

William Moorcroft's 1823 Treatise on Shawls and Shawl Wool
taken from MSS Eur. E113

Transcribed by Janet Rizvi

Moorcroft's first major text on the subject of the Kashmir shawl appears in MSS Eur. D259–D260. However, this was drafted in Leh in 1821 on the basis of second-hand information, probably from Kashmiri merchants, and thus represents incomplete, indeed sometimes inaccurate, information.

The results of the comprehensive research into the shawl industry that Moorcroft undertook during his eight months' stay in Srinagar in 1823, are contained in the long note which appears in MSS Eur. D264 and E113. D264 is the original draft, in Moorcroft's own hand. E113 appears to be the almost definitive version, copied for the most part in a legible clerkly hand, only a few pages (37–40) being in Moorcroft's own writing. Moorcroft has also made several corrections to the copyist's work, from which I infer that the available text in E113 is an 'office copy', and a further copy would have been made, incorporating Moorcroft's corrections, for dispatch to the Court of Directors. There are some passages with a line through them which I suspect represent the work of the editor who prepared the papers for publication, H.H. Wilson, not any afterthoughts on Moorcroft's part; thus I haven't indicated them in the transcript.

I've used the page numbers that have been added in pencil at some later stage; the page numbers in the library catalogue are MSS Eur. 113, 11 to 57 and 69.

I've been as faithful as I can to Moorcroft's own spelling of Indian terms and place names, and the eccentricities of his punctuation and capitalization. Occasionally, especially in the pages written out by Moorcroft himself, when I've been uncertain as to the reading of a word, I've added [?]. Where I've found it impossible to make even an educated guess, I've inserted [illeg.]. All such insertions are shown in italics. Since my pagination differs from that in the original text, I've shifted his occasional footnotes into the body of the text, differentiating them with an asterisk, and by indentation. I've entered a few comments of my own as endnotes.

There are a few passages that have nothing to do directly with shawls, but deal with the revenue administration and other aspects of the Sikh government in Kashmir; and with Moorcroft's own ambitions regarding not only the shawl industry but also the extension of British trade and influence in Central Asia. I've retained most of these passages as providing background as to conditions in Kashmir, and as to Moorcroft's own thinking; and have clearly marked omissions.

Important. Note that Moorcroft uses the terms 'embroidered', 'embroidery' &c. to refer to any kind of embellishment on shawls, whether woven into the material on the loom (kani), or what we should call embroidery, i.e. worked on plain cloth by the needle. For the latter he also sometimes mentions the needle, as in 'worked with the needle', or 'umlee' (amli), literally 'worked'.

Moorcroft MSS—MSS Eur. E113

—Vol. entitled ‘Of Some of the Manufactures of Kashmeer—to the Hon’ble court of Directors—from William Moorcroft—1823.’

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Shawl Manufacture

Of foreign Wool imported into Kashmeer.

This is of two kinds—viz. That contained in the fleece of the domestic Goat and called Pushm Shal and that named Ussul Toos, which is extracted from the coat of wild animals, as from the Snapo [*sc. Shapo*], Burrul or Argali, the wild Sheep; from the Iskin, or Ibex, and from other varieties of the Goat.¹ The wool of Sheep is not regularly imported from Tibet into Kashmeer it being loaded with the same high duties as Shawl Wool, but it is believed that some is brough in clandestinely, although in no great quantity, as the contraband introduction of an article so bulky, of passes so difficult and confined, as those which separate the two countries, would be greatly exposed to detection.

The quantity of Shawl Wool annually imported fluctuates between five hundred and a thousand Horse loads.² Each load weighs twenty two Turuks, each Turuk consisting of six Ser, a Ser weighing twenty two (22) Pul and each Pul of the weight of three and a third Mahmood Shahee rupees.

The annual import of Ussul Toos seldom exceeds fifteen Biddrees, each of six Turuks and as it pays twice the amount of the duty imposed upon Shawl Wool and is more troublesome to work up this quantity is more likely to diminish in the general decline of the manufactures of Kashmeer than to increase.

Notwithstanding the excessive rapaciousness both of the Afghan and of the Sikh Governments and that sharp-sightedness which the spirit of avarice excites, neither of these Authorities have been sufficiently enlightened to remove the high duties on the import of Sheeps Wool the manufacturing of which would afford subsistence for thousands of workmen now nearly starving and who could get up woollen cloths probably cheaper than the Artists of any other Country.

The Pushm Shal or Shawl Wool is brought by Merchants (from Ladakh) who are either Kashmeerees, or Natives of Toorkistan, but the former greatly outnumber the latter. This material was formerly furnished by the western provinces of Lhassa and by Ladakh alone, but within a few years back has been collected from the neighborhood of Yarkund, from Khoten and from families of the Great Kirghiz Hord partly by the Agency of Kashmeeree traders residing in Yarkund, and partly by Moguls, who lay out the proceeds of its sale in the purchase of Shawl Goods in Kashmeer, which they resell to great advantage in Russia. The Kashmeerees assign names to this wool taken from those of the places in which it was raised, that of the Lhassan Provinces being distinguished by the appellation of Chanthan and Roodokh; of Ladakh by those of Undeleh or Unle, Doaba, Khurruk and Roopshoo, whilst the wools from Toorkistan are included in the general term of Yarkundee.

Having in a former paper treated of Wool somewhat in detail, I must beg leave to refer to it in the present instance, remarking only, that through the Wool from Toorkistan containing fewer hairs and being more free from dirt it has during the last year brought double the price of that of the eastern countries.

Expences of conveying a Horse load of Shawl Wool from Leh to Kashmeer including the transit and entrance duties in the latter country.

Expencc of transport

	Rs Md. Shahee
From Leh to Dras whether by a Horse or by two Porters	9—8
	Rs Kash
From Dras to Runga [apparently sic] in Summer 8 Rs Kashmeeree, } and in winter from 12 to 20; through the year say averaging	14—"—"
From Runga to Goondh Sursingh from 5–8 Rs Kashmeeree } according to the weather, say.....	6—8—"
From Goondh to Goozur Ganderbul	2—"—"
From the Goozur, or Custom House, to the City.....	1—"—"
	33—"—"

Duties

These are collected at Leh, Molbe, Paskyoom and Dras in Ladakh, and at Goozur Gungungeer, Goondh, and Goozur Ganderbul in Kashmir, as follows, viz.

	Leh Rs.	4—4—"
Ladakh { At Leh per load (to the Raja).....		
{ Molbe (to the second Wuzeer).....	"—8—"	
{ Puskyoom (to the Cho).....	"—2—"	
{ Dras (Half to Mullik and half to Raja of Ladakh).....	1—"—"	
Kashmeer { Goozur Gungungeer (To the Farmer General of Kashmir).....	1—8—"	
{ Goondh Sursingh (To the Mullik or Commissioner)	2—"—"	
{ Goozur Ganderbul (To the Farmer General of Kashmir)	86—"—"	
		95—6—"

Total expence of transport and of duties each load.....128—6 or 15 as. per Ser

A horse load of Shawl Wool in fact generally contains one part of black or dark colored wool and two parts of white wool and the Custom House regulation is made upon a supposition of there being only one fifth of dark colored wool at the rate for the Horse Load of a Khurwar or Ass load and six Turuks or twenty two Turuks. But no allowance is made for the general excess of the dark colored Wool although a load of black wool unmixed pays only forty four Rupees or a little more than one half the duty on white wool.

The duty on Ussul Toos at the Goozur Ganderbul or Custom house is as before observed double that on white Shal Wool.

The following are the technical names of the different classes of artisans directly employed in fabricating Shawl Goods, from the disposal of the Wool by wholesale to the embalement of the articles both inclusive omitting those artificers whose business it is to make the apparatus for weaving or are collaterally connected with the manufacture.

1. Bukal Tibet.....Tibut Merchants.....100
2. Pushm Shal Furosh.....Shawl wool sellers, from 50 to 10075
3. Phemb katen wajen.....Spinners.....100,000
4. Pooewanyoo or Tarfurosh.....Yarn sellers...100
5. Rungrez.....Dyers.....120
6. Tabgar.....Silk warp makers.....40
7. Alakabund or kanarebaf.....Silk Selvage or Border makers36
8. Nakatoo.....Warp makers.60
9. Pennakumgooroo.....Warp dressers.....60
10. Barrengooroo.....Warp threaders.....100

11. Shalbaf.....	Shawl weavers.....	24,000
12. Oostad Shalbaf.....	Shawl weaver teachers.....	550
13. Nuqqash Shalbaf.....	Shawl pattern drawers	20
14. Turuhgooroo.....	Color callers.....	100
15. Taleemgooroo.....	Pattern masters.....	20
16. Pooroosgur.....	Shawl cleaners.....	30
17. Wafurosh.....	Brokers.....	30
18. Mookeem.....	Commission Brokers.....	15
19. Ruffoogur.....	Fine drawers*	2000
20. Dhobee.....	Washermen.....	20

Total.....127,476

*more—5000 [in M's own hand]

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Of the disposal of Shawl Wool by wholesale

The parties in this transaction are the Bukal or importing Tibut Merchant, the Pashm Shal Furosh or Shawl Wool retailer and a Mokeem or Commission Broker.

The weights have been mentioned under the article “foreign wool” but the Ussul Toos is sold by a Ser of only 18 Pul or 4 Pul less than the Ser by which Shawl Wool is sold. No business of any considerable importance can be conducted in Kashmeer without the parties meeting to dine and accordingly when the Bukal has received wool either from Constituents in Tibut, or on his own account, he prepares a feast to which he invites a Pashm Shal Furosh, who is accompanied by a Mokeem*

* A Mokeem who has labored under complete alienation of understanding from a short time before the Sikhs took Kashmeer still fancies himself the Broker of the late Affghan Governor Mahummud Azeem Khan and credits not the reports made to him of the change of Authorities. Being brought to me by his friends for the purpose of learning if I could suggest any plan of treatment likely to restore his reason he looked at me steadfastly for some time and then exclaimed he would kill a Sheep and give a dinner my foreign appearances suggesting to him ideas in connection with his business and the necessity of promising a feast.

or Broker. This latter personage arbitrates between the parties as to the price of the wool and the mode of payment. For this he receives a Commission of three anas on every Turuk or [blank] per centum ad valorem. After having weighed the Wool the Mokeem makes a deduction in favor of the Pushm Shal Furosh or two and a half Munwuthas or three and three quarters Ser, on every horse load as Tare for the weight of the sack or package. The conditions of payment are principally regulated by the state of the Bazar or market price. If this be high indicating the probability of a quick sale the payment is immediate and in cash, but if low credit is given for one or two months. However, should the Seller require ready money the Pushm Shal Furosh complies with his wish, deducting a discount of 2 per cent if the credit of the day was for one Month and of 3 per cent if for two Months beyond which period credit is not extended. But in the payment, whether prompt or protracted, the purchaser subtracts two anas per Turuk to defray the expense of a second feast to be prepared for the Merchant although the whole sum is not applied to this purpose it being customary to give one half of it to the Assistants or Servants of the wholesale Merchant. When no particular species of Coin is specified in the bargain of sale, the Kashmeeree Rupee, by custom, is understood to be meant, but as the present Farmer General of the Revenue of Kashmeer has thought proper to depreciate this Rupee, by four anas in each, to serve a financial purpose sales are now managed and will be conducted in future by specifically naming the kind of Coin in which payment is to be made.

During a considerable time past the price of Shawl Wool by wholesale has gradually advanced and is still advancing but the following may be considered as a general average within certain periods. When Abdoollah was the Governor of the Province from Hijree 1209 AD 1794 to Hijree 1222 or AD 1807 the price was eight Rupees Kashmeeree per Turuk. In the time of his successor Ata Mahummud Khan viz from Hijree 1222 to 1227 or AD 1813 the price

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from sixteen to twenty Rupees a Turuk.

During the Government of Mahummud Azeem Khan from Hijree 1227 to 1233 AD 1817, the price was from twenty to twenty two Rupees per Turuk. And since Kashmeer has fallen into the power of Raja Runjeet Singh the price has risen to twenty five and even sometimes to forty Rupees per Turuk.

An Epidemic disease amongst the Goats in the Lhassan Provinces and in Ladakh shortened the supply from that quarter and apprehensions of a disturbed condition of trade in Kashmeer may for a time have kept back that Wool, which otherwise from other sources would have found its way to that market. Added to these causes of scanty supply a new competition has certainly diverted a portion from its accustomed mart, but it must be observed that the activity of the Kashmeeree Agents at Yarkund and the prospect of gain to Mogul Merchants speedily opened new courses, as has been stated more at length in a former paper. The Kashmeerees although they favored a change they now deplore took no active part to effect it and during the transfer of their Country to a new master their trade was not in the slightest degree disturbed. It soon became obvious to Wool Merchants that no Government would be so blind to its own interest as to injure a branch of trade which formed the main spring of the revenues of the conquered country.

And if information apparently accurate may be depended upon the quantity of Wool abstracted by the new demand exceeded little if at all one sixth of the amount of the annual consumpt in Kashmeer.

But as it is readily conceivable, let it be admitted that the concurrence of the three causes just mentioned actually did produce a rapid rise to an unexampled extent, yet their operation must have been not only temporary but even of short duration. This advance admits of solution but the difficulty lies in accounting for the maintenance of a high price at present under the circumstances of a rapid diminution of workmen by emigration and of a dull market at depressed prices. Granting that one sixth of the raw material has been withheld the emigration of Artists has taken place in a proportion much beyond the number required to work up the amount of the deficiency, and since this occurrence the period elapsed has been too short to admit of their having established a considerable demand in the new situations. Add to this that since the conquest by the Sikhs the resort of foreign Merchants to purchase Shawl Good has vastly diminished[,] the revenue from the Stamp duties on Shawls continued at their former rate ad valorem has fallen two Lakhs in one year alone and from the present receipts there is a strong prospect of another Lakh being added to the past deficit in the current year. But though the rate of Stamp Duty has been maintained the price of Shawl Goods from the Manufacturer has fallen one third within the last twelve Months. From the present state of things it may be inferred that whatever were the causes which have supported the high price of the raw material they cannot much longer maintain their influence against the depreciation that now exists and is not likely to be remedied.

It is true that the price of the raw material employed in a Shawl however

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high, is from the smallness of the quantity required an item of no consideration in comparison with the value of the labor, and hence the advance of Shawl Wool in price has been hitherto little regarded. And it might perhaps still continue to increase could the articles fabricated from it maintain their former price in an equal degree of consumpt. Shawl Wool from Countries whence this material

in former times was not imported has lately made its way to the market of Kashmeer. There still exist vast tracts in which the Shawl Wool Goat is raised and of which the fleece has not yet been applied to the manufacture of Shawls, and as other Mountainous regions to which the animal has not been largely introduced are certainly capable of supporting it in immense numbers, the present high price may reasonably be supposed to be little more than temporary.

And whenever it reaches a point which becomes really burdensome, by due combinations it may readily be depressed to a proper level yet yield a sufficiently remunerating profit to the flockmaster provided a suitable share be so appropriated. But the profits of the wholesale Wool dealer are very considerable and as observed in a former paper, those of the individuals concerned in the transfer of the article from the grower to the Merchant are inordinately large, whilst the return to the flockmasters is comparatively small, which explains the indifference of the latter to increase their flocks beyond a certain point.

