

# **Social History of Leather Industry and Technology in United Provinces: A Case Study of Agra (1860-1950)**

**THESIS**

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Submitted By:

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**2019**

*Dedicated to*  
*My Beloved Azizi*  
*Family*

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled “**Social History of Leather Industry and Technology in United Provinces: A Case Study of Agra (1860-1950)**” submitted by Mr. Ishan Khan is an original research work and has not been previously submitted in part or full for the award of any other degree or diploma to this or any other university.

The thesis submitted to Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University Lucknow satisfies all the requirements as stipulated in the *Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) regulations - 1999 as amended in 2008/2010/2013* and it is fit for submission and evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University.

Date:

Supervisor

Head of the Department

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis titled “**Social History of Leather Industry and Technology in United Provinces: A Case Study of Agra (1860-1950)**” submitted for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy is an authentic record of original research work carried out by me under the guidance and supervision of Dr. V.M. Ravi Kumar, Assistant Professor, Department of History, School for Ambedkar Studies, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University (A Central University), Vidya Vihar, Rae Bareili Road, Lucknow-226025 (U.P.). This is also declare that the thesis is essentially free from all kinds of plagiarism. I further declare that this research work has not been submitted before for the award of any other degree or diploma to any University or Institution. In keeping with the ethical practice in reporting research information, due acknowledgments have been made whenever the findings of others have been cited.

Place:

Ishan Khan

Date:

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|           |                                       |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| AD        | Anno-Domini                           |
| B.N. Rail | British Northern Railway              |
| BC        | Before Christ                         |
| CLRI      | Central Leather Research Institute    |
| Co        | Company                               |
| Comm      | Commerce                              |
| Cust      | Custom                                |
| Cwt       | Quintal                               |
| DC (J)    | Deputy Custodian Judicial             |
| Dept      | Department                            |
| DIC       | Department of Industries and Commerce |
| DOI       | Department of Industries              |
| E I       | East India                            |
| EPW       | Economic and Political Weekly         |
| Etc       | End of Thinking Capacity              |
| Estd      | Established                           |
| Ft        | Foot                                  |
| GAD       | General Administration Department     |
| GO        | Government Order                      |
| GOI       | Government of India                   |
| Govt      | Government                            |
| HSL       | Hides, Skins and Leather              |
| Ibid      | Ibidem                                |
| Inds      | Industries                            |
| Kg        | Kilogram                              |
| Lt        | Lieutenant                            |
| Ltd       | Limited                               |
| Mds       | Maunds                                |
| NAI       | National Archives of India            |
| No        | Number                                |
| Op Cit    | Opera Citato                          |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Progs   | Proceedings                               |
| Rs      | Rupees                                    |
| SDM     | Sub-Divisional Magistrate                 |
| TEFCO   | Tannery and Footwear Corporation of India |
| UK      | United Kingdom                            |
| UP      | United Provinces                          |
| UPRA    | Uttar Pradesh Regional Archives           |
| UPSA    | Uttar Pradesh State Archives              |
| USA     | United State of America                   |
| Vol     | Volume                                    |
| W S REF | With Special Reference                    |

## PREFACE

*“Historical Knowledge can only be obtained with difficulty,  
Either by travelling around the world,  
And undergoing trouble or searching in trustworthy books,  
And ascertaining the real occurrences from them”*

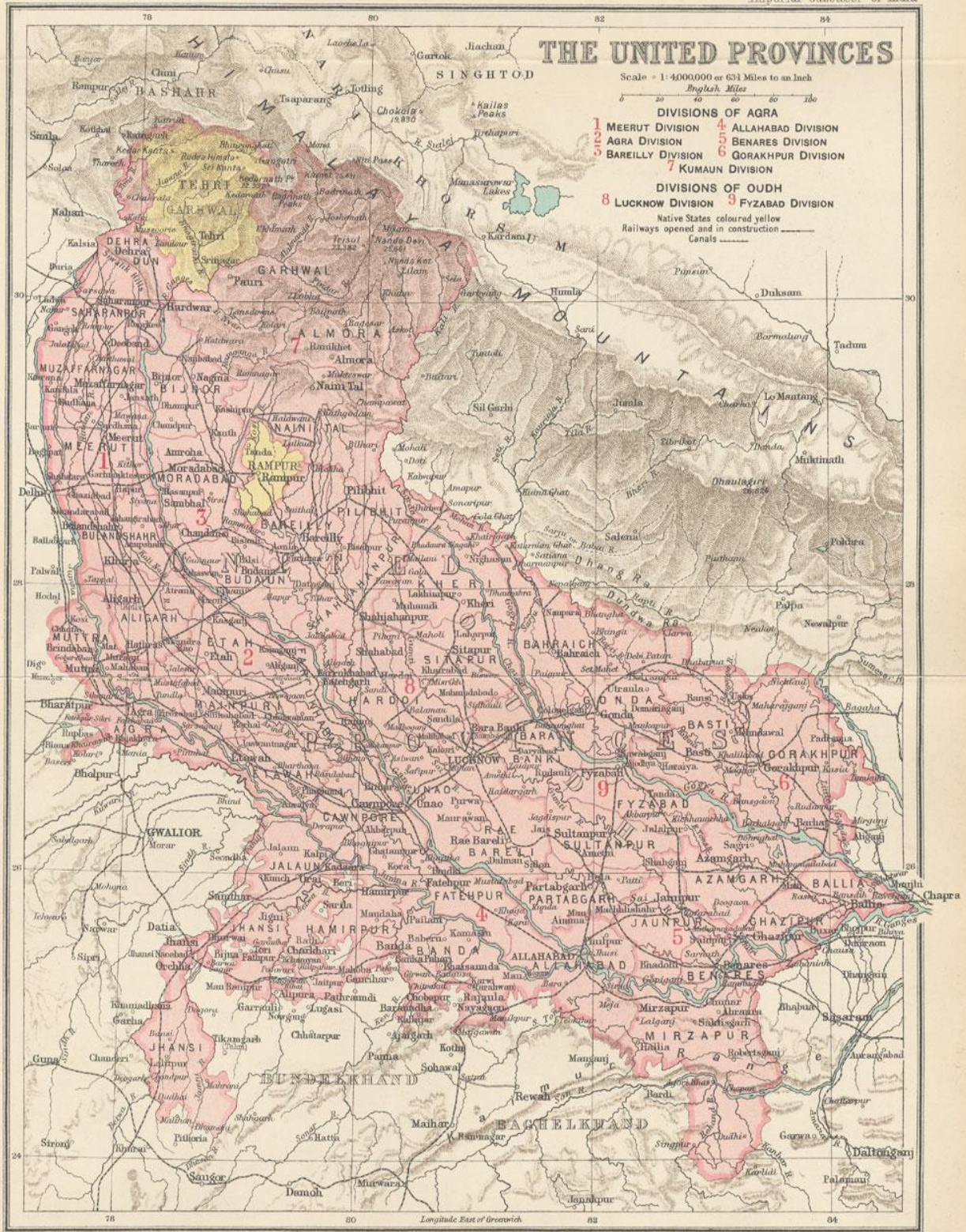
*- Baihaqi, Tarikh-e-Baihaqi*

Leather is an important material which has widely been used in all over the world since ancient time to the present. Leather is a hide or skin prepared from the pelts of domestic and wild animals by processing with either the bark or fruits of certain trees and shrubs, or some mineral salt, or some chemicals process. These agents are called tanning material. The leather craft witnessed specification in the form of a separate class of flayers, tanners, and leather manufacturers emerging in place of a single artisan who performed all the functions. During the colonial rule, a class of factory workers was added and had a large scale factory production. The social hierarchy of leather workers in the colonial period which were belonged to Hindu and Muslim communities such castes i.e. Chamars, Jatavas, Mochis, Bhisti, Qassabs, Quraishi, etc., which had emerged in the leather craft mainly in United provinces from the ancient to modern times and still working in present days also.

India is well known for the export of leather goods to the foreign country in the colonial period due to its large cattle population. Leather is prepared from the hides and skins of domestic and wild animals. Leather industry is most important with regard to the national income under the British rule. British Govt. had introduced several new technologies to process leather products. This industry had played an important role in global trade share as well as the socio-economic condition of India is concerned.

The present study explores the social history of leather industry and technology with particular reference to United Provinces under colonial rule. It examines how the government policies promoted the development of leather industry and an important aspect of providing employment to a large number of people who constituted the bottom of the economic and social hierarchy.

This study in general and in particular explore and documents how leather industry and technology in the United Provinces and Agra region during British rule had generated changes in political, economic and social domains of both Muslims and Untouchable communities. All these issues are very much relevant even today. The outline of the thesis is explained in six chapters: first chapter deals with a brief introduction, scope, area of research and its importance, review of literature, objective, hypotheses and methodology which applied to present work that has been undertaken; second chapter explains the detailed description of making leather in different cities of United Provinces especially Cawnpore and its growing leather industry in the form of large concerns; third chapter traces the process of establishment of slaughterhouses in Agra region and its functions which helped to promote the leather industry in Agra region and description of the emerging leather factories in Agra; fourth chapter traces the techniques and technology used in making leather from hides and skins and technological changes took place in colonial India from craft to factories and leather institutes or leather working schools or tanning classes which were set up in the different cities of United Provinces; fifth chapter explains the detailed description of such castes i.e. Chamars, Jatavas, Mochis, Bhisti, Qassabs, Quraishi, etc., which had emerged in the leather craft mainly in United Provinces; sixth and the last chapter deals with the summary of the findings and conclusion which sums up the discussion in the above chapters.



Source: "United Provinces of Agra and Oudh" (<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?>)

# *Chapter-1*

## *Introduction*

## **Chapter-1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This study attempts to document the history of leather industry and technology in United Provinces with particular reference to Agra region. The time period of this study has undertaken is 1860-1950. The main rationale for selection of this period is that, it was a period of rapid transformation of leather industry from cottage level to modern factory level. It is this transformation that this study is interested to explore and document. This study also proposes that British colonial rule with systematic administrative and technical intervention transformed the leather industry from a handicraft to export industry. This process had multiple, socio-economic and political implications which this study attempts to capture.

Leather is a hide or skin prepared from the pelts of domestic and wild animals by processing with either the bark or fruits of certain trees and shrubs, or some mineral salt, or some chemicals process. These agents are called tanning material.<sup>1</sup> Leather is basically used since ancient times to the present because leather is a flexible item which generally obtained from nature and very easy in use. It covers the body of human being and resists them from cold, hot and rainy weather. After the passage of time, the ancient man knew the fine techniques of making leather from its raw hides and skins. At the ancient time, hides and skins usually get from the hunting and livestock breeding which could be used for clothing and for making tents for their safety which prevent them from the wild animals and different weathers. Leather usually became stiff at low temperature, while they rotted with heat. Leather is generally more acceptable to human rather than fur and it is used by man to wear as coats and shoes, etc. Leather is healthier for our feet because it's breathable and therefore cuts down on potential foot fungus or other problems of the body.

Historically leather has been an integral part of human activity. The Assyrian texts and the Homers Iliad mentioned the first rudimentary tanning process which provided the process of making leather from its hides and skins. The history of making leather in India dates back to 3000 BC. Leather tanning process was usually done by

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<sup>1</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). *Location of Industries in India*, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, p. 156.

indigenous techniques in the rural areas of India. Leather Mashak and leather sail were generally used for storing water and straps or bands were manufactured with leather. Leather shoes are also mentioned in the code of Manu as a suitable gift for Guru (except cowhide). Marco Polo mentions in his book that the curing of hides and skins had increased in Gujarat leather industry and every year a number of ships went to Arabia laden with the skins of goats, oxen, unicorns(single-horn animal), and other animals.<sup>2</sup>

The export of hides and skins were dominated by Calcutta and Madras with the former exporting raw goods and the latter tanned leather. In 1912-13, the total export of hides and skins amounted to approximately Rs 8 crore as against Rs 4 crore from Madras. In Madras Presidency, there were 17 tanneries out of 22 tanneries in rest of India. During the Second World War, the rapid development of leather and leather goods industry took place in India. In 1913-14, only 25 large units, employing 2753 workers, were established, and by 1941, the number of units had increased to 114 and the workers to 26,053 in India. At 1947, the British had shown considerable interest in leather manufacturing in India and had even established some chrome tanning units in Bengal, India mainly exported raw hides and skins. In India, the population engaged in the recovery and processing of hides and skins belonged predominantly to either the scheduled castes or Muslim community.<sup>3</sup>

The leather industry in United Provinces, especially in Cawnpore<sup>4</sup>, had the transition from craft production to factory production is well known under the colonial rule. The leather craft witnessed specification in the form of a separate class of flayers, tanners, and leather manufacturers emerging in place of a single artisan who performed all the functions in their native places. During the colonial period, a class of factory workers was added and had a large scale of factory production. Leather industry in Cawnpore was appeared after Madras; the quality of the product turned out here was comparable to that imported from England. In Cawnpore, the leather industry came up around the time providing for the demand of harness and accoutrements for the East India Company's native army and the Bengal artillery.<sup>5</sup> After the revolt of 1857, a leather factory named Government Harness and Saddlery factory was set up in 1867 at

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Vibhorbajpai/entire-project-64480513>. Retrieved 2015-12-25.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Cawnpore is an old name of Kanpur City.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Ashishpatel197/leather-industry-analysis>. Retrieved 2015-12-25.

Cawnpore to fulfill the requirements of army troops. This factory remarked as a new one in North India which related to promotion of leather craft.

According to Walton,<sup>6</sup> the tradition of making leather in United Provinces and in Agra region is centuries old. He mentions that the tanning industry with fallen cattle being the source of rawhides. He further mentions that Rajputs generally used the leather shields in the battles. He explains that the Chamar as one who is by name as well as by hereditary occupation with leather. He also mentions that Chamar is the village drudge and the hides and skins of dead animals were his dues. Trading and transportation systems were established in Kanpur and Agra which emerged as important centers of hiding trade from where hides were transported to the ports (Chennai and Mumbai). Further, the cantonments stationed at Cawnpore (since 1801) and Agra (since 1805) required leather for shoes, saddlery and harness and the East India Company relied on the local tanners to meet this demand.

Peter Knorringa<sup>7</sup> has mentions about the ethnographic background of leather trade. He mentions that the Jatavs of Agra sold their household leather products to local traders who dominated Agra's footwear trade was usually forward caste Hindus or well to do Muslims. These Jatavs and Muslims continued to dominate the domestic or household footwear industry in Agra since Mughal times. They hardly have any presence in the export segment and contributed a lot to this leather craft in the domestic sector.

According to Tirthankar Roy,<sup>8</sup> Leather was probably the most important of the ques-services that commercialized during the colonial period. The period begins about the 1870s when exports increase rapidly before the Second World War. Therefore, the exports of tanned hides and skins fells, but increasingly, tanned hides were being used as inputs by local leather manufacturers, and the export of such manufactures began to increase. Leather is one of South Asia's most important manufactured exports since ancient times to the present. Most of the industry is built upon a foundation of skills, expertise, and capital accumulated under colonial rule. The export market concentrated on hide trade in Kanpur, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

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<sup>6</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). *A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Government Press, United Provinces.

<sup>7</sup> Knorringa, P. (1996). *Economics of collaboration. Indian shoemakers between market and hierarchy*. Sage Publication, New Delhi.

<sup>8</sup> Roy, T. (1999). *Traditional industry in the economy of colonial India (Vol. 5)*. Oxford University Press.

According to Shrivastava<sup>9</sup> ‘an eloquent commentator on leather trade’ mentions that, India is one of the greatest producers of hides and skins in the world. The world’s production of hides and skins has been estimated to be between 76 and 102 million of which the share of India is about 25 million, i.e. between 25 and 33 percent of the world’s production. India can spare a big surplus for export after meeting its own requirement. The United Provinces have a substantial share in India’s export trade in hides and skins and play an important role in the production of leather, manufacturing leather related products and in the leather trade. British Govt. started the Leather Working School at Cawnpore in 1915. This was the premier leather working institution in India, and almost all the leather working institutions in various Provinces and Natives states are manned by the trained students of this institution. This institution supplies trained students to big and important factories as well. It is equipped with up to date machines for boot manufacture. The school also provides training in boot and shoe manufacture both by hand-sewn and machine worked processes and also in the manufacture of traveling requirements and other fancy leather articles.

## **1.2 Scope of the Study**

The history of science and technology of colonial India is now a well-established academic branch of history. Generally, historians of colonial science documented histories of railways, heavy industries, cotton, silk, telegraph, forests, etc., but the leather industry did not receive adequate attention. On account of this, the present study has fascinating potential for not only its explorative character but also its potential contribution to understanding the regional dimension of British colonial rule and its impact on Indian society. India is well known for the export of leather goods to the foreign country in the colonial period due to its large cattle population in the world. Leather industry is most important with regard to the national income under colonial rule. A large number of people engaged in leather work and got employments. In the colonial period, the British had introduced several new technologies to enhance production related to leather products. This industry played an important role in global trade share and had an interesting dimension between socio-economic conditions of leather workers.

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<sup>9</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). *Leather Industry*. Government Press, Shimla.

This study explores the social history of leather craft in colonial period. It analyzes the factors which helped in flourishing the leather industry in United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule. It analyzes government policies which promoted the structure for the development of the leather industry and aspect of providing employment to a large number of people who constituted the bottom of the economic and social hierarchy. This study explores and documents how the leather industry of United Provinces and especially the Agra region during British rule generated social changes within political, economic and social domains of both Muslims and Untouchable communities. All these issues are very much relevant even today. After exploring all these issues, we know about why the decline of the leather industry and related to macro-issue occurred in our time.

### **1.3 Area of the Study**

This study focuses history of leather industry related activities in United Provinces with special reference to Agra region. Under the colonial rule, in 1775, British East India Company founded the northern territory under the Bengal Presidency. In 1834, this northern territory was named as ‘Agra Presidency’ and then named as ‘North-Western Provinces’ including Agra in 1836. After the revolt of 1857, there was an attempt to reorganize the province. Accordingly, Delhi was separated and merged with Punjab and Oudh, thus the new state was created named ‘North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1877. Then this state had newly named as ‘United Provinces of Agra and Oudh’ in 1902. In 1<sup>st</sup> April 1937, British Govt. changed the name of this Presidency as ‘United Provinces’ included 9 divisions with 48 districts approximately combined regions of present-day Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Finally, on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1950, the United Provinces were named as ‘Uttar Pradesh’ in free India.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

- To explore the background of the emergence of leather industry in United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule.
- To document the factors which help in the emergence of leather industry in United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule.

- To analyze the export and import of leather products in United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule.
- To analyze the quality and quantity of leather products in leather concerns of United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule.
- To explore the intensity of adaptation of new technologies and policies in the development of leather industry by the colonial Govt.
- To explore the social history of leather industry in United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule.
- To explore the socio-economic condition of the leather worker castes in United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule.
- To examine the employment pattern (caste and community views) in United Provinces and Agra region under colonial rule.

### **1.5 Hypotheses**

- Colonial state has introduced several new technologies to enhance the production related to leather product.
- Leather industry flourished in United Provinces with the emerging needs of colonial state.
- Leather industry responsible for emergence to new social classes both among the Muslims and Hindu communities in United Provinces and Agra region.

### **1.6 Methodology**

The proposed study is based on Data analysis method and Data interpretation method for both analysis and interpretation of primary and secondary sources. However, the main focus is on primary sources which include archival records, consisting of, annual reports of different departments, settlement reports, proceedings of industries department, and assessment report of various leather factories. The secondary data are also used and that has been a collection of books, magazines, articles, journals, periodicals, and e-sources.

The primary materials have been collected from the Uttar Pradesh State Archive in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh Regional Archive in Agra, National Archive of India in New Delhi, Department of Industries in Uttar Pradesh, Department of Labour in Uttar Pradesh, Some old leather factories in Kanpur and Agra, a Regional branch of CLRI in Kanpur, etc. The secondary material has been collected mostly from the Libraries,

Internet, Magazines, Journals, etc. Both of these primary and secondary sources can easily understand these points.

### **1.6.1 Primary Sources**

- Imperial Gazetteers of India.
- District Gazetteers of United Provinces.
- Reports and proceedings of the department of industries.
- Census reports of Government of India.
- Reports of factories in United Provinces.
- Reports of the department of statistics.
- Annual reports on foreign trade of United Provinces.
- Export and Import department of Agra and Kanpur.

### **1.6.2 Secondary Sources**

- Books.
- Articles.
- Journals.
- Periodicals.
- Theses & Dissertations.
- Magazines.

## **1.7 Review of Literature**

The present study ‘Social History of Leather Industry and Technology in United Provinces: A Case Study of Agra (1860-1950)’ is attempt to capture the development, planning, and policies of the colonial state related to leather industry and technology along with the intervention of British in this sector. The available literature that has been reviewed which are more relevant to this topic:

### **1.7.1 Theoretical Literature Review**

**H.T. Colebrook (1884)** has mentioned in his book ‘*Remark on the Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal*’ about the business related to cattle He also explained that hides and skins were generally imported in large quantity to Brazil and England from the Bengal Presidency. He also pointed out on the export of hides and skins from India especially Bengal Presidency to foreign countries. He further pointed out on the husbandry and internal business related to cattle, buffaloes, goat, sheep, especially in

Bengal. He further mentions that buffalo's horns might also become an article of export.

**J.R. Martin (1903)** has pointed out in his book '*A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the Bombay Presidency*' about the leather industry in Bombay Presidency and the techniques applied on the hides and skins to make leather. He mentions about the tanning agents like the bark of Babul, Myrobalan, Aval, Tarwad, and Divi-divi found in Bombay Presidency for making leather. He further pointed out on the trade in hides and skins were carried on principally by Muslim communities such as Borah and Memon in Bombay Presidency. He further mentions that the Bombay Presidency contributed their important role in the export of leather articles while the United Provinces and Punjab come next in this order.

**Alfred Chatterton (1904)** has pointed out in his book '*Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the Madras Presidency*' about the communities who engaged hereditary in the leather work such as Madigas, Chakkiliyans, Matangas, Muhammadans, and Labbias etc. He explained about the socio-economic condition of these communities who worked with leather. He further discussed the tanning agents who were generally found in Madras Presidency in a large quantity such as Divi-divi, Babul, Acacia Catechu, Acacia Dealbata, etc. He further points out that the European methods of tanning of hides and skins were first introduced by a French Eurasian of Pondicherry named Charles De Susa in 1840s and he started a tannery in Madras Presidency.

**Romesh Dutt (1906)** has mentioned in his book '*The Economic History of India under Early British Rule volume 1*' that Sir Charles Traveleyon was to make an enquiry, and submit a report on Transit Duties. He further points on Traveleyon's report which shows that the rawhide pays only 5 percent of transit duty. On being manufactured into leather it pays 5 percent more; and when the leather was made into boots and shoes, a further duty was imposed of 5 percent. Thus, in all, there was a duty of 15 percent on Indian leather goods used in India. It means British Export duties should not be abandoned but Import duties should be increased. He further pointed out on the export of hides and skins went up from half million sterling to three million. This was an economic gain to the people in one way, but involved a loss in

another direction; for the export of so much of skins indicated the decline of the leather industry in India.

**P.J. Thomas (1926)** has pointed out in his book *'Mercantilism and the East India Trade'* about the craftsmen who usually worked at their native places, but they belonged to a guild which jealously guarded the traditions of the industry and they usually worked for a *Mahajan* who supplied him with capital and undertook the marketing of his products. Besides, the craftsmen had always a respectable place in the Indian social organism, and they still retain that position in certain parts. He further explained that the Indian craftsmen were still working at low wages. But, the English worker men will not work under a shilling.

**John Arthur Wilson (1928)** has mentioned in his book *'The Chemistry of Leather Manufacture'* that leather chemistry is one of the fascinating branches of industrial chemistry. The raw skin is composed largely of various kinds of protein matter and is complicated by a structure which varies considerably in different animals and even in different parts of the same skin. He also pointed out on the histology of skin like cells, tissues, epidermal system, flesh, and derma. He further pointed out the characteristics of Cow hides, Calf skin, Sheep skin, Goat skin, Horse hide, Hog skin, Dog skin, Guinea Pig skin, Ordinary Fish skin, etc.

**D.R. Gadgil (1942)** has pointed out in his book *'The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times 1860-1939'* about the indigenous technique of tanning by the traditional village tanner was represented by a number of small-scale tanneries located in South India which produced vegetable tanned leather known as East India kips, largely exported to the U.K., a group of small-scale chrome tanneries mainly located round Calcutta and worked by the Chinese community. He also points on the leather works which was done by modern techniques in Cawnpore at the time of war to meet the demand for military purposes. An important development of this period was done with the establishment of Bata Shoe Company in the early 1930s at Calcutta.

**G.D.H. Cole (1952)** has mentioned in his book *'Introduction to Economic History 1750-1950'* that the leather industry was a leading industry for Saddlery and upholstery as well as for boots and other clothing. He further pointed on the establishment of the tanneries which were produced tanned hides and skins and he

also focused on the boot maker, the saddler, and other leather workers which were skilled craftsmen to be found in many villages and towns in India.

**Ruth P. Mack (1956)** has mentioned in his book *'Consumption and Business Fluctuation: A Case Study of the Shoe, Leather, Hide sequence'* that hides and skins came from three major sources: meat-packing plants; the priority of domestic sources associated with industry proudly defined: and abroad. He also pointed on the leather craft and structure of making the leather shoes and leather products. He further mentions about the structure of the marketing of hides, tanning process, marketing leather, shoe manufacture, shoe marketing, retailing, interstage relationships etc.

**S. Sadulla (CLRI)** has mentioned in his book *'Kothari's Desk Book, The Leather Industry'* about the leather industry in India, raw material availability, raw material quality, production of hides and skins, slaughtering of animals, tanning processes, leather chemicals, and leather products in India. He further mentions that one-eighth of the world trade of hides and skins will originate from India and pointed on the Kanpur ranks which lie on the second position with 133 tanneries in India. He also mentions that the leather chemicals manufacturing industry had also played a crucial role in the decade.

**A.R. Desai (1959)** has pointed out in his book *'Social Background of Indian Nationalism'* that the decline of cottage industries took place during the British colonial rule. He further mentions that the village tanner was the worst sufferer from the economic transformation of the countryside. In the pre-British period, the village tanner got carcasses of animals gratis from his fellow villagers without any cost. After India was linked with the world market and tanning industry would be developed in India, the owners of dead animals found it very profitable to sell the hides to the representative of leather factories.

**V.B. Singh (1965)** has mentioned in his book *'Economic History of India: 1857-1956'* that before the advent of the Europeans in India, especially during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, India was the industrial workshop in the world. He further mentions that the extraordinary rise in the world prices of raw hides and skins and consequent refuses of the cultivators to give the hides and other dead animals as perquisites, to the village tanner reduced the conditions of leather craft. He focused on Dr. R.K.

Mukherji's works and quotes frequently from them. He further pointed out the causes of the decline of the handicrafts and cottage industries under colonial rule.

**R.D. Choksey (1968)** has pointed out in his book *'Economic Life in the Bombay Gujarat 1800-1939'* that Gujarat was famous for its leather industry as far back as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This industry was plied in practically all villages on a small scale and on a larger scale in Ahmadabad, Surat and in other places of Gujarat and Bombay. The leather craft was not well organized and each tanner or shoemaker worked for himself. He further mentions that most of the owners of this industry were Muslims. He again mentions that in southern Gujarat the tanners were called Khalpas, in the north as Chamars. He pointed out on the social conditions of the tanners and the importance of the leather industry in Gujarat and Bombay.

**Donald Willcox (1969)** has mentioned in his book *'Modern Leather Design'* that leather is a vast subject. Hundreds of items can be produced from this single fabricating material. He also pointed out on the history of leather, leather as raw materials and the process of rawhide converted into leather. He further mentions that the technology of making leather has passed through three processes: Pre-tanning, tanning, and post-tanning. He pointed out on the list of commercial availability of hides and skins.

**Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, and CLRI, Madras (1969)** have mentioned in his published book *'Survey of India's Export potential of Leather and Leather Products'* that the Hides and Skins were the basic raw materials for making leather which in turn was manufactured into footwear and other leather products. This book also pointed out on livestock products, quality of hides and skins in India, characteristics of cow-hides, buffalo hides, goatskins, sheep skins, pig skins, bandicoot skins, crocodiles skins, turtle skins, shark skins, etc. and on the tanning materials of vegetables tanning and chrome tanning and so on.

**Dharma Kumar (1970)** has mentioned in her book *'The Cambridge Economic History of India Volume 2: c. 1757-2003'* that the substantial decline in employment in leather and leather products resulted from tanneries and boot and shoe factories replacing the labor-intensive village worker. Also, the demand for more traditional leather articles like saddles, bags, and jars tended to disappear. She also pointed on a government factory was established in Cawnpore in 1860. Subsequent large

enterprises were private, typically European, responses to the stimulus of official demand. Cawnpore became the major center of production and European were the prime entrepreneurs but at least one important firm using machinery was established in Bombay by Khoja Merchant.

**Thomas C. Thorstensen (1976)** has mentioned in his book '*Practical Leather Technology*' that the shoe manufacturing consumes approximately 80% of the total leather made. He also pointed out on the economics of the shoe industry, the manufacture of shoes, shoes constructing methods, Leather substitute material, tannery's nature of the problem, the technology of making leather, the quantity of effluent, processing of tannery effluent, tannery waste treatments, specific effluent treatment systems, etc.

**P.N. Agarwala (1978)** has mentioned in his book '*Indian Export and Strategy*' that leather was an item where there was great potentiality and the country was moving from raw and semi-processed to manufactured and semi-manufactured process. He further pointed out that the product group of the leather and leather manufacturers consists of a wide variety of leather, based goods ranging from semi-processed hides and skins to final leather products like travel goods, handbags, leather garments, and footwear, etc. He further mentions that India entered into collaboration with some foreign countries, and also companies who had modern technology. The price of East Indian goat/sheep skins and cow hides had reached a very high level and were now reported to be stabilizing at more realistic levels.

**Dhires Bhattacharyya (1979)** has pointed out in his book '*A Concise History of the Indian Economy, 1750-1950*' about the policies adopted by British Govt. for the development of Indian cottage industries. Lord Curzon was set up a separate department named Department of Commerce and Industry in 1905. He further mentions that in 1916, the rate of import duty was raised from 5% to 7.5% and then rose in 1921 to 11% and then 15%. He also pointed out on the several committees were set up for the improvement of the Indian cottage industries.

**S.C. Raychoudhary (1981)** has mentioned in his book '*Social, Cultural and Economic History of India: Earliest Times to Present Times*' that the leather industry has shown considerable development during the medieval period. Leather was generally used for such purposes like the manufacture of saddles and scabbards of

swords, shoes and other items of the common use of upper classes. Even the ordinary peasants made water bags of leather. He also pointed out on trade and commerce, foreign trade, and growth of modern industry under colonial rule. He explained about the social, cultural and economic history of India from early time to peasant time respectively.

**Deepak Kumar (1991)** has mentioned in his book *'Science and Empire: Essay in India Context 1700-1947'* mentions about the importance of science in economic and industrial development was given under colonial rule. He further mentions that before 1900, an institute was started by Queen Victoria on her Golden Jubilee did some work on tanning agents and other industries. Indians also took help from this institute for the development of our industries.

**Deepak Kumar (1995)** has pointed out in his book *'Science and the Raj: A study of British India'* that the idea of swadeshi movement in 1905 symbolized the determination of the people in two fields, the promotions of education and industrialization of the country. He further mentions that in 1905, 16 students were sent, in 1906 the number rose to 40, and by 1907, 82 had been sent to abroad for took the techniques of industries by the state Govt. with the grant of scholarship. Approximately 07 students went to abroad for getting the modern techniques of making leather for the leather tanning industry in India.

**B.R. Tomlinson (1996)** has mentioned in his book *'The Economy of Modern India 1860-1970'* that the history of trade and manufacture in Colonial India was dominated but counter-factual questions about the process of industrialization. Between 1870 and 1947, India was an industrializing country in the sense that manufacturing output was growing as a share of national income, that value added per worker was increasing and that productivity was higher and rising faster in the secondary sector rather than agriculture. He further mentions that colonial India was a private enterprise economy in the sense that most decisions about the allocation of resource were made by the private sector; the state's annual share of gross national product averaged less than 10 percent in every decade from 1872 to 1947.

**S.N. Pandey (1996)** has mentioned in his book *'Economic History of India 1757 to 1947'* that the decline of Indian cottage industries was closely linked with the political disintegration of India and he also explained the causes of the decline of Indian

cottage industries. He mentions that Indian manufacturing industries were completely destroyed by the policies of the East India Company. Their aim was to develop India as a market for the rising British machine industry but after the First World War, Indian industries were reached his position of export and import. He further mentions that tanning and leather industry was a very old industry in India. In 1884, Charles de Souza attempted to introduce modern techniques for making leather in Madras Presidency. But the European method of tanning was introduced for the first time in the government factory set up at Kanpur in 1867 and later on in Bombay.

**Tirthankar Roy (1999)** has mentioned in his book *'Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India'* that leather was probably the most important of the quasi-service that commercialized during the colonial period. He further mentions that the period begins about the 1870s when exports increased rapidly before the Second World War. He divided the chapter, Leather, into six sections. The first described the producers and the technology prior to the expansions in the export trade. The next three show how exports affect tanning. The specific themes were the rise of new sites of production and migration into these; the rise of the factory and new capitalists; and technological change. The fifth section outlines changes in leather manufacturers in response to increased competition and a shortage of raw material. The last section discussed the nature of capital in tanning.

**Herb Genfan and Lyn Taetzsch (2005)** have pointed out in their book *'Leather Decoration'* that there are many ways to decorate the finished leather for manufacturing the leather goods. They also pointed out on some techniques to decorating the leather such as shading, dyeing, painting with dye, painting with acrylics, pen and ink, stamping, tooling, carving, awl drawing, leather burning, appliqué, decorative hole punching, stitching and lacing, rivets, spots, studs, rhinestones, hardware and so on. They explained thoroughly these techniques in this book.

**P.C. Bansal and S.P. Malhotra (2006)** have mentioned in their book *'Livestock Economy of India'* that India had emerged as a reliable source of leather and leather products in the last 50 years. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the East India Company established a vibrant trade in raw hides and skins in India and the country become a large supply of raw hides and skins to the U.K. and then to Germany. They further

said that the credit for the expansion of the leather industry also goes to the Central Leather Research Institute (1952) which was set up in Chennai which had played a useful role in strengthening the leather industry. He also pointed out the importance of livestock for the leather industry and so on.

**Irfan Habib (2006)** has mentioned in his book *'Indian Economy 1858-1914'* that the export of hides and skins had grown from a mere half-crore of rupees' worth in 1859 to Rs 11.5 crore in 1901, as the demand of the leather shoe industry in the industrialized countries grew apace. It was nature under the circumstances, that tanning by modern methods should be attempted in India. He further mentions that, in 1892-93, there were 202 tanneries employing 6,200 persons, as many as 183 of them being located in the Madras Presidency. In 1903-04, 43 large tanneries employed 7,909 persons. The Madras government was successful enough to give rise to complain among European competitors that the Madras government from the Secretary of state, Lord Morley, who, in 1910, ordered the enterprise to be shut down. The National Tannery, also using the chrome process, was established in Calcutta in 1905, as a consciously 'swadeshi' enterprise.

**Tirthankar Roy (2011)** has mentioned in his book *'The Economic History of India, 1857-1947'* that the rural and urban artisans produced mainly for local consumers. The main unit of production was the family, and sometimes, small collectives of artisan families. He further mentions that tanning of hides and skins became a major export item in the late 19th century. He mentions that from the 1870s down to the Great Depression, it remained a major export. The export of tanned hides and skins fell, but increasingly, tanned hides were being used as inputs by local leather manufactures, and the export of such manufacturers began to increase. Leather is one of South Asia's most important manufactures exports since ancient times to present. Much of the industry was built upon a foundation of skills, expertise, and capital accumulated during the colonial period. The export market concentrated hide trade in Kanpur, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

### 1.7.2 Specific Literature Review

**W. Crooke (1896)** has pointed out in his book *'The Tribe and Castes of the North-Western India Vol-2'* that the caste of curriers, tanners, and day-labourers found throughout north India. Their name is derived from the charma-kara, a "worker in

leather” traditionally known as Chamar. He further pointed out on the Chamars, origin of Chamar caste, internal structure, sub-castes, rules of exogamy, tribal council, marriage, widow-marriage and the levirate, birth ceremonies, adoption, be trotted marriage ritual, dole, marriage, wedding, wedding programs, death ceremonies, religion, Sri Narayani sect, his believes, superstitions, demonology, social regulations, occupations, hierarchy work, etc.

**H.G. Walton (1903)** has mentioned in his book *‘A Monograph on tanning and leather work in the united provinces of Agra and Oudh’* that the tradition of making leather in Agra is centuries old. He mentions that before the advent of foreigners in India, the tanning industry had traditionally been a rural industry with fallen cattle being the source of hides and skins. He further mentions that Rajputs traditionally used the leather shields in the battles. He also talks about a sect of Chamars called Rangia (or dyer) who formed a considerable portion of the population and carried on a brisk trade chiefly of shoe leather. He also pointed out on the condition of the leather industry in United Provinces and the condition of the Chamar caste. He also mentions that every eighth man was a Chamar in United Provinces in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Somerset Playne (1917)** has pointed out in his book *‘The Bombay Presidency, the United Provinces, the Punjab, etc; their history, people, commerce, and natural resources’* that in the United Provinces, industrial enterprises had greatly increased in number and the city of Cawnpore, Agra, Lucknow, etc. had more conflict laid the foundation of the industries. He provides the information about the leather factories which were established in the cities of United Provinces. He also focused on the Chamar caste whose hereditary occupation with leather and they lived apart a corner of their mud huts, from the roof of which they hung skins sewn into bags filled with chopped bark and water for tanning the raw hides and skins.

**Geo W. Briggs (1920)** has mentioned in his book *‘The Chamars’* that the tanners of leather, the preparers of skins, the manufacturers of leather articles, and the makers of shoes belong to a well-defined class ‘Chamars’ in the Indian social order. Chamar, accordingly to him, was a cultivator, a shoe-maker, and a tanner who were found throughout the United Provinces and women usually practice as midwives. He also pointed out on the condition of the Chamar caste, social and economic life, birth,

marriage, death, the spirit world, the mysterious, higher religion and on the outlook of the Chamar caste.

**L.N. Shrivastava (1934)** has explained in his book *'Leather industry'* that the government of United Provinces took suitable steps such as flaying, preservation of hides and skins, tanning and making leather articles for the development of this industry. He further points on the government of United Provinces which had started the Leather Working School at Cawnpore in 1915 for the development of this charming industry. The government also started tutorial classes in villages for providing tuitions to the local artisans for improving the quality of leather. Besides these tutorial classes, Govt. also sanctioned new Government Training school in Meerut and Fatehpur and in another area of these Provinces.

**T.R. Sharma (1946)** has mentioned in his book *'Location of Industries in India'* that the establishment of the bark tanning industry in India along two belts, one depending on Avaram extended from Madras in the South to the Bombay in the West. While the other depending upon Babul extended from Sind in the West to Cawnpore in the East. He also pointed out on the demand for bark tanned finished leather was one of the reasons that the region from Cawnpore to Agra became the most important area in the country. He also focused about the location of industries in India and mentions that the leather made after the crude native processes were defective in many respects, these Cawnpore, contractors continued to supply the saddle and other leather requirements of the Company's forces in India.

**Owen M. Lynch (1969)** has mentioned in his book *'The politics of Untouchability: social mobility and social change in a city of India'* that Agra was the second position only to Kanpur city in the production of leather shoes. He also pointed out on the political and socio-economic condition of the Jatav (Chamar) community in Agra. The factory owners were mostly Muslims, Punjabis but labour came from Jatav community. He further pointed out on the sociology of the Agra's footwear market and the history of Jatav "politics of Untouchability" fall into three periods: the pre-independent period, the transitional period and the post-independent period. He further mentions about the social reformer groups working for improving the condition of Untouchables. He also focused on the Ambedkar relation to Buddhism and the Bodhisattva and to Jatavs of Agra.

**Charlotte and William H. Wiser (1971)** have mentioned in his book '*Behind Mud Wall in India*' about the outcastes (untouchables) who lived at the corner of villages. They pointed out on the social condition of the untouchables like Dhobi, Chamar, Dhanuk, Bhangi, etc. They further mentioned that these outcastes were lived a furlong from the rest of the village of huts enclosed by mud walls. They said that there were little opportunities for the Chamars to work at their traditional trade. When an animal dies in the village, they were allowed to remove the skin and cured the hides and then sold them to the hide merchants.

**A.B. Mukerji (1980)** has pointed in his book '*The Chamars of Uttar Pradesh*' on the Chamars in social-rural jajmani, the spatial distribution pattern of the Chamars, the Chamars in socio-demographic context, socio-cultural status, the Chamars as a working force, the regional disparities in socio-economic development and the hope for a better deal, etc. He further mentions that the ratios of Chamars were very high in the districts such as Meerut, Agra, Kanpur, Azamgarh and Jaunpur which hold the household production of leather products in their native areas.

**Peter Knorringa (1996)** has mentioned in his book '*Economics of collaboration Indian shoe-makers between market and hierarchy*' that a decrease of 10% in employment as in many firms died in the period 1991-96. He further mentions that a drastic increase in employment in direct export. Agra by then had specialized in upper production. He also pointed out here on employment in the export segment was subjected to the volatility of international demand, as is clearly reflected in the case of footwear uppers which faced a recession in demand after about a decade of the boom from mid-nineties onwards. He rightly mentions that Jatav artisans predominantly operate in direct-sales channels, where both margins and transaction size were smallest.

**Sumangalam Damodaran & Pallavi Mansingh (2008)** have pointed out in their interesting article '*Leather Industry in India*' that the leather industry was also strong with the social structure through caste and community in all over India. They usually talked about the Madras leather industry. They also focused on the leather industry in Agra since Mughal times to the present and said that the tradition of making leather in Agra was centuries old. They focused on the conditions of the labour of leather industry in Agra and United Provinces.

**Ramnarayan S. Rawat (2011)** has mentioned in his book *'Reconsidering Untouchability'* that the leather industry in India depends primarily on these fallen cattle and the vital role of Chamar was shown in leather industry. He further pointed out on crime related to Chamars and Chamar's contribution to leather industry, Chamar's history and politics, the politics related to *acchut* and Chamar. He further mentions that these Chamars who were involved in the leather trade were genuine entrepreneurs and contractors who took advantage of the growing export trade in raw hides and skins during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in colonial India.

**Monica Sharma (2014)** has pointed out in his book *'The Leather industry in the United Provinces under colonial rule 1861-1947'* that the development of the leather industry had occurred under colonial rule. She also pointed out on the evolution of leather work, geographical distribution of the leather industry in the United Provinces. She focused on Cawnpore, which was the famous place for modern leather industry, manufacture of leather, trade in hide and skins. She also focused on government policies which were introduced by British Govt. for the development of the leather industry and also focused on the condition of labour in leather industry in United Provinces under colonial rule.

In spite of the above-mentioned literature, there are number of gaps which are yet to be filled. During the colonial rule, the leather industry had an importance in the state revenue but in spite of this, the leather industry in the United Provinces and Agra region had an inadequate attention by historians in most of their discussion on general histories but they did not give adequate attention to the social history of the leather industry such as socio-economic condition of the leather workers, human capital, intention of adaptation of technology in the leather industry, etc. Agra is one among them which is totally ignored so as far as its social history of the leather industry is concerned. This research work attempts to address these gaps by focusing on the social history of leather industry and technology in United Provinces and Agra region during the colonial period. Then researcher proceeds to present work on the topic *'Social History of Leather Industry and Technology in United Provinces: A Case Study of Agra (1860-1950)'* with the help of this literature and so on.

### **1.8 Chapterization**

The first chapter entitled 'Introduction' deals with a brief introduction to the topic/title of the present study, the scope of the study and area of research and its importance. It also provides information regarding the review of the literature on the leather industry. It also deals with a brief description of the objective of the study, hypotheses and methodology which applied to present work that has been undertaken.

The second chapter entitled 'History of Leather Industry in India with special reference to United Provinces' deals with the evolution of making leather from hides and skins in the world and in India during the Ancient, Medieval and Modern period. It further explains the detailed of making of leather products in different cities of United Provinces especially Cawnpore and its growing leather industry in the form of large concerns. It also provides information about the contribution of trade associations in the commercial growth of the leather industry in the United Provinces.

The third chapter entitled 'History of Leather Industry in Agra Region' deals with the establishment of slaughterhouses and its functions which helped to promote the leather industry in Agra region because the leather industry is generally depending upon slaughterhouses and tanning industry. It also explains the protest against the cow slaughter. It further gives a detailed description of the emerging leather factories in Agra and association set up by the colonial government for the development of the leather footwear industry in Agra.

The fourth chapter entitled 'Leather Technology and Leather Institutes in United Provinces' deals with the techniques and technology used in making leather from hides and skins and technological changes took place in colonial India from craft to factories. It further gives a detailed description of the government policies granted to leather institutes or leather working schools or tanning classes which were set up in the different cities of United Provinces by the government authorities for making leather of high quality and for trained pupils for working as artisans in various leather or tanning factories.

The fifth chapter entitled 'Social History of Leather Craft in United Provinces under Colonial Rule' deals with the social hierarchy of leather workers which were belonged to Hindu and Muslim communities. It further gives a detailed description of

such castes i.e. Chamars, Jatavas, Mochis, Bhisti, Qassabs, Quraishi, etc., which had emerged in the leather craft mainly in United provinces from the ancient to modern times and still working in present days also. It further gives information about the labour condition in leather factories under colonial rule.

The sixth and last Chapter entitled 'Conclusion' deals with the summary of the findings and conclusion which sums up the discussion in the above chapters which dealt with the evolution of the leather industry in United Provinces and in Agra region.

## ***Chapter-2***

# ***History of Leather Industry in India with special reference to United Provinces***

## Chapter-2

### History of Leather Industry in India with special reference to United Provinces

#### 2.1 History of making leather in World texts

The making of leather from the hides and skins of domestic and wild animals is one of the oldest activities which were performed by human beings in the world. Hides and skins were obtained from hunting and livestock breeding could be used for clothing or tents in the early period. Hides and skins became stiff at low temperature, while they rotted with heat; it was probably then that attempts were made to render them more flexible and stronger by rubbing with animal fats. Leather is generally prepared by processing with either the bark or fruits of certain trees and shrubs or some minerals salts. These vegetable and chemical substances are called tanning agents.<sup>1</sup>

Leather manufacturing process has long history. The first rudimental tanning process is mentioned in Assyrian texts and in Homer Iliad. The tanning methods and techniques became more and more refined with the passage of time. In Mesopotamia, the Sumerians have used skins for long dresses and diadems for ladies. The Assyrians used leather for footwear and liquid containers and as inflated floats for rafts. The Egyptians also tanned the hides and skins which were usually used for clothing, gloves, tools, and arms. Strabo, a Greek historian, pointed out of an interesting use developed by Phoenicians who made water pipes from it. In the Byzantine Empire, the Romans have also used the leather products in all over the provinces of their empire, and more efficient tanning techniques were introduced where they had not been developed locally. They used leather both for footwear, clothing and for making shields and harnesses. A tannery was uncovered amid the ruins of Pompeii and the same equipment of the kind still in use for centuries thereafter was found in it.<sup>2</sup>

During the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D., there was a boom in demand of Quraysh Meccan leather, which was manufactured in Mecca city, throughout the world mainly in the Gulf

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<sup>1</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). *Location of Industries in India*, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

countries which were contact or business with Mecca.<sup>3</sup> During the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. of Spain which was under the dominion of the Moors, who produced horsehide leather named “Cordovan” which was a different type of leather famous throughout Europe for centuries. Marco Polo, an Italian traveler has mentioned in his travelling account in 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D. that the Mongol were also widely used leather flask, cover, masks, and caps, decorated artistically, and it was him who coined the expression “Russian Leather” to indicate a type with a characteristics fragrance. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, leather was used in combination with wood in chairs, arm-chairs, and settles with craftsmanship that reached the levels of an art form. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, leather was used for chests and cases, and of course, with book-bindings perhaps the most lasting refined use of the materials in Venice, Italy.<sup>4</sup> The usage of leather thus acquired prominence all over the world along with the quest of human beings for better life.

## **2.2 History of making leather in Ancient Indian texts**

India is one of the greatest producers of hides and skins in the world. India with one-third of the total cattle production of the world has long been the world’s largest supplier of hides and skins. This huge livestock population of India could have been the basis of the existence of the leather craft from the remote antiquity. The importance of this craft can be judged from the wide range of articles produced from leather since the beginning of civilizations. Though the importance of this industry was recognized during the different phases of Indian history, this leather industry remained essentially a decentralized cottage industry. The leather yielding cattle hands comprising of cattle, camel, goat, sheep, and buffaloes were the basis to estimate the wealth of the owner. The tanning of hides and skins was done by certain classes of people in every town and villages of India. It continued to be a craft based on empirical knowledge which was passed on from one generation to another.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Crone, P. (2007). Quraysh and the Roman Army: Making Sense of the Meccan Leather Trade. *Bulletin of the school of oriental and African Studies*, vol. 70, No. 1, pp. 63-88.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Ashishpatel197/leather-industry-analysis>. Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). *Leather Industry*, Government Press, Shimla, p. 1. and Also see, Sharma, M. (2014). *Workers and leather industry in Kanpur (1861-1947): transition from craft to factory production*. Shri Krishna Sahitya Sadan, New Delhi.

Hides and skins were so important that several religious and non-religious texts mentions about them. According to Mahabharata epic, Lord Shiva has used the skin of the elephant as a cloth and tiger's skin as a carpet for his deep meditation and penance. Marut, the son of Lord Shiva, wore deer skins, even the wild ascetics seem to have been clothed the skins. Ox-hide was used in the pressing of the God Soma. According to the Bible, the primitive man including Adam and Eve used the skins of the animals for covering their bodies while they settled in this world from Heaven. These evidences show the importance of leather in human annihilation.<sup>6</sup>

The making of leather in India dated backs to 3000 B.C. or Harappa civilizations it was possible that there were many artisans of leather work in this period that made leather articles for daily purpose. In the Vedic corpus which was about 1500-600 B.C., the word leather *charman*, *charma*, is known in both the older and the later portions of the Rig Veda, in the books of Yajur Vedic schools, in the Brahmins, and in the later literature. In these texts we have found references to the thong, *yoktra*, used for yoking the chariot or cart; the bow-string, *jya*, made of ox-hide; reins of leather; leather bags; *driti* and *dhmata*, for holding liquids; leather bottles, *bhastra*; and thongs used for couches, *vardhra*, for door fastening *paricarmanya*, and for bridles, *syuman*.<sup>7</sup> The Atharva Veda refers to trade in hides and skins which were drawn from the regions around Kashmir.<sup>8</sup> According to Sankhya and Likhita, that water is declared pure which is kept in leather bottles. Atri also stated that same opinion in his work. The use of such words as *charmanta*, *charmapha*, *varata*, *chasabandha*, etc. in old Sanskrit works indicate that straps, bands, and strings of leather were in common use and sails were also made of leather or hide. According to the code of Manu, Leather Mashak for storing water are alluded to under the name of *driti* and its peculiar form with the four feet left intact is pointed out. Directions are also given for the purification of leather articles. Leather shoes are mentioned in the code of Manu as a suitable gift for Guru. In another place on the same work, the taking off leather sandals with hands is classified amongst prohibited acts. Other

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Vibhorbajpai/entire-project-64480513>. Retrieved 2015-12-25. pp. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). *The Chamars*. Association Press, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 1.

*Smritis* ordained that oleaginous articles preserved in leather bottles do not become impure by the contact of cowhide.<sup>9</sup>

The use of skins for clothing is also mentioned in the *Satapatha Brahmana* and in other early literature.<sup>10</sup> The *Vishnu Purana* enjoins all who wish to protect their person never to be without leather shoes and an identified with the inhabitants of *Charma Mandala*, a district of the west, mentioned in *Vishnu Purana* under the title of *Charma-Khandal*.<sup>11</sup> Some reference is made in the *Mahabharata* epic of leather handguards for the bow, shields made of ox-hide or deer skin, leather breastplates, leather sheaths for the sword, leather robes for horses serving as armors for them, for drums, etc.<sup>12</sup> In the *Ramayana* text, Bharat places on the vacant throne of Ajodhya a pair of Rama's leather slippers, and worship them during his exile.<sup>13</sup> Some sculpture representation from Bengal, Bihar and some other places depict Surya (Lord Sun) also wore leather boots or shoes.<sup>14</sup>

*Jambudvipa Prajnapti*, a *Jaina* text, explained that the leather workers as a new name *Cammayaru*. *Panini's Ashtadhyayi* also mentions about the leather workers and leather craft.<sup>15</sup> Leather workers find mention in various other works too by the names *Karavera*, *Dhigvana*, *Carmavakritin*, and *Carmakara*. *Parasara* places the *Carmakar* in midway between *Sudra* and *Chandala*. The leather worker is included in the seven *antyajas* (untouchables) in the list of *Atri* and *Yama*. A mention of the *Carmakara* is also made in the *Vedaya Smriti* and *Apastamba Smriti*. The *Jatakas*-stories of the former births of the *Buddha* referring to jerkins, big sacks, ropes, straps, etc. made of leather. According to these stories, the leather was also used in making musical instruments. A cobbler is also referred to in one of these stories as making shoes.<sup>16</sup>

According to *Arthasastra*, the hides were considered important enough to be constantly stored in the city and replaced with the fresh supplier. The leather workers

<sup>9</sup> Martin, J. R. (1903). *A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the Bombay Presidency*. Printed at the Government Central Press, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). *The tribes and castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Vol. 3)*. Office of the superintendent of government printing, Cosmo Publication, Delhi, p. 170.

<sup>12</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 12-13.

<sup>13</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit.

<sup>14</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp. 3-4.

were asked to settle along with workers in wool, yarn, bamboo, armours, weapons, shields, and *Sudras*, in the western quarter. During the Gupta period, some reference indicating this, the *Lilavati* inscription refers to the different craftsmen like metal workers and leather workers who are referred to as *Loha-Charma-Kara* and the charter of *Vishnu Sena* which refers to the shoe-makers as *Pada-Kara*. Leather was the monopoly of the Gupta Empire. The records of land gifts state that the king reserved the rights to the hides called *Charma*.<sup>17</sup> The *Trisasthisalaka-Purusacaritam* refers to eighteen guilds of leather workers. Even *Mitaksara* refers to the guilds of shoe-makers. These functional guilds formed in the different parts of the state made a great contribution to the economic development of the state during that period. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Al-Beruni includes the shoe-makers in his list of eight guilds or *atyanjas*, besides the guilds of fowlers, jugglers, basket and shield makers, sailor, fisherman, hunters, and weavers.<sup>18</sup> Marco Polo also mentioned in his travelling account in 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D. that “the curing of hides and skins and manufacture of leather were two most important industries of Gujarat. Every year a number of ships went to Arabia laden with the skins of goats, oxen, unicorns and other animals. The leather was used for sandals and was also turned into red and blue sleeping mats exquisitely inlaid with figures, birds, and beasts and skillfully *Zardozi* craft (embroidery worked with gold and silver wire)”.<sup>19</sup> These references show the critical role of leather played in human life in ancient India.

### **2.3 History of making leather in Medieval Indian texts**

Besides the ancient Indian texts, the rise of the native leather industry is coincident with the establishment of Muhammadans rule in India gave a further boost to the already flourishing leather industry for all the practical purposes.<sup>20</sup> This period witnessed a great increase in both the demand and supply of raw material. Shoes were considered an integral part of the daily dress of the Muslims and this led to an increase in its demand for leather products. An important change took place at that time, while earlier the Chamars or leather workers had to depend on the fallen cattle;

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp. 5-6.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Vibhorbajpai/entire-project-64480513>. Retrieved 2015-12-25, pp.3-4.

<sup>20</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). *A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*. Government Press, United Provinces, p. 1.

now this supply was turned into slaughtering animals which were slaughtered for the meat as well as hides and skins. The meat was consumed in bulk on festive occasions in the mass-feeding *Khanqahs* of the Sultanate and in kitchens of the kings. An idea of the magnitude of this increased consumption can be made from the fact that every morning the chef of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq was provided with 2,000 sheep and 25,000 oxen for his daily routine menu. In the bazaar of Delhi, the dressed meat of all descriptions was very commonly sold. It was during that time, the *Qassabs* or butchers were widely appeared along with the other professionals. These *Qassabs* providing for an affluent segment had quite a profitable business in the flesh.<sup>21</sup>

During the Delhi Sultanate, there was essential importance of cattle, buffaloes, camels, sheep, and goats for plugging the extended land under crop; for transportation; for drawing water from the well; for meat and leather. A new variety of leather articles were added to an already wide range being manufactured viz., Book covers ornamented with gold and silk thread or *zardozi* work, Cushions, Prayer mats, Bed covers, Dining spreads, Saddles, Shields, Water bags, Boots and shoes, Scabbards of swords, cover of manuscripts, Packing of Bengal sugar parcels for export, Red and Blue leather mats with inlay of figures of birds and beasts.<sup>22</sup> The leather craft during that period made its appearance in the urban locals flourishing in the *Karkhanas* under royal support, looked after by a separate department named *Rikabkhana*. These *Karkhanas* provided the articles of luxury and war auxiliaries for the household and the army of the Sultan.<sup>23</sup> Till 1330 A.D., leather was treated with skillful handing got rooted in an urban locale. Multan, Cambay, and Nagor emerged as noted centers for the production of attractive and quality leather ware and Lahore also came to be known for the home of leather industry which became famous for its table covers; pieces for wall decorative, soft and cool mattresses with multi-coloured silk motifs of flowers and even personage.<sup>24</sup> Gujarat was famous for goatskin shoes, particularly the richly ornamented shoes, on one occasion their luxurious decorations fetched a price as high as 60,000 *tankas*.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 6-7.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

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At the second capital of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq in Daulatabad (*Deogir*), there were separate colonies for the kings and his troops to make them self-sufficient, each colony had along with mosques, minarets, bazaars, *hamaams*, flour mills, shops of craftsmen like Goldsmith, blacksmith, dyers; a place for the dressed of tanned leather. Leather was put to various uses, even the impregnable fort of Deogir could only be reached by a leather ladder. Leather workers occupied ward outside the city wall in Delhi and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Kabul, where their quarters adjoined the Delhi gate. In spite of the persistent Hindu Taboo for leather and leather work, this industry not only expanded and gained in popularity but also in due course came to attain a high proficiency because of the economic policies introduced by the Muslim rulers.<sup>26</sup>

During the Mughal period, the leather industry underwent a period of boom. Leather shoes were used by the Mughal army. The Mughal emperor Babur and his son Humayun have used the leather goods in his court. Humayun barely escaped with his life, when he was fought with Sher Khan, Humayun almost drowning in a river nearby. A Bhisti, a low caste water carrier, rescued him and ferried the emperor to safety on an inflated buffalo skin. In a typical expression of gratitude, Humayun made him king for a day. The Bhisti invited fellow leather workers from all over to participate in his good fortune, establishing the foundation for Agra's considerable low caste population and its famous leather industry.<sup>27</sup> In Muslim community, there were two castes, one was Bhisti (who carried the water in the leather bag) and second was Quraishi (butcher) who were traditionally involved with the trade of flesh and raw hides and skins. In Agra, Mashak was well known a leather bag could be used for storing the water and *Heeng* (a spice) also. Heeng ki mandi was a well-known market for trading Heeng in Agra since Mughal times. Mashak was filled with Heeng fetched by the traders in Heeng ki mandi and then after the Mashak were unfilled, these empty Mashak could be used for making the leather shoes. The work with leather was typically a tradition of the people and then Agra was going famous for leather footwear and leather goods. Agra became the capital of the empire and a center of industries and trade. There were many artisans like potters, carpenters, smiths, stone-

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, pp. 8-9.

