

# Emerging Cawnpore: A view on the Leather Industry under Colonial Rule

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## ABSTRACT

Cawnpore is well-known for its charming leather industry. It has the global position in the world leather trade. Besides these achievements, there was a great past with the evolution of leather craft in this city. Cawnpore leather industry emerged with its charm under the Colonial rule because the Englishmen had set up their Cantonment here. Whether the demand for leather accoutrements was increased both for the civil and military purposes, this city was converted into the city of leather and many of the leather industry was established in this city. This paper will focus on the establishment of a leather industry in the Cawnpore city under the Colonial rule. This paper also focuses on the achievements of the industry in manufacturing leather accoutrements for the civil and military purposes and also foreign trade. This paper also highlighted on those persons who gave their contribution to the development of leather industry in Cawnpore under Colonial rule.

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## 1. Introduction

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

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

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

continued to supply the saddlery and the like required for the Company's forces in India.<sup>iv</sup>

## 2. Emerging Cawnpore as a Centre of Leather Industry

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

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

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

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

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

The permanent foundation of the 'Harness and Saddlery Factory' at Cawnpore, which since 1859 had been running on an experimental basis was laid in 1863. This was a small concern which had grown to gigantic proportions, embracing in its operations the equipment of the entire British Army in India, besides troops engaged in operation overseas.<sup>x</sup>

The reasons which led in the first place to the establishment, and later the development of leather industry in Cawnpore are its geographical location, bark forest, means of communications, availability of labour, and Government initiatives.

### 3. Some Important Leather Factories of Cawnpore under Colonial Rule

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

development and improvement of leather industry in this town are as follow:

#### 1. Government Harness and Saddlery Factory

When the mutiny demonstrated the need to have army supply bases close to areas of potential trouble<sup>xii</sup> and the immense demands that then arose for boots and other articles of equipment led to the proposal to abandon the costly and wasteful system of obtaining stores from England, and it by any means leather of a higher quality could be produced. In 1860, an attempt was made to induce the tanners to make leather in the so-called Madras system, and an "Experimental Harness Depot" in the fort was started under the superintendence of Captain John Stewart of Bengal Artillery, then commissary of Ordnance at Cawnpore. The undertaking proved sufficiently successful to warrant further experiments, and it was resolved in 1863 to build a government factory in which the leather tanned by contractors, chief among whom was *Ishri Prasad*, could be curried and worked up under skilled English supervision.<sup>xiii</sup> It was in the leather industry that the Government took its first big step by establishing the first leather factory named 'Government Harness and Saddlery Factory' at Cawnpore in 1867. Cawnpore emerged as an important centre for the collection of hides for manufacturing leather articles. There were a number of skin godowns in the *Cooly bazaars* and *Benijhabar*. A large number of *arhatisor* commission agents, *beopariesor* dealers who carried out their business in *Farrashkhana*, *Penchbagh*, *Cooly bazaar*, *Bacon ganj*, and *Chota Butcher khana*.<sup>xiv</sup>

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

This factory started producing on a large scale in 1893-94, the outturn of the factory, was about 60 percent greater than that of the Madras Tannery. The cost of production was half of that of the Madras Tannery.<sup>xvii</sup> Under the Indian Factories Act, there was an inspection had been made by government in 1905, which gave result that this was a government factory and the Superintendent asked to be excused from giving an opinion about the work which was very light in this factory, so far as the number of hours was eight and half hours and on Saturday for six hours only and Sunday was closed.<sup>xviii</sup> There was another inspection regarding the sanitary conditions of this factory had been made by Civil Surgeon as the inspector appointed by the Local Government under the Indian Factories Act as well as by the military medical officers in 1907, which gave an

unsatisfactory result or distinct.<sup>xx</sup> From the 1912, the commissioner of the Allahabad division reported that the change connected with the preparation of a register, showing accurately every tree around the blockhouses of the old and new railway bridges over the river Ganges and round the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory would be met from the savings anticipated under the head 'Rewards for destruction of wild animals'.<sup>xx</sup>

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

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

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

## 3. The North-West Tannery Company, Ltd.

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

This factory had been gained a unique reputation for strength, durability and finish in its manufactures. These goods made in India by persons who had an intimate knowledge of Indian conditions and requirements were, very often superior to the same class of articles made by leading manufacturers in England, in spite of the fact that they were offered lower prices.<sup>xxx</sup> The tanning and currying of leather were conducted on a system identical with that also followed by the leading tanners and carriers in England, and all the methods and appliances were of the most description known to the trade. The leather consequently, was as good as the English material in appearance and for durability and was entirely free from the offensive odour which was so characteristic a feature of the usual Indian tanned leather. The factory also specialized in the dressing of crocodile, alligator, *sambhar*, and other skins.<sup>xxxi</sup>

## 4. The Cawnpore Tannery

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

## 5. H.M. Halim & Co.

After the success of the Cawnpore Tannery which was established in 1896 at Cawnpore with some partners. Mr. H.M. Halim, born in Patiala, became a most respected businessman in Cawnpore and his irreproachable condition in public and private life had gained a number of coveted honours, such as Kats of *Sirhindand Bassi*, honorary magistrate and recognized *KursiNashin*, thereby entitled to received invitation and occupied seats of honour on the occasions of State Durbars and ceremonies.<sup>xxxv</sup> After sometime, he has established a new concern which was engaged in the trade of hides and skins named 'H.M. Halim & Co.' at Cawnpore.