White Wool from its capability of receiving Dyes of every color brings a higher price than black, or dark colored Wool, but not in such a degree as might be supposed the latter selling only one third or a half lower than the former.

Of the Sale of Shawl Wool by retail and of spinning it into yarn

The persons concerned are the Pushm Shal Furosh and the Phembkaten wajen. The Shawl Wool seller opens the bales and exposes their contents in his shop for sale. His customers are women, who purchase in proportion to their means and to the number of spinners in their families. However the retailer is accommodating and sells in quantities as low as the value of a tunga, two pice or a pennyworth. A pul of the weight before noticed of $3\frac{1}{3}$ Mahmood Shahee Rupees of white wool sells from four to six Tungas or about as many pence and the same weight of black wool one third or a half lower. The profit of the retailer varies from two to four Rupees on a turuk, which at the average of three on the price of 25 yields 12 per cent and he gives no credit.

The first task of the spinner consists in separating the different materials of which the fleece is composed as hair, wool of an inferior quality and fine wool. These obtain in different proportions according to the different degree of care employed in the first rough abstraction of the hair. In a Turuk of the wool that comes from Tibut the following are the usual proportions, viz.

	Ser
Of coarse hair.....	1½
Of seconds, or Pheeree.....	" ¾
Of dust and foreign substances.....	2 ⅛
Of fine wool.....	2

Sers 6 or one Turuk

In a pul of Wool purchased by a spinner one Rupee weight of fine wool remains, the pheeree or seconds and hair being in nearly the proportions just mentioned but the amount of dust and of foreign matters is somewhat less from previous

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handling of the material in small bulk. Much attention is required to free the wool completely from the hair and the tediousness of this process is so great, that the spinners as already stated gave willingly twice the usual price for the wool of Yarkund merely because it was more free from hair and dirt and they were considerable gainers by the bargain.

The second process consists of cleaning and preparing the separated wool which is effected by first mixing it intimately with a small quantity of rice flour and afterwards combing, breaking and subsequently giving to it a form convenient to the Spinner. For this purpose a small quantity of clean

husked rice is steeped in clean cold water for a day and a night, or longer, until it becomes soft when it is crushed and rubbed with a clean smooth stone upon a plank, or slate, till it be reduced to fine flour. Thin layers of wool and of flour are piled upon each other alternately*

* Some accounts of experiments made in Hindoostan to clean Shawl Wool by washing with soap and water having reached Kashmeer, probably with exaggeration, proved a source of gratification to the spinners as shewing that in the management of wool for spinning they were superior in skill to Europeans---at least to experimentalists in Hindoostan.

A small quantity of Water was sprinkled on the wool in the process of cleaning practised at Umritsir but this is only necessary in hot and dry states of the atmosphere.

It was stated that the employment of Soap disposed the Wool to become hard and to felt and this occurred in some trials made with this substance under my inspection nine years ago.

and beaten gently with the hand until the former are generally penetrated and filled by the latter substance. After remaining in this condition for about an hour the flour is shaken out, the wool is opened, torn to pieces, principally by the nails, and made into somewhat square thin elastic pads called in Kashmeeree Toomboo. In this process the seconds wool, called Pheeree, is extricated, which is too coarse for fine Shawls but is used in the manufacture of those of inferior quality and also for strong Shawl Cloth called Puttoo. The Toomboo now undergoes another change of shape being worked out into a thin flat roving about half a yard in length which is called Mala. The Mala is next folded up so as to occupy no more space in the hand than the Toomboo is deposited in a deep pot of red earthen ware to be out of the way of dust or accident till required. This pot is called Taskas and costs about a tunga or penny.

The Wheel

Of this instrument there are the following varieties, viz---

1. The Tukhtedar, called also the Pucheemdar and which costs eight Anas
2. The Kutzkere of which the price is from three to four Rupees, and
3. Pukhchedar, which made with more care and painted costs from six to sixteen Rupees. This latter is ordinarily made for women not in indigent circumstance but who amuse themselves with spinning.

These wheels differ little if at all in general form or in principle, from those employed in Hindoostan. Instead of the Yarn being wound round the naked iron spindle the latter is enclosed in a short cylindrical tube of straw or reed grass to which the yarn is attached and coiled and the spindle itself runs through two elastic twists of grass. And instead of one line of radii or spokes supporting

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a continued circular wooden rim, there are two circular and parallel walls of flat spokes in contact at their edges, but leaving between them at their outer circumference an empty space. A hair cord fastened to the loose end of one of the spokes is carried across the space, or trough, to the end of the next spoke but on the opposite side and having been passed round it returns to a spoke on the side from which it began. By a continuation of this process a rim is formed of a surface of hair cord over which runs a small band, that is said seldom to be cut by the friction to which it is exposed. The principle kept in view by this arrangement of spindle and of rim is to produce a continuance of soft elastic movements without jerk, or stiffness, to prevent the yarn breaking on the occurrence of any slight interruption in drawing it out.

Women begin to work at daybreak, continue with little interruption the whole day if not taken off by other domestic affairs and extend their labor until very late in the night spinning by moonlight, when available, and when they cannot afford to purchase oil for a lamp. By their industry in about three days a good spinner can bring into yarn the fine wool and the pheeree, or seconds wool, she bought at the rate of five tungas on an average. The fine wool is spun commonly into about

seven hundred Gaz (700) each Gaz consisting of sixteen Girahs about equal to [blank]Nails. This yarn is doubled and formed into twist which is cut into two hundred lengths³ each length of three Gaz and a half, this measure being suited to the length of the warp for a Shawl. From the Pheeree or seconds wool, about 100 Gaz of yarn are also produced within the three days just spoken of. The yarn of the fine wool is sold sometimes by measure, and sometimes by weight. A hundred lengths of yarn of fine wool doubled, and each three Gaz and a half, bring ordinarily seven tungas or about seven pence. But if the same kind of yarn be sold without being doubled and twisted, the price is regulated by weight, a pul bringing from twelve Anas to one Rupee four anas, according to the demands of the market. The yarn from Pheeree, or seconds wool, is sold only by measure, but the Gaz employed consists of no more than twelve Girah, or Nails, that is of four Girahs less than the Gaz in ordinary use. A hundred yards of Pheeree twist and each of two short Gaz, or of twenty four Girah, sell for one and a half tunga, three pice, or about three half pence. Although calculations upon this matter can be little more than approximations yet three pence, or three pence halfpenny a day or from 3 Rs to 3 Rs 8 Anas or from 6 to 7 Shillings a Month may be taken as the general earnings of an industrious and expert spinner in Kashmeer out of which however must be subtracted the price of the wool*

*32 Tungas or Anas= 2 Rupees

If Shawl Wool be furnished to a Spinner to clean and to spin, eight Anas are paid for spinning one Pul, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ Rs weight of yarn of the requisite quality for Shawls. Sheeps wool spun by contract is paid for by the Pao or quarter of a Ser, at the rate of from two tanga or four pice to twelve Anas per Pao according to the fineness of the yarn; and the spinning of this quantity into yarn suited for Shawls will occupy a woman for eight days. There are several varieties of thread distinguished by different degrees of fineness. From one Pul of clean fine Shawl Wool a spinner will draw from a hundred to a thousand threads of three and a half Guz each. There is not such a difference between the price of coarse and of fine yarn as might be expected

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owing to the greater expenditure on the former of a material that is dear, and on the latter of labor that is cheap. Shawl Wool is sometimes spun by men with a loose spindle like that used in Ladakh*.

* The Apparatus consists of a wooden spindle and a stand or hollow cup the latter being made of the cake left after oil has been extracted from Rape seed and becomes in the dry climate of Tibut extremely hard.

These men are called Trakhan and the yarn thus spun is the finest, but very little of it is now made.

Girls begin to spin at the age of ten and a hundred thousand females are employed in this occupation in Kashmeer. About one tenth of their number are supposed to spin for the purpose of obtaining Shawls for themselves or for other members of their families, and nine tenths to earn their livelihood. The extreme tenuity of the threads of the finest Muslins of Dacca afforded matter of surprise to the first fabricators of Muslin Cloth in Britain.

Some individuals found in the climate, qualities peculiarly favorable to the occupation of spinning, others with more plausibility attributed the performance to a delicacy of feeling and flexibility of finger supposed to be naturally pre-eminent in Asiatic females. Perhaps a more ready explanation may be found in the very early age at which females learn to spin and in constant practice, which produce a dextrous command of the finger and a tact that are not readily obtained when spinning is much broken in upon by more laborious occupations. The facility thus acquired is farther aided by a wheel much more inelegant in form than that of Europe but better adapted to produce threads of great fineness. It might border on extravagance to advocate the employment of the labor of the hand on an occupation advantageously superseded by machinery of the most efficient description for preparing thread suited for most fabric of cloth. But if it be a fact as reported that

machinery cannot furnish yarn as well adapted for the manufacture of shawls as that spun by hand in Kashmeer nothing would be more easy than to induce a few Kashmeeree families to proceed to Britain on very light terms of remuneration. Whether the introduction of the mode of spinning yarn for Shawl cloth would afford much occupation to weakly and indigent females in Britain is competently to be appreciated by individuals now in that Country but on such a presumption the art might readily be diffused.*

* An unsuccessful experiment was made many years ago at the suggestion it is believed of Mr Dupleix or of Le Comte de Lally to import Natives of Lower India for the purpose of establishing a manufacture of Muslins in France. The Emigrants suffered much from the Climate and after having experienced in Paris a reception and treatment not exactly corresponding to what they were taught to expect they were furnished with an Asylum in one of the Grecian Islands where drawings of their occupations were taken by the late Mr Tresham and are presumed to be in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Cawdor. Nothing in the climate of Britain is likely to prove unfriendly to the constitution of Kashmeerees for at this moment in Kashmeer Feb^y. 4^t the Ther^r out of Doors stands at 24^o.

The Pooeewanyoo, Tarfurosh or yarn seller keeps a Shop for receiving Yarn

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but always sends Servants through the City to purchase Yarn from the Spinners at their own houses, and these collectors give notice of their approach by ringing a hand bell. The Pooeewanyoo sells the yarn to Shawl weavers on a profit of from one pice to a tunga in the Rupee. As a very large Stamp Duty is levied on stamping Shawl Goods when finished the exportation of Shawl yarn is forbidden, yet notwithstanding the severity with which violations of this rule are punished, transgressions occasionally take place especially to Umritsir, where the yarn is worked up by artists who in times of great scarcity produced rather by oppression than by accidents of season have emigrated to that City. This contraband traffic is watched by the Darogah of the Shawl Duties, who not only farms them but is the Farmer General of Kashmeer and is implacable in his resentment for the injury done to his interest.

The modes of punishment are by fine and imprisonment of which the rate and term are adjudged by him in a degree vastly disproportioned to the offence.

The Shalbaf, or Weaver, having taken the opinion of a Mokeem, or Commission Broker, as to the kind and pattern of Shawl Goods most likely to find a ready sale, calls a Taleemgooroo and Turuhgooroo to determine the quantity of yarn of each color required to work up the pattern fixed upon and exhibited to them. Having determined this point the Yarn is taken to a Nakatoo, who divides it into skeins or hanks of weights agreeing with the instructions given by the Taleemgooroo and Turuhgooroo and having marked each parcel so as to recognize it the yarn is delivered to the Rungrez or Dyer. When the body of the cloth is to be left plain the yarn called Pheeree, or of seconds wool, is alone given to be dyed. This is generally about the thickness of common cotton sewing thread, is loosely twisted and of a coarser material than the yarn of the finest quality of wool appropriated to the cloth, and preferred for employment in flowers, or other ornaments from it standing higher from the ground and as it were in some sort embossed upon the cloth.

Of the Rungrez or Dyer.

The Dyer prepares the yarn for taking mordants or colors merely by steeping it in clean cold water.

The number of colors and tints he is capable of giving is sixty four and most of them are permanent and are named as under

Kashmeeree and Persian Names of Color	Remarks
<u>Goolee</u> of four kinds viz. Goolee Ussul Furrāh Zurd Kham [<i>?Khain</i>]	In the Ussul Color Kerimdana or Cochineal is employed. This Drug is imported from Hindoostan and in years of brisk trade the consumpt is from 100 to 150 Ser. The entrance duty is 10 per cent ad valorem the price being fixed by a Broker at the Goozur or Custom House according to the Bazar price current. Cochineal sells ordinarily at sixty Rupees Kashmeeree per Ser. The price if dyeing yarn is from 15 to 20 Rupees Kash: per Ser.

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Kashmeeree and Persian Names	Remarks
	Furrāh. This is prepared from Lak which comes as Seed Lak from the Punjab and in Shell or Cake from Dehli but the Lak Lake [<i>apparently sic</i>] of Mr Turnbull has not yet been imported. The Lak pays an entrance duty of seven Rs per Maund. About two hundred Ass load are consumed annually for dyeing Shawl yarn, Silk and Sheeps wool yarn for narrow cloths. The color dyed by Lak begins to fade after five or six months and is greatly impaired in half that number of years.
Kermis* [<i>fn. below</i>] or Kermisee is of two kinds viz. Kermisee Kermdana and Kermisee Lak	The first as its name imports is taken from cochineal, the second from Lak. For dyeing yarn of the former color 3 Rupees are charged per Ser but only two for the same process with the latter. Silk costs the same sum but the yarn of Sheeps wool only one Rupee for a Ser and half.
Chehrahee is of three kinds Chehrahee Tootee d°. Shuftalee d°. Goolee	The principal material in this dye is Logwood of which about a hundred Ass loads are imported annually from Mooltan and Hindoostan of which the former is the most esteemed. It pays an entrance duty of 7 Rs per Maund. The price of dyeing a Ser of Yarn is 1/-4 An ^s
Nabatee	Cost 1/-4 An ^s per Ser
Tilahee	1/-4 An ^s
Sundelee	1/-4 An ^s
Badamee 2 kinds Badamee d°. Toosee	1/-4 An ^s
Ugree	1/-4 An ^s
Pistakhee	1/— Indigo is the principal material
Pherosee	This is extracted from European Broad Cloth by boiling it till all the color is extracted by the water. The cloth costs about thirty Rs Kash: per Guz. As much dye is extracted from a Guz of cloth s will dye a Ser of yarn and fifty Rupees are charged for dyeing it. The entrance duty on cloth is 10 per cent ad valorem.

Zungaree is of 2 kinds viz Zungaree Ussul d ^o . Kullub	This is also obtained from the same material in the same manner and the dyeing is paid for at the same rate. This is got principally from Indigo. Price of dyeing 2 Rs per Ser.
Zumaroodee	The principal material in this dye is Indigo. Dyeing one Rupee a Ser
Fakhta	Costs 12 An ^s per Ser

*[In Moorcroft' own hand] The Persian word Kirm applies equally to the cochineal and Lak Insect as to that of the *Oak*[?]