<sup>27</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). *Leather industry in India. Report, Centre for Education and Communication, India*, March.

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carvers, dressers of hides, tanners and leather workers, etc., turned out the distinctive goods of their trade.<sup>28</sup>

At the reign of Akbar (1556-1605), many artisans migrated from the villages to the city as their goods fetched fair returns. Agra's leather industry received its main impetus during the Akbar's period, who decreed that his soldiers wore leather shoes. Till that time the Mughal army had fought barefoot. Shoe-makers were summoned from all over the empire and work began to produce hundreds of thousands of pairs per year. Besides the hard-wearing leather *jootis* with slightly turned up toes for the soldiers, there was also a huge demand for more delicate versions for nobles, their ladies and vast entourages. Besides shoes, there were the Mughal shields which at least for the common soldiers, were made of leather. Abul-Fazl, a Mughal period writer also mentions in his famous works '*Ain-e-Akbari*' that many local slaughterhouses were set up outside the city of Agra which fulfills the demand of meat as well as hides and skins and different castes of butchers were working in that slaughterhouses.<sup>29</sup>

#### **2.4 History of making leather in Colonial India**

With the establishment of colonial rule, the leather industry programs rapidly with modern techniques and the demand for leather products increased rapidly. This demand was meeting by the local traders with cheap quality and rate.<sup>30</sup> Most of the Indian cottage industries were negatively affected by the policies of East India Company. Their aim was develop India as a market for the rising foreign machine industry.<sup>31</sup> Leather was probably the most important of the quasi-services that commercialized during the colonial period. Most of the industry is built upon a foundation of skills, expertise, and foreign capital accumulated under colonial rule.<sup>32</sup> Till the establishment of colonial rule, each village has its own native artisans who work with leather, who is also, to a large extent, their own tanner; and it is part of their recognized duties to keep their patrons in boots, and to cure and make up the

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Singh, V. B. (Ed.). (1965). *Economic History of India: 1857-1956*. Allied Publishers, p. 295.

<sup>31</sup> Pandey S.N. (1996). *Economic History of Modern India, 1857-1950*, Delhi, p. 64.

<sup>32</sup> Roy, T. (1999). *Traditional industry in the economy of colonial India (Vol. 5)*, Oxford University Press, p. 156.

hides required for the leather buckets made for irrigation.<sup>33</sup> So, the tanning remained to a large extent a rural industry. But during the colonial rule, this industry was shifted to the urban locales and became a purely the export industry because the villages and towns had developed as points of hide trade advantages like easy availability of markets, water, raw materials, tanning chemical, etc.<sup>34</sup>

#### **2.4.1 Madras Presidency**

The European methods of tanning hides and skins were first introduced by the military authorities who established a tannery at Hoonsur for the purpose of manufacturing superior leather for harness and other military equipment. But the credit of transforming the leather industry officially goes to a French Eurasian of Pondicherry named Charles D' Susa who introduced improvements in the native methods of preparing the skins in the 1840s which he got from Isle de Bourbon or Mauritius. When Charles D' Susa first came again to Madras, he made a contract with a Muslim tanner to supply him with goat skins at Rs 14 per 100 skins in 1846. So, this new tanning trade was at first largely in the hands of Eurasians but their lack of energy, improvidence, and inferior business capacity enable Muhammadans and British to cut them out from this business gradually in the due course of time.<sup>35</sup>

The improvement was displayed in Madras Presidency because they were adopted by a large number of tanners and an export trade in Indian tanned hides and skins grew up. This Madras tanning industry showed an intermediate stage in the development of Indian industry, for it displayed the effect of a slight adaptation of improved methods in industry, combined with cheap raw materials and cheap labour. The export trader replaced the independent artisans. The unit of the industry too increased, while earlier the tanner or leather workers functionally independently, now it became a small workshop, with an average 5 to 7 workers.<sup>36</sup> The export of hides and skins had grown from a mere half-crore of rupees' worth in 1859 to Rs 11.5 crore in 1901, as the demand of the leather shoe industry in the industrialized countries grew apace. It was natural, under the circumstances, that tanning by modern methods should be

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, pp. 156-7.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Chatterton, A. (1905). *Monograph on tanning and working in leather in the Madras Presidency*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>36</sup> Gadgil, D. R. (1942). *The industrial evolution of India in recent times*, Delhi, p. 60.

attempted in India. With the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Madras Presidency had 183 tanneries out of total 202 tanneries employing 6,200 persons in that period. The Madras government established an experimental factory to develop chrome tanning techniques. The experiment was successful enough to give rise to complain among European competitors that the Madras government was running a commercial enterprise.<sup>37</sup>

The following statement showing the quantity and value of Hides and Skins exported to foreign ports by sea from the Madras Presidency during the years from 1862-63 to 1902-03 as given below:

**Table 2.1 (The quantity and value of Hides and Skins exported to foreign ports by sea from the Madras Presidency during the years from 1862-63 to 1902-03)**

| Year    | Quantity (Kg) | Value (Rs)  |
|---------|---------------|-------------|
| 1862-63 | 2,809,532     | 12,10,013   |
| 1863-64 | 3,379,837     | 14,78,013   |
| 1864-65 | 3,527,491     | 15,69,543   |
| 1865-66 | 3,470,144     | 15,12,484   |
| 1866-67 | 4,052,193     | 19,20,186   |
| 1867-68 | 4,536,672     | 25,57,389   |
| 1868-69 | 4,846,920     | 25,80,719   |
| 1869-70 | 5,619,924     | 30,81,953   |
| 1870-71 | 5,658,032     | 31,44,802   |
| 1871-72 | 7,063,495     | 39,99,564   |
| 1872-73 | 8,390,287     | 52,39,353   |
| 1873-74 | 8,265,264     | 52,77,500   |
| 1874-75 | 6,615,851     | 44,45,836   |
| 1875-76 | 8,987,874     | 1,00,84,153 |
| 1876-77 | 9,827,325     | 1,18,98,442 |
| 1877-78 | 10,836,074    | 1,46,59,521 |
| 1878-79 | 8,789,739     | 99,71,364   |

<sup>37</sup> Habib, I. (2006). *Indian Economy, 1858-1914* (Vol. 28). Tulika Books, p. 108.

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|-----------|------------|-------------|
| 1879-80   | 9,798,727  | 1,06,86,846 |
| 1880-81   | 10,815,127 | 1,28,77,882 |
| 1881-82   | 12,562,219 | 1,51,31,714 |
| 1882-83   | 14,039,132 | 1,84,89,229 |
| 1883-84   | 13,843,419 | 1,74,73,379 |
| 1884-85   | 12,763,214 | 1,59,43,398 |
| 1885-86   | 15,090,944 | 1,84,02,184 |
| 1886-87   | 15,415,837 | 1,83,66,822 |
| 1887-88   | 17,106,984 | 2,07,26,638 |
| 1888-89   | 17,940,729 | 2,10,96,275 |
| 1889-90   | 17,196,861 | 2,02,33,163 |
| 1890-91   | 16,802,161 | 2,00,65,844 |
| 1891-92   | 18,311,652 | 2,24,10,229 |
| 1892-93   | 18,217,383 | 2,41,63,892 |
| 1893-94   | 18,343,907 | 2,62,24,090 |
| 1894-95   | 20,828,585 | 3,06,44,717 |
| 1895-96   | 21,706,892 | 3,32,16,926 |
| 1896-97   | 19,679,949 | 3,06,22,445 |
| 1897-98   | 19,111,898 | 3,10,61,023 |
| 1898-99   | 17,460,435 | 2,63,96,637 |
| 1899-1900 | 19,060,768 | 2,89,66,104 |
| 1900-01   | 22,946,170 | 3,68,61,023 |
| 1901-02   | 17,933,636 | 2,67,68,035 |
| 1902-03   | 18,123,076 | 2,71,02,881 |

**Source:** Chatterton, A. (1905). *Monograph on tanning and working in leather in the Madras Presidency*, p. 10.

#### 2.4.2 Bombay Presidency

The Bombay Presidency was also emerged as an important centre of leather production. An article in copper, brass, wood, leather, etc. was made at low rates, and with as much skill as many of the great towns in western India. The shoe-makers, in particular, were very excellent quality. Gujarat was famous for its leather industry,

especially for goatskin shoes.<sup>38</sup> In Ahmadabad, there was not only a large business done in tanning, but the city enjoys more than a local reputation for the manufacture of shoes. Poona, too, produced shoes, such as was worn by Brahmans, and sends them to various outside districts. Bombay, however, as was only natural, was by far the largest centre for the tanning of hides and skins and leather.<sup>39</sup>

The workforce in Dharavi near Bombay city consisted of Tamil-speaking tanners who were reputed to furnish better labour than local tanners. This efficiency of the Tamil labourers seemingly derived from knowledge of *Avaram*. In Poona and Belgaum, the tanners tried hard to get the recipe from them, but the Madras tanners would not want to teach them. This control was a source of some instability. The tanners were routinely accused of ‘running away’ after they took advances. Such hazards must have eventually declined with the spread of chrome tanning.<sup>40</sup> Hyderabad (Sind) was famous for its leather craft, which was honorably distinguished as presenting features of some artistic interest. Tanning was carried out on a small scale throughout the whole Bombay Presidency. Some important centers were Surat, Panch-Mahal, Belgaum, Bombay, Ahmadabad, Poona, Nadiyad, Godhra, Kathiawar, and Sholapur, etc. had the largest leather industry in Bombay Presidency.<sup>41</sup>

Most of the owners were Muslims of the Borah and Memon communities found all over the Bombay Presidency.<sup>42</sup> Besides the hides and skins of domestic animals, Skins of deer, tiger, camel, etc. were also dressed in many parts of the Bombay Presidency. In the *mofussil*, the carcasses of animals which die were generally the perquisites or *haks* of the *Mahar* community or another village servant.<sup>43</sup> The tannery at Vegalpur in Surat district turned out almost every class of leather worker required in India. A large market was found in Bombay for its products and exports were also sent to England. Leather was sent to Indore and other states of the Central India Agency from the Panch-mahal district. In Broach, by far the most important branch of the leather trade was the manufacture of the gin rollers.<sup>44</sup> A large number of leather

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<sup>38</sup> Choksey, R. D. (1968). *Economic life in the Bombay Gujarat, 1800-1939*. Asia Pub. House, p. 221.

<sup>39</sup> Martin, J. R. (1903). *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Roy, T. (1999). *op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>41</sup> Martin, J. R. (1903). *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Choksey, R. D. (1968). *op. cit.*, p. 223.

worker class were found in Gujarat also where they have practically a monopoly of the shoe-making and similar trade. In cities, these leather workers were usually hard-working but drunken. They manufacture European style shoes and their low prices gave them a monopoly. They preferred to work in families to taking service in factories.<sup>45</sup> The following statement shows the export of Bombay in leather with foreign countries by sea during the years from 1898-99 to 1902-03 as given below:

**Table 2.2 (The export of Bombay in leather with foreign countries by sea during the years from 1898-99 to 1902-03)**

| Year      | Raw Hide<br>Quantity (cwt) | Raw Hide<br>Value (Rs) | Leather<br>Quantity (cwt) | Leather<br>Value (Rs) |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1898-99   | 44                         | 1,875                  | 38,183                    | 62,00,091             |
| 1899-1900 | 91                         | 5,915                  | 41,109                    | 65,05,710             |
| 1900-01   | 920                        | 57,756                 | 48,053                    | 77,76,141             |
| 1901-02   | 581                        | 43,135                 | 31,460                    | 48,30,527             |
| 1902-03   | 1869                       | 1,43,133               | 31,168                    | 49,30,304             |

**Source:** Martin, J. R. (1903). *A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the Bombay Presidency*. Printed at the Government Central Press, p. 5.

### 2.4.3 Bengal Presidency

Leather industry has healthy presence in Bengal Presidency. Cattle were grazed at a very low expense which had been computed for all over the Bengal Presidency. As result of that the population of cattle increased continuously and used for meat and leather products because some community consider the slaughter of kin and the eating of cow flesh as sinful but many tribes of Hindus, and even Brahmans, had no objection to the use of cattle meat in this presidency. The production increased in Bengal Presidency and it would reward with a better price than was now left to the maker, would become one among many sources of wealth to this presidency. Mostly, the trade of leather was held between British and Bengal.<sup>46</sup> The civil servant

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Colebrooke, H. T. (1884). *Remarks on the husbandry and internal commerce of Bengal*, Statesman Steam Printing Works, Chowringhee, pp. 68-69.

Colebrooke states in 1884 in his work, that the possibility of England replacing her supplies of hides from Brazil by those available in Bengal.<sup>47</sup>

German's advance in mineral dyeing, a contemporary development, made them the only country able to manufacture coloured leather. With the end of the Franco-Prussian war and the resumption of peace saw Germany re-enter the world market. In the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Germany and Austria were the main buyers of Indian rawhides, a trade organized by a group of 'German or quasi-German' firms, based in Calcutta and forming a strong cartel. In America at the same time, chrome tanning created a demand for raw or semi-tanned skins for which the Bengal Presidency was the ideal source.<sup>48</sup> The following statement showing the quantity and value of Hides and Skins exported to foreign ports by sea from the Bengal Presidency during the years from 1890 to 1939 as given below:

**Table 2.3 (The quantity and value of Hides and Skins exported to foreign ports by sea from the Bengal Presidency during the years from 1890 to 1939)**

| Year   | Raw hides Quantity (ths. tons) | Raw hides Value (Rs in millions(c)) | Tanned Quantity (thousands of tons) | Tanned Value (Rs in millions(c)) | Hides in export value in (percentage) | Unit Value index (a) | Terms of trade (b) |
|--------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1890-4 | 43.9                           | 83.5                                | -(d)                                | -(d)                             | 5.3                                   | 100                  | 1.0                |
| 1895-9 | 62.3                           | 91.0                                | -(d)                                | -(d)                             | 6.6                                   | 77                   | 0.7                |
| 1900-4 | 58.2                           | 71.0                                | 15.2                                | 32.0                             | 5.4                                   | 74                   | 0.7                |
| 1905-9 | 67.2                           | 92.1                                | 16.2                                | 48.4                             | 8.4                                   | 88                   | 0.6                |
| 1910-4 | 74.5                           | 99.5                                | 16.3                                | 44.3                             | 6.6                                   | 83                   | 0.6                |
| 1915-9 | 55.8                           | 130.0                               | 24.4                                | 87.1                             | 8.9                                   | 142                  | 0.8                |
| 1920-4 | 44.4                           | 61.2                                | 13.8                                | 51.3                             | 4.6                                   | 101                  | 0.5                |
| 1925-9 | 57.0                           | 81.5                                | 20.9                                | 81.6                             | 5.0                                   | 110                  | 0.5                |
| 1930-4 | 11.4                           | 11.7                                | 3.4                                 | 10.6                             | 1.4                                   | 81                   | 0.7                |
| 1934-9 | 13.1                           | 13.4                                | 4.5                                 | 11.5                             | 1.7                                   | 84                   | 0.8                |

**Source:** Roy, T. (1999). *Traditional industry in the economy of colonial India (Vol. 5)*, Oxford Univ Press, p. 165.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 115.

<sup>48</sup> Roy, T. (1999). op. cit., p. 165.

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Notes: (a) Unit value index is average for all products. (b) Terms of trade are the unit value index as a ratio of weighted agriculture prices. (c) Figures are available in pound sterling. They have been converted into rupees at the current exchange rates. Exchange rates were Rs. 15 to £1 in 1890-1917, Rs. 13.3 to £1 in 1926-39, and floating in between. (d) Included under rawhides.

In the Bengal Presidency, Calcutta, on account of the presence of chemical and other industries there, is likely to be the most important centre of chrome tanning in India.<sup>49</sup> Most of the plants of the Sunder Ban forest division such as *Goran, Sundari, Pussur, Dhunkal, Kankra, and Gurjan*, possess a common defect of giving an undesirable red or reddish colour to the leather tanned with them which were used in Calcutta.<sup>50</sup> A unique feature of Calcutta, an important centre of leather trade, was that a considerable quantity of an inferior type of chrome-tanned leather was turned out by the Chinese tanners on a cottage industry basis.<sup>51</sup> In India, mostly in Calcutta, the hides of cow, bullocks, bulls, and calves were known by the trade name of 'East India Kips' or 'Simply Kips', while the buffalo hides were called 'Buff's hides' or 'Buffs'.<sup>52</sup>

The export market concentrated hide trade in all the three Presidencies such as Bombay, Madras, and Bengal in colonial India and the superior quality demanded by foreign consumers of Indian hides encouraged the establishment of factories in these cities owned by hiding merchants.<sup>53</sup> Until the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, it enjoyed the monopoly of this segment, 30 of the 48 largest tanneries in India were located in Madras Presidency, while 11 were in Bombay and 5 in Bengal Presidency.<sup>54</sup>

## **2.5 History of making leather in United Provinces**

Before the Mutiny, saddlery, harness and other leather accoutrements for the East India Company's Native Army and also for the Bengal Artillery were largely manufactured at Cawnpore of United Provinces by the native contractors from leather locally tanned.<sup>55</sup> This demand was imperfect until the mid of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the leather, such as it was – English tanners who believed that leather is a combination of gelatin and tannic acid, would demur to the title- had satisfied the army of the East India Company; But, the Revolt of 1857, also termed as the 'First

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<sup>49</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p. 160.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p. 166.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p. 161.

<sup>53</sup> Roy, T. (2011). *Economic History of India, 1857-1947*. Oxford University Press, p. 138.

<sup>54</sup> Gadgil, D. R. (1942). op. cit.

<sup>55</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 2.

War of Independence<sup>56</sup> had change the situation or shook the East India Company. To regard this revolt in several places of India had been occurred; the Government of India want to obtain their supplies of harness, Saddlery and leather accoutrements had to make heavy indents on England to meet the wants of their own as well as the British troops which had poured into the country.<sup>57</sup> The Company's Army had to face many problems. Since the English supply was not only very irregular in reaching India but was also of very inferior quality and the long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope before the opening of Suez Canal did not improve the condition of the consignments. It was also found necessary to keep such a large reserve stock in India that deterioration was inevitable. The Ordnance Department had much difficulty in meeting the demand made upon them, and after the repeated condemnation of English equipment and much pecuniary loss, the Inspector-General of Ordnance determined to make an attempt to obtain suitable equipment locally in India.<sup>58</sup>

Lieutenant John Stewart, an officer of the Bengal Artillery and the Commissary of Ordnance in charge of the arsenal at Cawnpore, was instructed to stimulate the decayed native industry and to encourage the tanners to introduce more efficient method of tanning, by giving out contracts and advances of money for building pits and tan leather by a slower and more chemical process. The native process consisted simply of soaking the rawhide in lime to remove the hair and superfluous flesh, sewing the hide into a bag and filling the bag with chopped bark and bark solution. The bag was then hung up, and the liquid was forced through the pores of the skin by hydrostatic pressure, thus giving no time for any chemical combination, the whole process lasting only a week or so; while in England (at that time) the best leather took a year or more to tan. The hide was simply dyed, not tanned; the native term for the process was "*rangna*" – to colour- and the workmen called "*rangia*".<sup>59</sup>

But it was soon realized that the native tanner had neither the capital nor the enterprises to undertake slow tanning. This led Lieutenant Stewart to induce the Government of India to erect small experimental tannery on European lines. A small sum of money was sanctioned, a limited number of building pits laid down, a tanner imported from England, raw hides of buffalo and cow were obtained in the market and treated after approved methods, and finally, differences of atmosphere and

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<sup>56</sup> Early national leader, V.D. Sarvarkar reinterpreted the uprising as the First War of Independence in his work.

<sup>57</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp. 2-3.

climate studied and appreciated. Captain Stewart (as he then was) was instructed to turn out in his experimental tannery sufficient leather for the making of harness and Saddlery for two complete Batteries (an elevated platform on which cannon could be placed) of Artillery and one British Cavalry Regiment. After two or three years' trial, the reports from the Batteries and the Cavalry Regiment were sufficiently satisfactory, and the Government of India sanctioned a considerable outlay for a large tannery-buildings and plant. The buildings having been planned Captain Stewart took a furlough and studied the theory and practice of tanning at all the centers of leather industry in England and Scotland. On his return, the buildings were near to completion and he introduced English methods and processes, tools and machine into all the departments, with the result that the factory entirely justified its existence. Thus was laid the foundation of the first leather factory named "Government Harness and Saddlery Factory" at Cawnpore in 1867, which supplies the leather accoutrements to the Batteries, British Cavalry and Infantry and other Government departments in Bengal, the United Provinces, and Punjab.<sup>60</sup> This also marked the beginning of modern tanning industry in India. From a small nucleus, this factory soon grew to gigantic proportions, providing the equipment of the entire British army in India, besides for the troops engaged in operation overseas and the success of this enterprise led to the establishment of the sister concerns.<sup>61</sup>

The Mutiny demonstrated the need to have more centralized army supply bases close to areas of potential trouble. This was the reason that new tanneries were established near the army cantonments so that there was never a shortage of equipment.<sup>62</sup> Thus, we see that earlier tanneries in the United Provinces came up in Cawnpore, Lucknow, Meerut, Saharanpur, Bareilly, Unnao, Delhi, and Agra, etc.<sup>63</sup> which had large cantonments and had also centers of the revolt. Later the introduction of the railway which helped in the development and spreading of this industry into other parts of the United Provinces. Soon due to the European enterprise, availability of raw materials and cheap labour, the region from Cawnpore to Agra became the most important region which producing the leather continuously. Thus, it was the industry of the United Provinces which soon become famous for its products all over the world.<sup>64</sup>

The British administration had divided the United Provinces into 9 divisions with 48 districts. These nine divisions were Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhand, Allahabad, Benaras,

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Roy, T. (1999). op. cit.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>64</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 12.

Gorakhpur, Kumaon, Lucknow and Faizabad in which most of the districts were engaged with the leather craft, either in rural cottage industry form or some of them had large factories in urban areas of the leather craft. The geographical distribution of the leather industry in the United Provinces is determined by a great complexity of considerations, viz. natural, economic, technical and sometimes psychological factors.<sup>65</sup> The United Provinces have a substantial share in India's export trade in hides and skins and played an important role in the production of leather and in the leather trade.<sup>66</sup> The following statement showing the export of hides and skins from United Provinces to the port of Calcutta and from the port of Calcutta during the years from 1880-81 to 1900-01 as given below:

**Table 2.4 (The export of hides and Skins from United Provinces to the port of Calcutta and elsewhere and from the port of Calcutta during the years from 1880-81 to 1900-01)**

| Year    | Total exp. from U. P. (mds) | Value of exports (Rs) | Exp. from U. P. to Calcutta (mds) | Value of exp. from U. P. to Calcutta (Rs) | Exp. from Calcutta (mds) | Value of exp. from Calcutta (Rs) | Percentage of exp. from U.P. to Calcutta |
|---------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1880-81 | 145,404                     | 2,035,656             | 124,644                           | 1,737,699                                 | 755,708                  | 19,413,921                       | 16.49                                    |
| 1881-82 | 136,883                     | 2,053,240             | 101,640                           | 1,524,600                                 | 686,347                  | 18,306,747                       | 14.81                                    |
| 1882-83 | 211,099                     | 3,197,003             | 106,266                           | 1,569,251                                 | 726,969                  | 19,724,476                       | 14.62                                    |
| 1883-84 | 193,676                     | 2,855,618             | 96,729                            | 1,378,388                                 | 816,492                  | 22,663,002                       | 11.85                                    |
| 1884-85 | 297,699                     | 6,837,918             | 212,864                           | 5,454,035                                 | 965,586                  | 25,315,379                       | 22.05                                    |
| 1885-86 | 290,713                     | 6,971,366             | 196,221                           | 5,442,035                                 | 965,586                  | 26,841,721                       | 20.33                                    |
| 1886-87 | 279,713                     | 7,399,672             | 175,396                           | 5,606,372                                 | 873,813                  | 25,293,965                       | 20.08                                    |
| 1887-88 | 268,285                     | 7,349,335             | 156,890                           | 5,687,339                                 | 700,192                  | 20,768,574                       | 22.42                                    |
| 1888-89 | 284,288                     | 8,353,313             | 150,938                           | 5,956,060                                 | 640,788                  | 19,082,457                       | 23.55                                    |
| 1889-90 | 225,794                     | 6,000,606             | 98,927                            | 3,592,744                                 | 606,854                  | 18,421,934                       | 16.31                                    |
| 1890-91 | 246,445                     | 6,915,299             | 121,410                           | 4,352,744                                 | 692,494                  | 20,704,763                       | 17.54                                    |
| 1891-92 | 270,818                     | 8,195,995             | 152,072                           | 5,701,604                                 | 725,313                  | 22,572,638                       | 20.97                                    |
| 1893-94 | 248,819                     | 6,045,109             | 112,893                           | 3,399,718                                 | 730,522                  | 24,360,735                       | 15.45                                    |
| 1894-95 | 462,509                     | 13,423,071            | 2,465,375                         | 9,206,513                                 | 812,900                  | 27,206,868                       | 30.31                                    |
| 1895-96 | 407,264                     | 12,099,150            | 256,524                           | 8,917,619                                 | 823,144                  | 31,275,285                       | 31.17                                    |
| 1896-97 | 326,326                     | 9,962,254             | 198,406                           | 7,206,354                                 | 734,827                  | 28,560,259                       | 27.01                                    |
| 1897-98 | 424,597                     | 12,507,002            | 291,011                           | 9,772,179                                 | 11,700,083               | 41,717,531                       | 26.46                                    |
| 1898-99 | 312,416                     | 7,968,982             | 199,077                           | 5,659,299                                 | 986,846                  | 38,258,162                       | 20.19                                    |
| 1899-00 | 735,804                     | 15,242,661            | 635,250                           | 13,182,720                                | 11,522,578               | 57,698,821                       | 41.73                                    |

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p. 17.

<sup>66</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). op. cit., p. 1.

|         |         |           |         |           |           |            |       |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------|
| 1900-01 | 511,001 | 9,763,225 | 364,503 | 6,784,059 | 1,471,808 | 55,561,596 | 24.77 |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------|

**Source:** Rawat, R. S. (2011). *Reconsidering Untouchability: Chamars and Dalit History in North India*. Indiana University Press, p. 198.

The production of leather in the region from the pelts of Cawnpore to Agra had become the most important area in this province<sup>67</sup> because one of the reasons for the success of the leather industry here was that a large number of cattle, buffalo, sheep, and goats, etc. were found here which had a regular supply of the hides and skins.<sup>68</sup> The following statement showing the export of animal kingdom products from the United Provinces to other provinces of British India during the years from 1912 to 1917 as given below:

**Table 2.5 (The export of Animal Kingdom products from the United Provinces to other provinces of British India during the years from 1912 to 1917)**

| Article   | 1912                           | 1913                           | 1915                           | 1917                           |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Raw Hides</b>                                    | 3,75,605 mds<br>Rs 1,18,40,231 | 4,30,564 mds<br>Rs 1,29,16,920 | 3,94,822 mds<br>Rs 1,12,29,170 | 4,16,717 mds<br>Rs 2,28,82,768 |
| <b>Tanned Hides</b>                                 | 5 mds<br>Rs 250                | 480 mds<br>Rs 24,000           | 62 mds<br>Rs 2,752             | 46 mds<br>Rs 3,417             |
| <b>Raw Skins</b>                                    | 2,67,695 mds<br>Rs 93,18,513   | 2,68,613 mds<br>Rs 94,01,455   | 2,13,825 mds<br>Rs 72,29,055   | 3,03,498 mds<br>Rs 1,93,15,945 |
| <b>Tanned Skins</b>                                 | 38 mds<br>Rs 2,230             | 37 mds<br>Rs 2,035             | 223 mds<br>Rs 12,250           | 5 mds<br>Rs 416                |
| <b>Leather (Unwrought)</b>                          | NA                             | 7,475 mds<br>Rs 2,99,000       | 10,182 mds<br>Rs 4,07,280      | 35,254 mds<br>Rs 14,10,160     |
| <b>Leather (Wrought, excepting boots and shoes)</b> | NA                             | 7,617 mds<br>Rs 10,66,380      | 7,077 mds<br>Rs 9,90,780       | 7,508 mds<br>Rs 10,52,120      |

**Source:** Sharma, M. (2014). *Workers and leather industry in Kanpur (1861-1947): transition from craft to factory production*, p. 143.

During the First World War, there was a huge demand of raw hides and skins in other provinces of British India as a raw material for the tanneries which meeting the growing demand of leather products or we can say that leather accoutrement for the

<sup>67</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>68</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). op. cit.

army which was engaged in the War in different parts of the world. This growing demand was fulfilled from the United Provinces because it has a substantial share of livestock. The following statement showing the export of raw hides from the United Provinces to other provinces of British India during the First World War as given below:

**Table 2.6 (The export of raw hides from the United Provinces to other provinces during the War period)**

| Exports to other Provinces                        | Average of five years<br>1909-10 to 1913-14<br>Cwts | 1915-<br>16<br>Cwts | 1916-<br>17<br>Cwts | 1917-18<br>Cwts |
|---|---|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <b>From United Provinces to Madras Presidency</b> | 14,000  | 30,000              | 66,000              | 1,12,000        |
| <b>From United Provinces to Bombay Presidency</b> | 12,000  | 38,000              | 54,000              | 94,000          |

**Source:** Indian Munitions Board. *Review of the Trade in Indian Hides, Skins and Leather*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1919, p. 40.

Important Committees, like the “Hides Cess Enquiry Committee” had emphasized the importance of this industry, the “Industries Reorganization Committee” strongly maintained that this industry ranks next after the textile, and the “Holland Commission” also recognized it as a “key” industry.<sup>69</sup> The following figures give some idea of the livestock production in the year of 1934 as given below:

**Table 2.7 (The livestock production in the year of 1934)**

| Livestock                | India      | United Provinces |
|--------------------------|------------|------------------|
| Cow, bulls and buffaloes | 43,315,780 | 21,346,851       |
| Goats and sheep          | 31,639,953 | 11,004,749       |

**Source:** Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). op. cit., p. 1.

The most decisive factor which first led to the establishment and later went on to determine the distribution of the leather industry in the United Provinces was the British Army’s demand for boots and leather accoutrements.<sup>70</sup> Once established it was the initial incentives given by the British government in the form of contracts and technical assistances that helped the leather industry to developed to it’s that time

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., p. 165.

dimensions in the United Provinces.<sup>71</sup> Indigenous tanning methods could not say to be localized in any particular centre but boot and shoe-making, harness, saddlery, and other articles practiced to a great extent in the large towns like Meerut, Agra, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Rampur, Saharanpur, Bareilly, Benaras, and Gorakhpur, etc.<sup>72</sup> There is an attempt to locate the centers where the leather industry came up during the British period in United Provinces.

### **2.5.1 Meerut**

Meerut is situated in latitude 28° 99' north and longitude 77° 70' east at an elevation of 734-46 feet above the sea level in United Provinces, which was not a big producing district of leather, but several industries call for separate mention as in some cases they gave to large number of persons. The chief being the leather industry which was found to be a fairly remember one. The tanning of hides in the district was done by a large number of Chamars. Hides, horns and hooves were sent to Calcutta and Cawnpore. Shoes were manufactured in Pikhua and Shahdara and also in Ghaziabad, Muqampur and Hapur in Meerut district exports to the neighbouring districts and to Delhi.<sup>73</sup> The leather in the district had a revival probably through the efforts of the skinner family who established a factory at Dehra town in Tehsil Ghaziabad.<sup>74</sup>

The biggest industry in Meerut city was the sports goods industry, which had developed with leather sports goods. When placed persons mostly coming from Sialkot and who were connected the manufacture of leather sports goods there. The government also offers facilities to these persons for this purpose and at a one-time number of organizations engaged in the manufacture of such goods up to 130 in quantity.<sup>75</sup> There were 496 units which were connected with leather tanning in which 3,500 persons were employed in British period. The capital invested in this industry was approximately Rs 2, 18,000. About 400 units engaging 1,500 persons were employed in the manufacture of shoes in which about Rs 1, 50,000 was invested and

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<sup>71</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>72</sup> Chatterjee, A.C. (1908). *Notes on the industries of the United Provinces*, Delhi, p. 98.

<sup>73</sup> Joshi, E. B. (1965). *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Meerut*. Government of Uttar Pradesh, Department of District Gazetteers, p. 120.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p. 121.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p. 126.

which consumed a large quantity of leather produced in the district, the rest being consumed by the sports goods industry though some were also exported. The footwear produced in the district was mostly of the Indian type (such as *chappals*, Sandals, etc.). Khekra and Singoli Nagar were being the best producers though Meerut city also produces shoes and footwear of other types. In the village of Atmadnagar, Alipur (near Sardhan), a number of workers engaged in the production of hold all straps and leather-grinding wheels. Doghat, a very large village in the north of Barnawa pargana also possessed some local celebrity for its leather.<sup>76</sup> The Govt. of United Provinces was now maintaining Government Tanning School at Meerut, which had shown creditable work in fostering the growth of the leather industry.<sup>77</sup>

### **2.5.2 Allahabad**

Allahabad is situated in latitude 25° 27' north and longitude 81° 51' east at an elevation of 296 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. There was no big industry of leather in Allahabad. The Allahabad Tannery, was only the evidence of leather work in Allahabad, a new concern, who seemed to lack working capital, were placed in communication with Messrs. Cooper Allen & Co. which have received the assistance they required and certain technical advice was also given to the Gorakhpur Tannery.<sup>78</sup> This Allahabad Tannery was the immediate result of First World War, which increased the demand of leather for the requirement of troops which were engaged in War and also complete the demand of Cawnpore factories for making the leather accoutrements.<sup>79</sup>

### **2.5.3 Fatehpur**

Fatehpur is situated in latitude 25° 93' north and longitude 80° 08' east at an elevation of 360 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. For the development of cottage tanning industry, Government of United Provinces sanctioned the tanning classes for improving the method of tanning. Government was set up a new Government Tanning School, Fatehpur, which was started in 1927 for training the artisans in tanning. A large number of young men from this province as well as from other provinces had

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid, pp. 129-130.

<sup>77</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 365/1914, Box no. 35, pp. 10-11.

<sup>78</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

taken advantage of the facilities at this school.<sup>80</sup> The *Koras* or old-fashioned riding whips, for which Fatehpur was noted, were made of leather at early days but after sometimes, it was made of cotton.<sup>81</sup>

#### **2.5.4 Bareilly**

Bareilly is situated in latitude 28° 10' north and longitude 78° 23' east at an elevation of 879 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. Leather shoes were turned out in fair numbers at Bareilly. It was worthy of note, however, that a family of Mughals in the city were made *Shagreen* Leather from ponies' and asses' skins. An industry which was apparently unique so far as the United Provinces were concerned was leather industry.<sup>82</sup> This leather work was charmed in Bareilly because the leather worker caste i.e., Chamars were in large number of population about 1,00,328 or 12.24 percent of the Hindu Communities were situated there.<sup>83</sup>

#### **2.5.5 Rampur**

Rampur is situated in latitude 28° 48' north and longitude 79° 05' east at an elevation of 945 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. The first tannery named 'Rampur Tannery and Manufacturing Co. Ltd.' at Shahabad Road, Jawala Nagar town, Rampur (U.P.) was set up in 1947. The first production of hides was started on 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 1947. The tanner in anticipation of the arrival of the Machinery started seeking of 400 hides (both cows and buffaloes) per day. In August, 1947, disturbance also broke out in Rampur itself. Most of the labour was imported from outside which ran away from Rampur on account of local disturbance. After the disturbance was over, the production was speeded up again and management then decided to convert the leather into leather good viz. shoes, *chappals* and suitcases, so that it might be find a good market.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 13/1955, Box no. 04, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Chatterjee, A.C. (1908). op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>82</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1911). Bareilly: A Gazetteer, being Volume XIII of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, p. 68.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, p. 83.

<sup>84</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. G 38/1959, Box no. 506, p. 2.

### 2.5.6 Benaras

Benaras is situated in latitude 25° 28' north and longitude 82° 96' east at an elevation of 265 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. This was one of the important village or cottage industry centered chiefly in Bargaon, Gyanpur, Pindra, Khamaria and kahjuri which had 165 small units provides employment to 507 workers. The methods of tanning were old; the hide so tanned being fit only for making cheap shoes. The Govt. had established a leather tanning centre equipped with modern techniques in Benaras.<sup>85</sup> Most of the units produced cheap shoes which were brought by villagers. Shoes of better quality were finding a new market of business in the towns. The leather industry at Benaras too came up for the same reason, that it was the seat of Nawabs.<sup>86</sup> A bone mill for producing bone meal could also be started in Benaras district. Bones were available in sufficient quantity in Khalispur alone for export about 1, 55,000 maunds annually.<sup>87</sup>

### 2.5.7 Lucknow

Lucknow is situated in latitude 26° 08' north and longitude 80° 09' east at an elevation of 404 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, was the largest city of the province. Shoes were manufacturing in Lucknow in a very flourishing trade which depended not only on the leather but on the shining brocade used to cover the uppers. Lucknow came to be known for its embroidered shoes. Compelled under bonds by the Nawabs, the craftsmen worked only in pure silver and gold. This trade underwent a considerable revolution, as the wearing of such shoes went out of fashion, giving place to the shoes made after the European pattern could be purchased in Lucknow for Re. 1 or Re. 1.8, whereas the same made from English leather cost from Rs. 3 to Rs 10 a pair.<sup>88</sup> The Reformatory School was more a school than a district Jail which gave practical training to prisoners in leather work, tailoring, carpet-making, and weaving, etc.<sup>89</sup> In the Amethi pargana of Lucknow district, there was considerable traffic in hides. But by the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this

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<sup>85</sup> Joshi, E. B. (1965). *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Varanasi*. Government of Uttar Pradesh, Department of District Gazetteers, pp. 156-57.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, p. 154.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. 158.

<sup>88</sup> Sharma, V. C. (1965). *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Lucknow*. Volume XXXVII. Government of Uttar Pradesh, Department of District Gazetteers, p. 114.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, p. 116.

traffic dwindled to such an extent, which in 1922, there was only one regular hide merchant in the town. The price varied from 4 annas for calf skin to Rs 5 for a good buffalo hide.<sup>90</sup>

### 2.5.8 Saharanpur

Saharanpur is situated in latitude 29° 96' north and longitude 77° 54' east at an elevation of 853 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. The only other trade deserving mention was that in leather, which was produced after the country process and was used principally for the manufacture of shoes, which were often elaborately embroidered or otherwise ornamented. There was also a certain amount obtained from sheep and goats skins, which were dyed red with *lac*. There were some trade existed in the *sabar* leather, which was made from the hides of wild animals, such as *sambhar*, *nilgai* and other species of deer. These were used for several purposes, and notable for the leather shocks also known as *Jurrah* worn by Muslims in Mosques in winter season to avoid washing their feet while performing *Namaaz*.<sup>91</sup> Chamars were in a large number or 30.06 percent of the entire Hindu community was situated in Saharanpur.<sup>92</sup>

### 2.5.9 Gorakhpur

Gorakhpur is situated in latitude 26° 75' north and longitude 83° 37' east at an elevation of 276 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. It was a small but unique industry of embroidering *sabar* leather was in existence.<sup>93</sup> At that time, a unique industry of embroidering leather was carried on by two or three families at Gorakhpur. Deer skin was tanned in rich reddish-brown with *sal* bark rendering the outer surface soft like velvet. The leather was then embroidered with coloured silk and finished with a gilt edge. Round pillow cases, embellished with rich words in Persian were then carved out in suitable sizes. Prices of a piece ranged between 8 annas to a rupee. Chair and table covers and prayer carpets also known as '*asani*' or '*jainamaz*' was also made out sometimes. The design was conventional but elegant metal vessels were also

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 169.

<sup>91</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Saharanpur: A Gazetteer, being Volume II of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, p. 83.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p. 100.

<sup>93</sup> Chatterjee, A.C. (1908). op. cit., p. 99.

made at Gorakhpur.<sup>94</sup> The Gorakhpur *mochis* sent their wares as far as Melbourne and Persia, and received medals in both places.<sup>95</sup> Tanned leather was brought from villages such as Kauriram, Adhiyarbagh and Nautanwa. Skins were tanned using the vegetable tanning process. This process did not give satisfactory results and the leather produced of inferior quality. There were 350 small units in the district, which produce leather footwear. Footwear worth an amount of about Rs 34,000 was produced in 1913.<sup>96</sup>

The Govt. of United Provinces set up a tannery named ‘Gorakhpur Tanning Factory’ at Gorakhpur in 1916 and a loan of Rs 5,000 was granted for the improvement of this factory.<sup>97</sup> This factory was well equipped and favorably situated for the supply of cheap hides and cheap tanning materials. It was a small concern in which the work had done by hand throughout, and it was devoting special attention to the production of varnished or “patent” leather, which was formerly imported mainly from Germany.<sup>98</sup>

#### **2.5.10 Unnao**

Unnao is situated in latitude 26° 55′ north and longitude 80° 49′ east at an elevation of 322 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. Unnao is situated near the Cawnpore but the Cawnpore leather industry did not attracted the Unnao very much. The famous concern of Cawnpore named ‘Messrs Cooper Allen & Co.’ was set up a branch named ‘Messrs Allen Brother’ which was a bone mills for producing the bone meal at Magarwara town in Unnao.<sup>99</sup> Chamars were 13.4 percent of the total Hindu population situated in Unnao and they went to Cawnpore for working in leather factories daily. Most of the Chamar population came from different parts of this province and settled here for providing manpower to the leather industry of Cawnpore and also got the employment for their livelihood. Unnao was cheaper than of

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<sup>94</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1922). Gorakhpur: A Gazetteer, being Volume xxxi of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, p. 73.

<sup>95</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>96</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1922). Gorakhpur, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>97</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 440/1917, p. 63.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, p. 64.

<sup>99</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1934). Unnao: A Gazetteer, The District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. XXXVIIID. Supplementary notes and statistics upto 1931-32, p. 9.

Cawnpore, so many of the artisans getting their shelter with low price of rent here and food were also available at low price as compare to Cawnpore city.<sup>100</sup>

### **2.5.11 Bahraich**

Bahraich is situated in latitude 27° 57' north and longitude 81° 59' east at an elevation of 413 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. There was no big leather factory in Bahraich district. Local artisans were working in leather with indigenous tanning methods. These artisans usually got the raw hides and skins from the fallen cattle in their local areas without any cost. They tanned the hides in traditional manner and preparing the cheap leather products and selling out in their native markets. A school was set up named 'Noorul Uloom Leather Working School' at Bahraich in 1937. This school was started for the training of students in tanning and manufacturing leather. At this school, many artisans came out and got their job in leather factories of different parts of India.<sup>101</sup>

### **2.5.12 Etah**

Etah is situated in latitude 27° 63' north and longitude 78° 67' east at an elevation of 557 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. Etah is situated in Agra Division. With the attraction of Agra leather industry, there were the manufacture of ornamental shoes of the native style was everywhere giving places to the making of boots and shoes of European shops and of saddlery, harness, bags, portmanteaux, etc. were still made in Jalesar town in the Etah region. But the industry was a decline after sometime because of the lack of capital.<sup>102</sup>

### **2.5.13 Agra**

Agra is situated in latitude 27° 18' north and longitude 78° 02' east at an elevation of 561 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. Agra became a very important center for leather tanning under the colonial rule. Agra occupied the second position in producing leather after Cawnpore in United Provinces. Agra leather industry will be discussed in a detailed way in the next chapter.

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>101</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 731/1937, Box no. 412, p. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Chatterjee, A.C. (1908). op. cit., p. 98.

**2.5.14 Cawnpore**

Cawnpore is situated in latitude 26° 45' north and longitude 80° 33' east at an elevation of 413 feet above the sea level in United Provinces. It was situated on the west bank of the Ganges and at a distance of 42 miles from Lucknow. It was first found mentioned casually during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it contained no buildings or remains of any antiquity. Cawnpore popularly situated to be known as *Kanhaiyapur* or *Kanhpur* in early days. A local tradition stated that *Kanhpur Kohna* or Old Cawnpore owes its origin is attributed to *Hindu Singh Chandel*, the Raja of Sachendi, who came here to bathe on the festival of *Kanhaiya Ashtami* in about 1750 A.D. and considered a place for the site of a town; but although he was very possibly to built the gateway and the ramparts, of which traces still exist. Taking a fancy to that place, he built a town named after the auspicious day of its foundation, *Kanhpur* or Kanpur.<sup>103</sup>

Cawnpore was selected in 1778 A.D. as a cantonment for the Oudh local forces, maintained under the Faizabad treaty which was held on 1773 A.D., the base for the military forces was stationed at Bilgram, Hardoi district, was shifted to Cawnpore because Cawnpore had already been chosen for the site of a trading factory by the East India Company. The favorable situation of the city led to the rapid development of commerce, and it was felt that a military force was necessary for the protection of the European traders and business houses<sup>104</sup> and another reason of this choice is doubtless due to its favorable situation on the river Ganges and the comparative accessibility of Lucknow.<sup>105</sup>

The presence of a Government Arsenal and ordnance depot at an early date created a large demand for leather goods which were required for the needs of the army. As the supply was obtained solely from the bazaars, there soon sprang up a large native industry in boots, harness, and accoutrements, which were exposed to all parts of India. Even though the leather made after the crude native processes was defective in

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<sup>103</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore: A Gazetteer, being Volume XIX of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, pp. 262-63.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

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many respects, these Cawnpore contractors continued to supply the Saddlery and the like required for the Company's forces in India.<sup>106</sup>

Almost coincident with the occupation of Cawnpore in the year of 1801 A.D., it was of historic significance for Cawnpore as the East India Company required it from the Nawab Sadat Ali Khan as a ceded part of this province, and gave it the status of a district.<sup>107</sup> In the same year, the *Chamars* settled down in the city and took up their hereditary trade of tanning and manufacturing leather articles, in order to meet the demands of the army and camp followers of shoes and other requirements. With the passage of time, they improved the quality of their productions, and secured wide public patronage all over the country.<sup>108</sup>

The trade was conducted in a primitive fashion, each family was set apart a corner of their mud huts, from the roof of which they hung skins sewn into bags which were filled with the chopped babul bark and water; the pressure of the water forced the tanning into the skin and converted it, in the brief space of a week or ten days, into pass-able leather, which they either worked up themselves or sold in the market to manufacturers who had small workshops in the city. These industrious people, the despised of the population not only contrived to meet local demands but extended their operation by successfully imitating English-made manufactures, thus widening their field of operations and traders from Calcutta and other parts of India established agencies at Cawnpore, and army contractors did a thriving business in equipment known as "half mountings".<sup>109</sup>

There was a sudden change in this industry witnessed in 1857, when the mutiny was at its worst. The British troops experienced great difficulties in procuring supplies of harness and saddlery for the army in the field owing to the loss and destruction of reserve stocks in arsenals, which had fallen into the hands of rebels and also to the great delay in obtaining supplies from home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Under such a pressing necessity, it occurred to a young artillery officer, Lt. J. Stewart,

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid, p. 77.

<sup>107</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Ashishpatel197/leather-industry-analysis>. Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 18.

<sup>108</sup> Playne, S. (1917). *The Bombay Presidency, the United Provinces, the Punjab, etc.: their history, people, commerce, and natural resources*/compiled by Somerset Playne; assisted by JW Bond; edited by Arnold Wright, p. 497.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

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gifted with commercial instinct and a practical turn of mind, which the leather made in Cawnpore, might be improved and utilized to meet the emergency, created by the munity. He brought the matter to the notice of Government and obtained sanction to give the experiment a trial.<sup>110</sup>

The idea was eagerly approved, and Captain John Stewart was authorized to put his scheme into execution. Those soldiers who had worked in tanyards in England were sought out to supply expert knowledge; the commissariat cattle were slaughtered for the troops, and abundant babul bark (*Acacia Arabica*) – to be obtained for the trouble of gathering – furnished the raw materials for a start. A corner in the extensive earthwork thrown up by General Havelock for the protection of his small garrison and the bridge of boats that spanned the river Ganges was allotted to Captain Stewart in which to prosecute his experiments. The vacant houses within the defenses accommodated the European staff and workshops, and the sloping bank of the river provided a convenient location for the tanning pits, which were made mostly of wood. Imperfectly tanned hides sold in the bazaar were procured and re-soaked in tannin with the object of obtaining a speedy output whilst the freshly-slaughtered hides were treated by the slow English process.<sup>111</sup>

The permanent foundation of the ‘Harness and Saddlery Factory’ at Cawnpore, which since 1859 had been running on an experimental basis was laid in 1863. This was a small concern which had grown to gigantic proportions, embracing in its operations the equipment of the entire British Army in India, besides troops engaged in operation overseas.<sup>112</sup> The reasons which led in the first place to establishment, and later, development of leather industry in Cawnpore as follows:

The first and important reason was the geographical location of this city was such that, there was no problem in procuring the raw materials, required for this industry. Besides having the commissariat cattle hides at their disposal, to begin with, this was also a convenient centre for the collection of hides in Northern India. The railway integrated Cawnpore with Bihar, Punjab, Central Provinces, and Bengal; the triangular tract that yielded India’s best cattle hides, from ‘Darbhanga’ to ‘Multani’

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

and all over India. Moreover, the town was close to Agra, Aligarh, Delhi, and Meerut, each of which had a meat trade, and there for local slaughtering. Aligarh was known for the best buffaloes in India.<sup>113</sup>

The second reason was, forests were within easy reach,<sup>114</sup> the tanning materials were also found in abundance in Cawnpore. On the basis of its easy availability of babul bark, the tanning industry in India had spread along two belts; one using the Avaram and the other Babul. Since Cawnpore laid on the Babul tanning belt, which extended from here to Sind in the west to Cawnpore in the United Provinces in the east. This easy availability of tanning material played an important role in the establishment of the leather industry in Cawnpore.<sup>115</sup>

The third reason was that Cawnpore had unequalled means of communication with other parts of India. Cawnpore was on the main line of the East Indian system, which was here connected with the Indian Midland Railway from Jhansi with the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway from Lucknow and the Cawnpore-Achhnera section of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. The last was of the metre-gauge, and this was linked up by means of a line belonging to the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway with the Bengal and North-western system. Parallel to the East Indian Railway which was run the grand-trunk road, striking the cantonment and city on the south-west and west, and a branch from this passes through the midst of the inhabited quarter. Metalled roads lead from Cawnpore to Bhognipur and Kalpi on the west, to Ghatampur and Hamirpur on the south-west, to Bithur on the north and to Lucknow, the last crossing of the river Ganges by means of the railway bridge.<sup>116</sup>

The fourth reason was a very large population of Chamars exists from the beginning at Cawnpore; the caste which was hereditary involved in the making of leather in north India. The Chamars of the surrounding regions, who were originally the village labours and tanners, migrated to Cawnpore. Though 18 to 30 percent of these workers regularly returned to their villages for harvesting in different seasons, there was always a number of workers who sought employment in the tanneries in Cawnpore.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Roy, T. (1999). op. cit., pp. 176-77.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>116</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>117</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., pp. 163-189-190.

The fifth reason was the Government initiative, a very important reason for the successful establishment of this industry in Cawnpore. Though it was for their own selfish interests of the Government favoured the enterprising Europeans, who controlled this industry initially. This was achieved by providing financial assistance and a market in the early days for the revival of the decaying native industry.<sup>118</sup>

These were the reasons which had helped in the establishment of the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory, the first leather factory in Cawnpore. This factory which came to be known by the name of the 'Ordnance Equipment Factory' was the only one of its kind in the entire country. The factory was situated at a site called 'Havelock entrenchment' which was later popularly known as '*Quila*'. This entrenchment played a notable role in the history of India's Freedom Struggle, witnessing major battles between Indian Sepoys under the leadership of legendary patriot Peshwa Nanaji Rao and British soldiers, during the mutiny of 1857. When a resistance stopped the entrenchment became a fort but the British forces did not withdraw from it. This entrenchment in 1859 became a depot for the provision of footwear and leather equipment for the troops. Originally, it functioned as an agency for the purchase and inspection of articles made in the bazaars of town, but started manufacture on the experimental scale within a fairly short time of its formation.<sup>119</sup> In Cawnpore, some of the important concern which was dealing in raw hides and skins, came up and set up with their capital and gave their important contribution in the development and improvement of leather industry in this town as follow:

#### **2.5.14.1 Government Harness and Saddlery Factory**

When the mutiny demonstrated the need to have army supply bases close to areas of potential trouble<sup>120</sup> and the immense demands that then arose for boots and other articles of equipment led to the proposal to abandon the costly and wasteful system of obtaining stores from England, and it by any means leather of a higher quality could be produced. In 1860, an attempt was made to induce the tanners to make leather in the so-called Madras system, and an "Experimental Harness Depot" in the fort was started under the superintendence of Captain John Stewart of Bengal Artillery, then

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<sup>118</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>119</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 34-35.

<sup>120</sup> Roy, T. (1999). op. cit., p. 176.

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commissary of Ordnance at Cawnpore. The undertaking proved sufficiently successful to warrant further experiments, and it was resolved in 1863 to build a government factory in which the leather tanned by contractors, chief among whom was *Ishri Prasad*, could be curried and worked up under skilled English supervision.<sup>121</sup> It was in the leather industry that the Government took its first big step by establishing the first leather factory named 'Government Harness and Saddlery Factory' at Cawnpore in 1867. Cawnpore emerged as an important centre for collection of hides for manufacturing leather articles. There were a number of skin godowns in the *Cooly bazaars* and *Benijhabar*. A large number of *arhatis* or commission agents, *beoparies* or dealers who carried out their business in *Farrash khana*, *Pench bagh*, *Cooly bazaar*, *Bacon ganj*, and *Chota Butcher khana*.<sup>122</sup>

This factory directly belonging to the ordnance department was entirely devoted to the manufacture of military equipment. A number of extensions were made to the tanyards in the factory. In 1882, the Blacksmiths shop was built, which marked the beginning of the independent metal working division in the factory. A Bark Grinding Plant was erected to deal with the larger quantities of tanning materials.<sup>123</sup> This was an immense concern, who was engaged in tanning and currying leather, and in making all the harness, saddlery and accoutrements for the entire army in India, excepting the *silladar* cavalry. The works also contain a brass and iron foundry and smithy for the production of all metalwork, which was formerly purchased from local artisans. The factory remained under the management of Colonel Stewart till 1883, when he was succeeded by Colonel Baddeley, who in 1899 gave over charge to Major Forestier Walker.<sup>124</sup>

This factory started producing on a large scale in 1893-94, the outturn of the factory, was about 60 percent greater than that of the Madras Tannery. The cost of production was half of that of the Madras Tannery.<sup>125</sup> Under the Indian Factories Act, there was an inspection made by government in 1905, which gave result that this was a government factory and the Superintendent asked to be excused from giving an

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<sup>121</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit.

<sup>122</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Ashishpatel197/leather-industry-analysis>. Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 19.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, p. 23.

<sup>124</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit.

<sup>125</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 35.

opinion about the work which was very light in this factory, so far as the number of hours was eight and half hours and on Saturday six hours only and Sunday was closed.<sup>126</sup> There was an another inspection regarding the sanitary conditions of this factory had been made by Civil Surgeon as the inspector appointed by the Local Government under the Indian Factories Act as well as by the military medical officers in 1907, which gave unsatisfactory result or distinct.<sup>127</sup> From the 1912, the commissioner of the Allahabad division reported that the change connected with the preparation of a register, showing accurately every tree around the blockhouses of the old and new railway bridges over the river Ganges and round the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory would be met from the savings anticipated under the head 'Rewards for destruction of wild animals'.<sup>128</sup>

Due to the financial stringency, the output after 1910 was considerably reduced and a number of skilled labour were discharged from their jobs. The stock of leather in the subsequent years fell below what was considered a safe working balance. The condition deteriorated to such an extent that, in the year before the commencement of the First World War, the value of output had dropped half of level i.e. Rs 12,60,000 from Rs 24,00,000. Even the government was discontinuing the factory as a Government enterprise at this point.<sup>129</sup> The First World War changed the condition of this factory. The factory worked overtime which improved its methods of supervision and time saving devices were introduced, to meet the huge demand by March, 1915.<sup>130</sup> The concluding remarks of the administration report of 1914-15 shows that "Besides meeting the requirements and of the Indian expeditionary forces in field, the factory also completed in advance an order of 7500 sets of saddlery from the war office and assisted Messrs. Cooper Allen and Co. in the manufacture of similar orders by supplying 3300 sets of steel arches and 4000 stirrup leathers."<sup>131</sup>

In 1915-16, the time taken in tanning was reduced by modification in the process, from eight months to about five and half months. Thus, the outturn was increased

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<sup>126</sup> UPSA, GAD, File no. 132/1906, Box no. 170, p. 103.

<sup>127</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 150/1908, Box no. 92, p. 47.

<sup>128</sup> UPSA, GAD, File no. 371/1911, Box no. 230, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>130</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Ashishpatel197/leather-industry-analysis>. Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 24.

<sup>131</sup> Annual Administration Report on the working of the Industries Department of the United Provinces for the year 1914-15.

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from 3, 97,000 lbs. in 1913-14 to 15, 56,000 lbs. in 1915-16. The daily average attendance rose from 2748 in 1915-16 to 3312 in 1916-17 and subsequently to about 4000 persons. In 1916-17, the quantity was increased to 16, 61,000 lbs. and a further 12, 87,000 lbs. were purchased. The value of the outturn in this year went up to Rs 52, 46,000 and the value of the articles manufactured by outside firms which were ordered through the factory amounted to Rs 36, 17,000. In 1917-18, the factory was worked to its utmost capacity with almost all the machines on double shift. The value of its outturn for this year was Rs 63, 43,320. The outturn was greatly affected in Sept. 1917 due to two serious breakdowns in the powerhouse.<sup>132</sup>

In 1917, with the objective of increasing the supplies of leather of approved quality, 'The Cawnpore Tannery' and 'The United Provinces Tannery' both situated in Cawnpore were taken under the control of the superintendent of Government Harness and Saddlery Factory. The tannery manager brought the methods of tanning of these concerns in line with that of this factory outturn in 1918-19 was Rs 52, 34,330 which was Rs 11, 08,990 less than the previous year. Instead of manufacturing all articles on its premises the leather was cut and issued to private firms for assembling into finished stores.<sup>133</sup> In January, 1918, the superintendent of Harness and Saddlery Factory appeared imperative to acquire the land in the interest of War work; and the only way to get over the provisions of the act appeared to be that the land be acquired by Government for itself, and then leased to the Cawnpore Tannery on a cost of Rs 10,000 an advance.<sup>134</sup> The sudden cessation of hostilities in 1918 and the consequent cancellation of orders placed the factory in a difficult position. Large stocks of leather and materials became surplus and the efforts made to dispose them off by sale met with little success.<sup>135</sup>

From the establishment year of 1867 to till the 1950's, the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory was a single consumer manufacturing unit which were supplying to the defence forces only. Even the budget for the defence and this factory was the same. It is due to the reason there was no export from this factory before the independence. The importance of this factory can be judged from the fact that before

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<sup>132</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, pp. 37-38.

