshi Mochis from the North-West Provinces and Oudh [1] mostly live in Nana's ward. They make boots for the European and Native troops and for the residents of Poona cantonment

which borders on Nana's ward. . . . They buy hides from Dhors. They earn 6*d* to 1*s* (4-8 *as.*) a day. Their women help them by twisting thread. . . . They are said to be suffering from the importation of European shoes which are better and stronger than those they make."[1] According to our census of establishments there were 81 concerns of shoe-makers and repairers in the city and 177 people were engaged in them. Of these 20 each were in Nana and Shukrawar, 14 in Sadashiv, 10 in Budhwar, 9 in Raviwar, 2 in Narayan and one each in Bhavani, Nihal Ghorpade, Vetal, Ganj and Shanwar. The owners of most of these, small and large establishments, were Chambhars, who practised shoe-making as an hereditary occupation. Besides these there were 4 Dhors, 3 Kumbhars, 7 Mohammedans and one Maratha. Our sample consisted of 49 shops or establishments of all sizes. Of the concerns included in the sample 15 were in Shukrawar, 11 in Sadashiv, 6 each in Budhwar, Raviwar and Nana, 2 in Narayan and one each in Nihal, Ganj and Vetal. Most of these were small family concerns which employed all the members of the family. Of the 49 concerns included in our sample 46 were family concerns. In some of these boys were sometimes engaged as helps and were paid a monthly salary. In the 3 remaining concerns outside help was engaged on a large scale. The payment to these workers varied between Rs 10 to Rs. 30 per month. The 46 establishments mentioned above were all small concerns and the home and the shop in them was a combined unit. The front part was usually used as workshop and the inner part used for cooking and other purposes. The workshop was commonly utilized as sleeping quarters at night. These concerns mainly manufactured foot-wear, i. e. shoes, sandals, etc. Some of the Chambhars also specialised in harness work. Boots were only made to order. A large amount of work in the majority of the concerns, consisted of repair work. In 37 establishments in the sample the receipts from repair work were almost one-third and in 3 or 4 cases up to one-half of the gross income.

The ordinary tools of the trade were not costly. A complete set of these usually cost about Rs. 15. An important item in the equipment of most establishments was the sewing machine. Sewing machines were being used in 42 concerns in our sample. The number of machines owned did not exceed two in any concern. The concerns not possessing sewing machines were engaged almost entirely in repair work.

In 3 establishments capital worth between Rs. 25 and Rs. 100 each was invested and most of this was self-owned. In 26 establishments capital worth between Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 each, was invested and except in one case, where it was borrowed at the rate of Re. 1 per cent. per month, it was self-owned. In 13 establishments capital worth between Rs. 300 and Rs. 800 each was invested and in 3 of these a part of the

1. p. 299.

capital had been borrowed at Re. 1 per cent. per month. In the remaining 5 establishments capital worth between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 each had been invested and all of it had been self-owned.

In the 49 establishments in our sample a total of 131 persons were engaged. Of these 97 were described as skilled workers. Of these 90 were owners of the establishments. Skilled workers were paid on piece work basis, the rates of payment varying according to the kind and quantity of work done. For a pair of sandals the rate varied between four annas and six annas, for a pair of slippers between twelve annas and Re. 1, and for a pair shoes between Re. 1 and Rs. 1-8-0. For a pair of boots the rate of payment varied between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2. Those employed on a salary basis were paid either on a monthly or yearly basis. The monthly salaries varied between Rs. 12 and Rs. 30. Boys received between Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per month and sometimes upto Rs. 14 a month. Those paid on the yearly basis received between Rs. 60 to Rs. 90 per year and they usually boarded with the family of the owner. In two cases, in our sample, they were also provided with clothes. There were no female wage earners in the industry. The hours of work were usually from 8 A. M. to 8 P. M.

The raw materials used in this industry chiefly consisted of tanned skins, heavy leather for soles, dyed and fancy leather for uppers, straps, belts, etc. They also required nails, tacks, waxed twine, etc. Costly leather, imported chiefly from Cawnpore, Madras, etc., was principally used for uppers in boots, shoes and sandals. For soles, local leather and leather from Belgaum and Bombay was used. The other requirements of this trade, such as nails, thread, etc. were usually bought from local dealers.

The rainy season was the slack season. In January, when all the tongas in the city were examined and licensed by the Carriage Inspector, the harnesses required considerable repairs. In January, therefore, the business was brisk. Winter was generally the brisk season.

It was noticeable that the local industry lacked initiative and the power of adjustment. While losing the market for the older specialised indigenous products it made no attempt to effect improvements or make innovations. The patterns of shoes or sandals produced by the industry were adopted from the manufactures that were imported into the city from centres of the industry outside. Within the Poona trade itself the hereditary artisan class, the Chambhars, were losing ground to new entrants and were being reduced to the status of wage-working artisans largely engaged in repair work.

§ 34. **Printing Presses**: The Gazetteer did not mention any printing presses. According to our census of establishments there were in all 59 printing presses in the city and a total of 1,147 persons were

engaged in them[1]. Of these 16 were in Sadashiv, 10 in Budhwar, 9 in Shanwar, 5 each in Kasba and Raviwar, 4 in Shukrawar, 2 each in Shivajinagar, Ganj and Vetal and one each in Bhavani, Rasta, Nihal and Narayan. Our sample consisted of 14 printing-presses. Of these 7 were in Sadashiv, 3 in Budhwar and one each in Kasba, Rasta, Nihal and Vetal.

The main work of all these concerns was printing, book-binding, etc. The size of the different establishments and their mechanical equipment differed to a very large extent. The 14 establishments in the sample have been divided into groups on the basis of the numbers employed in each. The first group included presses which employed more than 35 workers each. The second group included establishments that employed between 10 to 35 workers each and the third group, concerns employing less than 10 workers.

The first group of large units consisted of 3 establishments. All the three were in Sadashiv. The oldest of these had started working in 1918 and the other two had started in 1927 and 1929 respectively. They undertook printing, job work, casting, etc. Two of them did book-binding work also. The area occupied by two of these concerns was roughly 6,000 sq. ft. each and that occupied by the third was roughly 2,500 sq. ft.

Of the three concerns included in our sample one employed 96 workers, the other 90 and the third 43. Of the total 229 workers employed, 190 were skilled workers, 4 were clerks, one paid manager and the rest, unskilled workers. The 4 clerks and the paid manager were engaged by a single concern. Of the total unskilled workers 5 were boys. The skilled workers included proof-readers, compositors, machine operators, foundry workers and bookbinders. Of the 190 skilled workers, 119 were compositors. The majority of the workers were Marathas and the bulk of the minority were Brahmins.

A machine operator was paid between Rs. 25 and Rs. 45 per month and a compositor between Rs. 20 and Rs. 35. The monthly salaries of workers in the foundry were between Rs. 18 and Rs. 40 and that of book-binders between Rs. 12 and Rs. 25. The clerks and the manager were paid monthly salaries of between Rs. 30 and Rs. 50. A proof-reader got between Rs. 20 and Rs. 35 per month[2]. The monthly salaries of

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1 According to the Factory Inspector's Report for 1937, there were, in the Poona District 22 printing and bookbinding establishments, falling under the Factories' Act and the average daily number of workers in them was 1,322. Annual Factory Report, Bombay Province, 1937.

2 Regarding the various wages rates in the printing industry in Poona the Report on the General Wage Census conducted by the Bombay Labour Office in 1934 records: "Some 12 years ago, the Poona Press Owners' Association.... decided upon standard rates (of wages) which were observed by most of the presses for a few years. This association has ceased functioning for the last few years and the old standard rates have been abandoned owing to the erection of new presses and the competition of skilled men," p. 33.

unskilled workers varied between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20. The hours of work were usually 8 per day. Workers were paid for overtime in all the concerns.[1]

The mechanical equipment consisted of printing machines, treadles, cutting machines, stitching and perforating machines, etc. One press had a monotype machine. One of the presses in the sample had 3 steam engines and another had an electric motor. The cost of equipment in one concern was roughly Rs. 36,000 and that in the other about Rs. 28,000. The annual repairing and overhauling charges were between Rs. 150 and Rs. 250 per concern. The life of machines was tentatively placed at between 20 and 25 years.

The raw materials used by printing presses were paper, ink, type-metal, stationery and binding materials. Paper was the largest single item of expenditure. Two of the presses included in the sample each consumed every year paper worth Rs. 5,000. The annual cost of raw materials consumed in one concern was Rs. 6,800 and it was Rs. 8,300 in the other. A large part of these materials were purchased locally, others were bought at Bombay. Materials were directly purchased from wholesale dealers.

The total capital investment in these concerns varied between Rs. 35,000 and Rs. 40,000 each. In one case only was the whole capital self-owned. In the two remaining concerns the capital was borrowed at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. The total yearly business in one of the concerns was worth about Rs. 60,000 and in another concern, Rs. 24,000. The majority of the customers were local. The percentage of business coming from outside the city was small. One concern, we were informed, sold ready-made type all over Maharashtra. This concern also produced "dairies" which were sold as far as Berar and C. P. The carting agents were used for transportation. One concern gave its annual transportation charges as insignificant. In one of the remaining two concerns, the annual transport charges were in the neighbourhood of Rs. 800 roughly and in the case of the other Rs. 200. Two concerns used electricity for motive power. The monthly charges came to Rs. 150 in one concern and Rs. 30 in the other. The third used steam engines. The business was brisk from February to June.

Six out of the 19 concerns included in our sample fell within the group of medium size units, i. e. units which employed from 10 to 35

1. In this connection the following information with reference to the printing industry in Poona is recorded in the Report on the General Wage Census (1934) of the Bombay Labour Office: "In most privately owned printing presses in Poona city wage rates are fixed on the basis of a 6, 6½ or 7 hour day but if the workers are asked to work for a longer day within the hours permitted by the Factories' Act an additional half day's wage is paid for the extra hours worked. Technically, this is not overtime but is a method resorted to by printing press owners to ensure themselves against payment of higher wages during periods of slack orders or depression." pp. 9-10.

workers. Of these 3 were in Sadashiv, 2 in Budhwar and one in Rasta. Two of these did mainly lithographic work of the value of about Rs. 20,000 each, per year. Of the remaining 4, 2 concentrated mainly on job work and the other 2 on book work. One of the two concerns which did job work mainly, also printed a weekly.

The cost of equipment in the two litho presses was Rs. 5,200 and Rs. 10,000 respectively though the value of annual business turned out by both was almost the same. The cost of equipment in the remaining 4 establishments varied between Rs. 6,500 and Rs. 12,000.

The total employment in all the 6 establishments in this group was 118. Of these one was a paid manager, 5 clerks, 65 skilled and 47 unskilled workers. The clerks were all engaged by a single concern. The monthly salaries of the manager and the clerks varied between Rs. 25 and Rs. 45. Most of the skilled workers were paid monthly salaries ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 35. The unskilled workers were also paid on monthly basis, their salaries ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 25. All the employees were adult males. Most of them were Marathas and a few Brahmins.

The materials required included paper, ink, type-metal, etc. The largest item was paper and next came ink. One of the 2 litho presses annually spent Rs. 6,000 on paper, Rs. 2,000 on ink and Rs. 3,000 on metal, while the other reported spending annually Rs, 9,000 on paper. Two of the remaining 4 concerns in this group annually spent about Rs. 3,000 each on paper and about Rs. 500 each on type-metal. In all the concerns in this group electric power was used. The expenditure on power was greater in the litho presses than in others ; Rs. 450 annually in one and Rs. 600 in another. In 3 of the remaining concerns the annual cost of power came to about Rs. 150 each, while in the fourth, which printed a weekly, the expenses per year on this account came to Rs. 450.

The presses in this group obtained most of their work from customers in Poona city. Most of them, however, stated that they also obtained some work from outside. The two litho presses commanded business from all over Maharashtra. The demand for litho work was not seasonal and, it was stated, that it was growing steadily. The other 4 concerns reported brisk business in summer and at Divali.

The third group included units which employed less than 10 workers and which consequently did not come under the Factories' Act. Our sample of this group consisted of 5 units. They were situated one each in Budhwar, Sadashiv, Kasaba, Nihal and Vetal. All of them concentrated on job work. Two of them did book work also, but one of them stated that this was confined to publications containing not more than 30 pages. One of the 5 units, in addition to job work, also printed a weekly and a monthly. Only one unit in the sample did binding work. The cost of equipment varied between Rs. 1,300 and Rs. 500. The highest figure for the value of annual work done was that of the press that printed a weekly and a monthly and was put roughly at Rs. 4,500.

The total employment in this group, including the owners, who were all skilled workers, was 20. Of these 14 were skilled and 4 unskilled workers. One concern employed a manager and another engaged a clerk. The rates of payment were the same as in the second group. In all the concerns, except one, man power alone was used for operating machines. One unit, which printed a weekly and a monthly, used electricity and its annual expenditure on this item was given as Rs. 150. The annual expenditure in connection with the maintenance and repair of machinery, did not amount to more than Rs. 25 per unit in all the concerns.

Job work was not continuously available throughout the year and as most of the units depended on it, the nature of demand for their work was unsteady. The season of marriages and Divali brought specially large amounts of work to this group and business was brisk during those periods.

§ 35 **Ruling and Bookbinding Industry**: The ruling and the bookbinding industry was a specialised branch of the Printing industry. The work of this branch was that of ruling blank papers, repairing old books and binding newly printed books. Most of the larger units in the printing industry did their own binding work. The units specializing in this work only served the smaller units of the printing industry and administered to needs not met by the printing industry, namely ruling blank papers and mending and binding old books. One unit in our sample specialised in ruling only. According to our census of establishments there were 16 establishments of bookbinders and rulers in the city and 58 people were engaged in them. Of these 6 each were in Budhwar and Shanwar and one each in Sadashiv, Kasba and Nana. Our sample consisted of 6 of these establishments. Of the 6 units in the sample, 2 each were in Budhwar and Shanwar, and one each in Sadashiv and Nana.

The total number of persons employed in these units was 16, all of them males. Of these, 6 were unskilled and 9 skilled workers. As in the printing industry there was a predominance of skilled workers. The workers were mostly Marathas. In most of the establishments the owner was himself a skilled worker. The largest number employed in a single unit was 5 workers, including a paid manager.

The unit, having the highest employment, had a capital equipment worth Rs. 1,200. Another unit, a one man concern, had the highest capital equipment in the sample consisting of a cutting machine (Rs. 900), numbering machine and such other equipment valued at Rs. 1,600. No mechanical power was used in any establishment. This industry catered mostly for local demand. The seasonality of demand was generally the same as in the printing industry. There was usually rush of work in November and December due to the binding of the diaries for the new year. The raw materials used were cardboards, ink, glue, etc. Most of these were bought locally in small quantities.

§ 36. **Perfumers**: The Gazetteer did not mention any perfume-sellers or perfume-makers in the city. There is some evidence to show, however, that this was one of the flourishing luxury trades in the city under the Peshwas. According to our census of establishments there were 23 concerns in the city engaged in the manufacture and the sale of perfumes, etc. and 174 persons were engaged in them. Of the 23 concerns in the city, 8 were in Sadashiv, 6 in Raviwar, 3 in Shukrawar, 2 in Kasba and one each in Somwar, Ganesh, Shanwar and Budhwar. The figure in the census of establishments considerably underestimates, as in the *bidi* industry, the total employed in the trade. It will be noticed that the number of workers employed by concerns in our sample exceeds the total yielded by the census of establishments. Eight concerns were included in our sample, 4 each in Sadashiv and Raviwar. Three concerns in the sample had been started before the year 1880. Of the remaining concerns 3 were started between 1916–1925 and one was started as late as 1933. Of the 8 concerns in the sample, 4 were owned by Brahmins, 3 by Gujaratis, and one by a Marwadi. The oldest concerns were owned by Gujaratis.

Scents, rose conserve, etc. were not prepared in Poona. They were imported from Northern India, from places such as Lucknow and Kanouj. The local perfumers only traded in them. Almost the only product manufactured in the city was incense sticks. The manufacturing of incense sticks did not require any elaborate equipment. The mixing of ingredients, the rolling of sticks, packing, etc. was all done by hand. A few pots and pans, mortars, hand-mills, sieves, were the only requirements. A set of such implements was worth about Rs. 25 to Rs. 40. In larger concerns, there were many sets of these implements. Some of the bigger concerns, however, got the necessary raw materials ground by the local floor mills and thus dispensed with the hand-mill. The main requirement was floor space for manufacturing and drying purposes. With the exception of one or two manufacturers, all the others were house owners in Poona, so that they did not pay any rent.

The raw materials necessary for the manufacture of incense sticks were charcoal powder, perfumes and thin bamboo sticks. The charcoal had to be of a particular type and quality. Charcol made from a wood called "*sher*" was mostly used as its powder was said to be more uniform and even than that of charcoal made from any other kinds of wood. Ready-made bamboo sticks were usually bought locally from the Buruds at the rate of Re. 1 per seer. Most of the scents used by these establishments were of German and Danish manufacture. Some of the bigger manufacturers purchased their raw materials in bulk in the Bombay market. The annual consumption of raw materials varied according to the size of the concern. The biggest concern used raw materials worth Rs. 23,000 annually. Two others consumed raw materials worth Rs. 11,000 to Rs. 12,000 annually. The annual consumption of others varied between Rs. 6,400 to Rs. 2,000 each.

In the 8 concerns in the sample the total number of workers employed was 312. Of these 200 were women, 25 of them outworkers, 18 males, 8 children, 3 supervisors and 3 clerks. Except perhaps the *bidi* industry, no other industry in Poona offered so large an employment to women. The workers engaged in these factories were paid by piece rates and these rates were uniform in all the concerns. The rate was usually three annas per seer. Those who rolled the incense sticks usually earned six annas per day and the boys earned from four annas to five annas a day[1]. They worked for 9 hours a day. Besides these workers there were some salaried employees like, packers, errand boys, clerks, etc. Packers earned from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per month. The women workers employed for grinding, etc. if employed on a salary basis, got Rs. 10–12 per month. Clerks earned from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per month, though one old clerk in a concern was being paid Rs. 40 per month.

The outworkers were given the necessary material for the manufacturing of incense sticks by concerns engaging them. They had to roll the sticks at home and return them to the factory. The sticks and the materials were weighed before they were handed over and the rolled sticks were weighed again when returned. An average worker could roll about 1,400 sticks (weighing about 2 seers) in about 8 to 9 hours. The outworkers were paid at the rate of two annas to three annas per seer. According to one of our informants, if the sticks rolled out were of a greater thinness a higher rate was paid, even as much as ten annas per seer. The thinner the stick the greater was the amount of time spent on rolling it out. The other products dealt in by these concerns, like conserves or scented oils were not manufactured here but only processed and this was mostly done by owners and managers.

Most of the products, except incense sticks, had only local demand. Two firms in our sample, sent incense sticks manufactured by them even as far as Berar, Nagpur, and to cities in Northern India. In the Deccan, Poona had a strong competitor in Pandharpur in respect of the manufacture of incense sticks. The biggest concern in the sample produced articles worth Rs. 40,000 annually. The annual production of four other concerns fluctuated between Rs. 16,000 and Rs. 10,000. The remaining three concerns had annual productions worth between Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 2,500 each.

§ 37. **Soap Manufacturers**: Soap making is an industry of recent origin in Poona city. According to our census of establishments there were in all 10 concerns engaged in the manufacture of soap and 82 people

1 Among the women workers who rolled the incense sticks there was a peculiar system regarding the receipt of wages called the "Bhisi (भिशी) system.". According to this system the female workers formed a group which consisted of 5 or 6 workers. The total weekly wages of this whole group were pooled together and each worker in the group got the collected total wages by turn.

were engaged in them. Of these 2 were in Shukrawar, 3 in Bhawani and one each in Shanwar, Nana, Kasba, Raviwar and Vetal. The oldest of these was started in 1920 and some of the others were started as late as 1933 or 1935. Of the eight manufacturers 3 were Mohammedans, 4 Gujarati Hindus and one Brahmin. Our sample consisted of 3 concerns.

The equipment of the factories consisted of one or more treadle machines, a couple of cutting machines, pressing machines, dies, tanks and the requisites for packing, etc. Firewood, coal or coke was used for heating purposes and open hearths were used in almost all cases. The equipment could be used for six or seven years. The initial cost of setting up a factory was about Rs. 1,500 in the case of smaller concerns and about Rs. 2,500 in the case of larger ones. The factories included in our sample were proprietary concerns and the investment in them was mainly family investment. The floor space occupied by one concern was 40′ × 25′, that by the second, 70′ × 40′, and that by the third was 175′ × 60′. The rents were, in the above order, Rs. 14, Rs. 20 and Rs. 50.

Both skilled and unskilled labour was required in the industry. The workers who looked after the heating arrangements were described as skilled workers. The three concerns included in the sample employed 51 workers, including managers and clerks. Of these 9 were boys, 4 canvassers and 4 clerks (all the clerk were employed by a single concern) and 3 managers. The clerks and the canvassers were paid Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per month each. The canvassers were paid some commission on the sales effected by them and travelling allowance in addition to the monthly salary. The men who looked after the heating arrangements and mixers were paid Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per month. The unskilled workers were paid from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 and the boys Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per month. In one concern the manager was paid Rs. 150 and the clerks were paid Rs. 40 to Rs. 80 per month. The hours of work were 9 per day. There were no female workers.

The raw materials used in the industry were coconut oil, caustic soda and sodium silicate. Rosin was used to some extent but not by all the concerns. Only vegetable oils were used. Raw materials worth Rs. 550 to Rs. 700 each were being used by two of the three concerns in the sample during a month. The remaining concern used materials worth about Rs. 8,000 per month. All the raw materials required by the industry were bought locally from whole-sale dealers or agents. Only sodium silicate was purchased and brought from Bombay. The octroi duty on sodium silicate was two annas and six pies per maund (40 seers). In the case of one of the three concerns the amount of about Rs. 700 was estimated as the annual transportation charges for bringing raw materials to the factory and for sending out manufactured products. Payments for purchases were generally made after a month.

Of the three concerns in the sample, two were small, manufacturing soap worth about Rs. 2,300 to Rs. 2,500 per month, while the monthly

production of the third concern was worth about Rs. 15,000. None of the concerns manufactured toilet soap. The soap was sold in the form of cakes of various sizes or bars. The bars were of two sizes, weighing 12 ozs. and 16 ozs. respectively. The two smaller concerns mostly sold their goods in Poona. The larger factory had a wider market. Of its total production Poona city consumed only 30 per cent., 15 per cent. was sold in the Deccan States, 15 per cent. in Sholapur District and the rest in Nasik, Ahmednagar and other neighbouring districts. This concern employed 3 canvassers. The other two sold their goods through local agents. The demand for soap was brisk in summer and slack in the rainy season.

§ 38. **Indigenous Drug Makers**: The Gazetteer did not mention indigeneous drug makers. According to our census of establishments there were 5 concerns of such drug makers in Poona. They were one each in Shivajinagar, Budhwar, Shukrawar, Raviwar and Kasba. Two of these were included in our sample. Of these one was a small concern and was a sort of an adjunct attached to a practitioner of the indigenous system. It represented the traditional type of such establishment. The other concern was of a newer and radically different type.

The older type of concern was in Raviwar and was run by a Brahmin lady. One female servant was employed as help. Rs. 500 worth of capital was invested in the concern. Some of the raw materials, like medicinal herbs, etc. were brought from Bombay. Raw materials worth Rs. 250 were on an average consumed during a year.

The other concern in Shivajinagar was originally established about the year 1920 and was converted into a limited company in 1936. The original investment was valued at Rs. 17,000. To this Rs. 18,000 were added when the concern was converted into a limited company. In addition to this the concern had contracted a loan of Rs. 5000 at 5 per cent. per annum. The concern manufactured indigenous medicines and drugs. The area occupied by the factory was 600 sq. ft. and the monthly rent was Rs. 86. The equipment of the factory consisted mainly of a large number of mortars and several ovens with a few minor implements and tools. The factory which was gradually increasing its production produced medicines and drugs worth about Rs. 4,000 per month. Of the total sales of the previous year nearly one-third had been effected in Poona city and the rest outside. This concern had agents at various places and had also a branch at Sangli.

In all 68 persons were employed by the concern. Of these 2 were managers, 2 clerks, 7 skilled and the rest unskilled workers. Of the 57 unskilled workers 7 were women. The two managers got Rs. 75 each and the two clerks Rs. 50 each per month. The monthly pay of skilled workers ranged between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25, of unskilled male workers between Rs. 12 and Rs. 15 and that of unskilled women workers between Rs. 8 and Rs. 12. The hours of work were 8 per day. The raw materials necessary were chiefly herbs and medicinal plants. Most of

these were locally bought, but some of them were purchased at Bombay and brought down to Poona The cost of raw materials consumed in a month was roughly Rs. 1,000 The annual cost of railway transport was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2,000, of bus or lorry transport about Rs. 500 and of bullock cart transport about Rs. 200. At the time of the survey the concern was in the initial stages of a movement towards considerable expansion.

§ 39. **Firework manufacturers:** The Gazetteer did not mention firework manufacturers. According to our census of establishments there were 3 firework manufacturers in Poona city. These were in Sadashiv, Raviwar and Shanwar. Of these two, those in Shanwar and Sadashiv, were included in our sample. One concern was owned by a Mohammedan and the other by a Hindu. The former was an old concern and the owner stated that it had been a family concern for generations. The other concern had been started in 1926. These concerns manufactured fireworks, blasting powder, etc. but no crackers. They were required to obtain Government permits. According to the permit each concern was authorised to keep 200 lbs. of fireworks, 200 lbs. of blasting powder, 20 lbs. of gun powder and 1,500 coils of fuses.

In all 8 persons were working in these concerns. Of these 5 were owners and 3 workers. Of the latter, 2 were women who were described as unskilled workers. The male worker and all the owners were skilled workmen. This was the normal strength. But in brisk seasons, like the period before Diwali, the number of unskilled workers was increased. In such seasons one of the concerns employed as many as 8 women workers and the other engaged a couple of male workers. The skilled worker, employed in one of the two concerns, was paid a monthly salary of Rs. 25. The unskilled women workers got about five annas each per day. For carrying the fireworks to suitable places of display each of these concerns engaged in busy seasons, from 125 to 150 labourers both male and female. Each was paid about two annas to three annas per night.

The raw materials necessary in this industry were sulphur, potash, charcoal, iron and steel filings, etc. Bamboo and small earthen pots were also required in large numbers. Charcoal was purchased locally but all the other raw materials were brought from Bombay. The annual cost of raw materials required in one concern was Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 2,300 in the other. The annual production in the former concern was worth Rs. 3,000 and in the latter Rs. 6,000. The concerns were inspected once a year by the police authorities. Each concern paid an annual licence fee of Rs. 30 and Re. 1 as Municipal tax for the season. In Diwali and in the season of marriages business was brisk.

§ 40 **Ivory Comb Making and Ivory Carving:** According to the Gazetteer combs of ivory came into fashion in the reign of Sawai Madhavrao. "To supply the new demand for ivory combs one Audutrao Dhandharpalkar came from Nasik and opened the first ivory comb factory in Poona city. His example was followed by Abaji Ava of the carpenter caste. The present ivory comb makers are the descendants of the Kunbi servants of the original workers. They number about fifteen and keep five workshops opposite the temple of Ganapati in Kasba ward... For many years, owing to the competition of cheap foreign bone combs, the industry has been depressed. Within the last ten years four shops have been closed and those who are left though above want are poor. The present small ivory-comb industry will probably long continue." [1]

The above account noted that the industry was on the decline during the eighties of the last century. The sanguine hope expressed in the last sentence was not realised and the industry continued to decline during subsequent years. According to our census of establishments there was only one concern in Kasba which engaged in ivory carving. This concern had been in existence for about 125 years. It made combs, bangles, dice, etc. out of ivory. Two persons, both of them skilled workers and belonging to the same family, worked in this concern. Their equipment consisted of saws, various carving and cutting instruments, etc. The equipment was worth nearly Rs. 25. The raw material required was ivory. This was usually purchased at Bombay. The concern annually used 100 lbs. of ivory valued at nearly Rs. 800. The annual production consisted of 600 to 700 combs of various sizes, about 900 pairs of bangles, 10 sets of dice, etc. This was worth nearly Rs. 1,350. Repair work brought in an additional sum of about Rs. 150 per year. Nearly 90 per cent. of the total sales were made, it was reported, in Karnatak and only the remaining 10 per cent. in the city of Poona.

§ 41 **Cinema Film Companies:** At the time of our survey there were two film companies in Poona. On a rough estimate they employed a total of about 500 to 600 persons. The studio of one of the two companies was at Yerandvane and that of the other was near Vanavadi. Our investigation related to one of these concernes. This concern was managed and owned by 4 partners. The area occupied by the concern was 30 acres and all of it was owned by the concern. The amount of capital invested originally was Rs. 200,000 to which later additions of about Rs. 400,000 had been made from time to time. All the capital was self-owned. The concern had erected studios which covered an area of about 85,000 sq. yards. Of the total capital investment of Rs. 600,000 Rs. 500,000 was described as fixed and the remaining as working capital.

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1. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p, 201.

The mechanical equipment of the concern included cameras, sound recording equipment, film printing machines, cooling plant, projectors, back projection equipment, etc. The yearly repair and rehauling chagres came to about Rs. 15,000 and other expenses connected with machinery were Rs. 300 annually. The accessory materials for the production of talking pictures were different kinds of raw films, such as picture negative, sound negative and picture positive, as well as chemicals for devoloping the exposed films. The necessary chemicals were bought from various chemical manufacturers but most of the film materials required were purchased from the Kodak Films Ltd. All the purchases were made directly by the concern.

This concern employed a total of 365 persons. Of these 15 belonged to the managerial and clerical staff, 250 were skilled workers and the rest unskilled ones. While the managerial and clerical staff was composed entirely of males, the staff of skilled workers was mixed. Of the 100 unskilled workers 90 were males, 4 women and 6 children. The total monthly payment to the managerial and clerical staff of 15 amounted to about Rs. 500, that to the 250 skilled workers, was about Rs. 10,000. The monthly salaries of persons in the latter group were subject to wide dispersion ; for it included the large salaries of leading actresses as well as the small salaries of "helps" who played all kinds of very minor roles. The total monthly payment to the unskilled workers came to about Rs. 1000. No apprentices were taken up by this concern. The permanent employees of the company were paid on a monthly basis while the temporary employees were paid weekly wages. Specially highly skilled artists and workers were usually engaged on contract basis.

The volume of production was uncertain. The pictures produced by this concern had a market all over India. They were exhibited at various places through agents who were paid a fixed percentage commission on total collections. Electrical power was used both for lighting purposes as well as for driving the various machines in the studio. The monthly comsumption of electricity was about 3,500 units. The total expenses in connection with power and water supply came to about Rs. 1,500 per month. The rainy season was generally a slack season for production as, it was reported, deficiency of light and the sound of rain and thunder hampered work.

§ 42. **Building Industry**: Certain types of economic activities do not easily lend themselves to classification under either the industry or the trade head. The most important of such, included in our survey, were (i) Building Construction and (ii) Milk Supply. Both of these are, therefore, treated in special sections at this stage. Construction and repair of buildings occupied an important position in the economic life of the city and gave considerable employment to various classes of

technicians, artisans, labourers, etc. Contemporaneously with many other centres Poona had been experiencing a building boom, especially in connection with middle class housing, just before the commencement of the work of the survey. Though the peak of this boom had, perhaps, passed considerable activity was still in evidence while information in connection with the survey was being collected. A rough enumeration of substantial housing or building works, in course of construction made in the first week of April 1937, showed the existence of 77 such works within the area of the City Municipality. These were divided, among the different wards in the following manner : Shivajinagar, 34; Sadashiv, 13; Shukrawar, 11; Raviwar, 7; Narayan, 4; Shanwar, 3; and Somwar, Nana, Ganj, Vetal and Ghorpade one each. The concentration of activity in the outlying portions of the city, chiefly occupied by the middle class, is obvious.

At the central point of the organization of building construction was the 'building contractor' who was ordinarily in charge of most of the building and repair work in progress at any time. It was unusual for owners to undertake the activity themselves and ordinarily the work was entrusted to contractors by private treaty or after inviting tenders. The contractors might in their turn employ sub-contractors for particular parts of the work especially in such specialized branches as plumbing, electric fitting, etc. The term 'contractor' is rather vague and was very loosely used. It broadly indicated the agency which organized the supply of labour and material and executed the work to the requirements laid down in the contract. There was no homogeneity either with regard to technical training or economic status in this class. On the one hand, it embraced highly competent engineering firms or individual engineers able to undertake very large works; on the other hand, it also included petty contractors with almost no training who undertook, in the main, petty repair jobs.

According to the information collected at our survey, there were about 70 general building contractors, 10 cement and concrete contractors and 2 plumbing work contractors in the city. Our enumeration was, however, not exhaustive. There were nearly 20 to 25 building contractors doing business on a fairly large scale. Among these, those taking contracts of the value individually of more than Rs. 25,000 numbered only 10 to 12. There were about 200 small contractors doing petty jobs and repair work. This last category included those who chiefly did petty repair work or specialised work on a sub-contractor basis such as white washing, painting, flooring, tiling, etc.

The permanent staff of the contractors usually consisted of clerical employees including cashiers, store-keepers, etc. and skilled supervisors for different types of work. Both these categories were paid monthly salaries. The other staff was recruited and employed according to the nature and

and requirements of the works in progress. A large part of this labour, though not permanently employed by the contractor, was ordinarily loosely attached continuously to him and his works. The payment of the artisans and labourers so employed might be by the week, fortnight or even the month. It would be convenient to describe the structure of the constructional industry by dealing briefly in turn with each type of technician or labour employed in it. We might begin with engineers.

Engineers: Qualified engineers were ordinarily employed for preparing the plan, together with its details and specifications of the work that the owner or the customer desired to be executed. The municipal building bye-laws did not, however, lay down any conditions regarding the qualification of those either preparing the plans and estimates or those supervising the construction of building works. In a number of cases, therefore, the services of qualified engineers were not called in. Architects were sometimes consulted mainly for the lay out of buildings and their general exterior and interior finish. In Poona, however, there was no special class of architects and this work also was usually performed by engineers. The engineers had to prepare plans, schemes, drawings, specifications and the estimates and they had also usually to supervise the execution of the work.

In Poona the engineers' was not a specialised profession. He was usually also a contractor and as such was supervisor, architect, engineer, etc. all in one. The engineer's charges, when he was not also the contractor, were from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent. of the total cost of the work undertaken. These varied according to the nature of the particular work undertaken. For the general building work 3 per cent. was the common practice. For special designing in reinforced cement concrete or steel, the engineers charged usually 4½ per cent. of the total cost. An engineer's usual staff consisted of draftsmen, overseers and *mistries*. Some of the bigger contractors themselves employed qualified engineers for preparing plans, etc. and for supervising construction. In these instances the customer could do without employing an independent engineer for the initial stages, if he so desired.

The overseers were paid from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 per month and sometimes even up to Rs. 100 per month. Their function was to supervise the work and to see that it was being carried out according to the specifications and plans. They were also expected to see that the raw materials used were as per instructions. When a customer entrusted the building of a house, for instance, to a contractor he also usually appointed an overseer of his own to supervise the work of the contractor. The non-specialisation of the professional engineering work in Poona must be considered to have been a handicap. Engineers and contractors were not clearly distinguished; neither were the supervisors acting on behalf of owners or their engineers marked out from the class employed as overseers by the contractors themselves. In the circumstances the intersts

of owners could not be adequately safeguarded and, it was stated by some, that it had, on this account, become difficult to maintain proper standards.