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Kashmeeree or Persian Names.	Remarks.
Neelee	Indigo is imported principally from Dehli and the annual consumpt is about 200 maunds. It pays an entrance duty of 16 Kashmeeree Rupees per Maund and is retailed at from 5 to 8 Rs Kash: per Kashmeeree Ser
Subz	Principal material Indigo. Price of Dyeing 1 R per Ser
.Mooshkee	Costs 1 R per Ser
Zurd	12 An ^s per Ser
Zurdukhee	8 An ^s a Ser
Bunufsha	1/-4 Ans. Chief material Indigo
Asmanee	12 An ^s — Indigo
Lajwurdee	1/-8 An ^s Indigo
Surmahee	1/-4 An ^s
Gooleesuree Zurd	1/-4 An ^s .
Gooleekuddoo	1/-4 An ^s . Carthamus
Zurdee doombalee Bulbul	1/-4 An ^s . Carthamus
Zurdee Zumeeran	1/-4 An ^s . Carthamus
Buddagooree	3/-8 Cochineal and Indigo
Mullayee	1/-4 An ^s .
Yasumunee	/12 An ^s .
Nokraee	1/-8 An ^s .
Toosee	/8 An ^s .
Mekhakhee	1/-4 An ^s .
Darcheenee	1/-4 An ^s .
Arghowanee	1/-4 An ^s . Logwood
Shukkuree	1/-4 An ^s . Carthamus
Zurdee Sembo	1/-4 An ^s . Carthamus
Narinjee	1/-4 An ^s . Carthamus
Joozee	1/-4 An ^s .
Gooleekhara	1/-4 An ^s . Logwood from Astrakhan
Sumhelee	1/-4 An ^s . Indigo
Postee Peeaz Subz	1/-4 An ^s . Indigo
Ishqee Peehan	1/-4 An ^s . Indigo
Bukkusee	1/-4 An ^s .
Sasenee	1/-4 An ^s . Indigo
Khakhee	10 An ^s .

Shootooree	12 An ^s .	
Nukhudhee	1/-4 An ^s .	
Baghesee	1/-4 An ^s .	
Mekhelee	1/-4 An ^s .	
Moonghee	1/-4 An ^s .	Indigo
Mashee	1/-4 An ^s .	
Bihee	1/-4 An ^s .	
Bihee guzzeeda	1/-4 An ^s .	
Wabta Chummunee	1/-4 An ^s .	Indigo
Chummunee Sea	1/-4 An ^s .	Indigo
Sebkee	1/-4 An ^s .	Indigo
Pashalifee[?]	1/-8 An ^s .	Indigo
[?]uree Moorghabee	1/-8 An ^s .	Indigo
Feelee	12 An ^s .	Indigo

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The Dyers bring up their Sons and relations to their trade but admit not Strangers. This precaution would induce a belief that the profits of the occupation are large but they are really uncertain the prices of the process being fixed and that of the materials fluctuating according to their abundance or scarcity in the market. And the fact of none of the Dyers being in opulent circumstances leads to a conclusion that the pursuit is not steadily profitable in any considerable degree.

Of the Nukatoo or Warpmaker

This individual adjusts the yarn for the Warp and for the Weft. That intended for the former is double and is cut into lengths of three Guz and a half anything short of this measure being considered as fraudulent. The number of these lengths differs from 2000 to 3000 according to the quality intended as to openness or closeness of texture and to the coarseness or fineness of the yarn employed. The yarn when doubled is called Tooghanoo or Dotara and the Warp itself bears the name of Yenye. The Weft which is called Punna is made of a yarn named Wonnunoo which is single but a little thicker than the double yarn or twist of the Warp. Wonnunoo or web yarn is worth from one Rupee four Anas to one Rupee eight Anas a Pul. The weight of the Yenye is from four to seven pul and the weight of the Punna is always estimated at about one half more. From these rules the Nukatoo knows how to divide and weigh off the yarn for both Warp and Web. He receives the yarn in hanks but returns it made up in balls. In adjusting the Pheeree, or yarn of seconds wool for dyeing, he receives as before observed instructions from the Tuleemgooroo and Turuhgooroo. The pay of the Nukatoo for adjusting the yarn for a Shawl is four Tunga and he can prepare the warp and web for two Shawls in a day.

Of the Pennakumgooroo or Warp dresser

He takes from the Shawl weaver the yarn which has been cut and reeled by the Nukatoo and stretching the lengths by means of sticks into a band of which the threads are slightly separate dresses the whole with Rice water.*

*Silk⁺ is generally used for the warp on the border of the Shawl, and has the advantage of shewing the darker colors of the dyed wool more prominently than a warp of yarn as well as of hardening, strengthening and giving more body to the edge of the cloth. This advantage however is gained at the expence of some inconvenience for when the Shawl requires to be washed the Silk and the wool contract unequally and in consequence the border becomes uneven and puckered. A narrow Silk Hashea or border

is woven along with the body of the Shawl but when it is broad it is worked in a different loom and afterwards sewn on the edge of the Shawl by the Ruffoogur or Fine Drawer with such nicety of adjustment that the union can scarcely be discerned. Much Silk was imported from [13] Hindoostan in the time of the Dooranees but the import has greatly fallen off since their expulsion there being but a small consumpt of this article in the dresses of the Sikhs. This Silk is called Gerd and pays an entrance duty of one Rupee a Ser but its price on resale differs greatly. Ordinarily it fetches from sixteen to twenty five Rupees a Ser and has been known as high as forty but the consumpt at present scarcely exceeds twenty Maunds annually. Formerly Silk came from Kashkar but was found too thick for warp and was sold at from seven to eight Rupees a Ser. Through this comparatively low price about thirty Maunds were annually worked up but none is imported at present. This Silk is raised in Khoten and used to be taken largely into Hindoostan in exchange for the Brocades and other Silk Stuffs of Benares but on that decline of the commerce between Hindoostan and Kashkar which followed the depression of the Imperial Power of Dehli the inhabitants of Khoten endeavored to supply the want of the imported articles by imitating these fabrics in their own country. And although the imitation is coarse the cloth is cheap and perhaps of more durable wear than any other kind of clothing leather excepted. The demand for the Brocades of Benares in this part of Asia is now nearly lost to that City from the deterioration of the present manufacture through the use of Silk of a more flimsy character, the debasement of the Gold and Silver thread employed in the embroidery and more especially from the substitution of home made cloths. It might perhaps be worth while to try the strong silk of Khoten in the Silk Manufactures of Britain and to attempt raising this article in those parts of the British Hill territory which have a greater affinity to the Climate of China than that of Bengal. It might also be worth while to look more narrowly than has yet been done into the influence of other vegetables as food for Silkworms on the quality of the produce. Along with this paper will be submitted a piece of Cloth made in China from the Silk produced by worms fed on the leaf of the Bamboo as is reported. Few countries perhaps are better suited for raising Silk than Kashmeer this province producing naturally in abundance several varieties of Mulberry trees and in fact Silk of an excellent quality and of a light color was formerly grown in this Country to the great benefit of those who pursued this occupation. But on the profitability of this culture being represented to Hajee Kurreem Dad Khan Puthan Governor of Kashmeer he suddenly levied a contribution of forty thousand Rupees on the Silk growers and in consequence of this extortion and from an apprehension that the pursuit would excite farther oppression the raising of Silk was rapidly abandoned. And as ever since that period the circumstances of the Country have been such as to render individuals who should [14] realize wealth from obviously profitable occupations exposed to a repetition of similar rapacity the culture of Silk has never ben resumed with any degree of spirit so that the whole amount of Silk now grown exceeds not six Ass loads a Year. The variety of Mulberry said to produce the best Silk is one called Zoochee which has a small leaf.

This is made by boiling rice in water till the latter becomes thick when it is poured off and into this the yarn having been dipped is slightly squeezed out trained again into a band brushed and suffered to dry. By this process each individual length becomes stiffened and set apart from the rest. The Pennakumgooroo receives two tunga for preparing a warp of single thread and four for one of double yarn and earns about 6 tungas per day. Men alone work at this branch.

Of the Tabgar

This Artist twists the Silk for preparation for border warp and stands in the same relation to the Alakabund as the Nukatoo does to the Pennakumgooroo. The warp differs in breadth the narrowest consisting of twenty and the broadest of a hundred threads. His wages are from one Tunga to three pice for the narrowest up to a Rupee for the broadest warp. He may earn from one to two tunga a day.

[The rest of this page is taken up by the footnote presented above]

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Of the Alakabund

His business is to reel the twisted Silk that comes from the Tabgar and to cut it into lengths which are afterwards arranged along the edge of the yarn warp by the Pennakumgooroo. However the larger borders are worked up in a separate loom. His pay is from one pice to five pice. The value of the warp for the border is from 8 Anas to 2 Rupees according to the breadth.

Of the Barrengooroo or Warp threader

The operation of drawing or of passing the yarns of the warp through the heddles is performed by a man in front a child behind them precisely in the same manner as is practised in Europe. These workmen can only draw one Warp in a day for which they receive the settled price of two and a half tunga. The Warp is now taken by the Shawl weaver to be fixed in the loom.

Of the Shalbfaf or Shawl weaver.

The weavers constitute the most numerous class of artificers engaged in the manufacture of Shawls after the Spinners and are all Males. Boys begin to learn the business of weaving at ten years old by a kind of apprenticeship.

Besides the Oostad or Teachers there are four classes of workmen or more properly four methods of contract by task viz—

1st Shagird Kurzdar

2nd Shagird toojje musdoor

3rd Shagird bur bukshoo and

4th Shagird Moladha

Of the first class or Shagird Kurzdar

When a boy comes to be instructed he works for six or twelve months without wages the fruit of his labor being considered merely as an equivalent for the trouble of instructing him. During this time and until he becomes capable of earning his own livelihood he is fed and clothed at the cost of his parents, or relations. When thought to be tolerably expert he receives a pice or halfpenny a day, which ordinarily happens at the end of six months, or from that period to twelve months. From the latter time to eighteen months he gains another pice a day, or one tunga or a penny. If thought to be clever at the expiration of this term he receives two tunga or two pence but if dull only three pice and wages seldom rise higher than two pence for the most expert. The Master of the House accommodates the scholars with Money for the use of their Parents who never fail to stretch the credit of their sons as far as it will go although aware of the improbability of the sum borrowed being ever wholly repaid. The amount of the sum borrowed from the Oostad is governed by the demand for Shawl Goods at the time the loan is made, and in times of brisk trade an expert workman can obtain from 80 to 100 Rupees, but the lowness of his wages prevents his liquidating the debt he becomes in some sort the perpetual bond servant of the Oostad. From this custom this kind of scholar is named Kurzdar or “indebted”.

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Shagird toojje musdoor. This class, or mode of contract for taskwork embraces the condition of one pice being paid for every hundred of toojjees or needles carrying colored yarn that shall have been each once passed round as many yarns of the warp. This task is called War and although it would seem by the rapidity with which the needles are worked that much may be gained at it yet expert workmen are seldom able to realize more than from two and a half to three pice per day by this mode of contract.

Shagird bur bukshoo. This is in fact a partnership adventure in which the Oostad advances the loom and its apparatus, houseroom and materials of every kind including the Stamp Duty, and the workmen contribute their labor. When the Shawl is sold the sum expended by the Oostad is subtracted from the price and returned to him after which the net proceeds are divided into five shares of which four go to the Shagirds and one to the Oostad.

But the principal workman generally advances wages to the two others three being employed upon every Shawl that is embroidered, at the rate of three pice a day each, and takes their share of the profits for remuneration.

The fourth contract or Moladha signifies an equal division of the proceeds. On this plan the Oostad not only supplies the materials and ordinary apparatus but furnishes food to the workmen. Their daily allowance consists of three quarters of a Ser of Rice and a pice, or halfpenny, in money to each to purchase greens, firewood, oil and Salt. The price of Rice fluctuates owing much more to the interference of the Government, who are the principal sellers from their receiving their revenue on the rent of the land in kind, than to the difference of harvests.

In common years when harvests are good and the Government do not establish an arbitrary price and compel the people to purchase, an Ass load of Rice is sold from 3½ Rupees, but the more common averaged price is four Rupees, which would make the daily allowance of Rice cost about a pice and a half, and the daily advance about three pice or three halfpence.

Three Men are employed upon an embroidered Shawl of a common pattern not much loaded with embroidery for three Months.

Supposing the cloth after having been stamped to be sold for a hundred and twenty Rupees the account in the contract of Shagird bur bukshoo will stand as follows

Expences	Rs
Stamp duty on the cloth.....	20
Hire of loom and house rent for three Months.....	1
Yarn of every kind.....	40
Nukatoo, Pennakumgooroo and Barrengooroo.....	10
Wages of two men for three Months at 3 Pice a day.....	11-4
Support of the third or head workman at the same rate.....	5-10
	78-8
Gross proceeds.....	120
Deduct outlay for materials and food 78-8.....	-78-8
	41-8 of which
1/5 share for Oostad.....	8-4-9
4/5 shares for workmen.....	33-3-3
	41-8 --
	41-8 -- “ “

The looms differ not in principle from the looms of Europe but are of inferior workmanship and cost from one Rupee eight anas, to five Rupees. These are purchased by the Oostad or principal manufacturer and are generally placed as near to each other as possible. Three persons work at a loom as has been before noticed and I have seen [blank] persons weaving in a room [blank] feet long and [blank] feet broad and [blank] feet high.*

*[fn. in M's own hand.] Two Guzz in length and five quarters in breadth give the space allowed for a loom and three weavers, and the looms are packed as closely as possible.

This crowding is convenient for the Oostad as he can see the progress of the business of each loom at one glance and in winter the air remains sufficiently warm to prevent the workmen having their fingers chilled but is extremely detrimental to health. The number of looms belonging to an Oostad varies from three to three hundred and the general term of Saz comprehends the whole apparatus of the loom. Every loom is called a Dookan or Shop and there are as many as fifty sometimes in a single house though more commonly not half this number.

It has been already stated that the Turuhgooroo and Taleemgooroo determined the quantity of yarn of different colors on having had the pattern exhibited to them, but it sometimes happens that in their design to prevent the weaver employing more yarn than is absolutely required their calculations fall short. And as in this case there is no person who keeps a stock of colored yarn on a large scale ready for sale as a general accommodation to the weavers, the manufacturer who finds himself in want of an additional quantity would be obliged to remain idle until yarn would be dyed for his use did he not find a resource in the Shop of the Surish farosh or Selvage seller. This individual purchases the raw selvages of the Web and having unravelled the cloth arranges the different colors in parcels which are afterwards retailed to the Shawl weavers on the emergency just mentioned. Considering the great consumpt of Shawl yarn and the generally judicious division of labor in its manufacture it is perhaps extraordinary that there has not been a branch allotted to the sale of yarn ready dyed. However this arrangement has not been adopted.

When the Warp is fixed in the loom the Nuqqash, Turuhgooroo and Taleemgooroo are again called. The former brings the pattern merely in black and white and the Turuhgooroo having again considered it points out the disposition of the colors beginning at the foot of the pattern and calling out the color, the number of the threads along which it is to extend, that by which it is to be followed and so on in succession, until the whole pattern has been described. Whilst he is thus occupied the Taleemgooroo writes down the colors, number of threads &c. as indicated by the Turuhgooroo in a character, or kind of shorthand, peculiar to this branch and when he has completed it furnishes a copy for the use of the weavers.

The workmen prepare the Toojjee or Needles by arming each with colored yarn of about the general weight of three Ruttees, or four grains. These needles without eyes are made of light smooth wood and have both their sharp ends slightly charred to prevent their becoming rough or jagged through working. But as specimens of this instrument accompany this paper it is unnecessary to give a farther description of them. Under the eye of the Turuhgooroo the weavers knot the yarn of the Toojjee to the Warp and when this is completed the Taleemgooroo compares their disposition with his own book technically called Kitabe Taleem.