<sup>134</sup> UPISA, Industries Dept., File no. 90/1918, Box no. 51, p. 7.

<sup>135</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 38.

the First World War, the whole of the army's requirements of harness, saddlery, pauline, etc. were met by this factory, which was equipped for producing the entire range of articles.<sup>136</sup>

#### **2.5.14.2 Army Boot and Equipment Factory (Cooper Allen & Co. Ltd.)**

The first Government leather factory was in some measure the parent of the equally important concern started in 1880 by Mr. (afterwards Sir) W.E. Cooper, who with Sir George Allen and others founded, the firm of Cooper Allen & Co. Ltd., and became the proprietors of the "Government Boot and Army Equipment Factory", presently known as the TEFCO. The factory knew locally as the *Hazari Bangla*, which was situated on the bank of the river Ganges above the *pernit-ghat* and bazaar, near the site of the old customs house and covers a very large area of over 37 acres.<sup>137</sup> Since 1881, it had developed to such an extent that at the present time, it holds the unique distinction of being almost the only concern of its kind in the world turning out boots, equipment, harness and other goods from leather tanned and curried on their premises.<sup>138</sup>

In 1883, the firm secured their first boot contract with Government, and obtaining a large advance of money on the understanding that they were to build pits and carry out the manufacture of leather after the methods employed in the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory. The superintendent of the Harness and Saddlery factory had always been in visiting charge or inspection of the Government Boot Department at Messrs. Cooper Allen & Co., which was supplied to the British Army in India and practically the whole of the Native Army as well many Government Departments and Volunteer Corps.<sup>139</sup> This factory also producing shoes in a large quantity<sup>140</sup> and the staff consists of 75 Europeans, and approximately 5,000 Indians,<sup>141</sup> many of whom were housed in the large range of model dwellings erected by the firm along the *Bithur* road near *Gutaiya*.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit.

<sup>138</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit., p. 415.

<sup>139</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., pp. 3-4.

<sup>140</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit. p. 79.

<sup>141</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit.

<sup>142</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit.

Until quite recently, the daily output of the factory was 1,800 hides, but an additional tannery had been erected which yields another 1,200 hides, making a total of 3,000 hides per day. In this factory, ten departments were established which deals with their different affairs are as follows:<sup>143</sup>

1. Currier's shop with scouring and finishing branches.
2. Hand sewn Boot Department.
3. Machine sewn Boot Department.
4. Cutting Department.
5. Closing Department.
6. "Flex" Boot and Shoe Department.
7. Equipment Department for the manufacturing of saddlery, accoutrements, gaiters, and military harness.
8. Polish Department for the dubbing and blacking for boots and shoes for equipment.
9. Workshop, brass foundry for making equipment fittings and mountings, saddle, stirrup irons, bits and which contains an installation of dynamics for supplying electric power to departments.
10. Mill siding with broad-gauge, railway, for the receipt and dispatch of goods.

This factory has organized a proposal to open a school for training the students of making leather. The Government approved that school which named 'Messrs. Cooper Allen and Co. Factory School' at the premises of this factory on the date of 10<sup>th</sup> May 1910 and also sanctioned a grant of Rs 27 and 8 annas per three months to the school to meet half of the cost of the teaching staff.<sup>144</sup> On 14<sup>th</sup> April 1914, the government officer visited in that school for inspection and found there were 268 boys who attended the school for two hours a day in three batches of whom 200 were present on that day of inspection.<sup>145</sup> After inspection, the government again sanctioned the grant of Rs 32, 4 annas and 5 paise on account of the half the cost of a 3<sup>rd</sup> teacher

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<sup>143</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit.

<sup>144</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 46/1908, p. 11.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, p. 51.

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entertained on Rs 15 per three months from 20<sup>th</sup> October 1914 to that factory school.<sup>146</sup>

During the First World War, as was the case of many other industries, the private trade of this concern was entirely closed, for examples, an application from HD. Allen Esq., of Messrs. Cooper Allen & Co., Cawnpore on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1914, requesting permission to be allowed to export 65,000 pairs of boots on to meet an order from Greek Government was rejected by the local government.<sup>147</sup> Another application from this factory was being made on 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1915, requesting for the grant of refund of customs duty paid on certain bits and stirrup irons imported by them from England and subsequently sold to the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore, and making certain suggestions regarding the exemption from payment of customs duty of articles imported into India for the manufacture of boots to be sold to the Army was also being rejected by local government.<sup>148</sup> Another proposal was being made by Mr. C.T. Allen of this factory that the weekly Journal 'Commerce' might be used by the government as an alternative to the continuance of another journal 'Indian Trade Journal' on March 1916, for the improvement by the local government.<sup>149</sup>

The resources of this factory were also taken over by the government for the manufacture of Army requirements during the War. All boots for Government were removed from the factory to a Government office on the company's premises, where they were submitted to examination by qualified officials. During this period, the production of this factory increased from 2,000 pairs daily before the War to 19,000 pairs daily.<sup>150</sup> During the Great War, this factory manufactured and supplied a quantity of 6,205,152 pairs of ammunition boots, about 6,86,126 complete sets of accoutrements, approximately 24,125 complete sets of saddlery, and 25,317 pairs of gaiters to the military department. In addition to huge quantities of tanned leather for the manufacture and repair of army boots, accoutrements and saddlery were also supplied by this factory. This was achieved by increasing the shifts and by the

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid, p. 37.

<sup>147</sup> NAI, Commerce and Industry Dept., Customs Branch, File no. 150/1914, p. 6.

<sup>148</sup> NAI, Commerce and Industry Dept., Customs Branch, File no. 14/1915, p. 11.

<sup>149</sup> NAI, Commerce and Industry Dept., Commerce and Trade Branch, File no. 113/1916, p. 6.

<sup>150</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit.

overtime put in by the labour.<sup>151</sup> During the War period, Machinery of the most up to date type had been installed and some idea of the magnitude of the whole concern might be gained from the fact that in one department alone, namely, that of footwear as many as 5,600 pairs of boots were turned out daily for the military department.<sup>152</sup>

When the production of this factory was continuously increasing, the government also allowed to export to another country i.e., a representation from this factory was being made to allowed to export of tanned leather to Penang on August 1916.<sup>153</sup> Another application was being made by this factory for the permission of shipment the consignments of boots to Singapore on November 1916, which was granted by local government.<sup>154</sup> This factory also supplied 999 pairs of Boots ammunition Turkish pattern to Turkey in the war period.<sup>155</sup> An important and praiseworthy feature of the management was the company's model village also known as 'Allengunj', in which 3,000 workers resided with their families in 900 separate quarters. All the children under 14 years of age were required to attend the factory's school, where they were taught, under Government supervision, reading, writing and simple arithmetic in the Vernacular, and where they were also put through a course of physical training.<sup>156</sup>

These quarters were comfortable and commodities which provided to the European staff within and outside the factory premises and everything was done by the contract to make the personal life of their assessment as pleasant as possible. There was an excellent social club and library, which was greatly associated with the employees and which provided abundant recreation for all wish to make use of it. The factory had its own dispensary from which medical attendants and medicines were supplied free to employees and their families.<sup>157</sup> After the War, it was once again started functioning independently and working great during the worst of Second World War and it is still working at the present time with a new name "TEFCO" at Cawnpore.

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<sup>151</sup> Hides Cess Enquiry Committee. *Report of the Hides Cess Enquiry Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1929-18<sup>th</sup> February 1930*. 2 vols. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1930, p. 6.

<sup>152</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit.

<sup>153</sup> NAI, Commerce and Industry Dept., Customs (War) Branch, Filed - 314/1916, p. 1.

<sup>154</sup> NAI, Commerce and Industry Dept., Customs (War) Branch, Filed – 364-366/1916, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup> UPSA, Industry & Commerce Dept., File no. 8/1928, Box no. 02, p. 1.

<sup>156</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

**2.5.14.3 The North-West Tannery Company, Ltd.**

Mr. Edward Foy, with the partnership of Mr. T.T. Bond established a concern named 'The North-West Tannery Co.', at Cawnpore in 1892, with a capital of 10 lakhs rupees.<sup>158</sup> It was situated on the bank of the river Ganges and provide daily employment to more than a 10,000 people; the ground covers an area of about 24 acres, and the building includes a very fine four-storied factory, four enormous bays of tan-pits. There several sets of staff quarters for European employees, and accommodation for Indian workers with their families, together with spacious officers and departments. Within a few years of its establishment, it became a flourishing concern because of their business was that of tanners, curriers, manufacturers of boots, shoes, harness, saddlery, military equipment, machine belting, trunks, bags, and traveling requisites of every description.<sup>159</sup>

The North-west tannery gained a unique reputation for strength, durability and quality in their products. The tanning and currying of leather were conducted on a system identical with that also followed by the leading tanners and curriers in England, and all the methods and appliances were of the most description known to the trade. The leather consequently, was as good as the English material in appearance and for durability and was entirely free from the offensive odour which was so characteristic a feature of the usual Indian tanned leather. The factory also specialized in the dressing of crocodile, alligator, *sambhar*, and other skins.<sup>160</sup> There were three departments in this factory as follow:<sup>161</sup>

1. The boot and shoe department – where the popular demands of a medium class trade were catered for resulting in the sale of about 30,000 pairs monthly, was the largest out-turn for this class of goods in India or the east.
2. The saddlery and equipment department – where all type of leather goods pertaining to the horse or the stable, or to the equipment of human and animal, was made from the Rs 40 for a set of single brass-mounted harness to Rs 10,000 for the gold-mounted harness for Viceroy or Indian officer. The

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<sup>158</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Ashishpatel197/leather-industry-analysis>. Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 27.

<sup>159</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit., p. 475.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

products ranged from spur-straps to the full-dress equipment of the British cavalry officer.

3. The bag and trunk department – where Gladstone, brief, and kit bags, suit, dressing, attaché and gun cases, cartridge and golf bags, in fact, where every conceivable article for traveling or sport were turned out in large quantities. Thus providing the immense popularity of the factory's products.

Each department was under a skilled British foreman, assisted by specially trained Indian *mistries* and workmen. The great care and attention were given to strength and finish, and as no goods were issued without being subjected to a most searching examination and test. This factory had well-established depots for the distribution and sale of the factory's goods in Calcutta, Benaras, Lucknow, Shimla, and Karachi, where customers could get first-hand evidence of the factory's progress.<sup>162</sup>

#### **2.5.14.4 The Cawnpore Tannery**

The Cawnpore tannery was established in 1896 by the Mr. A.H. Creet, was an Armenian who migrated to India from Persia. When he came to India, he started his jewellery business in Lucknow, disposing of which he came to Cawnpore and started dealing in leather goods under his new firm named 'A.H. Creet & Co.'. Afterward, this firm renamed with "The Cawnpore Stream Tannery and Factory" which was set up at *Banana purwa*, a superb site of Cawnpore which was situated near hide and skin market.<sup>163</sup> He was a shrewd man of business and produced enormous quantities of hides and skins which were sent across the seas to the returned to India in the form of harness, saddlery, boots, shoes, bags, and other articles.<sup>164</sup> After the eight years, Mr. Creet disposed the Cawnpore tannery to Mr. William Stork with Hafiz Abdul Kareem and Hafiz Mohammad Halim as his partners under the style of 'Stork, Halim & Co.'. Mr. Stork retired from the firm in 1907, his interest in the business being purchased by the remaining partners, who were recognized as the leading hide merchants in Delhi and Cawnpore. The position had been gained by conspicuously fair dealings which have made their names well known in the hide trade of Upper India.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, p. 435.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p. 439.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, p. 435.

This factory obtained contracts for the supply of meat to British troops and of hides to the Ordnance Department and also a large number of hides and skins for Indian and foreign markets.<sup>166</sup> Its supply reached to 10,000 tanned kips per months in the year of 1915 to the military department during the War.<sup>167</sup> As the individual partners who were busy in discharging those obligations, it left few opportunities for proper supervision of the Cawnpore tannery. Mr. Mohammad Dildar Khan was therefore appointed as the managing partner to take care of the deteriorating condition of this factory, it was because of his close personal attention to the working, that the factory was witnessed a very considerable increase in turnover. Mr. Dildar Khan soon realized that the best interests of the firm would be secured by concentrating attention entirely upon the tanning and subsequent sale of leather, but in order to carry out this plan, it was necessary to close the department for the manufacture of various kinds of leather goods.<sup>168</sup>

The factory purchased a large plot of land adjoining their own property and erected fine brick buildings to take the place of the tiled roof barrack then bring used, and also increased the quantity of machinery and plant. At the same time, as the expansion of business commenced, the firm was desirous of appointing an expert named Syed Faiyaz Uddin, the holder of a Government scholarship, was chosen for the position. Under the guidance of this gentleman, there had been a very noticeable improvement in the quality of the tanned leather, and indeed of the average monthly output. The management of this factory was vested in Mr. Mohammad Nazir, a son of Mr. H.M. Halim, who had already shown that he was a worthy follower of his father in his steady business habits and in his amiability of disposition in dealing with subordinates and others.<sup>169</sup>

#### **2.5.14.5 H.M. Halim & Co.**

After the success of the Cawnpore Tannery which was established in 1896 at Cawnpore with some partners. Mr. H.M. Halim, born in Patiala, became a most respected businessman in Cawnpore and his irreproachable condition in public and private life had gained a number of coveted honours, such as Kats of *Sirhind* and

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 483/1915, Box no. 199, p. 2.

<sup>168</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit., p. 435.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

*Bassi*, honorary magistrate and recognized *Kursi Nashin*, thereby entitled to received invitation and occupied seats of honour on the occasions of State Durbars and ceremonies.<sup>170</sup> After some time, he has established a new concern which was engaged in the trade of hides and skins named 'H.M. Halim & Co.' at Cawnpore.

In 1911, Mr. H.M. Halim had to get the contract to meet all requirements for rawhides for the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore, and he was also concerned in an undertaking to supplying meat to the government and transport corps.<sup>171</sup> He was a partner in the Cawnpore tannery, in the *Kasut* and *Sirhind* Ginning Factories, and in the Lahore Tannery also. His head office was at Cawnpore, but he had important agencies at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Delhi, Ajmer, Agra, Lucknow, Benaras, Jhansi, Saharanpur, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Peshawar, Meerut, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Allahabad, Jaunpur, Patna, Muzaffargarh and Durbhanga, while his foreign business connection was rapidly increasing in Europe and America.<sup>172</sup>

#### **2.5.14.6 The Wense Tannery**

Mr. G. Vonder Wense was a leather merchant at Agra. He was the owner of Stewart Tannery in Agra, after the failure of this tannery; he decided to set up a new tannery in Cawnpore. Mr. Wense establishes a tannery named 'The Wense Tannery' in 1901 at Cawnpore with the partnership of two German gentlemen. All the partners of this concern had decided to take help of Mr. W.B. Shewan, an expert in leather work, using the machinery of defunct Stewart Tannery of Agra.<sup>173</sup> They set up a large modern plant in *Juhi* at Cawnpore. This plant was a vacuum plant for preparing tan liquors and extracts was set experiments were also done in chrome tanning. After running successfully for a short period, this tannery faced several problems. There were several minor concerns in the city which created competition for this tannery for army contracts. But after a brief existence, the building was closed and bought up by Messrs. Cooper Allen & Co.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid, p. 453.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). Cawnpore, op. cit.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

**2.5.14.7 The Shewan Tannery**

While on leaving the Wense Tannery, Mr. Shewan had the experience of leather work from both the tannery i.e., The North-West Tannery and The Wense Tannery. After that, he was set up his own concern named 'The Shewan Tannery' in 1911 which was situated at Jajmau near Cawnpore. The Jajmau, however, is very old, and this place is mentioned by *Al-beruni*. The high mound overhanging the river Ganges is supposed to be the fort of Raja *Chandravarmma* the handel, and to have been the capital of the Kingdom of *Jijakbhukti*, whence is derived the name, Jajmau.<sup>175</sup> This concern also mentions should be made of 'the Jajmau tannery' at Jajmau to enable this area to develop as a leather producing centre. Within the short period, this tannery turned out very good quality leather. Their reputation spread fast, soon '*Sahib ka Chamra*' came to be recognized as the hallmark of the best Cawnpore leather.<sup>176</sup>

**2.5.14.8 Haji Abdul Gafoor Kabir Bux & Co.**

Mr. Haji Abdul Gafoor Kadir Bux was a migrant from Allahabad. He founded and developed a new enterprise named 'Abdul Gafoor Kadir Bux & Co.' at *Pechbag*, Cawnpore which through its depots spread out in the different parts of India, collected 'hides and skins' which were prepared in their concern, and exported to Europe and America, when they had to get satisfactory prices.<sup>177</sup> The production power of this firm was steadily increased and he was at first appointed the representative of Messrs. Schoene Kilburn & Co. for passing their works. Later he represented Messrs. Assmann & Co. and then Messrs. Ralli Brothers & Co. of Calcutta. Mr. Mohammad Hanif, son of Abdul Gafoor Bux, began buying and selling hides and skins at Cawnpore in 1907. After the War, this concern was closed, due to the closing of trade with Austria and Germany.<sup>178</sup>

**2.5.14.9 The United Provinces Tannery Co.**

The United Provinces Tannery was set up by Mr. M. A. Wasay in 1904. This concern was commenced business raw hides and skins at Cawnpore. Mr. Wasay, however, subsequently entered into partnership with Mr. H. Nabi Buksh, and the firm (trading

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid, p. 300.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, p. 79.

<sup>177</sup> Playne, S. (1917). op. cit., p. 479.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, p. 484.

as H. Nabi Buksh and Wasay) which was in 1910, appointed the sole purchasing agents in North India and Punjab, on behalf of Messrs. Wuttow Guttman & Co.<sup>179</sup> This arrangement was continued until the outbreak of the First World War. When the firm began to export goods on their own account alone, but in 1915, they were selected as sole agents for Messrs. Cohen Brothers and Fuchs, for whom they bought about 150,000 buffalo hides and 300,000 cow hides during the succeeding twelve months.<sup>180</sup>

There was a consensus of opinion amongst the members of the firm mentioned and those of the firm of Messrs. Mohammad Ismail Brothers, Cawnpore in 1916, that under the altered condition of affairs in Europe, it would be desirable to establish a tannery and they accordingly amalgamated their interests and formed the “The United Provinces Tannery & Co.” at Jajmau, Cawnpore. This new concern was situated in a very large compound on the bank of river Ganges.<sup>181</sup> The first-class machinery was imported from England and America, and the processes of tanning were actually commenced in the month of March 1916. The factory further engaged the services of a tanning expert who had gained great experience in England and Japan.<sup>182</sup> All kinds of hides and skins were tanned, and the factory increased their production capacity of dealing with 100 buffalo hides, 150 cow hides, and 50 sheep and deer skins daily by 1920s.<sup>183</sup> This factory was divided into three portions as follows:<sup>184</sup>

1. The first portion contains the offices of the company, together with showrooms and store.
2. The second portion consists of the factory with other buildings for the storage of hides, skins, bark, and other raw materials,
3. The third portion consists facing the river Ganges, was devoted to quarters for employees.

The various processes of tanning, including splitting, fleshing, shaving, slaking, and glazing, were carried out on separate machines driven by a 200 horse-power steam

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid, p. 487.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, p. 494.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

engine. The currying and finishing branch was accommodated in a hall about 250 feet in length and 60 feet in breadth, and all kinds of hides and skins were tanned and completed according to modern European techniques, the products were being sent to all important towns in North India, Bengal, Assam, and Burma. About 450 hands were employed in various departments. They worked under experienced foremen, who in turn were subject to the control of the European expert. The management of this factory had been placed in the hands of Mr. M.A. Rafay, who had a large staff of assistants in 1920.<sup>185</sup>

#### **2.5.14.10 The Skippers Tannery & Co.**

This venture was set up in Cawnpore during the war period, which focus on manufacture of roller skins. Until that time, these were imported from other firms in India. The firm gave priority assistance to import the new machines for tanning and leather manufactures. In 1919, the weekly outturn of this concern was reached around 2,000 hides and would expect to reach 5,000 hides with the introduction of the latest machine.<sup>186</sup>

#### **2.5.14.11 The Eastern Tannery**

Mr. Mohammad Latif set up a tannery named 'The Eastern Tannery Ltd.' at Cawnpore during the War period. Mr. Latif was connected with the rawhide trade for the seventeen years. He spends the first three years in the Central Provinces, touring the province to purchase rawhides; he deals only with the purchase and sale of hides. The stuff was supplied to various exporting firms on commission. He also sends the raw hides to *arhatdars* for the sale in the market. In 1929, this tannery turned out finished leather was in the hands of the Germans, and they consumed practically the rawhides' production of the World.<sup>187</sup> This factory had the many stages through which hides and skins had to pass before being tanned or shipped is as follow:<sup>188</sup>

1. Purchase of an animal by the butcher.
2. Slaughter-house.

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 24/1919, p. 23.

<sup>187</sup> Hides Cess Enquiry Committee. *Report of the Hides Cess Enquiry Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1929-18<sup>th</sup> February 1930*. 2 vols. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1930, p. 35.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, p. 37.

3. Selling the hides and skins to *beopari*.
4. Curing the hide.
5. Bringing to the market for *arhatdar*'s selection.
6. Purchase by the shipper.
7. Re-carrying the badly cured hides, scraping the flesh and cutting the tails, head, ears, and legs.
8. Export in bales.

This tannery had received an order for supply of a small sample consignment of sole leather to Holland in August 1951. The importer in Holland, when he approached the Dutch Government for an import license was asked by the Dutch Government to furnish the following three statements duly signed by some officials of the Government of India i.e.<sup>189</sup>

1. That the leather was of Indian Origin.
2. That the leather was fully tanned.
3. That the price quoted by the Indian supplies was a normal price which was not subsidized by the Government of India.

So, the owner of this tannery had requested to Mr. A.J. Hardcastle, a member of the Export Advisory Council, to suggest to Government to empower either the Development Officer (Leather) at Headquarters or the Officer concerned in the provincial at short notice without levying any fee for the same.<sup>190</sup> The Govt. of U.P. had not agreed to the issue of an inspection certificate for leather meant for export free of any charge, due to the expenses involved in the issue of these certificates.<sup>191</sup> After many controversies, In February 1952, the Govt. had decided to levy an inspection fee of ½ % with a minimum of Rs 20/- per inspection for the grant of inspection certificates for tanned leather meant for export.<sup>192</sup>

#### **2.5.14.12 Messrs. Briskey & Company**

This factory had been in the trade from 1923 onwards in Cawnpore. This factory had the specialization in the trade of goat skins. Mr. M.S. Meyer was the manager of this

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<sup>189</sup> NAI, Commerce & Industry Ministry, Administration Branch, File no. 3-Exp. (54)/1951, p. 1.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

factory. He was an expert in goatskin trade. The goatskin trade would not like the imposition of a cess. But if a cess must be imposed, it should be imposed on tanned skins as on raw skins. The cess should be confined to exports for this factory. The goatskin of this factory was better than that of Punjab goatskins. This factory also supplied the goatskin in raw shape to America.<sup>193</sup>

#### **2.5.14.13 The Indian National Tannery**

The Indian National Tannery was set up at Cawnpore during the War period. Due to the War, it had produced more and more hides and skins for the military purpose. It had also engaged various scholars of various institutes on trial for chrome tanning but has had very disappointing results. The scholars as at that time trained in Government Harness and Saddlery Factory were turned out more competent and more efficient in vegetable tanning than those turned out by the Technological Institute in chrome tanning. This factory had obtained the vegetable tanning technique while chrome tanning.<sup>194</sup>

#### **2.5.14.14 The Noronha Model Tannery**

It was set up at Cawnpore after the War. Mr. W.C. de Noronha, the owner of this factory, had done extensive business in the purchase, curing and supply of raw hides to the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory and Messrs. Cooper Allen & Co., and he had travelled in that connection with superintendent of the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory visiting various hide centre in the country, such as Agra, Aligarh, Saharanpur, Meerut, Jaipur, Sambhar, Udaipur, Delhi, Amritsar, Ambala, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Khurja, Bulandshahr, Lucknow, Rampur, Jullundur, etc.<sup>195</sup> This factory should not be work on a commercial basis but should be a great training institution and its cost should be borne from the cess funds supplemented, by a special grant by the Department of Industries. It was very important that the quality of the hides be improved in this factory. At that time, hides were graded into three classes is as follows:<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Hides Cess Enquiry Committee. *Report of the Hides Cess Enquiry Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1929-18<sup>th</sup> February 1930.* 2 vols. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1930, p. 41.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, p. 88.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, p. 80.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, p. 82.

1. First class hides were of young female animals free from knife cuts and with clear grain.
2. Second class hides were of young animals with few light cuts and partially clean grain.
3. Third class hides were of young animals with more light cuts and slight rib marks and other slight defects.

The preservation of grain and even thickness of hides were the great points to the attainment of which the research work should be directed. Tan stuffs used in Cawnpore tanneries were babul bark, which was available in large quantities in Cawnpore and gallnuts obtainable from the Central Provinces.<sup>197</sup> After the First World War, the leather industry had suffered a set-back highly due to the Great Depression of 1929-32; the export had reduced more than half than the War period. The production and requirement of leather articles had also to face a financial crisis at that time. But the advent of the Second World War, it again provided a fillip to leather industry to increase in demand for leather shoes and articles for the civil and military purpose.<sup>198</sup>

Due to the Second World War, there were increases in the demand for leather and leather articles which were used in War. With this high demand, some of the new leather factories were set up at Cawnpore which were meet the increasing demand for leather namely – The Commercial Tannery in 1938; The Hindustan Tannery in 1939; The Union Model Tannery in 1948; The pioneer Tannery; The Saghir Tannery; The Central tannery; The Grand Trunk Tannery; The Prem Tannery; and Halina Sons Tannery; etc. With the result of two Great Wars, Cawnpore had got the first position in the supply of hides and skins, leather shoes and leather articles to the consumers. There were also many small units at Cawnpore which were produced their own leather articles and the number of large tanneries or factories was reached to approximately seventeen at Cawnpore by the end of 1950.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Jamaal, M.A. (1987). Leather industry in U.P. (with special reference to Kanpur and Agra). *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Kanpur, p. 25.

<sup>199</sup> Chamanji, S. (1992). Personnel problems in leather industry with special reference to Kanpur tanneries. *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Agra, p. 24.

## **2.6 The role of trade organizations in the development of leather units in United Provinces**

The continuous growth of the big concerns within the city of Cawnpore and in the other parts of this province was assisted by a number of trade organizations which came up into the province. The following organizations have provided help in the growth and development of the leather industry in this province is as follows:

### **2.6.1 Upper India Chamber of Commerce**

The first chamber was set up in Northern India at Cawnpore in 12<sup>th</sup> September 1888, which was the guardian or protecting the interests of the leather industry of Cawnpore. It played a vital role in the civil life of Cawnpore. Sir Edward Souter, one of the pioneering entrepreneurs in the city and a member of the chamber, who served as a chairman of the 'Cawnpore Improvement Trust'. It nominated the three members of municipal Board of Cawnpore. This chamber could directly attribute to the efforts of the widening of roads, the introduction of filtered water supply, and the construction of the sewer system, etc. The chamber was instrumental in opening the first telephone exchange at Cawnpore in 1897, and with the help of Messrs. Begg Sutherland & Co., brought electricity at Cawnpore in December 1906. The chamber also contributed to shaping the fiscal industrial policies of the United Provinces and in the development of the leather industry. The promoter members were responsible for establishing the labour colonies and advocated for the induction of advanced technology in Cawnpore.<sup>200</sup>

### **2.6.2 Merchants Chamber of United Provinces**

The Merchants Chamber of United Provinces was incorporated, as a body devoted to public service limited by guarantee and motivated by no financial gains at Cawnpore. The chamber was dealing with either the foreign business interests in India or the stepping stones for the political success of the Indian Lackeys of the British Government. This chamber was generally set up as a necessary adjunct of economic growth in the *swadeshi* spirit. This chamber had been getting the efforts in developing

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<sup>200</sup> <http://www.slideshare.net/Ashishpatel197/leather-industry-analysis>. Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 32.

indigenous industries designed to prop up munitions and was requirements were appreciated both by the government and opposition in legislatures.<sup>201</sup>

### **2.6.3 All India Saddlery Exporters Association**

All India Saddlery Exporters Association was set up at Cawnpore to expanding the large demand for Harness and Saddlery goods which was used in cavalry troops and civil purpose. This association was worked on the support, protect and promote the exports of Harness, Saddlery accessories including all types of other riding equipment. The association was advising or representing to Government authorities, local bodies and public bodies on the policies to prevent any contravention and on a measure to be undertaken from time to time for boosting up exports of Harness and Saddlery. This association was organizing or sponsor many trade fairs, exhibitions, conferences, and seminars, etc. on the behalf of Saddlery trade in different parts of the country and in other countries also.<sup>202</sup>

### **2.6.4 The Tanners' Federation of India**

The Tanners' Federation of India was set up at Cawnpore in October 1936, to promote and protect the tanning industry and connected with the trade, commerce and manufactures of leather, and also to collect the circulate statistics and information regarding to leather trade from the firms, companies, associations and private concerns, which had engaged in the development of the tanning industry in India. This federation also secured, as far as possible, the most favourable tariff rates from the railways for the transportation of leather commodities and also acted as arbitrator in the settlement of the dispute between the members of the federation.<sup>203</sup>

### **2.6.5 The Hindustan Chamber of Commerce**

The Hindustan Chamber of Commerce was set up at Jajmau, Cawnpore in 1944 to unite industrialists and businessmen of various factories and trade in United Provinces. This chamber looked upon the interests of tanneries of Jajmau at all levels including Government Departments and local bodies and also tackles their labour

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Jamaal, M.A. (1987). *Leather industry in U.P. (with special reference to Kanpur and Agra). Unpublished Ph. D. thesis.* Kanpur.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

problems. Several of their representations have brought relief to the leather industry. It has installed a weigh-bridge at Jajmau and seriously considering building a leather-house in Jajmau, Cawnpore. This chamber was a sponsor with CLRI (Central Leather Research Institute) a testing-laboratory at Jajmau, Cawnpore rendering useful service to its members, with regard to quality control and testing of raw materials.<sup>204</sup>

In the colonial period, the leather industry in United Provinces came up not only in regions which had an abundance of raw materials, an efficient transportation facility, and availability of cheap and skilled labour but in some areas; it also owed its existence to historical and strategic importance. Agra was famous for manufacturing leather goods since the Mughal period, and when the company came up in India, they found skill oriented footwear articles at Agra and it was easier for them to get these artisans oriented to the development of this industry which was also shown in Faizabad, Benaras, Fatehpur, Saharanpur, Allahabad, and Meerut, etc. Cawnpore also soon came to be known as the hide emporium of India. The best leather turned out by these Cawnpore tanneries, which was conveyed across the country and worked up by the local boot and shoemakers, saddlers, etc.

Evolutionary trajectory of leather industry in British India shows fact that india emerged as a hub of leather related products in the global market. The colonial rule created institutional and legal apparatus for leather trade for both domestic consumption and export to global market. In this process, United Provinces in general and Agra in particular played a crucial role. The next chapter of this study focuses on leather industry in Agra.

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

***Chapter-3***  
***History of Leather Industry in Agra***  
***Region***

## Chapter-3

### History of Leather Industry in Agra Region

#### 3.1 Introduction

The Agra region has its own historical background and popularly well-known for the Taj Mahal. Agra city was founded by Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 1504 and chosen his capital in 1506. The Mughal Emperor Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar founded his capital and built a new Red Fort at the bank of Yamuna River in Agra in the year of 1566. In the Mughal period, Agra became the capital of the Mughal Empire and a center of industries and trade. There were many artisans like potters, weavers, carpenters, smiths, stone-carvers, dressers of hides, tanners and leather workers, etc., turned out the distinctive goods of their trade. In the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) many artisans migrated from the villages to the city as their goods fetched fair returns. Different types of materials of fine varieties were also made at Agra in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Agra was one of the chief industrial centers of the United Provinces. In 1834, Agra was made a revenue division under a commissioner, the district being subordinated to him. On July 10, 1835, the presidency was abolished and this region was given the name of the North-western provinces, with headquarters at Agra.<sup>1</sup>

Agra became one of the important centers for leather products under the colonial rule. This was possible because of large number of traditional artisans worked at Agra since Mughal times and many traditional artisans were preparing the leather products in their native places with indigenous techniques and methods. Agra occupied the second position in producing leather after Cawnpore in the United Provinces. Many important reasons were lying behind the development of leather craft in Agra region such as hereditary works, availability of raw material and tanning agents i.e. babul bark which was found throughout the pelt between Cawnpore and Agra, transportation facility, and Govt. initiative. Agra was also chosen as a cantonment of East India Company in 1805. So, the demand for leather accoutrements increased for the army purpose. The company gave the contracts to the local traders with some advance money for leather products. With the passage of time, Agra came to be known for its leather production and also for meat production. After the emergence of

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<sup>1</sup> Joshi, E. B. (1965). *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Agra*. Government of Uttar Pradesh, Department of District Gazetteers, p. 67.

big concerns in Cawnpore, British Govt. was also took much interest in establishing of the slaughterhouses and leather factories in Agra region for the army and civil purposes.<sup>2</sup> The leather industry of Agra was generally depended upon slaughterhouses and tanning industry. So, this chapter is divided into two sections i.e., the first section deals with the evolution of Slaughterhouses in Agra region; and the second section deals with the evolution of the leather industry in Agra region. Both of them were complementary each other.

### **3.2 Evolution of Slaughterhouses in Agra Region**

#### **3.2.1 Slaughterhouses in India**

A slaughterhouse is that place where the animals are slaughtered in a civilized manner for the consumption of human being as food. After slaughtering, some body parts of an animal are wastes and the remaining parts of the animal is turned into animal products such as flesh, leather products, soaps, candles, and glue etc. The slaughterhouses in India were generally lack of essential amenities such as water, light, drainage, lairage, holding pens, etc. The Government wants to improve and modernize the conditions of slaughterhouses catering to exports. Robert Clive, the governor of Bengal, was first started a slaughterhouse at Calcutta in 1760 for meeting the demand of meat for company's army. In the British period, the British Govt. had to improve the conditions of the slaughterhouses and was made many of laws and byelaws regarding the improvement of slaughterhouses and meat trade factories. The butchers who hereditary work with the flesh came from the Muslim and Dalit community such as *Qassab*, *Qureshi*, *Chiks*, *Khatik*, etc. So, the importance of slaughterhouses is fulfilling the need for a hygienic place for slaughtering the animal which provides hygienic flesh for the consumption of human. There were many slaughterhouses put up in different parts of India by the British government. According to the census of 1951, the livestock population increased by 62% and the human population increased by 134% but the number of authorized slaughterhouses could not increase to meet the demand for meat production. In the present time, there

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

are 2702 slaughterhouses active in India, which are recognized or authorized by local government providing meat for human consumption.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.2.2 Slaughterhouses in Agra Region

The Agra region is an important region in the United Provinces with respect to trade and commerce since the Mughal period. In Mughal times, there were also many slaughterhouses within the *Karkhanas* which provides the meat to the royal kitchen of the emperor. Within these state slaughterhouses, most of the butcher belonging to different caste and communities such as *Qassab*, *Qureshi*, *Chiks*, *Khatik*, etc who made their guild in the Agra region. Since the Mughal period, the work in flesh was flourishing with the high demand for meat as well as leather work also. With the advent of Europeans, the demand for meat, as well as leather products were growing high in the Agra region. But that demand was meeting successfully with the orientation of this work in a continuous manner. The British Govt. was exploring this work in Agra region with some policies and with the modern technique for their initiatives. With the intervention of British rule in this region, there were approximately 9 slaughterhouses in Agra region exist by 1956, in which 4 small slaughterhouses for the slaughtering of goats and sheep and there was a big slaughterhouse at Village Basai, Fatehabad Road at Agra for the slaughtering of Cattle and some of the other slaughterhouses were also established and working on modern techniques and method which was meeting the demand of both meat and raw hides and skins to the tanneries. All of these slaughterhouses had maintained registers were being compiled regularly. These slaughterhouses meet their demand of animals from the important cattle fairs, Bateshwar Cattle Fair and Chitpur Cattle Fair which were held in Agra district in every year.<sup>4</sup> Some of the slaughterhouses exist and act in Agra region as given below:

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<sup>3</sup> Goel, Shilpa. "An in-depth study of India's leather industry with special reference to export prospects of leather products." *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No.1 (2014), pp. 56-67.

<sup>4</sup> UPRA, Agra, Municipal Deptt., File no. 1/56-57, Box no. 139, pp.11-12.

Table 3.1 (Slaughterhouses in Agra Region)

| S. no. | District    | Pargana    | Mauza                              | Area                  | For What Purpose   | Estd. year | Cost Of Land | Plot No.  |
|--------|-------------|------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1.     | Agra        | Etmadpur   | Khandauli                          | NA                    | For slaughtering of big animals such as cattle           | 1918       | NA           | NA        |
| 2.     | Agra        | Shahdara   | Jharna Nala                        | NA                    | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1920       | NA           | NA        |
| 3.     | Agra        | Kiroali    | Achhnera                           | 0.681 of an acre      | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1921       | Rs 51/-      | NA        |
| 4.     | Etah (Agra) | Etah       | Village Shujawalpur                | NA                    | For slaughtering of big animals such as cattle           | 1933       | NA           | 214       |
| 5.     | Etah (Agra) | Azam Nagar | Aliganj                            | 0.30 of an acre       | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1937       | NA           | NA        |
| 6.     | Agra        | Agra       | Village Khataina, Mohalla Alamganj | 60 square yard        | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1949       | Rs. 104/-    | NA        |
| 7.     | Agra        | Agra       | Village Basai                      | 4.40 acres            | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1954       | Rs. 5100/-   | NA        |
| 8.     | Agra        | Firozabad  | Village Rasulpur                   | 2 Bighas and 2 Biswas | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1955       | NA           | 211 & 212 |

Source: UPRA, Agra, File no. 1/42-43, 19/35-36, 7/32-33, 21/20-21, 24/53-54, 28/52-53 & Box no. 39, 59, 70, 96, 139, 128 respectively.

### 3.2.3 Burma Meat Trade Factory in Agra

The British government had acquired land for the Burma Meat Trade factory at Agra in 1889.<sup>5</sup> The butchers of Agra city had been engaged in supplying the dry meat to Burma for about 25 years. The demand for dry meat was very much high in Burma because the Burmese like to have all kinds of preserved meat. So, the Burmese were engaged in meat trade with Agra to supply the dry meat to Burma.<sup>6</sup> The first installment of meat that was imported into Burma was sent from Agra only a few mounds of dry cattle's and goat's meat. After that, the Calcutta's merchant was asked to the butcher of Agra to start a regular supply of dry meat of goat and cattle to Burma. In Agra, *Dholikhar* was the native place where the trade was carried out and they used for slaughtering animals in the municipal slaughterhouse for production of dry meat in the *Barah* (the place where animals kept) erected for the purpose all around the slaughterhouse. These slaughterhouses had no proper arrangements for the disposal of bones and offal, within a few days that place became a revoltingly unsanitary or dirty place. The municipal board of Agra had to take action to stop this nuisance trade in 1891. But the trade was continued and then, the board has shifted that slaughterhouse from *Dholikhar* to *Khairadi Tola* near the Amarsingh gate of Agra's Red Fort, but the cantonment authority objected and had it removed from *Khairadi Tola* to *Bhonda Gasoon* which was remained here for about 10 years.<sup>7</sup>

After 10 years, Board has again shifted that slaughterhouse from *Bhonda Gasoon* to *Jharna Nala (Shahdara)* at Agra in 1901 for the growing needs of the butchers to observed ordinary sanitary. The municipal board had employed a permanent staff to look upon the sanitation of that place in which the butchers had to pay a license fee of Rs 120/- per annum for each of 13 enclosures made by the municipal board. The average quantity of slaughtered animals in this slaughterhouse about 58.4 animals per day from September to March 1901 and about 13.7 animals per day from April to August 1902.<sup>8</sup> This trade was going on at low rates only for Burma and was not allowed to move that meat into the market of Agra city for local people. But, the wasting substances of animals (except meat) were used for manufacturing the other useful substances which were sold out at Agra city. The blood meal was the most

<sup>5</sup> UPRA, Agra, Municipal Dept., File no. 12/1903, Box no. 180, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp. 3-4.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

important and valuable organic manure and contains over 12% Nitrogen, 0.5 to 1% Phosphoric acid and 0.4 to 0.5% Potash. The blood meal was easily becoming quickly available to crops. The manure could be used under all soil conditions should apply before sowing at the rate of 2 to 5 mound per acre. The Department of Agriculture has purchased the entire stock of blood meal prepared by local bodies in UP at the rate of Rs 6/8/- per mounds exclusive of the cost of gunny bags and would arrange for its supply to the cultivator's field.<sup>9</sup> Some of the other substances for the general need of the people of Agra city manufactured from animal kingdom products as follow:

**Table 3.2 (Some of the other substances manufactured from animal kingdom products)**

| S. no. | Manufactured        | Different types of other substances   |
|--------|---------------------|---|
| 1.     | From Blood          | Manure, a large quantity of blood was boiled and sent to Bombay for making paints, etc.                         |
| 2.     | From Flesh          | Tallow, refuse of tallow was used for burning purpose, oil used for human consumption and another purpose, etc. |
| 3.     | From Hides or Skins | Leather, glue, drum, kuppas, gelatin, scale pans, etc.  |
| 4.     | From Horns          | Pipe, stems, buttons, comb, glue, etc.  |
| 5.     | From Hoof           | Glue, etc.  |
| 6.     | From Bones          | Knife, handles, buttons, glue, manure, fuel, a kind of varnish, animal charcoal, etc.                           |
| 7.     | From Gut            | Bows of cotton cleaners and strings or cords for country trading, gold beaters skin, etc.                       |
| 8.     | From Gland          | Net, etc.   |
| 9.     | From Offal          | Manure, etc.  |

Source: UPRA, Agra, File no. 12/1903, Box no. 180, pp. 5-6.

<sup>9</sup> UPRA, Agra, Agriculture Dept., File no. 34/57-58, Box no. 18, p. 1.

In May 1902, it was reported to the commissioner that the arrangements continued to be completely satisfactory. Twelve plots out of the 20 plots were then taken up for rent paid in advance. The butchers had by actual consent devoted one plot to actual slaughtering and the board was getting Rs 1440/- annually. Afterward, in April 1909, the municipal officer reported that there was no control at Shahdara slaughterhouse for no registration or inspection or even accurate record of the slaughtered animals and no municipal staff or a slaughterhouse inspector who says “he inspects”. In July 1909, the commissioner asked whether the municipal board could not add to its income by charging slaughterhouse fee at Shahdara instead of only taking Rs 120/- a year rent from some of 20 butchers.<sup>10</sup> The government officer Mr. Roger was found anticipated violence in the slaughterhouse and another officer Mr. Keane noted that the trade would have to be stopped for that time and spent for all the occupiers of yards. Whether they came was not clear but two later (on October 20<sup>th</sup>) was a report that the Jharna Nala yards had been abandoned, while on the 19<sup>th</sup> had reported that the butchers were trying to slaughter the animals in their local area’s slaughterhouse.<sup>11</sup>

After that controversy, Mr. Keane had provided the license for the use of slaughter yard with some of the following conditions as given below:<sup>12</sup>

1. There was no diseased animal could be slaughtered.
2. The slaughtering was done on a most well-laid platform with a drain down the center.
3. The yard was kept clean and free from rubbish and offal.
4. There was no animal could be slaughtered on which the conservancy fee of 6 annas had not been charged.
5. The yard was open at all time to the inspection of such officials as were appointed for this purpose by the board.
6. There was a proper shed for storing meat previous to and after drying.
7. The chairman of the board might straightway cancel the license for a breach of any of the above conditions. Such order was accepted as final.

In 1912, certain firms who had been asked to pay rent for land in the Jharna Nala, Shahdara refused to go the ground that they were old fat-boiling firms who had been

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<sup>10</sup> UPRA, Agra, Municipal Dept., File no. 25/1920, Box no. 168, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, pp. 4-5.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

given from the city where these factories still existed and stated that if the board insisted on rent they would re-open the city factories and defy the board to stop them. Since they were established before Act I of 1900 came into force.<sup>13</sup> Equally, common sense had demanded that the trade was not caused any loss to the controlling authorities and it was obviously paid for the expenses of its control.<sup>14</sup>

In 1917, the condition of Burma meat trade was confined to the Jharna Nala ravines near Shahdara, Agra and leases it to the butchers. Some of 39 butchers were occupied 45 riots, on leases (usually annual) at a fixed rate of Rs 120/- for 18 Biswas, the total demand on account of rent of the year 1917 being reported as Rs 3930/-. All this payment was credited to the municipal board.<sup>15</sup> The trade was also carried out though on a small scale at Achhnera and Firozabad in Agra region because the population of butcher class was in number in throughout of the Agra region since the Mughal period. Some of other meat trade factories were also established in Agra for the trade of meat as well as hides and skins is as follows:

**Table 3.3 (Meat trade factories established in Agra)**

| S. no. | District | Pargana      | Mauza  | Area                   | For what purpose              | Estd. Year | Cost of land            | Plot no. |
|--------|----------|--------------|--|------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|----------|
| 1.     | Agra     | Idgah (Agra) | Village Bhogipura                            | 12 Biswas              | Wense's bone mill             | 1930       | Rs 86/14 A/- per bigha  | NA       |
| 2.     | Agra     | Agra         | Village Bodla (near Dargah Shah Nabi Kareem) | 25 ½ Bighas            | Meat dehydration factory      | 1945       | Rs 185/14 A/- per bigha | 536      |
| 3.     | Agra     | Agra         | Village Bodla                                | 25 Bighas<br>10 Biswas | Goat meat dehydration factory | 1946       | Rs 300/9 A/- per bigha  | 887      |

Source: UPRA, Agra, File no. 4/45-46, 2 (2)/27-28, Misc./57-58 & Box no. 78, 109, 189 respectively.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

The acquisitions of land for these factories were not so easy because the landowners or tenants did not want to give the land to the government officer silently. These meat dehydration factories have also faced the cases in district court. For example, the Bodla Dehydration factory at Agra which was involved in case no. 18 of 1947 attempted by *Dargah Shah Nabi Karim's mutawallis, muafidars*, and tenants in 1949. These people were applied for the land of *Dargah* which was handed over the British officers for meat trade factory.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2.4 Jharna Nala Slaughterhouse in Agra

In 1920, the municipal board was made the new rules and regulation for the new slaughterhouse with modern equipment and techniques at Jharna Nala, Shahdara in Agra. The municipal board of Agra was permitted some model bye-laws; rules and regulation for this slaughterhouse under section 298 (d) and (J) (d) with force to all of the butchers who were using the slaughterhouse for slaughtering the animals in a hygienic place to meet the demand of meat for consumption as well as hides and skins for leather as given below:

#### 3.2.4.1. Byelaws regarding the inspection of animals before slaughtering<sup>17</sup>

1. There were no animals could be slaughtered before inspecting by an officer appointed on this behalf.
2. The municipal board had provided public notice of time and place where at inspection of cattle intended for slaughter in the municipal slaughterhouse were held.
3. Before slaughtering, such animals were strictly inspected that it was fit for use as human food, it could not be diseased or advanced in pregnancy, it could not be in milch or the young of any animal in milch and it could not be accidental.
4. When the officer was satisfied that he was filled up under his signature columns no. 1 to 6 of a pass with its counterfoil in form A which appended to these bye-laws and gave it to the person who showing the animal for inspection and he marked on the animal's head, hair or skin with a municipal soul or branded with a municipal board might be prescribed.

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<sup>16</sup> UPRA, Agra, Revenue (A) Dept., File no. 21/51-52, Box no. 70, p. 207.

<sup>17</sup> UPRA, Agra, Municipal Dept., File no. 25/1920, Box no. 168, pp 1-2.



should be admitted and no person should bring any animal, into the slaughterhouse.

2. If any animal did not come in the time period as prescribed in the past, it should be taken a fresh pass.
3. The officer incharge should be received the pass, and if it was in order and the fee prescribed in byelaw above had been paid, he should allow the animal covered thereby admission into the slaughterhouse, filling up columns 7 to 9 in the prescribed pass.
4. Only the permitted person could be entered in the slaughterhouse premises during the process of slaughtering, skinning, or cutting up the carcasses. The carcasses of a large animal could not be allowed to be cut in more than 10 pieces.
5. That person should not be allowed to enter the slaughterhouse premises who had affected with leprosy or with any skin disease.
6. The dogs should not be allowed to enter the slaughter premises.
7. All awaiting cattle were kept in pans and properly secured with ropes, whose number came for slaughtering one by one.
8. The butchers were made his own arrangement for looking up and for the feeding of their cattle.
9. The butchers have kept their own ropes for binding the legs of the animals during slaughtering.

#### **3.2.4.5. Byelaws permitted within the slaughterhouse<sup>21</sup>**

1. The butcher should not be slaughter any animal except at the hours fixed by board 6 AM to 6 PM till.
2. The butcher had strictly instructed for the central drain so as to prevent the blood of the slaughtering animal from flowing upon the floor.
3. The butcher should be immediately washed and clean up the place where was the animal slaughtered in a slaughterhouse.
4. Every part of carcass should be inspected by the officer incharge of the slaughterhouse and no butcher should be removed from the slaughterhouse unless in accordance with the next clause of this byelaws.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, pp. 6-10.

5. Any carcass was found unfit for human consumption would be destroyed immediately or the health officer of the board whose decision should be final.
6. The skin of an animal whose carcass had been condemned under byelaw above, if the officer incharge, so directed to be disposed of in the same manner as the carcass.
7. After slaughtering, skins entrails and offal should be removed immediately from the slaughterhouse by the butcher or his assistant and any skins entrails or offal was not removed before the time at which the slaughterhouse was closed for the day should become the property of the board.
8. No person should be removed any skin, entrails, and offal from the slaughterhouse until they had been properly washed and cleaned.
9. The solid contents of the entrails should not be washed into the cesspools but should be cleaned up and removed at the time.
10. The butcher should be removed the meat, entrails, and offal or waste parts of the animal which did not consume from the slaughterhouse in covered cards or covered baskets or vessels, of a pattern to be approved by the board.
11. No person should be employed the process of insufflations (cutting up the carcass into pieces) the blowing of the carcass in the slaughterhouse.
12. In the slaughterhouse premises, no butcher should be sold out or allowed to sell meat.
13. If there were any damaged in the premises of slaughterhouse, the butcher should be paid for such damaged.
14. No butcher or another person should be removed, defaced or altered any seal or band impresses in accordance with byelaws above.
15. There were byelaws by the board under section 298 G J (d) for the regulation of the storing of bones or boiling of blood should be enforced at Jharna Nala.
16. No animal should be slaughtered in the presence of or in close proximity to other animal awaiting slaughter.

#### **3.2.4.6. Byelaws regarding the penalty in slaughterhouses<sup>22</sup>**

The penalty also should be in slaughterhouse by section 299 (1) of the act, the board thereby directed that a rupture of any of the provisions of these byelaws should be

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

punishable with fine which might extend to Rs 50/- and when a rupture was a continuing gap, with a further fine which might be extended Rs 5/-for every day after the date of the first conviction during which the officer was proved too had found the rupture.

The number of animals was slaughtered in the three previous years before the byelaws, rules, and regulations were permitted for the Jharna Nala slaughterhouse in Agra as given below:

**Table 3.4 (The number of animals was slaughtered in the three previous years)**

| S. no. | Year | No. of animals had been slaughtered |
|--------|------|-------------------------------------|
| 1.     | 1917 | 48550                               |
| 2.     | 1918 | 37139                               |
| 3.     | 1919 | 21569                               |

Source: UPRA, Agra, Department of Municipal, File no. 25/1920, Box no. 168.

### 3.2.5 License to Flayers in United Provinces

The government officers had inspected the slaughterhouses and flaying techniques of flayers. So, it had been estimated that about 20% of the total production of raw hides in United Provinces were damaged by bad flaying which caused an annual loss approximately 8 lakhs of rupees to this important industry.<sup>23</sup> So, the board had made byelaws for licensing of flayers in slaughterhouses of U.P. Some of the byelaws for licensing of flayers as given below:<sup>24</sup>

1. In these byelaws, Flayers means a person who does the work of flaying and skinning of cattle, sheep or goats in the slaughterhouses and Cattle included bull, bullock, cow, calf, male buffalo, she-buffalo and also horses, mules, donkey, and camels.
2. In these byelaws, the flayers should not be allowed to flay or skin cattle, sheep or goats in any of the municipal or other local board slaughterhouses unless he had been granted a license on this behalf.
3. The Health officer should be the licensing authority for the purpose of these byelaws.

<sup>23</sup> UPRA, Agra, Industry Dept., File no. 10/52-53, Box no. 51, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, pp. 1-3.

4. The Health officer should be issued licenses only on the recommendation of the Director of Animal Husbandry, U.P.
5. The license was granted to that flayer who should not be less than 18 years and he should know the art of flaying or undergoing training in this art or having an experience of flaying for at least two years.
6. The flayer had possess a set of improved tools consisting of the following:
  - One knife for skinning
  - One axe for breaking bones
  - One iron rod for sharpening the knife
7. The flayer was affected with leprosy, any skin disease or any contagious disease should not be allowed to do flaying even if he had to get the license.
8. Every flayer should have the license within the slaughterhouse at working time.
9. This license should not be transferable.
10. The licensed person could work any of the slaughterhouses in U.P.
11. The license should be renewable every year on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April and a fee of Rs 3/- should be charged in respect of each license for flaying cattle and Re 1 and 8 annas for sheep and goat.
12. If any person broke the provisions of byelaws, he should be punishable with fine which might be extended to Rs 200/- without prejudice to any other punishment which the trying officer might deem expedient for the offender such as cancellation or suspension of the license.

### **3.2.6 Hide flaying scheme at Agra**

The government had sanctioned a three years scheme for the improvement of flaying techniques of hides and skins throughout the United Provinces in 1949. The scheme would only be functioned at Agra, Kanpur, and Bareilly which was supposed to be the most important hide trade centers where flaying of hides had been reported to be very defective and needed improvement. The center at Agra had been organized and the staff employed had been started from the beginning of May 1949.<sup>25</sup> The government

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<sup>25</sup> UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 2613/49-50, Box no. 266, p. 5.

had also sanctioned a scheme on 29<sup>th</sup> February 1948 of the following temporary posts for each of the three centers in the scale of pay which are noted below:<sup>26</sup>

1. One flaying supervisor in the pay scale of approximately Rs 120/- per month.
2. One recorder in the pay scale of approximately Rs 45/- per month.
3. Two master flayers in the pay scale of approximately Rs 45/- per month each.
4. Two coolies in the pay scale of approximately Rs 20/- per month each.

The staff hereby sanctioned would also get dearness allowance at the rate sanctioned by the government from time to time. The government was to sanction; first, the payment of premium to the flayers at the rate of 6 pies for 'A' grade, 3 pies for 'B' grade and 1 ½ pie for 'C' class of hides to be specified in accordance with the Agriculture produced (Grading and Marketing) Act of 1937 and second, the hold of monthly competitions at each of the slaughterhouses to best five flayers and them awarded of a set of flaying tools for careful flaying.<sup>27</sup> The government sanctioned some officers to see that the flayers had licensed and to sanction the incurring of the expenditure as given below:<sup>28</sup>

1. On traveling allowance for the mobile party - Rs 1000/- per annum
2. Flaying tools, for each of the three centers - Rs 600/- non-recurring
3. Furniture etc., for each of the three centers - Rs 200/- non-recurring

### **3.2.7 Byelaws permitted for the regulation of slaughterhouses in the Agra region**

Some of the byelaws were framed by the Agra district board under section 174 (2) K of the United Provinces D.B. Act (1922) for the favour of sanctions and publications in the United Provinces Gazette. These byelaws were permitted at the board meeting which was held on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1950. They were also published in vernacular newspapers such as 'Amar Ujala' & 'Sandesh' in both English as well as in Hindi languages.<sup>29</sup> Such byelaws were framed by Agra district board for the regulation of slaughterhouses in the Agra region as given below:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 2/51-52, Box no. 395, p. 60.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, pp. 51-52.

1. The butchers were first registered himself and get licenses; afterward, they would be slaughter the animal or would conduct a private slaughterhouse in Agra district.
2. The butchers should not be slaughter the animal anywhere, except the place was mentioned in licenses.
3. The board has sanctioned some condition for slaughtering the animals as given below:
  - The floor of the place in which the slaughtering was done should be made of stone or bricks, sloped and drained so as to allow for proper cleaning.
  - The place should be the proper supply of water for cleaning the floor.
  - The place should be surrounded by a wall, not less than 6 feet in height with a door for keeping off dogs and another animal.
4. The fees for licenses should be paid by the butcher of Rs 5/- annually.
5. The veterinary assistant surgeon should inspect the locality if satisfied; he should grant the licenses to the butchers.
6. The licenses had a period until 31<sup>st</sup> March every year.
7. The veterinary surgeon had authorized to suspended or cancel the license of a butcher for any rupture of the byelaws.
8. The slaughterhouses could be inspected by a veterinary officer at any time.
9. Some animals could not be slaughter in slaughterhouses such as cow, calf, bullock, milch animal, pregnant animal, or animal below 2 years.
10. The slaughtering of animals could be only at hours fixed by the board.
11. The board had an authority to incur any expenditure on account of supervision and had another authority to the sanitary improvement of the slaughterhouse.
12. After slaughtering, the butchers should be washed the floors and drains every day.
13. The meat should be taken away from the slaughterhouse in covered receptacles.
14. The waste parts of the animal such as blood, entrails, offal should be removed properly from the slaughterhouse premises.
15. The dogs should not be allowed to enter the slaughterhouse premises.
16. The person, who suffers from leprosy, or any contagious disease, should not be entered in the slaughterhouse.

17. Every butcher should keep the license in good condition at the time of slaughtering.
18. The license should be maintained a register showing the number, sex, age, value, and description of animals slaughtered, and the fee paid to the board.
19. If there were any rupture in the slaughterhouse, it might be the penalty of Rs 100/- and could be expanded Rs 5/- every day.