An important factor in the engineer-cum-contractor's trade was transport. The carting of materials from place to place was a considerable item in costs. Some contractors used motor lorries for transport but the major part of the work was done by bullock carts. A contractor usually owned several carts and engaged his own cartmen for carting the materials. Otherwise, or in addition, he hired carts paid on the basis of a charge per day or per trip. Sometimes the contractor engaged the services of carting agents who organized labour and conveyance for all sorts of transport.

Mistries: It is hardly possible to define this term. It was not applied to workers doing any particular type of work but to supervisors or directors of work in all branches. A *mistri* was usually the expert and the head in a particular branch such as for instance, navvy work, masonry, etc. Mistries were paid monthly salaries ranging between Rs. 30 and Rs. 60.

Masons : This group included two types of workers, those working in stone or stone masons and those working in bricks or bricklayers. Stone masonry also included dressing, etc. of stones. Both kinds of masons were expected to know the mixing of materials for plastering, etc. Masons were mostly engaged on daily wages. The rates of payment varied according to the nature of the work. The following figures give an idea regarding the average range of these.

Bricklaying	Rs. 1- 4-0	to	Rs. 1- 8-0	per day	
Stone masonry	Rs. 1- 8-0			,,	,,
Stone dressing	Rs. 1- 4-0	to	Rs. 1-10-0	,,	,,
Fine dressed work	Rs. 1- 4-0	to	Rs. 2- 8-0	,,	,,
Plastering	Rs. 1- 8-0			,,	,,
Painting	Rs. 1- 4-0			,,	,,
Flooring (ordinary)	Rs. 1- 8-0			,,	,,
Glazed tiles and marble or polished flooring	Rs. 1-12-0			,,	,,
Special mouldings in plastering, etc.	Rs. 1-12-0	to	Rs. 2- 0-0	,,	,,
Sanitary Masons	Rs. 1- 8-0			,,	,,

Carpenters : Carpenters were principally concerned with the structural wood work in building construction. They worked on the flooring, the timber frame work of the building, skirtings, window frames, etc. A distinction was often made between carpenters and joiners, the latter specialising in making doors, roofing, etc. The distinction, however,

was not very sharp. With the advent of reinforced concrete and its increasing use in building processes wooden flooring had practically disappeared. Structural woodwork was also being rapidly displaced by concrete mouldings. Again, an increasing number of materials were coming on to the job in a more finished state than previously. For instance, ready-made doors and windows were now available and these were often used. The work for carpenters had apparently decreased along these lines. The carpenters were paid daily wages varying between Rs. 1-4-0 and Rs. 1-12-0; Rs. 1-8-0 daily seemed to be the common rate.

The development of the cement concrete process had, however, given rise to a new class of workers, who were on the border land between masons and carpenters. For all cement concrete mouldings wooden casings were necessary. These workers were required to prepare these casings. They had also to mix and prepare the *coba* (concrete mixture). The knowledge of centering and levelling was also necessary. Thus they had to do wood work and also some amount of masonry work. This class of workers was not, however known by any particular name, or rather had not yet acquired a name.

Large numbers of unskilled labourers were employed in building construction apart from such artisans as masons or carpenters. They had to do all the work necessary to assist the skilled artisan at his work. There were no female artisans but a large number of women found employment as labourers. Labourers carried bricks, stones and the mixed lime or cement to the masons. They carried the pieces of wood for the carpenter and lent him a helping hand when required. They also did the navvying work. The average level of wages for general labour was eight annas to ten annas per day for males and four annas to six annas per day for females. Apart from this general labour some types of labouring was specialised. The most important of this was earthwork. Most of the labourers doing earth or stone work belonged to a caste or tribe known as Wadars. The Wadars were especially employed for excavation in earth and *murum*, excavation in rock by blasting or by chiselling, concrete mixing and placing, metal breaking and quarrying and stone dressing. Wadars of both sexes worked, the women generally acting as helps to the male workers. The Wadars were usually paid by piece rates. They usually worked in big gangs and took the work on a lump contract basis. When they were employed on daily wages, the wage for a male labourer was generally between eight annas to ten annas and that for a female between four annas to six annas.

§ 41. **Production and Supply of Milk**: The supply of milk to the population of Poona was obtained through production of milk from milch cattle kept within the Poona area and by imports from the neighbouring villages. There was no prohibition against the maintenance of

cattle within the municipal area nor were any strict municipal regulations enforced in respect of the extent and nature of accommodation or of cleanliness of the sheds in which the cattle were housed. Consequently it was possible for families, in all wards of the city, who had a little space in or around their houses, to keep milch cattle either for meeting domestic requirements of milk or for conducting the business of milk supply as either a part-time or a whole-time occupation. The keeping of milch cattle for meeting domestic requirements of milk and milk products was once a common practice among well-to-do classes in Poona. It had, however, greatly diminished in recent years and the extent to which this supply was home-produced might be taken to have been negligible at the time of the survey. In order to ascertain the extent of the business and the volume of supply produced within the city we obtained a count of the number of milch cattle in the city in April 1938. This count was taken, through the kindness of the Health Officer of the Municipality, by the municipal staff of sanitary inspectors. The results of the count are summarised in Table No. 48. The table shows the number of establishments, the number of buffaloes and cows and the distribution of the concerns and cattle as between the different wards. Calves had not been included in the count and are consequently not shown in the table. The wards in which the average number of milch cattle per establishment is small represent conditions in which milk is produced either for domestic consumption in the main or where the milk business is not the major occupation of the household. Sadashiv is the chief example of this type. On the other hand in Somwar and Shukrawar there is concentration of large-scale ownership of milch cattle. The holding of a single milch animal, which may be taken to be the sign of chiefly looking to domestic requirements, is almost wholly concentrated in Sadashiv. Also small individual holdings such as of 2 or 3 heads, which might be taken as indication of the business not being a whole-time occupation, are also found to the largest extent in Sadashiv. They hold a high proportion in the total number of units in Ganj, Bhavani, Nana and Kasba also. It is difficult to comment on the distribution of the number of cattle in the different wards. It is, no doubt, necessary to have certain amount of extra space for housing cattle. Outlying wards like Shukrawar, Sadashiv and Shivajinagar were favourably situated from this point of view. But even considerations of space had a limited force; for, it is noticeable that a ward at the heart of the city like Budhwar had a significant cattle population. Access to supplies of water might be another consideration and wards situated near the river might be supposed to enjoy an advantage in this respect. The effect of this factor is, however, not marked in the table. The number of buffaloes was much larger than that of cows. If we also take account of the fact that the average yield of milk per buffalo is about twice that of an average cow it will be seen that the production of milk in Poona was overwhelmingly that of buffalo milk.

Table No. 48 :— Establishments Classified by Wards according to the Number of Milch Cows and Buffaloes and showing number of Cows and of Establishments with Cows.

Ward	Number of Milch Cows and Buffaloes.														Total Milch Animals	Number of Establishments with Cows.	Total Number of Cows.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11–15	16–20	21–and over	Total			
(1) Shivajinagar	1	8	11	9	11	7	8	2	1	1	3	...	...	62	310	29	45
(2) Sadashiv	91	36	24	9	21	8	4	4	5	2	2	3	1	210	668	79	112
(3) Narayan	...	...	1	5	5	3	2	2	...	3	7	2	...	30	247	†	†
(4) Shanwar	...	1	1	1	4	2	...	...	2	2	3	2	1	19	182	†	†
(5) Budhwar	2	...	...	...	3	...	3	1	...	1	2	...	1	13	103	6	9
(6) Raviwar	...	7	2	3	3	3	2	...	1	1	2	1	...	25	142	10	15
(7) Kasba	...	7	3	6	2	1	1	...	1	2	2	...	...	25	124	10	18
(8) Mangalwar	1	3	4	2	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	17	93	7	18
(9) Somwar	...	...	3	2	1	4	1	2	...	2	6	4	2	27	314	22	63
(10) Rasta	2	...	2	2	3	...	...	1	2	1	2	1	...	16	107	12	24
(11) Nihal	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	3	31	3	10
(12) Ganesh	...	1	3	...	1	1	1	1	...	5	1	2	...	16	136	2	2
(13) Nana	...	6	5	2	3	2	...	...	1	2	2	...	...	23	116	8	11
(14) Bhavani	2	13	7	1	2	3	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	30	106	12	16
(15) Ganj	1	4	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	35	1	1
(16) Vetal	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	11	53	8	14
(17) Shukrawar	2	5	9	10	13	4	1	3	3	1	7	1	5	64	457	23	39
(18) Gultekadi & Ghorpade	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	25	1	1
Total Establishments	104	95	83	55	78	39	24	17	18	24	41	20	10	608	...	...	...
Total Milch Animals	104	190	249	220	390	234	168	136	162	240	513	367	276	...	3249	...	...
Number of Establishments with Cows	27	27	31	17	26	22	13	10	10	11	23	9	7	...	...	233	...
Total Number of Cows	27	33	45	20	39	32	22	14	16	22	60	34	34	...	...	...	398

† Figure not available separately.

Our detailed sample investigation was confined to the class of large milk producers who produced the bulk of the marketed supply. It, thus, covered businesses which had a holding of not less than 8 milch cattle. Our sample consisted of 12 such concerns. Of these 4 were in Shukrawar, 2 each in Sadashiv and Shivajinagar and one each in Budhwar, Raviwar Nana and Bhavani. Seven of these concerns were owned by Gavalis (belonging to the traditional caste of milkmen), 2 by Brahmins and the remaining by Marathas. The Gavalis had inherited the business from their forefathers while all the others had come into it comparatively recently. These concerns were all family concerns and their main business was the production of milk and milk products. An important source of subsidiary income was the sale of cattle dung or dung-cakes. A number of milk producers retailed milk through their own shops. These shops are not dealt with at this place.

Twenty-one servants were engaged by the 12 concerns in the sample. Five out of these 21 were boys who were employed either for taking the cattle out to graze or to deliver the milk on daily rounds. The heavier work of looking after the cattle and the stables was always done by adult servants and members of the household. Two of the boys employed on delivery of milk to households were paid on a commission basis. The monthly payment to other boys varied between Rs. 7 and Rs. 10. The salary of adults varied usually from Rs. 11 to Rs. 15. An adjustment in the pay was made, if as sometimes, board or lodging or both, were provided. The bulk of the work in these concerns, especially in the case of those with whom it was a traditional business, was performed by members of the household themselves. Most of the adults, both men and women, participated in the work and it was therefore, difficult to estimate the exact number of workers. However, the average number might be put at not less than two adults per concern.

The number of milch cattle in the concerns was 141 buffaloes, 27 cows and 40 calves. In 9 concerns there were from 8 to 15 adult milch cattle each. Of the remaining, one had 17, another 21 and the third 22. The number of cattle included a small number of cows and buffaloes that had gone dry temporarily. These concerns frequently turned over their stock of cattle. When a buffalo or a cow went dry the milkmen replaced it usually by buying another milking cow or buffalo. The dry cattle were ordinarily sold in the market; sometimes they were placed in charge of farmers in neighbouring villages. The latter fed and kept the cattle during their dry period at a fixed charge. This charge was usually Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per month per animal. The buying or the selling of cattle in the market was invariably made through commission agents. The agent charged a commission of about five per cent. of the price to the buyer. The cattle market in Poona was completely dominated by these agents. The main inducement to rely on the commission agents was the fact that this made instalment purchase

possible. The commission agent usually charged interest at the rate of 9 per cent. or more on the instalments. He was also very strict regarding enforcement of contracts and there were considerable complaints against this class. Some preferred to borrow from a Marwadi and buy the cattle outright and occasional attempts were made to buy directly in places from which buffaloes were imported, such as Delhi. As a general rule, however, the milkmen found the commission agents indispensable.

The average daily yield of milk in the case of 2 concerns varied between 40 and 50 seers each, in the case of 5 others between 60 and 75 seers each and between 100 and 140 each in the case of 3 of the remaining concerns. In the remaining concern the average daily output of milk was about 240 seers. The milk was either sold in bulk to such buyers as restaurants, sweetmeat shops, etc. or delivered on daily rounds to households for consumption, or sold at retail to buyers in the municipal market or other places. A large part of the supply for casual retail sale was drawn from producers outside Poona and the concerns in the sample reported that a very small portion of their production was disposed of in this manner. The proportion of sales to bulk buyers to distribution on daily rounds varied considerably from concern to concern. Two concerns in the sample reported that daily household deliveries accounted for almost the whole of their production. The average in the remaining concerns was about two-thirds to bulk buyers and the rest in household delivery. The sale to bulk buyers was usually at the rate of 6 seers and to households at 5 seers per rupee; the ruling retail rate was about 4 seers per rupee. The concerns sold the droppings of cattle either for manure or in the form of dung cakes for use as fuel. A concern with 20 to 25 cattle could earn, on an average a rupee a day by such sales.

The monthly gross takings of 2 conerns varied between Rs. 235 and Rs. 250, of two others between Rs. 300 and Rs. 340. In the case of 3 concerns, they varied between Rs. 550 and Rs. 560 and in another two concerns between Rs. 725 and Rs. 775. The monthly gross takings of one of the two remaining concerns in the sample were Rs. 450 and that of the other, Rs. 1,550. Information regarding one concern was not available on this point.

The largest item of cost in this business was the feeding of cattle. The requirements were fodder and other feed and concentrates such as oil cake, corn, pulse, etc. The cost of feeding a buffalo varied between twelve annas and fourteen annas per day and the corresponding cost relating to a cow worked out at from eight annas to ten annas. The fodder and hay were usually bought for cash in the local market. In two concerns, in the sample, the total fodder requirements for the whole year were all bought at one time during the year. This, of course, presupposed considerable storage accommodation. In

other concerns smaller stocks were held which met the requirement of from one month to four months. During the rainy season the cattle were given mostly green grass which then became available The other feeds and concentrates required for the cattle were also bought locally from traders, ordinarily on credit, the accounts being settled every few months. Large stocks of these were, therefore, not ordinarily held.

The total monthly expenditure, including the rent of premises, the cost of feeding and the payments to servants, etc. in the case of 4 concerns varied between Rs. 340 and Rs. 380 and in the case of 3 others between Rs. 210 and Rs. 280. The monthly expenditure of 3 of the remaining concerns was Rs. 150, Rs. 75 and Rs. 490 respectively.

On the basis of information regarding the total number of milch cattle held within the Poona area it is possible to arrive at an approximate estimate of the total production of milk in Poona. Information relating to yield of milk by cattle included in the sample would indicate the average production per milch buffalo held in the city as being approximately 6 seers a day and the corresponding figure for milch cows, 3 seers On this basis the production per day from cattle in the area might be placed, in round figures, at 18,000 seers. To this amount must be added the quantity of imports into the city in order to arrive at total consumption of milk within the area. These are difficult to estimate At our request the authorities of the Octroi Department of the Poona City Municipality had directed that a detailed count be taken of the quantity of all milk coming into Poona on a particular day (8th April 1938) through all the octroi stations. The results of this count are set out in Table No. 49. On the assumption that these figures represent fairly the average daily imports into Poona, the additional quantity available for consumption from this source might be put in round figures at 6,000 seers. The total supply of fluid milk available daily would then work out at about 24,000 seers, which works out roughly at about one-tenth

Table No. 49 :— Quantity of Milk Coming into Poona through Octroi Stations on the 8th April 1938.

[1 Maund = 40 Seers]

Octroi Station	Quantity		Octroi Station	Quantity	
	Mds.	Srs.		Mds.	Srs.
Dapodi	20	26	Railway Station (Parcel)	28	7
Fulay Wadi	...	20	Swar Gate	22	...
Ganesh Khind	25	10	Stables	...	31
Ghorpade	9	33	Vanavadi	7	16
Khadaki	1	18	Yerawada	10	16
Kondhwe	7	10			
Kothrud	11	8	Total	145	5

of a seer per head of the population.[1] The seer in which this calculation has been made is equivalent to 32 ozs. The per capita daily consumption of fluid milk would then work out at 3·2 ozs.

§ 42. **Volume of Production:** It will be observed that except in the handloom and brass and copper-ware industries, where exhaustive information was collected, complete information in regard to all the concerns engaged in a particular trade and industry was not directly obtained by us. In some instances such exhaustive information was available in other records, as that relating to tongas with the Police, or could be obtained from other authorities, as that relating to milch animals from the Municipality. In all the other instances we had to take the information obtained through our census of establishments as the starting point. It has been pointed out that this information was defective in many respects and had to be corrected during the course of detailed investigation. Where they were so corrected the corrected results were everywhere substituted for the figures actually obtained at the time of the census. However, corrective checking was not possible in all instances and in some, even where a figure was seen to be in defect, the degree of the exact emendation necessary could not be estimated without exhaustive enquiry. This was not attempted. The sample investigation was planned chiefly on basis of information supplied by the census of establishments. The sample, however, could not be chosen at random nor was it determined on a properly stratified classification of the enumerated establishments. A number of difficulties intervened in the way of an attempt in either direction. In all trading and industrial establishments the information regarding capital invested, volume of turnover, etc. could not be obtained, even in approximate terms, without active goodwill on the part of the informant. The random method could not be tried, because not all who would have been included in any random sample could have been fruitfully approached for information by us. It is quite likely, therefore, that the sample chosen by us, having been influenced by the consideration of approachability, was not as representative as a random sample might have been. It is likely that owners belonging to certain castes bulk more largely in the sample than those belonging to others merely because our investigators found them somewhat more ready to give information than the others. The locational distribution of the sample might also have been affected in a similar manner, though obviously to a smaller degree. Also, as has been already pointed out, in the desire to cover all varieties and types of business the samples include a somewhat disproportionate number of special or aberrant types. As a rule, specially large concerns received more attention than the average sizes. While, therefore, our description of Poona trade

1. It should be remembered in this connexion that this calculation does not include the production of milk from cattle in the Cantonment and the Suburban Municipal areas. We cannot, however, indicate the extent to which the above figure is an underestimation.

and industry would, we believe, cover satisfactorily the variety of units and types of businesses it could not, by itself, be used for a quantitative estimation of, say, the volume of business. The observation applies in particular to calculations of, what is often sought to be established, the total volume of production. Some of the difficulties inherent in calculating the volume of production of various classes of business on a uniform basis have been exemplified in our account of the handloom weaving and the brass and copper-ware industries. Without considerable more information than was obtained through our investigations it would not be feasible to attempt a production estimate. Except where, as in the case of milk supply, certain supplementary exhaustive information was available no attempt has been made to estimate total production or volume of turnover in any individual industry or trade. Our data do not thus lead to any reliable estimates of production. They are also not the some instances, either reliable or internally consistent in respect of such items as capital investment, turnover, costs or profits. It is, however, expected that the manner in which they have been collected does not preclude them from throwing full light on the volume of business in individual size-types and the mode of business and the general structure of particular trades and of Poona trade and industry as a whole.

CHAPTER V

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

§1. **The Trade of the Poona Octroi Cordon:** The data regarding the trade of Poona city and suburbs are presented in this chapter in the following order (1) Volume of Trade, (2) Wholesale Trade, (3) Retail Trade. The account opens with the available statistics regarding the volume of imports (no figures relating to exports as a whole are available) into the Poona area. The data used for the purpose are those collected during the administration of the octroi system of the area. They do not, therefore, include imports which are not liable to pay octroi, as for example, agricultural and other produce brought in head-loads. It is not possible to estimate the degree of accuracy attained by these statistics. In certain directions the comparative stability of figures over a long period arouse suspicion; also some of the large and sudden fluctuations cannot easily be explained. According to the Octroi Administration there has been no material change in either administrative methods or in the collection and compilation of the data during the last two decades. There are no other set of figures, however, which could be used to check the octroi statistics. The statistics of rail-borne trade, published by the Government of India, include figures for Poona station. These figures cannot, however, be used for our purpose. The objection to their use does not rest merely with the fact that they are partial i. e. they neglect all imports and exports by road. Even in relation to the movement by rail these figures do not correctly indicate the commodity movement in relation to the Poona area. It has been ascertained that they not only do not include figures of trade for the smaller stations such as Shivajinagar and Ghorpade within the Poona area but also neglect the trade of Poona carried by the M. S. M. Railway system. They thus present a very partial picture of Poona trade. This renders impossible their use for estimating the volume of, or the fluctuations in, the trade of Poona. As pointed out below the export figures collected by the Octroi Administration are of little use for our purpose. The Octroi figures of imports are, on the other hand, presumably complete. It might, however, be noticed that for some classes of commodities the volume of imports shown in the rail-borne trade returns — which are only partial — is higher than the total imports returned by the Octroi Administration. This raises grave doubts regarding even the import statistics given by this source of information.

Table No. 48 sets out the figures of the volume and value of gross and net imports of some important commodities and classes of commodities into the limits of the Poona Octroi Cordon, during the

Table No. 48—Volume and Value of Gross and Net Imports of Classes of commodities and of some important commodities into the Poona Octroi Cordon during 1922-23 to 1936-37. [in 000's]

Class	Commodities		1922—23		1923—24		1924—25		1925—26		1926—27		1927—28		1928—29	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
I	**Food for Men and Animals** ...	Mds.	38,35	36,09	40,87	38,51	42,43	38,11	45,95	41,94	44,89	41,28	39,00	36,33	41,33	38,62
		Rs	*3,14,36*	*2,96,54*	*3,67,90*	*3,48,59*	*3,68,02*	*3,31,58*	*4,64,30*	*4,25,15*	*4,00,80*	*3,71,65*	*3,51,36*	*3,26,96*	*2,74,95*	*2,54,91*
	TOTAL FOOD GRAINS ...	Mds.	15,93	14,03	17,93	15,87	20,87	17,10	18,71	15,19	19,74	17,03	17,20	15,14	16,95	15,07
		Rs.	*1,13,75*	*1,01,39*	*1,36,62*	*1,22,53*	*1,59,76*	*1,32,50*	*1,58,42*	*1,27,16*	*1,63,85*	*1,44,28*	*1,36,07*	*1,19,40*	*1,18,02*	*1,06,36*
	Bajri	Mds.	2,94	2,49	3,17	2,13	4,95	4,15	3,95	2,68	4,68	4,10	3,01	2,56	3,16	2,80
		Rs.	*14,69*	*12,47*	*19,01*	*12,78*	*29,70*	*24,93*	*27,63*	*18,74*	*28,05*	*24,62*	*18,09*	*15,34*	*18,98*	*16,82*
	Jowar	Mds.	1,82	1,43	1,37	1,31	2,38	1,94	1,98	1,74	2,45	1,97	1,42	1,14	1,18	83
		Rs.	*7,28*	*5,72*	*10,95*	*10,48*	*14,26*	*11,63*	*13,89*	*12,17*	*14,70*	*11,20*	*8,51*	*6,81*	*5,89*	*4,14*
	Rice	Mds.	3,57	3,20	3,80	3,49	3,67	3,08	3,49	2,25	4,04	4,04	3,36	2,85	3,74	3,24
		Rs.	*35,65*	*32,03*	*38,04*	*35,35*	*36,67*	*30,81*	*38,42*	*24,80*	*44,42*	*44,42*	*33,55*	*28,49*	*33,66*	*31,17*
	Wheat	Mds.	2,47	2,20	3,27	3,26	3,01	2,45	2,99	2,64	3,03	2,65	3,36	3,00	2,84	2,67
		Rs.	*16,94*	*15,41*	*30,88*	*29,30*	*30,10*	*24,50*	*35,86*	*31,71*	*36,33*	*31,78*	*33,57*	*30,04*	*22,75*	*21,37*
	TOTAL GROCERIES ...	Mds.	4,06	3,93	4,41	4,21	4,42	4,05	5,00	4,53	4,98	4,23	5,19	4,60	5,29	4,51
		Rs.	*67,35*	*64,46*	*69,08*	*64,74*	*84,31*	*76,09*	*66,63*	*58,78*	*62,41*	*53,13*	*69,15*	*61,55*	*62,68*	*54,14*
	Gul	Mds.	1,80	1,80	1,83	1,83	1,50	1,50	1,92	1,92	1,90	1,90	1,77	1,77	1,88	1,88
		Rs.	*18,02*	*18,02*	*14,65*	*14,65*	*12,04*	*12,04*	*15,38*	*15,38*	*13,31*	*13,31*	*10,65*	*10,65*	*13,15*	*13,15*
	Sugar	Mds.	1,05	97	1,27	1,10	1,55	1,30	1,81	1,39	1,82	1,18	2,08	1,54	2,08	1,35
		Rs	*20,93*	*19,37*	*25,38*	*22,03*	*34,08*	*28,59*	*25,28*	*19,50*	*20,02*	*13,00*	*22,88*	*16,97*	*20,79*	*13,50*
	TOTAL FRUIT AND VEGETABLES ...	Mds.	6,88	6,68	6,95	6,85	6,69	6,57	8,98	8,98	9,40	9,39	8,24	8,24	8,11	8,11
		Rs.	*1,02,68*	*1,00,24*	*1,23,42*	*1,22,64*	*86,71*	*86,02*	*1,87,25*	*1,87,25*	*1,31,75*	*1,31,70*	*1,14,57*	*1,14,57*	*65,05*	*65,05*
	TOTAL FODDER ...	Mds.	11,48	11,45	11,58	11,57	10,45	10,28	13,25	13,24	10,68	10,63	8,36	8,35	10,98	10,94
		Rs.	*30,59*	*30,44*	*33,77*	*33,76*	*37,24*	*36,97*	*51,99*	*51,96*	*42,79*	*42,48*	*31,57*	*31,44*	*29,20*	*28,86*
II	**Animals for Slaughter**	Mds.	2·3	2·3	2	2	1·5	1·5	1·9	1·9	2·7	2·7	2·0	2·0	2·3	2·3
		Rs.	*47*	*47*	*40*	*40*	*29*	*29*	*39*	*39*	*53*	*53*	*41*	*41*	*45*	*45*

III	**Articles of Fuel, Lighting and Washing**	Mds.	18,69	17,71	14,20	14,13	15,68	15,61	17,25	17,16	19,09	18,40	16,32	14,89	19,60	19,22
		Rs.	*42,90*	*40,05*	*41,32*	*40,37*	*45,93*	*44,78*	*58,19*	*56,49*	*52,96*	*50,21*	*43,56*	*42,93*	*43,43*	*44,67*
	TOTAL FUEL ...	Mds.	17,03	16,20	12,39	12,39	13,87	13,86	14,60	14,60	16,67	16,38	14,24	13,04	16,36	16,14
		Rs.	*19,79*	*18,96*	*15,05*	*15,05*	*16,86*	*16,84*	*19,15*	*19,15*	*20,92*	*20,62*	*19,03*	*17,31*	*15,24*	*15,08*
	TOTAL LIGHTING ...	Mds.	1,53	1,39	1,70	1,63	1,69	1,61	2,50	2,41	2,24	1,84	1,95	1,71	3,06	2,90
		Rs.	*21,18*	*19,16*	*24,34*	*23,40*	*26,60*	*25,47*	*36,39*	*34,69*	*29,42*	*23,33*	*27,03*	*22,72*	*29,59*	*27,04*
	All kinds of Oils... ... ... (except Kerosene)	Mds.	39	36	51·5	51	44	43	77	73	56	30	38	24	45	34
		Rs.	*7,90*	*7,22*	*11,32*	*11,21*	*9,71*	*9,59*	*18,49*	*17,41*	*12,41*	*6,57*	*8,34*	*5,30*	*8,08*	*6,05*
	Oil seeds and Miscellaneous	Mds.	1,14	1,03	1,18·5	1,12	1,25	1,18	1,73	1,68	1,68	1,54	1,57	1,47	2,61	2,56
		Rs.	*13,28*	*11,94*	*13,02*	*12,19*	*16,39*	*15,38*	*17,90*	*17,28*	*17,01*	*17,31*	*18,69*	*17,42*	*21,51*	*20,99*
	TOTAL WASHING MATERIALS ...	Mds.	12·5	12·3	10·6	10·5	13·7	13·7	14·5	14·5	18·2	18·2	13·7	13·2	17·8	17·1
		Rs.	*1,92*	*1,91*	*1,93*	*1,93*	*2,48*	*2,48*	*2,65*	*2,65*	*2,62*	*2,62*	*2,50*	*2,45*	*2,65*	*2,55*
IV	**Building Materials**	Mds.	61,27	60,87	28,47	28,18	23,97	23,67	33,92	19,72	25,35	21,97	19,57	17,77	23,83	21,89
		Rs.	*35,44*	*34,43*	*31,34*	*30,45*	*29,06*	*27,19*	*43,34*	*33,55*	*50,02*	*45,77*	*18,92*	*15,33*	*44,90*	*41,07*
V	**Drugs, Spices & Gums**	Mds.	1,13	99	1,11	1,01	1,23	1,18	1,43	1,32	1,18	1,05	1,34	1,17	1,52	1,43
		Rs.	*20,18*	*19,22*	*20,15*	*19,26*	*49,57*	*48,57*	*28,05*	*24,49*	*24,35*	*22,95*	*27,06*	*25,00*	*28,97*	*27,86*
VI	**Tobacco**	Mds.	22	8	52	40	45	33	45	36	44	33	52	47	55	38
		Rs.	*12,09*	*5,39*	*20,18*	*15,53*	*18,41*	*16,26*	*21,39*	*17,21*	*17,61*	*14,51*	*18,36*	*15,48*	*14,36*	*11,55*
	Tobacco and Snuff	Mds.	18	4	35	24	29	17	37	28	24	15	27	24	30	18
		Rs.	*6,47*	*16*	*13,97*	*9,56*	*12,38*	*10,94*	*16,13*	*12,11*	*9,65*	*5,95*	*10,68*	*9,59*	*5,99*	*3,55*
VII	**Piece Goods**	Mds.	29	26	32	31	32	30	39	38	39	37	41	37	45	43
		Rs.	*46,75*	*41,05*	*42,10*	*47,53*	*46,86*	*43,16*	*43,90*	*42,92*	*44,56*	*42,62*	*44,64*	*42,50*	*46,49*	*44,41*
	Cloth and Textiles	Mds.	22	19	25	25	27	25	24	23	16	15	21	18	19	18
		Rs.	*43,31*	*37,63*	*41,59*	*39,53*	*44,36*	*40,66*	*41,10*	*40,14*	*23,37*	*21,52*	*29,95*	*27,92*	*25,02*	*23,18*
VIII	**Metals**...	Mds.	2,08	1,13	2,81	1,91	2,45	1,55	2,80	2,03	2,81	1,86	2,86	2,10	3,79	3,67
		Rs.	*62,78*	*13,97*	*76,70*	*31,51*	*73,46*	*26,89*	*75,43*	*39,75*	*57,69*	*27,66*	*65,60*	*41,43*	*71,16*	*63,69*
	Brass and Copper scrapping ...	Mds.	2·6	1·5	4·0	2·9	2·8	2·6	3·0	2·9	4·9	1·5	7·9	4·9	6·2	3·3
		Rs.	*39*	*22*	*100*	*74*	*68*	*62*	*73*	*69*	*1,08*	*33*	*1,74*	*1,07*	*1,36*	*74*
	Brass and Copper Sheets ...	Mds.	72	12	99	23	1,01	16	1,10	41	82	22	86	38	1,06	1,05
		Rs.	*40,31*	*6,98*	*53,50*	*12,30*	*52,40*	*8,38*	*54,39*	*20,68*	*36,73*	*9,77*	*34,60*	*15,24*	*42,35*	*42,22*
IX	**Miscellaneous**	Mds.	1,19	1,17	1,32	1,31	1,49	1,42	1,54	1,44	1,38	1,37	1,64	1,57	1,79	1,75
		Rs.	*29,75*	*29,62*	*29,33*	*29,67*	*27,63*	*27,33*	*33,08*	*32,66*	*34,13*	*33,63*	*36,66*	*36,08*	*40,19*	*39,20*
	Yarn...	Mds.	4·8	4·8	5·7	5·6	5·32	5·31	4·3	4·2	3·72	3·46	4·8	4·7	5·2	5·0
		Rs.	*3,11*	*3,11*	*3,26*	*3,22*	*3,21*	*3,20*	*2,59*	*2,45*	*2,57*	*2,41*	*2,53*	*2,42*	*2,92*	*2,79*
	TOTAL I to IX ...	Mds	1,23,24	1,18,32	89,65	85,77	88,07	82,21	1,02,34	84,38	95,43	86,66	81,68	74,69	92,89	87,42
		Rs.	*5,64,60*	*4,80,79*	*6,37,42*	*5,63,32*	*6,48,23*	*5,55,05*	*7,40,65*	*6,72,61*	*6,82,65*	*5,99,53*	*5,68 55*	*5,05,31*	*5,68,91*	*5,32,30*

Table No. 48—Volume and Value of Gross and Net Imports of Classes of Commodities and of some important commodities into the Poona Octroi Cordon during 1922-23 to 1936-37. (*Continued*) [in 000's]