The face, or right side of the cloth is placed next the ground, the work being carried on at the back, or reverse on which hang the needles in a row and differing in number from four hundred to fifteen hundred, according to the lightness or heaviness of the embroidery. It has been already said that three weavers are engaged in executing the embroidery of a Shawl tolerably heavy but when light there are sometimes only two. The wages of these workmen vary from four pice to two. Suppose then that one has four pice, a second three and the third only two pice a day, the work is

portioned out in proportion to their respective wages, and the measure of ability. The number of needles, placed under the charge of the workman of three pice a day is one third greater than that of the weaver of two pice a day, and that of the workman of four pice a day doubles that of the latter, and of course exceeds by one third that of the three pice man. The workman of the highest wages is generally placed at the left hand edge that of the lowest at the right hand edge and the middle man occupies the middle station on the work but the first called the Oostad of the Dookan the shop or loom is answerable for the work of the other two and overlooks with diligent accuracy. By this judicious division the work proceeds in every part with equal pace, there being no waiting or loss of time, yet notwithstanding there is little stop these three people can seldom do more than half the length of a barley corn in the whole breadth of a piece of heavy embroidery in a day.⁵ As soon as the Oostad is satisfied that the work of one line of woof is completed the comb is brought down upon it with a vigor and repetition of stroke, which to a spectator not much conversant with the subject appear disproportionately great compared to the delicacy of the materials. A very rich pair of Shawls will occupy a single shop for eighteen Months or two for half this time but when the work is required to be got up quickly it is divided amongst several shops and the different pieces are sown [*sic*] together by the Ruffoogur so that the joining cannot be perceived. In some instances as many as eight shops are employed upon portions of one Shawl at the same time. If the Manufacturer can afford the outlay and is not pressed for time he prefers to finish it himself but it sometimes happens that he is obliged to sell it by portions, as he completes them, in the Bazar.

In the Spring and in Summer the weavers rise at day break but are employed in preparing and eating their breakfast until near nine o'clock when they sit down to work and continue at the loom till sunset with the interval of an hours rest allowed for their Chasht, or Luncheon.

On Friday the workmen are employed the whole forenoon for the benefit of the Oostad without pay, but leave work at the hour of Chasht and betake themselves to the Mosque or to other occupations, the afternoon being considered as a weekly Holiday. Besides this portion of time weekly devoted to religion, or recreation, the shawl weavers have other Holidays of which some derive their origin from religious periods, and others from anniversaries of local customs. Of the former the Eed Koorban or sacrificial period of the Scape Goat, claims four days of rest; the termination of the Ramzan or month of fasting an equal time; Mehraj one day, Orsenebbe another and Barat a third. A visit to the tomb of Mukdoom Sahib the principal Saint of Kashmeer occupies one day and the exhibition of the sport or ceremony

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performed in honor of Lalla Baba takes up from four to eight days. When a Shalbab is married he leaves work for eight days. He is shaved and has new clothes made for the occasion or hires a suit of Brocade and Gold Tissue for one day, during which he rides to the different shrines of the Moosulman Saints his horse being led, precaution not wholly unnecessary as it sometimes happens that this is the first time he has been on horseback and he is accompanied by a procession of friends who fire Guns and by a train of noisy musicians and singers. There is a feast both at the house of the bride and of the bridegroom. The female friends of the former felicitate the husband on his good fortune for which they always receive a compliment of money whilst his friends go to the house of the bride for the same purpose and are also rewarded for their attention. The day after he resumes his old clothes and too often finds that he has incurred a debt by his extravagance in one day which years of industry are unable to liquidate.

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The Doshala Amlee

is another kind of Shawl of which the cloth is put up on the loom and the embroidery worked by means of needles with eyes and is ordinarily prepared at the instance of foreign Merchants, who

resort to Kashmeer to purchase Shawl Goods. One of these having procured plain white or colored cloth orders a Nukkash to draw a pattern which accords with the taste of the Country to which the Merchant intends to carry the articles, and this he draws upon the cloth itself. For this task the Nukkash receives from one to five Rs. according to the supposed richness of the work which however has a relation more to the quantity of embroidery than to taste, at least to the taste of Europeans. Ruffoogurs or fine drawers are then engaged and receive wages according to their reported ability, varying from five pice to six tunga per day. Those of the latter rate of wages are obliged to work up four pice worth of the finest Pheeree (or seconds wool) yarn in the course of the day. This varies seldom more within a long period than from two to four grains sometimes to the advantage of the Merchant at others to that of the workman, and it is a point of duty excited perhaps by a higher feeling that the work should be always well done.*

*On it being objected to this mode of task that it might be imperfectly performed by which the thread would more speedily be worked up and the Merchant defrauded, it was replied that any workman so acting would be thrown into the River by his companions. Probably an oriental exaggeration [*comment in M's own hand*]

The cloth is divided into several portions, if the Merchant be in haste to have the work soon done, and these are afterwards joined with great precision. This embroidery goes on in the Merchant's own house and no other outlay is incurred than the purchase of the materials and the wages of the labor. The price of a pair of richly worked Shawls thus got up, varies from one thousand to three thousand Rupees.

Of the Poroosgar or Shawl cleaner

When the Shawl is finished it is the business of this Artist to free the Shawl from discolored hairs or yarn and from ends, or knots. There are two classes of these workmen called Wotzoo and Bukaad from the instruments they respectively employ. The former pulls out the coarse or discolored hair he discovers on the proper face of the Shawl with a pair of Tweezers and the vacancies left by this process are immediately filled by the Ruffoogar. The latter, or Bukaad shaves with a broad, sharp and long knife the loose ends of threads from the reverse face of the cloth before it is washed. For Russia and for European markets in general the dressing of the Shawl is managed with great exactness, but less accurately on those which go to Hindoostan. After this process the Shawl is carried by the Shawl weaver to the Wafurosh.

Of the Wafurosh and the Mokeem or of the Money and Commission Brokers

The Wafurosh advances Money to the Oostad for the purchase of materials and the payment of wages at a premium of from 8 to 16 per cent on the security of the Goods. Accordingly when they are put into the possession of the Oostad according to the general or rather invariable condition of the agreement the Wafurosh takes them after having been

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properly folded to the Mokeem or Commission Broker and these two settle the price according to the state of the Market. The latter carries the Goods to the Merchant he thinks will suit and the bargain is struck or refused. Sometimes the price is paid wholly in money, or partly in money and partly in rice, or sometimes partly in goods and partly in cash, or in bills. The profits of the Wafurosh are derived solely from the interest on his loan and if there be no purchaser for the goods at the time they come to hand he retains them till they find a market. The profits of the Mokeem arise in the form of premium for commission varying from 2 to 5 per centum. This is paid by the purchaser who generally acquires the goods in their rough state, that is unwashed and frequently in pieces which are given to the Ruffoogar who fine draws them and charges for joining pieces in their full breadth from 8 Anas to a Rupee, but this expence is subtracted from the Shalbfaf on the price of the Goods.

In speaking of the Pooroosgar it ought to have been observed that in this state of preparation the Shawls are carried to the Darogha of the Stamp duties, who causes every piece to be stamped and registered for which process a heavy duty is paid but as the details belonging to this operation exact particular notice they are reserved until the account of the manufacture shall have been finished.

Of the Dhobee or Washerman

From the Ruffoogur the goods go to the Dhobee, who having half washed them brings them back to the Merchant purchaser with the object of exhibiting any defects he may have discovered such as holes, thin places inequality of color in parts of the embroidery which ought to be alike and these are remedied by the Seller, or at his expence. If there are no faults, or when they are removed, the Dhobee completes the washing.*

* It ought to have been previously observed that Shawl goods are washed in clear cold water using Soap cautiously to white parts alone and abstaining from applying it to those which are embroidered. Colored Shawls are dried in the Shade. Plain Cloths are exposed to the weather to be bleached and their whiteness is improved by their being exposed to the fumes of burning Sulphur. A Water called Gagreebal in one of the lakes near the City is resorted to by the Dhobees for washing Shawl Cloths and it is thought by the Manufacturers that no other Water is equally well suited for this purpose.

Having dried the articles The washerman places them between two planks in preparation for making a bale when the merchant shall have completed his purchases. When this is done the Dhobee exhibits the Goods to the Merchant and instructs a chikkundoz to work the Aug on the edge. This appellation is applied to the price of the Shawl, its number and the name of the owner. The price is generally entered much higher than it really was and the number denotes the quality of the individual Shawl amongst other Shawls of the same color. The wages of the marker are three Rupees for every hundred pieces whatever their quality may be.

At this stage an Inspector from the Darogha or Farmer of the Customs examines whether all the Goods have been duly stamped and receives six Rupees and a half for every piece of Shawl Cloth. This duty was originally four Rupees but the present authorities have raised two Rupees and this surplus is stated to be a consideration

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for the Goods passing free to Umritsir.

Suppose a Merchant to have a hundred Shawl pieces of different colors and qualities he divides them into four parcels, each containing a portion of every kind of Goods but generally places those of the best quality together in one bale, or Bidree, as it is here called, with a distinguishing mark.

Shawls are packed in three different forms, viz—1st Dustikhee 2nd Bokchah and 3rd Bidree. The Dustikhee signifies a parcel so small as to allow of being conveniently carried in the hand, or under the Arm. The Bokchah is larger containing about ten pair of Shawls and the Bidree or Bale is made up of from four to six Bokchahs.

The Dhobees never iron or calender the shawls trusting to strong pressure and to the intervening paper producing upon the surface as much smoothness as is desirable.

The process is begun by the Dhobee placing a sheet of colored and glazed Paper so as to cover the surface of a smooth plank a little larger than the size into which the shawls are to be folded and upon which a piece of strong cloth is previously extended. Upon this the Dhobee lays a single Shawl then a sheet of paper and so on until the quantity determined upon is regularly piled when a second plank is put on the top of the coarse strong cloth which has been so brought over that its edges meet both on one side and at the ends of the bale.

The planks being furnished with four projecting cross bars, that is two to each are bound together very tightly by cords and placed in a press or for want of this convenience under a heavy weight for a short time, when they are included in the strong cloth by very firm securing and the planks are then taken off. Paper is stained in Kashmeer of many colors and the color of the Paper is chosen to contrast as strongly as possible with the ground or work of the Shawl. After the bale has been packed and sewn it is covered carefully with a coating of Toos or the Bark of the Birch tree for the purpose of excluding moisture and again in waxed Cloth; Then the bale is sewn up as strongly and as smoothly as possibly in a raw hide which, contracting in drying, gives to the contents a great degree of solidity and may be said to guarantee them from almost all common injuries.

The Dhobee receives three Rupees for washing and an equal sum for packing every hundred pieces, which however is effected so completely as not only to exclude the Moth but discoloration arising from the access of moisture to the cloths.

Of the various kinds of Shawl Goods manufactured in Kashmeer.

Shawls in pairs form the principal article of this manufacture and have different names according to their nature and quality as plain white, colored, embroidered in the loom or by the hand with the Needle,—Viz—⁶

Puttoo Pushmeena, sometimes made of Ussul Toos but more frequently of the coarse kinds of Shawl Wool, is in length 4 Guz and in breadth 1½ guz. This is thick and used as a blanket or for outer clothing. Price from 5 to 6 Rupees per Gaz

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Shala⁷ Phiri as its name denotes, is made of Phiri, or of seconds wool. The length is from 3½ to 4 Guz and breadth 1½ Guz. & price from 20 to 50 Rs per pair.

Halwan or plain white cloth of fine Shawl Wool without flower border or other ornament, differs in length but is 12 Girahs in breadth and is used for Turbands and for dyeing. From 3 to 6 Rs per Gaz.

Jowhar Shala Sadu or Shawl with a narrow edging of colored yarn is from 3½ to 3¾ Guz in length and 1½ in breadth. From 50 to 60 Rs per pair.

As all the following Shawls are of the same dimensions Viz. 3½ Guz in length and 1½ Guz in breadth it is unnecessary to affix the measurements to their several names.

Shala Hashiadar is edged by a single border. 60 to 70 Rs.

Shala Dohashiadar has a double border. 60 to 70 Rs.

Shala Chahar Hashiadar has four borders. 60 70 Rs

Hashiadar Khosar or Khalil Khani has two borders and two tunga sometimes with at others without a flower in the corners 40 to 56 Rs

Hashiadar Kiungridar. This has a border of the usual form with another within side, or nearer to the middle, resembling the crest of the Wall of Asiatic forts furnished with narrow niches or embrasures for Wall pieces or Matchlocks, whence its name. 100 to 150 Rs

Dhourdar has an ornament running all round the Shawl between the border and the field. 200 to 2200 Rs per pair

Mattandar. Has flowers or decorations in the middle of the field. 300-1800 Rs per pair

Chanddar. Has a circular ornament or Moon in the centre of the field. 500–1120 p. pair

Choutahidar. Has four half moons. 300 to 1500 Rs per pair.

Kunjbuthadar Has a group of flowers at each corner. 200-900 Rs per pair

Alifdar has green sprigs without any other color on a white ground of field. 120 – 1150 per pair

Kuddar Has large groups of flowers somewhat in the form of the cone of a Pine with the ends or points straight or curved downwards.

Dokuddar has two heights off such groups. Sekuddar has three rows and so on to five and upwards in the latter case however the cones are somewhat small. 100 to 600 per pair

The ornaments of Shawls are distinguished by different names as Palla, Hashia, Zanjir, Dhour &c. & these are divided into different parts. By the term Palla is meant the whole of the embroidery at the ends, or as they are technically called the heads of the Shawl.

The Hashia or border is disposed commonly one at each side in the whole length and if double or triple gives particular denominations to the Shawl.

The Zanjir or chain runs above and also below the principal mass of the Palla and as it were confines it.

The Dhour or running ornament is situated to the inside with regard to the Hashia and the Zanjir, enveloping immediately the whole of the field.

The Kunjbutha is a corner ornament, or clustering of flowers.

The Mathan is the decorated part of the field or ground.

Butha is the generic term for flower but is specifically applied when used alone to the large cone like ornament, which forms the most prominent feature of the Palla. Sometimes there is only one line of these ornaments extending from the lower Zanjir to the upper one. When there is a double one above the

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other the Butha is called Dokud, Sekud up to five, after which it takes the name of Zukaddar.

Each Butha consists of three parts viz the Pai or foot or pediment of leaves generally, the Shikam or belly and the Ser or head. The head is either erect or straight, or curved, or inclined. If the Butha slope generally it is named Butha kaj. The Jhal or Net is the work which separates the different Buthas but sometimes the interstice is without ornament.

Jamawar signifies literally a gown piece.

The length of this cloth is $3\frac{3}{4}$ Guz and the breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ Guz.

This article branches into many varieties as Shikhabutha – large compound flowers consisting of groups of smaller ones. This is used by the Persians and Affghans.

Rezabutha – Small flowers thickly set. 200–700 per piece

Jhaldar – Network. 500–1700 “ “

Islimi 250–400

Mehramat 150–300

Khatherast 150–750

Marpih 200–350

Kalmkar 300–1000

Taklee Angoor 300–500

Chaporast 300–7000

Doogul, Segul, Chahargul &c. 500–1000

Barghebed 250–400

Gulisant 200–900

Duazdekhat 700–1500

Duazderang 800–1400

Gule parwane 200–450

Kaddhar 200–2000

Kayhamoo, Subzkar, Sufed 120–130

These are made by the Shawl weaver alone and go largely into Hindustan where they are dyed the small green flowers being previously tied up in hard small knots so as to be protected from the action of the Dye and are of course when untied each surrounded by a small white field. Small eyes

of [*?sc. or*] yellow, red and of other colors are supposed to harmonize with the green flowers and the new ground and these are added by Embroiderers or Chikkundoz.