### **3.2.8 Khandauli slaughterhouse in Agra**

A slaughterhouse was established in village Khandauli, Etmadpur, at Agra district in 1918 named as Khandauli slaughterhouse for slaughtering big cattle, buffaloes, and camels. Afterward, that slaughterhouse had been closed due to the protest of the local public. But the slaughterhouse in Khandauli was reopened in the year of 1950. So, the local public had objected to reopening the slaughterhouse. A report was made by government officer that some cows and bullocks were being slaughtered daily at Khandauli and their meat brought to Agra city for sale. The question of communal trouble was arising in Khandauli before that officer should want to take some serious action against the butchers. The Hindu community should want to take that matter very seriously.<sup>31</sup>

When the officer had taken an inquiry that the butchers were included in the slaughtering of bullocks, cows, etc in Khandauli much to the dissatisfaction of the local public was reporting the truth. It was also reported that the slaughtering was done with modern equipment which causes great nuisance and inconvenient to the local public, in general, owing to the local supply which spreads all over the vicinity. The officer had got some other report that on the premises of slaughterhouse, many carnivores' birds and animals stayed around every time such as vulture, eagle, crow, etc. So, the trees around the slaughterhouse were destroyed.<sup>32</sup>

The board wants to take some suitable action for banning the cow slaughter in Khandauli slaughterhouse<sup>33</sup> due to the sake of local public report and also for some conditions regarding the health or physical comforts of the residents of that locality.<sup>34</sup> On 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb 1951, some persons came to the officer incharge for the objection of

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 54.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>34</sup> UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 2613/49-50, Box no. 266, p. 57.

banned the slaughtering of animals named *Noori, Imambux, Chhotey, Akbar, Allauddin, Mannu* who were the local resident and the owner of a slaughterhouse in village Khandauli.<sup>35</sup> After many controversies, the results of that cases was only banned the cow slaughter in Khandauli slaughterhouse was passed by SDM of Etmadpur in August 1951.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.2.9 Statistics of Livestock slaughtered in the recognized slaughterhouses in UP

With the intervention of the British Govt. in the field of animal products, many slaughterhouses were set up in Agra region which providing the fresh and hygienic meat for consumption of local people as well as for export purpose. These slaughterhouses played an important role in the development of the leather industry in United Provinces in the regular supply of fine hides and skins to leather factories as a raw material for producing leather products. There were a number of recognized slaughterhouses for slaughtering such type of animals in Agra district is as follows:

**Table 3.5 (The number of recognized slaughterhouses for such animals in Agra district)**

| Place                    | Cattle & Buffaloes | Sheep & Goats | Others |
|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------|--------|
| Agra (1957-58)           | 1                  | 4             | -      |
| Firozabad (1957-58)      | 1                  | 1             | -      |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1953-54) | 1                  | 1             | -      |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1954-55) | 1                  | 1             | -      |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1955-56) | 1                  | 1             | -      |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1956-57) | 1                  | 1             | -      |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1957-58) | 1                  | 1             | -      |

**Source:** UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 2613/49-50, Box no. 266 & File no. 37/58-59, Box no. 383.

The following statement shows the no. of animals slaughtered in Agra district is as follows:

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 56.

**Table 3.6 (The number of animals slaughtered in Agra district)**

| Place                    | Cattle | Buffaloes | Sheep | Goats | Other |
|--------------------------|--------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Agra (1957-58)           | -      | 10106     | 2957  | 40965 | 8     |
| Firozabad (1957-58)      | -      | 4553      | 532   | 9221  | -     |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1953-54) | -      | NA        | 150   | 475   | -     |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1954-55) | -      | 299       | 131   | 333   | -     |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1955-56) | -      | 661       | 111   | 275   | -     |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1956-57) | -      | 590       | 73    | 208   | -     |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1957-58) | -      | 821       | 72    | 433   | -     |

Source: UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 2613/49-50, Box no. 266 & File no. 37/58-59, Box no. 383.

The following statement shows the slaughter fee per head in Agra district is as follows:

**Table 3.7 (Slaughter fee per head in Agra district)**

| Place                    | Cattle  | Buffalo | Sheep & Goat | Other             |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|--------------|-------------------|
| Agra (1957-58)           | -       | 6 annas | 1.6 annas    | 9 annas for camel |
| Firozabad (1957-58)      | 8 annas | 8 annas | 3 annas      | -                 |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1953-54) | -       | -       | -            | -                 |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1954-55) | -       | -       | -            | -                 |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1955-56) | -       | 8 annas | 3 annas      | -                 |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1956-57) | -       | 8 annas | 3 annas      | -                 |
| Fatehpur Sikri (1957-58) | -       | 8 annas | 3 annas      | -                 |

Source: UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 2613/49-50, Box no. 266 & File no. 37/58-59, Box no. 383.

### 3.2.10 Cruelty in flaying

According to the report which was made by government officer in 1907, that there were the Muslim butchers who were in the habit of flaying the skins with neck of goats before killing them in many of the districts of United Provinces<sup>37</sup> such as Agra, Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Sultanpur, Rae-Bareilly, Gonda, Garhwal, Kumaon, and Fyzabad etc. This decision was communicated to the Government of Bengal in the

<sup>37</sup> UPSA, GAD, File no. 552/1915, Box no. 308.

Home Department letter no. 1190, dated the 21<sup>st</sup> May 1908, a copy of which was forwarded to the Government of United Provinces, with the endorsement no. 1191, dated 21<sup>st</sup> May 1908. It would be observed that the objections taken to the particular suggestion negative were:<sup>38</sup>

1. That it would cover many skins of animal legitimately slaughtered;
2. That it would give an opening for police oppression and extortion; and
3. That the absence of the skin of the head would not prove that the goat had not been flayed alive, any more than its presence would prove that it had been treated in that manner, and it would, therefore, be impossible to impose and very deterrent punishment on persons selling skins with the skin of the head attached.

Then, the Government made the act for the prevention of cruelty to animals and the practice of flaying goat alive was strictly prohibited.<sup>39</sup> The government also passed the new proposal in 1953 regarding human treatment with animals such as proper shelter, water, etc. before slaughter and their painless slaughter without agony would be duly incorporated and properly enforced by the general elected body of the municipality and to prohibit slaughtering of horned cattle that used in plugging.<sup>40</sup>

### 3.2.11 Protest against Cow slaughter in India

In India, the cow is a symbol of wealth, strength, peace, abundance, selfless giving and full of earthly life and also a traditional status as a respected creature of God since ancient times to the present.<sup>41</sup> With the arrival of Muslims in India, cow slaughter became common in the medieval period. According to Islamic mythology, such kind of animals i.e., cattle, buffalo, goat, and sheep were killed as a sacrifice in the festival, *Id-ul-azha*<sup>42</sup> as well as for food also. On the other hand, Hyder Ali of Mysore made a resolution that the cow slaughters was an offense punishable with the cutting of the hands of the offenders in his empire. Some of the other Muslim rulers was also prohibited the cow slaughter in their empire. The *Peshwa* of Pune also punished a

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> UPRA, Agra, Municipal Dept., File no. 38/1953, Box no. 54, p. 33.

<sup>41</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cattle\\_Slaughter\\_in\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cattle_Slaughter_in_India). Retrieved 2016-07-16, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

*Qazi* for permitting a butcher, who had killed a cow in his empire in 1760. Cow slaughter was also banned in Punjab by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.<sup>43</sup>

During British rule, Beef was a popular food for the British who live in India. Several more slaughterhouses were set up in various parts of the country by the government.<sup>44</sup> In 1870, the Namdhari Sikh had started a cow protection revolution in India. Swami Dayanand Saraswati raised his voice against the cow slaughter in the British rule and also suggested the formation of *Gosamvardhani Sabhas*.<sup>45</sup> The first *Gaurakshini Sabha* was set up at Punjab in 1882. Cow protection sentiment was reached its peak in 1893 throughout the country. Many public meetings were held in Nagpur, Hardwar, and Banaras to denounce beef-eaters.<sup>46</sup>

In 1912, there was the major protest against the cow slaughter and ill-treatment of cattle in the *Braj Bhumi*, District Muttra (Mathura).<sup>47</sup> The localities of Muttra want to stop killing the cows and their meat selling in the markets of Muttra. In Hardwar, Babu Bhagwan Das, manager of *Sarbdeshi Gohitkari*, submitted a memorial addressed to his Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor praying for the intention of the protection to the cow against indiscriminate slaughter in 1911.<sup>48</sup> In 1921, All India Hindu Mahasabha at Hardwar had set up the anti-cow killing movement in U.P. The manager of that Sabha argued that the Nizam of Hyderabad had stopped cow slaughter in his own state, while cow slaughter had not been stopped in the British dominion.<sup>49</sup> They want to complete ban of cow slaughter in India. In 1948, the deputy secretary of Govt. had taken up a step for banned the slaughtering of cows and taken steps to protect that cattle fit for plugging purpose should be intimated to Government of U.P.<sup>50</sup> There were several cases of communal riots mentioned which were caused by the slaughter of cows. There were 167 incidents of communal riots between Hindus and Muslims mentioned between 1717 and 1977 in which 22 cases were attributable directly to the cow slaughter.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, pp. 8-9.

<sup>47</sup> UPSA, GAD, File no. 159/1912, Box no. 242, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> UPSA, GAD, File no. 527/1912, Box no. 251, p. 20.

<sup>49</sup> UPSA, GAD, File no. 214/1921, Box no. 138, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup> UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 87/45-48, Box no. 394, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> [https:// en. Wikipedia.org/wiki/Cattle\\_Slaughter\\_in\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cattle_Slaughter_in_India). Retrieved 2016-07-16, p. 10.

The history of slaughterhouse has been a less focused area of modern Indian history. Generally, we do not know the colonial attitude and policy towards getting animal meat and skin for their requirement. Thus study shows how systematic intervention was made by the British for management of slaughterhouse in Agra.

### **3.3 Evolution of Leather Industry in Agra Region**

With the establishment of such slaughterhouses in Agra region under British rule, it has been found that these slaughterhouses played a vital role to promote the leather industry of Agra and other parts of United Provinces. These slaughterhouses became the main source for providing the raw material (hides and skins) to the tanning and leather manufacturing factories which were usually based on fallen cattle in the Mughal period. Tanning was further consolidated with the emergence of organized slaughterhouses in the Agra region in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These slaughterhouses also specialized in meat trade (dried oxen and buffalo meat with Burma).<sup>52</sup> The evolution of slaughterhouses in the Agra region helped in the emergence of the tanneries and leather factories which also encouraged huge migration of the traditional leather workers around the Agra.<sup>53</sup>

#### **3.3.1 Leather Industry in Agra during the Mughal Period**

The process of emergence of the leather industry in Agra could be traced to the Mughal period. Agra had been a traditional center of manufacturing the leather shoes since ages and catering to the requirements of the major segments of the domestic consumers of the country. The tradition of making leather in Agra is centuries old and the leather craft had been traced an interesting journey here. The tanning industry has traditionally been undergone in rural areas with fallen cattle being the source of raw hides and skins and it could be traced as a period of boom.<sup>54</sup>

During the period of Mughal emperor Akbar, “*Heeng*” (a type of spice which could be used in preparing food) was imported from the Arabian countries. The Arab traders brought “*Heeng*” in leather containers made of camel hides called “*Mashak*” were well known a leather bag, could be used for storing the water and “*Heeng*”. The shoes

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<sup>52</sup> Roy, T. (1999). *Traditional industry in the economy of colonial India (Vol. 5)*, Oxford University Press.

<sup>53</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). op. cit.

<sup>54</sup> Information given by Officer Incharge ‘Agra Footwear Manufacture and Export Chamber (AFMEC)’ in Agra in an interview during the fieldwork for this study, On August 30, 2016.

manufacturing first started in Agra from these thrown away empty containers “*Mashak*” by Arab traders and soon the manufacturing of shoes picked up.<sup>55</sup> The leather craft was typically tradition of Indian people and Agra became famous for their leather footwear and leather goods in the course of time. Mughal Emperor Akbar ordered that every soldier of his army should wear leather shoes. Till that time the Mughal army had fought barefoot. Shoe-makers were summoned from all over the empire and work began to produce hundreds of thousands of pairs per year. Besides the hard-wearing of leather *Jootis* with slightly turned up toes for the soldiers, there was also a huge demand for more delicate versions for nobles, their ladies and vast entourages. Besides shoes, leather shields also were very common in the Mughal army.<sup>56</sup>

In that period, the use of shoes made of velvet and *zari* (the golden and silver thread) with leather sole and leather upper became very popular in the elite. These types of shoes were very common in those days under the name and style as ‘*Nagra*’. Shoes similar to that of ‘*Nagras*’ were also manufactured in Punjab embroidered in an artistic fashion with real golden *zari*. ‘*Nagras*’ was also very popular in Rajasthan but in place of golden *zari*, the silver thread was used. Some of the other artisans emerged here who generally called “*Rangia*” (or “*dyer*”) who formed different craft i.e., dyeing of leather into different colours and manufacturing the coloured leather shoes. Agra has also gained a prominent place in *zardozi* (the embroidery works with gold and silver thread). Agra’s long association with the Mughal court gave rise to many arts and crafts including leather work. This craft had transformed into the form of industry only with the intervention of the British Govt. which introducing new technologies of making leather in Agra region.<sup>57</sup> The following important factors which played an important role in the development of the leather industry in Agra as follows:<sup>58</sup>

1. Availability of leather workers
2. Traditional artisans
3. Availability of raw materials
4. Local Traders

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<sup>55</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). op. cit.

<sup>56</sup> Information given by Officer Incharge ‘*Agra Footwear Manufacture and Export Chamber (AFMEC)*’ in Agra in an interview during the fieldwork for this study, On August 30, 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

5. Hereditary Work
6. Cheap Rates
7. Means of Communication
8. Government Initiatives
9. Transport Facility
10. Geographical Location
11. Establishment of Slaughterhouses
12. Help from Cawnpore
13. Domestic and International Market
14. Two Great World Wars
15. Less Import of leather footwear
16. High Quality
17. High Production
18. High Demand
19. High Profit
20. Govt. and Private Capital

### **3.3.2 Leather Industry in Agra during the Early Colonial Period**

The export of leather shoes from Agra to England was first traced in the 1650s. Different varieties of indigenously styled leather footwear were manufactured in Agra and the users of those varieties were mostly the police, army, and local people. A large number of capitalists came over to Agra to undertake the profitable business of dealing in shoes. They have opened their shops in the markets, purchased the shoes from the local traders and export them as middlemen 'arhatis' to different parts of India. The number of shoe maker's shops was so numerous that there were hardly any *Mohalla*, street or lane where one did not find a shoe factory as the shoe-makers shop was called. When the Company's troops conquered Agra in 1803 and set up the cantonment stationed at Agra in 1805, since that time, the demand for leather for shoes, saddlery and harness were increased. The East India Company relied on the local tanners to meet this demand for their army purposes.<sup>59</sup>

The local tanners not only learned to repair the European shoes but also learned to prepare the Europeans types of shoes for the European army officers. Soon, the

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<sup>59</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). op. cit., p. 38.

production of western types of shoes was development around the cantonments by the local artisans.<sup>60</sup> Before the mutiny of 1857, the saddlery, harness and leather accoutrements for the East India Company's native army and also for the Bengal Artillery were largely manufactured at Cawnpore by the native contractors from locally tanned leather. The industrial slack caused by the mutiny in 1857-59 made them seek alternative sources of supply from England, but the English supply was irregular and inferior in quality and the company again had to back on local supply.<sup>61</sup>

### **3.3.3 Leather Industry in Agra during the British Period**

The reputation of Agra for its artistic commodities has been expressed during the British rule in the following words that "the produce of Agra looms and the work done by Agra embroiders have long been famous. Another form is carpet weaving and the articles produced here are justly celebrated. Agra has some reputation for the production of shoes which frequently are embroidered or otherwise decorated. Some wood carved doorways and facades have been produced."<sup>62</sup> Agra used to look after not only the local sales but also managed to transport shoes to various places, Vis, Eastern and Western status in British rule. As the transport was based on bullock carts, the scope of leather shoe trade was very much limited like the trade in other commodities.

In British India, there were only a few English shoemakers available for manufacturing shoes could not manage constantly Indian shoemakers of great skill had also to be employed for the help and assistance of the English shoemakers. With the help of English shoemaker, Indian had mastered in the technique of the manufacture of English shoes and started to prepare new shoes of English style much to the satisfaction and enjoyment of British soldiers. When these Indian shoemakers were discharged from the service of British, they started manufacturing English style shoes in their native places throughout the Agra.

The English style footwear became very popular and skilled workers began to enjoy prosperous business. English type footwear of cheap and ordinary style replaced gradually the indigenous shoes and its manufacture was taken up in all. Different

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>62</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1924). Agra District: A Gazetteer, being Volume VIII of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Supplementary notes and statistics.

localities of Agra had the seriousness where formerly indigenous shoes were being prepared. Agra shoes were popular for their quality and cheap price because every civilian could easily buy and usable for them. English style shoes for children and for men of all ages were commonly prepared with a cloth to be used as uppers and tanned leather for soles. With the intervention of British, the leather industry of Agra underwent to factory stage from the cottage stage. Some factories were set up at Agra at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The transformation of modern techniques from indigenous methods to European methods could also be traced at Agra in the manufacturing of leather goods in these new concerns as follows:

### 3.3.3.1 Stuart Boot and Equipment Factory along with Taj Tannery

The development and modernization of the leather footwear industry at Agra took place due to the initiative of two Kashmiri Pandit Dar brothers at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first leather factory named Stuart Boot and Equipment Factory along with the Taj tannery near *Tajganj*, Agra was set up in the year of 1902 by the pioneers, Pyare Krishna Dar, and Mohan Krishna Dar, popularly known as Kashmiri Dar brothers referred to above with a big capital of about Rs 5 lakhs. They first studied all the aspects of the shoemaking process and set up the factory along with Taj tannery near *Tajganj*, Agra. They felt interested in the manufactured of leather products and leather footwear. They took on long lease a suitable plot of land in the vicinity of *Tajganj* and set up that factory there.<sup>63</sup>

They also made arrangements for imparting technique instructions to the leather footwear and leather products to prepare young men of high talent and industrious nature. The factory was under the patronage of army officials and was managed by Europeans. Messrs. Cooper Allen & Co. also assisted it by placing orders so that, the factory could use the full capacity. Though the Dar's undertaking was launched after the name of Colonel Stuart, the manager of Government Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore, and had his blessings. But after sometimes, this factory had to

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<sup>63</sup> Gupta, V.K. (1980). Labour condition in the leather industry of U.P. (w. s. ref. to Kanpur and Agra). *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Agra, p. 22.

close due to mismanagement and lack of capital, lack of experience and keen competition.<sup>64</sup>

These Kashmiri Pandit Dar brothers again started a factory with private capital and managed the concern successfully. Dar brother's shifted that factory from *Tajganj* to their local area in *Ghatia* at Agra and tried their best to infuse new life into business, but the undertaking could not prosper even new premises. This factory laid the foundation of leather factories at Agra and introduced others, mostly Muslims and Jatavs, to establish or to set up new factories piecemeal and producing the fine leather goods.<sup>65</sup>

The unemployed artisans had to manufacture shoes on wooden lasts in their cottages at Agra. These cottages were the small factories or workshops, which served the purpose of technical schools for the training of a number of 1000 Jatavs and Muslims shoe-makers. Some of the unemployed artisans went to Kanpur during the closed condition of the Stuart Boot and Equipment Factory and got employed in the "Flex organization" (a tanning factory at Cawnpore). Some of the others went to Gwalior and got employed in Maharaja of Gwalior Tannery, Gwalior.<sup>66</sup>

In the Stuart Boot and Equipment factory, leather shoes were made on wooden last and when the workers trained in "Flex organization", returned to Agra, they began to use iron lasts which imported from England. Agra footwear earned fame in comparison with Flex and Gwalior footwear. Then, the division of labour in the manufacturing process was introduced modernized techniques in Agra. In 1908, the Taj tannery, *Tajganj* was brought and organized its working for two years in the name of Boot Eachment Factory by a Bengali tanner named Tahir.<sup>67</sup>

### 3.3.3.2 Shahganj Shoe Factory

Syed Mausil Reza, one of the foremost trader of Agra as well as honorary magistrate and municipal commissioner, was set up a western type of shoemaking factory named 'Shahganj Shoe Factory' at Agra in 1907, to meet the growing demand of all kinds of first-class boots and shoes for ladies and gentlemen in Agra, and also export in

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, pp. 22-23.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Prabha, A. (1985). A study of working and living conditions of labour in the leather footwear industry in Agra. *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Agra, p. 6.

different parts of India. It proved to be a very successful undertaking and a remarkable success was achieved by it in a short time. This factory had to work long hours for meeting the growing demand of Agra-made footwear to Calcutta and other important towns of Bengal, Bihar and Eastern U.P. However, the quality of footwear was still ordinary, though dependable, durable, and comparatively cheap. It also meets the demands of leather products to the English officers residing in Agra Cantonment.<sup>68</sup>

This factory comprises fitting, lasting, sewing, finishing, and other departments, in which two machines for sewing soles, two for splitting purposes, one sole and heel cutter, one for pressing soles, one for bending and riveting cardboard boxes, one for pairing and saving, another for polishing and several others making eyelet holes, the whole of the plant being driven by an oil engine. There were also five singer sewing boot “uppers” with thread supplied by Messrs. Williams Barber & Co to this factory. The proprietor employed about a hundred hands under the personal supervision of himself and his sons, and his plant was capable of turning out from 100 to 125 pairs of leather boots or shoes daily. Gents shoes prepared in that factory employing shoe machinery were sold at Rs 3/- to Rs 4/- per pair. This cheapness was one of the factors responsible for the popularity of Agra-made shoes.<sup>69</sup>

### 3.3.3.3 K.V. Shoe Factory

K.V. Shoe Factory was set up by two brothers named Khadam Ali Khan and Faiyaz Ali Khan in the *Kaserat Bazaar* at Agra in the year of 1911. Khadam Ali Khan was the elder brother, who was remarkable for his powers of organization, perseverance, foresighted vision and dauntless courage. This factory meets the demand of British officers and their troops residing at Agra Cantonment. This concern made phenomenal progress under the guiding genius of Khadam Ali Khan, and within a short time, the concern had to employed skilled *mistries* (artisans) to prepare new shoes in response to the increased demand and also to prepare the old worn out shoes of their customers. Their factory proved so successful that within the period of a year.

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<sup>68</sup> Playne, S. (1917). *The Bombay Presidency, the United Provinces, the Punjab, etc.: their history, people, commerce, and natural resources*/compiled by Somerset Playne; assisted by JW Bond; edited by Arnold Wright, p. 485.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

The brothers had to set up another factory to manage with their ever-increasing business.<sup>70</sup>

This unexpected profitable business was encouraged by Khadam Ali Khan, whose perseverance knew no limits, entered into correspondence with the British firm of reputations and obtained from the latest books and pamphlets on footwear manufacture and trade. He got from England, patterns of different qualities of footwear and also secured iron and wooden lasts for all sizes of footwear. He also obtained illustrated catalogs for Shoe machines and ultimately purchased machines for such operations as could add to the beauty, strength, and finish of the shoes. He installed all such machines in his own factory and thus demonstrated to the satisfaction of other dealers that Agra could hold its own in the manufacture of fine, fascinating and comfortable footwear. This factory earned not only a great name during the First World War, but also brought large sums of money by way of profit to the proprietors because, with the beginning of First World War, the demand of leather boots for the army was very much high. With that high demand, the factory prepared more and more pairs of boots for the army and had got a high profit on them.<sup>71</sup>

Besides giving a great motivation to the growth of the leather footwear industry of Agra, Khadam Ali Khan rendered another commendable service to this trade. He organized an Association of Shoe Factories and became its President and Patron. He persuaded them to set up a central market where all the shoe factors might have their respective shops and might also deal with the shoe merchants of other places. An imposing and impressive shoe market was built under his guidance and supervision in “*Heeng ki Mandi*” at Agra and its standstill today as a testimony of his foresight. K.V. Shoe Factory, too, is still doing creditable work in Agra with other proprietors.<sup>72</sup>

#### 3.3.3.4 Good Luck & Company

*Mistri* Hardev and Shiraz Uddin entered into a partnership and set up a factory under the name of ‘Good Luck & Co.’ looked up with the activities of Khadam Ali Khan and Faiyaz Ali Khan. *Mistri* Hardev had the unsurpassable skill in the art of shoe manufacture while Shiraz Uddin had the business acumen of a high degree. This

<sup>70</sup> Misra, S. (1980). Living and working conditions of labourers in leather industry in Agra. *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Agra: Institute of Social Studies, Agra University, pp. 8-9.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

factory was specialized in the manufacture of English style footwear by hand processes, without the use of shoe machinery. While K.V. Shoe Factory well equipped with the shoe machinery.<sup>73</sup>

Good Luck Factory and K.V. Factory did much to enhance the reputation of Agra shoe industry and rightly deserved credit for what they did. Their shining example had a very stimulating effect on the leather footwear industry of Agra and foresighted men having resources turned more attention to the footwear industry.<sup>74</sup>

### 3.3.3.5 Dhani Ram Bhalla & Company

Mr. Dhani Ram Bhalla came from Lahore and became a renowned figure in the leather shoe trade of Agra. He took up the chief agency of Messrs. Cooper Allen & Company of Cawnpore and English concern of repute, and just to help his sub-agents in the different towns of Northern India. Mr. Dhani Ram Bhalla set up his purchasing center named 'Dhani Ram Bhalla & Company' in Agra for the various cheap products of Agra cottage manufacturers. Mr. Dhani Ram Bhalla's services were undoubtedly praised worthy so far as the development and improvement of the cottage footwear industry of Agra were concerned.<sup>75</sup>

### 3.3.3.6 Dayal Bagh, Agra

The contribution made by Dayal Bagh, which was a factory cum leather institute, to the growth and advancement of the leather footwear industry in Agra, was very significant. When the Great Depression (1929-32) causing a great handicap to the industries. The following couplet of a poet of repute describes very beautifully this general feeling of the people as follows:<sup>76</sup>

*Gar B.A. bane Lohar aur  
M.A. Chamar ho;  
To dekhiye phir mulk mein  
Kaisi bahar ho.*

(If Graduate be Blacksmith and Post-Graduate be Leather worker  
Then look at the development of this country)

<sup>73</sup> Prabha, A. (1985). op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Misra, S. (1980). op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

This couplet described the practice in Dayal Bagh and educated young men came forward to manage diverse industries. The second important lesson taught by Dayal Bagh was regarding the utilization of waste-products of the leather factories. Dayal Bagh made leather buttons from the hitherto useless cutting and successfully supplied these to the Government of India's Defense Forces. The utilization of waste products was indeed a very valuable factor in the prosperity of the leather industry. Later, Dayal Bagh paid more attention to the manufacture of quality footwear. Dayal Bagh had to struggle hard and also had to face the cut-throat competition from various sides. However, Dayal Bagh's units continued to prosper.<sup>77</sup>

In 1930, the Director of Industries, U.P., approached the authorities of Dayal Bagh for taking under its own management the Government Leather Working School that was having its precarious existence in the city. The institution provided training for shoe-making both by the hand process as well as by the use of machines. Since the Leather Training Institute of Dayal Bagh had trained hundreds of artisans in the leather trade. Dayal Bagh Leather Goods Factory Private limited (hand-based) was set up in the premises of Dayal Bagh, Agra.<sup>78</sup>

Mr. Paul Brunton, a British Journalist of great fame visited the Dayal Bagh Leather Goods Factory in 1934, and it would be quite in the fitness of things that refer to the eulogistic words used by him in his book, 'A secret into secret India'. Later, in 1936, His Excellency Lord Wellington, the Governor General of India, visited the factory just too various the remark of Mr. Paul Brunton and got a pair of shoe machine from start to finish for himself in the record time of 15 to 20 minutes and was highly pleased with the product. He discards his English shoes and put on the new order.<sup>79</sup>

Besides these units which were set up in Agra in the course of time and also provides the way to set up other leather concerns in that contemporary period. The following units were also set up in Agra during that period is as follows:

- Dabar Shoe Factory
- China Footwear Factory
- Senior Shoe Factory

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<sup>77</sup> Prabha, A. (1985). op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Misra, S. (1980). op. cit., p. 15.

- Men's Shoe Factory
- Admen Shoe Factory
- Alexander Shoe Factory
- Poland Shoe Factory
- Maharaja Shoe Factory
- Kohinoor Shoe Factory
- Good Year Leather Shoe Factory
- Jandyal Shoe Factory
- Kheda Shoe Factory
- Tej Shoe Factory
- Alpana Shoe Factory
- Burma Shoe Factory, etc.

Some of these units were equipped with machines while others were making shoes mostly with the hand processes and without using any machinery. The daily out of these factories varied from one unit to another but the total monthly output of each factory was sufficiently high in the British period.<sup>80</sup>

### **3.3.4 Agra Shoe Manufacturers Association at Agra**

In 1941, the owners of leather factories in Agra were decided to form an association. After formation of the association, it got registered in the Article no. 21 of Indian Societies Act of 1861. The name of the association was "Agra Shoe Manufacturers Association". This association had 81 members of leather factories throughout Agra region. Shri A.N. Verma was elected the president of this association. It was gratifying to have the record that under the guidance of Shri A.N. Verma, the association was making steady progress. From time to time, manufacturers had come face to face with their difficulties and complications, but thanks to the right guidance of Shri A.N. Verma, they had been surmounted with graceful ease much to the relief and satisfaction of the persons concerned.<sup>81</sup>

Agra has added another feather to its cap by establishing two more tanneries at Bodla named "Wason and Company" and "Agra Tanneries" for the production of bark

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<sup>80</sup> Prabha, A. (1985). op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Misra, S. (1980). op. cit., p. 16.

tanned sole leather to meet the ever-growing requirement of the leather footwear industry. The credit for the establishment of these tanneries goes to the genius of Salvation Shri K.N. Wason and Shri C.S. Wason who migrated to Agra after the partition of India in 1947.<sup>82</sup>

### 3.3.5 Specialization Feature of Leather Footwear of Agra

Some of the localities that acquired name and fame in those days for manufacturing different types of English shoes were as under:- *Munda Pasa, Chhakki Pat, Idgah Agra, Teela Mannu, Shahganj, Heeng ki Mandi, Rui Ki Mandi, Burhan Sayyad, Budhawiya Gadi, Naubasta, Khandari, Mandi Sayeed Khan, etc.*, made different kinds of leather footwear. Besides the English types of boot and shoes, these units were also specialized in manufacturing the Indian types of shoes and boots. These shoes were usually made of “*Salim Shahi*” shape and often embroidered on bare leather with *Kala button*. The “*Washi ka Joota*” was made of velvet upper embroidered with “*Salma*” and “*Sitara*”. The insole of *Washi* shoes was usually of plain velvet but sometimes there was a little embroidery with *Kala button* “*Naqi*” or red dressed and tanned goat skin was for these and “*dhoar*” or tanned and dressed hide made the sole of an ordinary shoe. The manufacture of “*Jaipur*” style shoes had recently been started by some trained artisans who had migrated to Agra from Jaipur and settled in *Heeng ki Mandi* at Agra.<sup>83</sup>

### 3.3.6 Social Background of the Entrepreneurs and workers in Agra

Most of existing studies on history of leather industry focused on technical aspects of industry. The social background of industry is less focused area. Jatav & Chamar (Hindus) and Bhisti & Qureshi (Muslims) were the traditional workers who continue to dominate the domestic or household leather footwear industry in Agra. These communities have any presence in the export segment and trained artisans who have the hereditary work in leather. These artisans were the domestic performers, the general impression through the leather crafts. There were total lacks of support from the government in terms of schemes or incentive to promote the domestic footwear industry in Agra.<sup>84</sup> But finally, it can be said that these communities played an

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>83</sup> Jamaal, M.A. (1987). Leather industry in U.P. (with special reference to Kanpur and Agra). *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Kanpur, p. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). *op. cit.*, p. 40.

important role in the development of leather footwear industry in Agra through their hard work and they still doing the hard work in the leather footwear industry of Agra.

### 3.3.7 Leather Industry in Agra after the Partition

After the partition, there were some serious problems encountered by the leather shoe industry in Agra because most of the owners were Muslims who had migrated to Pakistan and that more migrations were feared by them. So, those evacuee properties were sealed by the Indian government. But, the security was expected immediately and the shop unsealed and gave over to the objector for the purpose of management. There were, of course, some cases in which objectors had insisted that they would not get their shops unsealed on undertaking and wanted that a clear release order should be passed in their favour. This proposal was not acceptable since it was not possible to release the shops unconditionally without looking into the merits of the cases. It was only the shops of such people who have made no applications to get their shops released on the undertaking that is lying sealed.<sup>85</sup>

The migration had been utilized by the Relief Committee of Jama Masjid, Agra for putting the blame upon the Evacuee Property Department and it was alleged by them that recent migration had taken place due to operations of that department. The contention was baseless since all material action had been taken in the 1940s and practically nothing expects immovable property was taken over during the year of 1950. All these shoe factories of Agra had either not been taken over as evacuee property or if taken over have been released on a suitable undertaking.<sup>86</sup> The *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind* (Muslim social organization) had proposed the following three points against the Evacuee Property Department in their memorandum:<sup>87</sup>

1. Those 100 shops were sealed on 31/08/1949.
2. That no proper enquiries were made.
3. That the Deputy Custodian Judicial' order was not executed.

After some time, the Custodian General who had come to Agra to inspect the work particularly that of sealing of shops had come on receipt of the representation of the Agra Shoe Manufacturers Association and the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind*. He held that

<sup>85</sup> UPRA, Agra, Industry Dept., File no. Cust. G/E.P./49-50, Box no. 184, p. 1.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, pp. 1-2.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

the action taken by them was perfectly legitimate and no exception could be taken on the propriety of the action.<sup>88</sup> So, the result was that this evacuee property was released and gave it to the relative of those shop owners who stayed in India during the partition and some of the whole sellers of Agra had suffered no loss due to the sealing of their shops since even while their shops were sealed, they were carried in their business at one place to the another place.<sup>89</sup> The following table shows that some of the evacuee property which was involved in that situation in Agra city is as follows:

**Table 3.8 (Some of the evacuee property in Agra city)**

| Name of evacuee        | Date of decision of D.C. (J) | Whether appeal or not | Nature of Property involved | Circumstances under which no session took | Use to which put     | Remarks                                   |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| Rahmat Hotel           | 06/06/1950                   | Revision filed        | Hotel with furniture        | Declared as evacuee property              | Put up for allotment | Revision filed by A.C. allowed            |
| Wahabuddin Shahabuddin | 21/05/1950                   | No                    | Shoe business               | -do-                                      | -                    | Released                                  |
| Good Luck Shoe Co.     | 25/05/1950                   | Revision filed        | -do-                        | -do-                                      | -                    | Released revision filed by A.C. dismissed |
| College Shoe Co.       | 13/06/1950                   | No                    | -do-                        | -do-                                      | -                    | Released                                  |
| Seth Jiwan Bhai Ismail | 30/06/1950                   | No                    | Shoe marketing and material | -do-                                      | -                    | Released                                  |

Source: UPRA, Agra, Industry Dept., File no. Cust. G/E.P./49-50, Box no. 184, p. 3.

The leather industry of Agra received a considerable set back due to the partition as most of the business was in the hands of Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after the

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

Partition. According to the census of 1951, the number of leather and tanning factories which were registered in U.P. was 22 in 1950 and the total number of workers which were engaged in these factories was 85,730 in 1951.<sup>90</sup> After the partition, most of the Muslims owners of the leather shoe factories were migrated to Pakistan. Then, this charming industry was hand over to Hindus, mainly *Punjabi* and *Sindhi*; upper caste Muslims and the new entrants who were mostly the educated middle class and belonging to castes such as *Baniyas* and *Kayasthas*. *Punjabi* and *Sindhi* families, who migrated from Pakistan to India, entered in this trade after partition. The Muslim entrepreneurs were originally from Agra and had family dominated business establishments in leather trade in other parts of India like some have family relations with big tanneries in Cawnpore. Entrepreneurs from the traditional leather working castes have not been able to make inroads into the export segment due to controlled access to resources and the inability to make huge capital investments.<sup>91</sup>

### 3.3.8 Types of Leather products

There were different types of leather products which were generally manufactured through the finished tanned leather in the leather factories of Agra city for the use of army and civil purposes is as follows:<sup>92</sup>

1. Saddlery and Harness
2. Leather Footwear
3. Leather cum Rubber Shoes
4. Leather Sandals and Sleepers
5. Consumer Goods and Wearing Apparel
6. The finish of Upper Leather
7. Leather Purses and Handbags
8. Leather and Fur Products
9. Sports Goods
10. Leather Kuppis for lighting
11. Jug green for Army, Police, and Home guard

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<sup>90</sup> Census of India, 1951 District Census Handbook Uttar Pradesh – Agra Division.

<sup>91</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>92</sup> Information given by Officer Incharge 'Agra Footwear Manufacture and Export Chamber (AFMEC)' in Agra in an interview during the fieldwork for this study, On August 30, 2016.

12. Leather Shield
13. Leather Sword Cover
14. Agricultural Leather Goods
15. Leather Jackets and Belts
16. Deer Skin “*Kitab*” (books cover) for *Warq Sazi*

### 3.3.9 Ancillaries Units in Agra

After the partition, the following ancillaries units were supporting the footwear manufacturers to producing the quality products as well as to increase the volume of products in the leather factories. These units were worked like the organizations which would help the artisans to produce quality products in different steps of footwear manufacturing in factories. Indian Govt. invested much capital to these ancillaries units for the development of leather products and increasing the demand for leather products for export purpose. Such kind of ancillaries units which were set up in Agra city are as follows:<sup>93</sup>

1. Shoe Last Manufacturers
2. Unit Sole Manufacturers
3. Molded insole Manufacturers
4. Ladies Heel Manufacturers
5. Shoe Laces Manufacturers
6. Packing Materials Manufacturers
7. Die and Mould Manufacturers
8. Footwear Machinery Manufacturers
9. Tools and Equipment Manufacturers
10. Leather Shock and Jacket Manufacturers

### 3.3.10 Category of Leather Factories in Agra after the Partition

In the British period, most of the factories were processing both tanneries and leather production in it. These factories were tanning the raw hides and skins and preparing the leather products simultaneously. But, after the partition, there was some change

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

appeared in the behavior of the leather industry of Agra. It might be classified into three categories which are still working in present times also is as follows:<sup>94</sup>

### **3.3.10.1 Leather Tanneries Industry**

Tanneries played an important role in the preparing of leather from its raw hides and skins with different types of operations which were performed in it. This type of units usually tanned the raw hides and skins into the leather with the help of tanning agents such as babul bark, wattle, or sodium bicarbonate which was used in the tanning process. These units preparing the finished leather through the tanning process and sold it to the leather factories.

### **3.3.10.2 Leather Footwear Industry**

These units ordinarily brought the different types of finished leather from the tanneries of different places. With the finished leather, these units preparing the different kinds of footwear such as shoes, sandal, chappal, slippers, etc. There were many kinds of processes which held in these units while manufacturing of footwear.

### **3.3.10.3 Leather Goods Industry**

This kind of units exists in less number in Agra city. These units also brought the finished leather from the tanneries and generally involved in the production of different kinds of leather articles such as saddlery, harness, purses, belts, shields, jackets, gloves, suitcases, kuppis, sword cover, kuppas, etc.

### **3.3.11 Types of Segments of Agra Footwear Industry**

Agra footwear industry could be divided into three segments is as follows:<sup>95</sup>

1. Fully Mechanized Units – in which the whole process of manufacturing the leather footwear is performed by machine only.
2. Semi-Mechanized Units – in which the whole process of manufacturing the leather footwear is performed by machine as well as hand-sewn techniques.

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

3. Cottage or Household Units – in which the whole process of manufacturing the leather footwear is performed by hand-sewn techniques only in their cottages.

### 3.3.12 Techniques of Footwear manufacturing in Agra

The process of shoe manufacturing is characterized as a machine-assisted hand operation as well as only hand operation also. It is divided into a multiplicity of minute, variable, distinctly separate operations, with a large number of separate machines to perform these operations in the factory. The manufacturing of shoes requires about 200 operations in which it moves in both hand and machine assists. The footwear craft is ordinarily divided into eight parts which performed in separate sections of the factory.

1. The first part is upper cutting section in which the finished leather is cutting into different size pieces for upper part of shoes.
2. The second part is upper fitting section in which the cutting pieces of upper part of shoes are finished and sewing together.
3. The third part is lasting section in which pulled over a last and cutting parts temporary attached to the insole.
4. The fourth part is a stock fitting section in which the sole of the shoes and box toes have been assembled.
5. The fifth part is bottoming section in which upper part the shoes and soles are sewed together.
6. The sixth part is making section in which three subsidiary processes are performed i.e. attaching, trimming the heels and trimming the edges of the sole.
7. The seventh part is scouring section in which scouring and waxing the sole of the shoes are performed.
8. The eighth and the last part is packing section in which the complete shoes are treeing and packing in the shoe box.

The leather industry of Agra received a considerable set back due to the partition as most of the business was in the hands of Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after the partition goes into the hands of *Sindhis* and *Punjabis* who were migrated from Pakistan to Agra with their big capital. In a short period of time, Agra occupied the

second position in shoe manufacturing in U.P. Labour was the main strength of the Agra footwear industry because of their hereditary work; the workers of Agra automatically become trained while observing all the manufacturing process in their units, home or in the neighbourhood.

The history of leather industry in Agra shows the character of colonial rule which carefully drafted economic policy for optimum use of India resolves and man power for both domestic and international trade. It also shows the ability of Indian merchant class to use the opportunities opened up by colonial rule. In present times, leather footwear industry of Agra is continuously finding their identity in the world trade and is still in competition nature on their tremendous past and achieving the best position in the business of the world.

## ***Chapter-4***

# ***Leather Technology and Leather Institutes in United Provinces***

## Chapter-4

### Leather Technology and Leather Institutes in United Provinces

#### 4.1 Introduction

India is one of the leading producers of hides and skins in the world. The world's production of hides and skins has been estimated to be between 76 and 102 million of the share of India was about 25 and 33 percent; of the world's production in 1934.<sup>1</sup> On account of this, India could spare a big surplus for export after meeting its own requirements. The United Provinces has a substantial share in India's export trade in hides and skins, and play an important role in the production of leather and in the leather trade. The leather industry was the 2<sup>nd</sup> rank next to the textile industry in India under colonial rule and it was recognized as a 'key' industry. The leather industry deals with many branches such as flaying of hides and skins, preservation and curing, manufacture of leather articles. At the First World War, the leather industry was reached the first position in the manufacturing of leather goods for the army purpose and civil demand. About 1914, many tanning factories and leather factories were set up in the different parts of India. Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut, Fatehpur, Allahabad, etc, were the main center of leather production in United Provinces under the British rule. The British Govt. also took place some policies for the development of the leather industry and improving the quality and quantity of leather production. In this respect, the British Govt. set up many leather institutes or leather working schools in different parts of United Provinces for training the artisans to produce high-quality leather products. In these schools, both the techniques were taught i.e., traditional techniques and European techniques to the artisans who were taken admission in these schools. The British Govt. also provides a scholarship to the poor students. After completing their course, these artisans got the job in the leather factories for their livelihood.

The chapter is divided into two sections; the first section deals with the leather technology applied in making leather from its hides and skins with the traditional and European techniques while another part of the chapter deals with British Govt. policies towards the development of leather industry to opening the leather institutes or leather working schools for making leather of high quality and for training the

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<sup>1</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). *Leather Industry*, Government Press, Shimla, p. 1.

artisans with modern techniques who would be serving in various leather or tanning factories.

## **4.2 Leather Technology applied in United Provinces**

The British rule has brought about technological revolution to India. The leather industry was brought grandly under new technological paradigm to meet the increasing demands of colonial rule. There are a number of techniques which are applied in making the leather from its raw hides and skins. In India, there were two types of leather technology applied such as traditional technology and European technology. These technologies were depended upon the tanning agents i.e., vegetable and chemical tanning agents. As United Provinces emerged an hub of leather products, new technologies were introduced to accelerate production.

### **4.2.1 Tanning Agents**

Tanning agents constitute an important part in the process of leather production. The hides and skins of certain animals which has been separated from the fleshy and fatty materials and prepared by means of chemical agents in such a way that it resists the influence to which it is naturally subjected is known as leather. Leather was produced from a variety of hides, kips, and skins. There were two types of tanning agents which were applied in the manufacturing of leather; first, vegetable tanning agents and second, chemical tanning agents.

#### **4.2.1.1 Vegetable Tanning Agents**

The substances used in tanning process were the bark, fruit, wood, leaves, and pods of different types of plants and trees and shrubs, which have the property of combining with gelatin to form an insoluble impenetrable compound, were another very important raw material for the leather industry. The various vegetable tanning materials were used in the tanneries of United Provinces are as follows:

##### **4.2.1.1.1 Babul (*Acacia Arabica*)**

The Babul or *Kikar* tree was the highly valued crude tanning material and the most extensively used tannin in the United Provinces. Tannin was found in the bark, their

leaves, and the pod. The pods might be used as a delimiting agent also.<sup>2</sup> Babul bark had formed a great staple for tanning. It was the most renowned tanning agent found in India and it was already in used in Cawnpore.<sup>3</sup> The following prices paid for babul bark, by the government and private leather factories, show the straits to which the industry was being reduced is as follows:

**Table 4.1 (The prices paid for babul bark by the leather factories)**

| Year               | Rate (1 cwt = 1.36 maunds) |    |           |
|--------------------|----------------------------|----|-----------|
|                    | R.                         | A. | P.        |
| 1890-91 to 1894-95 | 0                          | 10 | 0 per cwt |
| 1895-96 to 1897-98 | 0                          | 12 | 0 per cwt |
| 1898-1899          | 1                          | 4  | 8 per cwt |
| 1899-1900          | 1                          | 1  | 0 per cwt |
| 1900-1901          | 1                          | 3  | 4 per cwt |
| 1901-1902          | 1                          | 4  | 0 per cwt |

**Source:** Report on *The Feasibility of Forming Babul Plantations Near Cawnpore*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1902, p. 1.

The consumption of babul bark in Cawnpore tanneries alone was over 2, 00,000 maunds.<sup>4</sup> Babul was probably indigenous to Sind, Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Northern Deccan, and was cultivated or silt grew throughout most of the drier parts of India. The tree was most plentiful in Sind, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces, where it was grown in the plantation.<sup>5</sup> The principal tanning agents in mixture with myrobolan, *Sal*, *kahua*, etc., were used in Cawnpore; this procedure came to be known as the Cawnpore process throughout the country. The leather tanned from babul bark possessed a high degree quality of firmness and durability, producing excellent upper leather. To meet the requirements of various tanneries, the Irrigation Department of U.P. took up extensive plantation of babul trees along the canals. The Govt. of U.P. devoted its attention to the cultivation of these agents in places all

<sup>2</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). *A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*. Government Press, United Provinces, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Report on *The Feasibility of Forming Babul Plantations Near Cawnpore*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1902, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). *Location of Industries in India*, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, p. 158.

around the Cawnpore.<sup>6</sup> The 10-acre plantation of this species formed at *Rora* in the Jhansi division was in a thriving condition for domestic users and for export purpose.<sup>7</sup> The D.O.I. of U.P. reports that there were certain babul forests within easy reached of the stations *Moth* and *Punch* on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, which was believed to be capable of yielding many thousands of maunds of bark. These forests were at the disposal of the *Maharaja* of *Sāmbhar*, and Indian contractors were understood to have already made proposals for their purchase, but without success.

#### **4.2.1.1.2 Divi-divi (*Caesalpin Acoriaria*)**

It was an evergreen tree of low-habit, a native of South America and the West Indies. The pod was used as a substitute for sumach.<sup>8</sup> Government Harness and Saddlery Factory first imported the pods of Divi-divi from South America about in 1896. It was a new kind of tanning agent introduced in India which was planted near the River Ganges in the premises of Government Harness Factory, Cawnpore. It had never been used in Cawnpore by any other tannery except Government Harness Factory and there it had in disfavour. A “*leach*” of Divi-divi ferments rapidly and leaves a resinous deposit on the surface of the leather.<sup>9</sup> Divi-divi was not in general use in India because it took much time to grow and was not habitat in Indian weather.

#### **4.2.1.1.3 Sumach**

It was a small plant growing in Sicily (Italy) and southern Italy and Cyprus, was used in the Indian tanneries who working on European principles. The young shoots were collected, dried and ground to powder. It contains about twenty percent of tannin on the average and was employed for imparting the finishing colour.<sup>10</sup> Sumach and Quebracho extract were dutiable at 10 percent under the Import Duties Act, 1932. It was proposed to place Sumach and Quebracho on the United Kingdom free list.<sup>11</sup> Statistics of imports of Sumach into the United Kingdom is as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). *Workers and leather industry in Kanpur (1861-1947): transition from craft to factory production*, Shri Krishna Sahitya Sadan, New Delhi, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 501/1915, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, pp. 23-24.

<sup>10</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> NAI, Commerce Dept., Tariffs-B Branch, File no. 20-T. (40)/1934, p. 1.

Table 4.2 (Statistics of imports of Sumach into the United Kingdom)

| Year | From foreign countries (i.e. Italy) |                   | From British countries (i.e. Cyprus) |                   |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
|      | Quantity<br>(cwt)                   | Value<br>(pounds) | Quantity<br>(cwt)                    | Value<br>(pounds) |
| 1928 | 104,794                             | 69,851            | 1297                                 | 1132              |
| 1929 | 87,436                              | 64,223            | 6340                                 | 5236              |
| 1930 | 74,362                              | 50,745            | 11093                                | 8415              |
| 1931 | 62,119                              | 34,998            | 7426                                 | 5041              |
| 1932 | 58,518                              | 27,298            | 7123                                 | 4026              |

Source: NAI, Commerce Dept., Tariffs-B Branch, File no. 20-T. (40)/1934.

#### 4.2.1.1.4 Dhoara or Balki (*Anogeissus Latifolia*)

It was native of the Sub-Himalayan tract. It yields very dark tannin used only by natives, especially in Saharanpur.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1.5 Sal (*Shorea Busta*)

It was a valuable timber tree found in the lower Himalayas and the Central Indian plateau in these provinces. The use of the bark was chiefly confined to Gorakhpur. An extract used as a dye or tan was also prepared.<sup>13</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1.6 Glunt (*Ziziphus Xylopyra*)

It was a straggling jungle tree, the bark, and berries of which contain tannin.<sup>14</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1.7 Myrobolan or Har and Beraira (*Terminalia Chebula*)

It was the fruit of Terminalia Chebula, also used as a tanning agent in some places of U.P. This was the most valuable tanning material found in India which provides light coloured leather with little weight.<sup>15</sup> Myrobolan was found in the forests of Mysore, Hyderabad, Kolhapur and Deccan states, etc. The crushed fruit was used in the tanning industry and it was used to increase only after the introduced of the western

<sup>12</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 50-51.

method.<sup>16</sup> Statistics of imports and exports of Myrobolans from India and into the United Kingdom are as follows:

**Table 4.3 (Statistics of imports and exports of Myrobolans from India and into the United Kingdom)**

| Year | Import of Myrobolan into U.K. |     | Export of Myrobolan from India |      |
|------|-------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|------|
|      | Cwt                           | Rs  | Cwt                            | Rs   |
| 1928 | 658                           | 357 | 535                            | 3581 |
| 1929 | 496                           | 249 | 514                            | 3369 |
| 1930 | 602                           | 278 | 637                            | 3840 |
| 1931 | 574                           | 233 | 691                            | 3776 |
| 1932 | 613                           | 236 | 483                            | 2716 |

Source: NAI, Commerce Dept., Tariffs-B Branch, File no. 20-T. (40)/1934.

#### **4.2.1.1.8 Banda (*the ordinary word for mistletoe*)**

The parasite was commonly found on the mango-tree contain tannin. The leaves were stripped from the branches, which were pounded on a mat for extracting the tannin.<sup>17</sup>

#### **4.2.1.1.9 Amaltas (*Cassia Fistula*)**

It was a tree of moderate habit with yellow flowers succeeded by long pods, often two feet long. The tannin was found in the bark. It was not much used in this province.<sup>18</sup>

#### **4.2.1.1.10 Aonla (*Phyllanthus Emblica*)**

It was a tree of moderate size, with feathery foliage and a pleasantly bitter taste. It was found throughout this province. Tannin existed in the fruit, leaves, and bark.<sup>19</sup>

#### **4.2.1.1.11 Avaram (*Cassia Auriculata*)**

It was common in the drier parts of the Indian peninsula from Ajmer and the Yamuna River southwards, covering large areas in the Deccan. It was common on dry, stone hills in open spaces and in shrub forests and also occurs on black cotton soil and on

<sup>16</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>17</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

laterite near the sea-coast. Avaram bark was collected mainly in the Mysore and Hyderabad states and ceded District of Madras.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1.12 Wattle (*Acacia Decurrens*)

Wattle bark, a tanning substance of foreign origin, was introduced to the tanneries after the First World War in United Provinces. It had an advantage over other tannins. Since the infusions of tanning materials or keeping underwent many changes, and one of these was the loss of tannin, which in course of these changes, converted into a substance which was no longer absorbed by the hide. These destructive changes were very low with the wattle bark came to occupy the most important place amongst the tanning materials used in India. The Messrs. Cooper Allen & Co., and the Govt. Harness and Saddlery Factory, the two most important tanneries in India which were located at Cawnpore, started using this imported wattle bark.<sup>21</sup> The table shows the comparative tannin values of the materials is as follows:

**Table 4.4 (The comparative tannin value of the materials)**

| <b>Material</b> | <b>Percentage of Tannin</b> | <b>Percentage loss of tannin in the infusion after 60 days</b> |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Divi-divi       | 40%                         | 29%  |
| Myrobolan       | 35%                         | 24%  |
| Wattle          | 35%                         | 2%   |
| Avaram          | 16.6%                       | 10%  |
| Babul           | 14%                         | NA   |

**Source:** Sharma, T.R., (1946). *Location of Industries in India*, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, p. 159.

#### 4.2.1.2 Chemical Tanning Agents

The chemical tanning substances were used in tanning the hides and skins such as Sodium Dichromate. In consequences, the tanning industry of considerable size had been build up; but on account of the lack of local tan stuff and the presence of an

<sup>20</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>21</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 51.

important section of the chemical industry, chrome tanning was becoming more important.

#### **4.2.1.2.1 Sodium Dichromate or Chrome Tanning**

A unique feature of the Calcutta industry was that a considerable quantity of an inferior type of chrome-tanned leather was turned out by the Chinese tanners on the cottage industry basis. The use of chrome salts for tanning of hides and skins was developed in 1858 and then its use had rapidly expanded. Chrome tanning was a difficult process as very great skill and care was necessary for adjusting the doses of chemicals to the requirements of leather so that the finished product might not be damaged. Besides this superior hides and skins were required for this process because they did not gain at all in weight and pulp in the process of tanning as actually happened in the process of bark tanning. The greatest advantage of the chrome process, however, was that it takes less than a month for changing the hides into finished as against the period of six months taken up by the bark tanning process. Yet there was no doubt that the bark-tanned leather was superior to chrome-tanned leather in certain respects. Chrome tanning also was being adopted partly. From the point of view of preparing bark-tanned finished leather, the region from Cawnpore to Agra had become the most important area in the whole of India.<sup>22</sup>

Apart from the hides and skins and the tannins, the other raw materials used by the tanners in the U.P. were *Quick Lime*, prepared by incinerating *Kankar Sajji or rasi*, an impure carbonate of soda, found in *reh* from which it was separated by lixiviation. *Khari* was the impure salt, and *Alum, phitkari*, was imported into this province from the native state, Punjab.<sup>23</sup> Such types of minerals were usually used in many tanneries in the U.P. Both types of tanning agents i.e., vegetable and chemical tanning agents were in process in all over United Provinces. But the vegetable tanning agents such as babul bark and wattle were mostly used in U.P. rather than chemical tanning agents. The native tanners have generally used the babul bark in the tanning process while the European process contains both types of tanning agents in U.P.

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<sup>22</sup> Sharma, T.R., (1946). Location of Industries in India, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, p. 166.

<sup>23</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 51-52.

### **4.2.2 Tanning Operations**

Tanning word is derived from the Latin word for oak bark, denoted the process which converted the putrescible animal skin into the leather.<sup>24</sup> Animal skin is the basis of leather and some knowledge of its intricate structure and complex chemical composition is essential to an appreciation of the extremely complicated reaction involved in making leather. The skin of ordinary animals is composed of two parts, the epidermis, built up of cells which at the bottom are round and soft, becoming flattered and harder towards the surface and the corium or the true skin consisting of fibres which are loose and coarse at the flesh side and finer and more closely packed towards the surface. The fibres at the grain side are all horizontal, while that lower down lies in all directions. The bundles of fibres are tied together by bands which redissolved in the liming process, allowing these fibres to swell. The fibres then combine with the tannin to form leather.<sup>25</sup> The tanning industry of India till the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century could be based on such process which is classified as:<sup>26</sup>

- Tanneries producing finished vegetable tanned leather using bag tanning process.
- Tanneries producing vegetable tanned leather using European methods.
- Tanneries producing chrome tanned leather using chemical tanning agents.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, mostly the bag tanning process was used by the native tanner and the tanning factories all over the United Provinces. Both the methods such as traditional methods or European methods could be passed through these different kinds of tanning process i.e., Pre-tanning, Tanning, and Post-tanning process are as follows:

#### **4.2.2.1 Pre-Tanning Processes or Operations**

This operation contains different types of sub-processes which could be applied before the tanning process is as follows:

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<sup>24</sup> Wilson, J. A. (1928). *Chemistry of leather manufacture*, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 52.

#### 4.2.2.1.1 Flaying

When the animals were died or slaughtered as food. The flayers were flaying the hides or skins from their animal body by the primitive method through a sharp knife.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.2.2.1.2 Curing

Preparing the hides or skins begins by currying them with salt. This step of tanning for all kinds of hides involved the removal of the moisture. Since the hide removal from the back of animal was immediately attacked by bacteria. These bacteria which entered the pelt through the flesh side multiplied rapidly eating and pelt substance. It emitted a fluid which patronized the substance into a compound which was easily soluble in water. Since the bacteria did not survive without moisture, to protect the skin, tanner either treated the skin with some compound which the bacteria did not attack or removed all the moisture from the skin. For the latter, a layer of salt was placed between two hides; a number of hides were thus placed in packs and left in the sun for drying.<sup>28</sup>

#### 4.2.2.1.3 Soaking

The hides were received dry salted and they were soaked and worked in a stock-drum until they were soft enough for the next process. The main object of this process was to cleanse the salts hides thoroughly of all blood, salt, and other extraneous substances. It was a very important process as it removed the salt, which delayed the liming process.<sup>29</sup> Buffalo hides taken 30-40 hours to soak while cow hides taken 10-20 hours.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4.2.2.1.4 Liming

The washed hides were split into sides and placed in pits containing a mixture of lime, *sajji* (impure soda) in the proportion of one seer of lime for one hide and one seer of *sajji* for every ten seers of lime. The hides remained in the pits for 3 to 8 days depending upon the season. Longer liming was necessary for the cold weather.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>29</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Martin, J. R. (1903). *A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the Bombay Presidency*. Printed at the Government Central Press, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit.

