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ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
LABOUR IN INDIA.

EVIDENCE.

Vol. I.—Part 1.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY including SIND.

WRITTEN EVIDENCE

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1937.

NOTE TO PART I.

In this part is reproduced the bulk of the evidence submitted to the Commission in the form of written memoranda in reply to the list of subjects circulated in August 1929. In preparing this volume the Commission have sought to retain all matter likely to be of permanent interest to students of the subject, and not available elsewhere. Material supplied to the Commission which has already been printed and published elsewhere has in general not been reproduced. Where memoranda have been abridged all considerable omissions have been indicated in the text.

TERMS OF REFERENCE.

“ To inquire into and report on the existing conditions of labour in industrial undertakings and plantations in British India, on the health, efficiency and standard of living of the workers, and on the relations between employers and employed, and to make recommendations.”

NOTE.—“ Industrial undertaking ” for the purpose of the Commission is interpreted as in Article I of the Washington Hours Convention, which is as follows :—

“ For the purpose of this Convention, the term ‘ industrial undertaking ’ includes particularly :—

“ (a) Mines, quarries, and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth.

“ (b) Industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed ; including shipbuilding and the generation, transformation and transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind.

“ (c) Construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbour, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gaswork, waterwork or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure.

“ (d) Transport of passengers or goods by road, rail, sea, or inland waterway, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves or warehouses, but excluding transport by hand ”

* * * * *

The competent authority in each country shall define the line of division which separates industry from commerce and agriculture.

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LIST OF SUBJECTS.

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 - (a) Extent, character and causes.
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 - (c) Time and wages lost.
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* This word should be read as indicating generally the changes in composition of the labour staff of an undertaking.

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57	Mr. Bryant	381—382		
			382—385		
58	Mr. H. P. Mody ..	} Representa- tives of :— (1) Bom- bay Re- presen- tative Chris- tian Council. (2) Na- tional Chris- tian Council of India.	385—418	} 298—330, A.-4955.	
59	Sir Manmohandas Ramji.		} Representatives of the Bombay Millowners' Association.		385—418
60	Mr. S. D. Saklatvala				
61	Mr. T. Maloney ..				
62	Mr. R. Blackwell ..	} Representatives of the Bombay European Tex- tile Association.	..	} 331—340, A.-5439.	
63	Mr. J. Parkor ..				
64	Mr. J. B. Green ..				
65	Mr. T. W. Johnstone, M.B.E.	Chief Inspector of Facto- ries, Bombay.	185—191	} 340—346, A.5637. (See also 233— 244, A.-3802).	
66	Mr. L. R. Tairsee ..				
67	Mr. Manu Subadar	} Representatives of the In- dian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay.	419—424		} 347—363, A.-5765.
68	Mr. J. K. Mehta ..				
69	Mr. G. L. Winterbo- tham				
70	Mr. G. H. Cooke ..	} Representatives of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.	424—427	} 364—373, A.-5983.	
71	Mr. R. J. F. Sullivan				
72	Mr. K. J. Dubash ..				
73	Mr. P. G. Kanekar ..	} Representatives of the Social Service League, Bombay.	428—448	} 373—379, A.- 6107 and 388— 391, A.-6360.	
74	Principal Sohrab R. Davar, Bar-at-Law.				
75	Mr. Jagmohandas J. Kapadia		} Representatives of the Bombay Shareholders' Association.		448—454