Kasabeh or Rumal. Womens Veils. Square Shawls.

These are from 1½ to 2½ Guz square and are called

Khathdar	300–500 Rs		
Mehramat	150 200		
Islimi with the thirteen other patterns of the Jamawars and in addition there are also			
Chaharbagh	300–350		
Do Hashia	100–175		
Chand	50–200		
Choutahi	150–400		
Hath Mowtahi	250–500		
Feringi	100–500	exported chiefly to Russia	
Tarah Armeni	100–250	“ “	to Armenia & Persia
Tarah Rumi	120–200	“ “	to Turkey
Sada	12–15	for Domestic use.	

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Shamlas or Girdles for the waist worn by the Asiatics

are 8 Gaz in length and 1½ Gaz broad and of various colors and patterns & vary from 50 to 2000 Rupees a pair according to the richness of the work

Sada or plain

Hashiadar

Pullahdar –with two pullahs, two Hashias.

Muttundar of different kinds as with flowers, lines, sprigs &c. Viz

Muttabag – all flowers

Lehridar – waved like water

Khanchadar – in Trays or plates

Mehramat – or snaky

Rahdar – running between parallel lines

Doshala Se Pullahdar or Shawls with three pallas instead of two go only to Tibut and sell for 100–150 Rs.

Gospech or Patka or Turbands are in length from 8 to 10 Guz – Breadth 1Guz and of all colors. One variety has two pallahs, two Zanjir, and two Hashias. Price 150–800 Rs.

Mandila – another variety, sometimes have Zanjir and sometimes is without this ornament. This latter is from 8 to 10 Gaz in length and about 12 Girahs broad. The price is from 45 to 70 Rs

Khalin Pashmina – Shawl carpets. This is sold at 24–40 Rs the square Guz of only three-quarters and is made of any size in a single piece.

Nakash – Trousers. Sometimes with, others without seams. The former are made of two pieces which are sown [*sic*] together by the Raffugar, the latter by the Jurrab Saz or Stocking maker. 200 to 500 Rs a pair.

Chaharkhana – Netted Cloth. Length indefinite breadth 1½ Guz, used by women. 5–10 Rs per Gaz.

Gulbadan – Length indefinite. Breadth from 14 Girah to 1 Guz 5–6 Rs p. Gaz.

Lungi – Girdles. Length 3½ Guz breadth 1½ Guz. These differ from Shamlas by being in narrow check and bordered by lines of different colors. 50 to 70 Rs.

Takhin – Caps. 8 anas to 4 Rs

Jarab – Short stockings. Guldar and Mehramat flowered and striped. 1–5 Rupees.

Moze Pashmina – Long Stockings. 5–25 Rs.
 Sakkab Posh - Canopies. 300–1500 Rs.
 Darparda – Curtains for doors and windows. Price is same as Jamawar by measure.
 Kajjari Asp – Saddle cloth. do.
 Kajjari fil – Elephant’s Housing do.
 Balaposh or Palang Posh - Quilt or coverlet. 300 – 1000 Rs
 Galaband – Cravat. 12–300 Rs.
 Pistan band – Neck-kerchief. 5–15
 Langota – Waist belts. 15–30
 Postin - Cloths left long in the Nap to line Pelisses. 500–1000 Rs
 Paipech – Leggings. Length 2 Gaz, Breadth 1 Gira, of all colors. 2–10 Rs.
 Yezar or Izar band. Waist strings. 1–15 Rs.
 Takhia – Pillow-bier. as Jamawar
 Khalita– Bags or Purses. 8 as–2 Rupees
 Kabbar Posh. Shrouds or covers for Tombstones. as Jamawar
 Takhposh – Covers or hangings in front of Recesses or Cup Boards. do.
 And Khwanposh –Dish Covers or Napkins/. Of various qualities and patterns from 30 to 500
 Rupees a piece.

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Enumeration of Articles, fluctuation or variation of price and place of consumpt.

Names.	Manufacturers price	Place of consumpt
<u>Doshale.</u>		
Puttoo Pushmeena	From 5 to 6 Rs per Guz	Kashmeer Affghanistan.
Shaleh Pheeree	From 20 to 25 and even 30 Rs per piece	Kashmeer
Hulwan	From 3 to 6 Rs per Guz	Kashmeer, Hindoostan, Persia Affghanistan &c.
Jowhur Shaleh Sadu	From 50 to 70 Rs per piece	Kashmeer, Hindoostan &c.
Shaleh Hasheedar	From 50 to 70 Rs per piece	Kashmeer, Hindoostan &c.
Shaleh Dohasheedar	From 40 or 60 to 70 Rs per piece	Kashmeer, Affghanistan
— Chahar Hasheedar	From 60 to 70 Rs per piece	Kashmeer, Affghanistan & Persia
Khoseh	From 40 to 50 Rs per piece	Affghanistan
Keeoongreedar	From 100 to 150 Rs per pair	Hindoostan &c.
Dhourdar	From 200 to 2200 Rs per pair	Hindoostan, Russia
Muthundar	From 300 to 1800 Rs per pair	Hindoostan, Turkey &c.
Chanddar	From 500 to 2500 Rs per pair	do. do.
Chootaheedar	From 300 to 1500 Rs per pair	Hindoostan
Koonjboothadar	From 200 to 900 Rs per pair	Hindoostan, Affghanistan, Persia
Alifdar	From 120 to 150 Rs per pair	Hindoostan but more especially to Peerzadas
<u>Khuddar</u>		
Dokuddhar	From 100 Rs to 800 per pair	Hindoostan
Sekuddhar	From 100 to 800 Rs per pair	Hindoostan

Chaharkuddhar	From 200 to 600 Rs per pair	Hindoostan.
Zookuddhar	From 100 to 200 Rs per pair	Hindoostan
Jamehwar	From 200 to 800 Rs per pair [?piece]	General. Russia
Khukhabootteh	From 300 to 1500 Rs per piece	Persia, Turkey, Toorkistan, Baghdad
Rezabootteh	From 200 to 700 per piece	Hindoostan, Kashmeer Nomen [?] and Affghanistan
Jhaldar	From 500 to 700 per piece	Persia, Turkey, Toorkistan & Mecca
Isleemee	From 250 to 400 per piece	Kashmir, Toorkistan, Persia, for saddle cloths curtains &c.
Mehramat	From 150 to 300 per piece	Kashmeer, Affghanistan, Persia
Khutherast	From 150 to 750 per piece	Kashmeer, Kabool, Persia, Toorkistan
Marpech	From 200 to 350 per piece	do. do. do. do.
Kalmkar	From 300 to 1000 per piece	Bokhara, Constantinople but not large, Russia
Takhee Ungoor	From 300 to 500 per piece	Dukhan – few to Toorkistan
Chupoorast	From 300 to 700 per piece	Affghanistan, Persia, Baghdad
Doogool	From 500 to 1000 per piece	Persia, Constantinople, Baghdad
Burghebed	From 250 to 400 per piece	Kashmeer, a little Hindoostan, Much Kabool, Persia
Goolesaut	From 200 to 900 per piece	Kabool, Persia
Duazdekhut	From 700 to 1500 per piece	Toorkistan, Turkey, Persia.

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Names	Manufacturers price	Place of Consumpt.
Duazderhrung	From 800 to 1400 Rs per piece	Turkey
Goole purwaneh	From 300 to 450 – – –	Yarkund
Kuddhar	From 300 to 2000	Turkey, Arabia, Persia
Kaychamoo	From 120 to 125.30	Hindoostan

Kussabah or Roomal.

Khuthdhar	From 300 to 500 Rs ———	Hindoostan
Mahramat	From 150 to 300 ———	Kabool, Persia, Turkey
Isleemee	Do. D0. ———	Kabool, Persia, Turkey, Toorkistan
Chaharbagh	From 300 to 350 ———	Turkey, Russia, a few to Hindoostan
Do Hasheea	From 200 to 175 ———	Hindoostan, few to Persia
Chanddar	From 50 to 100 ———	Kashmeer, Kabool, Toorkistan, few to Persia
Choutaheedhar	From 250 to 500 ———	Persia, Hindoostan, Turkey, Baghdad, Toorkistan
Shash Choutaheedar	From 250 to 500 ———	Persia, Hindoostan, few to Turkey
Feringee	From 100 to 500 ———	Russia
Tarah Armanee	From 100 to 250 ———	Turkey

Tarah Rumi	From 120 to 300 —————	Turkey, a few to Toorkistan
Sadu	From 12 to 15 —————	Kashmeer

See end for other

Shamlas

Sadu	From 50 to 70 —————	Kashmeerr, Kabool, Persia, Toorkistan
Hasheedar	From 70 to 200 —————	Kashmeer, Kabool, Affghanistan, a few to Toorkistan
Pallahdar	From 300 to 600 —————	Kashmeer, Kabool, Kandahar, Meshed
Muthabag	From 500 to 2000 —————	Persia
Lahreedar	From 300 to 1000 —————	Persia, Turkey, Baghdad
Khanchadar	From 1000 to 1700 —————	Persia, Toorkistan, Turkey, a few to Affghanistan
Mahramat	From 200 to 1200	Persia, a few to Turkey
Rahdar	From 300 to 800 —————	Affghanistan a few to Toorkistan & to Persia
Doshale Se Pallahdar	From 100 to 150 —————	Tibut
Gospech or Patka	From 150 to 800 —————	Kabool, Mazenderan
Khaleen Pushmeena	From 20 to 40 per square Guz	Hindoostan, Affghanistan, Persia, borders of Turkey but not into that country.
Naksh	From 200 to 500 a pair	Isfahan, Persia
Chaharkhana	From 5 to 10 per Guz	Persia, Hindoostan, few to Affghanistan and few in Kashmeer
Goolbuddun	From 5 to 6½ per Guz	Affghanistan, Persia, Shah Jehan [apparently sic]
Loongee	From 50 to 70 —————	Kashmeer, Persia
Takheen	From 8 anas to 4 Rs —————	Kashmeer, a few to Kabool and Hindoostan

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Names	Manufacturers price	Place of Consumpt.
Jurrab	From 1 to 5 Rupees —	Kashmeer, Hindoostan, Kabool, Persia, Turkey but few
Moze Pushmeena	From 5 to 25 Rs —————	Hindoostan, Russia, Persia, Turkey, Toorkistan
Sukkub posh	From 300 to 1500 —	Persia, Turkey, Arabia
Durpurda	Price of Jamahwar by measure	Persia, Turkey, Arabia, Russia
Kujjuri Asp	———— Do. —————	Persia
Do. Feel	———— Do. —————	Hindoostan
Balaposh or Pulungposh	From 300 to 1000	A few Affghanistan, Toorkistan, Persia, Turkey and Russia.
Gulabund	From 12 to 300 —————	Hindoostan
Pistanbund	From 5 to 15 —————	Kashmeer, Affghanistan, Persia, a few to Hindoostan

Lungota	From 15 to 30 ———	Persia, Affghanistan, Toorkistan
Posteen	From 500 to 1000 ———	Persia
Paeepch	From 2 to 10 ———	Kabool, Kundahar, Toorkistan. Turkey, Persia
Yezar bund	From 1 to 15 ———	Persia, Affghanistan
Takkia	According to Jamehwar	Persia, Russia, Turkey. Arabia, Hindoostan.
Khaleeta	From 8 as. to 2 Rs ———	Kashmeer, Kabool .
Kubbur posh	according to Jamehwar	Persia, Arabia, Turkistan.
Takhposh	———Do. ———	Persia.
Khman posh	———Do. ———	Persia.
Kussabeh Khuterast	From 30 to 100 ———	Kashmeer, Persia & Toorkistan.
— “ – Marpech	—“– 30 to 200	Turkey, Baghdad, few to Persia.
—“– Kalmkar	—“– 100 to 200	Turkey, Persia, Baghdad.
—“– Takhee Ungoor	—“– 100 to 175	Toorkistan, Kabool, few to Persia.
—“– Chuppoorast	—“– 120 to 250	Persia, Toorkistan, few to Turkey.
—“– Doogool	—“– 100 to 250	Kabool, Persia, Turkey.
—“– Segool	—“– 100 to 150	Toorkistan.
—“– Chahargool	—“– 150 to 200	Toorkistan, Persia.
—“– Burghebed	—“– 100 to 175	Persia.
—“– Gooledant	—“– 100 to 200	Persia, Turkey.
—“– Duazdekhut	—“– 150 to 300	Persia, Toorkistan.
—“– Duazderung	—“– 200 to 500	Persia.
—“– Goolepurwane	—“– 70 to 150	Kabool, Toorkistan, few to Persia.

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Of the Dagh or Stamp Duty on Shawls.

Up to the year 1200 Hijree AD 1785 the Shawl Manufacturers of Kashmeer were subject to no tax or duty. But at that time, Ahmed Sooltan, a native of Toorkistan, Oostad Aman a Kashmeeree, and Dilar Ram a Hindoo, more commonly known by the name of Khan Koolee, from his having served a person of that name, represented to the Pathan Governor Hajee Kurmdad Khan that they could shew to him a method of raising his revenue without any expence. On finding him ready to listen to the object of their address, they stated that the Government had but a slack sale for the Rice and the Saffron they received as rent for their lands, that the Shawl weavers were richer than the rest of the population of Kashmeer and ought to be compelled to purchase these articles at a higher price. The suggestion was approved and a census taken of the number of shops which was found to amount to six thousand. An order was issued that every shop of Weavers should take two Ass loads of rice at the Harvest and pay for it immediately and that every four shops should purchase a Munwutta, or a Ser and a half of Saffron. The weavers were obliged to buy this quantity of Rice at the rate of 1½ Rupee per Ass load the Munwutta of Saffron at forty Rupees, whereas Rice and Saffron of exactly the same quality were selling in the Bazar, the Rice at one Rupee per Ass load and the Saffron at twenty five Rupees per Munwutta.

This resource was calculated to produce annually
On the Rice.....Rs 6,000
On the Saffron.....22,500
28,500

or an indirect tax on each Shop of a little more than four Rupees.

The requisition was not particularly heavy in its amount but the distinction was felt as invidious and the collection oppressive, for when the collectors came for the Money and it was not

immediately given they insisted upon a fee at the purchase of their silence. Much discontented with the arrangement which obliged them to buy a necessary of life at a dearer rate than their neighbors, and experiencing much difficulty and loss of time in the resale of the Saffron, the Shawl weavers at the end of the second year came to the determination of leaving the country and executed their plan with so much concert, that only a hundred shops remained in Kashmeer. The financiers who had advised the obnoxious measures now devised an expedient of substitution, which was likely to be more palatable.