Class	Commodities		1929—30		1930—31		1931—32		1932—33		1933—34		1934—35		1935—36		1936—37	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
I	**Food for Men and Animals**	Mds.	44,57	41,42	46,67	42,00	45,63	42,08	47,88	44,64	43,36	40,60	45,52	42,89	46,60	45,17	49,52	46,24
		Rs.	*2,50,58*	*2,31,29*	*2,25,28*	*2,03,72*	*1,96,47*	*1,76,34*	*2,00,09*	*1,79,51*	*1,74,28*	*1,57,66*	*2,06,42*	*1,90,21*	*1,98,80*	*1,89,26*	*2,16,03*	*1,94,74*
	TOTAL FOOD GRAINS ...	Mds.	16,10	14,03	17,57	14,17	18,04	16,22	18,09	16,39	16,34	14,82	18,14	16,59	17,53	16,71	18,93	17,25
		Rs.	*76,69*	*65,87*	*72,00*	*60,56*	*69,54*	*61,39*	*70,19*	*62,91*	*55,01*	*49,43*	*67,28*	*60,59*	*66,37*	*62,95*	*83,59*	*75,51*
	Bajri	Mds.	2,28	2,04	2,51	59	2,58	2,40	2,26	2,09	1,91	1,79	2,33	2,23	2,16	2,10	3,10	2,96
		Rs.	*9,21*	*8,14*	*6,28*	*1,46*	*9,00*	*8,38*	*6,78*	*6,26*	*5,74*	*5,37*	*6,98*	*6,70*	*6,47*	*6,30*	*10,35*	*10,37*
	Jowar	Mds.	1,92	1,59	2,20	1,95	1,91	1,78	2,22	2,09	2,14	1,97	2,02	1,86	1,78	1,69	1,96	1,81
		Rs.	*6,72*	*6,56*	*4,40*	*3,91*	*5,73*	*5,33*	*5,65*	*5,22*	*5,35*	*4,93*	*5,07*	*4,67*	*4,45*	*4,22*	*5,89*	*5,43*
	Rice	Mds	4,07	3,42	4,10	3,49	4,01	3,21	4,19	3,43	4,25	3,39	4,82	3,90	4,36	3,93	5,14	4,22
		Rs.	*20,56*	*15,62*	*24,59*	*20,97*	*20,06*	*16,07*	*20,93*	*17,15*	*16,98*	*13,56*	*24,12*	*19,49*	*21,78*	*19,65*	*28,28*	*23,20*
	Wheat	Mds.	2,48	2,19	3,04	2,87	3,14	2,87	3,22	2,99	2,93	2,81	3,07	2,93	3,30	3,23	3,36	3,23
		Rs.	*14,91*	*13,13*	*15,21*	*14,36*	*12,55*	*11,47*	*16,12*	*14,97*	*11,71*	*11,26*	*12,29*	*11,73*	*16,51*	*16,16*	*18,47*	*17,78*
	TOTAL GROCERIES ...	Mds.	5,81	4,78	6,48	5,61	6,27	5,30	6,26	5,28	6,20	5,18	5,80	5,02	6,16	5,59	6,07	4,72
		Rs.	*60,44*	*52,28*	*64,62*	*56,37*	*68,47*	*57,66*	*66,86*	*54,71*	*56,49*	*36,39*	*57,33*	*49,99*	*61,24*	*55,25*	*53,01*	*40,84*
	Gul	Mds.	1,95	1,95	2,27	2,27	2,21	2,21	2,34	2,34	2,02	2,02	1,80	1,80	2,05	2,05	2,02	2,02
		Rs.	*13,66*	*13,66*	*11,35*	*11,35*	*11,07*	*11,07*	*9,36*	*9,36*	*8,09*	*8,09*	*10,81*	*10,81*	*8,21*	*8,21*	*6,05*	*6,05*
	Sugar	Mds.	2,63	1.67	2,75	1,96	2,52	1,63	2,31	1,41	2,28	1,33	2,35	1,64	2,62	2,08	2,54	1,31
		Rs.	*19,07*	*12,12*	*23,37*	*16,67*	*26,51*	*17,15*	*27,70*	*16,90*	*22,76*	*13,33*	*21,70*	*15,13*	*27,51*	*21,88*	*22,90*	*11,77*
	TOTAL FRUIT AND VEGETABLES ...	Mds.	10,76	10,76	10,74	10,42	9,06	8,42	10,94	10,39	8,88	8,74	9,67	9,43	10,68	10,64	10,85	10,66
		Rs.	*83,60*	*83,60*	*71,36*	*69,76*	*38,62*	*36,99*	*42,61*	*41,50*	*43,19*	*42,76*	*58,47*	*56,64*	*53,09*	*52,99*	*55,65*	*55,08*
	TOTAL FODDER ...	Mds.	11,91	11,86	11,87	11,80	12,26	12,14	12,59	12,57	11,93	11,86	11,90	11,85	12,23	12,23	13,66	13,61
		Rs.	*29,85*	*29,56*	*17,31*	*17,02*	*19,85*	*19,79*	*20,43*	*20,39*	*19,59*	*19,09*	*23,34*	*22,89*	*18,10*	*18,10*	*23,78*	*23,36*
II	**Animals for Slaughter**..	Mds.	2·1	2·1	2·0	2·0	2·3	2·3	1·9	1·9	1·9	1·9	2·1	2·1	1·94	1·94	2	2
		Rs.	*41*	*41*	*40*	*40*	*47*	*47*	*34*	*34*	*38*	*38*	*41*	*41*	*39*	*39*	*42*	*42*

III	**Articles of Fuel, Lighting and Washing** ...	Mds.	20,92	20,11	19,38	19,64	20,51	20,29	20,79	20,60	18,44	18,20	20,23	18,78	21,47	20,92	23,27	22,33
		Rs.	*42,73*	*40,65*	*43,76*	*41,39*	*44,40*	*41,81*	*37,00*	*35,16*	*39,22*	*37,28*	*42,17*	*39,07*	*49,05*	*46,94*	*55,83*	*51,53*
	TOTAL FUEL ...	Mds.	17,99	17,32	17,46	17,43	18,37	18,37	18,32	18,32	16,34	16,33	18,13	16,88	19,46	19,04	21,06	20,38
		Rs.	*16,84*	*16,33*	*20,13*	*20,08*	*23,03*	*23,03*	*17,13*	*17,13*	*22,61*	*22,59*	*22,82*	*21,71*	*26,42*	*25,99*	*27,12*	*26,61*
	TOTAL LIGHTING ...	Mds.	2,45	2,30	2,19	2,00	1,97	1,76	2,22	2,04	1,86	1,64	1,94	1,75	1,82	1,70	1,95	1,70
		Rs.	*22,58*	*21,06*	*20,62*	*18,36*	*19,41*	*16,95*	*17,60*	*15,36*	*14,01*	*12,14*	*18,37*	*16,44*	*20,57*	*18,91*	*26,01*	*22,29*
	All kinds of Oils (except Kerosene) ...	Mds.	46	39	83	70	92	79	91	79	86	71	99	89	99	89	113	96
		Rs.	*5,71*	*4,92*	*10,73*	*9,04*	*11,07*	*9,48*	*9,08*	*7,86*	*7,77*	*6,36*	*11,94*	*10,68*	*13,80*	*12,53*	*18,11*	*15,28*
	Oil seeds and Miscellaneous ...	Mds.	1,99	1,91	1,36	1,30	1,05	97	1,31	1,25	1,00	93	95	86	83	81	82	74
		Rs.	*16,87*	*16,14*	*9,89*	*9,32*	*8,34*	*7,47*	*8,52*	*8,00*	*6,24*	*5,78*	*6,43*	*5,76*	*6,77*	*6,38*	*7,80*	*7,01*
	TOTAL WASHING MATERIALS ...	Mds.	19·1	18·7	18·2	18·1	17·9	16 9	25·3	24·3	24·1	23·4	15·3	14·4	18·9	18·7	26·8	25·0
		Rs.	*3,31*	*3,25*	*2,73*	*2,72*	*1,96*	*1,84*	*2,22*	*2,11*	*2,60*	*2,55*	97	92	*2,06*	*2,04*	*2,75*	*2,64*
IV	**Building Materials** ...	Mds.	26,57	23,90	24,28	20,21	24,94	24,38	25,33	24,92	31,51	30,87	29,18	27,96	32,28	31,91	42,27	41,31
		Rs.	*54,61*	*45,36*	*58,20*	*42,08*	*41,70*	*38,94*	*41,49*	*39,51*	*64,71*	*60,99*	*45,34*	*41,68*	*74,74*	*72,57*	*59,35*	*54,14*
V	**Drugs, Spices & Gums** ..	Mds.	1,57	1,41	1,48	1,30	1,57	1,40	1,70	1,56	1,59	1,41	1,52	1,36	1,59	1,54	1,59	1,45
		Rs.	*35,09*	*32,70*	*24,09*	*22,00*	*27,26*	*25,37*	*25,82*	*24,43*	*24,89*	*22,95*	*24,23*	*22,41*	*26,03*	*25,44*	*27,43*	*25,89*
VI	**Tobacco**	Mds.	60	47	59	49	57	42	47	34	43	36	45	35	66	63	53	43
		Rs.	*16,87*	*13,16*	*13,48*	*11,55*	*12,47*	*10,35*	*11,05*	*9,33*	*11,80*	*10,27*	*15,70*	*13,65*	*17,77*	*16,97*	*15,65*	*13,17*
	Tobacco and Snuff ...	Mds.	29	18	30	22	28	16	28	18	22	15	39	29	37	34	29	19
		Rs.	*8,56*	*5,38*	*6,09*	*4,34*	*4,48*	*2,59*	*4,27*	*2 73*	*4,48*	*2,98*	*7,77*	*5,74*	*9,37*	*8,60*	*7,14*	*4,68*
VII	**Piece Goods**	Mds.	48	46	41	39	46	43	55	53	46	45	44	43	58·4	57·6	59	57
		Rs.	*50,96*	*50,19*	*44,55*	*43,17*	*46,81*	*44,52*	*51,77*	*49,59*	*40,30*	*38,59*	*46,39*	*45,11*	*48,17*	*47,34*	*45,36*	*43,49*
	Cloth and Textiles ...	Mds.	32	31	29	28	34	32	38	37	33	32	36	35	46·9	46	40	39
		Rs.	*39,17*	*38,57*	*36.14*	*34,93*	*40,08*	*37,94*	*42,58*	*40,54*	*32,70*	*31,12*	*13,73*	*13,32*	*43,01*	*42,19*	*34,76*	*32,99*
VIII	**Metals**	Mds.	3,11	2,94	2,99	2,68	2,69	2,59	3,15	3,04	2,80	2,70	3,21	3,02	3,24	3,17	2,63	2,57
		Rs.	*55,46*	*51,60*	*43,55*	*39,03*	*34,68*	*32,99*	*42,99*	*41,55*	*33,32*	*31,06*	*45,65*	*42,00*	*38,23*	*36,36*	*30,15*	*29,35*
	Brass and Copper scrapping	Mds.	7·0	4·1	8·3	6·3	7·6	4·6	5·7	2·9	5·6	4·3	6·5	4·2	6·4	5·6	8·6	7·8
		Rs.	*1,64*	*96*	*1,57*	*1,19*	*1,51*	*98*	*1,02*	*52*	*73*	56	98	*64*	*77*	*67*	*1,04*	*94*
	Brass & Copper Sheets..	Mds.	67	66	43	42	51·9	51·8	85·3	85·2	52·3	51·8	76·1	75·9	66·5	66	43	43
		Rs.	*27,93*	*27,88*	*14,57*	*14,42*	*16,62*	*16,59*	*25,60*	*25,57*	*13,59*	*13,47*	*22,83*	*22,76*	*16,63*	*16,62*	*10,80*	*10,80*
IX	**Miscellaneous**	Mds.	1,90	1,75	1,77	1,65	1,70	1,68	2,34	2,25	1,75·4	1,74·6	2,46	2,45	1,70·5	1,70·3	2,12·3	2,12
		Rs.	*48,51*	*47,43*	*47,84*	*46,72*	*47,81*	*47,20*	*50,15*	*49,68*	*45,74*	*45,04*	*44,47*	*43,76*	*52,36*	*52,20*	*62,36*	*62,10*
	Yarn	Mds.	5·7	5·5	5·4	5·3	4·96	4·80	4·3	4·2	2·94	2·84	3·9	3·8	5·5	5·5	9·7	9·6
		Rs.	*3,67*	*3,47*	*2,62*	*2,50*	*2,41*	*2,33*	*2,03*	*1,96*	*1,47*	*1,43*	*1,81*	*1,77*	*2,50*	*2,50*	*3,71*	*3,70*
	TOTAL I to IX ...	Mds.	99,73	92,48	98,11	88,39	98,10	93,29	1,02,23	97,90	1,00,37	96,35	1,03,03	97,26	1,14,15	1,11,65	1,22.55	1,17,04
		Rs.	*5,55,04*	*5,12,79*	*5,01,32*	*4,50,73*	*4,52,07*	*4,17,98*	*4,60,71*	*4,29,10*	*4,34,63*	*4,04,21*	*4,70,77*	*4,33,30*	*5,05,53*	*4,87,47*	*5,12,62*	*4,74,33*

period 1922-23 to 1936-37. These have been taken from the Municipal Octroi Records. Gross imports represent all the imports that come into the octroi area, irrespective of later exports from it. If the commodities thus imported are exported within a given period without undergoing any transformation, a refund of the octroi duty levied on them can be obtained under the octroi rules. Total imports less the re-exports, in respect of which a refund has been given, represent the net imports of the above table. These net imports do not necessarily equal retained imports because the exports of commodities that are processed within the octroi cordon are not eligible for refund and their exports would not be included in the exports in the table. And also because refund might not be obtained, for a variety of reasons, on all re-exports of commodities. The figures regarding brass and copper sheets bring this out clearly. Refund on brass and copper-ware manufactured from imported brass and copper sheets was given upto 1927 but was discontinued from that year. This change in the rules governing the grant of refund has brought about a considerable change in the total quantities of brass and copper sheets shown as net imports in the table. Thus the net imports of the table especially of those commodities that are likely to be transformed and re-exported, would diverge considerably from the actuals of retained imports. On the other hand, in the case of such commodities as food grains, which are primarily imported for local consumption the figures of net imports are likely to approximate the actual figure of retained imports. The octroi figures are, thus, apart from any defects of record or compilation, not a correct index, either of retained imports or of exports in all cases. In the absence of any other set of statistics relating to the volume of trade of the city, they have been used by us.

In a city of growing size and population it is expected that net imports of most commodities would go on increasing. If the averages of net imports of the first three years of the period covered by the table are compared with the averages of the last three years, all commodities, except oil seeds show increases ranging from 1 to 150 per cent. This percentage increase does not, however, measure the increase in *per capita* consumption as it leaves out the factor of the growth of population. The net imports have to be related to the population of the octroi area to yield significant results regarding trends in comsumption. From this point of view the per head net imports of "total food grains" and of "cloth and textiles" are the most important. The absense of annual statistics of the population of the area included within the limits of the Poona Octroi Administration makes it difficult to work out detailed comparisons on the *per capita* basis. However, general trends over the whole period might be roughly indicated. The population of Greater Poona, which corresponds roughly to the area included in the Poona Octroi Cordon, increased by about 16 per cent. between 1921 and 1931 and by 30 per cent. between 1931 and 1941. The two three year periods i. e. 1922-23

to 1924-25 and 1934-35 to 1936-37 are separated by an average of 12 years during which the population might be taken to have grown by about 20 per cent. The increases in net imports during the period must, therefore, be corrected for purposes of comparison by an allowance in respect of this increase of 20 per cent.

If such an allowance is made for the net imports of "all food grains" and "cloth and textiles" the *per capita* consumption of the former would seem to have declined. Though the exact cause of this decrease cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty, it should be noticed that this decline is not evenly spread over all the food grains comprising this group. The *per capita* consumption of rice and wheat show small increases, that of jowar is almost constant while that of bajri records a decrease. This might probably be accounted for by the increasing use of rice and wheat as a result of the narrowing of price margins between these two and jowar and bajri, during the 'twenties and particularly after 1929. The *per capita* net imports of sugar seem to have increased during the period, as also the net imports of "cloth and textiles".

The net imports of "all oils" (except kerosene), a group which mostly consists of vegetable oil and of "oils seeds" are particularly interesting. If the average net imports of the two three year periods at the begining and at the end of the period are compared, the net imports of "all oil" record an increase of 112 per cent. while those of "oil seeds" show a decrease of 28 per cent. This can be broadly interpreted as indicating the decline of the oil-pressing industry in Poona and the displacement of locally produced oil by increasing imports of oil from without. The trend is particularly to be noticed from the period 1928-29 to 1931-32. From 1928-29 the net imports of oil seeds declined from 50 per cent. above base (the average of the first three years) to about 12 per cent. above base in 1931-32. During the same period, however, imports of oil rose from 21 per cent. below base to 130 per cent. above base. In 1934-35 the net imports of 'oil seeds' were for the first time slightly less than those of "all oil" and during subsequent years the former continued to decline while the latter increased.

Two more items in the table deserve some comment. The net imports of tobacco, comparing the average of the first and last three year periods increased by about 34 per cent. during the period. A large part of this increase is accounted for by the increased imports of cigars and cigarrettes. The net imports of "building material" also show an increase during the period. The increase is particularly heavy in certain lines such as cement, steel and iron goods, etc. which began to be increasingly used in building construction during this period.

The picture of exports from the Poona octroi area that can be built up from these figures is, as already indicated, likely to be very imperfect. These figures do not take stock of all exports but record only the re-export of goods that are brought into the octroi area and on which a refund is given. They would, thus, indicate rather the re-consignment

trade or the trade that is cleared through Poona. Such exports, as seen from these figures, are largely confined to rice, sugar and tobacco. The exports of rice show substantial increases from 1929–30. The handling trade in bajri marks a steady decline from 1925–26 to 1935–36. The re-exports of suger also record increases during the period particularly from 1929–30. In the case of tobacco the re-exports are constant while in building materials they seem to be declining.

§2. **Wholesale Trade**: Information relating to the location and number of wholesale shops, as obtained in the census of establishments, has been given in Chapter III. It has already been stated that the information is of doubtful validity as the enumerators had no ready means of distinguishing a retail shop from a wholesale establishment. As no special count of wholesale shops was subsequently undertaken, in any connection, the data contained in Table No. 27 remain in the original uncorrected and unchecked state. As a result, the table underestimates the number of wholesalers in some directions while largely over estimating them in others, as for example, in timber. The data relating to the volume and value of trade have already been presented in the previous section. The figures relating to the volume and value of total imports entering into the city indicate the size of the bulk of the business handled by dealers in Poona. To this has to be added the volume of the production of important industries in Poona, such as handloom weaving, brass and copper-ware, *bidi*-manufacture, etc. The employment offered by wholesale trade, apart from a small number of clerical assistants, is mainly to unskilled manual labour. This is dealt with in the section dealing with casual labour later in this chapter. The account in this section is, therefore, confined mainly to a description of the types and the terms of business of some sections of wholesale dealers in Poona.

The largest volume of business was transacted by wholesalers who dealt in grain and grocery. The two might be considered together as both kinds of dealers were located in the same neighbourhood and the two businesses were also many times transacted by the same concern. A very large number of commodities is covered by the phrase grain and grocery. The main constituents of it were, however, the major cereal grains and *gul* and sugar. The bulk of this trade was concentrated in the two wards, Nana and Bhawani. The location of wholesale dealings in grain at the time of the Gazetteer was the same as at present. Dealings in groceries were at that time more specialised and also more dispersed; the degree of specialisation has been reduced in the intervening period and the location has become more concentrated. Wholesale dealers acted both as wholesalers and as commission agents in dealings in most commodities. It was reported that a very large portion of the total dealings in the Poona wholesale market were transacted on the commission basis. This was true specially of produce grown in the neighbourhood of Poona; but a certain proportion of the produce of even distant origin

was sent to the Poona market for being sold on a commission basis. This, for example, often happened when Bambay merchants consigned wheat from the Punjab or rice from Burma for sale to Poona wholesalers.

The producer, or the trader who had acquired the produce from him, consigned it for sale to the dealer in Poona. The consignor delivered the goods at the shop of the wholesaler in Poona and entrusted its sale to him; it was only rarely that the consignor would himself be present at the sale. As a rule, nearly three-fourths of the estimated value of the produce was advanced to the consignor by the wholesaler or commission agent. The commission agent disposed of the goods according to the instructions of the consignor. If the consignor desired to withhold the produce from the market in expectation, say, of a rise in prices the produce was stored in the godown of the wholesaler. No rent was charged by the wholesaler for storage of the produce for a short period. The bigger wholesalers, however, made a small rental charge if the produce was kept with them for periods exceeding one month. The normal commission charged was, in most cases, half an anna per rupee worth of produce sold. The other charges on sale, such as *batta*, *kasar* and *dharmadaya*, were not levied uniformly and were, of course, of a very much smaller amount than the commission.

For cash payment within a certain period after the date of the transaction, the retailer or buyer obtained a graded discount on the amount of the bill. The normal period within which a bill should be settled was considered to be nine days. Bills which remained unsettled for a month or more were usually charged with interest, especially by the bigger wholesalers. The original lay-out of the shopping area was such that most wholesalers had space for storing produce at the back of their own shops; the bigger wholesalers supplemented this by acquiring additional accommodation at one or more places in the neighbourhood. The storage accommodation was sometimes considerable, capable, for example, of storing upto 5,000 bags in individual cases. The godowns, however, were not ordinarily permanent vermin-proof structures. Hence the stored produce, it was stated, was liable to be attacked by rats, etc. and a small annual loss was sustained on that account.

Poona does not command a hinterland rich in agricultural produce. Consequently, the dealings of the Poona traders were confined largely to the consumption requirements of the city. Much produce did not pass through their hands for distribution elsewhere. Two partial exceptions to this rule were rice and *gul*. The Maval country to the west of Poona produced large supplies of special high quality rice. Hence, though for fully meeting internal consumption needs Poona city had to draw upon supplies from Konkan districts and even from distant Burma, there were substantial exports of Maval rice to other Deccan districts, a part of which passed through Poona. The special position of the rice trade was marked at the time of the Gazetteer by the location of rice wholesalers'

in Shukrawar and Narayan i. e. at the ends of the town nearest to the incoming produce. This specialised location had disappeared in the intervening years and considerable trade in rice had come to be handled in the Bhavani and Nana area. The Shukrawar centre had, however, not lost all its importance even at the time of the survey. The *gul* trade was a dwindling trade. It had, it was said, attained its greatest importance round about the year 1920. At that time *gul* came to the Poona market for local sale and for consignment to distant markets like Bombay city and Gujarat, not only from the Mutha canals area in the immediate neighbourhood but also from the somewhat more distant areas irrigated by the Nira canal. The general depression in the *gul* trade after 1925 accompanied by the rise of local markets, as at Baramati and Nira, had dealt a severe blow to the Poona market and it was reported that in 1936–37 the value of the transactions had fallen greatly from the corresponding figures fifteen years ago[1].

Next to grain and grocery the trade in vegetables and in fruit was the one of the greatest value. This also was almost entirely confined to the consumption needs of the city. A considerable export of vegetables and fruit took place from the area surrounding Poona to markets outside, especially Bombay city. The bulk of this, however, was made directly and did not pass through the hands of either wholesalers or commission agents in Poona. Almost the whole of the wholesaling in vegetables and fruit in Poona took place at the Municipal or Fulay market. As a general rule the wholesaler proper figured in this trade chiefly in connection with the reconsignment of the produce, brought to the Poona market, to outside markets. The extent of this business was comparatively small and only a small number of dealers were engaged in it. All of them operated in the Fulay Market and ordinarily made their purchases from the commission salesmen. No wholesaler usually intervened between the local retailer or hawker and the consignor of produce to the Poona market. The consignor or his agent brought the produce to the market and entrusted it to the commission agent who sold it, usually on the morning after the receipt of the produce, by auction in the market. The more important commission agents had ordinarily some warehousing accommodation but this was not used for holding over the produce for a number of days. There were no facilities for cold storage of produce brought to the market. The auctions took place daily within the market at separate pitches fixed for various kinds of produce. In connection with some kinds of produce the auction was not open, that

1. *Gul* was the most important article of *entrepot* trade in Poona in the early eighties of the last century. The Gazetteer places the total Poona imports of raw sugar at 5,271 tons of which 3,148 tons were exported. It, however, notes : " After the opening of the West-Deccan or Poona-Londa railway, probably in 1889, this raw sugar, instead of going through Poona, will be sent direct to Gujarat and other places and Poona imports and exports will considerably fall. " p. 307. The recent developments may be said to be analogous to the possible movement indicated in the Gazetteer.

is, the bidding instead of being public by word of mouth was under cover of cloth by signs. Ordinarily each lot of an individual consignor was auctioned separately. However, where there was a large number of small consignments business usually proceeded by way of following a settled price after a few auctions had taken place. The method of charging the commission and the kinds of charges made differed considerably from produce to produce. The number of wholesalers and commission agents operating in the market numbered approximately 80.

The Gazetteer has recorded that Poona had the largest snuff and tobacco market in the Deccan. Snuff-making and the curing of chewing tobacco were still carried on at Poona and to these had been added in recent decades the manufacture of *bidi* on a large scale. To meet all these requirements considerable imports of tobacco were made into Poona. The bulk of these came from the districts of Satara and Belgaum, but of recent years a certain amount of tobacco from Gujarat had also begun to find its way to the Poona market. The bigger dealers in tobacco were all, properly speaking, commission agents and not wholesalers. The produce was brought to their shops by either the producer or more usually by the local dealer who, on a number of occasions, personally accompanied the consignment. All expenses upto the point of delivering the produces into the warehouses of commission agents were incurred by the local dealer. An amount varying from ½ to ⅞ of the estimated value of produce was advanced to the consignor by the commission agents on receipt of the produce. It was stated that the proportion of advance made had to be distinctly increased since 1930. Rent, usually at the rate of two annas per bag, was charged by the commission agent for the produce stored with him. The responsibility for damage or destruction of produce in his warehouse was, of course, shouldered by the commission agent. The reconsignments of raw tobacco from Poona were never considerable. It was stated that these had further declined in recent years because of the rise in importance of markets in the producing areas, such as Nipani which exported tobacco directly to all parts of India. The re-exports from Poona were chiefly to the neighbouring Deccan Districts. The main customers were local curers of tobacco and the manufacturers of snuff and *bidi*. The sales to these were ordinarily made on credit, the settlement of the bill being expected within two months of the sale. The purchaser incurred all the expenses regarding the transport, etc. of the produce from the warehouse of the commission agent. The usual rate of the commission charged was stated to be Rs. 2 per *palla* and the normal *dharmadaya* charge as one pice per bag. The produce did not ordinarily remain for a long time in the warehouse of the wholesaler. The brisk season for the trade was the first quarter of the year during which, it was stated, almost two-thirds of the annual turnover took place. No re-bagging of produce was undertaken by the commission agents and the produce was usually handed over to the customer in the bags in which it had been sent by the consignor. The

chief items of expenditure incurred by the consignor in addition to the transport charges upto Poona station were usually *hundekaris'* charges for getting the produce from the station to the warehouse, at the rate of one anna per bag and municipal octroi at the rate of eight annas per maund.

Wholesaling on any large scale in piece-goods was unknown in Poona. The bulk of the imports of cotton piece-goods was of mill-made goods, Indian or foreign, and was made chiefly from or through, Bombay. A considerable proportion of retailers of cloth in Poona had dealings with wholesalers in Bombay and there was consequently little scope for the growth of wholesale business in Poona. The trade in handloom products, local and imported, was handled by a few merchant-financiers, details regarding whose operations have already been given in the account of the local handloom weaving industry. The wholesaling in brass and copper sheets and manufactures has also been dealt with in the section relating to that handicraft in the last chapter.

There were about 35 wholesale shops which dealt in timber. Most of them were situated in and around Bhawani and Nana. Some of these shops belonged to small building contractors. The kinds of timber dealt in were mainly country, Burma and Red teak and *devdar*. Most of it was imported from Bombay or the forest area in Thana District. A certain quantity of inferior types of timber came to the city from the surrounding rural parts.

§3. **Hardware Shops**: The market for iron-ware in Poona was located in a narrow street in Raviwar called Bohori Ali. According to the census of establishments there were in all 74 shops in Poona city dealing in hardware. Of these 42 were in Raviwar, 11 in Sadashiv, 7 in Shukrawar, 5 in Budhwar, 3 each in Nana and Bhavani, 2 in Rasta and one in Mangalwar. Our sample covered 8 shops. Four of these were in Raviwar and one each in Sadashiv, Budhwar, Shukrawar and Bhavani. Four shops were owned by Bohoris and the remaining four by a Brahmin, a Teli, a Marwadi and a Wani respectively. The shop owned by the Brahmin had a standing of 13 years and two other shops, of 8 years each. The other shops in the sample had a standing of 2 to 3 years.

In this trade there was no sharp difference between wholesalers and retailers. The bigger shops in Bohori Ali did wholesale business in addition to directly dealing with local customers. The commodities dealt in chiefly consisted of iron sheets, galvanized iron sheets, iron bars, angles, tees, beams and channels, joints and wires, piping and sanitary fittings of all kinds, screws, nails, handles and railings, tools, iron implements, locks, paints, varnishes, linseed oil, etc. The retail trade in cement was also handled by these shops. The bigger shopkeepers dealt directly with the manufacturers of iron and steel and other goods and imported goods in considerable quantities. The smaller shopkeepers made pur-

chases chiefly at Bombay and supplemented requirements as occasion arose by purchases from bigger shops at Poona. Only one of the shops in our sample purchased all the goods locally and another purchased about three-fourths of its stock locally. Two of the shopkeepers in the sample also purchased some iron-ware from local iron-smiths. Purchases of second-hand goods were besides made in the city. One of the shopkeepers in our sample had also a small workshop where old ware was reconditioned.

At a rough estimate dealings in galvanized and other iron sheets were put at a quarter of the total turnover, another quarter being taken up by the products of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Cement accounted for the greater portion of the other half of the turnover, while a comparatively small portion of it was taken up by other miscellaneous hardware. The monthly turnover of business in the biggest shop in our sample was Rs. 6,000. It was Rs. 1,200 in the case of another. The monthly turnover of two other shops varied between Rs. 750 and Rs. 800 and that of another two between Rs. 350 and Rs. 500. The monthly turnover of the two remaining shops varied between Rs. 75 and Rs. 150. Those who made purchases in Bombay obtained credit for periods varying from two weeks to a month. The customers of shops were also extended credit for periods from one to two months. The main customers were the local building contractors and it was complained that considerable sums were locked up in selling goods to them.

The stock of the biggest shop in our sample was valued at Rs. 50,000. It was valued at between Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 5,000 each in the case of 3 other shops. Its value in the case of the remaining 4 shops varied between Rs. 400 and Rs. 700 each. The bigger shopkeepers had to make warehousing arrangements. Only one shop in our sample, the biggest, had a godown and its monthly rent was Rs. 10. The transport of goods from the railway station was arranged through *hundekaris* whose usual charge was 3 pies per maund. The local transport arrangements were through casual labour and bullock carts.

In the biggest shop in the sample 5 persons, including the owner and one clerk, were engaged. The monthly salary of the clerk was Rs. 25, while that of other servants varied between Rs. 15 and Rs. 22. Of the remaining, 4 shops engaged 3 persons each and 3 shops 2 persons each. Only 4 of these 18 were outsiders and all of them were boys. Their monthly salaries were between Rs. 4 and Rs. 6. The total expenses in connection with rent and lighting in the biggest shop in the sample came to Rs. 58 per month. In the case of two other shops they were Rs. 17 and Rs. 22 respectively. In the remaining shops the expenses varied between Rs. 8 and Rs. 13.

The hours for which the shops remained open were between 11 and 13 daily. As the demand for goods dealt in by these shops was chiefly in building trades the monsoon months, particularly July, were reported

to be dull. The briskest trade took place during the months of March, April and May.

§4. **Firewood and Charcoal Sellers**: There were in all 321 firewood and charcoal sellers in the city according to the census of establishments and a total of 673 persons were engaged in them. Of the 321 shops, 35 each were in Sadashiv, Shukrawar and Kasba, 29 in Nana, 27 each in Budhwar and Raviwar, 24 in Shanwar, 22 in Bhavani, 17 in Rasta, 14 in Vetal, 13 in Shivajinagar, 11 in Somwar, 8 each in Ganj, Ganesh and Narayan, 6 in Mangalwar and 3 in Nihal. Out of these shops 32 were included in the sample, of which 6 were in Shukrawar, 4 each in Budhwar and Nana, 3 in Sadashiv, 2 each in Shivajinagar, Shanwar, Kasba Raviwar and Bhavani and one each in Rasta, Nihal, Mangalwar, Vetal, and Ganesh. Of the 32 shops in the sample, 14 were owned by Marathas, 9 by Brahmins, 2 by Lingayat Vanis, 2 by Gujaratis and one each by a a Jain, a Mohammedan and a Paradeshi. One shop in the sample had a business standing of 30 years and was owned by the Paradeshi. Two other shops, having a business standing of about 20 years, were owned by a Maratha and a Brahmin respectively. The business standing of 3 other shops was between 12 and 14 years, of 2 shops between 8 and 10 years and that of the remaining 24 shops less than 6 years.

These shops dealt in firewood, charcoal and dried dung-cakes. One shop in the sample, however, sold only charcoal. Most of the unsplit firewood came by railway to the Poona station from the surrounding or distant parts and the shopkeepers bought it there from the importing merchants. They also bought cartloads coming into the city from the neighbouring rural parts. Firewood generally came in as large blocks of wood and the shopkeepers got it split into suitable sizes. One dealer in the sample used to purchase patches of forests in the Bhor State or Mulshi Peta and to cut them down at his own expense. He then brought the firewood to Poona in cartloads to his shop. Fuel merchants in Poona brought coal from parts of Northern and Eastern India. This came in railway waggons and the merchants sold it at the railway station to smaller merchants as soon as these waggons arrived.

The monthly turnover of 6 shops in the sample was between Rs. 60 and Rs. 100 each and of 18 others between Rs. 100 and Rs. 300 each. In the 8 remaining shops the monthly turnover was between Rs. 300 and Rs. 500 each. The stock on hand in two shops in the sample was valued at Rs. 75 each. In the case of 13 others its value varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 300 each. It was between Rs. 300 and Rs. 500 each in the case of 6 shops and between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 each in 6 others. In the 5 remaining shops the stock on hand was worth between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 each.

In all the 32 shops in the sample 80 persons were engaged. Out of these 49 were owners, 30 labourers and one clerk. The clerk was emp-

loyed part time and was paid a monthly salary of Rs. 5. Of the 30 labourers 16 were paid on piece rates at Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8-0 for splitting wood weighing one *khandi* (20 maunds). The monthly salary of 10 others varied between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 each. The monthly salary of one was Rs. 8 and that of two others was Rs. 5 each. The first was provided with free lodging and the second with free lodging and boarding while the third earned, in addition to his pay, extra amounts by carrying the goods sold for the customers. The remaining one was a boy of ten and was paid Rs. 2 per month. Besides these, additional workers were employed occasionally during the year for splitting wood and these temporary employees were almost invariably paid on the piece work basis. The hours of work for servants in the shops varied between 10 and 14 per day.

The monthly expenses on account of rent and lighting were in the case of 5 shops, between Rs. 3 and Rs. 5 each and between Rs. 6 and Rs. 10 each in 10 others. They were between Rs. 11 and Rs. 15 per shop in 6 others. In the case of 3 shops the expenses varied between Rs. 18 and Rs. 22 each while in the case of the remaining 2 shops they were Rs. 30 and Rs. 36 respectively. It was generally stated that the sales were steady all through the year.

§ 5. **Grocers' Shops**: According to our census of establishments there were in all 815 grocers' shops in the city and a total of 1,432 persons were engaged in them. Of these 176 were in Shukrawar, 76 in Raviwar, 91 in Sadashiv, 61 in Kasba, 49 each in Nana and Bhawani, 41 in Somwar, 42 in Budhwar, 33 each in Narayan and Shivajinagar, 30 in Shanwar, 25 in Mangalwar, 29 in Vetal, 24 in Ganj, 23 in Ganesh, 22 in Rasta, 6 in Ghorpade and 5 in Nihal. Out of these, 115 shops were included in our sample and of these 19 were in Shukrawar, 11 in Sadashiv, 9 each in Nana and Kasba, 8 each in Mangalwar and Raviwar, 6 each in Budhwar and Ganesh, 4 each in Ganj and Shivajinagar, 3 each in Shanwar and Narayan, 2 in Rasta and one each in Nihal and Ghorpade.

We divide the 115 shops in the sampale into four groups. The first group consists of shops that had a stock on hand worth between Rs. 50 to Rs. 500 each ; 58 shops were in this group. In the second group shops with a stock worth between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 each have been included ; 40 shops were in this group. There were 5 shops in the third group which consisted of shops having a stock worth between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 6,000. The fourth group consisted of 3 shops having a stock worth Rs. 10,000 or more each.