#### 4.2.2.1.5 Unhairing

Lime has the effect of plumping out the shrunken hides, by allowing the fibres to swell and open, and of releasing the hair roots, thereby facilitating unhairing.<sup>32</sup> These hides were removed and unhaired with a blunt knife *khurpi*, and placed once again in the pit with a new lime solution of the same strength as before but to which *sajji* was not added. At this stage, great care had to be used in order not to damage the grain portion of the hides in any way.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4.2.2.1.6 Fleshing

This process consists of cutting the flesh off the hides with sharp knife specially made for this purpose. There were two methods of doing this work, either European or Indian. With the European method of fleshing very large two-handled knives were used while in Indian method small knives known as *rampi* were used. This work was difficult to do and could only be done by trained men.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4.2.2.1.7 Scudding

This consists of scraping hairs that might be on the hides. It was done over a beam with a blunt knife specially made for this purpose. After the hides had scudded they were carefully selected for the different kinds of work for which they were suited and stamps put on the different classes to distinguish them. They were then weighed one by one and the weight is known as the “lime weight” recorded. After weighing, the hides were bated.<sup>35</sup>

#### 4.2.2.1.8 Deliming

It consists of the removal of hair by a combination of chemical and mechanical processes. A lime solution again pasted to destroy the hair or attack the hair roots. So, that it would come free of the pelt; the pelts were soaked in the deliming solution again in the paddle vats, which generated a rubbing action to finally remove all the remaining hair on the hides.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Martin, J. R. (1903). op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Willcox, D. J. (1969). *Modern leather design*. Watson-Guptill Publication, New York, p. 6.

#### 4.2.2.2 Tanning Processes or Operations

This operation contains different types of sub-processes which could be applied at the time of the tanning process is as follows:

##### 4.2.2.2.1 Bating

The limed hides which were swollen were unhaired and fleshed on a tanner's beam, which was a stone slab, using a *rampi* or curriers knife. These fleshed hides were placed in clean water for 4 to 6 hours. This was followed by the next stage of tanning known as bating. The main purpose of the bating was the removal of the lime. The hides for bating were placed in large earthen vessels containing a fermented mixture of tan *gharas* of very old tan liquor of about 15° and one seer of *kan* (rice husk). Around four hides were placed in one vessel for about 4 days. Some tanners used water mixed with molasses or powered *mahuwa* flower as bates.<sup>37</sup>

##### 4.2.2.2.2 Suspending

The hides after bating lay on a slab and scraped on the grain side and then wrung dry. For removing the lime, the butt end of the hide was fixed to the top of a stout immovable stake, the neck was lapped over the middle of bamboo, about 3 feet long, which was then turned by men at either end like a windless. These hides were once again rinsed in the old tan liquor, then kneaded, rubbed and wrung dry on the stake again.<sup>38</sup>

##### 4.2.2.2.3 Pickling

The pickling of a pelt places it in a condition to receive and absorb the actual tanning agent. It was accomplished with a variety of acids, the most common of which was sulphuric acid, mixed with the common salt. This process was a form of preservation in itself and was the final step before the actual tanning.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 53, Also see, Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., & Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, Also see, Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 10, & Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 256-257.

<sup>39</sup> Willcox, D. J. (1969). op. cit.

#### 4.2.2.2.4 Tanning of hides

These hides were sewn up with *munj* into a bag containing a tan mixture of 15 seers of new and 10 seers of half-spent tannin (disintegrated babul bark), water and weak tan-liquor, another tan mixture consist of 2 or 4 pounds of small *banda* twigs which were pounded and mixed with water. *Banda* was sometimes substituted with babul bark, *sal* bark, and myrobolan. These hides bags filled with one of the above mixtures were suspended by the neck from a wooden tripped over a tree. The liquid which forced through the pores of the hide dripped into the tree below, this was again poured into the bag. After 24 hours, the hide was brought down and neck end was sewn up and the butt opened, the above process was repeated.<sup>40</sup> The hide was laid out in the final step, each side was sprinkled with four ounces of *Khari* (impure salt) and four ounces of bark dust which was rubbed into the hide.<sup>41</sup> By doing this, Indian tanner forced the tanning agent through the loose hide. In this way, the native tanner, tanned the raw hides and sent them for manufacture.<sup>42</sup>

While in the chemical tanning process, this method consisted of soaking the pelt in large revolving drums filled with soluble chromium salts, primarily basis Sodium Dichromate.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4.2.2.2.5 Tanning of skins

The native tanners adopted different methods for the tanning of skins which rarely used the bag process for skins, while the European tanners employed the same methods for the tanning of hides and skins, only the process in the case of the latter were proportionately shorter and materials used for tanning were smaller in quantities, the principle was essentially the same.

In the United Provinces, the tanning of skins was entirely in the hands of *chikuas* or *chiks*, who called themselves *Mohammadans*. They looked down with scorn on the Chamars who worked in cowhides.<sup>44</sup> The skins of goat and sheep were first of all washed and then limed for a day. The liming consisted of simply laying the skins in a mixture of quicklime and water for 5 to 15 days depending on the season, as in the

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<sup>40</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 54, Also see, Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 257.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Willcox, D. J. (1969). op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 55, Also see, Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

case of hides, longer liming was necessary for cold weather. The limed skins, which were swollen, were then unhaired and fleshed on a tanner's beam, which was a stone slab, using a two-handled knife. These skins were then placed in clean water for 4 to 6 hours and then began the next stage of tanning known as bating.<sup>45</sup> One consisted of smearing the skin with a thick paste made by boiling down *mahuwa* flower, half a pound of *marua* was used for one skin, which was then kept for 8 days. The skins were later washed and laid in the tan-liquor, which was placed in a mellow tan-liquor, which is one which had already been used several times; the skins were then gradually promoted until they reached the strongest and newest liquor. This process took 8 to 15 days, during which the skins were frequently handled, usually 2 to 3 times a day. These skins were then wrung out, for the butt end of the skins was fixed to the top of a stout immovable stake, the neck was lapped over the middle of bamboo about 3 feet long, which was turned by men at each end like a windlass. These skins were finally rubbed with *sajji* (impure soda) and bark dust, forcing the tanning agent through the loose skins. They were finally dried in the sun and were ready for the market.<sup>46</sup>

#### **4.2.2.3 Post-tanning Processes or Operations**

This operation contains different types of sub-processes which could be applied after the tanning process is as follows:

##### **4.2.2.3.1 Splitting**

Leather was similar to an ordinary band saw turned on its side that the rapidly splitting blade edge was horizontal. Leather was fed into the splitting tools which according to the thickness of leather into uniformity throughout the entire pelt.<sup>47</sup>

##### **4.2.2.3.2 Shaving**

The pelt was fed by shaving tools which further adjusted the uniformly the pelt's thickness.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Willcox, D. J. (1969). op. cit.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

#### 4.2.2.3.3 Dyeing

Aniline dyes were laid on and scrubbed into the finished leather with a stiff brush. They were obtainable in every bazaar and were very popular. The skin was simply stretched on a stone slab and the dye applied to it. The Indian tanners used the word “*rangana*” to indicate the processes of tanning. They were dyer rather than a preserver. By varying the contents of their hide bags, they could produce different shades of buff; e.g. *dhaora* gave a light yellow colour, *babul buff*, *sal* gave a deep orange-brown colour, one *chhatak* of copper and eight pieces of myrobolans gave black colour and *harsinghar* flowers and *sappan wood* gave red colour leather. These were merely rubbed on to the leather.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4.2.2.3.4 Staking

It was the process of softening the pelt by both pulling and rolling it to made it pliable. Staking governed the final firmness or softness of the pelt.<sup>50</sup>

#### 4.2.2.3.5 Finishing

It was the process of applying a thin film of several available finishing substances over the grain surface of the pelt. A finished film enhanced the colour and increased the pelt’s resistance to stain and abrasion.<sup>51</sup>

### 4.2.3 Traditional methods of tanning applied in United Provinces

The native tanners or traditional artisans continued using the bag tanning processes for tanning the hides and skins, till the British introduced the western processes of vegetable tanning and currying in 1857. In the traditional tanning, such above the processes were used thoroughly. There were no machines could be used in such processes. The tanning by native tanners was completely hand-based at this stage, in tanneries conducted on European principles, the tanned hides underwent many processes before they were fit for manufacture, First of all, the hides were shaved off of all inequalities, reducing as far as possible the hide to the same thickness throughout. To remove creases, dirt, and bloom (a compound of tannic acid and gelatin), the hide was made wet and scoured by hand with a stone. These were then

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<sup>49</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., pp. 17-18.

<sup>50</sup> Willcox, D. J. (1969). op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

placed in a drum which was revolving by hand filled with sumach mixed with water for 20 minutes, and then half dried. Finally, the hides were set out on a table, flesh side downwards on a layer of dubbing (made from the best of native tallow and cod-oil) and rubbed heavily. These hides were then 'slacked out' and given a coat of oil, and allowed to hang for four hours. This process was repeated. The leather was ready for the cutter's shop.<sup>52</sup>

#### **4.2.4 European methods of tanning applied in United Provinces**

The European method was first introduced by the French-Eurasians in the Madras tanneries which were established by the British Govt. producing leather for military purposes, and then European methods were introduced in the tanneries of United Provinces. Such above the processes were continued with some technical changes took place in this province or the use of machine started in the tanneries. The European process consisted of first washing the hides were soaked in the stock drum, which was built of planks, with a space of about two inches between each. The drum, also known as Cogger's roller, revolved in a pit full of water which percolated freely. The inside of the drum was studded with large wooden pins. The hides were stocked here until they were soft enough for the next process. The objectives of soaking and stocking were to soften the hides and remove the salt, as this impeded plumping; the hides were removed from the drum and washed.<sup>53</sup>

The hides were then placed in pits containing quicklime. These pits were six in number and were of a graduated strength. The strength of the lime solution and duration of process depended upon the class of leather to be produced. It took 10 to 15 days for each hide to pass through each of six pits. Lime had the effect of pumping out the shrunken hides, by allowing the fibres to swell and open, and of releasing the hair roots, which facilitated unhairing. The limed hides were laid over a tanner's beam which was a coarse block of wood in an almost vertical position. The hairs were scraped off by the beams men with a blunt knife standing over and behind the beam. The unhaird hide was then turned over and fleshed with a sharp two-handled knife, with great skill. At some places in U.P., fleshing machines were also used. At this

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<sup>52</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., pp. 16-17, Also see, Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 60-61.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 7, Also see, Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 59.

point, the hide was removed and tanned separately. The lime having served its purpose had to be removed. For this purpose, the hides were bated.<sup>54</sup>

For bating, the hides were placed in drums revolving in a pit containing a mixture of bran and water. They were remaining in this drum for 4 to 5 hours. Bran in fermentation produced ammonia, which removed the lime from the pores of the pelt cleaning out the filth and foreign matter and also expanding the fibres of the skin in the process. The hides were then laid out on a table and violently scrubbed to remove the released hair and dirt, but the main object of the scrubbing was to extract the fat deposit at the roots of the hair. From here the pelts were taken to the pits for the proper tanning.<sup>55</sup>

For tanning, the hides were first placed in the “suspenders” or “colouring pits” containing weak and mellow tan-liquor which set the grain and gave colour. The hides were hung up separately on a bamboo lying over the pit, flesh sides in. After 6 days, they were promoted to the ‘floaters’ which the six pits of graduated strength. From here the pelts went into the “dusters” which were it's containing a strong tan-liquor. Some finely ground bark powder was placed between each layer of hides to maintain the strength of the tan-liquor. The hides remained in the floaters and dusters for 3 or 4 months; here they were occasionally handled until they were fit to go into the “layers”. Here they lay for 6 to 8 weeks in a strong liquor and layer of fine bark between each pair. Here the hides were not handled while the floaters and dusters were graduated, the layer was not.<sup>56</sup> The use of drum in the tanning process was introduced at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century in U.P. The hides were placed in the drum for about 48 to 50 hours. This drum tanned leather was suited for ornamental work such as bookbinding or manufacturing other products. The Chrome tanning was also done in a drum with the aid of chemicals.<sup>57</sup> The leather tanning process is thus a complicated process involving technology, skills and massive labour.

#### **4.2.5 Leather Types**

There were different types of leather produced by both tanning methods in all over the United Provinces are as follows:

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, pp. 7-8, Also see, Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 59-60.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p. 8, Also see, Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, pp. 8-9, Also see, Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 60.

#### **4.2.5.1 White Leather (*safeda*)**

It was known as *safeda* or white leather made from the skins of goat or sheep in Cawnpore.<sup>58</sup>

#### **4.2.5.2 Red Leather (*nari or mesha*)**

Red goat skins were known as *nari* and red sheep skins as *mesha*. The first method was reported from Saharanpur and the second from Bareilly while the third was universal.<sup>59</sup>

#### **4.2.5.3 Patent Leather (*luk or barnish*)**

It was known as *luk* or more commonly *barnish* (i.e., varnish). The skin was pegged out and well rubbed with a mixture of curds and salt.<sup>60</sup>

#### **4.2.5.4 Blue Leather (*nilah*)**

This could be made of sheepskins or goatskin. Skins were rubbed in a mixture of copper filings, sal ammonia, and lemon juice.<sup>61</sup>

#### **4.2.5.5 Black Leather (*kasis*)**

The process was as for *nilah*, *kasis* (copper) being substituted for copper filings, or *kasis* might be rubbed into a tanned goatskin.<sup>62</sup>

#### **4.2.5.6 Shagreen Leather (*kimukht*)**

In Bareilly, a unique industry existed in which Shagreen Leather (*kimukht*) was made by a Mughal family using the skins of Asses and Horses.<sup>63</sup>

#### **4.2.5.7 Sabar Leather**

Sabar leather was made in the districts of Gorakhpur,<sup>64</sup> Saharanpur, and Bijnor. This was a leather made from the skins of *Cheetal*, *Para*, *Nahur*, *Nilgai*, *Sambhar*, etc. The

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<sup>58</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp. 13-14.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, Also see, Nevill, H. R. (1911). Bareilly: A Gazetteer, being Volume XIII of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, p. 68.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, Also see, Nevill, H. R. (1922). Gorakhpur: A Gazetteer, being Volume XXXI of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, pp. 73-74.

process of tanning was the same, but the bark of the *Sal* tree was used in tanning which gave a rich brown colour to the skin.<sup>65</sup>

#### **4.2.5.8 Pig Skin**

It was generally not famous in U.P. There was only one example of a pigskin saddle made by native Christians of the American missionary at Lalitpur.<sup>66</sup>

#### **4.2.5.9 Others Skin**

Crocodile and Iguana (*goh*) skins were turned out for ornamental boxes, trunks, and bags. This was turned out for only in the large tanneries in the execution of private orders.<sup>67</sup> The North-west Tannery Company at Cawnpore specialized in the dressing of crocodile, alligator and Sambhar skins.<sup>68</sup> The Saharanpur<sup>69</sup> report observed that “lion skins were not important in U.P. because the price varied from Re 1 to Rs 10”.

#### **4.2.6 Leather Products**

With these different kinds of tanned leather, such types of leather products were produced all over the United Provinces for domestic and international trade are as follows:

##### **4.2.6.1 Harness and Saddlery**

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was more demand for harness and saddlery of their transportation animals. In spite of this, the first leather factory was set up named Govt. Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore in 1867 for the meeting of demands of Harness, Saddlery, and Boots for the military purpose. But in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, civil demand for harness and saddlery decreased with the extension of motor transport in the cities.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Playne, S. (1917). *The Bombay Presidency, the United Provinces, the Punjab, etc.: their history, people, commerce, and natural resources*/compiled by Somerset Playne; assisted by JW Bond; edited by Arnold Wright, p. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p. 16, Also see, Nevill, H. R. (1909). Saharanpur: A Gazetteer, being Volume II of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

<sup>70</sup> Roy, T. (1999). *Traditional industry in the economy of colonial India (Vol. 5)*, Oxford University Press, p. 187.

#### 4.2.6.2 Boots and Shoes

The integration of internal commerce at first helped the leather manufacturer in the case of footwear.<sup>71</sup> The typical country footwear, reddish with a curved front, was beginning to become obscure, and, with it, a whole catalog of the product was on the way to a quiet exit. The *Shiroli*, or Poona Brahman shoes, the *marhatti* or the two-toed Ahmednagar shoes, the standard slippers or *chapl* of the entire North and North West and the *hafti* of the West, the Parsis' *Suratijora*, the Goa *sapat*, the Konkani Muslim's *zenanijuta*, the Memons' half shoes, the *bandhai*, *astaria* and *alga* of Central India, the *salimshahi*, *Punjabi*, *golpanja* and *zerpai* of the North, each serving a specific caste and regional clientele were no longer products worth remaining in connection with the cobbler's or mocha art.<sup>72</sup>

#### 4.2.6.3 Mashak

It was made of *halal* goatskins by the *Bhisti* for storing water. The *chhagal* was a water bag made of the skin of a kid. The *dol* was a water bucket used by the *bhisti* to fill their *Mashak*.<sup>73</sup>

#### 4.2.6.4 Kuppas

It was large leather jars for holding *ghee* and for storing the oil or any kind of liquid substances.<sup>74</sup>

#### 4.2.6.5 Kuppi

It was a small bottle of small capacity made on a mold of one layer only and it was also used in storing the kerosene oil for lighting.<sup>75</sup>

#### 4.2.6.6 Drums

*Danka*, *tabla*, *tasha*, *dhol* were made by *Dafalis* and *Bhands* or *Goaranis*.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p. 188.

<sup>73</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

#### 4.2.6.7 Charsa or moth

They were the tanned skins of buffaloes or cows laced in the form of a bag on a circle of wood, used for drawing water from wells for irrigation. *Moths* of larger size were occasionally made out of the skin of the *nilgai*.<sup>77</sup>

#### 4.2.6.8 Jurrab

It was the name of a kind of shocks made by the *Shirazes* of Saharanpur, especially made of *Sambhar* and *nilgai* skins, for the Muslims who wear it in the mosque at the time of prayer.<sup>78</sup>

#### 4.2.6.9 Sarnai

It consists of a couple of inflated *nilgai* skins supporting a *charpoy*. *Sarnais* were brought down to Hardwar from October to April by the *Paharis*. They were used in working fishing nets.<sup>79</sup>

#### 4.2.6.10 Book-binding

It was an old art in India. The ordinary *daftari* had neither skill nor artistic perception. The best man in Agra said that he could do good work if there was any demand for it.<sup>80</sup>

#### 4.2.6.11 Panni

It was very thin leather covered with a metallic coating resembling gold (*sunahli*) or silver (*rupahli*). It was extensively made in Lucknow.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to the above the following list of articles made of leather were<sup>82</sup> whips, horse's food bag (*tobra*), covers of boats, boxes (*patara & patari*), baskets, chairs, *ekkas*, and *bahals* (a kind of bullock cart), bags and purses, straps, ropes, belts (*peti & partala*), scabbards (*hathi*), and shields (*dhal*), sieve (*chalni*), bellows (*dhaunkni*),

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Chatterjee, A.C. (1908). *Notes on the industries of the United Provinces*, Delhi, p. 100.

<sup>81</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 22, Also see, Sharma, V. C. (1965). *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Lucknow*. Volume XXXVII. Government of Uttar Pradesh, Department of District Gazetteers.

<sup>82</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 23.

barber's box (*biswar*), etc. The following table shows the techniques and technology used in making leather all over the United Provinces are as follows:

**Table 4.5 (Technology used in making leather from hides and skins)**

| <b>S. no.</b> | <b>Raw Material</b>  | <b>Processes</b>  | <b>By-Products</b>   | <b>Products</b>   |
|---------------|--|---|--|---|
| 1.            | Hides and Skins <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cattle Hides</li> <li>• Goat Skins</li> <li>• Calf Skins</li> <li>• Sheep Skins</li> <li>• Sambhar Skins</li> <li>• Ass Skins</li> </ul>  |   |  |   |
| 2.            | Water  | 1. Washing  |  |   |
| 3.            | Lime   | 2. Liming<br>3. Unhairing<br>4. Fleshing<br>5. Deliming | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hair</li> <li>• Flesh</li> <li>• Ammonia</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plaster</li> <li>• Mattresses</li> <li>• Glue, Fertilizer</li> </ul> |
| 4.            | Bark <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Babul</li> <li>• Divi-divi</li> <li>• Dhoara</li> <li>• Aonla</li> <li>• Ghunt</li> <li>• Sal-Shorearobulsts</li> <li>• Amaltas</li> <li>• Myrobalan</li> <li>• Wattle</li> <li>• Banda</li> <li>• Sumach</li> </ul> | 6. Tanning  |  |   |

|    |   |                            |   |  |
|----|---|----------------------------|---|--|
| 5. | Salt <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sajji/Rasi</li> <li>• Khari</li> <li>• Alum/Fitkhari</li> </ul> | 7. Washing<br>8. Drying    |   |  |
| 6. | Dyes  | 9. Dyeing<br>10. Finishing | Leather Types <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Footwear Sole</li> <li>• White Leather</li> <li>• Red Leather</li> <li>• Patent Leather</li> <li>• Black Leather</li> <li>• Shagreen Leather</li> <li>• Sabar Leather</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shoes</li> <li>• Book-binding</li> <li>• Harness</li> <li>• Saddles</li> <li>• Belts</li> <li>• Asani/Janamaz (Praying Carpets, etc.</li> </ul> |

Source: Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 138-139.

To meet the increasing demand for leather products, new machines were introduced in all over the United Provinces by the British Govt. Very soon, the leather industry which was, since the ancient times essentially a cottage industry, was transformed into large factories located in different parts of U.P., producing high quality of leather products on a large scale. These leather products not only catered the demands of the army but the civil purposes also. With the large scale of production, the leather products were also exported to other states in the country and abroad.

### **4.3 Leather Institutes in United Provinces**

In order to develop the leather industry, the British Govt. had sanctioned a number of policies which carry on intensive propaganda to educate the owners of cattle, butchers in the slaughterhouses and the flayers. Govt. of United Provinces were taken such suitable steps in the development of the leather industry with regard to opening the

leather institutes or leather working schools in various part of United Provinces for providing the correct knowledge of leather manufacture.

#### **4.3.1 Policies of British Govt. regarding the opening of Leather Working Schools**

On August 31, 1907, an Industrial Conference was held at Nainital. In this conference, many of the steps were proposed with regard to industrial development in the United Provinces. Many of the resolutions were passed for the improvement of different kinds of industries in this province such as textile, wool, leather, etc. An important resolution was passed that educational institutes should be opened at Cawnpore, Hathras, Agra, Allahabad, Meerut, Gorakhpur and some towns in the Rohilkhand division, and the Lucknow. In these institutes, different subjects should be taught i.e., fitting, turning, moldings, carpentry, pattern-making, electrical wire-work, plumbing, copper-smithy, tanning, leather products. These subjects taught concurrently with the technical subjects should be practical mathematics, industrial drawing, and practical English taught by the direct method. For the admission in these institutes or schools, students should have passed the lower primary standard and age limit lies between 12-16 years. A record should be kept of the student's work after leaving school. Employers of labour should be invited to inspect these institutes and keep in touch with the students trained at them and keep records of their work. Less fees should be charged or no fees for conditional students. Scholarships should be given only to poor students who belong to working castes. The Head Masters of these schools should recruit through the Secretary of State. Evening classes might with advantage be opened at the institutes or schools for workmen of railway workshops and other industries in which the hours of labour were not long.<sup>83</sup>

In this industrial conference, some suitable steps were also proposed with regard to opening the new institutes, it would be sufficient to commence with the enlargement of Lucknow school and the construction of two new schools at Cawnpore and Gorakhpur. The initial cost of the schools might be proposed is as follows:<sup>84</sup>

Site.....Rs 5000

Workshop.....Rs 35,000

<sup>83</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 282/1908, Box no. 98, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Quarter for Head Masters.....                 | Rs 10,000 |
| Tools, including machine tools and plant..... | Rs 20,000 |
| Total.....                                    |           |
| Rs 1, 00,000/-                                |           |

The enlargement of the Lucknow school might be estimated at:<sup>85</sup>

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Extension of the site in bazaar.....   | Rs 10,000 |
| Boarding House.....                    | Rs 20,000 |
| Additional workshop accommodation..... | Rs 10,000 |
| Additional tools and plant.....        | Rs 10,000 |
| Total.....                             |           |
| Rs 50,000/-                            |           |

The non-recurring expenditure would, therefore, be 2.5 lakhs and the total recurring charges on these institutes would, therefore, be Rs 37,500. Two Head Masters would be required on Rs 300-40 annas-500 paisa per mensem (three months). They should be men of the position of foremen mechanics who have had technical training.<sup>86</sup>

For the development of the leather industry in the United Provinces, The British Govt. sanctioned a number of tutorial classes in villages of U.P. These classes while demonstrating the improved methods also assist the village tanners in various subsidiary problems, Vis:<sup>87</sup>

- The improvement which could be made in their manufacture to make them more useful and popular.
- The manufacture of leather products should be of fine quality.
- The use of the proper material.
- The real need of the consumers.
- A market where they could sell their goods at an advantage.
- Methods to controls the cost of production.

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Shrivastava, L. N., (1934). op. cit., p. 1.

These tutorial classes were located in or near the places where there were a number of village tanners doing tanning. Their actual system of workers thoroughly examined, in order to improve their traditional methods and they were taught to follow the organized their trade in one or two years, the classes moved to another place leaving behind a sort of small mode tannery handed over to the workers trained there.<sup>88</sup> In spite of this, the British Govt. took many steps for the development of the leather industry. A brief note on the condition and situation regarding the opening of leather working schools and tanning classes in various cities of this province such as Cawnpore, Agra, Fatehpur, Meerut, Bahraich, etc. is useful.

#### **4.3.1.1 Leather Working School at Cawnpore**

In the first meeting of the Board of Industries which was held on 5<sup>th</sup> December 1914, some suitable steps were considered with respect to the development of the leather industry in this province. In the second meeting of Board of Industries which was held on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1915, Mr. H. Ledgard, member of the board, said that they had been associated with the leather industry for about 30 years and wanted to open a leather working school in Cawnpore. There were large opportunities for expansion and improvement of the leather industry because of the First World War. There was a great demand for raw hides and skins and leather products from this province and they thought that even the village tanners should be trained to turn out better material. Finally, the board was considered to establish a leather working school in Cawnpore in this meeting.<sup>89</sup>

It was decided in another meeting that leather working school at Cawnpore would be opened on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1915 and Mr. D.N. Rozdon appointed as an Assistant Head Master, officiating as Head Master, for a period of one year on a salary of Rs 250 per mensem (three months) with no allowance for quarter, that at the end of eleven months Mr. Rozdon would be informed whether local Govt. wishes to retain his service for a further period of one or two years, and that he would be reviewed whenever it was decided to place the school on a permanent footing.<sup>90</sup> Mr. Rozdon had been engaged in the boot and shoe trade for about 18 years and was now 40 years of age. Mr. Rozdon was a Kashmiri Brahman. He had spent all his time with the firm

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 180/1915, Box no. 195, p. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

of Rozdon Brothers of Amritsar and managed that firm. He was a practical man and appeared to be qualified in all the branches specified in the note relating to the project for the leather working school. In that course of his experience, he had trained a number of lads for the leather trade and provides a special course to eight youths who send by him from Nasirabad for training in this new school.<sup>91</sup> The British Govt. sanctioned an expenditure of Rs 4,825 during that year in which the leather working school was opening at Cawnpore is as follows:<sup>92</sup>

Recurring expenditure (repeated again)

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| One Assistant Head Master.....           | Rs 250   |
| Three <i>mistries</i> on Rs 35 each..... | Rs 105   |
| One clerk.....                           | Rs 30    |
| Menials.....                             | Rs 20    |
| Rent of school building.....             | Rs 70    |
| Contingencies.....                       | Rs 50    |
| Total.....                               | Rs 525/- |

(Per mensem or for three months i.e. Dec 1915, Jan 1916 & Feb 1916)

Non-recurring (not repeated again)

|                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Furniture.....        | Rs 1000 |
| Tools and Plants..... | Rs 750  |
| Stores.....           | Rs 1500 |
| Total.....            | Rs 3250 |

There were some general features and functions of this leather working school which were made by the British Govt. are as follows:<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, pp. 5-6.

- Age Limit – It was recommended that candidates should be between 12 and 14 years of age.
- Class of Pupils – An artisan class might be formed subsequently, but the aim should be to secure the young lad and teach him the correct methods. Experience shows that the sons of Chamars were at this age peculiarly receptive.
- Qualification –Students should have passed the lower primary standard.
- Stipends and Scholarships – It was recommended that any stipends be paid to pupils as it should not be necessary to pay students to learn. But Scholarships might be granted to meritorious pupils for good progress and satisfactory attendance.
- Syllabus – The syllabus taught in this school is as follows:
  - The anatomy of the foot-broad principles
  - Drawing
  - Plane Geometry-elementary
  - Methods of measurements
  - Lasts
  - Clicking and cutting, with special reference to the quality and value of the different parts of the hides and skins
  - Fitting
  - Bottoming
  - Finishing
  - Miscellaneous items such as trunks, cases gaiters, straps of different classes, handbags, and satchels.
- Period of Course – Course would be desirable for a period of two years. After the duration of six months, schools should be practicable to pay Rs 3 for three months to the pupils.
- Staff – It would be a Head Master, whether it would be Indian or foreigner. A well-qualified assistant would be needed to aid in the instructional work; four *mistries* for practical help and demonstration work, a store clerk, and the usual manual servants.

- Building – A building containing four rooms each 20' X 20' would be sufficient; a hostel was not required but quarters for Head Master might be provided.
- Furniture – Common work-benches, cutting boards, deal tables, and stools would form the bulk of this, together with the usual appurtenances of an office.
- Tools and Plant – The school would need only two sewing machines – one for heavy and one for light work, and an eyelet machine also. The tools would be needed for the usual implements in common use.
- Stores – It would be sufficient to provide stores of tanned leather for production of 250 pair's boots and shoes or leather products. The sale of products should provide funds for replacements.
- Location – The school should be situated in Cawnpore city.
- Cost – Cost of expenditure in this school is as follows:

## Non-recurring

|                            |             |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| School Building.....       | Rs 3200     |
| Head Master's quarter..... | Rs 1000     |
| Furniture.....             | Rs 750      |
| Tools and Plant.....       | Rs 1500     |
| Total.....                 | Rs 14,450/- |

## Recurring

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Head Master average pay Rs 400/month.....              | Rs 4800   |
| Assistant Head Master average pay Rs 150/month.....    | Rs 1800   |
| Four <i>mistries</i> average pay Rs 35 each/month..... | Rs 1680   |
| One clerk average pay Rs 30/month.....                 | Rs 360    |
| Menials.....   | Rs 250    |
| Total.....   | Rs 8890/- |

The first Leather Working School was started as an experimental measure at Cawnpore on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1916 with five students only. But till October 1917, there were 43 students admitted in that school on the rolls out of which 14 were local residents and the rest were from outstations such as Saharanpur, Meerut, Aligarh, Agra, Mathura, Bareilly, Lucknow, etc. Out of which 43 students who were registered in this school, 31 were classified as Muslim, 3 were belonging to a shoe-maker class, 8 were Christians, and one was Brahman. The school was at that time in a rented building which was situated on the road to *Nawabganj* opposite *Allenganj*, Cawnpore. There were no fees for students and tools and implements were supplied free for training. No stipends were paid to pupils, but scholarships were being awarded to meritorious pupils for good progress and satisfactory attendance. The schools hours were between 10 am to 4 pm with 15 minutes break at midday for lunch. Students had the academic qualification when they were admitted to that school were 4 entrance standard; 10 middle standards; 23 upper primary standard and 6 lower primary standard.<sup>94</sup>

The method of instruction followed in that school was based on oral and written. The training was provided in through kept with the general requirements of the local and provincial trade and especially aid producing efficient hand workmen. This school was recognized by manufacturers and trading classes and it was not expected that depressed students would have any difficulty in finding good employment in leather factories or commencing small business on their own account. A student, who had got special training, had, after successfully completing his course and passing his first batch on August 1917, got an appointment as a master workman on the payment of Rs 40 per mensem in a leather factory.<sup>95</sup>

The school achieved a great deal of practical work and fully employed in the making of boots, shoes, bed straps, belts, trunks, dark bags, and other articles which were generally supplied to Govt. officers, and which was taking a keen interest in the products of the school. The work done by the students of the school had always been officials who had elicited administration from officials who had visited the school as well as from the general public. The sale proceeds of the goods manufactured at the

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

schools of Rs 1636, 2 annas, and 9 paise till Oct. 1917 and provided funds for replacements.<sup>96</sup>

The main feature of the training provided in the school was intended not merely to provide useful information and practices, but to developed and disciplined the mind both generally and with special reference to problems which must be faced in business life after the school career was over.<sup>97</sup> There was no other leather working school of that type in India at that time but the government has decided to set up the other schools in United Provinces on a permanent basis. The consensus of opinion was that the establishment of that school would encourage and foster the growth of the leather industry and would help to turn out more efficient labour for existing leather factories. Till October 1917, the recurring expenditure on the school was Rs 6,600, including of the officiating Head Master at Rs 275 per mensem.<sup>98</sup>

In 1920, the numbers of students were raised up to 45 and there had been a very large demand for students from employers and the school had not been able to cope with this demand. The ex-students were employed and well-spoken of by Messrs. Cooper and Allen Company, North-west Tannery, Govt. Harness and Saddlery Factory, Messrs. Carlton and company Lucknow, Baroda Government and other employers. A large number of students had started undoubtedly due to the ease with which students find remunerative employment. So, the British Govt. decided to the appointment of a storekeeper and a workshop attendant for the leather working school at Cawnpore. The items had been finally passed and included in the budget for 1920-21 in that school is as follows:<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid, p. 21.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, p. 16.

**Table 4.6 (The items had been finally passed and included in the budget for 1920-21)**

| Name of departmental budget                | Major had the budget to which the charge was debatable | Serial number of item | Nature   | Recurring Expenditure | Non-recurring expenditure |
|--|--|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Technical Industrial education institution | 22- Education  | 6                     | Appointment of a storekeeper and draftsman on Rs 40 per mensem | Rs 480                | -                         |
| Technical Industrial education institution | 22- Education  | 7                     | Appointment of a workshop attendant on Rs 10 per mensem        | Rs 120                | -                         |

**Source:** UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 180/1915, Box no. 195, p. 16.

In December 1920, Govt. had increased the pay scale of Mr. Rozdon was Rs 500, 20 annas and 600 paise per three months. The designation might be altered from Head Master to that of Principal and the grant of free quarters or a house rent allowance in lieu would be considered when the new building for the leather working school in Creet's compound would be ready.<sup>100</sup> The school was running successful and achieved gratifying results as per Govt. policies. This reference had only to be made to the remarks on the working of the school made by Mr. A.H. Silver, Director of Industries, United Provinces, as well as said nothing of the favourable remarks recorded by a number of distinguished visitors, mention amongst whom might be made of M.V. Kibe, Sardar Rao Bahadur, Home Minister, Holkar State, Indore; I.C.K. Peterson, Esq., Controller of Munitions and Director of Industries, Bengal; R.C. Hobart, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Unnao; S.M. Rajan, Esq., Director of Industries, Baroda; Hon'ble Mr. Madhusudan Dayal, Member of Board of

<sup>100</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 180/1915, pp. 96-97.

Industries, Education Section, United Provinces; E.A. Scott, Esq., Director of Industries, Punjab and H. Stanley Jevon, Esq., Allahabad University.<sup>101</sup>

In 1934, Mr. L.N. Shrivastava had appointed as a new principal of the leather working school at Cawnpore. The British Govt. had passed the new resolution for the new school building was that all the house and compound would be known as Dr. T. Cauls Bungalows situated at Bithur road, opposite Allenganj, Cawnpore and containing by measurement of 68 acres more or less and bounded on the north side by Bungalow belonging to Messrs. Munnalal & Son; on the east side by Bungalow no. 24/300 belonging to Dr. T. Caul; on the west side by Khalsi line road and shown on the plan annexed hereto with boundaries colored with red pencil. A brief description of the new bungalow attached to the ground of this school is as follows:<sup>102</sup>

- One Allahabad tiled roof kitchen.
- One *Kothari* without *verandahs* (tiled roof).
- Five *Kothries* with *desi* tiled roof *verandahs*.
- Three open *desi* tiled roof sheds.
- One motor garage.
- Two latrines or toilet.
- One tin shed toilet.

The D.I.C. had proposed and approved that Mr. K.L. Muir, was appointed as the principal of the school after the retirement of Mr. L.N. Shrivastava from the post of principal on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1950 as a permanent basis because D.I.C. had found their work to be entirely satisfactory.<sup>103</sup> In 1952, the Indian Govt. had proposed new policy regarding the reorganization of Government Leather Working School at Cawnpore. This proposal was included provision for the erection of sheds etc. purchase and installation of machines, shifting of Govt. Tanning classes, Fatehpur to Cawnpore. The budget estimate for production staff required at the leather working school, Cawnpore and for shifting tanning school, Fatehpur to Cawnpore. The estimated budget only for 6 months from Sept. 1952 to Feb. 1953 is as follows:<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p. 94.

<sup>102</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 402/1935, Box no. 372, p. 5.

<sup>103</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 608 (5)/1951, Box no. 14, p. 2.

<sup>104</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 149 (ED)/1955, Box no. 03, p. 3.

Table 4.7 (The estimated budget only for 6 months from Sept. 1952 to Feb. 1953)

| Head & Items                                      | No. of Posts | Estimates |
|---|--------------|-----------|
| Pay of Officers                                   | -            | -         |
| Pay of Establishment<br>(Instructional Staff)     |              |           |
| • Foreman (Rs 200)                                | 1            | Rs 1200   |
| • Supervisor (Rs 120)                             | 1            | Rs 720    |
| • Mechanic (Rs 120)                               | -            | -         |
| • Assistant Lathe Mechanic (Rs 85)                | 1            | Rs 510    |
| Total   | 3            | Rs 2430   |
| (Clerks)  |              |           |
| • Accountant (Rs 80)                              | 1            | Rs 480    |
| • Storekeeper (Rs 60)                             | 1            | Rs 360    |
| • Clerk-cum-typist (Rs 60)                        | -            | -         |
| Total   | 3            | Rs 840    |
| (Servants & Attendants)                           |              |           |
| • Store-attendants (Rs 25)                        | 1            | Rs 150    |
| • Peon (Rs 25)                                    | 1            | Rs 150    |
| • Servants (Rs 25)                                | 1            | Rs 150    |
| • Packer (Rs 25)                                  | 1            | Rs 150    |
| • Gateman (Rs 25)                                 | 1            | Rs 150    |
| • Chowkidar (Rs 25)                               | 1            | Rs 150    |
| Total   | 6            | Rs 900    |
| (Allowances & Honoraria)                          |              |           |
| • T.A.  | -            | -         |
| • D.A.  | -            | Rs 710    |
| • Other Allowance                                 | -            | Rs 72     |
| Total   | -            | Rs 800    |
| (Contingencies)                                   |              |           |
| Recurring   |              |           |
| • Miscellaneous contingencies                     | -            | Rs 1100   |
| • Purchase of stores and materials                | -            | Rs 4000   |
| Non-recurring                                     |              |           |
| • Purchase of machinery and erection for tanning  | -            | Rs 20,000 |
| Total   | -            | Rs 25,100 |
| (Works)   |              |           |
| • Construction of sheds, pits, etc. for tanning   | -            | Rs 20,000 |
| (Industrial Development)                          |              |           |
| • Commercial operation including payment of wages | -            | Rs 10,000 |
| Grand Total for production staff                  | -            | Rs 60,000 |

Source: UPISA, Industries Dept., File no. 149 (ED)/1955, Box no. 03, p. 3.

With the tremendous achievements of leather working school at Cawnpore, the British Govt. proposed other leather working schools in different parts of United Provinces such as Meerut, Agra, Allahabad, Barabanki, Bahraich, and Fatehpur, etc. The Cawnpore and Agra leather working school was achieved many praises and still working in present time which is undergoing progress and provide education to many students with new names i.e., Government Leather Institute at Allengunj, Kanpur and Government Leather Institute at Nunhai, Agra.

#### 4.3.1.2 Leather Working School at Meerut

The Meerut city was famous for its leather sports goods industry in all over the province. The British Govt. proposed to establish a new leather working school at Meerut on the basic line of the leather working school, Cawnpore. With regard to this, in resolution no. 23 which was passed by the Education section on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1919, to open a leather working school at Meerut. The committee supported the request of *Lala Madhusudan Dayal* for the establishment of a school in Meerut on the basic line of school at Cawnpore.<sup>105</sup> The British Govt. sanctioned the estimate for open the leather working school at Meerut is as follows:<sup>106</sup>

##### Non-recurring

|                    |           |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Furniture.....     | Rs 1000   |
| Tools & Plant..... | Rs 1000   |
| Stores.....        | Rs 1000   |
| Total.....         | Rs 3000/- |

##### Recurring

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| Superintendent (Rs 100 per month).....      | Rs 1200 |
| One <i>mistri</i> (Rs 60 per month).....    | Rs 720  |
| Second <i>mistri</i> (Rs 50 per month)..... | Rs 600  |
| Clerk (Rs 40 per month).....                | Rs 480  |

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<sup>105</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 149/1919, p. 19.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, p. 20.

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Two menial servants (Rs 14 per month each)..... | Rs 168    |
| Contingencies (Rs 500 per month).....           | Rs 600    |
| Scholarships (Rs 20 per month).....             | Rs 240    |
| Rent of building (Rs 70 per month).....         | Rs 840    |
| Total.....                                      | Rs 4848/- |
| Grand Total.....                                | Rs 7848/- |

The total charge, viz. Rs 7,848 would be entered into the schedule of new demands for this school in the upcoming session of 1920-21.<sup>107</sup>

#### **4.3.1.3 Leather Working School at Agra**

Dayal Bagh institute was achieved very significant and deserving contribution in the growth and advancement of the leather footwear industry in golden words at Agra. Dayal Bagh institute tried to the development of industries at a time when depressed and discouragement was the order of the day and the young man felt frustrated owing to the keen competition of the British industries.<sup>108</sup> Dayal Bagh proposed to open a Leather Working School at their premises that was having its precarious existence in the city. The advantages to the luminous of leather working school were manifest as they were able to enjoy full facility for making shoes and processes under the expert guidance of the factory training in performing an operation on the shoe machine. Hundreds of young men had received useful training in footwear crafts in the Dayal Bagh Leather Working School.<sup>109</sup>

But Dayal Bagh authorities were admitted only those students who belonged to *Radhaswami* sects. The British Govt. recommended to Dayal Bagh Institute to reserve as many as half seats for Muslims or for Hindus who did not belong to the *Radhaswami* sect. The British Govt. also sanctioned a grant of Rs 10,000 per annum to Dayal Bagh Model Institute at Agra for such poor students on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1925.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Misra, S. (1980). Living and working conditions of labourers in leather industry in Agra. *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Agra: Institute of Social Studies, Agra University, pp. 11-12.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, pp. 13-14.

<sup>110</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 674/1921, p. 7.

Beside Dayal Bagh leather working school, Mr. Rozdon, Principal of Cawnpore School, had given suggestion to opening the leather working school at Agra on the basic lines of Cawnpore school in 1925 because Agra was famous for its leather footwear industry. The Board thoroughly approved of this proposal to start a well-equipped leather working school at Agra. The estimate of expenditure for the set up of new leather working school at Agra is as follows:<sup>111</sup>

Non-recurring

|                    |           |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Furniture.....     | Rs 1000   |
| Tools & Plant..... | Rs 1000   |
| Total.....         | Rs 2000/- |

Recurring

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Superintendent (Rs 150).....                                  | Rs 1800   |
| Instructor (Rs 50 or Rs 60).....                              | Rs 1320   |
| Clerk (Rs 40).....  | Rs 480    |
| Two servants (Peon on Rs 12 & <i>Chowkidar</i> on Rs 12)..... | Rs 288    |
| Artisans stipend tenable for ten months.....                  | Rs 161    |
| Purchase of stores.....                                       | Rs 1000   |
| Purchase and repair of tools.....                             | Rs 100    |
| Prizes to be awarded at the close of the year.....            | Rs 65     |
| Rent of school building.....                                  | Rs 900    |
| Other miscellaneous charges.....                              | Rs 600    |
| Allowance of Head Master, Cawnpore School.....                | Rs 1200   |
| Total.....  | Rs 7914/- |
| Grant Total.....  | Rs 9914/- |

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

Dayal Bagh institute also applied for the permanent acquisition of land measuring 17 Bighas & 15 Biswas, which was situated at Village *Jaganpur*, Agra in 1946 for the purpose of construction of “quarters for the staff employed, and students of *Radhaswami* Educational Institute particularly known as leather working school at Agra.” But the detailed enquiry and local inspection of sites personally made by British officers and found that the local tenants and landlords were objected to the acquisition of the land.<sup>112</sup> The local Govt. prepared a report on this matter that the leather work had been much reduced after the Second World War. Hence, there was no need for quarters for the employees and students of this leather working school, Dayal Bagh institute at Agra. On 30<sup>th</sup> September 1946 under section 4(1) of the Land Acquisition Act, the objection of the poor tenants is considered in the light of local Govt. order and applications of the Dayal Bagh were rejected.<sup>113</sup>

#### **4.3.1.4 Government Tanning School at Fatehpur**

For the development of cottage tanning industry, the British Govt. proposed to open the tanning classes for improving the method of tanning in this province. The British Govt. was set up a Government Tanning School at Fatehpur in 1927 for training the artisans in the tanning process. A large number of young men from this province as well as from other provinces had taken advantage of the facilities available at this school. Tanning industry had made rapid strides in recent years and needed trained personnel to handle modern machines and use of European methods of tanning. In order to meet this demand, it was proposed to admit high school passed a student who belongs to the science stream. So, it was to equip them with training, on the European methods of tanning on a more sound and scientific basis. It was necessary to provide qualified staff and strengthen the existing equipment at the school. Further, the school was ideally suited for starting classes in leather goods production, as the raw materials required for the class would be readily available at the school. The students of this school would also have the advantage of knowing the rudimental of tanning which was an allied trade.<sup>114</sup> Govt. of United Provinces proposed a prospectus for the Govt. Tanning School at Fatehpur is as follows:<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> UPRA, Agra, Municipal Dept., File no. 62/44-45, Box no. 120, p. 98.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p. 91.

<sup>114</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 13/1955, Box no. 04, p. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 318/1928, pp. 42-43.

- The object of the school – To trained village tanners in the European methods of tanning, curing and finishing.
- Advisory Committee – The school had an advisory committee appointed by Govt. authority.
- Admission – Selection would be made by a committee consisting of the secretary of the advisory committee attached to the school, two members of the advisory committee nominated by the Director of Industries, and the Headmaster.
- Session – Session start from July to May and it would close during June.
- Examination – It would be written and oral as well as practical in the month of May.
- School Hours and Holiday – School hours would be between 42 and 48 hours per week and summer vacation would be in June.
- Fees – There would be no fees for students.
- Age of students – Age lie between 16 and 25 years.
- Education Qualification – Applicants should be able to follow the instruction given in the school.
- Course – Two years course would be there.
- Subjects –
  - Skin structure, its division, and composition.
  - Selection of hides and Skins.
  - Soaking of fresh hides, salted hides, and dry salted hides, breaking over, etc.
  - Theory of unhairing, methods of working the lime pits, making up with the lime variation in practice.
  - Unhairing on the beam and fleshing.
  - Deliming, hatering and pouring, washing and scudding.
  - Principles of tanning (bark, etc.).
  - Tanning materials and agents, strong and weak liquor and their uses.
  - Treatment of heavy and rough leathers.
  - Preparation of leather for curing, dressing, shaving.
  - Dyeing methods and appliances.
  - Finishing of various kinds of leather.

The British Govt. also sanctioned another proposal for starting a leather working class at Fatehpur and strengthening the existing staff and equipment's at the Govt. tanning School, Fatehpur is as follow:<sup>116</sup>

- Superintendent (Rs 200 per month)
- Assistant Chemist (Rs 200 per month)
- Laboratory Assistant (Rs 120 per month)
- Leather Goods Instructor (Rs 200 per month)
- Shoe-making Instructor (Rs 120 per month)
- Drawing Master (Rs 200 per month)
- Machine man (Rs 32 per month)
- Chowkidar (Rs 27 per month)
- Stipends for 10 students at Rs 5 per month
- Equipment at Rs 37,000 had been provided
- The building was rented for school and there was no accommodation for installing the machines. It was proposed to construct a workshop shed at an estimated expenditure of Rs 30,000 where the newly purchased machine could be installed.

The total cost of that proposal in the budget year was estimated to be Rs 1, 05,700/- (Rs 38,700 recurring and Rs 67,000 non-recurring) and the total ultimate cost would be Rs 44,900.<sup>117</sup>

#### **4.3.1.5 Leather Working School at Bahraich**

The Noorul Uloom Leather working school at Bahraich was set up at the end of 1937. About 50 students were taken admission in the first batch of this school and several subjects of leather manufacturing were thought along with Arabic and Persian in it because its sources of income were insufficient. The inspection report of local Govt. provides the information about the school which was located in a commodious house played at its disposal by the Raja of *Nanpara*, who charged no rent for it.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 13/1955, Box no. 04, p. 69.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> UPSA, Industries Dept., File no. 731/1937, Box no. 412, p. 1.

In this school, a new instructor, an ex-student of leather working school, Cawnpore had been appointed. He was an intelligent and efficient young man. He was visited the Bahraich since a few months ago. He was very much impressed with the earnestness of the organizers and its teachers. He also looked that they were producing marketable goods and advised them to apply for a grant to the Industries Department. With a request for a grant to this school, the British Govt. recommended a grant of Rs 600/- for a year and it would be recommended an annual grant for this school in Bahraich in the year of 1938.<sup>119</sup>

#### **4.3.1.6 Leather Working School at Allahabad**

Till 1937, another leather working school was set up at Allahabad for the training of the students in making leather in this region. The British Govt. had proposed the actual expenditure for this school was Rs 8065/- annually. The subjects taught in this school were Boot and Shoemaking techniques and making of leather suitcases techniques. The number of students had been taken admission in the first batch was 20 in this school. The duration of the course was two years. The British Govt. had also provided the stipends and scholarships approximately Rs 240/- for the poor students in this school. The British Govt. also proposed grant-in-aid of Rs 4112/- for the development of this school.<sup>120</sup>

#### **4.3.1.7 Leather Working School at Radauli, Bara Banki**

Till 1937, another leather working school was set up at Radauli, Bara Banki by the British Govt. in this region. The British Govt. had proposed the actual expenditure for this school was Rs 3405/- annually. This school was famous for its training in leather work. The number of students had been taken admission in the first batch was 10 in this school. The duration of the course was two years. The British Govt. had also provided the stipends and scholarships approximately Rs 60/- for the poor students in this school. The British Govt. also proposed grant-in-aid of Rs 1370/- for the development of this school.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid, pp. 1-2.

<sup>120</sup> Annual Administration Report on the working of the Industries Department of the United Provinces for the year ending March 1936, p. 2.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

These leather institutes or leather working schools which were existed in different parts of United Provinces played an important role in the development of the leather industry and improvement of traditional and European techniques of leather production. These schools provide high qualified artisans to the emerging leather factories all over the country. These schools also played an important role in the improvement of socio-economic conditions of the leather workers who were getting their jobs in leather factories all over the country and abroad also.

This chapter shows the development of science and technology by the British to modernize leather industry in India. The systematic policy framework with well organized institutional system was devised by the British for maximization of leather production in India and Agra as well.

*Chapter-5*

*Social History of Leather Craft in  
United Provinces under Colonial  
Rule*

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## Chapter- 5

### Social History of Leather Craft in United Provinces under Colonial Rule

#### 5.1 Introduction

Historians of colonial science and technology mainly focused on policy and institutional aspects. More so the fact that inspite of being one of the important industries, the leather industry remained a less focused area. This chapter narrates the social dimension of leather industry and technology in United Provinces and particularly in Agra region.

The craftsmen of India usually worked in their cottages since ancient times. The craftsmen were generally lacked with literary culture and they had nevertheless a highly specialized technical training which was rendered the more effective by the potent influence of hereditary. The relation of the craftsmen to their families, castes, and guild (which was generally distinct from caste) account for the admirable industrial organization. Besides, the craftsmen had always a respectable position in the Indian social history, and they still retain their position in the present time also.<sup>1</sup>

The chief centre of production of articles was the family, and sometimes, small collectives of artisans' families. The organization of production was simple and rarely involved extensive division of labour or specialization by the task.<sup>2</sup> Some of these craftsmen performed in *Karkhanas* (local area factories or cottage factories) by these craftsmen families in India.<sup>3</sup> The cottage factories and domestic craftsmen mostly belonged to low caste Hindu artisans, the apprenticeship system among the Muslim artisans also exists. The latter was most clearly shown in the towns of the United Provinces. Master-apprentice systems involve a system by which masters, and thus, into potential competitors. Guild played an important role among artisans all over the

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas, P. J. (1926). *Mercantilism and the East India trade*, Frank Cass Publishers, London, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Roy, T. (2011). *Economic History of India, 1857-1947*. Oxford University Press, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

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country. The *Ustad*, as masters were generally called, was a powerful term in the North Indian urban craft milieu.<sup>4</sup>

The respectable distance from the villages of the caste people was universal and necessitated by the Hindus' aversion to the craft because of its associations with flesh, while Muslims craftsmen found in the habit of eating flesh and working with hides and skins. So, the rural location of tanning was reinforced by both the Hindus and Muslims community. As the skills commonly moved on from one generation to another one, the castes became to be known by their hereditary occupation. The occupational caste which became to be associated with the leather craft in United Provinces was the *Chamar*. The Chamar and its offshoots, that formed the bulk of the labour in the large tanneries which were set up in the United Provinces during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup>

## 5.2 Leather Workers in Ancient India

The tanners of hides and skins, the producers of leather products, and the manufacturers of leather shoes, were generally belonged to a well-defined class in Indian social order since ancient times. These traditional groups might be traced back to the very early period. The leather craftsmen are mentioned in different places and first references are found in the Rig Veda, later in the later Vedic Corpus, and in the Brahmanas. The tanning process is also mentioned in the Rig Veda, and certain details of stretching and wetting hide probably refer to the process of leather manufacture. In the Old literature, they are repeatedly referred to as or also know as the shoe-maker, *carmakara*, *charmakrit*, *padukara*, *padukrit*. In the early period of Aryans, the village life was organized with its cultivator's resident and the lower orders of labourers attached to its outskirts in India. Those common labourers and their accounts of the disgusting aspects of their work and life were belonged to be unclean and untouchable.<sup>6</sup> Many of Brahmanical tradition provide information about the origin of Chamar, a respectable ancestry and attribute his out-caste condition to the violation of Aryan laws. Such as according to the law code of Manu, the ancestry of *Karavara*, or leather-workers was traced is as follows:

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> Roy, T. (1999). *Traditional industry in the economy of colonial India (Vol. 5)*, Oxford University Press, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). *The Chamars*. Association Press, pp. 11-13.

Table 5.1 (The ancestry of *Karavara*, or leather-workers was traced)*Karavara*

| <i>Nisada (Father)</i> |                   | <i>Vaidehi (mother)</i> |                     |
|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Brahman<br>(Father)    | Sudra<br>(Mother) | Vaisya<br>(Father)      | Brahman<br>(Mother) |

Source: Briggs, G. W. (1920). *The Chamars*. Association Press, p. 15.

During the later Vedic period, that the class distinction became marked and it was during this time that, the leather workers lost his onetime *Vaisya* status. *Kautilya* looked upon him a segment of the hereditary *Sudra Varna*. He goes to the extent of assigning them, the western quarters in the village along with the *Sudras*. While there is a doubt about the social status in the ancient period, the leather workers become a distinct untouchable caste in the early medieval period. During this period, *Parasara* placed the *carmakara* midway between the *Sudra* and the *Candala*. He was even included in the list of seven *antyajas* or out-caste.<sup>7</sup>

### 5.3 Leather Workers in Medieval India

During the Medieval period, the *Jajmani* system came to be known everywhere in the country and it was governed by the traditional artisans of the villages such as leather workers. Every village had a complement of leather craftsmen, who catered to the local demand without intermediates. They had their own constituency, of patrons or *Jajmans*, whose dead animals they were entitled to, and to whom they supplied leather articles. This relationship went beyond a simple exchange of raw materials and finished products. Their families provided a number of services outside the scope of leather craft to the *Jajmans*, in return for a fixed quota of food grains, free residential sites, access to common property resources, farm residues and sometimes lease rights on a small part of the *Jajmans* farmlands. The *Jajmani* system provided a rudimentary form of social security to the leather craftsmen. The wide range of duties performed besides the leather craft did not, however, lessen the stigma of handling the dead bodies and hides or skins, which gave the leather workers their low status. Their work was considered defiling and in the time they came to be labeled as Untouchables.

<sup>7</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). *Workers and leather industry in Kanpur (1861-1947): transition from craft to factory production*, Shri Krishna Sahitya Sadan, New Delhi, p. 105.

Many places of the country, they were compelled to reside, in separate settlements on the outskirts of the village which in the United Provinces were known as *Chamartolas*.<sup>8</sup>

The major points which were contributed towards the aversion to the leather craft and the low status of the people who pursued it that, its association with hides and skins of dead cattle. Even among the leather craft flaying as rule was considered to be a highly low-grade occupation. The flayers were regarded as the most inferior of all leather craftsmen, as they were directly associated with the flesh. While those engaged in the production of leather articles that enjoyed the highest status within the leatherworking community. Tanners occupied an intermediary position. As a result of gradual specialization, the occupation of leather craftsmen came to be organized into a hierarchy of sub-castes, some of which specialized in one or other aspects of the leather craft. Some of the sub-castes such as *Rangias* who mainly worked in tanning, *Dhalgars* who worked in the leather-shields making, while, the *Kuppesaze* who make *Kuppis*, were existed in United Provinces.<sup>9</sup>

#### **5.4 Leather Workers in United Provinces under Colonial Rule**

Undoubted history of leather worker in modern India is a less explored area. During the Colonial rule, sizable number of leather worker castes existed in the United Provinces. Generally, these castes were involved in the leather craft in their cottages or villages. When the British Govt. set up the leather concerns in the United Provinces, these castes had the golden chance to develop and improve their socio-economic status in the Indian social order. These castes people got employment in the leather concerns because they were the hereditary artisans and continuously work in leather. While working in leather concerns, they also had the chance to know the modern technology of making leather which was introduced by the Europeans. These modern techniques also helped in increasing the production and saving the time of the artisans. The number of these castes which were associated with the leather craft in the United Provinces could be broadly classified on the basis of their hierarchy occupation is as follows:

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, pp. 105-06.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 106.