Accordingly it was submitted that every Shawl when made should be taken by Govt. valued and taxed at the rate of one pice on every Rupee ad valorem which was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per centum. The Shawl weavers satisfied with the commutation returned, resumed their business and at the end of the year it was found that the Govt. had gained very considerably more than they hoped to raise by the forced sale of their Rice and their Saffron. The success which resulted from this experiment encouraged the Governors gradually to increase the rate of the Stamp and in 1260 [1206?] Hijree, under the administration of Jumal Khan [1788–93] it had reached three pice in a Rupee or $\frac{9}{8}$ [sic] per centum. In the time of Kufaeut Khan [1794] it had been advanced to four pice and under the rule of Abdoolah

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Khan [1795–1806] to six pice or $\frac{18}{12}$ per cent. Thus it continued until Moohummad Azeem Khan [1813–19] became the Governor of Kashmeer who ordered an advance of 40 per cent upon the value and on this levied the duty at the old rate, making 26 per cent. During his administration the Stamp duty Receipt amounted annually to 9,00,000 which if taken at the rate of 26 per cent gives the annual value of Shawl Goods manufactured in Kashmeer at 34,61,538*

*Say roughly 35 Lakh and adding the duty of 9 Lakh make a gross sum of 44 Lakh and a fraction.

Last year the Receipt was found to have fallen to 7,00,000 and some of the persons best informed on this subject state that the current year will not give above 5,00,000 Rupees in Stamp Duties.

The whole of the import duties levied at the Customs house on goods from Tibut seldom exceeds 80,000 Rupees per annum of which $\frac{1}{5}$ may be considered as raised upon Tea, and the rest upon Shawl Wool. The Shawl Manufacture of Kashmeer seems to have flourished more under Mahummud Azeem Khan than at any former period, there being then 19,000 shops, but at present the number exceeds not 8,000 and it is predicted that many will leave the Country as soon as the weather becomes warm. Kashmeer was resorted to for its Shawl goods by Traders from both Turkey in Asia and in Europe, by Armenians, Persians, Affghans, by Merchants from Oosbuk Toorkistan, from the Chinese dominions wrested from the Khaja of Kashkar, and also from Hindoostan, although the Shawl Merchants of the latter country have generally resident agents in Kashmeer.

The present state of Turkey in relation to Russia and Persia has put a stop to the visits of purchasers for the markets of the former Country and the continued hostilities between Raja Runjeet Singh and the actual ruler of Kabool have no small degree of influence in checking the approach of Traders from the former Country. From Toorkistan the demand for Shawl Goods was never large but appears at present to be on the increase for the markets of Russia, through the medium of the subjects of Oosbuk and of Chinese Toorkistan. It is stated that the reduction of the Murhutha power is strongly felt in Kashmeer by a diminished call for Shawl Goods from that Country and it is also said that the introduction of British Imitation Shawls has injured the sale of Kashmeer Shawls in Hindoostan from their greater cheapness. However some of these causes are merely temporary and the whole are not so likely to prove injurious as circumstances connected with the political state of Kashmeer. The Dooranees were certainly oppressive masters but they were careless in their money accounts and lavish in their expenditure. Fond of shew and of pleasure they purchased many Shawls and carried little Specie out of the Country. The Sikh troops are more solitary in their enjoyments,

have scarcely any taste for Shawls spend little money individually and are equally oppressive with the Affghans whilst Runjeet Singh drains the country of almost the whole of its coin.

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It here becomes necessary to observe that the revenue of Kashmeer is farmed out and the present Governor Dewan Motee Ram has no power to interfere with the arrangements of the Farmer General as far as Revenue is in question.

In the year succeeding the acquisition of Kashmeer by the Sikhs the general revenue was farmed out to Bher Dhur, a native Pundit, for the gross sum of 36 lakhs of Kashmeeree Rupees. He acquitted himself of his engagement the first year but fell into arrear, to the amount of four Lakhs, at the end of the second year, and along with his family is now in confinement at Lahour.*

* This individual was particularly active in leading the Sikhs into Kashmeer.

The Mother of Ram Dhur hearing that Gunes Pundit, another of her sons had been seized and beaten by the person appointed to carry the Revenue to the Treasury of Runjeet Singh took poison. I was desired by her friends to see he in order to administer remedies if practicable but on reaching her house I found the high spirited Matron a Corpse, surrounded by her women, who were not assured of her decease until I examined the body.

In the third year Ram Dhur another Kashmeeree Pundit not deterred by the failure of Bheer Dhur engaged to farm the Revenue on the same terms and became deficient to the like amount. He was also seized and confined at Lahour.*

* These failures arose partly from a short Rice crop but more especially from the peculations of the minor collectors. In the time of the Dooranees the Revenue paid to the Soobadar amounted to thirty Lakhs and many Kashmeerees have asserted that to a protecting Government the Country would readily and conveniently yield a Kror or a hundred Lakh, and this its resources judiciously managed seem perfectly equal to meet.

Jawahir Mull, a native of Peshawer, has had the boldness to renew the engagement for the same sum and has recourse to expedients which if they realize the amount must prove greatly injurious to the Country. The Shawl manufacture is loaded by the contract between Raja Runjeet Singh and the Farmer General with a direct tax of 9 lakh of Rupees annually, besides the sum it pays indirectly as will hereafter be noticed. To ensure the realization of the Stamp Duty a system of espionage is kept up through the maintenance of Shukhdars or Watchmen, who daily visit the houses of the Shawl Weavers and report the works in the looms of the latter, either at once to the Darogha of the Stamp Duties, or to his Deputies as circumstances may require. Mokeems or Appraisers are constantly in attendance at the Stamp Office and when a piece of cloth is handed to them by the Owner they report upon its value affixing an addition of forty per cent. If the Owner admit this value the piece is registered and stamped and an engagement is taken from him that he will pay the amount of the duty within the following Month. This Paper is handed to the Tuhseeldar, or Collector, who on the following morning causes a person to apply for an instalment of the Money, but as the straitened circumstances of the weaver admit not of his meeting the demand until the Stamped piece has been sold he has two Anas to pay to the Messenger who reports

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the non-payment to an Agent of the Darogha called Khoordee literally Eater. The Weaver or owner of the Shawl piece is obliged to make his appearance before this personage, who agrees that the payment shall be deferred to the end of the month for a fee of two Rupees. If at this period the value of the Shawl be not realized to the Owner by sale, he obtains from the Wafurosh unto whom it has been pledged as security for the Money he advanced for the materials the amount of the Stamp Duty paying interest for this new advance at the rate of 2 per cent per Month.

If the Owner of the Shawl piece remonstrates against the value as being extravagant and beyond the rate at which he shall be able to sell it, a small reduction is generally made but if this be not satisfactory to him the matter is referred to the Darogha, who declares his willingness to purchase the piece at the diminished rate. If this be acceded to by the owner, as is ordinarily the case, he is directed to apply the following day for the money but finds it impracticable to get admittance to the presence of the Darogha and ten or 12 days are spent by him in fruitless attendance at the door. His clamors then become frequently so strong as to induce the Darogha to see him when he is informed that on the following day the money will be paid but a repetition of similar disappointment again occurs until the weaver says that he only desires to have his goods again. He is then told that an order has arrived from the Singh for Shawl Goods and his property has been despatched and he is to receive payment in Rice. This grain is then furnished to him at the rate of three Rupees per Ass load whilst it is selling in the Bazar at the price of two or 2 Rs 4 Ans. and ordinarily the weaver loses about twenty per cent for his refusal to accede to the Stamp at the first rate of appraisal.

Other modes of adjustment of purchase are practised with the Shawl Weavers who reject the value fixed upon their goods by the Mokeems and they are all equally oppressive with that just mentioned. If a report be made to the Darogha of a Shawl piece of a particularly rich pattern being in hand on a partnership from several shops as is ordinarily the practice, the person who has charge of the richest part receives orders to bring it to the Darogha when the work is valued on the supposition of being completed and the Stamp is affixed. The bringer is made responsible for the whole being of the same quality and on his expressing a desire to receive advances money is refused but Muslin Turbans, Chintz, Bafta or white Cloth of Hindoostan, with Shoes, Beringbara*

*This rice sells in Kashmeer for only two Sers for a Rupee at the time that the Basmati Rice of the best quality the produce of Kashmeer is sold at 14 Sers per Rupee

or fine rice of Peshawer, Tobacco Snuff boxes both of this latter country with Loongees, or cloths for girdles are set before him and he is compelled to take what he is informed is the full amount of the value of his Shawl piece. Obligated to sell these articles as he can for his own benefit and that of his partners he has the mortification to find that the Turbans valued to him at twenty Rupees will not bring more than half the money in the Bazar. This mode of extortion is only of recent date and will speedily be productive of great emigration amongst the Shawl Weavers.

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Doshala Umlee

Injuries done to Shawls by Moths and by other accidents of various kinds suggested the employment of that variety of darning called fine drawing to repair them and a few artists devoted their time exclusively to this occupation. A workman in this line by name Alee Baba ventured to suggest the possibility of aiding the labor of the loom by the work of the needle and by experiment was found to possess such taste and ability as to convert the alterations proposed into acknowledged improvements through relieving flatness or monotony of color, by throwing upon the field, or into the ornaments, tints of greater contrast.

Not satisfied with thus producing a piquancy of effect in which Shawl patterns were deficient he conceived the bold idea of ornamenting cloths entirely by the needle. He had early perceived that the colored threads of the weft were suffocated by the too frequent occurrence of the threads of the Web and he was also aware of the fading of the color of the silk thread used by the embroiderers and of the imperfection of the stitch employed upon cotton and Silk cloths and which by bringing too large a proportion of the twist upon the surface produced an elevation in the ornament which rendered the cloth stiff, formal and unsightly. To obviate the deadness of the color given by woollen threads in the loom and the loose texture and excessive swell of the ornaments caused by Silks introduced by the needle he invented and introduced a new mode of using woollen

thread, or yarn with this instrument, which produced an effect intermediate between the cross line work of the Shuttle, or spit, and the chain stitch of needlework.

If not as flat as the former it was more lively in color, and if less vivid than the latter it was less raised and more solid. His first efforts were as may be presumed somewhat timid and confined to narrow borders, but encouraged by foreign Merchants and especially by Khaja Yoosoof, an Armenian, he adventured successfully upon works of considerable value.

When Afrasiab Khan was Governor of Kashmeer in the reign of Mahmood Shah, Alee Baba first began to embroider flowers, continued the practice in the succeeding rule of Abdoollah Khan surnamed Shahagasee, and during the administration of Mohummud Azeem Khan the last Dooranee Governor experienced from him considerable encouragement and patronage. To weave a pair of very heavy Shawls was found fully to occupy the joint labor of three Shops for a period of from twelve to eighteen months and although they divided the task with no small judgment the Ruffoogurs carried the principle of division of labor much further through tearing the plain cloth into fragments of a size suited to the pattern and through subsequently joining these portions with such exactness that their union could not be discovered.

In fact such a pair of Shawls as that alluded to including the Hashees or borders could be partitioned amongst a hundred Ruffoogurs and be completed within six Months.

Besides the saving in time the price was also diminished by about one fourth and as the work was not subject to any duty this mode of getting up Shawls became favored by foreign Merchants as they found the article produced at much less price yielded an equal profit in the market with the woven Shawl of the same pattern.

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An apprenticeship of two years on an average is required for the Shawl weaver to become perfectly acquainted with his business but a period of two Months is sufficient for the instruction of the Ruffoogur. When Alee Baba first struck out the application of the needle to the fabrication of Shawls there were only about fifty fine drawers in all Kashmeer and at this moment there are about two thousand very expert Artists and three thousand of an inferior description.*

* 2000 only are placed in the columnar list

On Kashmeer being taken by the Sikhs Runjeet Singh sequestrated all the Jagheers or lands held by grants from the former Emperors of Dehli and confirmed by the Dooranees and by others given by the Affghans. This measure reduced many persons from easy circumstances to indigence and compelled them to have recourse to various modes of occupation for the purpose of gaining their subsistence and amongst others to that of the Ruffoogur. It is stated as a fact that many men applied themselves to learn the latter business after their beards had been bleached by age and great numbers of their children are enabled to contribute towards the support of the family by their labor in this line. This kind of Shawl is gaining ground in several foreign countries but late advices from Persia speak of the woven Shawls being at present preferred in that country and it may be remarked that Persian taste gives a preference to embroidery in Shawls which almost completely covers and conceals the color of the ground. By way of distinguishing this mode of manufacturing Shawls from that of the loom the former has been called by the term Umlee which perhaps may be appropriately rendered by the word "worked". And as the Umlee Shawls on account of the occupation they are capable of affording to females at their houses appear to me much more important than when this manufacture first presented itself to my observation I shall enter into a few particulars respecting the pattern drawing. After the pattern has been selected it is covered with transparent paper upon which all the outlines of the composition are slightly traced with a charcoal twig and the traced lines are permanently defined by being closely pricked through with a small needle. The cloth intended to receive the pattern is rubbed strongly upon a smooth plank with a piece of highly polished and somewhat rounded Agate or Carnelian projecting from the side of a wooden lath in which it is

imbedded, until all the high parts are pressed flat and the surface is rendered uniformly even. The pricked pattern being then sewn down upon the cloth so as not to be readily displaced is covered with colored powder as chalk, or charcoal, which is slightly rubbed and passing through the holes gives the figures of the pattern upon the cloth. These are afterwards traced correctly with some other coloring powder mixed with mucilage of Gum Arabic and when the work is finished this tracing is readily detached, in dust, by a few strokes of the hand.

It has already been stated that the Shawl weavers work sometimes by pattern but more frequently from it being transferred in the language of the Taleemgooroo to a book and read off. The use of patterns by the chainstitch Embroiderer and by the Carpet weaver of Kashmeer is more restrictive to a confined number of forms by being transferred from a wooden block to the cloth in regard to the

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former and Paper in respect to the latter. The Ruffoogurs originally insignificant in numbers were included by the Government in that class of subjects compellable to occasional and gratuitous labor for the public service or that of powerful individuals, and exempted from other tax on their ability, but as they rose in consequence they were obliged to labor in the service of the Governors for a remuneration which amounted to about one half of their gains when working on their own account. Besides their ability in repairing and enlivening Shawls the weavers discovered that the labor of the needle was more conveniently available to the insertion of the ornament called Khoonj or Khoonjbootha in the angle between the top of the Pullah or worked end and the Muthun or field than that of the Shuttle or Spit, but as this application of the talents of the Ruffoogur was amalgamated with the work of the loom it became not a distinct subject for taxation. And when the Ruffoogur worked upon plain cloths the latter were always such as had been stamped so that through the union of their contribution of labor to the public service under both the forms mentioned the result of this distinct application of their skill escaped taxation. But when after the conquest of Kashmeer Runjeet Singh let to farm for a specified sum the whole of the Revenue of this Province although the Contractor derived great advantage in getting up Shawls for his own benefit, by acquiring the labor of the Ruffoogurs at half its market value he viewed with dissatisfaction the employment of their time for the benefit of foreign Merchants although they received full wages, for all such Shawls paid no other duties than that on the plain cloth and some others levied on the dyed wool &c. which in each Shawl were inconsiderable. The Affghans are considered by some other nations of Asia as more than ordinarily subject to make mistakes and this to such a degree that when any act betrays the character of stupidity or of obvious blunder, it is frequently expressed figuratively by the term "Aunghanee" [*sic*].