Of the 58 shops in the first group 37 were owned by Marwadis, 7 by Marathas, 4 by Brahmins, 3 by Lingayat Vanis, 2 by Gujaratis and one each by a Mali, a Rajput and a Khatri. The oldest shop in this group had a business standing of 68 years and was owned by a Maratha. Two shops of 40 years standing were owned by Marwadis. Two other shops of

30 years standing were owned by a Marwadi and a Maratha respectively. Six shops had a standing of between 10 to 20 years and 5 others of between 5 to 10 years. The remaining 42 shops had a business standing of less than 5 years. All the commodities sold in these shops were bought from wholesalers in Poona. If cash was paid the shopkeepers were generally allowed a discount of 2½ per cent. If they bought the goods on credit, they had to make the payment in cash within 3 or 4 weeks of the purchase. If this period was exceeded interest at the rate of one anna per cent. per month was charged. The monthly turnover in 12 shops was between Rs. 60 and Rs. 200 each, in 28 shops between Rs. 200 and Rs. 400 each, in 15 shops between Rs. 400 and Rs. 650 each and in two others the monthly turnovers were Rs. 700 and Rs. 800 respectively. In the remaining 2 shops the monthly turnover was Rs. 1,000 each. Only 2 shops in this group had godown arrangements. In the 58 shops in this group a total of 130 persons were engaged. Of these 97 were owners, 3 clerks and 30 menial servants. The monthly salaries of the two clerks were Rs. 12 and Rs. 15 respectively. The third clerk was paid Rs. 100 per annum and was provided with free meals. Of the 30 menial servants employed, 7 were paid between Rs. 100 to Rs. 225 each per year and all were provided with free meals. The monthly salaries of 7 other servants varied between Rs. 10 and Rs. 16 and they were also provided with free meals. The monthly salary of 14 servants varied between Rs. 8 and Rs 13. Of the two remaining one was a boy who was paid Rs. 5 per month while the other was paid nothing but provided with boarding and lodging.

The monthly expenditure on rent and lighting of 16 shops varied between Rs. 3 and Rs. 10 each, of 23 shops between Rs. 11 and Rs. 20 each, of 11 shops between Rs. 21 and Rs. 30 each and those of the remaining 3 shops were Rs. 32, Rs. 35 and Rs. 42 respectively.

Of the 39 shops in the second group 17 were owned by Marwadis, 7 by Brahmins, 6 by Gujaratis, 4 by Marathas and one each by a Bhoi, a Rajput and a Mohammedan. Two shops in this group had a business standing of 50 years each and both of them were owned by Marwadis; two others, with 40 years business standing, were owned by a Vani and a Marwadi respectively. The business standing of 3 shops was of between 30 to 35 years, while that of 5 others, was between 10 and 20 years. Ten other shops had a standing of between 5 and 10 years while the remaining 17 shops had been started sometime during the 5 years preceding the survey. The commodities sold in these shops were purchased in the same manner as that described in the case of the shops in the first group. Six shops had godown arrangements. The monthly turnover of 3 shops varied between Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 each, of 12 shops between Rs. 300 and Rs. 500 each, of 15 shops between Rs. 600 and Rs. 800 each and of 7 shops between Rs. 900 and Rs. 1,200 each. In the two remaining shops the monthly turnovers were Rs. 1,300 and Rs. 1,500 respectively. In all the 39 shops in this group a total of 121 persons were engaged and out of these 77 were

owners, 5 clerks and 39 servants. Of the 5 clerks, 3 were employed only part time and their monthly salaries were Rs. 5, Rs. 6 and Rs. 12 respectively. One of the remaining was paid Rs. 150 per year with free meals. Information regarding the other was not available. Of the 39 servants employed, 13 were provided with free lodging and boarding. Six of these were paid between Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 each per year while the remaining were paid between Rs. 125 and Rs. 200 each per year. The other 26 servants were paid on a monthly basis. The salaries of 5 of these were Rs. 20 each, those of 13 varied between Rs. 15 and Rs. 25 each and of the remaining 8 between Rs. 8 and Rs. 12 each. The monthly expenditure on lighting and rent in 18 shops varied between Rs. 18 and Rs. 20 each, of 10 shops between Rs. 23 and Rs. 30 each and of 9 shops between Rs. 34 and Rs. 40 each. Of the remaining two shops the expenses were Rs. 50 and Rs. 54 respectively.

Of the 13 shops in the third group 7 were owned by Marwadis, 3 by Brahmins and 3 by Gujaratis. The oldest shop in the group, with a business standing of 18 years, was owned by a Marwadi. Five shops had a business standing of between 8 to 10 years and 7 others of between 3 and 7 years. As in the two other groups the goods sold were bought from wholesale dealers in the city. Three shops had godown arrangement. The monthly turnover of 8 shops varied between Rs. 600 and Rs. 900 each. It was Rs. 1,000 each in 2 shops. In the remaining 3 shops it was between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 each. In the 13 shops in the sample a total of 51 persons were engaged. Of these 20 were owners, 4 clerks and 27 servants. Of the 4 clerks one was employed only part time and was paid Rs. 5 per month. The monthly salaries of the three other clerks were Rs. 25, Rs. 30, and Rs. 40 respectively. Of the 27 servants the monthly salaries of 14 varied between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 and of 7 others between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25. Five were paid a monthly salary of Rs. 18 each. The remaining was paid Rs. 200 per annum and was provided with free meals. The monthly expenses on account of rent and lighting in the case of 3 shops were Rs. 22 each. In the case of 5 shops they were between Rs. 30 and Rs. 34 each. In the remaining 5 shops they were Rs. 39, Rs. 46, Rs. 55, Rs. 60 and Rs. 75 respectively.

Only 3 shops belonged to the fourth group. All the shops were owned by Marwadis. The business standings of these three shops were 40 years, 32 years and 20 years respectively. In all the three shops a total of 40 persons were engaged. Out of these 7 were owners, 9 clerks, and 24 servants. The monthly salaries of 7 of the 9 clerks varied between Rs. 25 and Rs. 30 and those of the remaining two were Rs. 23 and Rs. 15 respectively. Twenty-two of the servants were paid monthly salaries ranging from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 and the two remaining were paid Rs. 20 each per month. The monthly turnovers in the three shops were reported to be Rs. 4,000, Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 6,000 respectively. The monthly expenses on account of rent and lighting in the three shops were Rs. 83, Rs. 99 and Rs. 125 respectively.

In general, brisk and slack periods of business were not very sharply marked out in this group of shops. In the first fortnight of every month business was generally brisk and in the second fortnight slack. Variations in sales were observable even in weekly sales, sales being larger at the beginning of the week. As between seasons business was more brisk in the summer than in the rainy season. Sales also shot up at Diwali and generally when there was any religious festival such as the Ganpati festival, Ramzan, etc.

§ 6. **Vegetable Shops***: According to our census of establishments there were in all 98 vegetable shops, exclusive of the stalls in the Fulay Market, in Poona and 103 persons were engaged in them. Of these 18 were in Kasba, 13 in Raviwar, 12 on the Suburban Roads, 9 in Sadashiv, 8 each in Nana and Shukrawar, 5 in Somwar, 4 in Vetal, 3 each in Ganj, Shivajinagar, Bhawani, Yeravda and Mangalwar, 2 each in Shukrawar and Rasta and one each in Narayan and Budhwar. Of these 7 shops were included in our sample, 2 each from Shanwar and Kasba and one each from Sadashiv, Nana and Somwar. With the exception of a single shop, which had a standing of 12 years, all the other shops had been started only 3 to 4 years previous to the survey. These shops sold vegetables and also a small quantity of fruits. They were mostly petty shops, usually one-man concerns. They only catered for neighbourhood needs.

These shops bought most of their requirements at the central vegetable market in the city, the Fulay Market. Two of the shops in the sample were parts of mixed concerns. The owner of one of these also sold fuel and firewood and the other owned a dairy. The monthly turnover of 4 shops was between Rs. 60 and Rs. 100 each, of 2 shops between Rs. 120 and Rs. 150 each. It was Rs. 400 in the remaining shop. The stock on hand in all the shops was valued at between Rs. 7 and Rs. 20. The low valuation of the stock was obviously due to the perishability of the products sold.

In the 7 shops in the sample 13 persons, including owners, were engaged and of these only 1 was an employee. His monthly salary was Rs. 12. The total monthly expenses, on account of rent, lighting, etc. per shop varied between Rs. 3 and Rs. 5 in 4 shops. They were Rs. 7, Rs. 11 and Rs. 18 respectively in the remaining three shops. The hours of work varied between 10 and 13 a day. In the rainy season the demand was slack. Business was brisk in summer.

§ 7. **Restaurants**: According to our census of establishments there were 340 restaurants in Poona and a total of 1,331 persons were engaged in them. Of these 63 were in Shukrawar, 40 in Budhwar, 36 on the Suburban Roads, 27 in Sadashiv, 26 in Raviwar, 24 in Shivajinagar, 22 in

* Under vegetable sellers the Gazetteer records that " vegetable sellers including brokers number 652 chiefly Kachis and Malis." This, as is obvious, does not refer to vegetable shops as such.

Bhavani, 16 in Kasba, 15 in Nana, 13 in Mangalwar, 11 in Somwar, 10 in Ganesh, 8 in Shanwar, 6 each in Rasta and Vetal, 5 in Ganj, 4 in Yeravda, 3 each in Narayan and Nihal and one each in Sangamwadi and Wakadewadi. Our sample consisted of 28 restaurants, of which 6 were in Budhwar, 5 in Sadashiv, 4 in Ganesh, 3 each in Shukrawar and Kasba, 2 each in Rasta and Bhavani and one each in Nihal, Somwar and Shivajinagar. Five of these were owned by Iranis, 6 by Marathas, 8 by Brahmins and the others by Hindus belonging to various other castes. Only 4 restaurants in our sample served non-vegetarian dishes; three of these were owned by Iranis and one by a Brahmin. Of the 28 restaurants in the sample, six—3 owned by Brahmins, 2 by Iranis and one by a Maratha, —had each a business standing of 9 years. Of the remaining, 13 restaurants had each a business standing of between 5 and 8 years and the others of less than 5 years.

These restaurants generally supplied eatables and drinks such as tea and coffee as well as aerated waters. The equipment consisted chiefly of furniture, crockery, cooking utensils, etc. In some cases it also included mirrors for decoration, as well as radios or gramophones for the entertainment of the customers. The cost of the total equipment in 5 restaurants was between Rs. 650 and Rs. 750 each, in 9 restaurants between Rs. 300 and Rs. 500 each and in 8 others between Rs. 100 and Rs. 250 each. In the 6 remaining restaurants in the sample the cost of equipment was between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 each.

The monthly gross takings in 3 restaurants in our sample approximated Rs. 1,500 each, in 8 restaurants they were between Rs. 750 and Rs. 600 each, in 9 restaurants between Rs. 550 and Rs. 450 each and in 6 others between Rs. 200 and Rs. 125 each. The monthly expenses including rent, lighting and purchase of raw materials, etc. were between Rs. 100 and Rs. 135 each in 5 restaurants, between Rs. 250 and Rs. 400 each in 10, between Rs. 410 and Rs. 500 each in 5, between Rs. 570 and Rs. 660 each in 2 and between Rs. 990 and Rs. 1,050 in 3. Information regarding this item was not available in the case of remaining restaurants. Most of the materials required by them were locally bought.

In the 28 restaurants in the sample a total of 188 persons were engaged. Of these 33 were owners, 2 paid managers, 25 skilled workers and 128 unskilled workers of whom 66 were boys. The monthly salaries of the 2 managers were Rs. 35 and Rs. 30 respectively. Those described as skilled workers were mostly cooks. The monthly salaries of 11 of them ranged from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 and of the remaining 14 from Rs. 30 to Rs. 35. In those restaurants where cooks were not employed the owner generally did the cooking as well as the managing. The unskilled adult workers were mostly servers and their monthly salaries ranged from Rs. 8 to Rs. 14. The boys worked both as servers and as cleaners and their monthly salaries varied between Rs. 6 and Rs. 8.

In the case of 4 boys in our sample they ranged between Rs. 8 and Rs. 10. They were usually provided with lodging and boarding. The hours of work were usually between 12 and 14 per day[1].

The owners of restaurants had to pay annually a municipal tax of Rs. 13 and an extra water rate of Rs. 18. They had to pay a licence fee of Rs. 10 per year, if they wanted to keep the restaurants open after 9 p. m. They had to pay a municipal tax on aerated waters. If they stocked and sold tobacco, cigarettes, etc. they had also to pay Rs. 10 annually as tobacco tax. There was no marked seasonality.

§ 8. **Lodging and Boarding Houses** : According to the census of establishments there were 72 lodging and boarding houses in Poona and a total of 320 people were engaged in them. Of these 13 were in Sadashiv, 12 in Shukrawar, 9 in Budhwar, 8 in Somwar, 7 in Shanwar, 6 on the Suburban Roads, 5 in Raviwar, 4 each in Ganesh and Shivajinagar and 1 each in Kasba, Rasta, Vetal and Bhavani. Our sample of these concerns was small and not fully representative. It consisted of 2 boarding houses and one lodging and boarding house ; the former were in Budhwar and Sadashiv respectively and the latter in Budhwar. All the three concerns in the sample had been started during 1932-34. All were owned by Brahmins. The two boarding houses provided meals to their customers and the third concern provided living accommodation besides. The area occupied by one of the two boarding houses was 9 *khans* with a rent of Rs. 24 per month and that of the other was 10 *khans* with a monthly rent of Rs. 22. The lodging and boarding concern occupied a much larger area with a monthly rent of Rs. 70. The area included a kitchen (4 *khans*), one store room (4 *khans*), 6 double seated and 2 single seated rooms for lodgers, a dining hall and 3 other rooms.

The customers of these concerns were divided into two classes, regular members and casual boarders. In all the three concerns in the sample the boarding charges per month per head varied between Rs. 14 and Rs. 16. The number of regular boarders in the two boarding houses was 35 and 30 respectively while in the third concern (lodging and boarding) it was 60. The charge per meal for casual boarders was five annas on ordinary days ; on feast days the charge was Re. 1 per meal. In all the concerns casual boarders averaged about 5 each per day. The monthly charges for lodging and boarding in the third concern were Rs. 30 per head. For

1 The Report of the Bombay Labour Office on the Enquiry into Wages, Hours of Work and Conditions of Employment in the Retail Trade of Some Towns of the Bombay Presidency (1938) states with regard to restaurants in Poona : " These remain open from 5 a.m. to 1 a. m. and in some cases the closing hour is a little later being 1-30 a. m. Generally, work is done by turns or in shifts and the employees have to work from 10 to 14 hours per day. There is a rest interval of two to three hours per day. All the assistants get free board and lodging. Wages of assistants vary from Rs. 2 to Rs. 8 per month. The age of assistants is from 9 onwards. " pp. 42-43.

the casual lodgers and boarders the rate was Rs. 1-8-0 per day per head. There were 4 regular boarders and lodgers ; casual ones averaged 2 daily. The total monthly incomings of the two boarding houses were Rs. 470 and Rs. 500 respectively and that of the third concern were about Rs. 1,200. The total monthly expenses, including rent, payment to staff, etc., of the former two were Rs. 345 and Rs. 362 respectively while that of the third were about Rs. 720.

In all the three concerns in the sample a total of 24 persons was employed. Of these 3 were owners of whom 2 worked as managers. There was one paid manager and his monthly salary was Rs. 60. Of the remaining, 5 were skilled workers, mostly cooks, and the others were unskilled. The monthly salaries of skilled workers ranged from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 each with free board. Of the 16 unskilled workers 8 were servers, 3 men, 3 women and 2 boys. All the servers were Brahmins while the other workers were Marathas. The monthly salaries of servers varied between Rs. 12 and Rs. 15 each. The monthly salaries of the rest of the unskilled workers varied between Rs. 8 and Rs. 12 each, while that of the two boys were Rs. 4 each. All of these were given free board. The initial capital invested by the two boarding houses in the sample was about Rs. 500 each. In the case of the third concern it was about Rs. 1,000. The capital was self-owned in the two boarding houses but in the case of the third half the capital was borrowed. This had been, however, repaid at the time of our inquiry. No marked seasonality was observable.

§ 9. **Sugar-cane juice shops :** According to the census of establishments there were in all 63 shops dealing in sugar-cane juice in the city and 151 persons were engaged in them. Of these, 14 were in Sadashiv, 11 in Shivajinagar, 7 in Budhwar, 6 in Shanwar, 4 each in Raviwar and Kasba, 3 each in Rasta and Somwar, 2 each in Ganesh, Nana, Mangalwar and Narayan and one each in Nihal, Bhavani and Vetal. Out of these, 9 shops were included in the sample. Two shops had a standing of 20 years. The others had been started from 4 to 5 years previously. These shops did not function throughout the year. They were seasonal and were open only during 8 months of the year, the period during which sugar-cane was available. In the rainy season they were closed. The majority of these shops were appendages of permanent shops of some other kind, notably those of aerated waters, *pan-supari*, or of fuel depots. In our sample four out of the nine shops were additions to businesses of this type, three of fuel depots and one of an aerated water shop. Of the 9 shops included in the sample 2 were in Shanwar, 2 in Shukrawar and one each in Shivajinagar, Sadashiv, Budhwar, Raviwar and Nana. The main equipment in these shops consisted of a cane-crusher driven by one bullock or a pair of bullocks. One of the shopkeepers in the sample had hired a crusher though he owned a bullock but all the others owned one crusher each. Most of them owned one bullock or a pair of bullocks. One of them,

however, had hired the pair of bullocks for the season. Three shops in the sample had godown arrangements for storing sugar-cane. Sugar-cane was mostly purchased locally. One of our informants had planted sugar-cane in his own field outside Poona and got his supplies from there.

The total employment in all the shops in the sample was 30. Of these 18 were owners of shops and the remaining were hired workers. Of the latter, 9 were boys below 15 years of age and their monthly salaries varied between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10. The remaining 3 were adult workers. Their monthly salaries were Rs. 10, Rs. 6 and Rs. 4 respectively. The latter two were provided with free lodging and boarding. The shops were generally kept open for 12 to 14 hours during the day. The stock on hand, (being mostly sugar-cane) was valued at between Rs. 10 to Rs. 35 per shop. The total monthly expenditure per shop including rent, etc., varied between Rs. 10 and Rs. 45. The monthly turnover of business in most shops varied between Rs. 50 and Rs. 125. In the case of one shop, however, the monthly turnover was estimated at Rs. 300. During the 8 months during which these shops functioned the briskest business was during the period from March to June.

§ 10. ***Pan* and Tobacco shops**: Our census of establishments revealed that there were in all 356 *pan* and tobacco shops in the city and 415 persons were engaged them. Of these 53 were in Shukrawar, 39 in Nana, 37 in Budhwar, 29 in Raviwar, 27 in Shanwar., 22 in Sadashiv, 19 in Bhavani, 17 in Shivajinagar, 16 on Suburban Roads, 15 in Somwar, 14 in Genesh, 9 each in Vetal and Ganj, 8 in Narayan, 7 in Rasta, 6 at Yeravda and 5 in Nihal. Our sample consisted of 28 shops and of these 6 were in Shukrawar, 3 each in Budhwar and Raviwar, 2 each in Shivajinagar, Sadashiv and Narayan and one each in Kasba, Bhavani, Rasta, Nihal, Somwar, Mangalwar, Vetal, Ganj, Ganesh and Nana. Ten shops in the sample were owned by Mohammedans, 9 by Marathas, 3 by Pardeshis, 2 by Brahmins, 1 by a Mali, 1 by a Teli and 1 by a Christian. Of the 28 shops in the sample, 17 had a standing of less than 5 years and 6 others a standing of between 7 to 10 years. Of the remaining, 5 shops had a standing of between 15 and 20 years and 3 of these were owned by Mohammedans. Most of these shops were petty concerns managed by one or two persons each. They sold *pan*, *bidis*, cigarettes, cheap cigars, sweets, etc. A large number of them made small quantities of *bidis*, usually sufficient for their own small sales. The goods required were almost all purchased locally. The purchases were made in many cases from day to day or at intervals of three or four days.

The stock on hand in 13 shops was worth between Rs. 5 and Rs. 15 each, in 9 shops between Rs. 20 and Rs. 60 each and in 4 shops between Rs. 70 and Rs. 100 each. In one shop it was worth Rs. 260 and Rs. 650 in the remaining one. The monthly turnover in 5 shops was between Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 each, in 8 shops between Rs. 60 and Rs. 100 each, in 10

shops between Rs. 120 and Rs. 200 each and between Rs. 300 and Rs. 550 each in 4 shops. In all the 28 shops in the sample 52 persons were engaged and 47 of these were owners. One worker each was employed by 5 shops. Of these 3 were boys and their monthly salary was between Rs. 5 and Rs. 8 each. In another shop a boy was employed for 2 hours in a fortnight and was paid eight annas, for his work which mostly consisted of dusting and arranging the stock in the shop. In one shop, however, an adult male was engaged. He was paid Rs. 18 per month and was in addition provided with free lodging and boarding [1]. The hours of work were about 13 per day. The monthly expenses on account of rent and light per shop varied between Rs. 2 and Rs. 6 in 7 shops, between Rs. 7 and Rs. 12 in 14 shops and between Rs. 13 and Rs. 16 in 3 shops. In the remaining four shops they were Rs. 22, Rs. 25, Rs. 35 and Rs. 40 respectively. The rainy season was the slack season. Business was brisk on Saturdays and Sundays.

§ 11 **Tailoring Firms**: There were in all 407 tailoring firms in the city according to the census of establishments and a total of 616 persons were engaged in them. Of these 407 firms, 119 were in Budhwar, 55 in Shukrawar, 52 in Sadashiv, 39 in Raviwar, 29 in Kasba, 25 in Shanwar, 20 in Bhavani, 11 in Somwar, 10 in Nana, 9 each in Rasta and Narayan, 8 each in Shivajinagar and Vetal, 7 in Ganj, 6 in Nihal and 5 in Ganesh. Of these 39 were included in our sample. Of these 10 were in Budhwar, 8 in Shukrawar, 4 in Sadashiv, 3 each in Kasba and Raviwar, 2 each in Bhavani and Shanwar and one each in Vetal, Mangalwar, Somwar, Rasta, Nana, Narayan and Shivajinagar. Twelve of the 39 shops in the sample were owned by Brahmins, 6 by Mohammedans, 5 by Namdev Shimpis, 3 by Marwadis, 3 by Marathas, 2 by Bahusar Khatriyas, 2 by Christians and one each by a Bhoi, a Sali, a Kayastha, a Gujarati and a Jain. The oldest shops in the sample, those having a business standing of more than 15 years, numbered 4 ; two of these were owned by Mohammedans, one by a Namdev Shimpi and the other by a Maratha. Ten shops had a business standing of between 5 to 12 years. The remaining 24 shops had a standing of less than 3 years and that of 17 of these was less than 2 years. Most of these tailoring firms did stitching and tailoring work at certain fixed rates. Two of the firms included in the sample also sold cloth. The equipment of these shops usually consisted of sewing machines and other equipment required for tailoring, ironing, etc. Nineteen establishments in the sample possessed a sewing machine each, 13 two machines each, 3 three machines each and the remaining possessed 4 or more machines each. The sewing machines, usually of Singer and Pfaff makes, were generally purchased on the instalment basis from the local agents of those manufacturing companies.

1: The Report on the Enquiry into Retail Trade issued by the Bombay Labour Office (1936) states that in *pan-bidi* shops in Poona "the wages of assistants vary from Rs. 2 with free meals to Rs. 6 without meals per month. There are no holidays or leave." p. 43.

The value of monthly work done in 9 shops was between Rs. 25 and Rs. 45 each and in 25 shops between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 each. It was between Rs. 125 and Rs. 200 each in the 5 remaining shops in the sample. In all the shops in the sample a total of 81 persons was employed. Out of these 50 were owners of shops, 1 clerk and 30 servants. The clerk was only employed for one hour per day and was paid a monthly salary of Rs. 5. Of the 30 servants employed 21 were paid by piece rates [1] Four were apprentices, two working without remuneration and two being paid Rs. 5 and Rs. 7-8-0 respectively. The monthly salaries of 4 servants paid on time basis ranged from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 and the remaining one who was a trained cutter was paid Rs. 45 per month. The hours of work varied between 8 to 13 hours per day. Business was brisk in winter and summer.

§ 12 **Cloth Sellers** : According to our census of establishments, there were in all 236 shops selling cloth in the city and 612 persons were engaged in them. Of these 94 were in Budhwar, 75 in Raviwar, 24 in Shukrawar, 20 in Sadashiv, 7 in Shanwar, 4 in Ganj, 3 in Vetal, 2 each in Kasba, Rasta, Mangalwar and Ganesh and one each in Nana and Shivajinagar. Our sample comprised 26 shops of which 9 were in Raviwar, 10 in Budhwar, 4 in Shukrawar, 2 in Sadashiv and 1 in Shivajinagar. These shops stocked and sold all kinds of textiles, cotton, woollen and silk, such as shirtings, coatings, *saris*, etc. A majority of the shopkeepers purchased most of their requirements from the local agents of the various textile mills and bought only a small quantity of their requirements at Bombay. Eight shops in the sample, however, ordered all their cloth from Bombay. An interesting fact in this connection was that all these shops which had direct dealings with Bombay agents were owned by Gujarati or Marwadi merchants. For all cloth brought from Bombay the shopkeepers had to pay the freight charges and had also to pay the octroi duty at Poona. Two shops in the sample were of about 35 years standing and both were owned by Gujaratis. Four shops could claim to be in business for a period of 23 to 25 years. Of these 2 were owned by Marwadis, one by Gujarati and one by a Brahmin. Eighteen shops had a standing of between 8 and 15 years. The business standing of the remaining 12 shops was less than 5 years.

The monthly turnover in 2 shops varied between Rs. 75 and Rs. 100 each, between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500 each in the case of 10 shops and between Rs. 750 and Rs. 2,000 each in the case of 11 others. In 2 shops it was Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 7,000 in the case of the remaining shop. The stock on hand in 3 shops was worth between Rs. 650 and Rs. 800 each, between Rs. 1,000 and 3,000 each in 11 shops, between Rs. 8,000 and

1 The Bombay Labour Office Report states : "The workers in Tailoring shops are generally on piece work and they are paid half the amount charged to customers. Their daily wages come to between annas 8 and Rs. 1-12-0 per day." p. 42.

Rs, 15,000 each in 8 shops, Rs. 18,000 in one shop and Rs. 50,000 in the 2 remaining shops. In all the shops in the sample a total of 97 persons were engaged and of these 39 were owners, 5 clerks and 53 servants. One clerk each was engaged by five concerns. The monthly salary of 2 of them was Rs. 15 each, of 2 others Rs. 30 each and Rs. 40 in the case of the remaining. Of the 53 workers employed, 9 shops employed one each, 4 two each, 2 three each and 3 five each. One shop employed 4 and another 7. The remaining shops did not hire any workers. Most of the servants employed were salesmen. The monthly salary of 16 of them varied between Rs. 25 and Rs. 30 and of 13 others between Rs. 15 and Rs. 22. It varied between Rs. 8 and Rs. 15 in the case of 9 of the remaining who were mainly boys engaged as helps to salesmen or for carrying parcels, erands, etc. All the workers were males. The hours of work varied between 9 and 12 per day. The total expenses on account of light and rent varied between Rs. 14 and Rs. 22 each in the case of 9 shops, between Rs. 23 and Rs. 28 each in the case of 4, Rs. 35 in one, between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 each in the case of 6 and between Rs. 70 and Rs. 85 each in the case of 3 shops. In the remaining 2 shops the expenses came to Rs. 107 and Rs. 160 respectively. The rainy season was generally the slack and the summer the brisk season in this trade.[1]

§ 13. **Leather and Foot-wear shops** : According to our census of establishments there were in all 64 leather and foot-wear shops in Poona and a total of 104 persons were engaged in them. Of these 22 were in Budhwar, 20 in Raviwar, 6 in Nana, 4 on Suburban Roads, 2 each in Shivajinagar, Ganj, Yeravda, Sadashiv and the remaining in Bhavani. Our sample comprised 9 of these of which 4 were in Budhwar, 2 in Raviwar and one each in Nana, Shivajinagar and Shukrawar. All the shops dealt in leather goods. Three shops in the sample only sold leather and the accessories of shoe-making, such as sewing thread, clips, nails, etc., but no kind of foot-wear. Two of the shops were owned by Chambhars and one by a Khoja. The remaining 6 chiefly sold ready-made foot-wear. Of these 4 were owned by Chambhars and 1 by a Khoja and the remaining by a Bohori. They sold foot-wear made by Bata and other companies and also made foot-wear to order. They usually engaged outworkers to do these jobs and generally paid them on a piece rate basis. The shops dealing in leather only bought most of their leather in Bombay. They also purchased a small quantity of leather locally. The shops which dealt exclusively in foot-wear ordered most of their requirements from the agents of Bata or of other companies in Bombay. They also made some foot-wear locally both to order and for stock.

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1 The Report of the Bombay Labour Office states with regard to the employees in 'cloth and clothing' shops in Poona as follows : "During the busy season (the marriage season) the employees have to work late at night but no overtime pay or allowance is paid." p. 43.

The stock in hand in the 3 leather shops in the sample was worth between Rs. 850 and Rs. 1,200 each. In the case of two foot-wear shops it was worth Rs. 2,500 each and Rs. 1,000 each in the case of two others. It was valued at Rs. 600 in the case of one shop and at Rs. 100 in the case of the remaining shop. The monthly turnover in the three leather shops varied between Rs. 375 and Rs. 550 each. In the case of 3 out of the 6 foot-wear shops, the monthly turnover varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 400. It was Rs. 800 in the case of one of the two remaining shops and Rs. 1,100 in the other. In the 3 leather shops 6 persons were engaged out of whom 4 were owners. Two shops employed a worker each. Their monthly salaries were Rs. 8 and Rs. 16 respectively. Both of them were males. In the 6 foot-wear shops 15 persons were engaged. Of these 11 were owners. One shop, owned by a Khoja, employed 2 Chambhars as salesmen while 2 others engaged a worker each. The monthly salaries of the two salesmen were Rs. 20 and Rs. 12 respectively. The monthly salaries of workers in the other shops were Rs. 18 and Rs. 20 respectively. All the workers were males. The hours of work varied between 9 to 13 per day. The monthly expenses on account of rent and lighting in 2 of the 3 leather shops were Rs. 22 and Rs. 10. In the case of 4 out of the 6 foot-wear shops, they varied between Rs. 8 and Rs. 24 each. In the case of 2 others they were Rs. 48 and Rs. 60 respectively. There was a general agreement among our informants that the rainy season was on the whole a slack season.

§ 14. **Stationers and General Merchants :** According to the census of establishments there were in all 146 shops of stationers and general merchants in the city and a total of 275 people were engaged in them. Of the total 146 shops in the city, 60 were in Budhwar, 24 in Sadashiv, 18 in Raviwar, 12 in Shukrawar, 11 in Shanwar, 5 in Rasta, 4 in Shivajinagar, 3 in Somwar, 2 each in Kasba, Narayan and Vetal and one each in Nihal and Bhavani. In our sample 19 of these shops were included. Of these 11 were in Budhwar, 2 each in Sadashiv and Raviwar and one each in Shivajinagar, Shanwar, Shukrawar and Rasta. Of the 19 shops in the sample, 9 were owned by Brahmins, 5 by Bohoris, 3 by Marathas, one by a Gujarati and one by a Marwadi. One of the shops in the sample had a standing of 20 years and it was owned by a Bohori. Five other shops were in the business for 12 to 16 years and 4 of these were owned by Brahmins. The business standing of 8 other shops was of between 4 and 8 years. The remaining 4 shops had been started sometime during the two years preceding our survey. These shops did not deal in stationery alone but also sold toilet articles, hosiery, etc. The majority of the goods sold in these shops such as toilet articles, pencils, inks, nibs, rubbers, etc. was brought from Bombay. Payment for this was mostly made by cash. A few articles were, however, bought locally. The monthly turnover in the case of 11 shops was between Rs. 75 and Rs. 300 each and between Rs. 400 and Rs. 600 each in 6 other shops. Of the remaining two shops the monthly turnover of one was

Rs. 1,000 and that of another was Rs. 1,500. The stock in hand in 3 shops in the sample was worth between Rs. 300 and Rs. 600 each and in 5 shops between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,600 each. It was valued at between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 5,000 each in the case of 10 shops. In the remaining shop it was worth Rs. 10,000. Only one shop in the sample had rented a store room and its stock on hand was worth Rs. 5,000. It was, however, not the largest shop in the sample. It had to pay a rent Rs. 3 per month for the store room.

In all the shops in the sample a total of 44 persons were employed. Of these 33 were owners, 2 clerks and 9 servants. One of the clerks was employed only part-time and was paid Rs. 4 per month; the other clerk was paid Rs. 25 per month. Of the 9 servants one was a boy with a monthly salary of Rs. 8. Two servants were paid Rs. 10 per month each. The monthly salaries of 5 other servants ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20. The remaining servant had a monthly salary of Rs. 30[1]. The hours of work varied between 9 and 13 per day. The total monthly expenses on account of rent and lighting per shop in the case of 6 shops varied between Rs. 8 and Rs. 7. In the case of 3 other shops it varied between Rs. 20 and Rs. 24 each and in the case of 8 others between Rs. 30 and Rs. 50 each. The monthly expenses of the remaining two shops were Rs. 58 and Rs. 66 respectively. The sales mounted up specially in June and July when the schools and the colleges in the city opened for the new academic year. Otherwise sales were steady all the year round.

§ 15. **Barbers' Shops**[2]: According to the census of establishments there were in all 201 barbers' shops in the city and 371 people were engaged in them. Of these 50 shops were in Shukrawar, 28 in Sadashiv, 26 in Budhwar, 18 in Raviwar, 14 in Shanwar, 13 each in Bhavani and Shivajinagar, 12 in Kasba, 8 each in Somwar and Mangalwar, 11 in Nana, 6 each in Ganesh, Narayan and Rasta, 5 each in Vetal and Ganj and 2 in Nihal. Out of these 20 were included in the sample. Of these 8 were in Shukrawar, 2 in Sadashiv and one each in Shivajinagar, Shanwar, Kasba, Budhwar, Raviwar, Nana, Bhavani, Rasta, Mangalwar and Ganesh. Fifteen shops were owned by Nhavis, 3 by Mohammedans, one by a Gujarati and one by a Maratha. One shop had been started 30 years ago. The business standing of 4 shops was between 15 and 20 years and of 15 shops less than 6 years.

All these shops were called Hair Cutting Saloons. Their equipment mainly consisted of a few pieces of furniture, several sets of the necessary instruments and toilet requisites. In 8 shops in the sample outside help was employed. The owner, in all these establishments, also worked. The workers were paid fixed salaries in all shops in the sample except

1 With regard to these shops the Bombay Labour Office Report states: "Wages vary from Rs. 10 to Rs. 40 per month. Leave with pay for 15 days per year is granted". p. 43.

2 This account takes no notice of those barbers who had no definite establishment but plied their trade mostly by performing the service at the places of customers.

two. In these latter, employing 7 servants in all, the worker was paid half the amount charged for every service rendered by him. The total employment in all the shops in the sample amounted to 48. Out of these 31 were owners and others hired workers. Of the 10 salaried servants the monthly salaries of 5 varied between Rs. 22 and Rs. 25 each while in the case of 3 others it was Rs. 15 each. The remaining 2 were boys with a monthly salary of Rs. 3 each. The hours of work varied between 12 to 15 hours daily.

The monthly expenditure on account of rent and lighting per shop in 5 shops varied between Rs. 3 and Rs. 6, in 7 others between Rs. 7 and Rs. 13 each and in 6 others between Rs. 18 and Rs. 25 each. In the 2 remaining shops the expenses were Rs. 27 and Rs. 30 respectively. There was no marked seasonality.