**Table 5.2 (The number of castes associated with the leather craft in the United Provinces with their strength)**

| Class              | Caste or Tribe       | Strength  |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1. Butchers        | 1. Chik or Chikwa    | 9,430     |
|                    | 2. Qureshi or Qassab | 189,925   |
|                    | 3. Khatik            | 148,516   |
| 2. Leather Workers | 1. Chamar            | 5,816,487 |
|                    | 2. Dabgar            | 1,482     |
|                    | 3. Dhalgar           | 8,019     |
|                    | 4. Mochi             | 11,693    |

**Source:** Sharma, M. (2014). *Workers and leather industry in Kanpur (1861-1947): transition from craft to factory production*, p. 107.

#### 5.4.1 Butcher Class in United Provinces

The butcher class was generally engaged with the flesh all over the United Provinces. They did not work with leather. They usually provide the raw hides and skins to the leather factories. Some of the important butcher castes which existed in this province are as follows:

##### 5.4.1.1 The Chiks

The *Chik*, *Chikwa*, *Buz-Qassab*, and *Bakar-Qassab* (Persian buz or bakar, “a goat”) were Muhammadans goat and sheep butcher or they turned cut goat and sheepskins. They also turned out the fancy-coloured goat and sheep leather. They generally would not work with cow leather, a prejudice which they ascribed to custom, but which was more probably a reminiscence of his pre-Muhammadans days. Mostly, the *Chikwa* was considered to be converted to *Khatik* (a Hindu community).<sup>10</sup> While the *Bakar-Qassab* or *Buz-Qassab* were butchers who sold and slaughtered goats, the *Chelonmahrao* were workers in leather, especially using it for covering lining and the

<sup>10</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). *A Monograph on Tanning and Working in Leather in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*. Government Press, United Provinces, p. 26.

*Ghorcharoas* were groomers. In the west part of the provinces were two endogamous sub-castes, *Khara* and the *Khalranga* who were the leather dyers.<sup>11</sup>

#### 5.4.1.2 The Qureshi or Qassab

Besides the *Buz-Qassab* and *Bakar-Qassab*, there was a Muslim sub-community named *Qureshi* or *Qassab* or *Qassai* (an Arabic *qassab*, “to cut”) who were engaged with the slaughtering of big animals such as cow, ox, buffalo, camel, etc., and they were fine flayers of hides who generally worked with flesh. These *Qassab* were generally deal with their shops where they sold the beef regularly. In United Provinces, there were two sub-castes of *Qassab*, named, the *Kameladar* and *Ghair Kameladar*, (*Kamela* means shambles). The former were slaughter men, who sold wholesale and the latter were retailers of meat, who bought from the *Kameladar* and sold at shops. The *Chikwas* sometimes worked in partnerships, while one remained in charge of the cattle yard; the others went to neighboring villages to buy sheep and goat. Both of the *Qassab* and *Chikwas* were the dealers in hides and skins, adding to their meat business and trade in cloth and stone.<sup>12</sup>

#### 5.4.1.3 The Khatik

The word *Khatik* means “slaughterer”. They usually a Hindu community who worked with the slaughtering of goat and sheep-like *Chik* and the latter were retailers of meat at their shops generally in Hindu majority areas in United Provinces. The Sanskrit word “*Khattika*” which meant a butcher or hunter, also signified their occupation. There were seven sub-castes of which *Bauriya* and *Pasi*, *Ajudhyabasi* and *Sunkhar* were territorial sub-castes, generally found in Mirzapur. In Agra, the *Khatik* had three sub-castes; *Chik*, *Buchar*, and *Sunkhar*. In Bulandshahr, they were found as *Khara* or pure, *Khallu* or Hide men, and *Chik*. Apart from these, there were the *Bilwariya* of Meerut, the *Gandhila*, and *Tomar* of Aligarh, the *Ajudhyabasi*, and *Khokhar* of Allahabad, the *Kanaujuja* and *Sagahiya* of Gorakhpur, the *Bandi Chhor* of Basti and the *Tanbina* of Lucknow.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Information given by an old man in ‘Heeng ki Mandi’, Agra, in an interview during the fieldwork for this study, On August 31, 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

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## 5.4.2 Leather Worker Class in United Provinces

The leather worker class was generally engaged with leather products. They did not work with flesh like the butcher class. They usually obtained the raw hides and skins from the butcher class. Some of the leather worker castes which existed in this province are as follows:

### 5.4.2.1 The Chamar

#### 5.4.2.1.1 Mythical Accounts among the Origin of Chamar

The caste of curriers, tanners, and day-labourer found throughout North India is the Chamar,<sup>14</sup> of course by name as well as by hereditary occupation, the man who works in leather. The Chamar was village drudge and the skins and hides of dead animals were his dues.<sup>15</sup> There are some mythical accounts of the origin of Chamar are as follows:

According to the first legend, “In the beginning, there were four brothers in one family of the highest caste who generally worked in the field. One day a cow died, and the body lay in the yard until evening. Since no one could be found to remove the carcass, the three elder agreed that their younger brother should carry away the body, afterward, when he had bathed, they would receive him on the old footing of equality. To this, he agreed. After much pulling and hauling, he managed to drag the carcass to the jungles. When he returned from his bath, his brothers refused to receive him but compelled to live at a distance from them. He made a great fuss about it, but his complaints were of no avail. They told him that he was to do work of a Chamar, i.e., to skin the animals that died, and to make leather and implements of leather. The brothers promised to take care of him in return for these services. Thus, the Chamar Caste arose.”<sup>16</sup>

According to the second legend, “Current among the Agarwala *Baniyas*, relates that there was once a Raja or King who had two daughters named *Chamu* and *Bamu*. Each of whom had a son of great physical power (*Pahelwan*). One day, an elephant

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<sup>14</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). *The tribes and castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Vol. 3)*. Office of the superintendent of government printing, Cosmo Publication, Delhi, p. 169.

<sup>15</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

died in the campus of the palace, and being unwilling that it out whole and bury it. *Chamu's* son undertook and performed the task while *Bamu's* son pronounced him an outcast; so the *Banias* were sprung from *Bamu* and the *Chamars* from *Chamu*.<sup>17</sup>

According to the third legend, "Five Brahmans brothers were passing along together. They saw a carcass of a cow lying on the way. Four of them turned aside while fifth removed the dead body. Thereupon he was excommunicated by his brothers. His descents continue to remove the carcasses of cattle."<sup>18</sup>

According to the fourth legend, "The Chamars out to be the descendants of *Nona* or *Lona Chamarin*, who was a defied witch much dreaded in the eastern part of the province. Her legends tell how *Dhanwantari*, the physicians of the gods, was bitten by *Takshaka*, the king of the snakes, and knowing that death approached. He ordered his son to cook and eat his body after his death so that they might thereby inherit his skill in medicine. They accordingly cooked his body in a cauldron and were about to eat it, when *Takshaka* appeared to them in the form of a Brahman and warned them against this act of cannibalism. So, they let the cauldron float down the Ganges, and as it floated down, *Lona*, the *Chamarin*, who was washing on the bank of the river, not knowing that the vessel contained human flesh, took it out and partook of ghastly food. She has obtained the power to cure disease, and especially snake-bits."<sup>19</sup>

There are several other myths which vary in detail from place to place, but in all these the underlying message remained same, that leather worker's low status was of their own making, is the result of some former misdeed. The caste itself had its origin in that occupational class on the borders of the ancient village. This group, essentially non-Aryans, has maintained itself through the centuries in traditional occupation. Some historians also trace the ancestry of leather workers to tribes, such as the *Doms*, *Cheros*, and *Kanjars*, emphasizing on their low status.<sup>20</sup>

#### 5.4.2.1.2 Village Council of Chamar Caste

The Chamars had a well-organized and influential village council or *Panchayat*. Every family's head was supposed to be a member of the *panchayat*, and nearly every

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 16, Also see, Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 170.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, Also see, Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., and Also see, Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>19</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., pp. 170-171.

<sup>20</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 17.

village had a headman or *pradhan* or *jamadar*, and every family of Chamars had assigned to it certain number of families of higher class, which were known as its *Jajman* (Sanskrit word: *Yajmana*) for which its members perform the duties of cutting the cord at births; playing the drum at marriages and other festive occasions, removing and depositing of the carcasses; and in return for these services, they received money fees, cooked food, and sometimes grain, flour, etc. The work of the councils might be classified as:<sup>21</sup>

1. Cases of illicit sexual relation or violation of tribal rules, concerning food, etc.
2. Matrimonial disputes.
3. Petty quarrels, which would not come under the cognizance of a court.
4. Disputes about small money transactions.
5. Cases in connection with *Jajmans*.

#### 5.4.2.1.3 Marriage-ceremony among Chamar Caste

Generally, the marriage between members of the same exogamous group (*Ghotra*) was prohibited such as the *chachera*, *mamera*, *phuphera-mausera* law, which prevents a man marrying anyone in the line of his uncle or aunt on either the male or the female side was somewhat loosely observed. A man might marry two sisters, but in general, might not have them both as wives at the same time. Marriages were always arranged by the parents or relatives of the family.<sup>22</sup> Marriage was considered a sacrament and not a contract. Generally, the age of the girl was lying between four and eight, no girl remain unmarried after the age of eight. There were in the Chamar marriage-ceremony many interesting survivals of marriage by capture such as bridegroom's coming mounted on a horse if he could afford it, or in an ekka, etc. Marriage held mostly in inter-caste or of some tribe lower than a Chamar on the social scale.<sup>23</sup>

Divorce was common and legalized by the *panchayat*. A man with the consent of the *panchayat* might turn his wife out for unfaithfulness, but she cannot get separation on the same ground if he feeds and clothes her property. A woman might desert her husband if he takes a second wife. Impotency proved to the satisfaction of the council

<sup>21</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., pp. 176-177.

was another valid reason for a wife's abandoning her husband. Widow-remarriage was legal and the village council might declare the children rightful heirs. The limits for such marriage were the same as for virgins. If the widow was young, and thereby a younger brother of her former husband, of suitable age was there in the family, so, they usually married him.<sup>24</sup> Marriage was of two kinds, the *Shaadi, charh*, or *charhaua*, which was the respectable form, and the *dola*, used by poor people. Generally, the marriage was performed by a village priest or local *pandit*, not by the Brahmans. The actual marriage always took place at night.<sup>25</sup>

#### 5.4.2.1.4 Birth and Death-ceremony among Chamar Caste

When the first pregnancy of a wife was announced, a ceremony known as *sathai* was performed, which consists of the distribution of cakes (*puri*) to the clansmen at their houses. But as Chamars were particularly exposed to fear of witchcraft and diabolical agency, generally, careful precautions were taken to guard the woman from evil. After the childbirth, the child was named by the senior member of the family and the child's head was shaved. After some time, its ear was bored (*Kan-chhedan*) and this constitutes the initiation: after this, the child must conform to the rules of the tribe regarding.<sup>26</sup>

When it was proposed to adopt a boy, the clansmen were invited and in their presence the parents make over the boy to the adopter with these words, "You were my son by a deed of evil (*paap*); now you were the son of so and so by a virtuous act (*dharma*)."

As the boy was accepted, the members of caste sprinkle rice over him, and the adopter gave a feast.<sup>27</sup>

Those who had been initiated into *Siva Narayani* or *Sri Narayani*, *Kabirpanthi* or *Ramanandi* sects were buried, unless before death they had expressed a wish to be cremated. Ordinary Chamars were burnt in the usual way. The ashes, when the body was properly cremated, were thrown into some neighboring stream or nearby the river. When the service was done by a member of the family he said that -

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<sup>24</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 39-40.

<sup>25</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., pp. 180-181.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

*Aar Ganga, par Ganga; Bihari ka beta,*

*Rambaksh ka nati, panda det; Ganga mai bujbuji det –*

(Ganges on this side, Ganges on that side; the son of Bihari or whatever be the name, Grandson of Rambaksh offers the cakes, but mother Ganges gives bubbles in return) There were many rituals among the death of a person on the first, second, fourth, eleventh and twelfth days. On the anniversary of a death twelve balls were offered, and if the family could afford it, the clansmen were fed.<sup>28</sup>

#### 5.4.2.1.5 Religion of Chamar Caste

Generally, the Chamars lies in Hinduism. Some nature-Gods had their places in the Chamar's religious world, but their position was not what it was in former times such as Sun Gods, Fire, Stars, New Moon, Eclipses, Lord *Indra*, Rivers, etc. Chamars accepted also sacred lakes and tanks as objects of worship. The great Gods of the Hindu pantheon were scarcely known to the Chamar, although his beliefs were of the polytheistic type.<sup>29</sup> According to Census of 1901 of United Provinces,<sup>30</sup> "The general result of the inquiries was that the great majority of Hindus had a firm belief in one supreme God, called *Bhagwan, Parameshwar, Ishwar or Narian*, and that this was distinctly characteristic of the Hindus as a whole."

But the most remarkable form of worship was that of the deistic, revivalist sect of the *Sri-Narayani* or *Siv-Narayani*. The founder of this sect was Saint *Raidas* or *Ravidas*, who was a disciple of *Ramanand* saint.<sup>31</sup> Beside this *Sri-Narayani* Sect, the Chamar Caste were also their gratitude to other sects such as *Kabir Panth* (founder: *Saint Kabir*), *Maluk Dasis*, the *Lal giris*, the *Ghisa Panthis* or the *Ram Ramis* (founder: *Maluk Das*), the *Satnami* sects (founder: *Jagjiwan Das*).<sup>32</sup>

#### 5.4.2.1.6 Social Status of Chamar Caste

The Chamar almost lay below the non-Aryan tribes who had been quite recently adopted into Hinduism and was considered impure of eating beef, pork, and fowls, all abomination to the orthodox Hindu. The Chamar also eat cattle which die a natural

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 184.

<sup>29</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 198-200.

<sup>30</sup> Census of India, 1901 vol. 16 N.W.P. & Oudh Part 1, pp. 73-74.

<sup>31</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 185.

<sup>32</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 218-220.

death, and numerous cases had occurred where Chamar had poisoned cattle for the sake of the hides and flesh. They kept herds of pigs, and the *Chamrauti* or Chamar quarter in a Hindu majority village was generally a synonym for a place abounding in all kinds of abominable filth, where a clean living seldom, unless for urgent necessity, cares to intrude. One proverb describes:<sup>33</sup>

*Nem tem Gopal aisan,*

*Henri charui Chamar aisan,*

(A man setting up to be Gopal, a respectable Krishna worshipper,

While his pots and pans were as filthy as those of a Chamar)

And another proverb says that:<sup>34</sup>

*Lajalu mare, dhitau jiye,*

*Ganga jal Chamaran piye,*

(The worthy are dyeing and the unworthy living

Because Chamars are drinking Ganges water)

The wife (*Chamarin*) of Chamars usually acts as midwives and cuts the umbilical cord. Besides this critical social position, the Chamar was proud and punctilious and very conservative as regards the rights and privileges which they received in the village community. The women wear metal bangles on their wrists, arm ornaments, and heavy bell-metal anklets. The Chamars swear by Lord Rama, the Guru, the Ganges, *Mahadeva* Baba, the Shoe-makers last, and their Son's heads. They would not touch a Dom or Dhobi, or the wife of a younger brother or nephew, nor would they call their wives by their names. Mostly women eat after the men. They salute relatives and clansmen in the forms of *Rama! Rama! Paelagi* (touching the feet).<sup>35</sup>

#### 5.4.2.1.7 Living Condition of Chamar Caste in Village

The Chamars usually lived a furlong from the rest of the village in a clutter huts which were enclosed by the mud-walls. Both the huts and protecting walls were as weather-beaten and neglected as the Chamars themselves.<sup>36</sup> The Chamars was less independent than the washer-man, or the potter or any other craftsmen who served

<sup>33</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Wiser, C. V., & Wiser, W. H. (1971). *Behind mud walls, 1930-1960*. Univ of California Press, p. 52.

many masters and thus was not wholly dependent on the pleasure of one. Every Chamar's family was bound to one patron and they received a wage, his position was akin to that of a bondsman.<sup>37</sup> In the village, the Chamars usually engaged with their traditional craft. When an animal died in the village, they were allowed to remove the skin and cure it by a very simple process and sold them. They usually made the leather bags used in lifting water from the wells for irrigation and from time to time, they sew a patch on some one's shoe, with scarcely more than a "Thank You" for the trouble. But the stigma of handling leather still clings to and labels them as outcasts.<sup>38</sup>

#### **5.4.2.1.8 Occupation of Chamar Caste**

Many different types of occupation were performed by Chamar Caste such as village drudge, agriculture, labourers, ploughmen, carters, grooms, or immigrate to town, where they do various kinds of unskilled work. Another part of the duties was to beat drums and blow-trumpets during a marriage or when cholera or other epidemic disease was being exercised from the village.<sup>39</sup> But the primary business or hereditary occupation was curing skins and shoe-making, the system of tanning pursued by the ordinary village placed in a pit and covered with water; containing lime and impure carbonate of soda; after ten days they were taken out and the hair removed with an iron scraper. They were again removed sewn up in the form of a bag, which was again filled with the bark solution, and hang on trees or stand, this process lasts five days when the tanning was considered complete.<sup>40</sup>

In spite of these occupations among the Chamar, many of them had become wealthy and aimed at a standard of social respectability much higher than their rural brethren, and some have begun even to seclude their women which every native did as soon as they commenced to rise in the world.<sup>41</sup> There were several changes took place in the socio-economic condition of the leather worker in this province with the establishment of big leather concerns. In these factories, the Chamars were appointed as the labour and got the employment which had increased their livelihood and some changes took place in the socio-economic conditions. In these factories, the Chamars

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 54.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, pp. 190-191.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 191.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

was also getting information about modern technology and European techniques which were applied in making leather. These labours also worked in their cottages with their family members and provide the cheap leather to the civilians.

#### 5.4.2.1.9 Condition of Leather Craftsmen in Factories

Generally, the leather craftsmen were Hindus or Muslims of the lowest possible castes: a fact of which they themselves were well done. They were careful to live up to their traditions of leather craft. The presence of many other large employers of labour in United Provinces made the cooly an important man and in a way, he was master of the situation. There was always new competition among the craftsmen had raised the wages of the ordinary cooly are as follows:<sup>42</sup>

**Table 5.3 (The wages of the ordinary cooly and labour of leather craft)**

| S. no. | Types of Craftsmen | Wages (per month) (in Rupees) |
|--------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1.     | Ordinary Cooly     | Rs 4                          |
| 2.     | Unskilled Labour   | Rs 5 to Rs 8                  |
| 3.     | Skilled Labour     | Rs 10 to Rs 30                |

**Source:** Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 28.

(Either of them could live comfortably on Rs. 5 a month)

Thus, the craftsman worked until they had earned enough to keep them going for a fortnight, and they promptly leave their work and enjoy their saving. Another serious difficulty was that natives of respectable caste could not be procured for the lowest supervising post; the result is that one finds a very bad close of European acting as foreman. The cooly was further spoiled by the presence of English mechanics who did not realize their position as ‘Sahibs’ (the owner). Familiarity naturally breeds contempt. Employers attempt to surmount these difficulties by entering into penal contracts with the desirable workman. The process, however, was always slow and unsatisfactory. The labour difficulty was a question which must soon demand a solution to their difficulties in respect of the leather craft.<sup>43</sup> Beside the above condition, the socio-economic condition of Chamar was increased while working in

<sup>42</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

leather factories with Europeans. They got regular employment in these factories and also worked in leather with their family members in the factories and in their cottages also.

#### 5.4.2.1.10 Sub-division of Chamar Caste in United Provinces

According to Census Reports, there were approximately 1,156 sub-divisions of Chamar Caste which were direct and indirect engaged with the leather craft and some of them were engaged with flesh in all over the country; in which some of this most important sub-division were localized in the United Provinces are as follows:<sup>44</sup>

**Table 5.4 (The sub-division of Chamar caste were localized in United Provinces)**

| S. no. | Sub-division of United Provinces | Sub-division of Chamar Caste   |
|--------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1.     | Agra Region                      | <i>Jatavs, Mochi, Pattargotis, Sakarwars</i>   |
| 2.     | Aligarh Region                   | <i>Chandauliya, Harphor, Kathiyara, Mochi, Ojha</i>                                  |
| 3.     | Allahabad Region                 | <i>Autarbedi, Chand Rai, Ghatia, Kahar, Turkiya</i>                                  |
| 4.     | Azamgarh Region                  | <i>Gual, Kanaujiya</i>   |
| 5.     | Badaun Region                    | <i>Baharwar, Chauhan, Kokapasi, Uriya</i>  |
| 6.     | Ballia Region                    | <i>Kanaujiya</i>   |
| 7.     | Banda Region                     | <i>Barjatwa, Dhaman, Dhundhiya, Dhindor, Janwar, Rangiya, Seth, Sorahiya, Ujjain</i> |
| 8.     | Barabanki Region                 | <i>Jogiya, Pachhwahan</i>  |
| 9.     | Bareilly Region                  | <i>Bardwari, Bhusiya, Chandauliya, Nona</i>  |
| 10.    | Basti Region                     | <i>Birhariya, Chhagoriya</i>   |
| 11.    | Benaras Region                   | <i>Dhuriya</i>   |
| 12.    | Bijnor Region                    | <i>Sakt</i>  |
| 13.    | Bulandshahr                      | <i>Bharwariya, Chandauliya, Lalman</i>   |
| 14.    | Region                           | <i>Gangapari, Rangiya</i>  |
| 15.    | Cawnpore Region                  | <i>Nagar, Nunera</i>   |
| 16.    | Etah Region                      | <i>Amrautiya, Bisaili, Nakchhina</i>   |
| 17.    | Etawah Region                    | <i>Dhuman, Domar, Panwar, Rangiya, Turkatwa</i>                                      |

<sup>44</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 171.

|     |                                     |   |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 18. | Fatehpur Region                     | <i>Kanaujiya</i>  |
| 19. | Ghazipur Region<br>Gorakhpur Region | <i>Bamhaniya, Belbhariya, Birhariya, Dakkhinaha, Desi, Ghorcharha, Ghosiya, Kanaujiya, Mohahar, Rajkumari, Sarwariya, Siudas, Tatwa, Uttaraha</i> |
| 20. | Hamirpur Region                     | <i>Dhindhor, Rangiya, Umri</i>  |
| 21. | Jaunpur Region                      | <i>Banaudhiya, Turkiya</i>  |
| 22. | Lalitpur Region                     | <i>Bhadauriya</i>   |
| 23. | Lucknow Region                      | <i>Chauhan, Dusadh</i>  |
| 24. | Mainpuri Region                     | <i>Loniyan, Pajhasiya, Suji</i>   |
| 25. | Mathura Region                      | <i>Chaurasiya, Kadam, Tingar</i>  |
| 26. | Mirzapur Region                     | <i>Turkiya</i>  |
| 27. | Moradabad Region                    | <i>Bhayar, Ramanandi</i>  |
| 28. | Pratapgarh Region                   | <i>Banaudhiya, Dhaman, Chandel, Dhingariya, Jogeya, Nona, Surahiya, Tanbuna, Turkiya</i>  |
| 29. | Rae Bareli Region                   | <i>Chandel, Dhaman, Dhundhar, Dhuriya, Ghorcharha, Gorait, Khalkatiya, Nona, Tanbuna</i>  |
| 30. | Saharanpur Region                   | <i>Baliyan, Dharaun, Mochi, Sagahiya, Sirswal</i>   |
| 31. | Sitapur Region                      | <i>Chauhan, Pachhwahan</i>  |
| 32. | Sultanpur Region                    | <i>Banaudhiya, Dhaman, Nona, Tanbuna</i>  |
| 33. | Unnao Region                        | <i>Chauhan</i>  |

Source: Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., pp. 171-172.

#### 5.4.2.1.11 Population Census of Chamar Caste in United Provinces

The Chamars were usually found almost in all over the country under the name or the sub-names; they were most numerous in the United Provinces and in bordering areas of Bihar on the East and of Punjab on the North West. According to the Census of 1891, the population of Chamars in North-West Provinces was lies about 5,855,208.<sup>45</sup> In the United Provinces, during the twenty years ending in 1901, the population of Chamars was nearly 10 percent, and during the last decade, 2.4 percent and in the last thirty years, it increase had been 12.2 percent. In simple words, their numbers in 1881 was 5,413,000; in 1891 this rose to 5,855,208; and further to 6,076,000 in 1911. According to Census of 1911, the Brahmans were the largest caste in the country, and

<sup>45</sup> Census of India, 1891 General tables for British Provinces and Feudatory status vol. 2 Statistics, p. 92.

leather workers as a whole or even the *Chamar-Chambhar* took alone were the second, the Rajputs came third. One fact showed that every eighth man in the United Provinces in 1920 was Chamar.<sup>46</sup> In the Census of 1931 of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the population of Chamars came to be about 5,816,053.<sup>47</sup> The Chamar were almost found all over the United Provinces. The Chamar and the sub-caste of Chamar were found in largest numbers in the Gorakhpur, Basti, Meerut, Saharanpur, Bijnor, Moradabad, Bulandshahr Districts and Rohilkhand Division also. In Saharanpur district, every fifth man was a Chamar, while in the Meerut division 17 percent of the population was Chamar. Since the Chamar was chiefly a tanner and the lowest level. Besides tanning, they were also shoe-maker and cultivators. The woman of this caste usually acts as midwives.<sup>48</sup>

Besides the occupation or traditional work in leather of Chamar Caste, there were a variety of occupations among the Chamars. In the villages, the Chamars generally provided all the leather articles which were used in husbandry, whips, thongs, well buckets,<sup>49</sup> *mashak*, *kuppa* (a leather jar for holding ghee), *kuppi*, or *phuleli* scent bottles, drums, *damka*, *tabla*, *tasha*, and *dhol*, the *charsa*, *pur* or moth made of buffalo or cow-hides, used for drawing water from wells and *sarnais* (inflated hides used to support a cot and made for working fishing nets in rivers).<sup>50</sup> Besides providing for the leather requirements of the villages, the Chamars was the general village drudge doing various odd jobs such as thatching, cutting grass, coolie, wood and bundle carrier, a field labourer, groom, house servant, peon brick-maker and even that of village watchman. He was also the common labourers along the railways; many immigrated to the town where they did various kinds of unskilled work.<sup>51</sup> In Pratapgarh, they took over the business of carrying palanquins, which was the hereditary occupation of *Kahars*. Another part of the duties of the Chamar was to beat drums, ring bells and blow trumpets at a wedding or when cholera or other epidemic disease was being exorcized from the village.<sup>52</sup> In some places, they also made musical instruments. Similarly, the Chamar wife also performed various jobs, such as

<sup>46</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> Census of India, 1931 vol. 18, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Part1 Report, p. 61.

<sup>48</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., pp. 110-111.

<sup>49</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>50</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 260.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p. 56.

<sup>52</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 191.

midwives, menial services at marriages and festivals,<sup>53</sup> like collecting wools, bringing earthen vessels from the bazaar, supplying cow dung and grinding grain. For this service as midwives, they received food and presents such as a new *sari* and 4 annas in cash.<sup>54</sup> These different types of occupations were performed by the Chamars who shows that they belonged to the great class of unskilled and skilled labour in all over the province.<sup>55</sup>

#### **5.4.2.2 The Jatav**

##### **5.4.2.2.1 Mythical Accounts among the Origin of Jatav**

The Jatav is a sub-caste of Chamars which were lying in a low caste (Untouchable Community) whose traditional occupation was leather working or it can be said that they were the landless labourers who provide their manpower to the leather industry mostly in Agra region. According to some writers, Jatav was lying at the bottom of the caste hierarchy which was polluting to the upper castes and therefore, was the objects of discrimination; and because of that low caste rank, they had remained on the whole, illiterate, poor, and virtually powerless. The Untouchable was called one of the “Scheduled Castes” because of a special relationship, they had with the government. A Scheduled Caste was one whose name appears on a list first issued by the British government in 1935. The purpose of this list was to identify those eligible for the benefits of “protective discrimination”.<sup>56</sup>

Some mythical accounts trace from Puranic and folkloric sources, according to the story of *Parashuram* and his pledge to wipe out all the *Kshatriyas*, the Jatavs’ ancestors fought against *Parashuram*. But the *kshatriyas* were defeated, and to escape persecution the Jatavs disappeared from the earth by hiding in the forests, becoming artisans to hide their *Kshatriyas* identity and in the process losing their “pure” status. Hindu discrimination against Jatavs began at that time. Jatav is an *apabhramsa* or corrupt form of “Yadav”. Another account traces from the *Mahabharata* and *Manusmriti*, that Jatav lineage to the Raja Yadav and Lord Krishna and the Jatav

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 190.

<sup>54</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 53-54.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p. 56.

<sup>56</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). *The politics of untouchability: social mobility and social change in a city of India*, Columbia University Press, New York, pp. 22-23.

surnames, like Sagar, Pipal, Kardam, Maurya, Son, Neem, Karnik, and Harit, were all linked to the lineages of Yaduvansh.<sup>57</sup> These mythical accounts or Puranic sources acquired a new authority in the colonial period that added to their importance in Indian society.<sup>58</sup>

#### 5.4.2.2.2 The Jatav and the Agra City

Agra city is famous for Taj Mahal and its shoe industry since Mughal times. Many Jatavs of Agra were engaged in making shoes. But, before the growth of the shoe industry in Agra, the Jatavs were mainly stone cutters, landless labourer, scavengers, and tanners of leather. All of these occupations which were traditionally performed by Jatavs were a part of the village economy.<sup>59</sup> During that time, some Jatavs had achieved economic prosperity by playing the role of labour contractor (middlemen) for their own caste members. These rich Jatavs used the honorific of *Seth* (rich-men) before their names and two of them even succeeded in entering non-traditional occupations and established a large number of cotton mills before their death in the 1890s.<sup>60</sup>

With the growth of leather shoe industry in Agra during the Great Wars, the markets of Agra's leather shoe were existed throughout India as well as in Iraq, Iran, and the East Indies. These foreign markets were run continuously until the 1950s. The Jatavs craftsmen, who were directly dependent upon exports of leather shoes, did not suffer much competition from other castes. The Muhammadans due to their better economic position functioned as middlemen or factors (*arhati*) in the shoe industry of Agra. With the leather crafts, the Jatavs had able to occupy their livelihood and to some of them, it provided an avenue to become "rich".<sup>61</sup> There were within the caste two economic classes, that is, the minority of "big men" (*bare admi*) or wealthy Jatavs,

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<sup>57</sup> Rawat, R. S. (2011). *Reconsidering Untouchability: Chamars and Dalit History in North India*. Indiana University Press, pp. 127-128.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130.

<sup>59</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33, Also see, Yadava, J. S., & Lynch, O. M. (1970). Jatavs of Agra: Study in Social Mobility, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 5, No. 40, pp. 1637-38..

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*.

and the majority of craftsmen (*karigars*) or poor workers, the position of both within the total society was low because of their common Untouchable caste status.<sup>62</sup>

Traditionally Agra is a cluster specialized in producing footwear for the domestic market, with a small segment catering to the export market. Production was largely home-based or in small units owned by Jatavs.<sup>63</sup> The Jatavs households sold their products to local traders who, in turn, sold it to outside merchants. These merchants who dominated Agra's footwear trade was usually forward caste Hindus or well to do Muslims. Since the producers and the merchants were from different communities, caste-based and identify clashes always excited.<sup>64</sup> The traditional leather workers – Jatavs and Muslims continue to dominate the domestic or household footwear industry in Agra. According to the local person, there is a total lack of support from the government in terms of schemes or incentives to promote the domestic footwear industry and this is leading a decline of small producers in the industry.<sup>65</sup> The export industry is dominated by upper caste Hindus, mainly *Punjabis* and *Sindhi*, upper caste Muslims and the new entrants who are mostly the educated middle class and belonging to castes such as *Baniyas* and *Kayastha*. The *Punjabis* and the *Sindhis* families entered in this trade after partition. The Muslim entrepreneurs are originally from Agra and have family dominated business establishments in leather trade in other parts of India like some have family relations with big tanneries in Cawnpore. Entrepreneurs from the traditional leather making castes have not been able to make inroads into the export segment due to controlled access to resources and inability to make huge capital investments.<sup>66</sup> At the partition time, many Muslim people emigrated to Pakistan and Hindu refugees from Pakistan, popularly known as *Punjabis* or *Sindhis* came and took place in Agra. These *Punjabis* had bit by bit redefined the role of factor vis-à-vis the producer or Jatav. The *Punjabis* also attempt to get shoes at the cheapest possible price from the cottage workers, or producers. The

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<sup>62</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>63</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). Leather industry in India. *Report, Centre for Education and Communication, India, March*, p. 39.

<sup>64</sup> Knorringa, P. (1996). *Economics of collaboration. Indian shoemakers between market and hierarchy*. Sage Publication, New Delhi.

<sup>65</sup> Damodaran, S., & Mansingh, P. (2008). op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, p. 41.

*Punjabis* attempt to control the means of production by becoming factory owners was a cause of conflict between them and the *Jatavs* for two reasons:<sup>67</sup>

1. The status of shoe factory owner was traditionally ascribed to and occupied by *Jatavs* alone because the occupation was economically advantageous to them; the *Jatavs* want to keep it that way and to retain their exclusive ownership of the means of production.
2. The *Punjabis* by becoming factory owners were gradually undermining what was formerly an exclusive *Jatavs* occupation.

Behind that situation, the most common factors were there that most of *Punjabis* were educated and they know how to handle business. That is why they were rich and experienced owners in the business line. The *Jatavs* were not careful about their business and they spend their time in useless things, *Punjabis* helped their community people in business affairs.<sup>68</sup> A reliable informant estimates the total cost and profits of a shoe in Agra city is as follows:

**Table 5.5 (The estimate of the total cost and profit of a shoe in Agra city)**

| S. no. | Factors                        | Percentage |
|--------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1.     | Cost of manufactured shoe      | 66.67      |
| 2.     | Producer's (owner) Profit      | 3.33       |
| 3.     | Railroad shipping Charges      | 4.44       |
| 4.     | Factor's (middlemen) Profit    | 5.55       |
| 5.     | Retailer's (shopkeeper) Profit | 20.00      |

**Source:** Information given by an old man in 'Heeng ki Mandi', Agra, in an interview during the fieldwork for this study, On August 31, 2016.

Generally, the shoemaking in Agra was more than a caste occupation; it was a family affair and a way of life. Almost every male child grown knowing at least the essentials of making shoes.<sup>69</sup> The *Jatavs* usually emerged into different types of crafts of shoemaking in factories is as follows:

<sup>67</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., pp. 37-38.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p. 47.

**Table 5.6 (The different types of crafts of shoemaking in factories)**

| S. no. | Type of work | Description  |
|--------|--------------|--|
| 1.     | Cutter       | It takes large pieces of leather and, using a pattern, cuts out the various shapes needed.         |
| 2.     | Fitter       | Fitter sews the various pieces of leather cut from patterns to form the upper part of a shoe.      |
| 3.     | Completer    | The Completer take the upper and put it on a last and then attach it to an inner sole.             |
| 4.     | Soler        | The Soler attaches the sole to the rest of the shoe by hand stitching with an awl.                 |
| 5.     | Heeler       | The Heeler attaches the heel to the shoe.  |
| 6.     | Tarasar      | The Tarasar smooths out the sole and the edge between the upper part of the shoe and the sole.     |
| 7.     | Finisher     | The Finisher adds polish to the shoe and tries to conceal whatever defects might be present in it. |

Source: Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., p. 48.

There were standard wages for skilled labour in shoe industry at Agra city in 1950s is as follows:

**Table 5.7 (The standard wages for skilled labour in the shoe industry in Agra city in the 1950s)**

| S .no. | Work      | Wage per pair | Daily output | Daily Wages |
|--------|-----------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1.     | Cutter    | Rs. 0.12      | 100 pair     | Rs. 12.50   |
| 2.     | Fitter    | Rs. 0.36      | 1 dozen      | Rs. 4.50    |
| 3.     | Completer | Rs. 0.50      | 4 pair       | Rs. 6.00    |
| 4.     | Soler     | Rs. 0.12      | 3 dozen      | Rs. 4.50    |
| 5.     | Heeler    | Rs. 0.12      | 3 dozen      | Rs. 4.50    |
| 6.     | Tarasar   | Rs. 0.18      | 3 dozen      | Rs. 6.75    |
| 7.     | Finisher  | Rs. 0.36      | 1 dozen      | Rs. 6.50    |

Source: Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., p. 48.

#### 5.4.2.2.3 Population of Jatavs in Agra city

The Census of 1881 listed 1,570 males who were engaged as shoe-makers, sellers, hide dealers, tanners, and leather dyers.<sup>70</sup> According to the Census of 1901, the total population of Agra city was 1, 88,022.<sup>71</sup> In spite of this, Agra was thirteen among the cities of India and third among the cities of United Provinces.<sup>72</sup> The Jatavs, thus, constitute about 16 percent or one-sixth of the city's total population and the total Scheduled Caste population of Agra city as 87,833 individuals, making the Jatavs about 77 percent of the total Scheduled Caste population in Agra.<sup>73</sup> The Census of 1911 listed 993 as dealers in hides and skins and 3,569 as boot and sandal makers, for a total of 4,562.<sup>74</sup> According to Census of 1951, the total number of workers engaged in shoe industry was 85,730 in which 85.8 percent were Jatavs and 11.2 percent were Muslims, they were continuously working in the shoe industry in Agra at present time also.<sup>75</sup>

#### 5.4.2.2.4 Dr. Ambedkar and the Jatavs

Dr. Ambedkar who was one of the important leaders of Dalit followed the issue of Jatavs. He fought at the Round Table Conferences was known at least to the literate Jatavs. A telegram was sent from Agra to London in the name of the Agra Jatavs supporting Ambedkar as their leader and as representative of their views. These Jatavs were rejected Gandhi's claim to be their leader in that Round Table Conference. This support grew to the point that a unit of the Scheduled Castes Federation was formed in Agra in 1942. A result of this conflict was that from the time of the Round Table Conferences until Gandhi's death, Ambedkar considered the Mahatma an enemy, not a liberator, of the Untouchables.<sup>76</sup> Ambedkar wrote about the Untouchables in 1946:

“To the Untouchables, Hinduism is a veritable chamber of horrors. The sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas, smritis, and shastras, the iron law caste, the heartless law of karma and the senseless law of status by birth are to the Untouchables veritable

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<sup>70</sup> Census of India, 1891 District Census Statistics, N.W.P. & Oudh, Agra Division.

<sup>71</sup> Census of India, 1901 vol. 1 India Part1- Report.

<sup>72</sup> Census of India, 1951 vol. 1 India Part 2-B Economic Tables (General population).

<sup>73</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>74</sup> Census of India, 1911 vol. 1 India Part1- Report.

<sup>75</sup> Census of India, 1951 District Census Handbook Uttar Pradesh – Agra Division.

<sup>76</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., pp. 133-137-138.

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instruments of torture which Hinduism has forgotten against the Untouchables. These very instruments which have mutilated blasted and blighted the life of the Untouchables is to be found intact and untarnished in the bosom of Gandhism”.<sup>77</sup>

There were some points which have supported Ambedkar against Gandhi is as follows:<sup>78</sup>

1. Agra city had a communication network of railways, post, telegraph, and newspapers. With these opportunities, Agra had urbanities and the Jatavs had access to information about Ambedkar and his movement not readily available in villages.
2. Literate Jatavs could avail itself of this information as well as evaluate the contents in Agra.
3. Jatavs of Agra had already achieved a degree of independence and freedom of action which permitted them to do much as they liked.

In the 1940s, when Ambedkar was a labour member and he was help by Jatavs in getting a higher priority rating for railroad shipments of their shoes during the Second World War. He is believed to be, and indeed was, the architect of the Constitution, which abolishes their Untouchability and grants them full citizenship and the franchise. A local person notes about the Ambedkar:<sup>79</sup>

“Dr. Ambedkar was a great man because he was honest and possessed integrity. He had reached *samadhi*. He was all for his people and only for that. Some say he was popular because he got jobs for us or because he fought for us, but the real secret is that he was all for us with all his being”.

Ambedkar was an Untouchable, and the Jatavs occupied in common, and which Gandhi did not share. There was a general assumption in Agra that only an Untouchable could really understand and achieve empathy with other Untouchables and there was the often heard phrase that he is “one of our men”. Ambedkar was also a revolutionary. Not only was his interpretation of Gandhism, the Poona Pact, and Hinduism accepted by the Jatavs of Agra, but also he gave them a counter-ideology.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p. 133.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

Thus the Jatavs, who were striving for mobility and who could easily become revolutionaries themselves.<sup>80</sup> Quotes a proverb about the Chamars, who were “supposed” to be dark in complexion, while the uppers castes were “supposed” to be fair in complexion,<sup>81</sup>

*Karia Brahman, gora Chamar*

*Inke sath na utariye paar*

(If the Brahman be black, if the Chamar be fair,

Let the wise beware if cross the river be dare.)

Ambedkar came to Agra and made some speeches in 1946 and again in 1956. He was known by sight to the mass of Agra Jatavs, who felt they had experienced his sparkling view (*Darshana*). The arrival of Ambedkar in 1956 was not noticed by the Scheduled Caste alone but other communities also. Agra city has been a staunch center of Ambedkarite Movement from good old days. Dr. Ambedkar paid a last visit of his life to Agra city on the 18<sup>th</sup> March 1956. During this visit, he addressed highly to the masses, the leaders, the landless laborers, his followers, the Buddhist monks, the government employees, the students, and the youths.<sup>82</sup>

#### 5.4.2.3 The Mochi

The word ‘Mochi’ is derived from the Sanskrit word ‘*Mochika*’ or Hindi word ‘*Mojna*’ which means to fold or *Mojah* (socks). The Mochi was a leather worker and he was not directly connected with flesh. The word Mochi denoted an occupation rather than a caste. The Chamars on their production usually called themselves Mochis, and the Mochis as they rose called themselves *Kayasths*. There might be something in the Mochi’s claim to be considered *Kayasth*. Darzi’s were employed in the large tanneries in Cawnpore to stitch leather, and Hindu darzis usually called themselves *Kayasths*.<sup>83</sup> In the 1870s, the Mochi used imported leather in the northern towns to manufacture shoes and saddlery. He could ‘copy faithfully any pattern or shape of imported boots, shoes, harnesses, bags and portmanteaux in the towns.’<sup>84</sup> The Mochi did not eat carrion or pork nor did he touch the hides raw, and his wife did not

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p. 139.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, pp. 29-30.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, p. 138.

<sup>83</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>84</sup> Roy, T. (1999). op. cit., pp. 188-189.

serve as a midwife, it was due to these reasons that his touch was not considered polluting. There was a Hindu proverb stating that “Dried or prepared hide is the same thing as cloth”. As a class, he was well off, and socially superior to the Chamar.<sup>85</sup>

Generally, the Mochi were divided into two categories: one would only make new shoes, saddlery, saddle-cloth; ghee-bucket makers, makers of spangler’s and of shields and scabbards, etc and the other would repair old shoes in the United Provinces.<sup>86</sup> With these different types of occupation, they had to get their livelihood. But the Mochi did not achieve the position which had achieved by the Chamars and Jatavs in this province because the Mochi usually did not working in the leather concerns such as Chamars and Jatavs to do so.<sup>87</sup> The Mochi of United Provinces was mainly divided on the basis of Product-mix and economic situation in the following table is as follows:

**Table 5.8 (The Mochi of United Provinces was divided on the basis of Product-mix and economic situation)**

| Type of Mochi     | Gorakhpur  | Kanpur  | Meerut  |
|-------------------|--|---|---|
| Traditional Mochi | Main activities were traditional tanning at their native places and produce cheap leather only which were in demand mainly for local weddings. | Cheap leather production combined with shoe repair and also chrome leather <i>juti</i> production which completes the demand moderate for <i>jutis</i> . Leather Shoes also prepared by them. | Mainly <i>jutis</i> were prepared which have good demand. |
| Marginal Mochi    | Repairs only.<br>Income low.   | Cheap leather production. Income low to moderate.   | Not the main activity.                                    |

<sup>85</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, Also see, Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>87</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

|                         |  |   |   |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|
| Modern Mochi            | Chrome leather sandals/some shoes.<br>Repair also undertook.<br>Demand very high, but income was low | Repair leather shoes and sandals.<br>Demand high, income was moderate | Mainly engaged in shoe production.<br>Limited repairs.<br>Considerable competition.<br>Demand high.<br>Income was moderate. |
| Leather goods' producer | NA   | NA  | Producers of leather Sports goods such as footballs, volleyballs, a valve for hand pumps.<br>Income was good.               |

**Source:** Sinha, S. (1986). Economics vs Stigma: Socio-Economic Dynamics of Rural Leatherwork in UP. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 21, No. 24, pp. 1061-1067.

Another table focused on the income of leather workers in United Provinces are as follows:

**Table 5.9 (The table focused on the income of leather workers in United Provinces)**

| Category of Worker | Gorakhpur<br>(Rs per annum) | Cawnpore<br>(Rs per annum) | Meerut<br>(Rs per annum) |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Village flayer     | 434                         | 917                        | 1003                     |
| Flayer-trader      | 550                         | 564                        | -                        |
| Tanner             | 919                         | 834                        | 1522                     |
| Tanner-Mochi       | 1158                        | -                          | -                        |
| Village-Mochi      | 419                         | 1219                       | 1382                     |
| Trans-Mochi        | -                           | 770                        | 892                      |
| Modern Mochis      | 1489                        | 1950                       | 998                      |
| Leather producer   | -                           | -                          | 1316                     |

**Source:** Sinha, S. (1986). Economics vs Stigma: Socio-Economic Dynamics of Rural Leatherwork in UP. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 21, No. 24, pp. 1061-1067.

In 1891, there were 150 sub-divisions of Hindu Mochi and 27 sub-divisions of Muhammadans Mochi in United Provinces.<sup>88</sup> According to Census of 1921, it attributed a rise in the proportion of Mochi following their traditional occupation to these prospects of diversification.<sup>89</sup> There was the name Mochi denoted a Muslim Chamar or he was a Muslim weaver called *Julaha* while the Hindus were Kori Chamars which were found in Gorakhpur, and the other was the *Srivastav Kayasths* who made saddles and harness.<sup>90</sup> The Gorakhpur Mochi had received medals at Melbourne and Paris for embossed deer skins, made up as table-cloths, table-mats, carpets, etc.<sup>91</sup>

In 1908, this situation was found that leather footwear to be a prominent industry in Meerut, Agra, Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, and Benaras which were owned by Mochi who had emigrated from different areas of the country. It also came across ‘a growing class of Muslims as well as Hindu Mochi in United Provinces who could be willing to embark on the enterprises. In 1923-24, the Mochi workers were the number of 25,000 persons employed in Agra shoe- industry. In Allahabad, shoe-making or shoe repair took place in Mochi’s workshop in their houses or cottage in the 1930s.<sup>92</sup>

#### 5.4.2.4 The Dabgar

The word ‘Dabgar’ is derived from Sanskrit word ‘*darvakara*’ which means ‘a number of any spoon-shaped vessels’. The Dabgar was a low-caste Hindu community, whose traditional occupation was the making of *Kuppas*<sup>93</sup> which was made by large raw-hides vessels; beaten raw camels hide bottles for storing ghee and oil, and also drum-heads, leather sheaths for swords, and shields.<sup>94</sup> According to the Census of 1891, the Hindu community consisted of *Bankar*, *Benbani*, *Dhalgar* or *shield maker*, *Goliwala*, *Jati*, *Kanaujiya*, and *Srivastava* who got the name from the old town of Shrivasti in the Gonda district.<sup>95</sup> The Faizabad report said that there they

<sup>88</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 33-34.

<sup>89</sup> Roy, T. (1999). op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>90</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>91</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>92</sup> Chatterjee, A.C. (1908). *Notes on the industries of the United Provinces*. Delhi.

<sup>93</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>94</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>95</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 235.

were thought to be debased *Kayasths*.<sup>96</sup> This caste had a Hindu and Muhammadans section, but no regular sub-castes. The Muhammadans section consisted of the Punjabi. The Dabgar made two types of vessels from the clippings (*katran*) or the scrapings (*gudar, chillan*) of rawhides. One was the *Kuppa* or large oil and button jar and the other was the *phuleli*, a sort of little phial for holding scented oil, which could be seen in the markets hung up over the shops of perfumers.<sup>97</sup>

#### 5.4.2.5 The Dhalgar

The word 'Dhalgar' is derived from the Sanskrit word 'dhalakara' which means shield-maker. This was a small-occupational caste which usually made the leather shield for battles since Mughal times. This caste generally worked for the Rajput race i.e., making the leather shields which were used by the Rajput soldiers in North India because Rajput was habitual to use these leather shields in the battles.<sup>98</sup> They were allied to the Dabgar. The sub-castes included *Bankar, Benbanzi, Dars, Dhaba, Koliwala, Sribastav* and *Phadu*. The maximum numbers of the Dhalgar were found in the Faizabad district.<sup>99</sup>

#### 5.4.2.6 The Bhishti

The Bhishti was a Muhammad sub-caste, who was sometimes a Chamars, also work in leather<sup>100</sup> and they usually tan and repairs their water bag called *Mashak*. Generally, the Bhishti made the *Mashak*, or skin water bag which was used in carrying water.<sup>101</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Bhishti generally worked with the oil and perfume containers, the water-bags, saddlery, and embroidered shoes which were made by leather for storing and transporting the articles; these were essentials ingredients of urban life.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>97</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit.

<sup>98</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

<sup>99</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>100</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

<sup>101</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit.

<sup>102</sup> Roy, T. (1999). op. cit., p. 187.

#### 5.4.2.7 The Dohar

The Dohar was a sub-caste of Chamars which was generally found in a section running right across to the United Provinces, from the districts of Philibhit and Kheri, through those of Shahjahanpur, Hardoi, Farrukhabad, Cawnpore, and Etawah to Jalaun. The Dohar was most numerous in the Hardoi District, where they formed more than half of the Chamar population. They did not keep pigs, but they ate pork.<sup>103</sup> A considerable number was found in Agra, Rohilkhand, Allahabad, and Lucknow also.<sup>104</sup>

#### 5.4.2.8 The Purbiya

The Purbiya was found largely in the territory lying to the east of the districts of Sitapur and Kheri Districts, getting their name from the geographical distribution. The population of this sub-caste were getting increased nearly 3, 00,000 in the 1920s.<sup>105</sup> A large number of Purbiya was found in Lucknow and Faizabad divisions.<sup>106</sup>

#### 5.4.2.9 The Kuril

The Kuril was largely found in the Allahabad and Lucknow Divisions.<sup>107</sup> The most numerous were in the Unnao district, where they comprised nearly the whole of the Chamar community. A considerable number of the Kuril were found in the neighboring districts of Cawnpore, Rae Bareilly, and in small numbers in nearly every district in United Provinces, being in this respect, with the exception of the Jaiswar, the most widely distributed sub-caste in the province. They claimed to have been brought to Lucknow from *Kora Jahanabad* (Fatehpur Hanswa) seven or eight generations ago.<sup>108</sup> They were leather-workers and field-labourer; they kept pigs and ate carrion. The Kurils generally were lived on the other side of the Ganges stream. The two sections of Kurils did not intermarry. The women of the former wear skirts and those of the latter wear loin-cloths (*dhoti*).<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>104</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>105</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 24-25.

<sup>106</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, Also see, Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 25. & Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>108</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 25, Also see, Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>109</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

According to the story, one day the *Subahdar* or *Nawab* of that period was sitting under a *shamiana*(tent) in *darbar*. When there were some insects fell from the untanned leather fittings at the top of one of the tent poles in *Shamiana* (tent). Disgusted at this he made enquiries as to where the best tanners were to be found and induced some Kuril Chamars to settle in Lucknow and gave them a grant of land. The Baiswar Chamars took their name from a village in the Unnao district. The Kurils and Kora-Chamars appeared to think to form a separate caste or they were chiefly *Rangiyas* (dyer) in Faizabad, Saharanpur, Cawnpore, and Fatehpur. There was a tank at *Kainjri* in the Cawnpore district where a large colony of Chamars carried on their business. The special virtue was attributed to the water, which was said to have been blessed by a long-dead *Faqir*. This theory did not seem to be supported by facts.<sup>110</sup>

#### **5.4.2.10 The Shiraz**

The Shiraz was the Muhammadans sub-caste, generally belonged to Saharanpur, and appeared to be converted Hindus, who confined their attention chiefly to the skin of wild animals.<sup>111</sup>

#### **5.4.2.11 The Jatiya or Jatua**

The Jatiya or Jatua was a Hindu sub-caste included more than 20 percent of the total Chamar population. They were found almost entirely in the north and west of the province, in the Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand Divisions, Moradabad, Badaun, Allahabad, Benaras, Gorakhpur, Faizabad, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Mirzapur Districts. They claimed, themselves to be the highest of the all the sub-castes of the Chamars. Since many among them were well to do. The Jatiya was a field labourer, a cultivator, a dealer in hides and a maker of shoes. They generally did not touch the skins of cattle and worked only in horse and camel hides. Some of the dealers in hides belonging to this sub-caste were wealthy and lived as comfortably as the high caste Hindus.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Walton, H. G. (1903). op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 22.

#### 5.4.2.12 The Jaiswar

The Jaiswar sub-caste was found almost exclusively in the eastern parts of the province,<sup>113</sup> chiefly in the Allahabad, Benaras, Gorakhpur, and Faizabad Divisions.<sup>114</sup> Many menial servants and house-servants for Europeans were recruited in the towns recruited and cities according to their ranks. Some Jaiswars were in the troops of Lord Clive which were fought at Plessey. Some of this sub-caste was tanners, shoe-makers and day-labourers. The other sub-castes were found in United Provinces in the order of their numerical strength.<sup>115</sup> The Jaiswar traced their origin to the old town of *Jais*, though some have a ridiculous story that it was a corruption of *Jinswar*, in the sense that they were agriculturists and grow various crops (*jins*).<sup>116</sup>

#### 5.4.2.13 The Kori or Koli

The Kori or Koli Chamar was found almost exclusively in the Faizabad, Gorakhpur and Lucknow Divisions. About 1, 00,000 were found in the Sultanpur district alone, while more than 50, 000 were found in the District of Basti, and more than 80,000 in the Districts of Faizabad and Pratapgarh. They were shoe-makers, field-labourers, grooms, and weavers. They would not touch dead camels or horses. The Kori (weaver) often lived alongside him and was undoubted formerly a Chamar. In some places, people still remember that the Kori and Koli Chamar ate together and intermarried. In Mirzapur, the Kori was known as Chamar-Kori.<sup>117</sup> The Kori or Koli, a term usually applied to the Hindu weaver, as contrasted with the *Julaha* (Muhammadans weaver) connected by some with the *Koli*; by others with the Sanskrit '*Kaulika*' in the sense of "ancestral" or a "weaver". They said themselves that they took their name from their custom of wearing unbleached (*kora*).<sup>118</sup>

#### 5.4.2.14 The Aharwar

The Aharwar was chiefly found in the Allahabad Division, in some other districts, as in Jhansi and in Hamirpur of Bundelkhand Division. They were comprised about 90 percent of the Chamar population in this province. There were important communities

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p. 23.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p. 22., Also see, Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit.

<sup>115</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., pp. 22-23.

<sup>116</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>117</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>118</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit.

of Aharwars in the Districts of Farrukhabad, Hardoi, and Bulandshahr. Many Aharwars were cultivators, and some were petty contractors, but they did not make leather, nor did his wife practice midwifery.<sup>119</sup> Thus, the Aharwar were connected with the old town of *Ahar*, in the Bulandshahr district, or with the *Ahar* tribe.<sup>120</sup>

#### 5.4.2.15 The Dhusiya or Jhusiya

The Dhusiya or Jhusiya was generally found almost exclusively in the Benaras division, Meerut and in the adjoining district of Gorakhpur.<sup>121</sup> In Ballia,<sup>122</sup> they were formed about 65 percent of the Chamar population. Nearly 45 percent of this sub-caste was found in the Ballia district alone. In Ballia and Benaras districts, they were found nearly three-quarters of the whole sub-caste. The colonies of Dhusiya or Jhusiya sub-caste were found in the districts of Saharanpur and Bulandshahr too.<sup>123</sup> They were the shoe and harness maker, tanners, while others worked as a day labourer. Sometimes, they served as a musician and house-servants of Europeans, while rests were cultivators in their own fields.<sup>124</sup> The Dhusiya or Jhusiya had also traditionally connected them with the old town of *Jhusi*, near Allahabad. Many of the Dhusiya or Jhusiya, who traced their origin to *Sayyidpur* in Ghazipur district, generally were shoe-makers and harness makers.<sup>125</sup>

#### 5.4.2.16 The Chamkatiya

The Chamkatiya was chiefly found in Bareilly district, where nearly 80 percent of the sub-caste was found. There were a few thousand, all told, found in a section running through the districts of Fatehpur, Rae-Bareilly, Sultanpur, Faizabad, and Basti.<sup>126</sup> The Chamkatiya took their name from their trade of cutting hides (*cham katna*). This sub-caste claimed to have produced the famous saints named *Rai Das* and *Lona Chamarin*.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

<sup>120</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>121</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

<sup>122</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit.

<sup>123</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.,

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p. 26.

<sup>125</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>126</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>127</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 172.

#### 5.4.2.17 The Dosadh or Dusadh

The Dosadh or Dusadh was chiefly found in Lucknow and Gorakhpur divisions and in the lower *Doab*(the area between the two rivers such as Ganges and Yamuna). They were mainly worked as a weaver, a groom, and a field-labourer. They kept pig and ate pork, which was also the occupation of Dusadh.<sup>128</sup> They were on very friendly terms or family contacts with the Chamars and lived next to them in the villages. Many Dosadhs had gone to the cities to work in the leather factories from villages.<sup>129</sup>

#### 5.4.2.18 The Kaiyan

The Kaiyan was chiefly found in Bundelkhand division. In Sagaur district, they were sometimes rated as a criminal.<sup>130</sup> The Kaiyan was also a sub-caste of the *Bohra*(a trader) and usurer of Brahman, or Rajput origin. They were said to be derived from their habit of always saying *Kahe* “What?” or “When?”.<sup>131</sup>

#### 5.4.2.19 The Azamgarhiya or Birhiruya

The Azamgarhiya or Birhiruya was chiefly found in western parts of Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Benaras districts, Gorakhpur division and the south of Oudh. They worked mainly as house-servants of Europeans and they also tend swine.<sup>132</sup>

#### 5.4.2.20 The Sakarwar

The Sakarwar was chiefly found in Agra and Allahabad divisions. The Sakarwar Chamar was tanners, shoe-makers, and cultivators. They kept the pig and ate pork. The Sakarwar connected them with Fatehpur Sikri.<sup>133</sup>

#### 5.4.2.21 The Rangiya

The Rangiya was a group of Chamar that was often spoken of as sub-castes, which were not strictly such. It was an occupational division of certain sub-castes. As the

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p. 173.