Through some misconception of the Stamp duties two Affghan Shawl Merchants last year bought some "worked" Shawls before Jawahir Mull the Farmer General to be stamped, and he let not slip the opportunity. Pleased with the great beauty of the cloth belonging to one of the Merchants he enquired the cost of the work and finding it to be only five hundred Rupees declared his willingness to take it from the Merchant at that price to which the latter dissented, that it was made to his own order and was brought to be stamped not to be sold. On the offer being repeated and again refused, Jawahir Mull said that as it was worth five thousand Rupees the Merchant must pay Stamp duty for that sum, which was done. The other cloth was a Khuleel Khanee, or Turband with a deep border of embroidery made to the order of Russool Khan the son of Muhummud Azeem Khan, but the Affghans were expelled before the Turband was finished, by the Sikhs aided by the intrigues of the Kashmeerees, at that time favorable to the views of the disciples of Nanuk, but now deeply repentant for their conduct towards the followers of Islam. When the Turband was finished it was sold to an Affghan Merchant (Khodadad Khan) for Eleven Toomuns

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or two hundred and twenty Rupees. The Farmer General enquired the name of the Ruffoogur and having called Alee Baba, took out his scissors, notched the Turband in several parts and tore it into fragments throwing it to the Ruffoogur and exclaiming that his income would be ruined if the Ruffoogurs were permitted to execute this kind of work for strangers. The unfortunate Ruffoogur obliged to takeback the Turband could find no Customer for the torn commodity until it was presented to me, when having satisfied myself with the truth of the valuation I gave him his price and this occurrence induced me to enquire more particularly into the origin of their art. Nothing would be more easy than to subject worked Shawls to exactly the same duty as those got up in the loom but such an arrangement presents a principle to intelligible and too straightforward to be approved by the Satellite of an Eastern Chief who makes obscureness and crookedness of measures the cloak and road to unlimited oppression. It is however an act of justice to remark that desirous of having some wool brought on the backs of Sheep of mine from Tibut spun, woven into Shawl cloth and embroidered I submitted my wish to the Governor who expressed his compliance and Jawahir Mull civilly observed that as far as he was concerned I was at liberty to employ Artists in any manner I pleased. I had good reason to believe that British Superfine woollens had scarcely at all been introduced into Toorkistan, Siberia and the eastern and northern parts of China. I had learned that Russia had either actually or through excessive duties virtually prohibited the importation of Superfine British woollens into her dominions by sea and that this measure was not sanctioned by any considerable increase in the home manufacture of this article but through a preference to the cloths of Russia, of Saxony and of other parts of Germany less influenced by considerations of relative quality and price than by those of a political complexion.

I well knew that Russia was directing her attention most sedulously and most judiciously towards improving her land Commerce with China on a line not known to British Merchants, and that woollen cloths constituted the principal article of exportation. I had looked to the circumstances of this matter with as much accuracy as the evidence of some facts and of recitals of Toorkistanee Merchants would enable me to do and it appeared obvious enough that if other European competition did not arise this trade would become speedily a lucrative monopoly in the hands of Russia, who seemed to consider the shutting of the ports of her European frontier against British Woollens as sufficient to ensure their whole exclusion, not only from her own territory but from those countries over the markets of which her locality as probably suggested the idea of complete command. And as I know from an accumulation of the most positive evidence that the demand for Kashmeer Shawls of the very richest of heaviest patterns was already very great, and I had personally witnessed the failure of an experiment of no inconsiderable magnitude in which the name of the Emperor himself was cited as taking a leading part to secure a large supply of these goods for the Russian market. It appeared to me that the superior softness the warmth the evenness and the durability of British woollens of the finest quality would recommend them to a demand in Russia in preference to Kashmeer cloths provided the decorations were of Asiatic taste and execution. As a trial of the truth of this assumption I engaged about 3 hundred Ruffoogurs to embroider British Superfine

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Woollens, scarlet, yellow, green and brown as Jamehwars or Coat pieces and as Kussabas or square Shawls. The expence of this was heavy as I paid probably 8 or 10 per cent more than other foreign Merchants in order to ensure the services of the best workmen and to have the work got up as speedily as possible. Excited by reports, foreign Shawl Merchants who came to see the work expressed their surprise at the rich appearance of the cloth*

*Moollah Bahram a Merchant of Mazanderan, predicted that their operation would put an end to the demand of Kashmeeree Shawls in that province of Persia and in all countries which were cold.

and the Kashmeerees themselves acknowledged that their cloths sunk into insignificance before the woollens of Britain although it was obvious enough that they cherished a doubt of their finding a

preference in the markets at least of those Countries where the weight of the latter might prove inconvenient. I have been hitherto at a loss to account for the indifference of the Chinese to Shawls or to reconcile this indifference with the eagerness with which British Superfine Woollens were bought at Yarkund, and with the great annual importation of the Woollens furnished by Russia through Kashkar, and of Lhassan woollens through Siling or Siningfoo. Perhaps the fabrics of China may afford some explanation of the former through Silk cloths being cheap, probably vulgar and in general more shiny than durable. On the richest and most tastefully flowered Silks of Lyons being exhibited to the Chumpas or Trading Lammas of Lhassa apparently no emotion was excited by the display, but they were thrown almost into an extacy [*sic*] of rapture by the sight of flowers of gold and of Silver on tissues of the same material. And on seeing embroidery in which Silk and Gold and Silver twist were intermixed they regretted the degradation of the metals and deprecated the bad taste which had suggested the union of such discordant materials but they applauded in terms equally strong the mixture of gold and of Silver in the same flower. From these circumstances I am led to think that the richest embroideries of Gold and of Silver in twist, foil, spangle, bullion &c. on the finest woollens might take in the Chinese market but from the nature of the materials and the expensiveness of the workmanship the experiment in prudence should be made on a limited scale. And from the confined view I have yet had of the evidence of probabilities and recitals rather than of facts, a belief has arisen that the patterns should be flowers insulated or in groups but not connected by lines and that the latter or stripes, whether straight or bent should be scrupulously avoided. Reverting to the ornamental works of Kashmeer it seemed that the chainstitch embroidery was somewhat undervalued and that its faults were more connected with the execution than with the principle of the work. I therefore excited the Chikundozes to exertion by placing in their hands also woollens to be embroidered. [*From this point the handwriting changes from that of the secretary to Moorcroft's own.*] The Chainstitch embroidery is objectionable on the grounds of it not having frequently repeated washing without losing color and the threads becoming loose and flossy but these seem to resolve themselves into the circumstances of the dyes of the Silk being fugitive through imperfection in the management of dyeing, through the Silk employed being raw or untwisted and through the looseness of the stitch itself but not affecting the principle of the work. The first ground of objection is remediable by the substitution of dyeing processes known to produce permanent colors, the second

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by the silk being twisted and the third by the stitches being more closely connected and drawn tighter. To these improvements the low price of this kind of embroidery has hitherto been opposed but on paying a larger price for labor I have found it done in a manner which promises permanency for many years yet as an essay probably inferior [*in*] quality to the perfection attainable through more practice and suitable encouragement and although the fault of the silk could not wholly be remedied woollen yarn was substituted for those colors in silk known to be quickly fugitive. To the whole of the work whether executed by the Ruffoogars or by the Chikundozes there exists the objection of the embroidery rendering the British woollen cloth stiff and heavy and of contracting where the ground is richly [*?*] worked the hardness of Tapestry and losing the pliancy of British cloth. This arises from the cloth itself being too strong for this application and I was dissuaded [*?*] somewhat in opposition to my own judgement from taking into my investment light and narrow woollens better adapted to this object which however was not within my contemplation as a probable source of industrious employment in Britain. Thus circumstanced I preferred to make the experiment under obvious disadvantage than to neglect the opportunity of trying the market. Finding that woollen coverlets embroidered were employed in the North West of Asia I converted certain cloths sent to the market of Calcutta under the name of Scarfs but in no demand in these countries into a coverlet and caused it to be embroidered according to the taste of Central Asia. Observing it when made to be of better effect than expected and aware of a predilection in Europe for articles of Asiatic

fabric I have thought it right to send the Coverlet to the Honorable the Court of Directors to furnish a suitable idea of this kind of work, of the occupation it may present to women and to afford an

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opportunity for trying a new application of British Woollens to winter use as Coverlets in Europe. The employment of the same kind of work in Shawl cloth will be seen in other goods also forwarded. Numerous occupations each attended in performance by difficulty frustrate my intention of prosecuting research into all the particulars connected with the Shawl Manufactory and compel me to close the subject with an abruptness little consistent with the extensive ground on which the plan was laid down.

Of the Cloth of Shawls generally

This is of two varieties viz one plain or of two threads and the second tweeled or of four threads. The former or plain cloth is the most ancient and was in past times wrought to great fineness and delicacy especially for Turbands but latterly the demand for this article is much confined. The breadth of this cloth was from eight to ten Girah or Nails and owing to it being without ornament and narrow the weaver had it in his power to make a texture of great fineness and regularity for which he was well paid.

The narrow tweeled cloths called Halwan [*or*] Alwan are also seldom more than from 5 to 12 Girah and these are also regular and even in their texture. Shawls are tweeled, a Guz and a half or 24 Nails in breadth, and differ in their extent of field from having merely a narrow edging or border to one of many inches in breadth and these differ widely in regard to structure. Two persons are employed in weaving a cloth of the breadth mentioned. Of these one throws the shuttle from the edge as far as he can across the warp but it generally stops at a little beyond the middle where it is seized by the second weaver, who throws it onwards and afterwards returns it to the first weaver. Who in his turn introducing his fingers into the

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warp forwards the shuttle to the edge of the cloth and recommences the operation. The cloth thus made is frequently irregular the threads of some parts of the woof being driven up tightly and in others left open from which results a succession of bands sufficiently distinguishable whilst without color but still more obvious when dyed. The open texture is in a degree remediable by the introduction of fresh threads but there is no sufficient cure [*?*] for that which has been much impacted. One might be led to suspect that there existed some radical defectiveness in the principle of that mode of weaving not readily mastered were not pieces of cloth found occasionally of an almost perfect regularity of texture.

But the greatest irregularity is discoverable in those Shawls which have the deepest and heaviest borders and a further examination compels me to retract an observation somewhere made of the Artist being so much engrossed by attention to the work of the pattern as to neglect the structure of the field. The edge of the work in the loom is filled with the heavy thread of the Pheeree or seconds yarn charged also with color so that in a few lines the front of the worked part advances beyond that of the plain part of field and an endeavor to equalize this betrays the weaver into a work which proves fruitless and in general the heavier the embroidery on the border and of course the higher the price of the shawl the less regular is the structure of the cloth. Such indeed in some instances is the degradation of the cloth in the field as to induce some foreign Merchants to cause it to be removed and another piece to be engrafted within the edge of the border. But in this case there is no other remedy than in a

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judicious selection of a sheet of the same breadth and fineness for although two breadths of the narrow cloth (Halwan) might fit the vacant space yet these must be joined by the Ruffoogur in the middle and although this can be so done that the bond differs not in thickness from the rest of the cloth yet the joint is discernible when held between the eye and the light from the threads in the joined breadth being not continuous in the same line whereas any irregularity of this nature is drowned in the edge of the border. The best practice to ensure a good field seems to consist in weaving the border in every case separately and inserting the field by the Ruffoogur.

Of the different susceptibility of Wool for receiving Dye

It has been found in Kashmeer that the whiter and the finer is the fibre of the wool and the finer the yarn into which it is made the more capable it is of receiving an intense Dye and upon this principle it is that the fine white wool of the Goat is preferred to that of the Sheep for flowers and other ornamental work in Shawls. Whether British Artists be acquainted with this fact is not known to me but the report is inserted as worthy the attention of those individuals who are engaged in the manufacture of Shawls.

Of the patterns of Shawls

Much pains have been taken to obtain from the Shawl pattern drawers specimens of the earliest patterns used in the manufacture of Shawls with no better success than the procurement of patterns which were in the possession of an individual two centuries ago from whom they have descended through a race of pattern drawers in regular succession to a very intelligent individual who at this day pursues this occupation.

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[Here the secretary's more legible hand takes over.]

One of the objects of this research was to ascertain the progress of improvement, of degradation or degree of fluctuation in taste in the different political condition of the Country, and the state of its manufacturing and commercial concerns according to the best authorities extant. And a second was through the form of the figures and the combinations of the ornaments if not to trace the manufacture to the place of its birth at least to determine whether it was of indigenous or of exotic origin. Much more time was required for this enquiry than I have been able to abstract from other concerns and without wholly disbelieving the report that the looms of Kashmeer have been under obligation to those of Ekbatana research into other branches of Art especially into Architecture and Sculpture suggest a suspicion of Kashmeer possessing natural ingenuity enough to originate such a manufacture from its own resources.

The persons employed in the City and Suburbs of Kashmeer alone in the manufacture of Shawls are not fewer than a hundred and thirty thousand and the yearly value of their labor of every description along with the cost of the raw material amounts according to the estimate of the Mokeems or Brokers to about forty four Lakhs of Rupees of about one Shilling and eightpence British each. But the value here stated is a conventional estimate fixed for the convenience of the renter of the Duties on Shawls and is afterwards modified by the same Brokers when selling for the Shawl weavers according to the briskness or slackness of the market or in other words according to the number of foreign merchants in Kashmeer. For it is singular enough that few Kashmeerees ever export any considerable number of Shawls on their own account. It is believed however that foreign Merchants brought annually to Kashmeer sixty Lakhs of Rupees which were there expended in the purchase of Shawls. Perhaps there exists not a trade employing so large a body of workmen so extremely ill paid as this even where the whole proceeds are equally divided but in this as in many other occupations those persons who have had the least share in the labor carry off the largest share of the profits from those who have borne the burden and heat of the day. The Shawl weaver is almost always in debt and his earnings range only from one penny to four pence a day and the latter sum

belongs only to a workman of the very first ability. In Hindoostan these wages would enable him to live comfortably on account of the heat of the climate exempting him except for a short season from any considerable expence in regard to clothing or to fuel at least as far as these are necessary on the score of warmth. But in Kashmeer not only is woollen clothing indispensable but the insufficiency of this covering

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requires the aid of a pot filled with burning charcoal to be carried under it when the Weaver is not at work in a crowded room. The food of the Spinners and of the Weavers of Shawl wool yarn consists for the most part of vegetables of various kinds as of Turnips and Cabbages and Radishes, of the Water Nut or Singhara and of Rice. Radishes principally white are acrid and strong and the Cabbages do not head but their leaves are stripped frequently by which process the yield is continued for a long time and perhaps increased beyond what it would have been were the top left wholly undisturbed till cut off. Turnips sell as six Sers and Cabbage at four Sers for pice or halfpenny or about a little more than as many pounds the Ser of Kashmeer being small. Lettuce and Spinage [*sic*] are too dear though but indifferent or little removed from the qualities of the wild state, being seldom cheaper than from one to two pounds for a halfpenny. Mutton at six pice a Ser is wholly out of the reach of these miserable people and this is the present price owing to the flesh of Cows being prohibited and to the high tax levied upon Butchers. The Water Nut in the Shell is sold at the rate of from four pence to a Rupee for an Ass load of sixteen Turuks each of six sers and forms a great and substantial resource. Rice at 2½ Rs per Ass load is too dear to be indulged in otherwise than a delicacy. Turnips and Cabbage are generally cooked by plain boiling and eaten after the water has been drained off sometimes with a little mustard Oil and Salt but much more frequently without any condiment whatever. The Water Nut is eaten raw, boiled, roasted fried and cooked in various other ways after having been reduced into flour. The most common preparation however is that of boiling one Ser of the flour with two quarts of water till it is converted into a Gruel which tasteless as it is mostly be eaten without any relishing ingredient. Rice is prepared also in the same manner but is seldom purchased for this purpose by the Shawl Weaver, though he is compelled to take a portion of what Rice is forced upon his Master or Oostad by the Renter of Kashmeer at an advanced rate of price in part payment for the Goods he means to take of him. Thus the unfortunate journeyman weaver is made to pay 2½ Rupees for the quantity he could purchase in the market at two Rupees. This artist never tastes flesh meat except in great days as in the two Eeds, Wurse Nebbe [?] or on the Anniversary day of the death of the Prophet and on the Mehraj and Barat Shah Nooredeen Turfe Dul; he however indulges in a little fish which costs when raw from one to two and a half pice per Ser—in all he eats meat not oftener than ten days in the year.