§ 16. **Laundries**: According to the census of establishments there were 121 laundries in the city. Of these 25 were in Sadashiv, 17 in Shukrawar, 14 in Budhwar, 13 in Nana, 10 each in Raviwar and Shanwar, 8 in Shivajinagar, 6 in Kasba, 4 in Somwar, 2 each in Ganesh, Vetal, Narayan, Bhavani and Nihal and one each in Gultekadi, Ganj, Mangalwar and Rasta. Of these 14 were included in our sample. Of these 5 were in Shukrawar, 3 in Budhwar, 2 in Sadashiv and one each in Shivajinagar, Shanwar, Raviwar and Nana. Two of the laundries, one in Sadashiv and the other in Budhwar, were owned by one owner. Eight shops were owned by Pareets, 2 by Marathas, 2 others by Brahmins and the remaining one by a Telugu Brahmin. Two shops, both owned by Pareets, had a standing of 8 to 10 years each. Eight other shops had a standing of between 4 to 6 years while the remaining had a standing of less than 2 years. Besides washing different kinds of woollen, silk and cotton clothes these establishments did dyeing work. Most of the shops also did dry-cleaning. Three of the owners stated that they and their family members did all the washing that came to them. While two others stated that they had contracted the services of one or two washermen who did the washing for them.

One of the laundries in the sample did business worth between Rs. 110 to Rs. 150 a month. The value of monthly business of 9 others varied between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 each. The remaining four did business worth Rs. 25 to Rs. 35 each. Three of the laundries employed a servant each and one employed 2 servants. The monthly salaries of two servants was between Rs. 25 and Rs. 30 and of two others between Rs. 15 and Rs. 20. One establishment engaged one clerk and another two clerks. The monthly salaries of the clerks ranged between Rs. 15 and Rs. 22 each. Most of the others appeared to be household concerns in which the women also worked. Those that did their own washing required washing soda, soap and indigo. Most of these were purchased in local markets. Ironing was nowhere done by electricity. The tota expenses per month of rent and lighting varied between Rs. 3 and Rs. 8

each in the case of 6 shops and between Rs. 9 and Rs. 14 each in the case of 5 others. They came to Rs. 25 each in the remaining two shops. The daily hours of work varied between 11 and 13.

§ 17. **Florists**: According to our census of establishments there were in all 54 flower shops in the city and 109 persons were engaged in them. Of these 17 were in Budhwar, 12 in Sadashiv, 8 in Raviwar, 6 in Shukrawar, 4 in Shanwar, 3 in Vetal and one each in Nana, Bhavani, Somwar and Rasta. Our sample comprised 7 shops, 3 of them in Shukrawar, 2 in Budhwar and one each in Sadashiv and Vetal. One shop in the sample claimed a standing of 125 years and another of 60 years; two shops had a standing of about 20 years and the remaining three shops had a standing of less than 10 years. All the shops sold various kinds of flowers, nosegays, garlands, etc. All the shops were owned by Malis, the traditional florists. The Poona Gazetteer recorded in 1885 : "Flower Sellers or Phulmalis numbering eighty-nine have their shops in the Budhwar, Raviwar and Vetal peths and in the Moti Chowk."[1] Most of the florists had gardens of their own in which they cultivated the flowers for their requirements. They also bought flowers from other garden owners when required.

The monthly turnover of business in 3 shops varied between Rs. 100 and Rs. 250 each. In two shops it varied between Rs. 350 and Rs. 400 each. In one of the remaining two shops it was Rs. 50 and Rs. 35 in the other. The stock on hand in 3 shops was valued at between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10. In two other shops it was worth Rs. 50 each. In the 7 shops in the sample 34 persons were engaged and out of these 15 were owners, one clerk and 18 servants. The clerk was paid a monthly salary of Rs. 30. The monthly salary of 15 workers varied between Rs. 18 and Rs. 22 each. The 3 remaining workers were boys and their monthly pay was between Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 each.[2] When orders in bulk were to be executed, say for garlands or nosegays, many outworkers were engaged and they were paid on a piece rate basis. These rates varied according to the fineness and the delicacy of the work. One of our informants stated that he engaged as many as 8 outworkers at a time when he had to execute large orders. The monthly expenses in rent and lighting per shop varied between Rs. 7 and Rs. 10 in 3 shops. In 2 others they were Rs. 35 each. In the remaining 2 they were Rs. 57 and Rs. 61 respectively. In summer the business was brisk. It was slack in the rainy season.

§ 18. **Bicycles and their accessories**: According to our census of establishments there were in all 230 bicycle shops in the city and 401 persons were engaged in them. Of these 50 were in Shukrawar, 28 in Sadashiv, 26 in Budhwar, 17 in Raviwar, 14 in Shanwar, 13 each in

1 P. 293.

2 The Bombay Labour Office Report states that in these shops "some of the employees are paid over-time for extra attendance." p. 43.

Bhavani and Shivajinagar, 12 in Kasba, 8 each in Somwar and Mangalwar, 6 each in Narayan, Rasta and Ganesh, 5 each in Vetal and Ganj, 11 in Nana and 2 in Nihal. Of these 29 were included in our sample. Three of these were in Raviwar, 2 each in Shivajinagar, Sadashiv, Budhwar, Nana, Bhavani, Rasta, Somwar, Vetal, Ganj and Ganesh and one each in Shanwar, Shukrawar, Nihal, Kasba, Narayan and Mangalwar. Of these 8 shops were owned by Marathas, 6 by Mohammedans, 5 by Brahmins and one each by a Jain, a Shimpi, a Kasar, a Sali and a Pardeshi. Two of these shops were started about 15 years previous to the survey. One of these was owned by a Brahmin and the other by a Jain. Four other shops had a business standing of between 7 and 12 years; 3 of them being owned by Marathas and one by a Jain. The remaining shops had a business standing of less than 3 years. These shops did not all deal in new bicycles. Only 8 of the shops in the sample sold new bicycles Of the remaining nearly half sold old cycles. The others only sold accessories and hired out cycles and repaired them. The main business of all the shops was to repair bicycles and to hire them out at fixed rates per hour. The cycles hired out in this manner were after a time sold away if they fetched a reasonable price. It was calculated that the receipts from hiring a bicycle generally equalled its original cost in about a year and half. As an ancillary business, 12 of the shopkeepers in the sample also bought gas lamps and hired them out for processions, etc. Most of the shops dealt in small accessories and spare parts of bicycles. All the goods in these shops, except new bicycles, were locally bought by cash payments.

The monthly turnover in 11 shops varied between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50 each and in 15 others between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 each. It was between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 in 6 shops and in the remaining shop it was Rs. 500. The stock in hand in 15 shops in the sample was worth between Rs. 250 and Rs. 500 each and between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 each in 11 others. It was between Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 1,800 each in 4 shops and between Rs. 3,500 and Rs. 4,500 in the remaining 3. In the 33 shops in the sample a total of 76 persons was employed. Out of these 45 were owners, 3 clerks and 28 servants. One of the clerks was employed part time and his monthly salary was Rs. 5. The monthly salaries of the other two were Rs. 30 and Rs. 34 respectively. Nine of the servants employed were paid a monthly salary varying between Rs. 23 and Rs. 25 and 13 others, salaries varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. Two of the latter class were provided with free meals. The monthly salaries of the 4 remaining servants were between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15.[1] The hours of work varied between 10 to 13 hours per day. The monthly expenses on account of rent and lighting in the shops varied between Rs. 6 and Rs. 10 each and

1 With regard to these shops the Bombay Labour Office Report states : "In these shops wages are paid monthly and vary from Rs. 8 to Rs. 40 per month. There are no children under 12 employed in such shops. Leave with pay is granted for two weeks in a year." p. 43.

between Rs. 12 and Rs. 20 each in 11 others. It varied between Rs. 30 and Rs. 38 each in the remaining 4 shops. The summer was the brisk season for these shops.

§ 19. **Chemists and druggists**: According to the census of establishments there were 57 shops of chemists and druggists in the city. Of these 28 were in Budhwar, 12 in Raviwar, 5 in Sadashiv, 2 each in Shanwar, Shukrawar and Shivajinagar and Somwar. Eight shops were included in our sample. Of these 5 were in Budhwar, 2 in Sadashiv and the remaining in Shivajinagar. Five of these were owned by Brahmins and the remaining 3 by a Maratha, a Gujarati and a Christian respectively. One shop in the sample had a business standing of 53 years, five others of 10 to 15 years and the remaining two of 4 to 5 years. All these shops specialized in selling chemicals of various kinds, patent medicines, foreign and indigenous drugs, surgical instruments, etc. Indigenous drugs, however, formed only a small proportion of the total goods sold. Of the other drugs and chemicals, a large part was imported from Europe and the U. S. A. and a smaller proportion consisted of the products of Indian manufacturers. Most of the shops included in the sample made their purchases at Bombay.

The monthly turnover of 4 of the shops varied between Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 25,000 each and that of the rest between Rs. 4,500 to Rs. 8,000 each. Of the total sales from 25 per cent to 30 per cent were made on credit of one month's duration, the customers generally being the local medical practitioners who paid the bills either at the end of each month or at the beginning of the next. In all the shops in the sample no complaints were made about bad debts. The stock on hand in the three bigger shops in the sample was valued at between Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 each and in others at between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 5,000 each. Only one of the shops had a godown arrangement. The shops in the sample together employed 26 persons of whom 11 were owners, 1 clerk and 14 servants The monthly salary of the clerk was Rs. 30. Of the 14 servants engaged 2 were boys with a monthly salary of Rs. 10 each. The remaining were paid monthly salaries ranging between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25. The total monthly expenditure on rent and lighting was Rs. 12 in one shop and came to between Rs. 23 and Rs. 34 each in 4 shops. In the remaining shop it was Rs. 44, Rs. 50 and Rs. 89 respectively. The hours of work were on an average 12 daily. No seasonal fluctuation with regard to sales was noticed.

§ 20. **Frame Makers**: The census of establishments revealed that there were in all 17 shops of frame makers in the city and 24 persons were engaged in these shops. Out of these 11 were in Budhwar, 2 each in Raviwar and Shukrawar and one each in Shanwar and Nihal. Six shops were included in our sample and 3 of these were in Budhwar, 2 in Shukrawar and one in Sadashiv. Two of these shops were of 12 and 8 years' business standing respectively; the former was owned by a Hindu

and the latter by a Bohori. The remaining shops had a business standing varying between 1 and 3 years. Four of the 6 shops in the sample were owned by Bohori merchants. The work of framing pictures, photographs, paintings, etc. was carried on in these shops. Their equipment consisted of a few carpenter's tools, frame sticks, glass sheets, etc. The frame sticks were mostly imported from Bombay. Glass was bought locally from Bohori wholesale merchants. One of the shops in the sample was only a side business of a Bohori wholesale dealer in glass.

The stock in hand in 2 shops was worth Rs. 250 each and Rs. 750 each in the case of 2 others. It was worth Rs. 1,000 in one of the two remaining shops and Rs. 5,000 in the other. Only the last and the biggest shop in the sample had a godown for which a rent of Rs. 10 per month was paid. The monthly turnover of 3 shops in the sample varied between Rs. 70 and Rs. 80 each and between Rs. 150 and Rs. 300 each in the case of the remaining 3 shops. In all the shops in the sample taken together 13 persons were engaged. Out of these 9 were owners. Of the 4 workers employed, 2 were boys and both of them were engaged by a single concern. The other two servants were employed by 2 shops. The monthly salaries of the 2 boys were Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 respectively and that of the 2 adult male workers were Rs. 15 and Rs. 20 respectively. One of the shopkeepers stated that he employed 2 additional hands in the brisk season. The total monthly expenses on account of rent and lighting per shop varied between Rs. 9 and Rs. 13 each in 4 shops and were Rs. 28 each in the 2 remaining shops. The season was brisk from November to January.

§ 21. **Periodic Bazaars : Juna Bazaar** : A bazaar is held on two days, Wednesday and Sunday, every week in Poona. This bazaar is called the Juna or the Old Bazaar because old and second hand goods are chiefly sold and bought there. This bazaar is an old institution and the Gazetteer mentions it in the following terms : "On Sundays and Wednesdays a market is held in the afternoon to the south and east of the Shanwar Palace at which old furniture, books, pictures, clothes, lamps, glassware and lumber are sold by dealers in the cantonment bazaar." [1] The bazaar was held at Shivajinagar at the time of our survey. In order to gather information regarding this periodic bazaar our fieldmen visited it on five successive bazaar days[2] and noted down in detail the number of sellers and the variety of goods that changed hands there. Information gathered on one of these occasions (Sunday, 9th May 1937) is embodied in Table No. 51 as a specimen. The classification adopted had necessarily to be very broad and ill-defined as there was an amazing variety of things that found their way to this market and these could not be all put into a small

1 p. 419

2 25th April, 28th April, 2nd May, 5th May and 9th May (1937).

Table No. 51 :—Classification of sellers in *Juna Bazaar* by Caste and Religion and kind of Articles sold, (Sunday, 9th May 1937.)

Type of Articles Sold.	HINDUS.																						Grand Total.	
	Wani		Maratha		Ghisadi		Mahar		Chanbhar		Joshi		Komati		Other Hindus		Total		Muslim		Jew		Irani			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1 Old & New Clothes...	12	...	5	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	18	...	22	2	20	20	61	3	...	1	...	...	...	24	61
2 Hardware	...	...	...	...	2	9	12	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	16	13	11	1	...	...	...	...	27	14
3 Foot-wear ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26
4 Cycle Accessories...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	15	1
5 Glass Bottles, Tins, etc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	4	2	1	...	...	...	...	8	5
6 Brass & Copper-Ware ...	2	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	11	...
7 Furniture ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	10	...
8 Books ..	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
9 Miscellaneous...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	6	...	...	...	3	...	13	...
Total...	14	...	14	1	2	9	38	8	...	26	...	18	...	22	9	20	77	104	32	3	1	...	3	...	113	107

number of well-defined categories. No information regarding the volume of transactions in this market could be gathered.

The bazaar held on Sundays was generally larger and fuller than the one held on Wednesdays. The total number of sellers on Sundays varied between 210 and 220 while that on Wednesdays between 170 and 180. The main types of commodities sold and bought were, in order of importance, old clothes, hardware, foot-wear and spare parts and accessories of bicycles. The others included such groups as furniture, glass-ware and books. The number of sellers of old clothes was between 80 and 90 on Sundays and between 45 and 65 on Wednesdays. All sorts of old clothes, such as coats, jackets, blouses, *saris*, *dhotis*, etc. were sold and nearly three-fourths of the dealers were women. These came from the Komati, the Joshi and other Hindu castes, almost in equal proportions. Generally these women, acting as hawkers, exchanged brass, copper and aluminium pots for old clothes in the city on days other than bazaar days. Among the male dealers in this group the Wanis were dominant and at a dis-

tance came the Marathas. The number of hardware sellers was between 35 and 45 on Sundays and about 25 to 30 on Wednesdays. Hardware included such things as all sorts of cutlery, iron pots, iron furniture, locks, keys, etc. Women dealers in this group were nearly one-third. Nearly a third of the sellers were Mohammedans. The rest were equally divided between Ghisadis and Mahars. Dealers in shoes and foot-wear varied between 20 and 30 on Sundays and between 8 to 12 on Wednesdays and all of them were Chambhar women. The dealers in spare parts and accessories of bicycles were between 10 and 20 on Sundays and between 5 and 15 on Wednesdays. These included the spare parts of cycles, tyres, tubes, cycle lamps, etc. Most of the dealers were Mahars and some Mohammedans. There were 4 to 5 furniture dealers and 2 to 3 dealers in mattresses, and pillows, and these were all Mohammedan. About 3 or 4 Badhai dealers sold newly made wooden boxes. The number of dealers in glass-ware was round about 13 and they were mostly Mahars. There were 5 to 6 booksellers and 2 of these were Brahmins.

§ 22. **Tongas**: The tonga was the chief vehicle of passenger traffic in Poona. Other agencies of passenger traffic, such as taxis or bullock carts were of minor importance. The bicycle was very common in Poona and met, in no small way, the requirements of people moving to work, etc. At the time of our survey there was no motor bus service in the city.[1] There were only a few Victorias. The tonga, therefore, completely held the field of passenger traffic. At the time of our survey there were in all 745 tongas in Greater Poona. In the city proper, there were 594 tongas; 127 of these belonging, according to the Traffic Inspector's classification, to Class I and the rest to Class II. On a rough estimate more than a thousand people were engaged in operating this transport agency.

Table No. 52 sets out the information regarding the owners and drivers of tongas in Poona. There were 452 persons who owned 594 tongas and 862 horses. Of all the owners 325 did not themselves drive. They owned one or several tongas and one or several horses and hired them out. They invested capital in tongas and horses, looked after their upkeep and hired out the equipment to drivers, who did not possess it on their own account. A tonga could operate in double shift provided there were separate horses and separate drivers for the two shifts as horses and drivers could work only a single shift in a day. It was thus possible for a person who owned a tonga and a pair of horses, to work one shift himself and to employ a driver or hire out the equipment for working a second shift by using the other horse. This was a common practice in Poona. The number of owner-drivers was, according to our information, 127. The other drivers did not own either tonga or horse. They paid to the owners of the tonga and horse a fixed sum daily, ranging

1. Such a service is in operation since 1941.

from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2. All takings of the driver in excess of this fixed payment represented his own earnings. Complete information was not.

Table No. 52 :—Tonga Owners Classified according to modes of operation and number of Tongas and Horses owned.

Mode of Operation	1 Tonga					2 Tongas				3 Tongas			4 Tongas			5 Tongas			6 or more tongas	Total No. of Owners	Total No. of Tongas	Total No. of Horses
	with 1 horse	with 2 horses	with 3 horses	with 4 or more horses	Total	with 2 horses	with 3 horses	with 4 horses	Total	with 3 or 4 horses	with 5 or 6 horses	Total	with 4 horses	with 5 horses	Total	with 6-8 horses	with 9-10 horses	Total	with 8 or more horses			
1 Self Driving ...	54	15	...	...	69	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	69	69	84
2 Some Relation Driving ...	11	2	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	13	15
3 Self and Drivers ...	18	34	2	...	54	...	2	1	3	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	58	64	107
4 Some Relation and Drivers ...	5	19	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	43
5 Drivers only ...	145	90	10	1	246	9	3	8	20	3	5	8	1	4	5	2	3	5	4	288	424	613
Total...	233	160	12	1	406	9	5	9	23	3	5	8	1	5	6	2	3	5	4	452	594	862

* Owners with 6, 8, 9 and 46 tongas had 8, 10, 12 and 60 horses respectively,

available regarding the number of drivers. The total number of drivers must as explained above, closely correspond to the number of horses and was approximately 860. If the number of owner-drivers and of drivers who were relations of owner-drivers is deducted from this figure the remaining—about 600—indicates the number of drivers who took tongas and horses on hire. The average daily gross takings of a driver varied between Rs. 3 and Rs. 3-8-0. The table brings out the predominance of the one-tonga, one-horse unit in Poona.

The owners had to feed and stable the horses and had to house the tonga and keep it in repair. The daily expenditure per horse on feed varied between twelve annas to Re. 1. The horse had to be shod every month and this cost about twelve annas per horse. The prices of horses varied between Rs. 25 and Rs. 200. Horses of small build, known as 'Indian ponies', were considered the most suitable for the tonga. The cost of a tonga was about Rs. 250. Second hand and old tongas could be had for Rs. 150 or even less. There were some manufacturers of tongas in Poona who also sold spare parts of tongas. The most im-

portant item of recurring expenditure in regard to the tonga was the replacement or repair of the pair of poles. A good quality pole cost about Rs. 2 to Rs. 3. The harness necessary for the tonga was of different qualities and the cost varied between Rs. 25 and Rs. 125. Most of the tongas were, however, equipped with the cheapest kind of harness. A harness generally lasted for 5 or 6 years. Another significant item of expenditure was the annual replacement of the solid rubber tyres of tongas. A tyre 24 feet in length was required per tonga. It was bought at rates varying from eight annas to Re. 1-8-0- per foot. The tonga had also to be provided with cushions and waterproof screens. The expenses connected with these, came to about Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per year. Every tonga had to pay an annual wheel tax of Rs. 12-8-0. The driver's licence fee was Rs. 4 per year and this was of course paid by the driver. In addition to the items of cost enumerated above there were, what may be called, "secret distributional expenses" that every driver had to incur. These were recurring costs and averaged between Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per tonga each month.

A tonga had to be certified as fit by the Carriage Inspector twice a year, in January and in June. The Carriage Inspector examined tongas and horses and assigned to them their classes and numbers. The first 200 numbers were reserved for Class I tongas, bearing red-numbered plates. All the other tongas were put into Class II. In the schedule of fares, the fares for the latter class were put at a slightly lower level than those of the former but in practice the actual fares paid by the passengers did not differ much. The January examination was the more thorough and detailed. For this examination the tonga had to be polished, painted, oiled, etc., the harness repaired and polished, and the tyres replaced. The annual wheel tax and the driver's licence fee had also to be paid at this time. The average expenses per tonga for all these items came to between Rs. 100 and Rs. 150. In June the waterproof screens, the roof, etc. were specially examined by the Carriage Inspector. Every year the driver was required to have a new dress. The dress of a Class I tonga driver cost Rs. 7-8-0 and that of a Class II tonga driver Rs. 6.

§ 23. **Bullock Carts** : As a vehicle for goods transport the bullock cart was much used in Poona. A few bullock carts were also used for passenger transport. In Poona City area there were, at the time of our survey, 610 bullock carts. A large majority of these were run as single-cart units. The information relating to the ownership and operation of the bullock carts in Poona is analysed in Table No. 53. The table emphasizes the dominance in this, as in other activities in Poona, of the small unit of ownership and the prevalence of self-operation. It was not possible to ascertain the exact number of carts that plied for passengers only. The 610 bullock carts and 760 bullocks in Poona were owned by 499 persons. One cart owners numbered 450 and 265 of them drove the carts themselves. These 450 owners together owned 550 of the total of 760 bullocks.

Table No. 53 :—Bullock-cart Owners classified according to modes of Operation and number of Carts and Bullocks.

Mode of Operation	1 Cart			2 Carts				3 Carts			4 Carts	5 Carts	6 & more Carts	Total No. of Owners	Total No. of B. Carts	Total No. of Bullocks
	with 1 bullock	with 2 bullocks	Total	with 2 bullocks	with 3 bullocks	with 4 bullocks	Total	with 3 bullocks	with 4 bullocks	Total	with 5 or more bullocks	with 6 or more bullocks	with 6 and more bullocks			
1 Self Driving...	219	46	265	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	265	265	311
2 Relation with or without Driver ...	12	3	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	18
3 Self and Driver ...	4	...	4	5	2	3	10	...	1	1	...	1	...	16	32	41
4 Driver only ...	115	51	166	8	1	5	14	1	9	10	5	4	4	203	298	390
Total...	350	100	450	13	3	8	24	1	10	11	5	5	4	499	610	760

The bullock carts served different parts of the city. Some indication of the nature of their employment will be found in the section on casual labour. The average daily gross takings of a cartman varied between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2-8-0. The cost of a bullock ranged from Rs. 75 to Rs. 125 and that of a cart from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. The yearly repairing and rehauling charges did not exceed Rs. 15. The feed of a bullock cost from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4-0 per day. Other expenses such as shoeing, etc. came to about Rs. 1-4-0 per month. A bullock cart had to pay an annual tax of Rs. 7-8-0. The busy season started from Diwali and business was dull during the rains.

§ 24. **Carting Agents** : Carting agents, known as *hundekaris*, were the most important agency for the handling of the transport of goods within the Poona area. They were generally the transport agents of local merchants and traders and were entrusted with the transport of goods to and from the Poona Railway Station. At the time of our survey there were in all 19 carting agents in the city. Our sample consisted of 5 of these, one each from Shanwar, Narayan, Nana, Bhavani and Nihal. Two of these were Brahmins, two Marathas and the remaining a Mohammedan. The services performed by a carting agent were limited. He confined himself exclusively to goods transported by the railways. Goods brought into or taken out of the city by roads were not his concern. He was also not concerned with the packing or unpacking of goods. He was thus a specialised sort of transport agent. It was, however, always convenient for the merchants and traders in the

city to engage his services. If the goods brought by railways were not removed within a stipulated period the consignee had to pay demurrage. As the exact date of the arrival of consignments by railways was somewhat uncertain the probability of incurring these charges was great. It was usually very inconvenient for a merchant or a trader to visit the railway goods yards every day. It was here that the services of the carting agent proved useful. If the goods suffered any damage after the *hundekari* had taken them over from the railway authorities and before he had delivered them to the customer, he had to make good that damage.

A carting agent usually worked for 10 or 12 merchants in the city. The wholesale merchants were most in need of *hundekaris*. The retailers used them sparingly. Of the 5 *hundekaris* included in our sample 3 worked for wholesalers and two for retailers. The details of the services performed by the *hundekari* were the booking of goods, their loading and unloading, paying the railway charges and the octroi duty. For his services the *hundekari* was paid per load or according to weight. The rate of the *hundekari's* commission was usually either 6 pies per maund or eight annas to twelve annas per hundred loads. These rates were only for the merchants and the traders with whom the *hundekari* had entered into permanent or semi-permanent contracts. The rates for customers outside his contracted clientele were of course always higher. They might be even as much as three annas to four annas per load. The earnings from such casual business were, however, only in the nature of windfalls. Four out of the five *hundekaris* in our sample transported every day from 200 to 250 loads each and the remaining one only about 100 loads.

The *hundekari* did his task almost solely with the aid of bullock carts. For goods transport there was nothing that could replace this vehicle. In Poona the godowns of merchants, where the *hundekari* was required to carry the goods, were generally in localities with only narrow streets and alley ways. And only the bullock cart could negotiate the approaches to them. A motor-truck could not ordinarily enter these narrow streets and was therefore an inconvenient vehicle for the *hundekari* to use apart from whether it would otherwise have been economical. The *hundekari* generally owned one or two bullock carts and hired more according to his requirements. Three of the *hundekaris* in our sample, all working for wholesalers, had their own bullock carts, two of them having 3 each and the remaining having 2 each. They engaged in addition from 2 to 6 carts each as need arose. The remaining two *hundekaris*, who worked for retailers only, hired carts, usually 3 each. A cart drawn by one bullock had usually a carrying capacity of about 15 maunds and that drawn by a pair of bullocks was generally capable of carrying from 25 to 30 maunds. The cart drawn by one bullock was the prevalent type. When a cart was hired the charge was from ten annas to twelve annas per trip. The *hundekari* was required to spend about Rs. 45 to Rs. 60 per month on each cart owned by him.

§ 25. **Casual Labour**: A survey of casual labourers in Poona city was carried out by the staff of the Institute in March 1938. It covered two types of casual labour. The first consisted of labourers habitually engaged on particular types of work in a particular locality and the second of labourers who offered their services for casual hire to the public at large and were engaged from day to day by different individuals at different places and at work covering, in some instances, a wide range. These two types differed from one another in most respects such as the amount of earnings, the certainty of employment and the competition in securing work. The workers of the first group got more continuous employment and suffered less from competitive rate cutting for most of them formed organisations of their own and worked almost as closed unions.

Casual labours of the first group were, in the main, employed at the following locations :—

(a) Grocers' lanes: (i) Bhavani Peth Main Road (ii) Nana Peth Grain Bazaar (iii) Govind Halwai's Chowk (iv) Dane Ali in Shukrawar Peth (v) Grocers' Lane in Raviwar Peth.

(b) Gul dealers' Lane: Gul Ali and the road joining it with Bhavani Peth Main Road.

(c) Tobacco dealers' Lane: Main Road from Kavthekar's shop to the Bridge in Bhavani Peth.

(d) Timber Lanes in Bhavani, Nana and Ganesh wards.

(e) Brass and Copper Lane : Vetal Peth.

(f) Miscellaneous : (i) Bohori Ali in Raviwar Peth (ii) Railway Station Goods Yards.

Casual labour of the second type chiefly sought employment at the following places :—

(1) Budhwar Chowk Stand. (2) Fulay Market.

In four of the 5 grocers' lanes enumerated above the labourers worked in gangs. There was one gang of 8 labourers on the Bhavani Peth Main Road upto Kavthekar's shop. In the Nana Peth grain bazaar 14 labourers worked in 4 gangs, 2 of 4 labourers each and 2 of 3 labourers each. In Dane Ali there was one gang of 16 labourers while in the Grocers' Lane in Raviwar there was one gang of 13 labourers. We were informed that the employment of labour in the first two lanes had considerably declined during recent years. On the Bhavani Peth Main Road upto Kavthekar's shop, it was stated, formerly about 50 labourers found employment, while the similar figure for the Nana Peth grain bazaar was 100. The decline was generally attributed to two reasons, one the growing practice of the shops in these lanes of employing labourers on their permanent staffs for doing the work formerly performed by casual labour and second, change in the technique of handling goods. The latter might be illustrated by the adoption of the system of measuring instead of the former system of weighing grain in the Nana Peth grain bazaar

which threw many a labourer out of work. Also on the Bhavani Peth Main Road upto Kavthekar's shop the handling of grain was taken away from casual labourers and entrusted to cartmen exclusively. This only left groceries for them to handle and consequently reduced their employment.

Most of the labourers in these gangs were Marathas and came from the Maval Taluka and the Ahmednagar District. Most of them had retained their connection with land and many returned during the rains to their fields for sowing, etc. There were thus considerable fluctuations in the number of casual labourers working in these lanes. In all the gangs the earnings were pooled together and shared among members. The earnings, of course, varied according to the work available. The rainy season was generally slack and a large number of the labourers returned to their fields at that time. The brisk season began in *Kartik* (November–December) and ended in *Falgun* (March–April). While the average weekly earnings of a labourer working in the Nana Peth grain bazaar, Dane Ali and the grocers' lane in Bhavani ranged from Rs. 2–8–0 to Rs. 3 in the grocers' lane in Raviwar they were estimated at roughly Rs. 4–8–0. In Dane Ali the labourers charged six pies either for taking into, or carrying out of, the godown a bag full of grain. In the grocers' lane in Raviwar the rate of payment for taking out of the godown a bag of sugar and weighing it was one anna and three pies but nine pies for a bag of other commodities. All the gangs worked as closed unions and no outsider was allowed to work unless he was admitted to the membership of the gang. In most cases an entrance fee was charged to all new comers. The entrance fee of the gang working on the Bhavani Peth Main Road upto Kavthekar's shop was reported to be Rs. 25 while we were told on reliable authority that the Dane Ali gang refused admission to a labourer who offered to pay Rs. 40 as entrance fee.

In the 8 or 10 grocery shops on the road from Govind Halwai Chowk to Burud Ali about 20 labourers found employment. As noted previously they did not work in gangs. Two or three labourers were attached to each shop and they alone were allowed to work in these shops. They got three pies for carrying a bag from the motor–truck or the bullock cart on the road into the shop. For carrying the bags from the shops to the customers' places they were paid from one anna to eight annas according to distance. The shopkeepers kept daily accounts of the earnings of the labourers attached to their shops. The average weekly earnings of a labourer varied from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5. Five or six bullock carts also plied for work in this locality.

In the Gul Dealers' Lane in Bhavani Peth, known as Gul Ali, there were two separate types of workers, packers and ordinary labourers. There were from 15 to 20 workers of the former type and they were all Mohammedans. They got one anna for packing one lump of *gul.* All of

them were local people. There were about 40 labourers of the second type and they were mostly immigrants from rural areas. Their average daily attendance was about 30. The main items of work that they did were to weigh and to arrange the lumps of *gul* in the godown and carry them when sold, to the places of customers. This work provided them with fairly steady employment throughout the year. They were organized in separate batches and the total membership of a batch varied from 5 to 15 persons. The earnings of a batch were pooled together and distributed according to the shares fixed by the foreman or *panch*. New recruits were taken in and recalcitrant members driven out of the batch by the foreman. The wages for all items of work were fixed. For weighing one lump of *gul* six pies were paid. The rates for carrying it to the place of a customer were fixed according to the distance over which it had to be carried; as for instance, two annas and six pies per lump per trip to Sadashiv, Kasba, Cantonment, Narayan, Shanwar, Somwar or Mangalwar; one anna and nine pies per lump per trip to Raviwar, Ganj or Bhavani; two annas per lump per trip to Ghorpade. Weekly accounts of earnings were kept and distribution was made according to fixed shares. In a gang of 14 labourers, for example, one was paid twelve annas, 9 were paid fourteen annas each and 4 Re. 1 each per day. This gang engaged a clerk for keeping accounts and for collection and distribution. For this work he was paid fourteen annas per day. Most of the workers in this lane belonged to the Maratha and the Mali communities.

In the tobacco shops on the Bhavani Peth Main Road from Kavthekar's shop to the bridge, one gang of 10 to 12 men worked. They got three pies for unloading a bag of tobacco from a bullock cart and arranging the unloaded bags in the godowns or shops. When these bags were sold the labourers got nine pies for taking out and weighing one bag. They had their own hand-carts and they carried the goods to the places of customers, the payment varying according to distance. They worked as a group and all the earnings were put into a pool and then distributed according to fixed shares. The average weekly earnings of a labourer ranged from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4. They had engaged a clerk for the collection of bills and keeping of accounts. All the workers were Marathas.

In the three timber shop lanes—Bhavani, Nana and Ganesh—in Poona three separate types of workers were met with, sawyers or *arekas*, ordinary coolies and cartmen. In Bhavani there were about 30 pairs of sawyers or *arekasas* while 75 to 80 pairs of sawyers found employment in the other two lanes together. They were paid by piece rates. Most of the sawyers were Marathas. While those working in Bhavani came generally from the Ahmednagar District, those working in Nana and Ganesh came mostly from the neighbourhood of Jejuri in Purandar Taluka. The weely earnings of a sawyer on an average approximated to Rs. 7-8-0. The ordinary labourers working in these lanes were almost wholly composed of female workers, two or three women being attached to each shop. In Bhavani there were about 30 of them while

in Nana and Ganesh together there were about 95. Most of these were Marathas. They carried headloads and the charges varied according to the distance. The average weekly earnings of a female labourer were Rs. 2-8-0 in the brisk season (summer) and Rs. 1-4-0 in the slack season (rainy season). The carters carried loads to the places of customers. There were 78 cartmen in Bhavani and 20 in Nana and Ganesh. They were also paid according to distance. A cartman's weekly earnings amounted to about Rs. 3-8-0 in the brisk season.

(e) In the Brass and Copper Merchants' Lane there were 10 women labourers. They got one anna for carrying one maund (40 seers) over a distance of half a mile. There were 10 male labourers also who weighed articles and also did other work. Besides these, there were 9 stitchers. They got one anna for sewing one bag. The average weekly income of a stitcher ordinarily ranged between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2-0-0.

(f) Miscellaneous : In Bohori Ali there were 50 to 60 labourers. They did not work in organized gangs. Usually 2 to 3 of them were connected with a shop. They got three pies for taking in or out any article from the shop. They were paid from one anna to three annas per article for carrying goods to outside destinations. Twelve carts and cartmen were attached to the lane. They got from six annas to twelve annas per trip. The labourers had their own hand-carts. Each labourer earned from Rs. 4 to Rs. 4-8-0 per week, while the weekly income of a cartman was generally more than Rs. 5.

The total number of labourers that worked in the G. I. P. Rly. yard, excluding the employees of the Railway Company, was about 50. The labourers were engaged chiefly in unloading waggons. Labourers engaged in this work belonged mostly to the depressed classes while most of the cartmen plying in the yard were Marathas. The labourers worked in gangs of 8 to 10 workers, ordinarily from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. Their individual weekly income reached Rs. 8 or Rs. 10 in the brisk season and ranged ordinarily from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6. The brisk season extended from February to July. The number of carts and cartmen plying in this yard at the time of this survey might be put at about 300. A bullock cart could make 5 trips in a day. The usual rate charged was one anna for 2½ maunds i. e. eight annas for 8 bags and half an anna for a bag of coal. Work in M. S. M.Rly. yard was organized largely on the same lines as in the G. I. P. goods yard though the number of cartmen and coolies employed was much smaller. In case of a rush of consignments, coolies and cartmen from G. I. P. Rly. goods yard were usually drawn upon.