<sup>129</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, Also see, Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., pp. 172-173.

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name suggested, they were dyer, tanner of leather, and some of them made cheap leather shoes.<sup>134</sup>

#### 5.4.2.22 The Rai Dasi

The Rai Dasi was not a sub-caste, but a religious group which was chiefly found in some parts of the province. All the Chamars called themselves *Rai Dasis*, their followers were found all over the province. They were sometimes worked in leather but not regularly.<sup>135</sup>

#### 5.4.2.23 The Satnami or Alakhgir

The Satnami was another religious group which was found in some parts of this province. These sub-castes of Chamars have given up leather work entirely and had become cultivators also. Many of them had tenants' rights, and a number of them have obtained villages. Likewise, the *Alakhgir*, a group formed by *Lalgir*, had become a separate sub-caste.<sup>136</sup>

#### 5.4.2.24 The Mangatiya

The Mangtiya was a begger, who lived on alms, which they took only from the Jaiswar. Once a year, they were begging a pice and a roti from each house.<sup>137</sup> In Mirzapur district, they described these functions somewhat differently.<sup>138</sup>

#### 5.4.2.25 The Chandaur or Chandauriya

The Chandaur or Chandauriya was chiefly found in central Doab, who claimed them to be descended from *Chanura*, the famous wrestler of *Kansa*, who was killed by *Lord Krishna*. The Chandaur was chiefly work in leather shoes, but did not work with raw hides and skins, and sew canvas and cheap leather cloth.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid, pp. 26-27.

<sup>136</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>137</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>138</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, p. 174.

#### **5.4.2.26 The Banaudhiya**

The Banudhiya was day-labourer and tend the swine. Another local division of the Eastern Chamars into *Uttarahas* or “Northern” and *Dakkinaha* or “Southern”, who lived respectively north and south of the River *Sarju* or *Saryu*, in the Faizabad districts and they did not intermarry.<sup>140</sup>

#### **5.4.2.27 The Nona Chamar**

The Nona Chamar was chiefly found in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore. They sometimes worked in leather.<sup>141</sup>

#### **5.4.2.28 The Dhengar and the Nikhar**

The Dhengar and the Nikhar tribes were chiefly found in Etawah district who were generally connected with Chamars. The former served as a groom, but the latter did not. Their wives did not practice as midwifery.<sup>142</sup>

#### **5.4.2.29 The Karol**

The Karol was a small tribe work as the shoe-maker, chiefly found in Bahraich, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, and Benaras districts.<sup>143</sup>

#### **5.4.2.30 The Nigoti or the Patthargotis**

The Nigoti and the Patthargotis were the minor sub-caste who was chiefly found in Mainpuri district and Agra region respectively.<sup>144</sup>

#### **5.4.2.31 The Raj or the Raj-Mistri**

The Raj or the Raj-Mistri was chiefly found in many parts of the United Provinces. They were a purely occupational caste of masons and bricklayers, was largely recruited from the Chamars.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>145</sup> Briggs, G. W. (1920). op. cit.

**5.4.2.32 The Chain**

The Chain was acted as Chamar and also considered a separate caste, which was found in some areas such as in Ballia district, etc. They were described as a criminal, a thief, a swindler, an imposter, and a pitch-pocket. They were decidedly the criminal objects of looting and robbing. They were a terror of law-abiding citizens and a torn in the flesh of the police. He was often under police supervision.<sup>146</sup>

**5.4.2.33 The Dhanuk**

The Dhanuk was sometimes rated as a Chamar. They ate carrion and the leavings of food from other castes, and his women acted as midwives.<sup>147</sup>

**5.4.2.34 The Lashkariya**

The Lashkariya made shoes of English style in some parts of this province.<sup>148</sup>

**5.4.2.35 The Doli-dhauwa**

The Doli-dhauwa generally carried palanquin (*palki*) and chiefly found in Pratapgarh district.<sup>149</sup>

**5.4.2.36 The Dhunyal-Julaha**

The Dhunyal-Julaha was low caste Hindu weaver who made cloth and was found in some parts of this province.<sup>150</sup>

**5.4.2.37 The Gharami**

The Gharami was the habitats of Dehradun region or hill tracts, who were the Thatcher.<sup>151</sup>

**5.4.2.38 The Gole**

The Gole was a minor sub-caste of Chamar who was chiefly found in Etawah district.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, p. 27.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, Also see, Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, Also see, Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 172.

**5.4.2.39 The Dafali**

The Dafali was a minor sub-caste and who made the drums called *tabla* or *tasha*.<sup>153</sup>

**5.4.2.40 The Bhand or Jester**

The Bhand or Jester was a sub-caste who made the drum called *danka*. There were also called the Dhor, who made buckets and dye the leather.<sup>154</sup>

**5.4.2.41 The Kalan**

The Kalan was usually cobbled shoes and made tents.<sup>155</sup>

**5.4.2.42 The Chakkiliyan**

The Chakkiliyan was the Doms of the hill tracts and they were also work in leather.<sup>156</sup>

**5.4.2.43 The Charkata**

The Charkata was Muslim leather worker who was found in some parts of this province.<sup>157</sup>

**5.4.2.44 The Tantua**

The Tantua was the manufacturer of strips or strings of leather known as a tent.<sup>158</sup>

**5.4.2.45 The Jatlot**

The Jatlot of Rohilkhand, who liked the Jatiya said, they were kinsfolk of the *Jats*.<sup>159</sup>

Besides these sub-castes, there were a number of minor sub-castes which were engaged in the leather craft in many parts of this province such as Dhuman, Domar, Dhingariya, Ghorcharha, Pachhwahan, Kanaujiya, Batariya, Guliya, Saksena, Kurla, Dusadhu (kinsmen of Dusadh), etc.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Crooke, W. (1896). op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

These leather worker castes and sub-castes exists in the United Provinces were principally engaged in providing the leather accoutrements for the requirements of the villagers or native areas. Besides the cottage productions, these castes also hold the leather craft in the big concerns which provide the regular employment to them. While getting employment in these units, these castes or sub-castes were maintaining their livelihood and claim their high status in Indian society. These castes were favourable to the British Govt. because of regular employment and improving and developing their socio-economic condition in Indian society. In these concerns, there was no caste system belonging but qualified artisans' work there. These castes and sub-castes had become an indispensable part of the rural and urban economy of the country in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.

But a slow transition began in the 1830s with the first exports of Indian hides to Europe, by the end of century a further setback was witnessed, when India began exporting raw hides and skins. Initially, this trade depended upon the hides and skins which were obtained from the animals that had died a natural death, but the increased market of raw hides and skins necessitated the control over the morality of the cattle. This led to the establishment of municipal slaughterhouses at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was in a flourishing state in the 1920s. The export of dried oxen and buffalo meat to Burma in the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also led to the establishment of major slaughtering centers, in the United Provinces specializing in this trade. These slaughterhouses had established their control to such a great extent than in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and about a quarter of the estimated 20 million hides and skins produced annually in it.<sup>161</sup>

The centralized slaughter created a network of merchants to collect dry cattle from the villages. With the increase in demand for hides and skins and the increase in the value of leather, the landlords questioned the Chamars traditional right to raw hides and skins. The Chamar was replaced by the contractor or agents of the tanneries in the towns. The detachment of tanning from the rural economy led to the decline in the number, and proportion of traditional castes engaged in the leather craft. Though the

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<sup>161</sup> Sharma, M. (2014). op. cit., p. 116.

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actual workers employed in the leather industry did not decline over 1901-31, the participation in the tanning of castes identified with leather definitely came down.<sup>162</sup>

The establishment and success of large tanneries in the towns forced the village tanners all over the country, to give up their hereditary occupation and become agricultural labourers, and enter other cleaner occupations. There were also large-scale migrations to the cities, where most naturally acceptable, the Chamars also took up a variety of occupation. In some parts of the country, as many as 25 percents of the male rural Chamars were away from home half of the years. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these migrations became more of permanent nature. While such migrations, on one hand, were a blow to the rural tanning industry, on the other, they were a boom for the urban tanneries. Since the United Provinces had a number of such units, it helped the development of the leather industry and also improving the socio-economic condition of the leather working castes and sub-castes which existed.<sup>163</sup>

## **5.5 Political and Trade Organizations among the Leatherworker Caste in United Provinces**

### **5.5.1 Chamar Mahasabha**

The Chamar was one of the major Dalit community chiefly found in all over the United Provinces. This caste was engaged in leather work and shoemaking. This was no longer practice almost all the traditional functions of this caste had been gradually given away. The economic condition of Chamar had assumed importance in respect of political and development activities. This was also because of numerical superiority.<sup>164</sup> The Sabha had prompted them to claim high status in traditional Hindu social order. The Chamar Mahasabha had raised voice on untouchability and exploitation on traditional forms. In particular, the traditions of beggary (unpaid labour) had emerged as the domain of tradition resistance in the form of agricultural work, leather work, and service of personnel and government officials.<sup>165</sup>

In many parts of the United Provinces, the political and social activism of the gross root level was gathered in May 1924 and set up the 'Chamar Mahasabha' in Mainpuri.

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid, pp. 116-117.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, p. 117.

<sup>164</sup> Rawat, R. S. (2011). op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, pp. 122-123.

This organization tried to take many measures for the development of the Chamar caste. These measures ranged from social reform to political rights. Among its proposals, the purity of Chamar's vegetarianism and his lifestyle was mentioned. In 1926, the Chamar Mahasabha passed a resolution to abandon the process of abandoning the body, leaving the perverted occupation, and blowing the dead bodies in Benaras. This Mahasabha was not only engaged in political mobilization of Dalit but also promoted social reform movement to improve the socio-economic conditions of Dalit.<sup>166</sup>

### **5.5.2 All India Jatav Youth league**

This league was very much important with the view of the lower class movement. It was such a movement that by using caste, to build its socio-political identity and strengthening its society. The first Jatav organization named 'Nagar Jatav Committee' was set up in 1888 in Agra city by leading Jatavs, and it advocated the Arya Samaj lifestyle of vegetarianism and Vedic teachings.<sup>167</sup> The Jatav community was set up two organization named as *Jatav Veer Sabha* (Jatav Mahasabha) in 1917 and *Jatav Pracharak Mandal* in 1924 for improvement of the socio-economic condition of Jatav community in India.<sup>168</sup> All India Jatav Youth League was organized in 1930 by the Jatavs youth in which *Khem Chandra Bohra* was elected as their leader and another person *Ramswaroop* gave their great contribution in this league. These organizations had their common motives to develop the Jatav society and to provide political firmness. The name of this league was changed as 'All India Jatav Yuva Sangha' in 1935. Agra region was the main centre of this league. It reflects the nature of the lower caste movement and represents the emerging middle-class's demands.<sup>169</sup>

Another organization named 'The Jatav Men's Association' was set up by Jatavs which was put the greatest emphasis on the propagation and extension of Vedic counsels and proper traditions. In fact, the basis of all social reforms was the following of the counsels. It was only through proper counsels that man could progress. The association according to its aim propagated among the public to the

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid, p. 124.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, p. 140.

<sup>168</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., p. 69.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, p. 78.

Vedic ways.<sup>170</sup> The annual meeting was organized for formal communication. These meetings were held until 1928 when the organization was dissolved because of internal factionalism. Before its dissolution, however, the movement had spread from Agra city to all Agra regions and to neighbouring areas.<sup>171</sup>

The Jatav community claimed themselves as Kshatriya status as it was in past but the high-class Hindu had continued to identify them as Untouchable caste.<sup>172</sup> The Jatav Mahasabha was organized in this respect and set up many branches in Etah, Bareilly, Mutthra, Mainpuri, Etawah, and Agra.<sup>173</sup> The Jatav raised voice against the high-class Hindu and made the new slogan-

*Jatav Muslim bhai bhai*

*Hindu kaum kahan se aayi?*

(Jatavs and Muslims are brothers

Where did the Hindus come from?)

With this slogan, they raised a hand against the Untouchability and their identity claim as Kshatriya status because of improving their socio-economic condition in Indian social order.<sup>174</sup>

### 5.5.3 The Scheduled Caste Federation

The Scheduled Caste Federation was attracted many Dalit organizations in 1940s such as Kumooan Shilpkar Mahasabha, Jatav Mahasabha, Raidas Mahasabha of Allahabad, Kureel Mahasabha, and the Chamar Mahasabha etc. to combined in a single federation and protest for their identity. After joining many lower caste organizations, the Scheduled Caste Federation rapidly entered in the election.<sup>175</sup> The Federation decided to launch a *satyagraha* (struggle) in 1946 and 1947 in the United Provinces to protest against the Poona Pact, the Congress, and the Cabinet Mission Award for rejecting their demands for proportional representation and a separate electorate, and to demand the abolition of *begaari*, the distribution of land to Dalit, free education

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, p. 77

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, p. 79.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, p. 84.

<sup>173</sup> Rawat, R. S. (2011). op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>174</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>175</sup> Rawat, R. S. (2011). op. cit., p. 174.

and scholarships, and reservation of Govt. jobs.<sup>176</sup> This federation also decided for annual conferences would be held in different cities of India. The federation had organized two more *satyagrahas* in Lucknow, in July-August 1946 and March-May 1947. *Satyagrahis* demonstrated daily in front of the Assembly to question its democratic credentials because Dalit was not proportionally represented in it. They carried placards and chanted slogans like:

*Poona Pact Ko Wapas Lo*

(“Scrap the Poona Pact”)

These series of protests culminated in the arrest of nearly four hundred Dalits, including prominent leaders of the federation such as Behari Lal Jaiswar, Piyare Lal Talib, and Shankaranand Shastri, as well as Tilak Chand Kureel, the president of United Provinces Scheduled Castes Federation. Similar demonstrations were held in different parts of the province such as Etah, Etawah, Kanpur, Farrukhabad, Fyzabad, Aligarh, Agra, Fatehgarh, Gorakhpur, and Azamgarh.<sup>177</sup>

#### **5.5.4 The Republican Party**

After the dissolution of the Scheduled Caste Federation in its final meeting by its president Dr. Ambedkar which was held in Delhi. Ambedkar had announced to create a new party named Republican Party of India under a single banner of equality in the 1950s. About 3 lakhs Mahar community people converted to Buddhism in a mass ceremony at Nagpur, Maharashtra.<sup>178</sup> The Republican Party generally represented as “a party along class rather than caste lines”.<sup>179</sup> The main motive behind the formation of the Republican Party was Ambedkar framed: “justice, equality, liberty, and fraternity”. It wanted every Indian to be able to enjoy these opportunities and benefits. Ambedkar wanted to attract Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Christians, and Dalit to the party.<sup>180</sup> The Republican Party’s slogans summed up the mood of the times and revealed the party’s ideological moorings:

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid, p. 175.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, pp. 177-178.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, p. 178.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, p. 181.

*Jatav Muslim bhai bhai*

*Hindu kaum kahan se aayi?*

(Jatavs and Muslims are brothers

Where did the Hindus come from?)

And

*Thakur, Brahman aur lala*

*Kar do inka munh kala*

(Thakur, Brahmans, and Baniyas

Blacken their faces)

And

*Tilak, Taraju aur Talwar*

*Inme maro jooto char*

(Brahman, Vaishya, and Kshatriya,

All of them beaten by shoes)

These slogans indicate that the Dalit' struggles against Hindu domination were fought along caste lines, by emphasizing their separate *acchut* identity. Over time, the idea of a shared Dalit identity has become more attractive rather than less.<sup>181</sup>

The idea of a united *acchut* identity and politics acquired dramatic popular support among various Dalit caste groups beginning with the Adi-Hindu movement in the 1920s and 1930s, and it continued to gain popularity as the Scheduled Caste Federation emerged in the 1940s and the Republican Party of India in the 1950s. This idea formed the platform upon which a successful political mobilization was made possible, and it has been that struggle's enduring legacy.

### **5.5.5 Employers' Association of Northern India**

There was only one employer's organization known as Employers' Association of Northern India set up in Cawnpore in which the following tanneries and leather factories were its members till 1947 such as The Cooper Allen & Co., Cawnpore; The Cawnpore Tannery Co., Kalpi Road, Cawnpore; The Hindustan Tanneries Co. Ltd., Jajmau, Cawnpore; The Eastern Tanneries Ltd., Jajmau, Cawnpore; The pioneer Tannery Co., Jajmau, Cawnpore; The Saghir Tannery, Jajmau, Cawnpore; Indian

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, pp. 183-184.

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National Tannery, Jajmau, Cawnpore; The United Provinces Tannery Co. Ltd., Jajmau, Cawnpore; The Shewan Tannery & Co., Jajmau, Cawnpore; The Central Tannery, Jajmau, Cawnpore; The Noronha's Model tannery, Kalpi Road, Cawnpore; The Grand Trunk Tannery, Rawatpur, Cawnpore; The Prem tannery, Darshanpurwa, Cawnpore; and Halina Sons Tannery, Purwa Hiranman, Cawnpore; etc.<sup>182</sup>

#### **5.5.6 The Cawnpore Leather Workers Union**

It was set up in *Gwaltoli*, Cawnpore and very famous among the leather workers of Cawnpore because it was always raised voice with leather workers against the leather factories owners. The members of this union raised about 300 workers. It was registered under the India Trade Union Act. Mr. Ram Lakhan was the president and Mr. Nasir Ahmad was the secretary of this union in 1947.<sup>183</sup>

#### **5.5.7 The Cawnpore Tannery and Leather Workers Union**

It was set up in Mazdoor Sabha Office, Cawnpore and also famous among the leather workers of Cawnpore because it was always raised voice with leather workers against the leather factories owners. The members of this union raised about 1,457 workers. It was also registered under the India Trade Union Act. Mr. A.K. Bose was the president and Mr. Shiv Sharma was the secretary of this union in 1947.<sup>184</sup>

#### **5.5.8 The Cooper Allen Flex and General Staff Union**

It was set up in Cawnpore and also famous among the leather workers of Cawnpore because it was always raised voice with leather workers against the leather factories owners. The members of this union raised about 305 workers. It was also registered under the India Trade Union Act. Mr. S.C. Mitra was the president and Mr. Prem Narain was the secretary of this union in 1947.<sup>185</sup>

#### **5.5.9 Adi-Hindu Mahasabha**

The Arya Samaj was responded to the beginning of Adi-Hindu Mahasabha, mostly for the purpose of organizing the *shuddhi* movement. Mainstream Hindi nationalist newspaper like *Pratap* and *Abhyudaya* in United Provinces began to report the Arya

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<sup>182</sup> UPSA, Labour Dept., File no. 370 (L)/1947, Box no. 489, p. 23.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, pp. 23-24.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

Samaj's *shuddhi*-related activities in March 1924, as did the weekly police reports. A vocal advocate of "untouchables" in the Adi-Hindu Mahasabha, Swami Shraddhananda launched *shuddhi* activities among them in 1924.<sup>186</sup> Swami Achhutanand was another personality in Adi-Hindu Mahasabha, who re-setup the movement in all over the United Provinces.<sup>187</sup> This movement had many followers in Agra where the Swami lived and taught for a time. He was driven, some say stoned, out of Agra by the leaders of the Jatav-Kshatriya movement because of his radical doctrines. The Swami taught that the Scheduled Castes were really the original inhabitants of India and that the caste system had been imposed upon them by foreign conquerors. He also taught that the caste system was wrong, and he advocated the abolition of caste differences and caste endogamy.<sup>188</sup> By November 1927, an All India Adi-Hindu Mahasabha had been established and was organizing annual conferences in all over the country.<sup>189</sup>

These organizations usually worked on the basis of developing and improving the socio-economic condition of the leather worker castes and the whole of the Dalit community which existed in large number in this province. These organizations always protest against the high-class Hindu community and Congress Party because they had continued to identify them as Untouchable caste or lower status in the Indian society, whether their economic status lying to high-class communities because of employment in the big leather units in all over the country. These organizations also worked for improving the condition of leather workers in leather factories such as maintaining the hospitality, working hours, proper sanitary condition, hygienic food, prevent from dangerous machines, weekly and occasional holidays, good salary, rest between the working hours, ban of child labour, limited working hours for women workers, accommodation for migrant workers, etc.

Traditionally leather related occupations are considered impure in India. Concisely the social dimension of leather industry is a less explored area in Indian history. This chapter attempted to provide ethnic background to leather trade in United Provinces. The trend of this chapter highlights is that there was an upward mobility among several untouchable communities in the domain of socio-economic and political.

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<sup>186</sup> Rawat, R. S. (2011). op. cit., pp. 137-138.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, p. 145.

<sup>188</sup> Lynch, O. M. (1969). op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>189</sup> Rawat, R. S. (2011). op. cit., p. 148.

*Chapter-6*  
*Conclusion*

## **Chapter-6**

### **Conclusion**

Leather is a valuable commodity for living being since ancient times to the present. It has multiple utilities for human society. With the huge livestock in India, leather craft has flourished in the past and the present. Leather was probably the most important of the quasi-services that commercialized during the colonial rule. But till the 1830s, this leather craft remained essentially a decentralized cottage craft which was generally performed in the villages, with leather workers functioning independently. At the end of the 1830s, the leather craft was completely transformed into modern factory level with the intervention of British colonial Govt. This study attempted captures the trend in care of United Provinces.

It was requirement of colonial state that driven the process of modernization of leather industry on the footsteps of Madras Presidency leather industries; and the indirect result of the mutiny of 1857; and the new cantonments were set up in different parts of United Provinces, the leather craft also transformed into leather factories (cottage to factory production) in United Provinces. In the writings of modern India, leather industry did not receive an adequate attention. There are some studies on Cawnpore leather industry but history of leather industry in Agra which has not been explored by existing studies. The writers mainly focused on the Cawnpore leather industry but not focused on other parts of United Provinces. This study focuses on that aspect which is helped in compiling the history of leather industry which flourished in different parts of United Provinces.

With the intervention of British colonial state, the first leather factory named Govt. Harness and Saddlery Factory came to be set up at Cawnpore in 1867, due to efforts of Govt. army officer named Lt. (afterward Captain) John Stewart. On the success of this government concern, the second new concern named Cooper Allen and Co. Ltd. was set up at Cawnpore in 1880; it was a private concern which was run by three partners and most famous for manufacturing of leather shoes and sandals. After the success of these two concerns, such other Govt. and private concerns were set up in Cawnpore i.e., the North-West Tannery, the Cawnpore Tannery, H.M. Halim & Co., the Wense Tannery, the Shewan Tannery, Haji Abdul Gafoor Bux & Co., the United

Provinces Tannery, the Skippers Tannery, the Eastern Tannery, Messrs Briskey & Co., the Indian National Tannery, the Noronha Model Tannery, Hindustan Tannery, etc. Behind the establishment of these concerns, an important reason was lying i.e., Two Great Wars. Due to these wars, the demand for leather articles which were used by the army in the war was growing high in India and abroad also. Due to leather production and its superior quality in these concerns, Cawnpore soon became known for its leather products all over the world.

On the footsteps of Cawnpore leather factories, many leather units were set up near the areas of potential trouble or near the cantonments areas in different parts of United Provinces i.e., Agra, Meerut, Allahabad, Fatehpur, Bareilly, Rampur, Benaras, Lucknow, Saharanpur, Gorakhpur, Unnao, Bahraich, Etah, etc. Besides the establishment of these leather units in different parts of this province, some reasons were lying behind it. First reason was the availability of cheap labour or hereditary leather worker caste such as Chamar, Jatavs, etc; Second reason was availability of tanning agents such as Avaram bark and babul bark; Third reason was availability of communication system with the other parts of the country such as Railway, Roadway, Waterway; Fourth reason was the Govt. initiative and Trade Associations or Commercial Organizations which helped in the growth of leather industry in United Provinces. With these reasons, not only the quantity of production increased, even the quality of production also improved tremendously and it found the ready market in India and also found the markets in other countries such as England, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Italy, Australia, USA, etc.

There are few studies which trace the activities of slaughterhouses in India but they did not pay much attention on the British Govt. policies regarding the establishment of slaughterhouses either their law or byelaws. This study focused on such area which was neglected by the historian of colonial history and also traces the British policies with regard slaughterhouses in the Agra region. Before the revolt of 1857, most of the leather craft generally depends upon the raw hides and skins which were access to the fallen cattle. After the revolt of 1857, raw hides and skins of the fallen cattle were replaced by slaughtered animals which were slaughtered in slaughterhouses. These slaughterhouses were meeting the demand of raw hides and skins as well as meat for human consumption. Generally, the slaughterhouses were operated by the local butcher at their native places before the Govt. was taking an interest in it.

British Govt. set up their municipal slaughterhouses in different parts of the United Provinces and in Agra region. In spite of this, the colonial state were set up a Burma Meat Trade factory at Agra in 1889, Jharna Nala Slaughterhouse, Shahdara at Agra in 1901 and Khandauli Slaughterhouse in 1918 in village Khandauli, Etmadpur, at Agra district and many other slaughterhouses were also set up in Agra district and different parts of United Provinces. In the 1920s, the municipal board made the new rules and regulations for these slaughterhouses. The municipal board was permitted some rules and regulations i.e., Inspection of animals before slaughter, availability of officer incharge in slaughterhouse, slaughterhouse fee, rules at the slaughterhouse, rules within the slaughterhouse, penalty in slaughterhouse, etc. with force to all of the butchers who used slaughterhouse for slaughtering animals in a hygienic place. The board also sanctioned license to flayers as well as hide flaying scheme to the flayers for the improvement of flaying techniques of hides and skins in United Provinces. In spite of these rules and regulations of such slaughterhouses, the British Govt. wants to improve the quality of flaying and quantity of hides and skins for finished leather products. It can be said that slaughterhouses played an important role in the development of the leather industry in United Provinces and in Agra region.

Most of the studies on leather industry in United Provinces have been done on Cawnpore leather industry and most of the economic historians trace the brief references of Cawnpore leather industry in their writings but the Agra leather industry did not receive an adequate attention. This study tries to compiling those aspects which were neglected by historians. There were some factors which played an important role in the development of leather industry in Agra i.e., availability of cheap labour, traditional artisan (since Mughal period), availability of raw material (through fallen cattle and slaughterhouses), local traders, hereditary work, etc.

Traditionally Agra was an important center of leather trade. But it was undergone with modernization. The first leather factory named Stuart Boot and Equipment Factory along with the Taj tannery near Tajganj at Agra was set up in 1902. After the success of this first concerns in Agra, another important personality named Syed Mausī Reza, was set up a western type of shoemaking factory named ‘Shahganj Shoe Factory’ at Agra in 1907, to meet the growing demand of all kinds of first-class boots and shoes for ladies and gentlemen for international and domestic trade. A number of similar concerns were also set up in Agra during the colonial rule i.e., K.V. Shoe

Factory was set up by two spiritual young brothers named Khadam Ali Khan and Faiyaz Ali Khan in the Kaserat Bazaar at Agra in 1911, Good Luck & Co. by two partners named Mistri Hardev and Siraz Uddin, Dhani Ram Bhalla & Co. by Mr. Dhani Ram Bhalla, Dabar Shoe Factory, China Footwear Factory, Senior Shoe Factory, Men's Shoe Factory, Admen Shoe Factory, Alexander Shoe Factory, Poland Shoe Factory, Maharaja Shoe Factory, Kohinoor Shoe Factory, Good Year Leather Shoe Factory, Jandyal Shoe Factory, Kheda Shoe Factory, Tej Shoe Factory, Alpana Shoe Factory, Burma Shoe Factory, and the most important Dayal Bagh, Agra, it was a factory cum institute of leather shoes manufacturing.

In Agra, some of the localities that squired name and fame in British period for manufacturing different types of English shoes i.e., *Munda Pasa, Chhakki pat, Idgah Agra, Teela Mannu, Shahganj, Nai ki Mandi, Rui Ki Mandi, Burhan Sayyad, Budhawiya Gadi, Naubasta, Khandari, Mandi Sayeed Khan*, etc., Besides the English types of shoes and boots, these units were also specialized in manufacturing India types of shoes i.e., *Salim Shahi, Washi ka Joota, Jaipuria*, etc. Besides the shoes and boots, some of the different types of leather articles were manufacturing i.e., Saddlery and Harness, Leather Footwear, Leather cum Rubber Shoes, Leather Sandals and Sleepers, Consumer Goods and Wearing Apparel, The finish of Upper Leather, Leather Purses and Handbags, Leather and Fur Products, Sports Goods, Leather *Kuppis* for lighting, Jug green for Army Police and Home guard, Leather Shield, Leather Sword Cover, Agricultural Leather Goods, Leather Jackets and Belts, Deer Skin "*Kitab*" (books cover) for *Warq Sazi*, Behind the development of Agra Leather footwear industry, the Govt. policies and the Agra Shoes Manufacturers Association were also stood.

History of science and technology of colonial India did not give adequate attention to leather technology. They did not focus on the continuous technological innovations which were deployed in the leather industry for optimum utilization of leather. It did not cover that aspect which provides the technological transformation happened in India with the intervention of British colonial state. This study focused on the issue of technological transformation in India after the mutiny of 1857 i.e., the previous techniques of bag tanning were replaced by European tanning methods in the leather factories and vegetable tanning process was somewhere replaced by chrome tanning. But mostly vegetable tanning process continued in this province than the chrome

tanning process because the vegetable tanned leather has a longer life than the chrome tanned leather.

This study focuses on technological institutes which provided the knowledge of modern techniques of making leather. The Govt. of India and United Provinces came forward with various schemes to help this leather industry overcome the difficulties it faced. In order to develop the rawhide industry, the British Govt. had sanctioned a number of demonstration parties which carry on intensive propaganda to educate the owners of cattle, butchers in the slaughterhouses and the flayers incorrect methods of flaying and curing by actual demonstration. Govt. of United provinces were taken such suitable steps in the development of the leather industry with regard to opening the leather working schools in various part of United Provinces for the correct knowledge of leather manufacture.

The Govt. of United Provinces opened a first technological institute named Leather Working School at Cawnpore in December 1915 and appointed a high qualified Head Master named Mr. D.N. Rozdon (a Kashmiri Brahman) for this school. After the success of this school, that was only one of its kinds in entire the country had encouraged the British Govt. to establish such type of schools in other parts of the United Provinces such as in Agra, Meerut, Fatehpur, Bahraich, Allahabad and Barabanki where the leather work continuously underwent in a good way. The main motive behind the establishment of such schools was to make the students aware of the various aspects of leather manufacturing. The students were also introduced to modern technology which was applied in the manufacturing of finished leather products. Institutionalization of leather, science and technology was thus carefully done by the British.

Most of the social history writers focus on leather industry. They focus on the labour condition of leather industry and their major social aspects but they did not focused on those castes and communities which were existed in India and working in slaughterhouses and leather factories. This study focused on many castes and communities which were involved in leather crafts either in cottage level or factory level in colonial period. The Muslim and the former untouchable community known as popularly Dalit worked together. By the ownership and managerial responsibility was done by Muslims and craftsmen, leather workers, and tanners were mostly Dalit.

Most of these leather workers formed their political and trade organizations for the development of leather industry and the improvement of social condition of their communities i.e., Adi-Hindu Mahasabha, Chamar Mahasabha, All India Jatav Youth League, Scheduled Caste Federation, Republican Party, Employers' Association of Northern India, The Cawnpore Leather Workers Union, The Cawnpore Tannery and Leather Workers Union, The Cooper Allen Flex and General Staff Union, etc. It can be said that all above the factors, reasons, contributions, and Govt. policies helped the leather industry to flourishing worldwide and achieving the goal to be included among the front-ranking in industries of colonial India and in present time also. These factors also helped in exploring the social history of leather industry in United Provinces.

History of leather industry in United Provinces is indeed a vast and complicated topic. Much of studies mostly focused on Cawnpore. The fact this study demonstration is that leather industry spread in different parts of United Provinces such as Agra, Meerut, etc. These areas in fact did not receive the attention of historians. This study is a humble attempt towards exploring the vast universe of leather industry in United Provinces. The history of leather industry in Agra shown the initiatives of the British to modernize and commercialize the leather craft which was mainly a handicraft practiced at cottage. It also shows the ability of Indian society to respond to the changes introduced by the British. Thus, the history of leather industry is a product of collaboration between the colonial technology and Indian skills and labours.

#### **Important Findings of the Study**

- Most of the works have been done on the history of leather industry mainly focused on Cawnpore as an important place of United Provinces. In spite of the rich history of leather industry of Agra region did not receive adequate attention by historians.
- On account of de-industrialization happened in India, most of the transitional handicraft cottage industries had negatively affected by colonial economic policies but the leather industry able to flourish particularly in United Provinces and in Agra region which is true also.
- Due to the critical demand by colonial state apparatus at one level and thriving the international demand and market another level, attracting the attention of the

British which had invested capital and introduced new technology immensely the case study of Agra region represent the leather work.

- Continuous technological innovations were deployed in the leather industry for optimum utilization of leather which is abundantly available in a country like India which has a large number of livestock.
- British Govt. were taken such suitable steps in the development of the leather industry with regard to opening the leather working schools in various part of United Provinces for providing the modern techniques of making leather to the artisans.
- So far as the social dimension of the leather industry is concerned. The Muslim community and the former untouchable community known as popularly Dalit worked together. By the ownership and managerial responsibility was done by Muslims. Most of the craftsman, tanner and other leather worker came from Dalit. The region of the Agra shows the remarkable social chemistry between the Muslim and Dalit in expanding the volume of the leather industry.
- The leather industry of United Provinces and Agra region continuously underwent innovations helped by the British colonial state to maintain its brand value in both domestic and international trade and also found the ready market in India and also found the markets in other countries such as England, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Italy, USA, etc.

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# *Glossary*

**GLOSSARY**

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Acchut          | Untouchable   |
| Adi             | All   |
| Anna            | A unit of currency in former British India equal to 12 pies or 1/16 rupees  |
| Arhatdar/Arhati | Local traders   |
| Ashram          | Abode of the Hindu saints or literary person  |
| Assani          | Carpets used for prayers by the Muslims and Hindus  |
| Bakar Qassab    | Butchers who killed goats   |
| Beam            | Frame with curved slopping wooden upper surface, over which hides and skins are hung for working with curved knives |
| Cess            | An assessed tax   |
| Chachera        | Uncle's son   |
| Chamar          | A worker in leather   |
| Chamarin        | Lady Chamar   |
| Chamkatiyas     | Cutter of hides and skins   |
| Charma-Kara     | A worker in leather   |
| Chhagal         | A water bag made of the skin of a kid   |
| Chhatak         | A few quantities  |
| Chillan         | Scraping  |
| Chowkidar       | Security Gaurd  |
| Chrome leather  | Leather made using chrome as the tanning agents   |
| Curing          | Preservation of hides and skins involving salting and/or drying   |
| Darshana        | View  |
| Darzi           | Tailor  |
| Desi            | Country made  |
| Dhalgars        | Leather shield maker  |
| Dhanwantari     | The physicians of the gods  |
| Dhol            | Drum  |
| Drum            | Big cylindrical wooden container, rotating on a horizontal axis, in which hides or skins are placed with liquor     |
| Ekka            | Chariot   |
| Faqir           | Beggar  |
| Flaying         | Removal of hide or skin from the carcass of the tanning   |

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|            |  |
|------------|--|
| Flesh Side | The inner side of hide or skin adjoining the flesh of the animal in life     |
| Grain side | The outer side of the hide or skin so called after its grain or pattern      |
| Hamam      | Royal Bathroom under Mughals   |
| Heeng      | A type of spice which could be used to preparing food                        |
| Hide       | Hide refers to big animal i.e., cow, buffalo, camel, etc.                    |
| Ibid       | Reference that was cited again continuously                                  |
| Id-ul-Azha | Animal Sacrificing Occasion of Muslim  |
| Jainamaz   | Leather carpets which was used by Muslims in praying                         |
| Jajmans    | Local Landlords  |
| Jeen       | Horse holding the strap  |
| Jild bands | Book Binders   |
| Jootis     | An Old name of Slipper   |
| Julaha     | Muslim Weaver  |
| Jurrah     | Leather socks  |
| Kameladar  | Person who worked in a slaughterhouse  |
| Kan        | Rice Husk  |
| Karkhanas  | Mughal Workshops   |
| Katrans    | Clippings  |
| Katua      | Cutter of Leather  |
| Khalrangas | Dyers of Leather   |
| Khanqah    | Abode of the Muslim saints   |
| Khari      | Impure salt used by the tanners  |
| Khatik     | Hindu Slaughterer  |
| Khoja      | Gujarati speaking merchant generally found and business in Bombay presidency |
| Khurpi     | Blunt Knife used for unhairing and fleshing                                  |
| Kothari    | A small room   |
| Kuppas     | Large leather vessels for storing oil and ghee                               |
| Kuppesaz   | Makers of Kuppas/Kuppis  |
| Kuppis     | Scent bottle made of leather   |
| Lac        | Wax  |
| Lime yard  | The area of tannery devoted to the soaking, liming and fleshing stages       |

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|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Mahajan         | Village Landlords  |
| Mahva-Marua     | Flowers name   |
| Mamera          | Maternal Uncle's son   |
| Marhatti        | Two-toed Ahmednagar shoes  |
| Mashak          | Leather bags for storing water   |
| Maund           | 40 Kg approximately  |
| Mausera         | Maternal Aunt's son  |
| Mensem          | Three months   |
| Mochi           | Cobbler  |
| Mofussil        | Parts of the country outside an urban center   |
| Mojah           | Socks  |
| Munj            | Long grass   |
| Op. cit.        | Repetition of the full title of the work   |
| Paelagi         | Touch the feet   |
| Pahelwan        | Person who have physical power or local fighter  |
| Pelt            | The hide or skin after it has been fleshed and unhaired and before it has been tanned                  |
| Phitkari        | Alum   |
| Phuleli         | Scent bottle made of leather   |
| Phuphera        | Paternal Aunt's son  |
| Piece           | The hide or skin after it has been tanned  |
| Pit             | Large concrete – Lined depression or tank for containing hides or skins together with process liquors. |
| Pradhan         | Headman of village   |
| Process Liquors | Mixture of water with appropriate chemicals for acting on the hides or skins in contact with it.       |
| Putrefaction    | Biological decay of the hides or skins averted temporarily by curing and indefinite by tanning         |
| Qassab          | Butchers who killed buffaloes  |
| Qazi            | Judge of Muslim Period   |
| Quasi-service   | Virtually service  |
| Quila           | Fort   |
| Quraysh         | A Famous Tribe in Mecca city   |
| Rampi           | Curriers Knife   |

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|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Rangiyas                    | Dyers of hides and skins   |
| Recurring                   | Repeat again   |
| Sajji                       | Impure soda  |
| Samadhi                     | Burial   |
| Scientific-<br>independence | Freedom of having to do with science   |
| Scouring                    | Pouring water over hides or skins after vegetable tanning  |
| Shaadi                      | Marriage   |
| Shamiana                    | Tent   |
| Shiroli                     | Poona Brahman shoes  |
| Shuddhi                     | Holiness   |
| Skin                        | Skin refers to small animals i.e., goat, sheep, etc.   |
| Swadeshi<br>Movement        | A policy of nationalist self-sufficient in India involving the boycott of British products and the revival of domestic production  |
| Tabla/Tasha                 | Types of drums   |
| Takshaka                    | The king of the snakes   |
| Tanka                       | Silver coin under Delhi Sultanate  |
| Tannin                      | An astringent matter existing in bark, wood, leaves, and fruit of certain trees and Shrubs, having the property of combining with gelatin to form on the soluble impenetrable compound |
| Ustad                       | Master   |
| Varna                       | Caste or the social divisions of Aryans as laid down by Manu   |
| Vedic                       | Relating to Vedas  |
| Verandah                    | An open room   |
| Wet Salted hide             | Hides which have been cured by the application of salt, without drying   |
| Zardozi                     | The embroidery worked with gold and silver thread.   |
| Zari                        | The golden and silver thread   |

# *Appendices*

## Appendix-1

## Export of hides and skins, raw and tanned, from British India by sea to foreign countries for five-year periods

| Average annual exports for five years period | Raw Hides |             | Tanned Hides |             | Raw Skins |             | Tanned Skins |             |
|--|-----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
|  | Cwts      | Rs          | Cwts         | Rs          | Cwts      | Rs          | Cwts         | Rs          |
| 1880-81 to 1884-85                           | 626,250   | 2,06,80,000 | 87,975       | 48,68,000   | 40,167    | 27,35,000   | 129,486      | 1,51,65,000 |
| 1885-86 to 1889-90                           | 617,194   | 2,11,27,000 | 99,732       | 53,56,000   | 41,688    | 33,91,000   | 164,197      | 1,93,34,000 |
| 1890-91 to 1894-95                           | 508,414   | 1,84,36,000 | 98,840       | 55,49,000   | 80,696    | 67,90,000   | 189,591      | 2,48,96,000 |
| 1895-96 to 1899-1900                         | 786,544   | 3,27,99,000 | 144,724      | 83,77,000   | 120,139   | 1,20,02,000 | 194,545      | 2,85,63,000 |
| 1900-01 to 1904-05                           | 802,698   | 3,60,80,000 | 144,580      | 86,07,000   | 266,721   | 2,59,05,000 | 159,545      | 2,33,87,000 |
| 1905-06 to 1909-10                           | 863,449   | 5,17,48,000 | 180,769      | 1,43,46,000 | 430,649   | 4,03,20,000 | 143,006      | 2,58,67,000 |
| 1910-11 to 1914-15                           | 967,141   | 6,59,61,000 | 190,400      | 1,76,00,000 | 506,682   | 3,33,36,000 | 134,826      | 2,66,85,000 |

Source: Indian Munitions Board. *Review of the Trade in Indian Hides, Skins and Leather*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1919, p. 2.

## Appendix-2

## Export of Animal Kingdom products from British India to Germany and Austria-Hungary

| Articles               | Countries whence exported | Average for 3 years ending 1911-12 |           | 1912-13 |           | 1913-14 |           |
|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|
|                        |                           | Cwts                               | £         | Cwts    | £         | Cwts    | £         |
| Hides                  | Germany                   | 340,676                            | 14,29,518 | 389,429 | 17,83,521 | 388,409 | 20,44,062 |
|                        | Austria-Hungary           | 177,362                            | 7,58,932  | 173,772 | 7,86,057  | 237,829 | 12,29,392 |
| Skins                  | Germany                   | 11,021                             | 63,962    | 13,297  | 80,380    | 12,794  | 77,343    |
|                        | Austria-Hungary           | -                                  | -         | -       | -         | -       | -         |
| Leather Unmanufactured | Germany                   | -                                  | -         | -       | -         | -       | -         |
|                        | Austria-Hungary           | -                                  | -         | -       | -         | -       | -         |
| Leather Manufactured   | Germany                   | 3,274                              | 42,279    | 2,380   | 39,903    | 1,786   | 30,486    |
|                        | Austria-Hungary           | -                                  | -         | -       | -         | -       | -         |

**Source:** Department of Statistics- India, Memorandum and Statistical Tables relating to the *Trade of with Germany and Austria-Hungary* for the year 1914, Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India.

(-) Figures not available

**Appendix-3**  
**Import of Animal Kingdom products by United Provinces from Tibet and Nepal**

| Year    | Countries whence imported | Hides          |            | Skins          |            | Leather (Unmanufactured) |            | Leather (Manufactured) |            |
|---------|---------------------------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
|         |                           | Quantity (mds) | Value (Rs) | Quantity (mds) | Value (Rs) | Quantity (mds)           | Value (Rs) | Quantity (mds)         | Value (Rs) |
| 1906-07 | Tibet                     | 228            | 4,404      | 86             | 1,777      | -                        | -          | -                      | 14         |
|         | Nepal                     | 24,858         | 4,13,772   | 2,425          | 50,824     | -                        | 1,042      | -                      | 1,217      |
| 1907-08 | Tibet                     | 108            | 2,275      | 49             | 1,192      | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 13,366         | 2,93,433   | 863            | 21,041     | -                        | 32         | -                      | 2,830      |
| 1908-09 | Tibet                     | 38             | 837        | 97             | 2,401      | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 21,523         | 4,71,522   | 782            | 18,818     | -                        | 410        | -                      | 2,103      |
| 1909-10 | Tibet                     | 42             | 956        | 48             | 1,172      | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 15,958         | 3,62,041   | 375            | 9,247      | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
| 1910-11 | Tibet                     | 65             | 1,625      | 50             | 1,500      | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 25,808         | 6,39,449   | 622            | 18,030     | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
| 1911-12 | Tibet                     | 41             | 1,025      | 55             | 1,670      | -                        | 15         | -                      | 140        |
|         | Nepal                     | 23,087         | 5,76,150   | 924            | 27,720     | -                        | 3          | -                      | 403        |
| 1912-13 | Tibet                     | -              | -          | 27             | 810        | -                        | 40         | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 22,379         | 5,59,475   | 479            | 14,453     | -                        | 1,116      | -                      | 14         |
| 1913-14 | Tibet                     | 1              | 30         | 31             | 930        | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 20,749         | 5,90,555   | 481            | 16,240     | -                        | 2,832      | -                      | 4047       |
| 1914-15 | Tibet                     | 10             | 250        | 33             | 990        | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 26,893         | 7,85,935   | 404            | 14,220     | -                        | -          | -                      | 72         |
| 1915-16 | Tibet                     | 14             | 350        | 25             | 750        | -                        | -          | -                      | -          |
|         | Nepal                     | 16,663         | 4,84,735   | 217            | 7315       | -                        | -          | -                      | 115        |

Source: Annual report on the Foreign Trade of the United Provinces for the year 1906-07-08-09-10-11-12-13-14-15-16.

(-) Figures not available

## Appendix-4

## Export of Animal Kingdom products increased in War period from British India to other countries

| Year    | Raw Hides |             | Tanned Hides |             | Raw Skin |             | Tanned Skins |             |
|---------|-----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
|         | Cwts      | Rs          | Cwts         | Rs          | Cwts     | Rs          | Cwts         | Rs          |
| 1913-14 | 1,115,747 | 8,29,60,000 | 174,028      | 1,58,79,000 | 486,563  | 3,39,04,000 | 130,593      | 2,63,79,000 |
| 1916-17 | 894,028   | 7,49,20,000 | 323,676      | 4,49,53,000 | 568,313  | 6,91,63,000 | 166,051      | 4,96,40,000 |

**Source:** Indian Munitions Board. *Review of the Trade in Indian Hides, Skins and Leather*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1919, p. 36.

## Appendix-5

## A few typical articles of factory manufacture with pre-war and war costs and home rates form

| Article                                | 1912-13 |    |    | 1913-14 |    |   | 1914-15 |    |    | 1915-16 |    |    | 1916-17 |    |    | Home Rate |    |   |
|--|---------|----|----|---------|----|---|---------|----|----|---------|----|----|---------|----|----|-----------|----|---|
|  | Rs      | A  | P  | Rs      | A  | P | Rs      | A  | P  | Rs      | A  | P  | Rs      | A  | P  | Rs        | A  | P |
| Saddles, S.A., 1902, I.P., II, L.M.&S. | 24      | 2  | 6  | 22      | 6  | 3 | 22      | 10 | 11 | 20      | 14 | 7  | 23      | 15 | 8  | 58        | 2  | 0 |
| Saddles, S.A., 1902, III, L.M.&S.      | 24      | 2  | 6  | 22      | 6  | 3 | 22      | 10 | 11 | 20      | 14 | 7  | 23      | 15 | 8  | 58        | 2  | 0 |
| Bits, Portsmouth, Rev. II              | 1       | 15 | 2  | 2       | 3  | 4 | 1       | 11 | 8  | 1       | 13 | 11 | 2       | 3  | 11 | 1         | 14 | 0 |
| Stirrups, Steel                        | 1       | 8  | 0  | 1       | 8  | 0 | 1       | 0  | 1  | 0       | 13 | 7  | 1       | 1  | 1  | 1         | 10 | 0 |
| Reins, Bit, II                         | 1       | 6  | 6  | 1       | 3  | 9 | 1       | 3  | 7  | 1       | 4  | 4  | 1       | 5  | 1  | 3         | 1  | 0 |
| Leather, Stirrup                       | 0       | 15 | 9  | 0       | 13 | 9 | 0       | 14 | 3  | 1       | 0  | 5  | 1       | 0  | 5  | 2         | 7  | 0 |
| B.E., Bandoliers, sords, L.M.S.        | 3       | 6  | 5  | 3       | 1  | 0 | 3       | 2  | 11 | 3       | 10 | 6  | 3       | 12 | 11 | 3         | 9  | 0 |
| B.E., Belts, Waist, L.M.S.             | 0       | 14 | 11 | 0       | 13 | 7 | 0       | 13 | 9  | 0       | 14 | 6  | 0       | 15 | 4  | 2         | 4  | 0 |
| Belts, Waist, Brown, Sword, L.M.S.     | 4       | 2  | 11 | 4       | 8  | 6 | 3       | 10 | 11 | 4       | 13 | 9  | 5       | 1  | 0  | 4         | 9  | 0 |
| Boxes, P.T., Ammn., B.L.-110-pr        | 54      | 14 | 2  | 53      | 14 | 4 | -       | -  | -  | 57      | 13 | 10 | 58      | 12 | 2  | 93        | 12 | 0 |
| Boxes, P.T., Small, Stores B.L. 10 pr. | 69      | 10 | 1  | 68      | 5  | 6 | 75      | 9  | 3  | 68      | 11 | 5  | -       | -  | -  | 93        | 0  | 0 |
| Boxes, P.T., Artificers                | 58      | 7  | 4  | 52      | 3  | 5 | 51      | 13 | 9  | 53      | 14 | 9  | 54      | 6  | 2  | 73        | 5  | 0 |

Source: Indian Munitions Board. *Review of the Trade in Indian Hides, Skins and Leather*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1919, p. 69.

## Appendix-6

## Purchase of tanned leather from outside sources by the Govt. Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore during the War

| Source of receipt                       | 1914-15<br>lbs | 1914-15<br>lbs | 1914-15<br>lbs | 1914-15<br>lbs | April to July 1918<br>lbs                        |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| Messrs Shewan & Co.                     | 97,278         | 299,246        | 306,894        | 463,537        | 177,366  |
| Sri Adamjee Peer bhoj and sons, Bombay  | -              | 109,648        | 364,636        | 219,178        | -  |
| Cawnpore Tannery                        | -              | -              | -              | 128,168        | 138,863  |
| United Provinces Tannery                | -              | -              | -              | 92,738         | 131,798  |
| Bombay rough tanned hides               | -              | -              | 159,297        | 433,963        | 96,244   |
| Australian leather imported             | 2,339          | 166,986        | 457,303        | 326,501        | 150,000<br>(under receipt not included in total) |
| Sheepskins, local purchase              | 6,461          | 8,404          | 7,829          | 10,299         | 20,251   |
| <b>Total outside purchases</b>          | 106,528        | 584,284        | 1,295,959      | 1,674,384      | 564,522  |
| <b>Harness Factory's own production</b> | 851,811        | 1,525,618      | 1,685,402      | 1,799,374      | 593,659  |
| <b>Total All Sources</b>                | 958,339        | 2,109,902      | 2,981,361      | 3,473,758      | 1,158,181  |

Source: Indian Munitions Board. *Review of the Trade in Indian Hides, Skins and Leather*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1919, p. 63.

Appendix-7

Details of classes of leather produced in the tannery of the Govt. Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore during the War

| Articles                | 1913-14 |               |   | 1914-15 |               |   | 1915-16 |               |           | 1916-17 |               |   | 1917-18   |               |    | Apr to July 1918 |               |   |         |   |
|-------------------------|---------|---------------|---|---------|---------------|---|---------|---------------|-----------|---------|---------------|---|-----------|---------------|----|------------------|---------------|---|---------|---|
|                         | lbs     | Rate<br>R A P |   | lbs     | Rate<br>R A P |   | lbs     | Rate<br>R A P |           | lbs     | Rate<br>R A P |   | lbs       | Rate<br>R A P |    | lbs              | Rate<br>R A P |   |         |   |
| <b>Buffalo tanned-</b>  |         |               |   |         |               |   |         |               |           |         |               |   |           |               |    |                  |               |   |         |   |
| Belting                 | 38,298  | 1             | 6 | 8       | 8,411         | 1 | 2       | 9             | 88,635    | 1       | 2             | 4 | 62,039    | 0             | 15 | 6                | 90,773        | - | 34,222  | - |
| Heavy                   | 64,242  | 1             | 5 | 4       | 539,100       | 1 | 1       | 8             | 721,961   | 1       | 1             | 4 | 561,265   | 0             | 14 | 8                | 676,353       | - | 242,236 | - |
| Medium                  | 46,007  | 1             | 3 | 10      | 42,975        | 1 | 0       | 5             | 240,813   | 1       | 0             | 0 | 629,042   | 0             | 13 | 7                | 889,209       | - | 317,201 | - |
| Light                   | 4,203   | 1             | 2 | 5       | 17,396        | 0 | 15      | 5             | 134,723   | 0       | 15            | 0 | -         | -             | -  | -                | -             | - | -       | - |
| <b>Cow hides tanned</b> | 244,991 | 1             | 3 | 0       | 243,929       | 1 | 6       | 2             | 339,485   | 1       | 7             | 1 | 433,056   | 1             | 1  | 3                | 143,039       | - | -       | - |
| <b>Grand total</b>      | 397,741 | -             | - | -       | 851,811       | - | -       | -             | 1,525,618 | -       | -             | - | 1,685,402 | -             | -  | -                | 1,799,374     | - | 563,659 | - |

Source: Indian Munitions Board. *Review of the Trade in Indian Hides, Skins and Leather*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1919, p. 64.