In 1911, Mr. H.M. Halim had to get the contract to meet all requirements for rawhides for the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore, and he was also concerned in an undertaking to supplying meat to the government and transport corps.<sup>xxxvi</sup> He was a partner in the Cawnpore tannery, in the *Kasutand Sirhind* Ginning Factories, and in the Lahore Tannery also. His head office was at Cawnpore, but he had important agencies at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Delhi, Ajmer, Agra, Lucknow, Benaras, Jhansi, Saharanpur, Ludhiana, Jullundur,

Amritsar, Lahore, Peshawar, Meerut, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Allahabad, Jaunpur, Patna, Muzaffargarh and Durbhanga, while his foreign business connection was rapidly increasing in Europe and America.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

### 6. The Wense Tannery

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

### 7. The Shewan Tannery

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

### 8. Haji Abdul GafoorKadirBux & Co.

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

### 9. The United Provinces Tannery Co.

The United Provinces Tannery was set up by Mr. M. A. Wasay in 1904, this concern was commenced business in Cawnpore which dealing in raw hides and skins. Mr. Wasay, however, subsequently entered into partnership with Mr. H. NabiBuksh, and the firm (trading as H. NabiBuksh and Wasay) which was in 1910, appointed the sole purchasing agents in Upper India and Punjab, on behalf of Messrs. WuttowGuttman & Co.<sup>xiv</sup> that arrangement was continued until the outbreak of the First World War. When the firm began to export goods on their own account alone, but in 1915, they were selected as sole agents for Messrs. Cohen Brothers and Fuchs, for whom they bought about 1, 50, 000 buffalo and 300,000 cowhides during the succeeding twelve months.<sup>xv</sup>

### 10. The Skippers Tannery & Co.

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

### 11. The Eastern Tannery

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

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

### 12. Messrs. Briskey & Company

This factory had been in the trade from 1923 onwards in Cawnpore. This factory had the specialization in the trade of goat skins. Mr. M.S. Meyer was the manager of this factory. He was an expert in goatskin trade. The goatskin trade would not like the imposition of a cess. But if a cess must be imposed, it should be imposed on tanned skins as on raw skins. The cess should be confined to exports for this factory. The goatskin of this factory was better than that of Punjab Goatskins. This factory also supplied the goat in raw shape to America.<sup>xix</sup>

### 13. The Indian National Tannery

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

#### 14. The Noronha Model Tannery

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

After the First World War, the leather industry had suffered a set-back highly due to the Great Depression of 1929-32; the export had reduced more than half than the War period. The production and requirement of leather articles had also to face a financial crisis at that time. But the advent of Second World War, it again provided a fillip to leather industry to increase in

demand for leather shoes and articles for the civil and military purpose.<sup>iii</sup>

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

#### 4. Conclusion

Cawnpore has their charm with the establishment of leather industry. This industry had famous the Cawnpore in the world for its production of leather accoutrements for the civil and military purposes until the present time. But it has the great charm in the Colonial rule due to the Cantonment had set up here for the military purposes. Many of the factories were set up during that period and many of the persons gave their contribution to the development of the leather industry. So, it can be said that Cawnpore has emerged in the name of the leather industry since Colonial rule upto the present time also and it still working on the worldwide production of leather products.

#### Notes

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

<sup>ii</sup>Ibid.

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

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

<sup>v</sup>"Emergence of Kanpur Leather Industry: Historical Background" (PDF). Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 18.

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

<sup>vii</sup>Ibid.

<sup>viii</sup>Ibid.

<sup>ix</sup>Ibid.

<sup>x</sup>Ibid.

<sup>xi</sup>Sharma, M. (2014). *Workers and leather industry in Kanpur (1861-1947): transition from craft to factory production*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>xii</sup>Roy, T. (1999). *Traditional industry in the economy of colonial India (Vol. 5)*, p. 176.

<sup>xiii</sup>Nevill, H. R. (1909). *Op. Cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>xiv</sup>"Emergence of Kanpur Leather Industry: Historical Background" (PDF). Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 19.

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

<sup>xvi</sup>Nevill, H. R. (1909). *Op. Cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>xvii</sup>Sharma, M. (2014). *Op. Cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>xviii</sup>UPSA (Uttar Pradesh State Archives), GAD, File no. 132/1906, Box no. 170, p. 103.

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

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

<sup>xxi</sup>Nevill, H. R. (1909). *Op. Cit.*

<sup>xxii</sup>Playne, S. (1917). *Op. Cit.*, p. 415.

<sup>xxiii</sup>Walton, H. G. (1903). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 3-4.

- <sup>xxiv</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). *Op. Cit.*, p. 79.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Playne, S. (1917). *Op. Cit.*
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). *Op. Cit.*
- <sup>xxviii</sup> "Emergence of Kanpur Leather Industry: Historical Background" (PDF). Retrieved 2015-12-25, p. 27.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Playne, S. (1917). *Op. Cit.*, p. 475.
- <sup>xxix</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xxx</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xxxi</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xxxii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 435.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 435.
- <sup>xxxv</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 453.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> Nevill, H. R. (1909). *Op. Cit.*
- <sup>xxxix</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xl</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.
- <sup>xli</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- <sup>xlii</sup> Playne, S. (1917). *Op. Cit.*, p. 479.
- <sup>xliii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 484.
- <sup>xliv</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 487.
- <sup>xlv</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Progs. Of Govt. of United Provinces, Dept. Of Industries. File no. 24/1919, p. 23.
- <sup>xlvii</sup> Hides Cess Enquiry Committee. *Report of the Hides Cess Enquiry Committee, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1929-18<sup>th</sup> February 1930*. 2 vols. Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing, Government of India, 1930, p. 35.
- <sup>xlviii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- <sup>xlix</sup> Hides Cess Enquiry Committee. *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.
- <sup>i</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- <sup>ii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- <sup>iii</sup> Jamaal, M.A. (1987). Leather industry in U.P. (with special reference to Kanpur and Agra). *Unpublished Ph. D. thesis*. Kanpur, p. 25.