It was very difficult to ascertain exactly the number of casual labourers who sought work on labour stands. The labour stands were, except in cases such as that at Budhwar Bag, not specially marked out. The labourers crowded the pavements in most cases. The number and composition of labourers on these stands were, of course,

continuously changing. These labourers generally did work which required no particular skill and thus anybody at a loose end could go to the stand and offer himself as a casual labourer. The seasonal fluctuations were also marked. The numbers increased or decreased according as the agricultural seasons around Poona were bad or good. Inspite of these fluctuations, however, the supply was almost always in excess of demand and competition was intense. The labourers were employed either on piece or time rates. In the latter case, they were employed for either the whole day or half-a-day or sometimes even for periods less than this. As soon as the work or working period was over, labourers returned to the stand and sought work for the remaining part of the day. It was therefore quite possible for a labourer to get employment at two places in one day while others remained unemployed for the whole day. It was difficult to ascertain the frequency of such employment.

Counts of labourers on the Budhwar Bag stand were attempted in March, 1938. The estimate obtained was checked by reference to the record of an organization, called "union", of these labourers. The number was put at 282, of whom 274 were Hindus and 8 Mohammedans. There were in all 227 males and 55 females. Both unskilled and skilled labourers sought employment on this stand. The number of skilled labourers among the 282 labourers was estimated as follows: carpenters 10, tailors 8, carders 6, masons 12 and plumber 1. The others were mostly non-specialised labourers. The labourers on the stand got employment, on an average, for 4 to 5 days in a week. Unskilled labourers earned between Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 during a week, while skilled labourers got from Rs. 8 to Rs. 9. On work paid for at piece rates the earnings were usually higher than on time rate work. A large part of the labourers on this stand came from the Ahmednagar District, some came from the Konkan and others from Bhor State and the Maval Taluka. The rest were local people. All those coming from outside were connected with agriculture in their native villages and they returned to their fields when occasion arose. This resulted in considerable fluctuations in their number. The Budhwar Bag labour stand was not open to all. Local labourers who had the upper hand did not allow, it was said, labourers of the depressed classes to seek employment on this stand.

The number of labourers seeking employment at the Fulay Market was approximately 125. Some of the labourers were attached to certain brokers in the market and obtained comparatively steady employment. The average earnings of a labourer of this class came to about Rs. 2-8-0 per week. The unattached casual labourers were entirely unorganized and their number fluctuated considerably from period to period. Their work was mostly the carrying of produce from the market to the houses of customers. There were no standard rates. The average weekly earnings were estimated to vary between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2-4-0. The majority of the labourers were females and belonged to the Maratha and Mali castes.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EARNERS

§ 1. **Introduction**: In a previous chapter we have commented on the data available in the Census regarding the occupational distribution of the population and also presented the data obtained from the preliminary census of establishments taken by us. We now go on to a consideration of the information regarding the occupational distribution of the house-sample population. The representative character of the house sample population enables us to regard the general picture of the occupational structure presented by it as broadly accurate. The proportions of individual sub-groups with a small total population in the sample may no doubt diverge to a greater or lesser degree from the actual proportions in the total population. With regard to sub-groups even there is every reason to believe that our information about the earnings, etc. of those employed in them is both accurate and representative. Data of this character have never been previously made available for any considerable sample of the Indian population.

§ 2. **The Scheme of Occupational Classification**: The discussion in this chapter is based on the detailed information, regarding each earner in each of the families included in the survey sample, obtained in the questionnaire. These data regarding persons gainfully employed have been tabulated according to a graded classification of occupations. In the determination of the grades both social and economic factors were taken into consideration. Each of the main grades has been also divided into sub-grades or groups in respect of the specially important individual occupations or occupational groups contained in it. It is necessary to note that in India no classification could serve equally well the need of describing social as well as economic stratification as it would in, say, the European countries; because in this country the two sets of values do not yet correspond in the same degree. At present a general trend towards the bringing about of such a correspondence is noticeable. Yet the caste bias towards certain occupations and the caste taboos against others retain some force and the influence of caste in determining social gradation is yet considerable. In this chapter we are concerned mainly with the economic aspect of the occupational classification. The details of the sub-classes given in Table No. 54 will make it easy to recompose particular grades in any manner that is thought desirable.

The classification adopted in Table No. 54 aims, not at indicating the total employment of all kinds given by any particular industry or trade, but rather at indicating the strength of individual economic grades and skill groups in society. It differs in this from the occupational classification of the Census. The Census classification adopts the basis of industry giving the employment. From the point of view of a study

of the labour market an occupational classification, like the one adopted by us is more significant as it indicates the comparative volume of employment of different grades and of types of skilled, unskilled, clerical, etc., labour.[1] It is necessary in this connection to emphasize the distinction that is usually made between an occupation and an industry. By "occupation" is usually meant a particular type of work, or calling or craft and it comprises all the persons doing the same sort of work whether employed in the same or in different industries. "Industry" is normally taken to indicate a "production-unit" employing workers of various types and occupations.

In the classification adopted in Table No. 54 all earners have been divided into 13 different grades or groups of occupations. These grades have been further divided into separate occupations. As already indicated the grades are not purely "skill" or purely "status" grades but rather "skill-status" grades. The last three, Grades XI, XII, XIII, are in a class by themselves in as much as the persons included in those grades cannot strictly be described either as earners or as non-earners. Grade XI is that of pensioners who have earned their pensions but connot be said to be earning the income by current effort. The case of the unemployed, Grade XIII, is similar. The Merseyside Survey classified persons in both these classes according to their previous occupations. We could not follow that procedure as we were unable to trace the previous occupations of all persons in both these grades. They have therefore been put into separate classes by themselves. Grade XII has been adopted from the occupational classification in the Indian Census with a slight modification. In this grade are put together beggars and prostitutes. In the Census classification this class also included vagrants. As ours was a household survey vagrants were eliminated from it almost by definition. We, therefore, deleted them from Grade XII in our classification. In the proper economic sense of the term, prostitutes should be described as earners and have little in common with the general group of beggars. The class of prostitutes, however, could not be accommodated in any of the other grades. Also some Indian castes combine prostitution with begging. As in the Census, therefore, the prostitutes were separately classified into a sub-group in the same grade with beggars.

The first ten grades have been arranged in an ascending order of social and economic importance. They broadly fall into three distinct economic groups; Grades I, II and V—unskilled and skilled wage earners (manual labour); Grades IV, VIII and X—business (enterprise); Grades III, VI, VII and IX—professions and administration (services and salariat.)

1 "The supply of labour has usually to be considered in occupational terms; the demand for labour, however, proceeds from industrial units." L. C. Marsh, Employment Research, McGill Programme of Research, 1935, p. 77.

Grade I, unskilled manual work, needs no explanation. It includes domestic servants, *bidi*-workers, sweepers, etc., workers who require no sort of skill but only physical energy. Grade II of skilled manual work comprises skilled as well as semi-skilled workers. As the semi-skilled class is numerically small in the working population of the city we made only one grade of skilled manual work, an intermediate grade between the unskilled and the highly skilled (Grade V). This grade includes, all persons who possess some skill of hand. Most of the artisan classes, like cobblers, carpenters or barbers are put into it together with the semi-skilled workers, like workers in the cotton mills. While dealing with artisans a somewhat difficult problem had to be solved. Among barbers for instance, we came across individuals who worked in separate establishments owned by themselves and in which they had also engaged a few assistants. Such individuals were skilled workers as well as businessmen in a small way. They could therefore, be put either in Grade II or Grade IV. Similarly there were owners of tongas, who besides being tonga drivers themselves, owned 2 or 3 tongas and hired them out. In such cases we had to choose between the ignoring of either the skill or the entrepreneurial factor. We decided in most cases to ignore the latter as our classification aimed at indicating the strength of the various grades and skill groups in economic society. Besides the imformation that was being dealt with was collected during a household survey and not in a census of establishments.

Grade V of highly skilled and supervisory manual work is largely composed of workers like fitters, wiremen, goldsmiths, tailors, etc. Grades I, II and V together embrace all the manual wage earners in the working population. The common characteristic of persons of this class is that they are skilled or unskilled manual workers whose earnings chiefly represent payments for their labour, unskilled or skilled. These have been classified into the three grades mainly by using the skill criterion and partly also by the income index.

Grades III, VI, VII and IX together make up what may be called the services. Professional, administrative and educational services are included in this class. Grade III has within its fold persons in the lowest professional occupations like astrologers, priests, compounders, jugglers, etc. and primary teachers. Grade VI comprises clerks and shops assistants. The clerks in this grade were employed both in business and administration, while the shop assistants were those that did not undertake work which was in the main physical. Grade VII of "intermediate" administrative and business posts and occupations is composed of such persons as sub-inspectors, overseers, etc. and secondary teachers. Grade IX of highest administrative posts and professions includes persons belonging to the liberal professions as well as all higher administrative officers. This "services" class is characterised by the

absence of manual work and the greater emphasis on brain work and educational equipment. It has been classified into three grades mainly by the standard of income.

Grades IV, VIII and X constitute together the "business" class. Its principal characteristic is that in distinction to the exploitation of physical energy, technical skill or educational qualification, it is engaged in the conduct of business or economic enterprise. Grade IV of small businesses is composed largely of small shopkeepers, hawkers, etc. Grade VIII is of small business and is composed of grocers, sweetmeat sellers, cloth merchants, etc. Grade X of owners of factories, workshops, etc. is the substantial entrepreneur group. It shows the element of enterprise at its highest. The division of this class into three different grades is mainly on the basis of income.

§ 3. **The General Occupational Structure**: The total number of earners in Grade I was 1,546 or 26 per cent. of the total earners in the sample, not including members of Grade XIII. Of the total number of earners in this grade 22 per cent. were domestic servants, 18 per cent. casual labourers, 12 per cent. *bidi* workers and 10 per cent. other servants. In Grade II there were in all 1,206 earners or about 20 per cent. of the total earners in the sample. Of the total earners in this grade 14 per cent. were carpenters, 13 per cent. cooks and ayahs, 10 per cent. masons, another 10 per cent. tonga and bullock-cart drivers and 8 per cent. weavers. In Grade III there were 424 earners. Roughly this grade contained about 8 per cent. of the total earners in the sample. Of these 20 per cent. were primary teachers, 18 per cent. astrologers, priests, etc., while 47 per cent. were in the lowest administrative services Nearly 12 per cent. of the total earners i. e. 719 earners, formed Grade IV. Of these 45 per cent. were hawkers, 23 per cent. small shopkeepers and 24 per cent. were engaged in smallest business. Grade V contained 451 or 8 per cent. of the total earners in the sample. Of these 38 per cent. were highly skilled workers like motor mechanics, fitters, etc., 28 per cent. were tailors and 14 per cent. goldsmiths. Slightly more than 8 per cent. or 505 of the total earners were to be found in Grade VI. Of these 50 per cent. were clerks in business, 36 per cent. clerks in administration while 14 per cent. shop assistants. Nearly 4 per cent. of the total or 206 earners fell into Grade VII. Of these 40 per cent. were in intermediate occupations, 34 per cent. in the intermediate administrative posts, such as those of sub-registrars, sub-inspectors, etc. and 19 per cent. secondary teachers. The 499 earners in Grade VIII formed about 8 per cent. of the total earners in the sample. Of these 32 per cent. were sellers of cloth or stationery or hosiery, etc., 29 per cent. were grocers and 16 per cent. engaged in the food and drink trade. There were 77 earners in Grade IX. They were slightly above 1 per cent. of the total number of earners. Of these 83 per cent. were in liberal

Table No. 54—Earners Classified according to Occupation, Sex, Age, Annual Income, etc.

Occupational Grade.	Age and Sex	Total	Educational status			Duration in present occupation (years)				Annual Income (Rs)										Remarks
			Illiterates	Literates	Literates in English	Below 1	1—Below 5	5 and above	Not stated	Below 100	100—„ 150	150—„ 250	250—„ 400	400—„ 500	500—„ 750	750—„ 1,000	1,000—„ 2,000	2,000 and above	Not Given	
Unskilled Manual Work :																				
(1) Agricultural labourers, cowherds, assistants to gardners, etc.	Adult males ...	48	35	13	...	1	14	12	21	5	25	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	4	4	...	...	...	1	1	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	22	21	1	...	...	5	11	6	13	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	74	60	14	...	1	20	24	29	20	33	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(2) Labourers engaged in earthwork, building, roads, brick-kilns, etc.	Adult males ...	47	43	4	1	2	17	22	6	5	20	19	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	4	4	...	...	...	2	...	2	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	24	24	...	...	...	11	6	7	12	9	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	75	71	4	1	2	30	28	15	19	30	23	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(3) Wood-cutters, grass-cutters, etc.	Adult males ...	18	15	3	...	1	5	8	4	2	8	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	6	6	...	...	2	1	2	1	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	24	21	3	...	3	6	10	5	7	8	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(4) Servants in shops.	Adult males ...	81	36	45	2	8	43	24	6	12	27	41	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	17	8	9	...	5	8	2	2	14	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ..	4	4	...	...	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	102	48	54	2	13	51	30	8	30	30	41	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	

(5)	Servants in workshops, factories, etc.	Adult males	92	41	51	6	11	40	31	10	4	20	55	13	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult males	5	2	3	...	1	4	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Adult females	16	15	1	...	3	7	5	1	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult females	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total	114	58	56	6	15	52	36	11	17	29	55	13	...	...	...	...	...	...
(6)	Assistants to artisans.	Adult males	86	51	35	...	12	26	31	17	18	34	29	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult males	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Adult females	8	8	...	...	1	3	2	2	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult females	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total	96	61	35	...	14	29	33	20	27	35	29	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
(7)	*Bidi* workers.	Adult males	37	25	12	...	2	23	11	1	15	14	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult males	7	7	...	...	...	7	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Adult females	134	132	2	...	5	61	55	13	67	56	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult females	5	5	...	...	2	3	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total	183	169	14	...	9	94	66	14	94	70	18	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
(8)	Servants in hotels and restaurants.	Adult males	20	10	10	...	3	13	3	1	11	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult males	2	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Adult females	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total	23	12	11	...	4	15	3	1	13	4	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(9)	Domestic servants.	Adult males	113	51	62	4	16	45	37	15	20	28	54	10	...	...	...	...	...	1
		Non-adult males	10	5	5	1	4	5	...	1	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Adult females	205	197	8	...	15	91	74	25	171	32	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult females	2	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total	330	255	75	5	36	142	111	41	202	61	56	10	...	...	...	...	...	1
(10)	Sweepers and scavengers.	Adult males	37	20	17	...	2	11	23	1	5	6	25	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Adult females	56	51	5	1	...	14	41	1	6	26	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total	93	71	22	1	2	25	64	2	11	32	49	1	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. 54—Earners Classified according to Occupation, Sex, Age, Annual Income, etc. (*Continued*)

Occupational Grade	Age and Sex	Total	Educational status			Duration in present occupation (years)				Annual Income (Rs.)										Remarks
			Illiterates	Literates	Literates in English	Below 1	1—Below 5	5 and above	Not stated	Below 100	100—„ 150	150—„ 250	250—„ 400	400—„ 500	500—„ 750	750—„ 1,000	1,000—„ 2,000	2,000 and above	Not Given	
(11) Other servants.	Adult males ...	136	52	84	...	5	59	60	12	12	29	88	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	8	4	4	...	...	6	1	1	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	11	11	...	...	1	6	2	2	3	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	155	67	88	...	6	71	63	15	22	36	90	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(12) Unattached casual labourers.	Adult males ...	164	148	16	...	18	55	64	27	50	51	57	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	3	2	1	...	2	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	110	110	...	...	10	38	51	11	77	29	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	277	260	17	...	30	94	115	38	130	80	61	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total Grade I	Adult males ...	879	527	352	13	81	351	326	121	159	265	406	48	...	...	...	...	...	1	
	Non-adult males ...	61	38	23	1	13	36	4	8	50	8	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	597	580	17	1	38	237	253	69	374	175	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	9	8	1	...	3	5	...	1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	1546	1153	393	15	135	629	583	199	592	448	457	48	...	...	...	...	...	1	
II Skilled Manual Work :																				
(1) Gardeners.	Adult males ...	85	60	25	1	2	35	42	6	1	4	68	11	1	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	85	60	25	1	2	35	42	6	1	4	68	11	1	...	...	...	...	...	

(2) Workers in cotton mill.	Adult males ..	45	26	19	1	12	13	16	4	1	10	27	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	8	8	...	...	1	4	1	2	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	54	35	19	1	14	17	17	6	9	11	27	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(3) Handloom weavers.	Adult males ...	73	54	19	...	3	20	32	18	15	31	25	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	26	26	...	...	...	6	15	5	21	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total ..	101	82	19	...	3	28	47	23	38	34	27	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(4) Brass and copper smiths.	Adult males ...	58	30	28	2	...	13	28	17	8	3	32	12	2	1	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	59	31	28	2	...	13	28	18	9	3	32	12	2	1	...	...	...	...	
(5) Carpenters.	Adult males ...	161	44	117	8	12	32	88	29	4	10	54	69	14	7	3	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	162	45	117	8	12	32	89	29	4	10	54	70	14	7	3	...	...	...	
(6) Sawyers.	Adult males ...	31	28	3	...	1	9	16	5	1	4	18	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	31	28	3	...	1	9	16	5	1	4	18	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	
(7) Masons.	Adult males ...	120	63	57	...	...	18	74	28	3	4	38	61	11	3	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	120	63	57	...	...	18	74	28	3	4	38	61	11	3	...	...	...	...	

Table No. 54—Earners Classified according to Occupation, Age, Sex, Annual Income, etc. (*Continued*)

Occupational Grade	Age and Sex	Total	Educational status			Duration in present occupation (years)				Annual Income (Rs.)										Remark
			Illiterates	Literates	Literates in English	Below 1	1—Below 5	5 and above	Not stated	Below 100	100—,, 150	150—,, 250	250—,, 400	400—,, 500	500—,, 750	750—,, 1,000	1,000—,, 2,000	2,000 and above	Not Given	
(8) Workers in leather.	Adult males ...	60	40	20	1	...	10	44	6	8	14	25	10	3	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	2	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	7	7	...	...	...	1	6	1	3	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	2	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	71	48	23	1	...	13	50	8	14	16	28	10	3	...	...	...	...	...	
(9) Washermen.	Adult males ..	61	37	24	...	1	7	37	16	3	8	30	17	3	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	21	20	1	...	...	4	11	6	7	4	8	2	...	...	...	...	...	..	
	Non-adult females...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	83	58	25	...	1	11	48	23	10	13	38	19	3	...	...	...	...	...	
(10) Barbers.	Adult males ...	58	35	23	..	...	9	27	22	3	6	39	7	1	1	1	..	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	2	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	60	37	23	...	1	10	27	22	3	8	39	7	1	1	1	...	...	..	
(11) Cooks, Ayahs, etc.	Adult males ...	88	33	55	4	2	34	39	13	8	11	43	18	7	...	1	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	65	53	12	...	4	20	38	3	25	23	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	153	86	67	4	6	54	77	16	33	34	60	18	7	...	1	...	...	..	

(12) Tonga or bullock-cart drivers.	Adult males	115	82	33	...	1	41	55	18	1	15	55	30	5	8	...	1	...	...
	Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	115	82	33	...	1	41	55	18	1	15	55	30	5	8	...	1	...	...
(13) Miscellaneous.	Adult males	98	58	40	2	2	14	66	16	14	10	47	24	1	2	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult males	2	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females	12	12	...	...	1	1	3	7	9	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	112	70	42	2	3	17	69	23	24	11	50	24	1	2	...	...	...	...
Total Grade II	Adult males	1053	590	463	19	36	255	564	198	70	130	501	275	49	22	5	1	...	...
	Non-adult males	11	7	4	...	2	6	1	2	6	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females	139	126	13	...	6	36	74	23	72	33	32	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females	3	2	1	...	...	1	...	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	1206	725	481	19	44	298	639	225	150	167	534	278	49	22	5	1	...	...
III Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts, Primary Teachers, etc.:																			
(1) Astrologers, priests, etc.	Adult males	74	6	68	9	...	14	43	17	19	16	25	8	2	2	...	...	...	2
	Non-adult males	2	...	2	1	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	77	7	70	10	...	16	43	18	21	16	26	8	2	2	...	...	...	2
(2) Compounders, nurses, etc.	Adult males	21	...	21	14	...	8	11	2	...	1	9	7	1	2	...	...	...	1
	Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females	12	4	8	4	1	3	5	3	4	2	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	33	4	29	18	1	11	16	5	4	3	11	11	1	2	...	...	...	1
(3) Primary teachers.	Adult males	52	...	52	16	6	16	26	4	2	2	14	23	8	3	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females	34	...	34	4	1	13	17	3	...	1	8	15	4	4	2	...	...	...
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	86	...	86	20	7	29	43	7	2	3	22	38	12	7	2	...	...	...

Table No. 54—Earners Classified according to Occupation, Sex, Age, Annual Income, etc. (*Continued*)

Occupational Grade	Age and Sex	Total	Educational status			Duration in present occupation (years)				Annual Income (Rs.)										Remark
			Illitrates	Literates	Literates in English	Below 1	1—Below 5	5 and above	Not stated	Below 100	100—„ 150	150—„ 250	250—„ 400	400—„ 500	500—„ 750	750—„ 1,000	1,000„ —2,000	2,000 and above	Not Given	
(4) Lowest Administrative posts, etc.	Adult males ...	199	45	154	18	11	66	110	12	6	10	125	55	3	...	...	...	..	...	
	Non-adult males ...	1	....	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	1	1	..	..	1	...	...	..	1	...	...	...	....	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	201	46	155	18	12	67	110	12	7	11	125	55	3	..	...	...	...	...	
(5) Miscellaneous.	Adult males ...	20	6	14	4	...	8	8	4	...	5	6	2	3	3	...	...	...	1	
	Non-adult males ...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	6	4	2	...	...	4	2	...	...	...	1	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	27	10	17	4	1	12	10	4	1	5	7	3	5	5	...	...	...	1	
Total Grade III	Adult males ...	366	57	309	61	17	112	198	39	27	34	179	95	17	10	...	...	...	4	
	Non-adult males ...	4	...	4	1	1	3	...	...	2	1	1	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ..	54	10	44	8	3	20	24	7	6	3	11	20	6	6	2	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	424	67	357	70	21	135	222	46	35	38	191	115	23	16	2	...	...	4	
IV Small Businesses :																				
(1) Hawkers.	Adult males ..	147	70	77	8	10	44	74	19	20	42	63	18	2	2	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males ...	6	5	1	1	3	3	....	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	52	52	...	...	3	19	19	11	29	13	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total..	205	127	78	9	16	66	93	30	54	56	72	19	2	2	...	...	...	...	

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Table No. 54—Earners Classified according to Occupation, Sex, Age, Annual Income, etc. (*Continued*)

Occupational Grade.	Age and Sex	Total	Educational status			Duration in present occupation (years)				Annual Income (Rs)										Remarks
			Illiterates	Literates	Literates in English	Below 1	1—Below 5	5 and above	Not stated	Below 100	100—„ 150	150—„ 250	250—„ 400	400—„ 500	500—„ 750	750—„ 1,000	1,000—„ 2,000	2,000 and above	Not Given	
(4) Compositors.	Adult males	42	...	42	15	...	13	29	...	1	...	17	20	2	2	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total	42	...	42	15	...	13	29	...	1	...	17	20	2	2	...	...	...	...	
(5) Miscellaneous.	Adult males	45	3	42	23	3	10	30	2	...	5	7	14	6	12	1	...	...	...	
	Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total	45	3	42	23	3	10	30	2	...	5	7	14	6	12	1	...	...	...	
Total Group V	Adult males	138	61	377	88	23	110	250	55	10	27	116	169	51	53	6	3	...	3	
	Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females	13	5	8	...	...	5	4	4	9	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total	451	66	385	88	23	115	254	59	19	28	118	170	51	53	6	3	...	3	
VI Clerks and Shop Assistants:																				
(1) Clerks in Government and Municipal Service.	Adult males	179	...	179	153	8	36	124	11	...	...	6	28	32	54	34	22	3	...	
	Non-adult males	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total	179	...	179	153	8	36	124	11	...	...	6	28	32	54	34	22	3	...	

(2) Other clerks.	Adult males ...	253	...	253	138	23	89	117	24	1	6	51	83	58	44	7	2	...	1
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	254	...	254	139	24	89	117	24	1	6	51	83	59	44	7	2	...	1
(3) Shop assistants.	Adult males ...	71	10	61	10	3	29	36	3	1	1	33	26	8	2	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	72	10	62	10	3	30	36	3	1	1	34	26	8	2	...	...	...	...
Total Grade VI	Adult males ...	503	10	493	301	34	154	277	38	2	7	90	137	98	100	41	24	3	1
	Non-adult males ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	2	...	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	..	1	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	505	10	495	302	35	155	277	38	2	7	91	137	99	100	41	24	3	1
VII Intermediate Professions and Salaried Posts, Secondary Teachers, Etc.																			
(1) Civil and mechanical engineers and overseers, etc.	Adult males ...	18	...	18	18	1	6	10	1	...	...	...	...	2	6	3	4	3	...
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	18	...	18	18	1	6	10	1	...	...	...	...	2	6	3	4	3	...
(2) Secondary teachers.	Adult males ...	34	...	34	34	...	10	22	2	...	...	1	1	7	18	4	3	...	...
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	4	...	4	4	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	38	...	38	38	...	13	23	2	...	...	1	1	9	19	4	4	...	...
(3) Administrative posts viz. sub-inspector, sub-registrar, etc.	Adult males ...	69	...	69	63	...	4	62	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	43	22	...
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	69	...	69	63	...	4	62	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	43	22	...

Table No. 54—Earners Classified according to Occupation, Sex, Age, Annual Income, etc. (*Continued*)

Occupational Grade	Age and Sex	Total	Educational status			Duration in present occupation (years)				Annual Income (Rs.)									Remark
			Illiterates	Literates	Literates in English	Below 1	1—Below 5	5 and above	Not stated	Below 100	100—„ 150	150—„ 250	250—„ 400	400—„ 500	500—„ 750	750—„ 1,000	1,000„ -2,000	2,000 and above	Not Given	
(4) Intermediate occupations.	Adult males ...	79	3	76	33	5	16	50	8	...	1	9	15	6	24	3	15	6	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	81	4	77	33	5	17	51	8	...	1	9	16	7	24	3	15	6	...	
Total Grade VII	Adult males ...	200	3	197	148	6	36	144	14	...	1	10	16	15	49	13	65	31	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	6	1	5	4	...	4	2	...	...	...	...	1	3	1	...	1	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	206	4	202	152	6	40	146	14	...	1	10	17	18	50	13	66	31	...	
VIII **Medium Businesses:**																				
(1) Building and building materials, motor body building, etc.	Adult males ...	59	1	58	29	3	18	36	2	...	...	6	12	4	13	7	7	6	4	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	59	1	58	29	3	18	36	2	...	...	6	12	4	13	7	7	6	4	
(2) Grain and grocery shops.	Adult males ...	139	7	132	14	5	41	74	19	1	4	16	41	18	26	3	24	1	5	
	Non-adult males ...	4	...	4	...	2	...	...	2	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	4	4	...	...	1	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	147	11	136	14	8	42	76	21	2	6	17	43	18	28	3	24	1	5	

(3) Prepared food and drink shops.	Adult males ...	77	13	64	15	8	33	25	11	2	3	8	17	8	22	5	2	5	5
	Non-adult males ...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	4	3	1	...	...	3	1	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	82	16	66	15	9	36	26	11	4	3	9	17	8	23	5	3	5	5
(4) Cloth, Stationery, Cutlery, etc. shops.	Adult males ...	159	1	158	47	2	38	90	29	...	3	9	19	15	50	11	38	11	3
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	160	2	158	47	2	38	90	30	...	3	9	19	15	51	11	38	11	3
(5) All kinds of repair shops.	Adult males ...	50	8	42	12	3	19	24	4	1	5	10	14	9	6	1	1	3	...
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	51	9	42	12	3	19	25	4	1	5	10	15	9	6	1	1	3	...
Total Grade VIII.	Adult males ...	484	30	454	117	21	149	249	65	4	15	49	103	54	117	27	72	26	17
	Non-adult males ...	5	...	5	...	3	...	...	2	...	1	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	10	9	1	...	1	4	4	1	3	1	1	1	...	3	...	1	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	499	39	460	117	25	153	253	68	7	17	51	106	54	121	27	73	26	17
IX Higher Professions and Salaried Posts :																			
(1) Administrative Officers.	Adult males ...	13	...	13	13	...	2	8	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	2
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	13	...	13	13	...	2	8	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	2
(2) Liberal professions—professors, doctors, lawyers, etc.	Adult males ...	63	...	63	58	3	14	38	8	1	...	...	2	3	10	3	28	15	1
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	1	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	64	...	64	59	3	14	39	8	1	...	...	2	3	10	3	29	15	1

Table No. 54—Earners Classified according to Occupation, Sex, Age, Annual Income, etc. (*Continued*)

Occupational Grade	Age and Sex	Total	Educational status			Duration in present occupation (years)				Annual Income (Rs.)									Remarks
			Illiterates	Literates	Literates in English	Below 1	1—Below 5	5 and above	Not stated	Below 100	100—„ 150	150—„ 250	250—„ 400	400—„ 500	500—„ 750	750—„ 1,000	1,000—„ 2,000	2,000 and above	Not Given	
Total Grade IX	Adult males ...	76	...	76	71	3	16	46	11	1	...	...	2	3	10	3	29	25	3	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	1	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	77	...	77	72	3	16	47	11	1	...	...	2	3	10	3	30	25	3	
X Owners of Factories, Large Shops, Etc.: Total Grade X	Adult males ...	24	2	22	14	...	3	19	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	5	14	...	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	24	2	22	14	...	3	19	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	5	14	...	
Total I to X	Adult males ...	4570	1491	3079	875	258	1338	2354	620	315	571	1569	985	308	384	102	205	99	32	
	Non-adult males ...	93	50	43	3	24	52	5	12	66	16	8	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	981	886	95	15	55	353	432	141	529	251	137	36	11	11	2	4	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	13	11	2	...	3	7	...	3	12	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	5657	2438	3219	893	340	1750	2791	776	922	839	1712	1024	319	397	104	209	99	32	
XI Pensioners. Total Grade XI	Adult males ...	126	4	122	80	4	37	49	36	9	8	14	19	9	21	9	19	15	3	
	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Adult females ...	6	3	3	1	...	3	1	2	4	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total...	132	7	125	81	4	40	50	38	13	9	14	19	10	21	9	19	15	3	

XII Beggars and Prostitutes.	Adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(1) Prostitutes.	Non-adult males ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	24	22	2	...	...	5	18	1	...	1	1	11	8	3	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	24	22	2	...	...	5	18	1	...	1	1	11	8	3	...	...	...	...
(2) Beggars.	Adult males ...	42	27	15	1	...	7	20	15	33	5	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult males ...	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	22	22	...	...	1	4	11	6	21	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	68	53	15	1	1	14	31	22	58	6	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Grade XII	Audult males ...	42	27	15	1	...	7	20	15	33	5	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult males ...	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Adult females ...	46	44	2	...	1	9	29	7	21	2	1	11	8	3	...	...	...	...
	Non-adult females...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	92	75	17	1	1	19	49	23	58	7	4	12	8	3	...	...	...	...
Unclassified.	Adult males ...	8	...	8	5	1	5	...	2	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	Non-adult males ...	2	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	Adult females ...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	4
	Non-adult females...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total...	14	5	9	5	3	5	...	6	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
Grand Total	Adult males ...	4746	1522	3224	961	263	1387	2423	673	360	586	1587	1005	317	405	111	224	114	37
	Non-adult males ...	97	53	44	3	26	53	5	13	68	16	6	3	...	2	...	...	...	2
	Adult females ...	1037	937	100	16	56	365	462	154	554	254	138	47	20	14	2	4	...	4
	Non-adult females...	15	13	2	...	3	9	...	3	14	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total ...	5895	2525	3370	980	348	1814	2890	843	996	857	1731	1055	337	421	113	228	114	43

						Duration of unemployment			
						Less than 3 months	3 months to 1 year	1 year and more	Not given
XIII Unemployed	Adult males ...	163	38	125	35	36	56	64	7
	Non-adult males ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
	Adult females ...	8	8	.	...	3	4	1	...
	Non-adult females ...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
Total Grade XIII	Total ...	172	47	125	35	39	60	65	8

professions. Grade X, quantitatively the smallest in the whole sample, contained only 0·4 per cent. of the total earners in the sample. Grade XI included 132 or only 2 per cent. of the total earners. Grade XII also contained 2 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 74 per cent. were beggars and 26 per cent. prostitutes.

§ 4. **Juveniles and Old Earners**: In Table No. 54 all earners have been divided into two age-groups : (1) below 15 years (2) 15 and above. The bulk of the earners, 98 per cent, fell into the second group. The first group indicates juvenile workers. The first significant fact to be noted regarding the juvenile group is that the number of female workers in this group is insignificant. We have, therefore, to deal only with male juveniles. The total number of even these was very small. Juvenile workers were to be found in Grades I to IV and in Grade VIII. In the other grades there were no workers belonging to this age group. They were prominently present only in the unskilled occupational grades. Their number was largest in Grade I and they were mostly domestic servants and servants in shops. In Grades II, III, IV and VIII their percentage to the total earners in those grades was nowhere more than 2. They appeared under the category of small shopkeepers in Grade IV. In Grade VIII they seemed to be mostly shopowners' sons who worked as assistants in the shops. The male juvenile occupations in the city appeared chiefly to be, service in shops, domestic service and *bidi* work.

The group of old earners i. e. earners belonging to the age-group 55 and above is not shown separately in Table No. 54. The following comments are based on figures specially extracted from data for that purpose. The largest proportion of workers belonging to this age-group, was to be found in Grade III. They were nearly 16 per cent. of the total earners in that grade. Of these old workers the females formed 12 per cent. Nearly 75 per cent. of the male earners were priests, astrologers and the like. These occupations do not call for much physical exertion and in them old age is at a premium. The female workers of this age-group in this grade were mostly nurses and primary teachers. In each of the Grades IV and VIII the proportion of old workers to the total earners was 8 per cent. In Grade VIII there were no female workers in this age group; in Grade IV male earners of this age-group bulked largely in small business, and as small shopkeepers and, to a lesser degree, in the class of *mistris*, tailors, etc. In Grade VIII also they figured prominently under business, as grocers, sweetmeat sellers, cloth merchants, etc. In both these grades the workers of this age-group belonged to occupations which could be described as sedentary.

In Grades I, II and VII the percentage of old workers to total earners in each grade was between 6 and 4. In Grade VII there were no female workers of this age-group. In Grade I female workers of this age-group outnumbered male workers, while in

Grade II the females were only 16 per cent. of the male workers of this age group. In Grade VII most of the workers were engaged in intermediate occupations and as secondary teachers. The male workers in Grade I were concentrated in domestic service and in unattached casual labour and to a lesser degree, in agricultural labour. In Grade II a large number of the male workers appeared as cart or tonga drivers and as washermen. The female workers of this age group in Grade I were largely found to be employed as domestic servants and unattached casual labourers and to a smaller extent as sweepers. Almost all the female workers of this age group in Grade II were found to be cooks and ayahs and hawkers. In Grades V, VI, IX and X, the workers of this age group were proportionately insignificant. The proportion of workers of this age group in Grade V was slightly higher than in the other grades mentioned above. In Grade V there were no female workers. The whole of Grade XI was made up of "pensioners" and almost the whole of it fell into this age group.