(-) Figures not available

Appendix-8

Distribution of Chamars by sub-castes in United Provinces according to the Census of 1891

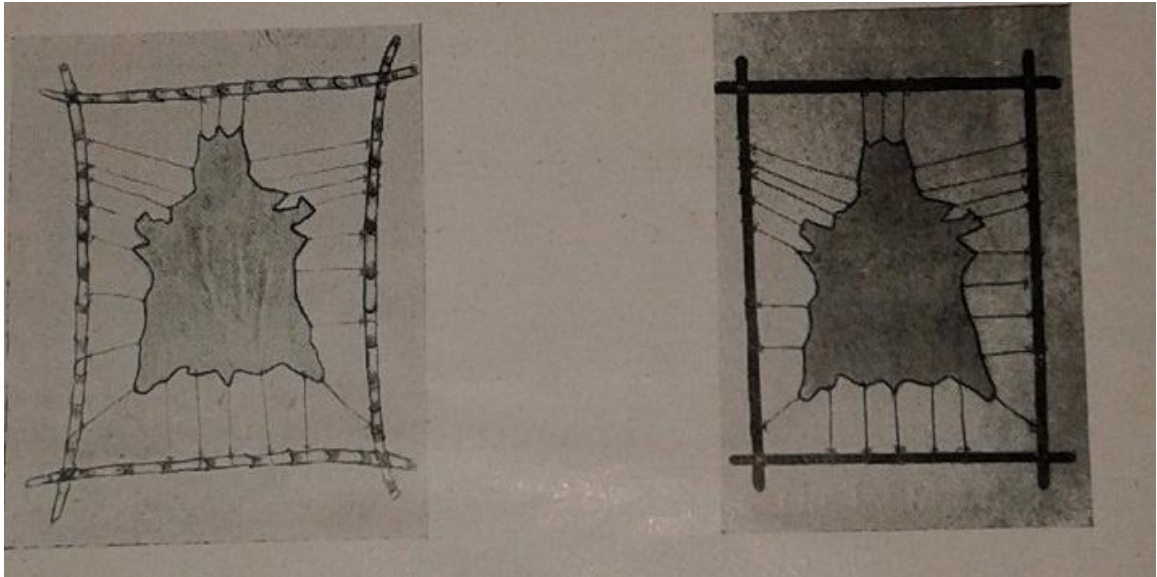
| District      | Aharwar | Chamar | Chamkatiya | Dhusiya | Dohar | Gole | Jaiswar | Jatav  | Kori | Korachamar | Kuril | Nigoti | Pathar goti | Purabiya | Raedasi | Sakarwar | Others |
|---------------|---------|--------|------------|---------|-------|------|---------|--------|------|------------|-------|--------|-------------|----------|---------|----------|--------|
| Dehradun      | 358     | 4356   | -          | -       | 48    | -    | 759     | 622    | 530  | 107        | 127   | -      | -           | -        | 1478    | -        | 8108   |
| Saharanpur    | -       | 145175 | -          | 8118    | -     | -    | 812     | 3092   | 20   | -          | 47    | -      | -           | -        | 1400    | -        | 29062  |
| Muzaffarnagar | -       | 87595  | -          | 5       | -     | -    | 17      | 16478  | -    | -          | 2     | -      | -           | 3        | 5152    | -        | 2005   |
| Meerut        | -       | 31219  | -          | 666     | -     | -    | 2014    | 175159 | -    | 9          | -     | -      | -           | -        | 68      | -        | 7900   |
| Bulandshahr   | 5185    | 6068   | -          | 3914    | -     | -    | -       | 87319  | -    | -          | -     | -      | -           | -        | 15860   | -        | 44732  |
| Aligarh       | -       | 800    | -          | -       | -     | -    | -       | 64522  | -    | -          | -     | -      | -           | -        | 3697    | -        | 94614  |
| Mathura       | 34      | 78     | -          | -       | -     | -    | 1013    | 101714 | -    | -          | 331   | -      | 51          | 246      | 366     | -        | 3155   |
| Agra          | -       | -      | -          | 36      | 239   | -    | 1546    | 159093 | 8    | -          | 53    | 214    | 522         | 45       | 450     | 746      | 10649  |
| Farrukhabad   | 15550   | -      | -          | 30      | 23038 | -    | 625     | 47919  | 408  | 324        | 378   | -      | -           | -        | 12      | -        | 932    |
| Mainpuri      | 549     | -      | -          | 359     | 73    | -    | 23      | 84207  | -    | 68         | 19    | 521    | 19          | -        | 1       | 612      | 14751  |
| Etawah        | 499     | -      | 601        | 159     | 56427 | 3861 | 1       | 45991  | -    | -          | 584   | -      | -           | -        | 4       | 1078     | 2225   |
| Etah          | 22      | -      | -          | -       | -     | 11   | -       | 88156  | -    | -          | 34    | -      | -           | 9        | 351     | -        | 797    |
| Bareilly      | 1430    | -      | 65925      | -       | 6     | -    | -       | 19713  | -    | -          | -     | -      | -           | -        | 4061    | -        | 4007   |
| Bijnor        | -       | 113971 | -          | -       | -     | -    | 20      | 8743   | -    | -          | 1     | -      | -           | -        | 994     | -        | 959    |
| Badaun        | -       | -      | -          | -       | -     | -    | 629     | 120350 | -    | -          | -     | -      | -           | -        | 762     | -        | 2290   |
| Moradabad     | -       | 12631  | -          | -       | -     | -    | 111     | 157964 | 95   | -          | -     | -      | -           | -        | 1438    | -        | 6308   |
| Shahjahanpur  | -       | -      | -          | -       | 51632 | -    | 8418    | 35252  | -    | -          | 5     | -      | -           | 358      | 90      | -        | 1044   |
| Pilibhit      | -       | -      | -          | -       | 14600 | -    | 184     | 17600  | -    | -          | -     | -      | -           | 404      | -       | -        | 150    |

|              |       |      |      |       |        |   |        |      |       |       |       |   |    |        |       |      |        |
|--------------|-------|------|------|-------|--------|---|--------|------|-------|-------|-------|---|----|--------|-------|------|--------|
| Cawnpore     | 1197  | -    | -    | -     | 26052  | - | 2446   | 1953 | -     | 9     | 66890 | - | -  | -      | 11804 | -    | 39478  |
| Fatehpur     | 29    | -    | 1882 | -     | -      | - | 25016  | 642  | -     | 1117  | 14713 | - | -  | -      | 5711  | -    | 22615  |
| Banda        | 11220 | -    | -    | -     | 5589   | - | 107    | -    | -     | -     | 3652  | - | -  | -      | 8888  | 421  | 80847  |
| Hamirpur     | 67619 | -    | -    | 24    | 697    | - | 95     | 290  | -     | -     | 2470  | - | -  | -      | 65    | 1962 | 1721   |
| Allahabad    | 2     | -    | 137  | -     | -      | - | 60438  | -    | 685   | 2654  | 139   | - | -  | -      | 17355 | -    | 64508  |
| Jhansi       | 49940 | -    | 27   | -     | 2505   | - | 468    | 1261 | -     | -     | 7     | - | -  | -      | 288   | -    | 1942   |
| Jalaun       | 2417  | -    | -    | -     | 27280  | - | 17     | 6220 | -     | -     | 14    | - | -  | -      | 128   | 23   | 25500  |
| Lalitpur     | 32419 | -    | -    | -     | -      | - | 9      | -    | 1     | -     | -     | - | 43 | -      | 184   | -    | 112    |
| Benaras      | -     | -    | -    | 31377 | -      | - | 67071  | -    | -     | -     | 232   | - | -  | -      | 1113  | -    | 4475   |
| Mirzapur     | -     | -    | -    | 154   | 48     | - | 117900 | -    | -     | -     | 1     | - | -  | -      | 6295  | -    | 22897  |
| Jaunpur      | -     | -    | -    | 344   | -      | - | 184538 | -    | -     | -     | 250   | - | -  | 1      | 643   | -    | 3180   |
| Ghazipur     | -     | -    | -    | -     | -      | - | 6766   | -    | -     | -     | -     | - | -  | -      | 576   | -    | 126629 |
| Ballia       | -     | -    | -    | 44932 | -      | - | 276    | -    | -     | -     | -     | - | -  | -      | 101   | -    | 23483  |
| Gorakhpur    | -     | -    | 69   | 11445 | -      | - | 42798  | 580  | 1756  | -     | 1944  | - | -  | -      | 1829  | -    | 300810 |
| Basti        | -     | -    | 1034 | 192   | -      | - | 77285  | -    | 50931 | 4253  | 1049  | - | -  | 261    | 53763 | -    | 88238  |
| Azamgarh     | -     | -    | -    | 502   | 151    | - | 162916 | -    | -     | 372   | 607   | - | -  | -      | 2473  | -    | 181642 |
| Lucknow      | 92    | -    | 40   | 609   | -      | - | 125    | 372  | 28    | 47    | 58688 | - | -  | 3605   | 898   | 97   | 4242   |
| Unnao        | -     | -    | -    | -     | -      | - | 46     | -    | 171   | -     | 95079 | - | -  | 2023   | -     | -    | 1372   |
| Rae-Bareilly | 1671  | 1224 | 6754 | -     | 1465   | - | 14610  | 2877 | 1339  | 15727 | 23850 | - | -  | 1135   | 16503 | -    | 9508   |
| Sitapur      | -     | -    | 906  | -     | 4      | - | 231    | 891  | 86    | 34    | 1594  | - | -  | 121998 | 1621  | -    | 19164  |
| Hardoi       | 3715  | -    | -    | -     | 103635 | - | 47     | 4513 | -     | -     | 67058 | - | -  | 8513   | 57    | -    | 433    |
| Kheri        | -     | -    | -    | -     | 35932  | - | 231    | 408  | -     | 11    | 163   | - | -  | 77354  | 8     | -    | 3748   |
| Faizabad     | -     | -    | 1743 | -     | -      | - | 97781  | 1177 | 42260 | -     | 987   | - | -  | 2367   | 15599 | -    | 5821   |

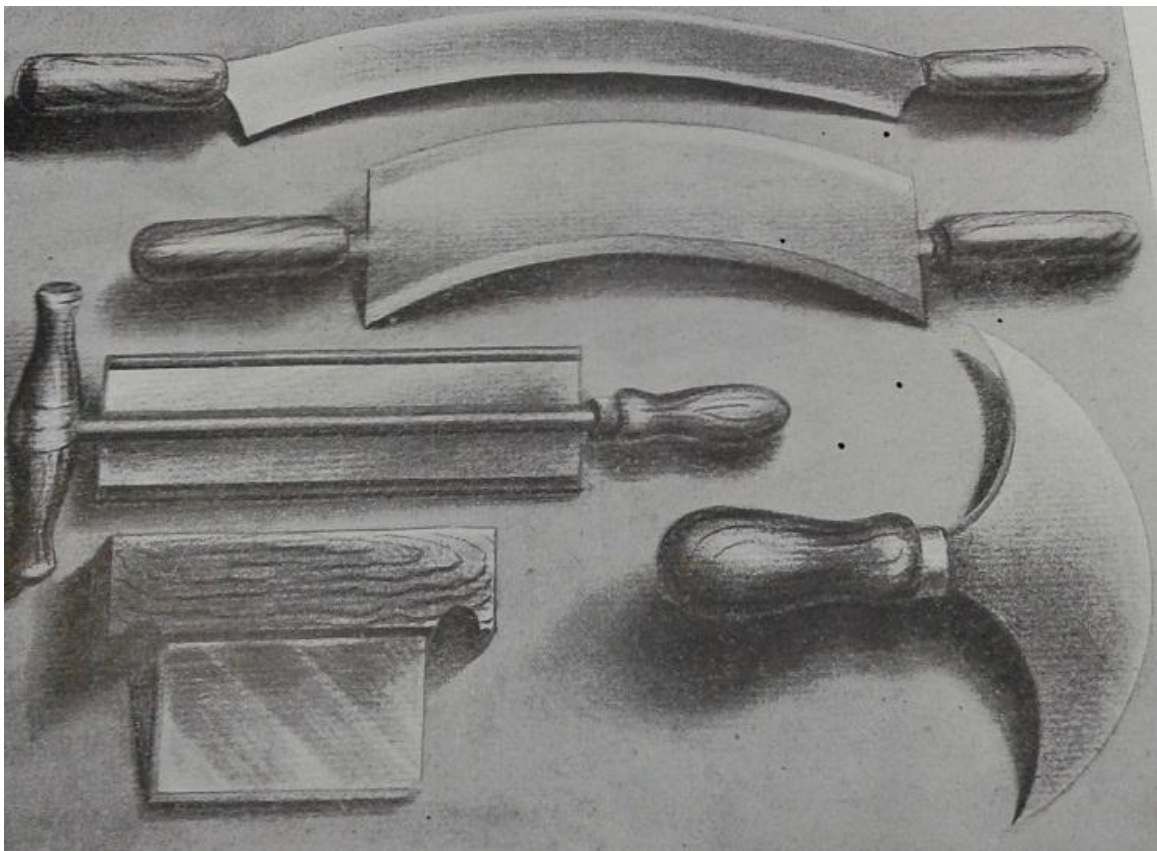
|            |   |   |      |   |   |   |       |   |       |     |       |   |   |       |       |   |       |
|------------|---|---|------|---|---|---|-------|---|-------|-----|-------|---|---|-------|-------|---|-------|
| Gonda      | - | - | 62   | - | - | - | -     | - | -     | -   | 2170  | - | - | 14634 | 6439  | - | 18330 |
| Bahraich   | - | - | -    | - | - | - | 79    | 7 | 1     | -   | 194   | - | - | 20475 | 14    | - | 50571 |
| Sultanpur  | - | - | 5017 | - | - | - | 22983 | - | 96342 | 107 | -     | - | - | -     | 15197 | - | 8934  |
| Partapgarh | - | - | 143  | - | - | - | 15464 | - | 39961 | 686 | 301   | - | - | -     | 15108 | - | 38904 |
| Barabanki  | - | - | 325  | - | - | - | 12    | - | -     | -   | 24280 | - | - | 35205 | 2590  | - | 18438 |

**Source:** Crooke, W. (1896). *The tribes and castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Vol. 3)*. Office of the superintendent of government printing, pp. 192-193-194.

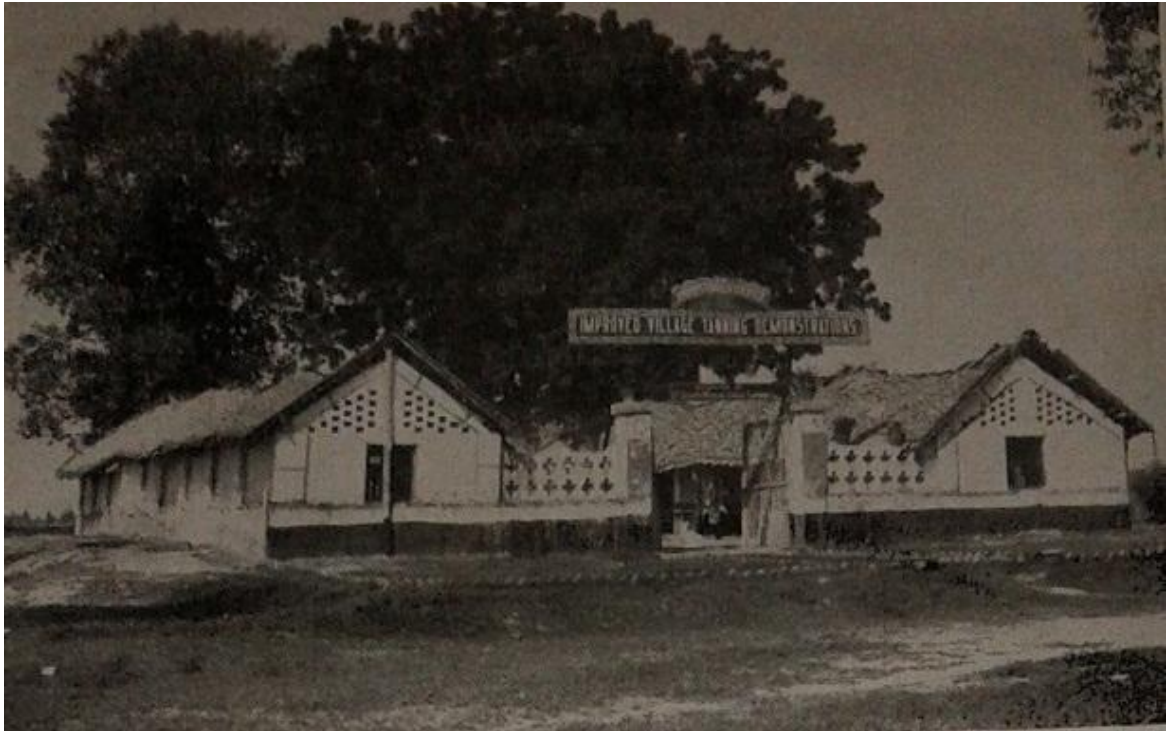
# *Photographs*



*Old type bamboo frame leaving wrinkles in the hide    Proper frame (wooden)-a well-stretched frame hide*



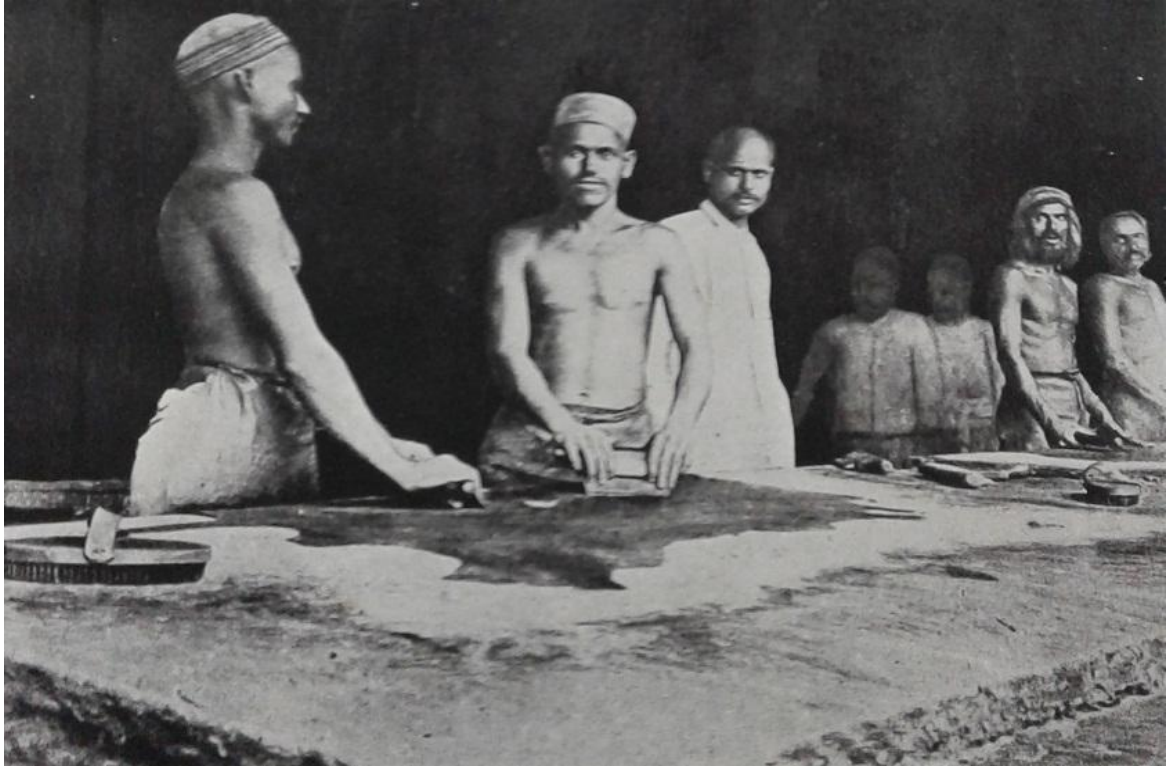
*Tanning tools such as Scrapper (Khurpi), Native Fleshing knife (Rampi), Shaving Knife, Unhairing Knife, Hammer*



*Government Tanning School, Fatehpur*



*Liming Section in a Village tutorial classes of Government Tanning School, Fatehpur*



*Currying of hide in a leather factory*



*Traditional Bag Tanning process using babul bark*



*Shaving the hide on a slab with Blunt knife*



*Unhairing the hide on a slab with unhairing Knife*



*Heeng ki Mandi (Agra), the main distribution market of leather shoe since the Mughal period*



*Local distributors were engaged with the trade of leather articles in Heeng ki Mandi (Agra)*



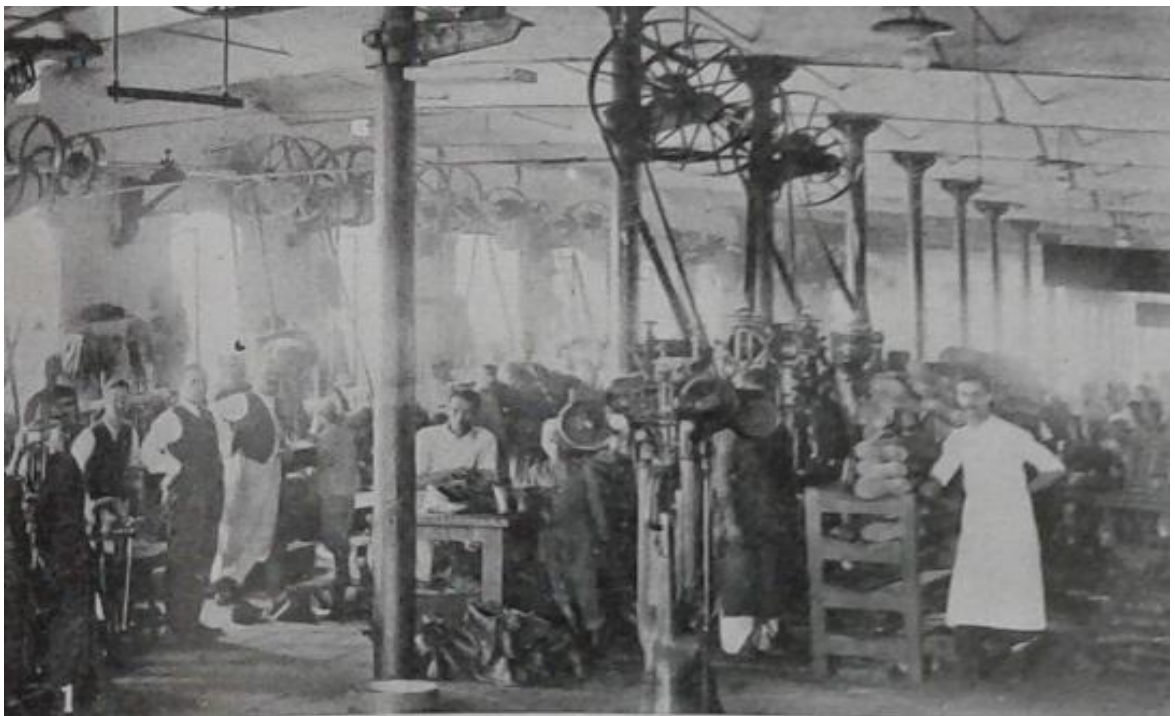
*Currying department of Army Boot and Equipment Factory (Cooper Allen & Co. Ltd.), Cawnpore*



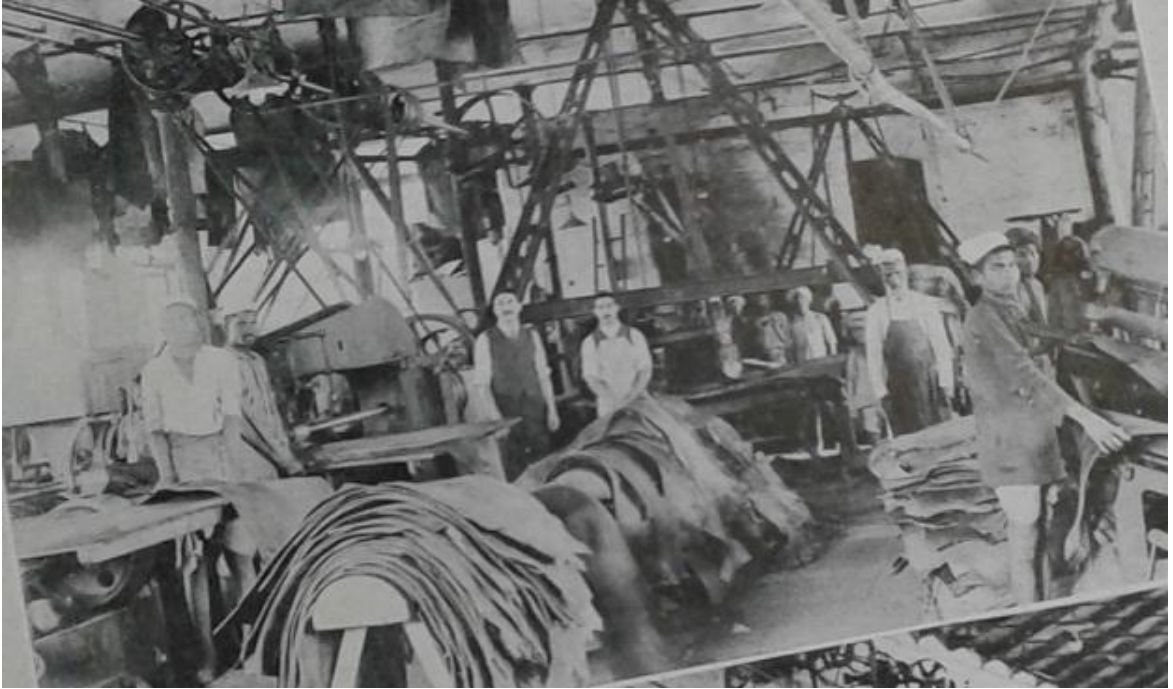
*Shaving department of Army Boot and Equipment Factory (Cooper Allen & Co. Ltd.), Cawnpore*



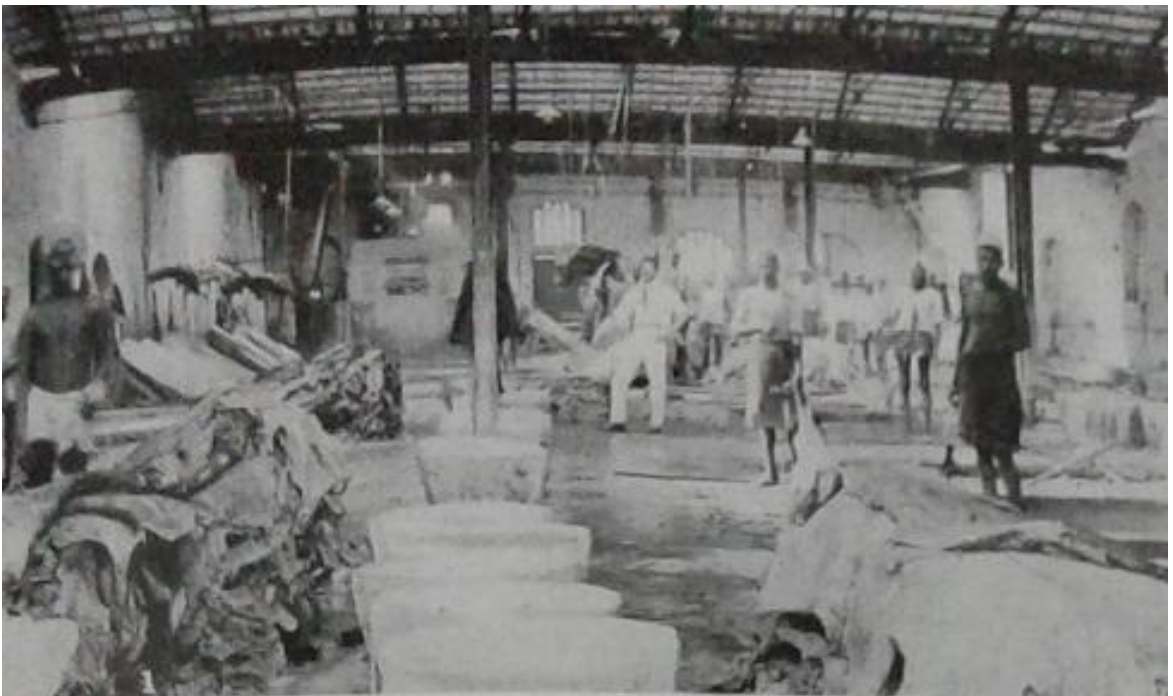
*Hand-sewing department of Army Boot and Equipment Factory (Cooper Allen & Co. Ltd.), Cawnpore*



*Machine boot department of Army Boot and Equipment Factory (Cooper Allen & Co. Ltd.), Cawnpore*



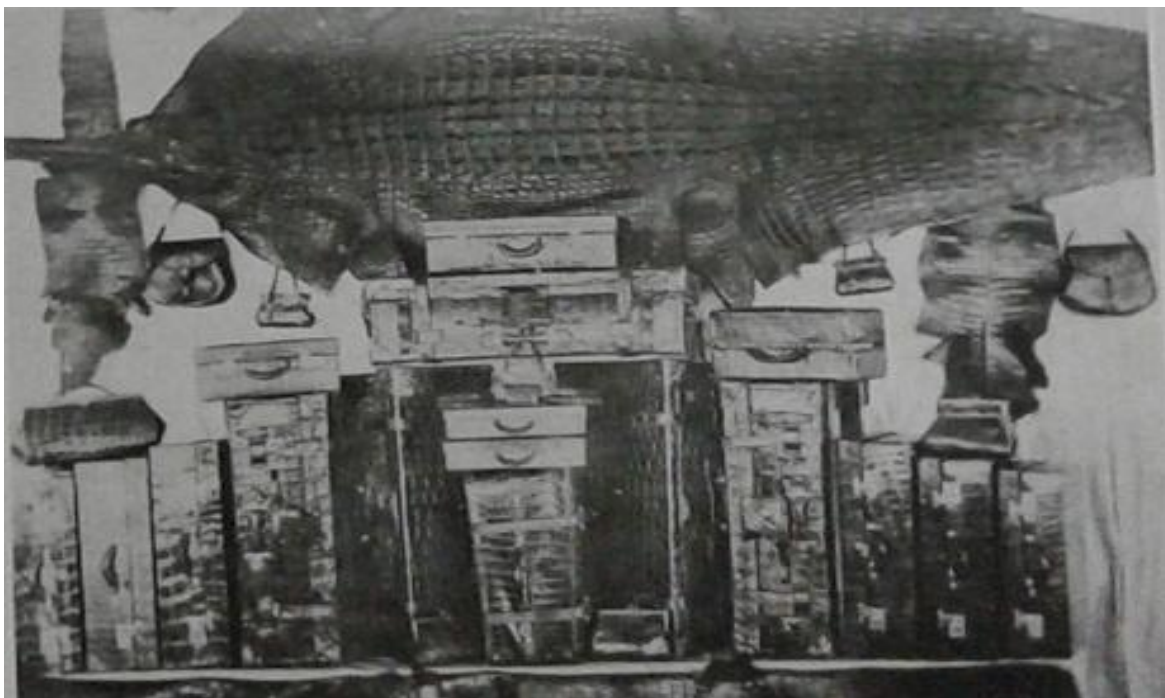
*Leather sole department of Army Boot and Equipment Factory (Cooper Allen & Co. Ltd.), Cawnpore*



*Lime yard of North-West Tannery Co. Ltd., Cawnpore*



*Department of Leather Bag and Trunk in North-West Tannery Co. Ltd., Cawnpore*



*Display of Crocodile Travelling scuds in North-West Tannery Co. Ltd., Cawnpore*



*Tan-yard and Currying department of Cawnpore Tannery, Cawnpore*



*Lime yard and lime store room of Cawnpore Tannery, Cawnpore*



*Baling and Assorting department of the United Province Tannery Co. Ltd., Cawnpore*



*Exporting Godown (Eidgah) of Abdul Gafoor Kadir Bux & Co., Cawnpore*

# Whose Animals? Activities of Slaughterhouses in Agra Region under Colonial Rule (1900-1950)

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## ABSTRACT

Slaughterhouses are the main raw material source of Leather industry. The leather is a hide or skin prepared from the pelts of domestic and wild animals by processing with either the bark or fruits of certain trees and shrubs, or some mineral salt, or some chemicals process. These agents are called tanning material. Slaughterhouses provide raw hides and skins to produce leather in the leather industry. Agra slaughterhouses played a vital role in the development of leather industry in United Provinces with their valuable raw material. Govt. of United provinces sanctioned and improved many slaughterhouses in Agra region for development of leather industry in this important province. This paper explores the work with the condition of animals in colonial India and tells about the history of the slaughterhouses in Agra. This paper shows the problems of colonial governments in handling the unsatisfactory condition of slaughterhouses and the uncivilized practice of flaying animals. This paper explores how the animal rather than man became a crucial agent in the colonial government in the history of Agra. This paper refocused on the laws and bye-laws were made by the colonial government in the reference of Agra slaughterhouses and improving the activities occurred in slaughterhouses. This paper argues that whose animals were slaughtered in the slaughterhouses or in other words who gave the authority to slaughter such of animals for human consumption as a food.

## 1. Introduction

A slaughterhouse is a place where the animals are slaughtered in a civilized method for the consumption of human being as a food. Slaughterhouses that process meat not intended for human consumption are sometimes referred to that area of a slaughterhouse where carcasses unfit for human consumption are rendered down to produce useful materials such as glue, meat, hides, etc.<sup>i</sup> Slaughtering animals have a large number of problems like logistical, animal welfare problems, public health requirements, religious problems, etc. Some of Animal welfare societies raised concerns about the method of transport, preparation, herding and slaughtering in slaughterhouses etc. After slaughtering, some parts of an animal are a waste and the remaining parts of the animal is turned into animal products such as leather products, soaps, candles, and glue etc. But in the modern period, the slaughter of animals generally took place in an unsystematic and unregulated manner in a diverse place.<sup>ii</sup>

## 2. Slaughterhouses in India

The slaughtering of animals in slaughterhouses in India was centuries old. These slaughterhouses were primarily catering to the domestic market. Exporters had been also procuring the meat from some of these municipal slaughterhouses. Most of these slaughterhouses are very old and have outlived their utility. The slaughterhouses lack essential amenities such as water, light, drainage, lairage, holding pens, etc. The Government felt the need to improve and modernize the conditions of slaughterhouses catering to exports.<sup>iii</sup> The first slaughterhouse in India was built in Calcutta in 1760 by Robert Clive.<sup>iv</sup> In the British period, the British had to improve the conditions of the slaughterhouse and were

made many of laws and byelaws regarding the improvement of slaughterhouse and meat trade factories. The butchers who hereditary occupation with the slaughtering of animals mostly from the Muslim community such as qassab, Qureshi, etc, because the religion Islam gave the authority to the Muslims for slaughtered some of short-listed animal and birds to consume as a food. So, the importance of slaughterhouses is fulfilling the need of a hygienic place for slaughtering the animal. There were many of slaughterhouses in different regions of India established by the colonial government. According to the census of 1951, livestock population increased by 62% and human population increased by 134% but the number of authorized slaughterhouses has no increased to meet the demand for meat production. At present time, there are 2702 slaughterhouses in the country, which are recognized or authorized by local bodies or Government bodies.<sup>v</sup>

## 3. Slaughterhouses in Agra

There were approximately 9 slaughterhouses in Agra district till 1956, in which 4 small slaughterhouses for the slaughtering of goats and sheep and there was a big slaughterhouse at Basai, *Fatehabad* road, Agra for the slaughtering of Cattle and some of the other slaughterhouses were based on improved method. All of these slaughterhouses had maintained registers were being compiled regularly. The slaughterhouses were meeting his demand of animals from the important cattle fairs, *Bateshwar* Cattle Fair and *Chitpur* Cattle Fair were held in Agra district in every year.<sup>vi</sup> Some of the slaughterhouses are as given below:

Table 1 (Slaughterhouses in Agra Region)

| S. no. | District    | Pargana    | Mauza                              | Area                  | For What Purpose   | Estd. year | Cost Of Land | Plot No.  |
|--------|-------------|------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1.     | Agra        | Etmadpur   | Khandauli                          | NA                    | For slaughtering of big animals such as cattle           | 1918       | NA           | NA        |
| 2.     | Agra        | Shahdara   | JharnaNala                         | NA                    | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1920       | NA           | NA        |
| 3.     | Agra        | Kiroali    | Achhnera                           | 0.681 of an acre      | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1921       | Rs 51/-      | NA        |
| 4.     | Etah (Agra) | Etah       | Village Shujawalpur                | NA                    | For slaughtering of big animals such as cattle           | 1933       | NA           | 214       |
| 5.     | Etah (Agra) | Azam Nagar | Aliganj                            | 0.30 of an acre       | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1937       | NA           | NA        |
| 6.     | Agra        | Agra       | Village Khataina, Mohalla Alamganj | 60 square yard        | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1949       | Rs. 104/-    | NA        |
| 7.     | Agra        | Agra       | Village Basai                      | 4.40 acres            | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1954       | Rs. 5100/-   | NA        |
| 8.     | Agra        | Firozabad  | Village Rasulpur                   | 2 bighas and 2 biswas | For slaughtering of small animals such as goat and sheep | 1955       | NA           | 211 & 212 |

Source: UPRA, Agra, File no. 1/42-43, 19/35-36, 7/32-33, 21/20-21, 24/53-54, 28/52-53 & Box no. 39, 59, 70, 96, 139, 128 respectively.

#### 4. Burma Meat Trade Factory in Agra

The colonial government has acquired a land for the Burma Meat Trade factory at Agra in 1889.<sup>vii</sup> The butcher of Agra city had been engaged in supplying the dry meat to Burma for about 25 years. Burmese people were liked the meat very much and were known for eating all kinds of preserved meat. Burmese was requested to his supplier who lived in Calcutta and engaged in meat trade that to supplied the dry meat for him.<sup>viii</sup> So, the Burmese were engaged in trade with Agra meat trade factory.

The first installment of meat that was imported into Burma was sent from Agra only a few mounds of dry cattle's and goat's meat. After that, the Calcutta's merchant was asked to the butcher of Agra to start a regular supply of dry meat of goat and cattle. In Agra, *Dholikhar* was the place where the trade was carried out and they used for slaughtering animals in the municipal slaughterhouse and for dry the meat in the Barah (the place where animals kept) erected for the purpose all around the slaughterhouse. These slaughterhouses had no proper arrangements for the disposal of bones and offal, within a few days that place became revoltingly unsanitary or dirty place. The municipal board of Agra had to take action to stop this nuisance trade in 1891. But the trade was continued and then, the board has shifted that slaughterhouse from *Dholikhar* to *Khairadi Tola* near Red fort's Amarsingh gate, but the cantonment authority objected and had it removed from *Khairadi Tola* to *Bhonda Gasoon* and that remained for nearly 10 years.<sup>ix</sup>

After 10 years, Board has again shifted that slaughterhouse from *Bhonda Gasoon* to Jharna Nala (Shahdara) at Agra in 1901 for the needs of the butcher to observed ordinary sanitary. The municipal board had employed a permanent staff to look after the sanitation of the place in which the butcher had to pay a license fee of Rs 120/- per annum for each of 13 enclosures made by the board. In 1901-02, the average animals slaughtered from September to March about 58.4 animals daily and from April to August 13.7 animals daily.<sup>x</sup> This trade was at a cheaper rate only for the Burma trade and was not allowed to go meat into the Agra city for human consumption.

But such of the wasting substances (except meat) were used for manufacturing. The blood meal was the most important and valuable organic manure and contains over 12% Nitrogen, 0.5 to 1% Phosphoric acid and 0.4 to 0.5% Potash. Besides, blood meal was easily becoming quickly available to crops. The manure could be used under all soil conditions should apply before sowing at the rate of 2 to 5 mound per acre. The Department of Agriculture has purchased the entire stock of blood meal prepared by local bodies in UP at the rate of Rs 6/8/- per mounds exclusive of the cost of gunny bags and would arrange for its supply to the cultivator's field.<sup>xi</sup> Some of the other substances for general need of the people of Agra city are as follow:

Table 2 (Some of other substances manufactured from animal kingdom products)

| S. no. | Manufactured        | Different types of other substances   |
|--------|---------------------|---|
| 1.     | From Blood          | Manure, a large quantity of blood was boiled and sent to Bombay for making paints, etc.                         |
| 2.     | From Flesh          | Tallow, refuse of tallow was used for burning purpose, oil used for human consumption and another purpose, etc. |
| 3.     | From Hides or Skins | Leather, glue, drum, kuppas, gelatin, scale pans, etc.  |
| 4.     | From Horns          | Pipe, stems, buttons, comb, glue, etc.  |
| 5.     | From Hoof           | Glue, etc.  |
| 6.     | From Bones          | Knife, handles, buttons, glue, manure, fuel, a kind of varnish, animal charcoal, etc.                           |
| 7.     | From Gut            | Bows of cotton cleaners and strings or cords for country trading, gold beaters skin, etc.                       |

|    |            |              |
|----|------------|--------------|
| 8. | From Gland | Net, etc.    |
| 9. | From Offal | Manure, etc. |

Source: UPRA, Agra, File no. 12/1903, Box no. 180, pp. 5-6.

Some of other meat trade factories were established in Agra is as given below:

**Table 3 (Meat trade factories established in Agra)**

| S. no. | District | Pargana      | Mauza  | Area                   | For what purpose              | Estd. Year | Cost of land            | Plot no. |
|--------|----------|--------------|--|------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|----------|
| 1.     | Agra     | Idgah (Agra) | Village Bhogipura                            | 12 biswas              | Wense's bone mill             | 1930       | Rs 86/14 A/- per bigha  | NA       |
| 2.     | Agra     | Agra         | Village Bodla (near Dargah Shah Nabi Kareem) | 25 ½ bighas            | Meat dehydration factory      | 1945       | Rs 185/14 A/- per bigha | 536      |
| 3.     | Agra     | Agra         | Village Bodla                                | 25 bighas<br>10 biswas | Goat meat dehydration factory | 1946       | Rs 300/9 A/- per bigha  | 887      |

Source: UPRA, Agra, File no. 4/45-46, 2 (2)/27-28, Misc./57-58 & Box no. 78, 109, 189 respectively.

### 5. Jharna Nala slaughterhouse in Agra

In 1920, the municipal board was made the new rules and regulation for the new slaughterhouse with modern techniques at Jharna Nala, Shahdara in Agra. The board was permitted these rules and regulation with force to all of the butchers who used slaughterhouse for slaughtering animals in a hygienic place.

Agra municipal board was made some model bye-laws for the regulation and inspection of slaughterhouses under section 298 (d) and (J) (d) are as given below within the points.<sup>xii</sup>

#### 1. Inspection of animals for slaughter<sup>1</sup>

1. No animals could be slaughtered before inspecting by an officer appointed in this behalf.

2. The board had given public notice of the time and place where at inspection of cattle intended for slaughter in the municipal slaughterhouse were held.

3. Before slaughtering, animals were strictly inspected that it was fit for use as human food, it could not be diseased or advanced in pregnancy, it could not be in milch or the young of any animal in milch and it could not be accidental.

4. When the officer was satisfied that he was filled up under his signature columns 1 to 6 of a pass with its counterfoil in form A appended to these bye-laws and gave it to the person producing the animal for inspection and he marked on the animal's head, hair or skin with a municipal soul or branded with a municipal board might be prescribed.

5. If any animal was found with a contagious disease, it could be seized or removal to the cattle infirmary for treatment.

6. If any animal was found in a dying condition, it could be disposed of immediately in such a manner.

#### 2. Officer Incharge of slaughterhouse<sup>2</sup>

1. A municipal officer should be on duty at the slaughterhouse throughout the hours prescribed for slaughter and such officer should be deemed to be the officer incharge of the slaughterhouse.

2. The officer incharge should keep up a daily register showing the number and description of an animal slaughtered at the slaughterhouse.

### 3. Slaughterhouse fees<sup>3</sup>

1. Every butcher who was using the slaughterhouse should pay fees at the following rates:

- Bullocks and cows 8 annas per head
- Buffaloes 8 annas per head
- Goat, sheep, kids, and lambs 4 annas per head
- Horned cattle 6 annas per head

2. After paying the fees, the butcher got a receipt.

3. On that receipt, the officer should fill up a ticket and counterfoil on form 8 attached to these byelaws and hand the former with the coupon attached to the person who paid the fee.

4. The holder of a ticket should be produced the ticket when called upon to do so by the Health officer for inspection.

### 4. At the slaughterhouse<sup>4</sup>

1. The pass was covered in form A as prescribed in byelaws above and unless the fees prescribed in byelaw had been paid. The pass might be presented at the slaughterhouse within three days at the time issued, after that, no animal should be admitted and no person should bring any animal, into the slaughterhouse.

2. If any animal did not come in the time period as prescribed in the past, it should be taken a fresh pass.

3. The officer incharge should be received the pass, and if it was in order and the fee prescribed in byelaw above had been paid, he should allow the animal covered thereby admission into the slaughterhouse, filling up columns 7 to 9 of the pass. The passes should be dealt with in such manner as the board might be direct.

4. An only permitted person could be entered in the slaughterhouse premises during the process of slaughtering, skinning, or cutting up the carcasses. The carcasses of a large animal could not be allowed to be cut in more than 10 pieces.

5. That person should not be allowed to enter the slaughterhouse premises who had affected with leprosy or with any skin disease.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, pp. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, pp. 4-6.

6. The dogs should not be allowed to enter the slaughter premises. If any dogs were found, it should be destroyed.
7. All awaiting cattle were kept in pens and properly secured with ropes, whose number came for slaughtering one by one.
8. The butchers were made his own arrangement for looking up and for the feeding of their cattle.
9. The butchers have kept their own ropes for binding the legs of the animals during slaughtering.

##### 5. Within the slaughterhouse<sup>5</sup>

1. The butcher should not be slaughter any animal except at the hours fixed by board 6 AM to 6 PM till.
2. The butcher had strictly instructed for the central drain so as to prevent the blood of the slaughtering animal from flowing upon the floor.
3. The butcher should be immediately washed and clean up the place where was the animal slaughtered in a slaughterhouse.
4. Every part of carcass should be inspected by the officer incharge of the slaughterhouse and no butcher should be removed from the slaughterhouse unless in accordance with the next clause of this byelaws.
5. Any carcass was found unfit for human consumption would be destroyed immediately or the health officer of the board whose decision should be final.
6. The skin of an animal whose carcass had been condemned under byelaw above, if the officer incharge, so directed to be disposed of in the same manner as the carcass.
7. After slaughtering, skins entrails and offal should be removed immediately from the slaughterhouse by the butcher or his assistant and any skins entrails or offal was not removed before the time at which the slaughterhouse was closed for the day should become the property of the board.
8. No person should be removed any skin, entrails, and offal from the slaughterhouse until they had been properly washed and cleaned.
9. The solid contents of the entrails should not be washed into the cesspools but should be cleaned up and removed at the time.
10. The butcher should be removed the meat, entrails, and offal or waste parts of the animal which did not consume from the slaughterhouse in covered cards or covered baskets or vessels, of a pattern to be approved by the board.
11. No person should be employed the process of insufflations (cutting up the carcass into pieces) the blowing of the carcass in the slaughterhouse.
12. In the slaughterhouse premises, no butcher should be sold out or allowed to sell meat.
13. If there were any damaged in the premises of slaughterhouse, the butcher should be paid for such damaged.
14. No butcher or another person should be removed, defaced or altered any seal or band impresses in accordance with byelaws above.

15. There were byelaws by the board under section 298 G J (d) for the regulation of the storing of bones or boiling of blood should be enforced at JharnaNala.
16. No animal should be slaughtered in the presence of or in close proximity to other animal awaiting slaughter.

##### 6. Penalty<sup>xiii</sup>

The penalty also should be there in slaughterhouse by section 299 (1) of the act, the board thereby directed that a rupture of any of the provisions of these byelaws should be punishable with fine which might extend to Rs 50/- and when a rupture was a continuing gap, with a further fine which might be extended Rs 5/-for every day after the date of the first conviction during which the officer was proved too had found the rupture.

The number of animals was slaughtered in the three previous years are as given below:

**Table 4 (The number of animals was slaughtered in the three previous years)**

| S. no. | Year | No. of animals had been slaughtered |
|--------|------|-------------------------------------|
| 1.     | 1917 | 48550                               |
| 2.     | 1918 | 37139                               |
| 3.     | 1919 | 21569                               |

Source: UPRA, Agra, Department of Municipal, File no. 25/1920, Box no. 168.

##### 6. Khandauli slaughterhouse in Agra

A slaughterhouse was established in village Khandauli, Etmadpur, at Agra district in 1918 named as Khandauli slaughterhouse for slaughtering big cattle, buffaloes, and camels. Afterward, that slaughterhouse had been closed due to the protest of the local public. But the slaughterhouse in Khandauli was reopened in the year of 1950. So, the local public had objected to reopening the slaughterhouse. A report was made by government officer that some cows and bullocks were being slaughtered daily at Khandauli and their meat brought to Agra city for sell. The question of communal trouble was arising in Khandauli before that officer should want to take some serious action against the butcher. The Hindu community should want to take that matter very seriously.<sup>xiv</sup>

When the officer had taken an inquiry that the butchers were included in the slaughtering of bullocks, cows, etc in Khandauli much to the dissatisfaction of the local public was reporting the truth. It was also reported that the slaughtering was done with modern equipment which causes great nuisance and inconvenient to the public, in general, owing to the local supply which spreads all over the vicinity. The officer had got some other report that in the premises of slaughterhouse, many carnivores' birds and animals stayed around every time. So, the trees around the slaughterhouse were destroyed.<sup>xv</sup>

The board was want to take suitable action for banning the cow slaughter in Khandauli slaughterhouse<sup>xvi</sup> due to the sake of local public report and also for some conditions regarding the health or physical comforts of the residents of that

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pp. 6-10.

locality.<sup>xvii</sup> On 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb 1951, some persons came to the officer incharge for the objection of banned the slaughtering of animals named Noori, Imambux, Chhotey, Akbar, Allauddin, Mannu who were the local resident and the owner of a slaughterhouse in village Khandauli.<sup>xviii</sup>

After many controversies, the results of that cases was only banned of cow slaughter in Khandauli was passed by SDM of Etmadpur in August 1951.<sup>xix</sup>

## 7. License of Flayers

The government officers had inspected the slaughterhouse and flaying techniques of flayers. So, it had been estimated that about 20% of the total production of raw hides in UP was damaged by bad flaying which caused an annual loss approximately 8 lakhs of rupees to this important industry.<sup>xx</sup> So, the board had made bye-laws for licensing of flayers in slaughterhouses of UP.

## 8. Conclusion

The history of Agra slaughterhouse was a tremendous scene in the colonial rule. The government had taken more suitable steps for improvement of the condition of slaughterhouses. The government of colonial India needs to address their own imperatives enforced upon them by the expanding army or its culinary requirement together with the pressing need for sanitary and hygiene in a burgeoning metropolis. Moreover, with the title question, whose animals, the answer is that human being is on the top of eco-system in the world. Humans are omnivorous, so, nature had given the authority to consume meat also of the some selected herbivorous animals and birds such as cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goat, pig, camel, donkey, horse, mule, cock, pigeon, dove, duck, etc. So, the owner of such of the animal is the Almighty God who gave those animals to a human being along with the intelligence for life affairs. But with this big authority, humans being are not being human in this world because of their cruelty regarding the animals such as they do not give proper shelter, food, water to the animals, they flay alive animals for such of profit, they beat the animals or break the tails, while, moving them forward.

## Notes

<sup>i</sup>[https:// en. Wikipedia.org/wiki/slaughterhouse](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/slaughterhouse). Retrieved 2016-07-16.

<sup>ii</sup> Ibid

<sup>iii</sup> AF\_Animal\_Meat\_Intro.Pdf. Retrieved 2016-09-06, p. 26.

<sup>iv</sup>[https:// en. Wikipedia.org/wiki/Cattle\\_Slaughter\\_in\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cattle_Slaughter_in_India). Retrieved 2016-07-16, p. 7.

<sup>v</sup>Goel, Shilpa. "An in-depth study of India's leather industry with special reference to export prospects of leather products." *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences* 3.1 (2014): 56-67.

<sup>vi</sup>UPRA (Uttar Pradesh Regional Archive), Agra, Municipal Deptt., File no. 1/56-57, Box no. 139, pp.11-12.

<sup>vii</sup>UPRA, Agra, Municipal Deptt., File no. 12/1903, Box no. 180, p. 1.

<sup>viii</sup>Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>ix</sup>Ibid, pp. 3-4.

<sup>x</sup>Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>xi</sup>UPRA, Agra, Agriculture Dept., File no. 34/57-58, Box no. 18, p. 1.

<sup>xii</sup>UPRA, Agra, Municipal Dept., File no. 25/1920, Box no. 168, pp 1-2.

<sup>xiii</sup>Ibid, p. 10.

<sup>xiv</sup>Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>xv</sup>Ibid, p. 54.

<sup>xvi</sup>Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>xvii</sup>UPRA, Agra, Animal Husbandry Dept., File no. 2613/49-50, Box no. 266, p. 57.

<sup>xviii</sup>Ibid, p. 57.

<sup>xix</sup>Ibid, p. 56.

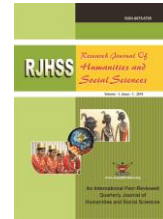
<sup>xx</sup>UPRA, Agra, Industry Dept., File no. 10/52-53, Box no. 51, p. 1.

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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Ambedkar's relation with Jatavas (Landless Labourers) of Agra

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### ABSTRACT:

Ambedkar related to Jatavas who were landless laborers and hereditary leather workers of Agra with historical contacts, structural position, and cultural continuities. Ambedkar fight at the Round Table Conferences was known at least to the literate Jatavas. A telegram was sent from Agra to London in the name of the Jatavas of Agra which was supporting Ambedkar as their leader and as representative of their views. These Jatavas were rejected Gandhi's claim to be their leader in the Round Table Conference. This support grew to the point that a unit of the Scheduled Castes Federation was formed in Agra in 1942. Ambedkar was untouchable by caste and a great revolutionary personality in the country who led the fight against Untouchability, Hinduism, and the Brahman caste, so hated by the Jatavas. Not only was his interpretation of Gandhism, the Poona Pact, and Hinduism accepted by the Jatavs of Agra, but also he gave them a counter-ideology. Thus the Jatavs, who were striving for mobility and who could easily become revolutionaries themselves. Ambedkar came to Agra and made some speeches in 1946 and again in 1956. He was known by sight to the mass of Agra's Jatavas, who felt they had experienced his charismatic view (darshana). This paper will explore the relation between Ambedkar and Jatavas of Agra who was the leather workers. It also highlights those speeches which were delivered by Ambedkar in respect of Jatavas views at Agra. It also highlights the views of Ambedkar on the policies of the industries and the condition of Jatavas in these factories which were the workplace of these landless labourers in Agra.

**KEYWORDS:** Agra, Jatavas, Chamar, Ambedkar, Leather worker.

### INTRODUCTION:

The Jatavas of Agra were lying in a low caste (Untouchable Community) whose traditional occupation was leather working or it can be said that they were the landless labourers who gave their manpower to the leather industry mostly in Agra. According to some writers, they were at the bottom of the caste hierarchy which was polluting to the upper castes and therefore, was the objects of discrimination; and because of that low caste rank, they had remained on the whole, illiterate, poor, and virtually powerless.

The Untouchables was called one of the "Scheduled Castes" because of a special relationship, they had with the government. A Scheduled Caste was one whose name appears on a list first issued by the British government in the year of 1935.<sup>1</sup>

The word Chamar is derived from the *carmakara*, *charmakrit*, *padukara*, *padukrit*, which means leather workers. Shoes were made of leather which manufactured from the hides and skin of dead or slaughtered animals which were mentioned in the *Brahmans*, in the *Manu code* and the older law books, in the *Mahabharata*, in the *Ramayana*, and in the *Vishnu Purana*. To that latter class belonged the common labourers and those who, on account of the disgusting aspects of their work and life, were deemed to be

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unclean and untouchable.<sup>2</sup> The unpleasant and evil-smelling occupation of leather tanning relevant them to the peripheries of respectable society or even that they were part of a race conquered by Ancient Aryans.<sup>3</sup> Many of the mythical accounts of Chamar origins were mentioned in the Ancient literature. Through these sources, it is proved that the position of the Chamars in India was very low indeed. The traditional occupation assigned to them were tanning hides, making shoes and removing the carcasses of dead animals, which they eat. Since leather was a polluting of foods, the Chamar who engages in such acts, and by association all other Chamars, becomes polluted. Because of this pollution Chamars, more often than not, were forced to live on the periphery of a village or in separate hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

Quotes a proverb about the Chamars, who were “supposed” to be dark in complexion, while the uppers castes were “supposed” to be fair in complexion, Karia Brahman, gora Chamar  
Inke sath na utariye paar  
If the Brahman be black, if the Chamar be fair,  
Let the wise beware if cross the river be dare.

The Chamars were most numerous in North India, especially in the states of U.P., Punjab, and Bihar. The Census of 1901 showed them to be numerically the largest group of castes in the former North-western Provinces and Oudh, while the Brahmans ranked second.<sup>5</sup> There were numerous castes of Chamars; the census of 1891 listed 1156 of them.<sup>6</sup> The Jatavas was one of these castes or endogamous groups of Chamars, but they tend to consider themselves separate from and higher than other Chamar castes.<sup>7</sup> The Jatavas were found largely in the western part of the U.P. and northward up into Punjab state. They were sometimes known as Jatiya, Jatua, or Jadav, but the name Jatav is current in Agra City. Some say that their name is derived from the word Jat, meaning camel driver; others that their name connects them with the Jat caste. It is sometimes said that they were descendants from the marriage of Jats with Chamars.<sup>8</sup> One of the writers was noted that the Jatavas of Gorakhpur District was served by Gaur Brahmans for priestly services and that, therefore given them a high status.<sup>9</sup> The Jatiya could reasonably claim to be the highest of all the sub-castes of Chamars.<sup>10</sup>

There were in Agra City Corporation 71, 404 Chamars, of whom almost all were Jatavas. According to India Census Commission 1963, the 2262 Buddhists were almost converted into Jatavas, who cannot be listed as Scheduled Castes. According to Census of 1961, the total population of Agra City was 4, 62, 020 in which about 16 percent or one-sixth, was the Jatavas population. As members of the Scheduled Castes, the Jatavas were often called Harijans, a name given to all

Untouchables by Gandhi. Literally, the word Harijans means “Childs of God”.<sup>11</sup>

#### **Ambedkar’s relation with Jatavs:**

Ambedkar related to Jatavs who were landless laborers and hereditary leather workers of Agra with historical contacts, structural position, and cultural continuities. Ambedkar fight at the Round Table Conferences was known at least to the literate Jatavs. A telegram was sent from Agra to London in the name of the Agra Jatavs supporting Ambedkar as their leader and as representative of their views. These Jatavs were rejected Gandhi’s claim to be their leader in that Round Table Conference. This support grew to the point that a unit of the Scheduled Castes Federation was formed in Agra in 1942. A result of this conflict was that from the time of the Round Table Conferences until Gandhi’s death, Ambedkar considered the Mahatma an enemy, not a liberator, of the Untouchables.<sup>12</sup> Ambedkar once wrote about the Untouchables in 1946:

“To the Untouchables, Hinduism is a veritable chamber of horrors. The sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas, smritis, and shastras, the iron law caste, the heartless law of karma and the senseless law of status by birth are to the Untouchables veritable instruments of torture which Hinduism has forgotten against the Untouchables. These very instruments which have mutilated blasted and blighted the lives of the Untouchables are to be found intact and untarnished in the bosom of Gandhism”<sup>13</sup>

There were some points which have supported Ambedkar against Gandhi are as given below:

1. Agra city had a communication network of railways, post, telegraph, and newspapers. With these opportunities, Agra had urbanities and the Jatavs had access to information about Ambedkar and his movement not readily available in villages.
2. Literate Jatavs could avail itself of this information as well as evaluate the contents in Agra.
3. Jatavs of Agra had already achieved a degree of independence and freedom of action which permitted them to do much as they liked.

In the year of 1940s, when Ambedkar was Labour member, they asked for and received his help in getting a higher priority rating for railroad shipments of their shoes during the Second World War. He is believed to be, and indeed was, the architect of the Constitution, which abolishes their Untouchability and grants them full citizenship and the franchise.<sup>14</sup> an informant notes:

“Dr. Ambedkar was a great man because he was honest and possessed integrity. He had reached *samadhi*. He was all for his people and only for that. Some say he was popular because he got jobs for us or because he fought for us, but the real secret is that he was all for us with all his being”<sup>15</sup>

Ambedkar was an Untouchable, and the Jatavs occupied in common, and which Gandhi did not share. There was a general assumption in Agra that only an Untouchable could really understand and achieve empathy with other Untouchables and there was the often heard phrase that he is "one of our men".<sup>16</sup>

Ambedkar was a revolutionary. He led the fight against Untouchability, Hinduism, and the Brahman caste, so hated by the Jatavs. Not only was his interpretation of Gandhism, the Poona Pact, and Hinduism accepted by the Jatavs of Agra, but also he gave them a counter-ideology. Thus the Jatavs, who were striving for mobility and who could easily become revolutionaries themselves.<sup>17</sup>

Ambedkar came to Agra and made some speeches in 1946 and again in 1956. He was known by sight to the mass of Agra Jatavs, who felt they had experienced his charismatic view (*Darshana*). The arrival of Ambedkar in 1956 was not noticed by the Scheduled Caste alone but other communities also. Agra city has been a staunch center of Ambedkarite Movement from good old days. Dr. Ambedkar paid a last visit of his life to Agra city on the 18<sup>th</sup> March 1956. During this visit, he addressed highly to the masses, the leaders, the landless laborers, his followers, the Buddhist monks, the government employees, the students and the youths.

Most of his speeches, the researchers highlight the speech of masses, leaders and landless laborers:

"For the past 30 years, I am struggling to secure political rights for you people. I have got for you reserved seats in parliament and in state assemblies. I have got for you proper provision for the education of your children. Today, we can progress. It is now your duty to continue the struggle untidily for removal of educational, economic and social inequality. For this purpose, you will have to be prepared for all sorts of sacrifices and even to shed your blood.

If someone invites you to his place, you may go willingly. But you must not go there by putting your own hut on fire. If that king quarrels with you some days and drives you out of his place, where will you go? If you want to sell out yourselves you may do so not at the cost of destroying your organization. I do not have any dangers from others, but I feel danger from our own people.

I am more worried for the landless laborers of the villages. I could not do much for them. I cannot bear their sufferings and plights. The main reasons for their sufferings are that they do not have land. Therefore, they are victims Humiliations and struggles for it. If the government puts any hurdle in it. I will lead these people and will also give a legal battle for them, but I shall try

to secure land for the landless."<sup>18</sup>

Ambedkar had also highlight attention on the policies of the industries. He had stated about the structure of industries that must be organized and would benefit all the communities of the Indian society. Ambedkar thinks that the agriculture sector must be nationalized by the state government but the industries should be nationalized completely. In the views of Ambedkar, state socialism meant the nationalized of agriculture and industry in the restricted areas. Ambedkar wanted a permanent economic structure of state socialism. Ambedkar wanted the key industries should only be owned and run by the state and the industries which are not the key industries, but which are basic, should be owned by the state and should be run by the state or corporation established by the Indian government. The government's industries can play an important role in promoting equitable distribution of wealth for every community's people in the Indian society, in respect of this; the private industries cannot perform this work. The government industries can think for the welfare of the people, especially the depressed people but not by the private sector. Therefore, Ambedkar insisted to establish the key industries under the state control and also suggested that the insurance sector should be owned and run by the state only for providing the security to the people. In this regard, Ambedkar made the speech in the respect to the economic structure of state socialism.<sup>19</sup>

"The way out seems to retain parliamentary democracy and to prescribe state socialism by the law of the constitution so that it will be beyond the reach of a parliamentary majority to suspend amends or abrogate it. It is only by this that one can achieve the triple objects, namely, to establish socialism, retain parliamentary democracy and avoid dictatorship."<sup>20</sup>

## CONCLUSION:

In respects of these speeches, we can conclude that Ambedkar had done many of work on the economic perspective. He worked for the Jatavs of Agra and many of depressed classes. He also made a lot of speeches with regard to the economy, labor, industries, etc. That's why; the depressed classes had selected Ambedkar as a leader and in the present day, Ambedkar is the ideal for many of the communities of Indian society.

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