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Every one of the weavers is indebted during Winter but in Summer the debt is lessened by there being no occasion for Charcoal and through other savings which cannot be effected in winter however as some relaxation the Weavers in Summer indulge in sailing on the lake which costs a trifle in Boat hire.

Miserable as is this order of men, wretchedness is shared with them by the agricultural class the produce of whose labor is almost wholly absorbed by the Govt. and their Servants.

[The next couple of pages are taken up with an analysis of the land revenue system of Kashmir, and the oppressive measures imposed by Government to maximize it at the expense of the agriculturists. Strikingly, 'As soon as Kashmeer fell under the power of the Sikhs Runjeet Singh ousted all the possessors of Grants of Land of every description by which many thousand individuals who had theretofore lived in comfort were reduced at once to a state of absolute poverty.' (p. 43) *He goes on to describe in detail the shifts that many*

destitute people were put to in a recent year of famine due to a bad rice harvest, to find subsistence in wild fruits and other plants. This has no direct relevance to the shawl story.]

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The Spinners, Shawl Weavers and farming population have been cited as instances of oppression in the Govts. [??] but other classes escape not the grinding hand of tyranny and in proof the following list of Tradesmen and of others living in the City of Kashmeer with the direct Taxes to which they are subject may be not without interest viz.

	Rupees
<u>Bukhale Tibut</u> --Tibut Merchants of whom the Merchandise pays at the Custom House the yearly sum of	80,000
<u>Bukhal</u> or Retailers of Tea, Sugar, Salt, Oil &c., the whole Trade per day	80
<u>Rungrez</u> or Dyers, the whole Trade per day	15
<u>Shalhaf</u> or Shawl Weavers, the whole Trade in Stamp duties on their goods in the Year	900,000
<u>Tarfurosh</u> --yarnseller, the whole Trade per Month	40
<u>Tabgar</u> --each shop per month	40
<u>Julsaz</u> --Blanket or Horsecloth and Sack makers from the coarse Hair of the Shawl Wool, the whole trade per year	300
<u>Chikundoz</u> or embroiderers on cloth, the whole Trade per year	40
<u>Alakabund</u> or Silk warp border makers the whole Trade per month	40
<u>Dhobee</u> or Washerman, the whole Trade per year	1500
<u>Subzee-Furosh Shuhr</u> --Green sellers of the city	700
<u>Nujjars</u> , Carpenters, Khirad, Wood turners, filkar [?], plasterers Chakun, Grave diggers and Tuburdar or Earth or Pisé wall builders altogether combine to make up the yearly sum of	5000
Himefaroosh[?]-Fuel sellers, the whole Trade per year	12,000
2nd Class or Plank sellers the whole Trade per year	500
3rd Class or rough timber Sellers the whole Trade per year	500

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Ytar or Druggists Distillers of Rose water &c. the whole Trade per year	500
Ahungur[?] or Blacksmiths per Shop per Month	40
Zegar, Gold and Silversmiths the whole trade per month	200

<u>Zerrubkhaneh</u> , or Coiners of Copper money, the whole Trade per year	12,000
Serraf or saddlers the whole Trade per year	40
Mochee or Shoemakers the whole Trade per year	40
Tabakh—Curriers of Goat skins and of Sheep Skins, the curing of Cow hides being now interdicted, the whole trade per year	2000
Kufzsaz or Slipper makers the whole Trade per year	40
Kaghaz saz or Paper makers the whole Trade per month	250
Zewar or Bangle or Amulet Makers per month	40
Beezaz or Cloth sellers the whole Trade per month	60
Bafundha—Common weavers the whole Trade per year	500
Booreeabaf—Mat weavers the whole Trade per year	500
Hurkarus, the whole class per year	5000
Hufus Saz—Bird cage makers the whole Trade per year	12
Hanjee or Boatmen on Canals &c. the whole class per year	12,000
Singhara Furosh—Water nut sellers the whole Trade per year	500
Kybildha [?/]—Midwives the whole profession per year	200
Gujjree—cow keepers and milk sellers, the whole Trade per year	12,000
Subzee furosh, Khanee Dul. Proprietors of floating gardens on the lakes and village vegetable sellers per year	4000
Pusaree, Tobacco sellers— the whole Trade per year	2000
Mewa furosh—Fruit sellers, the whole trade per year	5000
Maheegeer, Fishermen, the whole Trade per year	5000
Baroot saz—Gun powder makers— the whole trade per year	300
Koolal. Potters, the whole trade per year	200
Cheentsaz—Calico printers the whole Trade per year	300
Mechabund—Hooqqa Pipe Makers the whole Trade per year	60
Choona lehur - Lime burners, the whole trade And they also work gratuitously for the Govt.	6000
Sakhee - Distillers of Spirits the whole Trade per year	500
Telee - Oil pressers the whole Trade per year	500
Nadaf—Cotton cleaners with the Bow, the whole Trade per month	30

Kussab or Butcher of Sheep and of Goats, Pigs being held unclean and unfit for the food of Man by the Mahomedans and Neat Cattle being interdicted by the Sikhs or by the laws of Nanak, the whole Trade per year	2500
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Kubabee – Cooks--The whole trade per year	5000
Naubae– -Bakers, The whole trade per year	8000
Postgur—Bhung Shops for preparing bhung and other intoxicating Articles— The whole trade per year	300
Jekabund. Plume makers The whole trade per year	40
Damgah—Falconers holding Royal Grants of land and in commutation for furnishing trained Falcons, The whole class per year	14,000
Zenekha - Grass collectors holding land in commutation for not furnishing grass—The whole Class per year	20,000
Nukkush or Pattern Drawers. The whole Trade per year	40
Meeanje, Singers. Male, Female and Eunuchs The whole Class per year	500
Kazees—who act as conveyancers receiving 6½ per cent ad valorem— The whole Class per year	25,000
Hulalkhor. Scavengers. The whole Trade per year	700
Birishtgur, Grain sifters The whole Trade per year	100
Dirzee--Tailors, Teegur Arrowmakers, Hujjam, Barbers, Nukato, Wafurosh, Mokeem, Barrengooroo, Sazgooroo, Sekhsaz, Shanegur combmakers, Boothasaz, Talimgooroo, Turuhgooroo, Pooroozgur, Pennakumgooroo, Suraj Shahee Land measurers, Suraf Ashpuz, Tapemakers, Bazdar Falconers, Nalbund, Tubeeb Physicians, Shakbaf maker of a kind of Comb, Jurrabaf, Nakarchoo Drummers, Tofungsaz Gunsmiths, Mushalchee Linkmen pay nothing but their services are gratuitously available to the state whenever required.	
Kunchenee or Women of the Town--The whole class per year	5000
Kotwal Adaltee per year	30,000

Many trades are omitted in this list and the above particulars are collected not with the view of shewing the Revenue derivable from these sources but the heaviness with which taxation in one form or another presses upon every class of this population. It is difficult to find upon what principle some branches of the Shawl Manufacture are so highly taxed whilst others are wholly exempt but some classes of those workmen who are nominally free from taxation are really most grievously burdened through being obliged to work for Govt. or for the Farmer General of Kashmeer either without pay

altogether or for one much below the value of their services amongst whom are the Ruffoogurs. Nothing can be more radically vicious or more subversive of morality or more dangerous to the property of individuals and of the public generally than an arrangement which converts the Guardian of public morals of the Public Peace into the invader of both by constituting the Kotwal

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the licensed participator of the plunder of Thieves. Yet this must inevitably happen from the Kotwal paying for his place instead of being paid for his services as was the case with the Dooranee Gov^{ts} who gave to their Officer five thousand Rupees per Annum. In acceding to the present iniquitous compact Runjeet Singh for the paltry Sum of Thirty Thousand Rupees a year compromises the interests of his people and virtually abandons one of the most sacred and most valuable powers of Sovereignty the administration of public justice. Broken down in spirit by a long continued reign of oppression the Kashmeerees bend to the yoke but the slightest prospect of being permanently relieved from their burdens would within a few hours raise a force that would speedily free the country from its tyrannical taskmasters had they a single leader of weight of character.

The principal part of the present mischiefs of Kashmeer derives from that eager thirst for Gold in which the mind of the present Ruler is absorbed and which remains unsatisfied by the possession of above 12 Kror of Rupees and the annual accumulation of half a million of Pounds Sterling to his treasures. The Revenue of Kashmeer is let out to a Renter at above 28 Lakhs of Rupees. The Renter who farmed it the first year after the conquest fell into arrear and is in confinement at Lahour. His successors of the second and third years have experienced the same fate. Last year an individual farmed the Stamp duty on Shawls at the rate of nine Lakhs Hurree Singhee per ann. and paid the amount of his contract in regular monthly instalments by Bills on Umritsar. Of this punctuality the direct object was to induce Runjeet Singh to give the general Revenue to one who had thus accurately fulfilled his engagement with respect to a part and answered his purpose as far as this was in view, but Runjeet suspecting that his punctuality derived from his having made a large profit ordered him to bring with him as a compliment on the meeting (Nuzzerana) the Sum of Two Lakhs of Rupees. Taught by this experience the Farmer General found it convenient speedily to fall in arrear through an exhibition of various alleged failures which were all fictitious and ultimately according to his wish was put into confinement. With an affectation of much difficulty he will discharge his obligation but the difficulty is intended to convey the idea of loss and of course inability to become the prey of a second extortion, a play which probably after some corporal durance will answer the end. Much has been said in late years of the little productiveness of British India in relation to the Capital of British ability employed in that Country and of which the amounts would seem to be constantly increasing through the effects of a more extended education. Some political Controversialists have

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even gone the length of asserting that the British Indian Empire is little advantageous to the Mother Country because it [*illeg.*] not in profusion into the Treasury of the latter sums of Money annually in the shape of commercial and of territorial Revenue.

These individuals however take but a narrow view of this subject.

It is not by a statement of Pounds, Shillings and Pence alone that the value of British India can be estimated. Its administration, whatever its imperfections, through protecting the persons, the property, the civil and religious liberties of probably eighty Millions of human beings accumulates for the national name a character for justice, for benevolence and for wisdom in the opinion of the Natives of Asia in general far beyond all money value and of which the political value on occasions of state emergency may abundantly be recognized.

Let impartial persons examine and compare the general condition of the subjects of British India with that of those of the neighboring Countries under the best Native Rule and by this measure estimate the value of the British Indian Administration as arising out of the exercise of the most dignified qualities of moral beings. Then and not till then can sufficient evidence be adduced of the general importance of the British Indian System of Government to the truest Interests of Great Britain.

[signed] WM

In the Punjab it was calculated that about one nineteenth of the land was under the plough in 1820, and in 1823 it is almost ascertained that only one twentieth of the formerly cultivated land in Kashmeer is now in tillage.

[signed] WM

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Of stretching Shawl Cloth after it has been washed. *[A completely separate note, in Moorcroft's own hand, coming after the manufacture of gun barrels]*

This is considered as one of the main operations in the improvement of the appearance of Shawl Goods.

Its object is to produce an equality of surface by which the ornament is fully brought out and a lustrous appearance given to the whole of the cloth from the tension of the threads fitting them to reflect the light.

It may be considered as a modification of calendering or mangling well suited to the purpose.

The apparatus employed for this operation consists of a wooden cylinder about a foot in diameter and two feet in length and of a few wedges of the same material the former being cut in two down its middle and a little hollowed at each end to afford facility for inserting the latter. The Shawl pieces neatly folded in its breadth so as to be narrower than the cylinder is tightly wound round it and slightly damped by a little water being sprinkled upon it after which the loose end is sewn down.

A wedge is then inserted into each extremity of the Cylinder and slightly driven up so as to set its portions somewhat apart and if this force be not sufficient to strain the cloth equally and adequately a second wedge of longer size is substituted. The more the cloth is strained the greater lustre is produced but it is obvious that this operation *[requires]* attention or the texture of the cloth may be injured. The piece remains for from one to two days upon the Chick *[?]* or Cylinder after which it is folded of the usual form for packing after which it is put into a press.

[signed] WM

¹ This is one of the few aspects of the shawl business on which Moorcroft didn't have a handle. He appears never to have heard of the chiru or Tibetan Antelope which is now known to be the source of Asli Toosh. A small amount of toosh (or a toosh-like fibre) may have come from the Ibex, but the bulk of it definitely from the chiru. See also Rizvi and Ahmed 25–27.

² It may be noted that the terms 'horse load' and 'ass load' are often used as an indication of weight, not necessarily involving the actual use of pack animals

³ This doesn't quite add up. If the initial length of the single thread was 700 Gaz, then the doubled and twisted yarn would be 350 Gaz. This would yield 100, not 200, lengths of 3.5 Gaz. Irwin (p. 6), referencing the same page, calls the

initial length of the single thread ‘about 2,500 yards’. He seems to have misunderstood the system of measurement, putting a gaz at 3½ yards, whereas it is in fact about a yard, or a little less: 33 inches according to Irwin himself in a footnote on p. 27. A check with D264 confirms that ‘two hundred lengths is what Moorcroft actually wrote, it’s not a mistake of the copyist.

I’m also doubtful about the word ‘cut’ into warp-size lengths. I’ve seen the warp being constructed from two single lengths of yarn, each wound onto a large reel, and let out by two men walking up and down a row of sticks stuck in the ground; this method is also illustrated in a 16th-century miniature (Rizvi and Ahmed, 54–55).

⁴ This footnote spreads over the lower part of this and the following two pages, though for ease of reading and comprehension it is here transcribed as a single block of type.

⁵ ‘and overlooks ... embroidery in a day’ This passage has been crossed out in Moorcroft’s own hand, but seemed worth keeping in.

⁶ John Irwin in his 1973 publication *The Kashmir Shawl* V&A Museum Monograph no. 29 (London, Her Majesty’s Stationery Office). Has transcribed the following list in tabular form, amalgamating it with the later one showing the markets for different kinds of shawl. Irwin has also referred to Moorcroft’s earlier note in MSS.Eur D264, not perhaps realizing that Moorcroft intended the present note to be the definitive one, superseding D264.

⁷ In all cases in this list, the secretary has used the spelling Shaleh, hasheadar &c, which Moorcroft himself has corrected to Shala, hashiadar &c. Similarly boteh has been corrected to butha,, and other spellings corrected in the same way. I’ve made the corrections in this list, but not in the later one, or in the main text where it isn’t indicated, though I rather think Moorcroft intended that it should be. Since, as I suspect, this would be the office copy, and yet one more copy would have been made to send to the Hon’ble Court of Directors, the latter would have incorporated all Moorcroft’s corrections, and the spellings modified throughout.