To summarise, the proportion of old workers was significant only in Grade III and Grades IV and VIII. In the former they were priests and astrologers, occupations in which old age was a positive asset. In the latter grades, which can be generally described as "business," they appeared as shopkeepers, grocers or cloth merchants. These occupations are of a sedentary character where long experience in business methods is an asset. The proportion of female workers was small in this age group and their numbers were significant chiefly in domestic service.

§ 5. **Female Earners**: The proportions of female workers in the different grades of occupations were subject to considerable variations. Their numbers were insignificant in all the grades from V to XI. In Grade IV their numbers were substantial only in the groups of small business and small shops. They were not represented among skilled workers except in occupations that are in a large measure specifically women's occupations, such as cooking, nursing or dancing and singing. In the lowest professions also they were not conspicuous and they formed only a small proportion of the total nnmber of primary teachers in the sample. It is thus clear that women earners were composed chiefly of the unskilled workers and that in the skilled occupations or in the professions women earners have yet no place. It should be noted that in Poona this is not due to any special degree of social seclusion. It is only in Grade I that women earners had a representation that was substantial. In this grade they outnumbered men in the sub-classes, domestic servants, *bidi* workers and sweepers. Their numbers were also large in general agricultural labour, earth work and casual unattached labour. In Grade II they were very important in the sub-class, cooks and ayahs, and were substantially represented in two artisan employments that of weaving and laundering. In weaving they were employed in all preparatory and finishing pro-

cesses though not on weaving itself and in laundering they took the same part as the men. Women hawkers seemed to be numerous and women primary teachers were not unimportant. They were well represented among beggars and obviously made up the entire class of prostitutes. It will thus be seen that except for two or three special trades or professions women earners were represented chiefly in non-specialised general labour groups.

§ 6. **Literacy by Occupational Grades**: The earners in each grade have been classified in respect of literacy under three heads, illitetate, literate and literate in English. The term " literate " means those who were literate only in their mother tongue. " Literates in English " were usually literates in English in addition to being literates in their mother tongue.

In Grade I 74 per cent. of total earners were illiterate. Of the total earners in " other servants " 59 per cent. were literate. The percentage of literacy in domestic servants was 21. In the two classes of servants in shops and servants in workshops and factories, the percentages of literacy were 50 and 45 respectively. In Grade I literates in English were a little over 1 per cent. and most of them were found in domestic servants. Nearly 40 per cent. of the total earners in Grade II were literate. Of the total number of carpenters nearly 67 per cent. were literate. The percentages of literacy among cooks and ayahs and masons were roughly 41 and 48 respectively. Of the total earners in the grade less than 2 per cent. were literate in English and these were evenly distributed over all of the sub-classes of the grade. In Grade III the percentage of literates was nearly 16. Of the total primary teachers 23 per cent. were literate in English. Among the priests, astrologers, etc. the percentage of literacy was 90 and 8 per cent. of them were literate in English. Among compounders and nurses, etc. the percentage of literates in English was 54. Of the total earners in Grade IV nearly 48 per cent. were literate and 2 per cent. literate in English. Of the total literates in the grade 44 per cent. were to be found in small business and 26 per cent. were small shopkeepers. Of the total number of hawkers 75 per cent. were literate and 9 per cent. literate in English. Of the total small shopkeepers nearly 63 per cent. were literate and 10 per cent. literate in English.

Of the total earners in Grade V, 20 per cent. were literate in English and 85 per cent. were literate. Among the total earners under fitters, motor mechnics, etc. 82 per cent. were literate and 19 per cent. literate in English. Of the tailors 84 per cent. were literate and 9 per cent. literate in English. Of the total earners under 'Miscellaneous' 51 per cent. were literate in English. In Grade VI only 2 per cent. of the total earners were illiterate and most of these were to be found among shop assistants. Of the total earners in the grade 60 per cent. were literate in English. In Grade VII again only 2 per cent. of the

total earners were illiterate and 75 per cent. were literate in English. Secondary teachers and those in "intermediate occupations" were all literate in English. Among those engaged in intermediate occupations 6 per cent. were illiterate and 41 per cent. were literate in English. Of the total earners in administrative posts such as sub-inspectors, sub-registrars, ticket collectors, etc. 91 per cent. were literate in English. Of the total earners in Grade VIII, 92 per cent. were literate and 23 per cent. literate in English. Among the total cloth merchants, etc. 29 per cent. were literate in English. Nearly 7 per cent. of the grocers were illiterate and 9 per cent. were literate in English. Of the building contractors and the sellers of building materials 49 per cent. were literate in English. In Grade IX only 6 per cent. were not literate in English. The high percentage of literates in English in this grade is not at all surprising as it consists of those in the highest administrative posts and liberal professions. In Grade X 8 per cent. of the total earners were illiterate but 59 per cent. were literate in English. The percentage of illiteracy in this entrepreneur class is rather striking. Among the pensioners constituting Grade XI, 5 per cent. were illiterate and 33 per cent. were literate in English. Of the persons included in Grade XII 78 per cent. were illiterate and 22 per cent. were literate. Of the prostitutes only 8 per cent. were literate. Of the beggars 20 per cent. were literate and one beggar was literate in English.

§ 7. **Occupations and Earnings**[1]: In a discussion of occupational structure consideration of earnings of different occupations forms an important part. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that in the scheme of occupational classification adopted here the first ten grades have been arranged in a scale of increasing importance largely by the criterion of earnings. The data regarding the earnings of various occupational grades have been presented in Table No. 54. The earnings of occupations have been divided into nine ranges. In all cases the earnings have been estimated for a period of one complete year. The data are put in terms of individual earnings. In certain cases, in Grade VIII particularly, where a business concern was being run by a father and his son or sons or by two or more brothers jointly, our schedules gave the total earnings of the whole business concern as such. We had, in such instances, to divide the total earnings equally between all the members of the family working in the concern. This procedure suffers from obvious defects. Fortunately, however, it had to be adopted only in a small number of cases.

A dispersion of earnings within an occupational group may be real in the sense of arising from actual disparate levels of earnings therein or may be only apparent due to two or more different types of occupations or classes of workers being included in the same group. The category of cooks serves to illustrate the second

1. The measures of dispersion in this section, in Table No. 55 and the charts are based on the data of earnings after their being grouped as in Table No. 54.

type of dispersion. A person serving as a cook in a European household is differently equipped and earns very much more than a person employed as cook in an Indian household. But both would be included under the one head "cooks."

Nearly 39 per cent. of the total earners in Grade I fell in the 1st income range, 30 per cent. in the 2nd and an almost equal percentage (29 per cent.) in the 3rd. Of the *bidi*-workers more than 50 per cent. were found in the 1st range and about 39 per cent. in the 2nd range. Of the total domestic servants 60 per cent. were in the 1st range and about 17 per cent. each in the 2nd and the 3rd ranges. Forty-seven per cent. of the unattached casual labourers were found in the 1st range, 29 per cent. in the 2nd range and 22 per cent. in the 3rd. The third quartile earning in the grade was Rs. 144.[1]

Of the total earners in Grade II nearly 26 per cent. were in the first two income ranges, 45 per cent. in the 3rd and 24 percent. in the 4th range. Of the total cooks and ayahs 22 per cent. were in the 1st range, 23 per cent. in the 2nd range, 40 per cent. in the 3rd range, 12 per cent. in the 4th range and 4 per cent. in the 5th range. The carpenters were heavily concentrated in the 3rd and 4th ranges, 33 per cent. in the 3rd and 43 per cent. in the 4th. Of the total hand loom workers, nearly 38 per cent. were in the 1st range, 34 per cent. in the 2nd and 27 per cent. in the 3rd range. Five per cent. of the total barbers were in the 1st range, 13 per cent. in the 2nd range, 65 per cent. in the 3rd range and 11 per cent. in the 4th range. The median earning of this grade was Rs. 165 and the third quartile earning Rs. 224. The middle 50 per cent. of the earnings of persons in this grade varied between Rs. 118 and Rs. 224 Only a single earner in this grade was found in the 8th income range. He was a tonga driver owning several tongas which were hired out.

In the first two income ranges fell about 16 per cent. of the total earners in Grade III; 45 per cent. in the 3rd range and 27 per cent. in the 4th. The remaining 10 per cent. were found in the 5th, the 6th and the 7th ranges. Nearly 15 per cent. of the total astrologers and priests, etc. were in the 1st range, 12 per cent. in the 2nd range and 19 per cent. in the 3rd range. Roughly 44 per cent. of the primary teachers were found in the 4th range, 26 per cent. in the 3rd range and 14 per cent. in the 5th. Of the earners in the lowest administrative posts, 62 per-cent. were in the 3rd range and 28 per cent. in the 4th. The median earning in this grade was Rs. 186. The spread between the first and the third quartile earnings, which were Rs. 138 and Rs. 255 respectively, was Rs. 97.

Of the total earners in Grade IV nearly 36 per cent. were found in the first two income ranges together and another 36 per cent. in the 3rd

1. In considering earnings it should be borne in mind that only money earnings are considered here. Earnings in kind are left out of account. Most of the hotel boys and cooks and many of the domestic servants, it must be remembered, got free meals in addition to their wages.

range; 21 per cent. were in the 4th range and the remaining 8 per cent. were scattered in the higher ranges. Nearly 27 per cent. of the hawkers were in the 1st range, 28 per cent. in the 2nd range, 36 per cent. in the 3rd. Of the total earners in small business, 15 per cent. were in the 1st range, 11 per cent. in the 2nd, 39 per cent. in the 3rd and 23 per cent in the 4th. The median earning in this grade was Rs. 157 and the third quartile earning Rs. 224.

Only 10 per cent. of the total earners in Grade V were in the 1st and the 2nd income ranges while 26 per cent. were in the 3rd, 38 per cent. in the 4th, 22 per cent. in the 5th and the 6th and the remaining in the higher ranges. About 21 per cent. of the fitters, motor-mechanics, etc. were in the 3rd range, 37 per cent. in the 4th, 18 per cent. in the 5th and 13 per cent. in the 6th. Of the tailors about 10 per cent. each were in the first two ranges, 35 per cent. in the 3rd and 33 per cent. in the 4th. The median earning in this grade was Rs. 243 and the third quartile Rs. 326. The middle 80 per cent. of the earnings of persons in the grade were between Rs. 115 and Rs. 500.

In Grade VI nearly 18 per cent. of the total earners were in the 3rd range, 27 per cent. in the 4th range, 25 per cent. each in the 5th and the 6th ranges. The remaining were to be found in the higher ranges. Of the clerks in government and municipal service, 16 per cent. were in the 4th range, 18 per cent. in the 5th, 31 per cent. in the 6th and 18 per cent. in the 7th. Of the 'other clerks' 20 per cent. were in the 3rd range, 33 per cent. in the 4th, 24 per cent. in the 5th and 17 per cent. in the 6th. The first quartile earning in this grade was Rs. 225 and the median Rs. 345. The spread between the first and the third quartile earnings was about Rs. 300.

Only 21 per cent. of total earners in Grade VII fell in the first four earnings ranges, 40 per cent. in the 5th, the 6th and the 7th ranges and 33 per cent. in the 8th. Of the total earners in 'intermediate occupations', 11 per cent. were in the 3rd range, 20 per cent. in the 4th, 9 per cent. in the 5th, 30 per cent. in the 6th and 19 per cent. in the 8th. Of the earners in administrative posts 61 per cent. were found in the 8th range and 31 per cent. in the 9th. The first quartile earning in this grade was Rs. 470 and the median Rs. 760.

Of the total earners in grade VIII, 31 per cent. were found in the 3rd and the 4th ranges, 38 per cent in the 5th, the 6th the and 7th ranges, and 19 per cent. in the remaining higher ranges. Nearly 11 per cent. of the grocers were found in the 3rd range, 29 per cent. in the 4th, 12 per cent. in the 5th, 19 per cent. in the 6th and 16 per cent. in the 8th. Of the working owners of stationery, cutlery, etc., shops 12 per cent. were in the 4th range, 9 per cent. in the 5th, 32 per cent. in the 6th and 24 per cent. in the 8th. The median earning in this grade was Rs. 458 and the first quartile Rs. 253. The middle 80 per cent. of the earnings of persons in this grade was found to be between about Rs. 170

and Rs. 1,280. The spread between the median and the third quartile earnings in this grade was only slightly larger than that between the first quartile and the median earnings.

Of the total earners in Grade IX only 10 per cent. were in the first five income ranges, 57 per cent. in the 6th, the 7th and the 8th ranges and 33 per cent. in the 9th range. The earners in the 6th, 7th, 8th ranges and half of those in the 9th were from liberal professions. The other half of the earners in the 9th range was composed of persons in the highest administrative posts. The first quartile earning of this grade was Rs. 814 and the median Rs. 1,253.

More than half the earners in Grade X, 56 per cent. were in the 9th range, 20 per cent. in the 8th and another 20 per cent. in the 6th and the 7th ranges. All the earners belonged to the entrepreneur class. The first quartile earning in this grade was about Rs. 1,000 and the median far exceeded the Rs. 2000 level.

Table No. 55.—Dispersion of Annual Earnings of Males and Female in Various Occupational Grades.

Occupational Grade	Lower Quartile			Median			Upper Quartile		
	Male Rs.	Female Rs.	Total Rs.	Male Rs.	Female Rs.	Total Rs.	Male Rs.	Female Rs.	Total Rs.
I	66	B	B	128	B	80	168	82	144
II	135	B	118	174	B	165	240	124	224
III	144	156	138	175	244	186	241	335	255
IV	126	B	86	172	79	157	250	154	224
Total I—IV	10	B	58	159	B	139	205	108	189
V	171	B	166	248	B	243	335	106	326
VI	225	...	225	345	...	345	525	...	525
VII	479	346	470	798	408	760	1318	516	1308
VIII	259	B	253	463	200	458	700	475	674
IX	814	...	814	1253	...	1253	O.T.	...	O. T.
X	1,000	...	1,000	O. T.	...	O. T.	O. T.	...	O, T,
Total I-X	137	B	93	191	B	171	320	112	294
Pensioners	199	B	...	472	B	...	964	87	...
Beggars and Prostitutes	B	B		B	125	...	B	317	...

B—Below Rs. 50. O. T.—Over Rs. 2,000

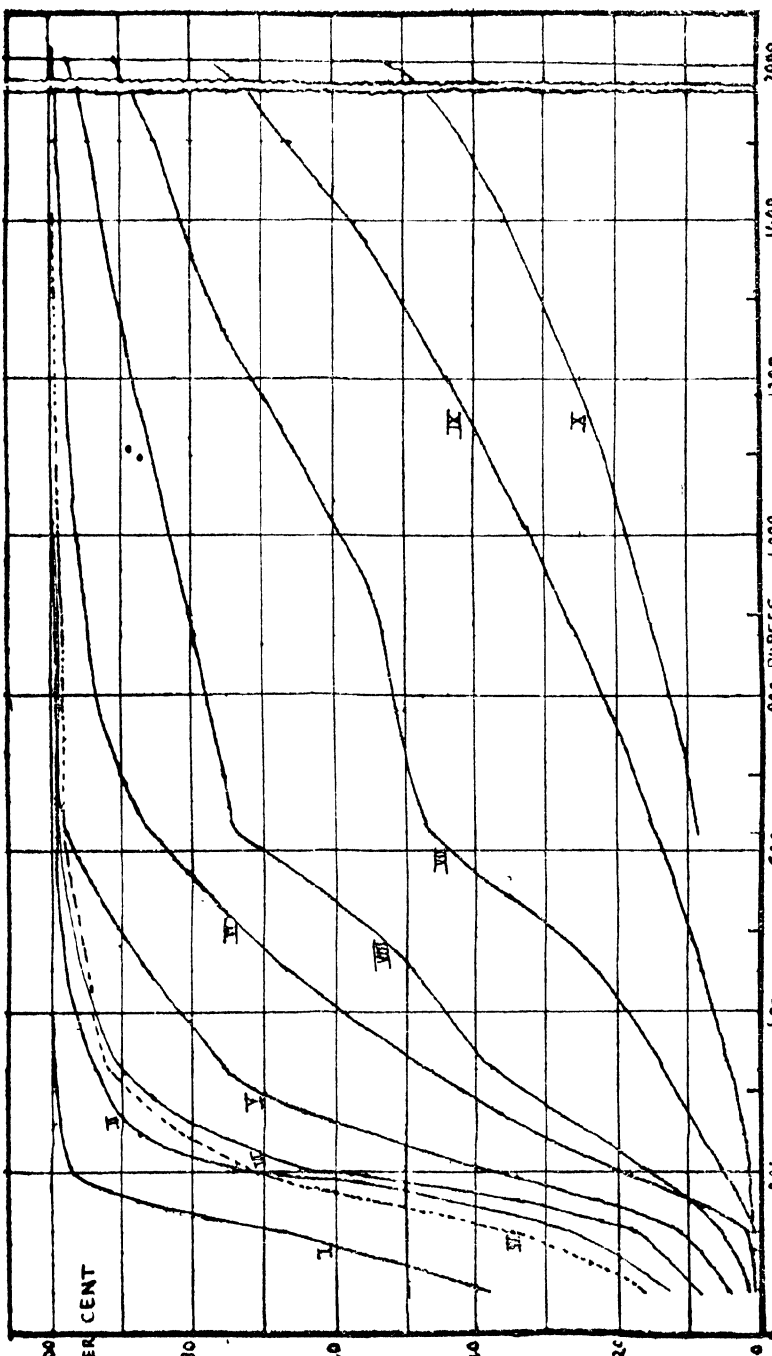


Chart No. 1.—I. Unskilled Manual Work; II. Skilled Manual Work; III. Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts, Primary Teachers, etc.; IV. Small Businesses; V. Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual Work; VI. Clerks and Shop Assistants; VII. Intermediate Professions and Salaried Posts, Secondary Teachers; VIII. Medium Business; IX. Higher Professions and Salaried Posts; X. Owners of Factories, Large Shops, etc.

In Grade XII, nearly 60 per cent. of the earners fell in the 1st range, 27 per cent. in the 2nd, the 3rd and the 4th ranges and 10 per cent. in the 5th. The earners in the first three income ranges were all beggars with the exception of two prostitutes, one each in the 2nd and the 3rd ranges. Except for a solitary beggar in the 4th range all the earners in the other higher ranges were prostitutes.

In the first ten occupational grades taken together the first quartile earning was Rs. 93, the median Rs. 171 and the third quartile Rs. 294.

Table No. 55 gives the 1st and 3rd quartile and median earnings for all occupational grades. The comparatively small spreads between the first quartile and the median earnings and the median and the third quartile earnings, generally indicate the homogeneity of the occupational classification adopted here. Among the first seven occupational grades the largest dispersion of earnings was to be found in Grade VII. This was quite in keeping with the mixed character of earners in this grade. They included persons in 'intermediate

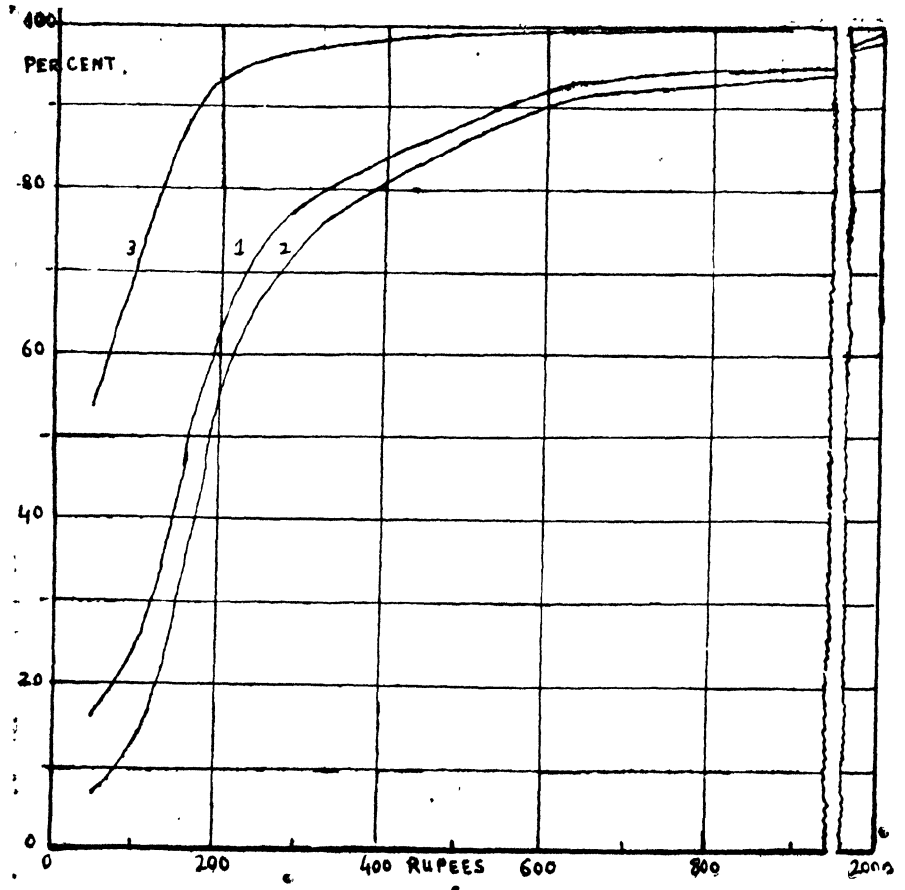


Chart No. 2.—1. Total Earners; 2. Total Male Earners; 3. Total Female Earners (in Grades I to X).

administrative posts, secondary teachers and persons in intermediate business.' It was a mixture of commercial entrepreneurs and a section of the salariat. In Grades IX and X the dispersion of incomes was the greatest. That the dispersion of earnings among professionals and entrepreneurs is greater than that in the other classes is a recognised and a well known feature of income distribution in many countries.[1]

Chart No. 1 shows the distribution of occupational earnings for the first ten grades separately. Chart No. 2 depicts the same for all

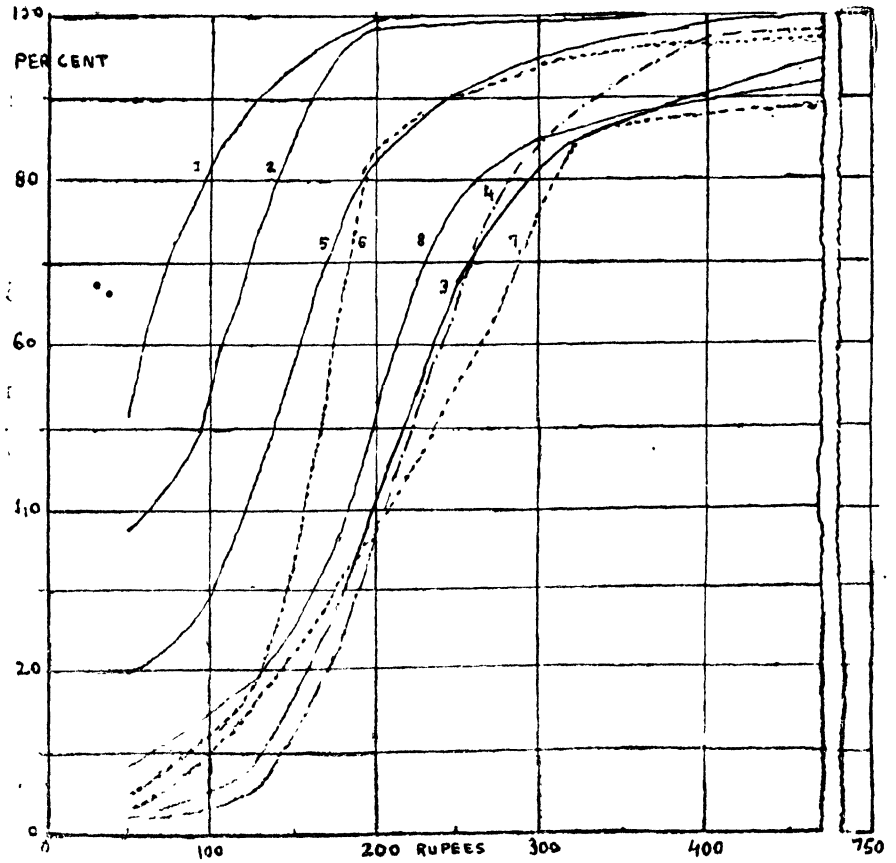


Chart No. 3.—1 Bidi Workers (I_7); 2. Handloom Workers (II_3); 3 Carpenters (II_5); 4. Masons (II_7); 5. Workers in leather (II_8); 6. Barbers (II_{10}); 7. Goldsmiths (V_2); 8. Tailors (V_3).

earners in the sample as well as for male and female earners separately. Chart No. 3 shows the dispersion of earnings in some specific occupations. Everywhere the cumulative or the Lorenz curve has been used.

The data regarding occupational earnings can be discussed from another angle. We have described above the different ranges of earnings within and between occupations and occupational groups. It is also

1. Cf. The Income Structure of the United States, Maurice Leven, The Brookings Institution, Washington D. C., 1938, p. 46.

equally significant to examine how earners in each earning range are distributed between the occupational grades.

Of the total earners in the sample 993 or 16 per cent. fell in the 1st earning range. Nearly 60 per cent. of these were in Grade I, 15 per cent. in II, 11 per cent. in IV and 5 per cent. in XII. There were 855 or 13 per cent. of the total earners in the 2nd range. Of these 53 per cent. were in Grade I, 20 per cent. in II and 16 per cent. in IV. In the 3rd range were found 1,730 or 29 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 31 per cent. were found in Grade II, 29 per cent in I, 15 per cent in IV, 11 per cent. in III and 5 per cent. in VI. To the 4th range belong 1,055 or 18 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 27 per cent. were in the Grade II, 17 per cent. in V, 15 per cent. in IV, 13 per cent. in VI, 11 per cent. in III and 10 per cent. in VIII. The 5th range includes 337 or 6 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 28 per cent. were in Grade VI and 5 per cent. each in II, V and VIII, none were from Grades I and X and an insignificant number from IX. In all the other remaining grades they were fairly well distributed. Earners in the 6th range numbered 421 or 7 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 30 per cent. were in Grade VIII, 25 per cent. in VI and 12 per cent. each in Grades V and VII. In all the other grades their proportion was very small. The 7th range contained 113 or 2 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 38 per cent. were in Grade VI, 24 per cent. in VIII, 12 per cent. in VII and 8 per cent. in IX. Their proportion in Grade X was only slight. In all the other grades they were insignificant. The 8th income range claimed 228 or 4 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 32 per cent. were in Grade VIII, 29 per cent. in VII, 13 per cent. in IX and 11 per cent. in VI. They were completely absent in the first two grades and in other grades their proportion was insignificant. The 9th range comprised 114 or nearly 2 per cent. of the total earners. Of these 28 per cent. were in Grade VII, 22 per cent. each in Grades VIII and IX, and 12 per cent. each in Grades X and XI. They were few in Grade VI but were totally absent in the first five grades and in Grade XII.

§ 8. **Earnings of Juvenile and Female Workers**: The data discussed in the section above related to earnings of workers of all ages and both sexes. The scale of ranges in earnings indicated might have been affected by this fact though, of course, the dominant group is that of males between 15 and 55. The earnings of juveniles and female workers differ largely from those of this dominant class. The majority of juvenile workers did not earn more than Rs. 100 annually. A few in Grades I and II fell in the 2nd range. The juvenile workers in Grade VIII, as already indicated, were mostly sons of shop owners and the earnings shown had been attributed to them and had no definite significance for this category of workers.

Of the total earners in the sample slightly less than 18 per cent. were women. They were mainly concentrated in the first four occupational grades and in Grade XII. The following remarks, therefore, deal

only with these grades. Of the 397 women earners in Grade I nearly 62 per cent. were to be found in the 1st earning range, 29 per cent. in the second and 8 per cent. in the third. Nearly half of those in the first range were domestic servants, most of them, probably, part-time servants. A large percentage of the remaining were *bidi*-workers and unattached casual labourers. Those in the 2nd range were concentrated chiefly under *bidi*-workers, but were found also among domestic servants, sweepers and casual labourers. Nearly half of those in the 3rd range were sweepers. In Grade II there were 139 women earners. Of these 48 per cent. were in the 1st range, 22 per cent. in the 2nd, 21 per cent. in the 3rd and 1 per cent. in the 4th. Most of those in the 1st income range were cooks and ayahs and handloom workers. In the 2nd range nearly 70 per cent. of the women workers were cooks and ayahs and in the 3rd range again cooks and ayahs were nearly 50 per cent. of the total. In Grade III, of the total 54 women workers, 12 per cent. fell in the 1st range, 6 per cent. in the 2nd, 22 per cent. in the 3rd, 40 per cent. in the 4th, 12 per cent. in the 5th, another 12 per cent. in the 6th and 4 per cent. in the 7th. Most of those in the 1st and 2nd ranges were nurses. A large number of those in the 3rd and the 4th ranges were primary teachers. In the 5th, 6th and the 7th ranges again primary teachers formed the bulk. In the 5th and the 6th ranges women earners were also to be found under "musicians, dancers, etc." The total number of women workers in Grade IV was 159 and of these 41 per cent. were in the 1st range, 24 per cent. in the 2nd, 25 per cent. in the 3rd and 7 per cent. in the 4th. The 1st range was made up equally of hawkers and women in smallest business. Those falling in the 2nd range were distributed evenly between hawkers, small shopkeepers and women engaged in smallest business. Nearly half of those in the 3rd range were found as engaged in smallest business and they were also prominent under small shopkeepers. The 4th range was equally made up of small shopkeepers and women engaged in smallest business. In Grade XII were found 46 women. Of these 44 per cent. were in the 1st range, 23 per cent. in the 4th, 17 per cent. in the 5th and 7 per cent. in the 6th. All the females in the 1st range were beggars and those in the higher earning ranges were all prostitutes.

Except in the Grades III and XII the level of female earnings was distinctly lower than that of male earnings. In the first ten grades taken together the median earning of women was below Rs. 50 as compared with the corresponding figure of Rs. 191 for males. If only the first four occupational grades, where the females were significantly present, are considered the corresponding figures for female and male earning are, below Rs. 50 and Rs. 159 respectively. The level of female earnings was higher than that of male earnings in Grades III and XII. In Grade III the median earning of females was Rs. 244 while that of males was Rs. 175. The corresponding figures for Grade XII were Rs. 125 for females and below Rs. 50 for males. In Grade XII the higher level of female earnings was easi-

ly explained. Females in this grade were mostly prostitutes and the males were mostly beggars. In Grade III the majority of women earners were primary teachers and a large part of the remainder, nurses. The males in this grade were, however, largely concentrated in such occupations as astrologers, priests, singers, musicians, etc., occupations in which there were considerable fluctuations of earnings as compared with those of primary teachers and nurses. In the latter the earnings were fixed and steady. The lower level of earnings of females as a whole was partly explained by the predominance of part-time work among them. This can be broadly demonstrated by comparing the earnings of female workers in occupations in which part-time work predominated with those in full-time occupations. In Grade I part-time work was predominant in the sub-class of domestic servants while full-time work characterised occupations, such as "servants in factories and workshops" and "earth work and building labour." Of the total female earners among domestic servants, 85 per cent. were in the 1st income range and most of the remaining in the 2nd range. As against this, of the total female workers in "servants in factories and workshops" 50 per cent. were in the 1st income range and the other 50 per cent. in the 2nd. And of the total female workers in "earthwork and building labour" 50 per cent. were in the 1st income range, 37 per cent. in the 2nd and 12 per cent. in the 3rd.

§ 9. **Occupational Mobility**: For certain purposes, it was necessary for us to classify families by occupational categories. In this classification the occupation of the head of the family or of the senior earning member in it was taken to indicate the occupational category to which the family belonged. Each family had not necessarily only one earner in it. A large number had more than one earner and a few families contained no earner at all. The total number of earners enumerated was larger than the number of families in the sample. Table No. 56 sets out information regarding the occupational distribution of heads of families as well as that of all the earners in them.

The difference in numbers between columns 2 and 3 in that table shows the number of those belonging to each occupational group who were not heads of families. It will be noticed that the difference is the largest in the grade of unskilled labourers and the smallest in Grades IX and XI. The large difference in the first grade is due chiefly to the fact that the bulk of female and juvenile employment falls in this grade.

The study of movement between different social and economic classes in a society is of considerable interest and significance for it might reveal the ease or difficulty of scaling the social ladder as also the degree to which equality of opportunity obtains in a given society. One of the best known methods of assessing occupational mobility is that of collecting information regarding the occupations of fathers and sons or in a joint family of the occupations of the generation of the head of the

Table No. 56—Classification of Families and Earners according to Occupational Grades (H. S.).

	Occupational Grade	Total number of families	Total number of earners
I	Unskilled Manual Work ...	943	1,546
II	Skilled Manual Work ...	914	1,206
III	Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts, Primary Teachers, etc. ...	350	424
IV	Small Businesses ...	560	719
V	Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual Work ...	333	451
VI	Clerks and Shop Assistants ...	421	505
VII	Intermediate Professions and Salaried Posts, Secondary Teachers, etc. ...	143	206
VIII	Medium Businesses ...	342	499
IX	Higher Professions and Salaried Posts ...	66	77
X	Owners of Factories, Large Shops, etc. ...	10	24
XI	Pensioners ...	121	132
XII	Beggars and Prostitutes ...	68	92
	Unclassified ...	3	14
	No Earner ...	255	...
	Total ...	4,529	5,895

family and those of earners belonging to the next generation in the family. These data can be used for discovering the extent and the trend of occupational mobility through time i. e. as between successive generations. We deal below with data gathered in our survey which could be classified along these lines. For this purpose all households in which there was more than one adult male earner were separately classified. The number of such households was 703. The male earning members other than the senior earning members of families were then classified according to (i) their occupational grade and (ii) the occupational grade of the senior earning members of their families (Table Nos. 57 and 58). We confined the classification to families having more than one adult male earner and the male earners in them because female and juvenile earners are ordinarily employed in unskilled occupations and such employment on their part does not necessarily indicate movement away from the grade of employment of the senior male earner. On the other hand, our study was not confined to a comparison of occupational grades of sons with those of fathers. In the data below the occupational grade of the senior male earner in the family is related to the occupational grades of all other junior male earners in the same family. These others might be sons of the senior earning members but might sometimes belong even to the same generation as the senior earning member.

The following table shows the percentages of earning members other than heads of families who have moved from one grade to another in the Poona sample.

No. of other earners sampled.	Percentage of other earners who have moved		
	Up	Down	Neither up nor down
897	11·33	22·33	66·34

The proportion of other earners who have moved down the social scale is a little less than two times the proportion of those who have moved up. The percentage of those who have remained in the same grade as that of the heads of their families is the largest of all.

The full significance of these figures is revealed only on a comparative examination. Comparable data for any other Indian population are lacking. We, therefore, give below a set of figures from the Merseyside Survey.[1]

Group	Percentage of Sons who have moved			No. of Sons Sampled
	Up	Down	Neither up nor down	
Al lSons	28·3	34·8	37·0	2,239

The figures show much greater mobility than the Poona figures. While estimating the significance of the large proportion of other earners going down the scale in the above tables it must be remembered that a part of this may be due to the fact that the following of the occupation of the senior earning member in the family might itself involve, for the other earning members, starting in a grade lower in the occupational classification than the present grade of the senior earning member. While the heads of families, with more than one earner, are generally likely to have reached the highest occupational grade in their career the other earning members are more likely to be in the early stages of their careers and, therefore, at lower rungs of the social and economic ladder. Most earners, in occupations other than unskilled labour, have to start in the occupation in some sort of assistant or apprentice position. A carpenter's son, for instance, would start as a carpenter's assistant and he would then be classed as an unskilled worker in Grade I. Gradually he would learn the craft and mature into a skilled manual worker in Grade II. This might be regarded as natural difference in occupational grades as between two generations. A part of the decline, revealed by the comparison of these two sets of figures, therefore, is not genuine or rather not significant.

1. The Social Survey of Merseyside, Volume II, p. 35, 1934.

It is, of course, impossible to assess quantitatively the extent to which this factor affects our data. It is also not possible to say, at this stage of our knowledge, whether this factor has greater weight in the Poona figures than in the Merseyside figures.

In considering mobility, it is necessary, not only to consider the number of movements but also the distance covered by them. The following table shows the mobility in the Poona sample according to extent of movement. This method of measurement is not altogether satisfactory as it assumes equality in the steps between one occupational grade and another.

No. of grades moved→	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
No. of earning members moving up	41	21	21	10	3	2	—	—	98
No. of earning members moving down	78	38	55	16	7	2	2	—	198

Average move upwards : 2·17 grades.

Average move downwards : 2·24 grades.

The table reveals that the 'jump' down or up is approximately equal. The number of those going down is twice that of those moving up. For reasons given earlier this might be considered natural. The figures seem to indicate a slightly greater degree of mobility downwards. The extent of the difference is, however, not material. More than 82 per cent. of those going up and 86 per cent. of those going down moved three grades or less the largest proportion having moved only one grade.

Mobility in a grade might be looked at from two different points of view; firstly, the precentage of those born in a particular grade who have moved out of it might be assessed. Secondly, the proportion of those in a particular grade who were originally born in other grades might be ascertained. Table Nos. 57 & 58 set out the relevant data from both these view points. In Table No. 57 the horizontal line shows the proportion in the different grades of other earning members from families, the senior earning members of which are in any particular grade. Table No. 58 shows the percentage distribution of other earning members in particular grades according to the grades in which is to be found the senior earning member of their family.

Table No. 57—Distribution among Various Grades of Other Earners in Families in each Grade.

Occupational Grade of Senior Member	Number of Families	Percentage of other earners in occupational grade as below.											Total number of other earners.
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Total	
I	108	83·7	4·7	3·1	4·7	2·3	1·5	...	...	...	...	100	129
II	187	20·3	68·5	3·3	2·5	3·3	1·3	...	0·8	...	...	100	241
III	49	19·7	9·8	39·3	11·5	8·2	6·6	3·3	1·6	...	...	100	61
IV	112	25·5	5·1	2·2	59·2	6·5	...	...	1·5	...	...	100	137
V	70	12·2	10·0	4·4	3·3	61·2	5·6	...	3·3	...	...	100	90
VI	58	7·4	1·5	8·8	8·8	17·7	48·6	2·8	4·4	...	...	100	68
VII	19	3·7	...	7·4	3·7	7·4	18·5	33·3	14·8	11·2	...	100	27
VIII	89	1·6	0·8	1·6	1·6	1·6	4·0	...	88·8	...	...	100	125
IX	6	...	...	...	...	...	28·6	28·6	...	42·8	...	100	7
X	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100·0	100	12
Total ...	703	24·8	21 7	5·9	12·5	10·7	6·6	1·7	14·1	0·7	1·3	100	897

Table No. 58—Distribution among Various Grades of Families of Other Earners in each Grade.

Occupational Grade of other earners.	Percentage of other earners in occupational grade of senior earner as below											Total number of other earners
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Total	
I	48·6	21·9	5·4	15·8	4·9	2 2	0·4	0·8	...	...	100	223
II	3·1	84·6	3·1	3·6	4·6	0 5	...	0·5	...	...	100	195
III	7·6	15·1	45·2	5·7	7·6	11·2	3·8	3·8	...	...	100	53
IV	5·4	5·4	6·2	72·2	2·7	5·4	0·9	1·8	...	...	100	112
V	3·1	8·3	5·2	9·4	57·2	12·5	2·1	2·1	...	...	100	96
VI	3·4	5·1	6·8	...	8·5	55·8	8·5	8·5	3·4	...	100	59
VII	...	...	13·4	...	...	13·3	60·0	...	13·3	...	100	15
VIII	...	1·5	0·8	1·5	2·4	2·4	3·2	88·2	...	...	100	126
IX	...	...	...	...	...	...	50·0	...	50·0	...	100	6
X	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100·0	100	12
Total ...	14·4	26·8	6·8	15·3	10·0	7·6	3·0	14·0	0·8	1·3	100	897

Nearly 81 per cent. of the other earners with heads of families in Grade I, were found in the same grade. The remaining moved up and were roughly equally divided between Grades II, III, IV and V. That is while 81 per cent. of the other earners in the families of unskilled manual workers remained in the grade in which they were born roughly equal proportions of the remaining became skilled manual workers or artisans, occupied lowest administrative posts and entered lowest professions or smallest business. Of the total other earners in the sample 24·8 per cent. were in unskilled manual work (Grade I) but only 14·3 per cent. of the other earners had heads of families in that grade. This difference as between the proportions seems to have occurred

largely because of the flow of other earners from families of skilled manual workers (Grade II) and of hawkers and small shopkeepers (Grade IV). At least a part of this downward movement from skilled to unskilled manual workers would, as explained previously, be indicative not of change of occupation but of enumeration at different stages of the occupational career.

Nearly 66 per cent. of the other earners with heads of families in Grade II remained in the same grade and 20 per cent. moved down to Grade I. While 21·7 per cent. of the total other earners were in Grade II, 26·5 per cent. of the total other earners had heads of families in the same grade. This slight reduction in the number of other earners born in skilled manual workers' families but not remaining there, was partly explained by an upward movement, almost an equal proportion moving into lowest professional occupations and administrative services (Grade III) and into highly skilled and supervisory manual work (Grade V).

Only 40 per cent. of the other earners with heads of families in Grade III were found in the same grade. While 6·7 per cent. of the total other earners were actually in Grade III 5·7 per cent. of the total earners had their heads of families in it. The movement was largely explained by the downward movement from this grade, particularly into unskilled manual work (Grade I) and an upward movement, particularly into smallest business (Grade IV) and highly skilled manual and supervisory work (Grade V).

On the whole the picture is one of stagnation. The degree of occupational mobility revealed by this sample is insignificant. The most substantial movement shown is that from Grade III, comprising the lowest professional occupations and the lowest administrative posts. It is, however, a very mixed grade and the movement displayed might as well be due to the method of grouping adopted. Least mobility is exhibited by members of Grade X comprising the entrepreneur class.

CHAPTER VII

FAMILY INCOME AND POVERTY

§ 1. **Introductory**: In the last chapter we presented data regarding the earnings of individual earners in different occupations. These data indicating the level of occupational earnings, are not, however, useful for gauging the standard of life of the population which is perhaps the most important objective of social enquiry. The standard of life is a resultant of two forces, the total income and the expenditure liability. For describing and measuring the standard of living, the total income of all persons in the family has to be considered together and this has to be related to the total requirements of all the members of the family. We present, in the first instance, a series of tables showing the relation of total family income to such factors as professions, earner class, etc. After this we go on to a study of the family income in relation to the expenditure liability of the family.

§ 2. **Income and Professions**: Table No. 59 indicates the incomes of families classified according to the occupational grade of the head of the family. The dominant range of annual income of the families belonging to occupational Grade I was Rs. 150–Rs. 200. Families in Grades II, III and IV were concentrated in the range Rs. 200–Rs. 300. Nearly 41 to 46 per cent. of the total families in these three grades belonged to still higher income categories. The income distribution of families in Grade V showed a double peak, one and the larger concentration being in the range Rs. 300–Rs. 400, and the other in the range Rs. 500–Rs. 700. Families in Grade VI chiefly fell within the range Rs. 500–Rs. 750 though 45 per cent. of the total families in this grade were found in income ranges lower than this. Families in Grade VII were concentrated in the range Rs. 1000–Rs. 2000, and more families in this grade belonged to still higher income ranges than to lower ones. The income distribution of families in Grade VIII again showed a double peak, the larger concentration being in the range Rs. 1000–Rs. 2000, and the smaller in the range, Rs. 500–Rs. 750. Families in Grades IX and X belonged to the higher income categories of Rs. 1000–Rs. 2000 and Rs. 2000 and above. In Grade XI the general level of income was, as might be expected, lower than in Grades IX and X but there was a marked concentration in the two highest income ranges, Rs. 1000–Rs. 2000 and Rs. 2000 and above. Families in Grade XII were found in the lowest income ranges.

§ 3. **Income and Earners**: Table No. 60 shows the incomes of families classified according to their earner class, based on age, sex and the number of earning members in it. Families with no adult male earner were heavily concentrated in the lowest income ranges and their proportion to total families in the income ranges declined with the upward

Table No. 59.—Families classified according to Total Income and Professions (Occupational Grades). (H. S.)

Total Income (Rs.) → / Occupational Grade ↓	No Income	Below 100	100–B. 150	150–B. 200.	200–B. 300	300–B. 400	400–B. 500	500–B. 750	750–B. 1,000	1,000–B.2,000	2,000 and over	Not given	Total
I Unskilled Manual Work ...	...	136	195	234	240	89	28	19	2	...	...	...	943
II Skilled Manual Work ...	...	38	68	135	266	217	93	72	17	8	...	...	914
III Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts, Primary Teachers, etc.	...	13	19	38	136	73	33	25	10	3	...	...	350
IV Small Businesses...	...	29	55	83	138	116	58	58	10	12	1	...	560
V Highly skilled and Supervisory Manual Work ...	...	4	7	18	54	89	38	77	23	20	1	2	333
VI Clerks and Shop Assistants ...	...	...	1	5	35	81	69	106	52	67	5	...	421
VII Intermediate Professions and Salaried Posts, Secondary Teachers, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	23	20	53	40	...	143
VIII Medium Business:	...	2	8	6	19	39	29	62	39	87	47	4	342
IX Higher Professions and Salaried Posts:	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	19	39	4	66
X Owners of Factories, Large Shops, etc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	8	...	10
XI Pensioners ...	...	2	5	3	7	8	9	14	11	29	33	...	121
XII Beggars and Prostitutes ...	6	22	5	6	5	8	10	6	...	...	...	...	68
No Earner ...	7	21	16	16	32	33	17	28	8	21	16	40	255
Unclassified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Total ...	13	267	379	544	932	757	387	494	192	321	190	53	4,529

Table No. 60.—Families classified according to Total Income and Earner Class (H. S.)

Total Income Rs.→ / Earner class ↓	No Income	Below 100	100–B. 150	150–B. 200	200–B. 300	300–B. 400	400–B. 500	500–B. 750	750–B. 1,000	1,000–B. 2,000	2,000 and over	Not given	Total
No Earner ...	8	21	16	16	32	33	17	28	8	21	16	39	255
No Adult male earner but others ...	3	141	119	62	54	24	15	13	3	...	2	1	437
1 Adult male earner ...	...	93	204	378	591	459	222	277	101	190	107	9	2,631
1 Adult male earner and others ...	2	10	36	74	181	103	34	24	11	8	4	...	487
2 Adult male earners...	...	2	3	13	66	105	71	93	44	64	35	1	497
2 Adult male earners and others ...	...	...	1	...	5	20	15	19	4	4	1	...	69
3 or more Adult male earners ...	...	...	...	1	3	12	12	34	16	33	25	...	136
3 or more Adult male earners and others ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	6	5	1	...	...	14
Not Given ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Total ...	13	267	379	544	932	757	387	494	192	321	190	53	4,529

progression of income ranges. More than half of the total families with no adult male earners were in the income range below Rs. 100, more than 30 per cent. in the income range Rs. 100–Rs. 150 and more than 11 per cent. in the income range Rs. 150–Rs. 200. In other income ranges their proportion to the total families in the range was less than 5 per cent.

Of the total families more than 60 per cent. were families with one adult male earner and this was obviously the most dominant type of family. In the sample of families belonging to the income range Rs. 150–Rs. 200, nearly 70 per cent. were families with one adult male earner. They formed 63 per cent. of the families in the income range Rs. 200–Rs. 300. In the other income ranges their proportion was 60 per cent. or below. The average proportion to the total families in all the ranges works out at about 57 per cent. However in no income range was their proportion less than 50 per cent.

Families with 'one adult male earner and others' did not show any significant variation in the income distribution from that in the dominant type except that in the higher income ranges their representation was smaller. The figures as a whole, clearly show that the contribution of 'others' to the total family income was not large and further that where the income of the adult male placed a family in the higher income ranges the 'others' did not earn. This might be seen from the very low proportion of such families in income ranges above Rs. 1000. This is not surprising. In most societies the employment of women and children

Table No. 61—Families classified according to Total Income and Percentage of Unearned Income to Total Income (H. S.)

Percentage of Unearned income→ / Total Income (Rs.) ↓	All Unearned	50 per cent and over	20 per cent—below 50 per cent	Below 20 per cent	Nil	Total
No Income	...	...	...	...	13	13
Below 100	15	2	2	2	246	267
100—„ 150	16	3	4	...	356	379
150—„ 200	12	5	12	18	497	544
200—„ 300	21	14	38	48	811	932
300—„ 400	30	11	32	46	638	757
400—„ 500	12	14	30	19	312	387
500—„ 750	28	20	33	42	371	494
750—„ 1,000	7	11	29	25	120	192
1,000—„ 2,000	12	34	33	43	190	321
2000 and over	16	18	20	37	99	190
Not given	21	...	...	...	32	53
Total ...	199	132	233	280	3,685	4,529

in gainful pursuits usually diminishes with an ascent in the economic and social gradation.

§ 4. **Income and Unearned Income**: Table No. 61 sets out the information regarding the earned and unearned incomes of families. Of the total families in the sample less than 19 per cent. had some kind of unearned income. The proportion was not, however, uniform over all the income ranges. The proportion of families with unearned incomes to the total families in the range, varied from less than 6 per cent. in the two lowest income ranges to about 88 per cent. in the highest income range. Except as between the two lowest income ranges the proportion of those having unearned income increased with the income range. No similar movement in proportion of unearned income to total income was observable.

§ 5. **Professions and Unearned Income**: Table No. 62 shows the unearned income of families classified according to their professions. The proportion of families with unearned incomes varied from about 8 per cent. in Grades I and II to about 40 per cent. in Grade X. The progression was not, however, uniform all along the occupational scale.

Table No. 62—Families classified according to Professions (Occupational Grade) and Percentage of Unearned Income to Total Income (H. S.)

Percentage of Unearned Income→ / Occupational Grade ↓	All Unearned	50 per cent and over	20 per cent—below 50 per cent	Below 20 per cent	Nil	Total
I Unskilled Manual Work ...	...	11	31	35	866	943
II Skilled Manual Work ...	...	13	25	41	835	914
III Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts, Primary Teachers, etc. ...	...	16	25	21	288	350
IV Small Businesses ...	...	19	37	34	470	560
V Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual Work ...	...	5	17	21	290	333
VI Clerks and Shop Assistant...	...	19	40	40	322	421
VII Intermediate Professions and Salaried Posts, Secondary Teachers, Etc. ...	...	7	11	22	103	143
VIII Medium Businesses ...	1	16	27	27	271	342
IX Higher Professions and Salaried Pots ...	2	7	2	14	41	66
X Owners of Factories, Large Shops, Etc. ...	...	1	5	2	6	10
XI Pensioners ...	...	9	11	22	75	121
XII Beggars and Prostitutes ...	...	3	1	...	64	68
No Earner ...	196	6	1	1	51	255
Unclassified ...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Total ...	199	132	233	280	6,385	4,529

The proportion in Grades IV and V was smaller than that in Grade III. The proportion in Grade VII was larger than that in both the adjacent grades, i. e. Grades VI and VIII. In Grades IX and X their proportion was, of course, the highest.

§ 6. **Family Income and Expenditure Liability**: Family income, as already remarked, is only one of the two determinants of the standard of life; the other is the expenditure of this income on items of consumption. In order to ascertain the actual relation that obtains in any place between family income and expenditure it would be necessary to conduct a detailed family budget enquiry at the time of collecting information about the total income of families. No family budget enquiry was, however, undertaken by us as part of the survey. We can, therefore, only indicate at this place the relation between incomes of families in Poona and their estimated expenditure liability. For estimating in a general manner the comparative expenditure liability of various families it is necessary to define a standard unit into which the different types of sex and age units composing various families might be converted. The formation of such a standard unit assumes a certain relation between consumption requirements of different types of age and sex units which is constant from family to family. The calculation of expenditure liability further involves the determination of normal expenditure on various items entering into the standard of living. The approach through expenditure liability determination is necessarily different than that through a family budget enquiry. In the latter the results and the averages obtained represent actual conditions. In the former the formulation is theoretical or speculative. The speculation might no doubt concern itself with the actual but is more usually concerned with what should or might be. Expenditure liability thus tends to be defined in terms of norms of necessary or desirable expenditure. Conversion of various types of units into the standard unit would then be made to depend on their comparative expenditure liability so defined. Actually considerable progress in the determination of norms of expenditure for various types has been made so far only in the sphere of nutrition. Therefore, most measures of conversion into male adult unit—the usual standard measure—follow for the larger part norms of expenditure on food. These scales are not based on total expenditure but on food requirements in terms of calories. "Even this latter is usually based on the idea that the need for food is proportionate to the need for calories; no allowance is made for the fact that calories of a different *kind* are needed for persons of different age, sex and occupation; the scales apply to food requirements as a whole and not to individual foods. Unsatisfactory, therefore, as this procedure may be, it is at the present time used in practically all family budget inquiries and if it is wished to undertake a study of food consumption at all, this procedure has to be accepted."[1]

1 Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy, I. L. O., Series B. N. 23, 1936, p. 40.

In India the data available for preparing tables of conversion into standard adult units are scanty. Almost no data are available for items other than food. On the basis of certain nutritional enquiries, Dr. Aykroyd of the Indian Research Food Association has prepared a table indicating the relation between the needs of food consumption of persons belonging to various age and sex groups. Our data had been tabulated, for other purposes, according to certain age groups and we had to adapt the conversion table to suit that classification. Also some allowance had to be made for consumer expenditure other than food. The consversion table adopted by us and the food unit relations given by Dr. Aykroyd are given below :—

Indian Research Food Association		Co-efficient	Poona Survey		Co-efficient
Adult Male (over 14)	...	1·0	Adult Male (over 14)	...	1·0
Adult Female (over 14)	...	0·8	Adult Female (over 14)	...	0·875
Child 12 and 13 years	...	0·8	Child 5 to 14 years	...	0·625
Child 10 and 11 years	...	0·7	Child below 5 years	...	0·375
Child 8 and 9 years	...	0·6			
Child 6 and 7 years	...	0·5			
Child 4 and 5 years	...	0·4			

By using this scale we reduced all families into their equivalents in terms of male adult consumption units and by dividing the total family income by the number of these adult units arrived at the annual income per adult unit of each family. This income per male adult unit of a family may be said to measure or define the possible standard of life of the families in the Poona sample. In a series of tables we proceed to show the correlation between the annual income per adult unit and other factors such as size of family, earner class, professions, etc.

§ 7. **Income per adult unit and Professions** : Table No. 63 sets out the annual income per adult unit of families classified by professions. In Grade I the dominant range of income per adult unit was Rs. 60–Rs. 90 and the ranges on both sides of it, i. e. Rs. 90 – Rs. 120 and Rs. 45–Rs. 60, were also prominent. In Grades II, III and IV two ranges of income per adult unit were dominant, namely Rs. 60 – Rs. 90 and Rs. 90 – Rs. 120 with the two higher ranges, Rs. 120 – Rs. 150 and Rs. 150 – Rs. 225, fairly represented. In Grade V two ranges of income per adult unit were prominent, Rs. 90 – Rs. 120 and Rs. 225 – Rs. 300, and two other ranges, Rs. 60 – 90 and Rs. 120 – Rs. 150, were also fairly well represented. In Grade VI Rs. 150 – Rs. 225 was the dominant income category per adult unit and of lesser prominence, in order of importance, were the three ranges of income per adult unit, Rs. 225 – Rs. 300, Rs. 300 – Rs. 600 and Rs. 120 – Rs. 150. In Grades

Table No. 63—Families classified according to Total Income per Adult Unit and Professions (Occupational Grades). (H S.)

Total Income per Adult Unit Rs.→ / Occupational Grade ↓	Below 30	30—B. 45	45—B. 60	60—B. 90	90 - B. 120	120—B. 150	150—b. 225	225—B. 300	300—B. 600	600 and over	Not given	Total
I Unskilled Manual Work ...	38	89	144	337	173	90	57	12	2	...	1	943
II Skilled Manual Work ...	9	58	93	253	210	111	111	33	31	5	...	914
III Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts, Primary Teachers, etc. ...	5	17	38	84	83	42	50	15	14	1	1	350
IV Small Business ...	10	33	47	145	113	76	75	34	26	1	...	560
V Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual Work ...	2	6	19	47	69	44	78	32	31	3	2	333
VI Clerks and Shop Assistants ...	...	3	8	49	49	58	114	68	58	14	...	421
VII Intermediate Professions, Salaried Posts, Secondary Teachers, etc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	6	25	21	71	20	...	143
VIII Medium Businesses	1	4	9	15	36	30	61	46	86	49	5	342
IX Higher Professions and Salaried Posts	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	21	31	4	66
X Owners of Factories, Large Shops etc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	6	1	10
XI Pensioners ...	3	2	1	10	8	11	24	15	34	13	...	121
XII Beggars and Prostitutes ...	21	7	5	7	3	...	3	3	17	2	...	68
No Earner ...	17	3	6	43	30	15	36	19	21	25	40	255
Unclassified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Total ...	106	222	370	990	774	483	640	303	414	170	57	4,529

VII and VIII Rs. 300 - Rs. 600 was the dominant range of income per adult unit but in Grade VIII the range Rs. 150 - Rs. 225 was also prominently in evidence. In Grades IX and X the range of income per adult unit Rs. 600 and above was the most prominent and the range Rs 300 - Rs. 600 was significantly in evidence. In Grade XI Rs. 300 - Rs. 600 was the most important range of income per adult unit but the other range Rs. 150–Rs. 225 was also of significant importance. In Grade XII two distinct divisions appear, the beggars being largely in the range of income per adult unit below Rs. 30, and the prostitutes being overwhelmingly in the range of Rs. 300–Rs. 600. Upto Grade X the ranges of income per adult unit show progressive increase with the higher progression of grades.

§ 8. **Income Per Adult Unit and Earner Class:** Table No. 64 sets out the income per adult unit of families correlated to the class of earners in them. Of the total families with no adult male earner, 6 per cent. were with an income per adult unit below Rs. 30. And more than

Table No. 64—Families classified according to Total Income per Adult Unit and Earner Class. (H. S.).

Total Income per Adult Unit Rs.→ / Earner Class ↓	Below 30	30—B. 45	45—B. 60	60—B. 90	90—B. 120	120—B. 150	150—B. 225	225—B. 300	300—B. 600	600 and over	Not given	Total
No Earner ...	15	3	6	43	30	16	36	19	21	25	41	255
No Adult male earner but others ...	28	46	50	110	78	38	39	9	33	5	1	437
1 Adult male earner ...	48	116	217	522	430	287	397	208	285	112	9	2,631
1 Adult male earner and others ...	12	29	57	165	96	58	42	12	13	3	...	487
2 Adult male earners ...	2	19	26	107	95	56	92	38	44	17	1	497
2 Adult male earners and others ...	...	4	6	15	18	13	8	4	1	...	...	69
3 or more Adult male earners ...	1	5	8	23	21	14	25	12	17	8	2	136
3 or more Adult male earners and others ...	...	...	...	5	6	1	1	1	...	...	...	14
Not Given ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Total ...	106	222	370	990	774	483	640	303	414	170	57	4,529

25 per cent. of the total families with an income per adult unit below Rs. 30 were with no adult male earner. Of the families with an income per adult unit of Rs. 30 – Rs. 45, 20 per cent. had no adult male earner and 14 per cent. of the total families with income per adult unit of Rs. 45 – Rs. 60 were without any adult male earner. The proportion of the families with no adult male earner goes on decreasing in families with higher income per adult unit.

Families with one adult male earner were just less than 50 per cent of the total families having an income per adult unit below Rs. 30 and this proportion went on increasing in families with higher income per adult unit till it was 70 per cent. in families having an income per adult unit of Rs. 300 – Rs. 600. There was a small drop to 65 per cent. in their proportion in the next class of families having an income per adult unit above Rs. 600.

The proportion of families with one adult male earner and others to the total families having an income per adult unit below Rs. 30 was 11 per cent. This proportion increased progressively with higher income per adult unit up to 16 per cent. in class of families with an income per adult unit of Rs. 60 – Rs. 90. From this level, however, there was a progressive decline in this proportion as the income per adult unit increased. Families with one adult male earner and others were particularly concentrated in the class of families with income per adult unit of Rs. 60 — Rs. 90; for nearly 33 per cent. of the total families with one adult male earner and others in the sample were to be found there.

The proportion of families with two adult male earners was more than 10 per cent. in all the classes of families having an income per adult unit of Rs. 60 – Rs. 90 and above, the highest percentage, 16, being in the class of families with an income per adult unit of Rs. 150 – Rs. 225. Their proportion was negligible in all other classes.

Families with 'two adult male earners and others' and 'three adult male earners and others', etc. were 4 per cent. to 6 per cent. of the families in all classes, except in the class of families having an income per adult unit below Rs. 30, where their percentage was slightly greater than 1.

Table No. 65—Families classified according to Total Income per Adult Unit and Family Members (H. S.)

Total Income per Adult Unit Rs.→ / Family Members ↓	Below 30	30–B. 45	45–B. 60	60–B. 90	90–B. 120	120–B. 150	150–B. 225	225–B. 300	300–B. 600	600 & over	Not given	Total
1 Member	10	12	17	52	79	65	114	70	106	50	14	589
2 Members	13	17	37	147	168	136	152	70	77	30	11	858
3 „	9	23	51	191	156	109	101	47	48	21	10	766
4 „	24	40	73	191	151	62	91	35	48	16	7	738
5 „	18	48	59	164	85	44	57	25	31	20	3	554
6 „	14	22	69	105	52	33	43	17	37	9	4	405
7 „	12	19	34	68	33	5	30	16	31	8	3	259
8 „	2	20	9	26	27	10	23	8	9	6	3	143
9 „	...	7	13	26	10	6	10	4	11	2	1	90
10 or over „	4	14	8	20	13	13	19	11	16	8	1	127
Total ...	106	222	370	990	774	483	640	303	414	170	57	4,529

§ 9. **Income per Adult Unit and Family Members**: Table No. 65 shows the income per adult unit of families classified according to the family members. Families with an income per adult unit of below Rs. 30 were largely families with 4 and 5 members though the number of families with 6 and 7 members was also significant. Among families having an income per adult unit of Rs. 30 – Rs. 45 families with 5 and 4 formed together about 40 per cent. while families with 6 and 3 members formed another 20 per cent. Families with 4 and 6 members were dominant and families with 5 and 3 members significantly present in the class of families with an income per adult unit of Rs. 45 – Rs. 60. Families with an income per adult unit of Rs. 60 – Rs. 90 were largely families with 3 and 4 members and also, though less frequently, with 5 and 2 members. In the three classes of families with income per adult unit of Rs. 90 – Rs. 120, Rs. 120 – Rs. 150 and Rs. 150 – Rs. 225, the two member family was dominant and at some distance was the family with 3 members. In the next three classes of families with income per adult unit of Rs. 225 – Rs. 300, Rs. 300 – R. 600 and Rs. 600 and above, the one member unit was the dominant type and the two member family was significantly present. The above analysis shows

that there was a distinct inverse relation between the size of the family and the income per adult in the size group. In the total sample 2 member families were 18 per cent. of the total families, 3 and 4 member families were about 17 per cent. each, one member units 13 per cent. and 4 member families 12 per cent.

§ 10. **Poverty**: The discussion so far has been concerned only with the income per adult unit of families in the sample population and the various factors affecting it. This naturally leads us to an attempt at the evolution of the standard of living as revealed by the data or in other words at estimation of the adequacy or otherwise of levels of incomes per adult unit. This is the familiar problem of the analysis and measurement of poverty. For poverty is simply a standard of living below a certain minimum. Rowntree in his *Poverty: A Study in Town Life* defines two types of poverty : (i) primary poverty resulting from inadequate income and (ii) secondary poverty arising out of an unwise spending of an adequate income. We are here concerned with primary poverty only.

Primary poverty is by definition the result of inadequate income and the problem of measuring it is that of measuring the adequacy of income in terms of a standard of living. This problem is closely allied to that of the determination of expenditure liability referred to above. As in that determination here also the approach is usually through definition and measurement of norms of necessary or desirable expenditure. In so far as it is possible to set these up in objective and scientific terms the standard of living is related to properly defined conditions of well-being. In other respects, ascertained average expenditure of classes or groups reckoned currently to be just above poverty might be adopted as standards. The extent to which it is possible, in any circumstances, to attain objective measurement depends on the progress both of applied sciences and of economic investigation. The progress in India in either respect has not been considerable. Therefore, the problem of defining poverty accurately and measuring the adequacy or inadequacy of a given level of income is specially difficult in this country. We shared in this general difficulty as there has yet been not even an important family budget enquiry completed in Poona. However, one of the few attempts made in this country at evaluating levels of income in terms of a standard of living was that by the Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee (1937–40). This Committee was faced with the problem of defining in income terms the concept of a living wage standard. It attempted to do this along lines, indicated above, which are adopted in other countries. The calculations of the Committee referred to the year 1937–38 and while the conditions in regard to which its measurement was primarily made were those of Bombay City, it made subsidiary calculations for Ahmedabad and Sholapur also. As the year to which the committee's calculations related was the same as that during which our survey was made and as conditions in Sholapur might be taken to be broadly similar to those in Poona we decided that it would not be inappropriate to use

the Sholapur standard of the Committee for our purpose. The Sholapur standard was defined by the Committee at Rs. 42 per month for a family of 3 adult units. This is equivalent in our terms, to an income per adult unit of Rs. 168 per year. The nearest limit to this in our classification was Rs. 150 per annum per adult unit and we adopted this limit as indicating those who were above poverty. The standard of the Committee was related to a living wage; those who did not reach this standard suffered, in light of the generally accepted notions on the subject, from inadequacy of income. The Committee found that in these terms the large majority of groups of wage-earners in the Textile Industry were in receipt of inadequate incomes. We found that of the 4,529 families in the Poona sample 2,931 had less than Rs. 150 of annual income per adult unit. The bulk of the people in this country are plainly poor. In order to distinguish between this general prevalence of poverty and specially depressed circumstances in relation even to the general low level we defined another specially low level. This was placed arbitrarily at Rs. 60 per annum per adult unit and might be said to be indicative of the level of destitution. Of the total families in our sample 684 families or 15 per cent. had incomes below this level.

From the data contained in the series of tables presented previously certain indications might be obtained regarding the causes of primary poverty and of destitution as defined above. From Table No. 64 it is clear that of the 2,931 families in our sample below the poverty line, 107 or about 4 per cent. were without any earners and, of the 684 families below the destitution line, 19 or about 3 per cent. were without any earners. The absence of any earner in these families appears to be the main cause of their poverty though of course it might have been aggravated by others. It should be noted, however, that of the total number of families without any earners in the sample was 256 and only 107 of these were below the poverty line and only 19 below the destitution line. This is not paradoxical as might at first sight appear. Families with no earners may be living in poverty or may be, enjoying large or small unearned incomes and thus living at any stage of the income scale. Such families may thus be found dispersed over the entire scale. The absence of earners accounts for a very small fraction of the total families living below the poverty and the destitution lines.

Female and juvenile earners are usually paid at a lower rate than that of adult males and hence the absence of an adult male earner in a family may sometimes explain its poverty. Table No. 64 shows that there were 436 families in our sample without adult male earners and 346 of these were below the poverty line and 120 below the destitution line. To look at the figures in another way, 12 per cent. of the total families below the poverty line and 19 per cent. of those below the destitution line had no adult male earners. The proportion of families with no adult male earner to the total number of families was 9·6. Thus the absence of the

adult male earner seems to have significance in the explanation of destitution but not in that of primary poverty as a whole.

The largeness of family can also be a cause of poverty. Almost all the prostitutes in Grade XII (Table No. 63) were above the poverty line, not because, it should be noted, their earnings were high but because most of them were single and had no dependents to support. Table No. 65 shows that in our sample the most common types of families were those with 2, 3 and 4 members. We may therefore consider a family of more than 5 members as a large family for our purposes. Of the 4,529 total families in the sample, 1,024, i. e, 22 per cent, had more than 5 members. Of these latter 693 were below the poverty line and 133 below the destitution line. In other words, about 24 per cent. of the total families below the poverty line and 19 per cent. of the total families below the destitution line, were families with more than 5 members.

Inadequacy of earnings may be one of the main causes of poverty and destitution. Inadequacy of earnings, however, can be measured only indirectly. The only way of indicating the extent of the effect of this factor *vis-a-vis* poverty is to indicate the degree of concentration of families below the poverty line in low paid occupations. The discussion of occupational earnings in the last chapter shows that the first four occupational grades and Grade XII were low paid. It would be thus fruitful to examine the distribution of families below the poverty and the destitution lines in the first four occupational grades, as this will indirectly indicate the extent to which the inadequacy of earnings is responsible for poverty. Table No. 63 indicates that nearly 85 per cent. of the families below the destitution line and 78 per cent. of the families below the poverty line were to be found in the first four occupational grades. About 55 to 60 per cent. of the families below both the lines were concentrated in the first two occupational grades.

Another way of looking at the same phenomenon would be to examine the percentage of families in each occupational grade falling below the two lines respectively. No families in Grades VII, IX and X and only a very small percentage of families in Grades V, VI, VIII, and XI were below the destitution line. Of the total families in Grade I, 29 per cent. were below the destitution line and this proportion progressively declined until it reached 16 per cent. in Grade IV. The percentage was 39 in Grade XII as might be expected. Similarly no families below the poverty line were found in Grades IX and X and only 4 per cent. of the families in Grade VII were below the poverty line. The precentage of families below the poverty line was 92 in Grade I and there was a progressive decline to 28 per cent, in Grade VIII, leaving out Grade VII of course. The percentages for Grades XI and XII were 29 and 54 respectively.

The above analysis shows that in our sample factors such as the absence of an earner, the absence of the adult male earner and the largeness of family, did not explain a large part of the primary poverty or of destitution. Other causes such as sickness or unemployment, etc. might accentuate poverty and destitution. But no information was collected on these points in our survey. In his first survey of York in the year 1899 Rowntree found that 51·96 per cent. of those living in primary poverty did so because of inadequate wages.[1] In Poona also the most important cause of primary poverty and destitution is found to be the low level of earnings. Our Poona sample is similar in this respect to the picture of York as revealed by the first survey though in Poona the effect of the factor is more pronounced in the sense that the low level of earnings is responsible for a more considerable percentage of primary poverty and destitution than in the first survey of York.

1 Poverty, A Study of Town Life, Second Edition, p. 154.