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76	Mr. D. R. Mayekar	} Representatives of the Girni Kamgar Maha- mandal.	454—461	384—388, A.-6300.
77	Mr. N. R. Kulkarni			
78	Mr. W. H. Neilson . .	Chairman, Bombay Port Trust.	} 461—478	392—406, A.-6414.
79	Mr. G. E. Bennett	Chief Engineer, Bombay Port Trust.		
80	Mr. C. N. Rich ..	} Also of the Bombay Port Trust.		
81	Mr. MacMurray ..			
82	Mr. F. Stones ..	Superintendent of Mills, E. D. Sassoon and Co., Ltd., Bombay.	478—499	407—425, A.-6673.
83	Mrs. K. Wagh ..	Senior Lady Investigator, Labour Office, Bombay.	191—199	....
84	Mr. J. Ghosal, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.	Commissioner, Central Division, Poona.	205—206	
85	Mr. P. B. Advani, M.Sc., Tech., M.I.E.	Director of Industries, Bombay.	207—211	....
86	Mr. V. S. Bhide, I.C.S.	Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.	211—213	....
87	Mr. F. B. Pendarves Lory, M.A. (Oxon), I.E.S.	Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.	213—215	....
88	Mr. W. B. Gilligan, I.C.S.	Collector of Ratnagiri. . .	217—218	....
89	Colonel Sir George Willis, C.I.E., M.V.O., etc.	Master, Security Printing, India, and Controller of Stamps, Nasik.	218—222	....
90	Mr. M. S. Bhūmgara	Soldier Bazaar, Karachi (deals with Bombay Cotton Mills).	499—514	....
91	Messrs. Chichgar & Co.	Government Shipping Brokers, Bombay.	514	....
92	Dr. Clifford Manshardt	Director, The Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Byculla, Bombay.	514—515
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94	Mr. Taroknath K. Ray-Chowdhury.	Member, Indian States Peoples' Conference, Bombay.	520—521
95	The Bombay Young Men's Christian Association	Bombay.	527—531	....
96	The Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co., Ltd.	Bombay.	531—542	....
97	Major S. K. Engineer, O.B.E., F.R.C.P.E.	Physician, J. J. Hospital, Bombay.	542—543	....
98	Messrs. MacKinnon, Mackenzie and Co.	Bombay.	544—550	....
99	Mrs. Sharcefa Hamid Ali.	Vice-President, All-India Women Conference and President, Kolaba Women's Association, Bombay.	550—551	....
100	Miss M. Kara ..	Seva Mandir, Bombay. ..	551—553	....
101	Dr. N. H. Vakeel, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.	Bombay.	553—558	....
102	Ambernath Labour Union.	Bombay.	559—562
103	Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce.	Bombay.	562—566
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105	Workers employed in Tanneries and Leather Factories at Dharavi.	Bombay.	573
106	Mr. G. C. Seers ..	Managing Director, General Motors India, Ltd., Bombay.	573—579	....
107	Rev. A. L. Bradbury	Manager, Industrial Settlement, Hubli (Dharwar).	580	....
108	Mr. L. J. Bhatt ..	Medical Officer, The Chandodaya Mills, Ltd., Viramgaum.	586
109	Mr. P. J. Arjaria ..	Agent, Khandesh Mills, Jalgaon.	..	426—435, A.-6922.

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110	Maruti Mairaji Sindhi	Workers in the Pressing Factory at Jalgaon.	..	435—437, A.-7122 and A.-7133.
111	Narsu Tukaram ..			435, A.-7122.
112	Krishna Tukaram ..			435, A.-7122- and 437, A.-7178.
113	Saini, daughter of Roopla	Women workers in the Pressing Factory at Jalgaon.	..	437—439, A.-7196.
114	Jangli, daughter of Lala			439, A.-7240.
115	Pathani, daughter of Rahmat Khan			439—440 A.-7256.
116	Italabai, wife of Sakharam	Naikin, in the Pressing Factory at Jalgaon.	..	439—440 A.-7256.
117	Mr. Vaikunthlal S. Thakore	General Manager, Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.	..	441- 449, A.-7275.
118	Mr. K. R. Lele ..			Welfare Secretary, Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.
119	Mr. H. H. Strutton	Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, Dharwar.	183 (Mr. Starte's Memo.).	449 -456, A.-7416.
120	Mr. Hiebe ..	Manager of the Sholapur Industrial Settlement, American Marathi Mission, Sholapur.	580-586 ..	
121	Mr. P. G. Beke ..	Secretary, Bombay Textile Labour Union, Sholapur Branch.	521- 527	456—460, A.-7519.
122	Mr. R. R. Bakhale ..	Representatives of the Bombay Textile Labour Union.	..	461—469, A.-7597 (see also S. No. 45).
123	Mr. Muhammad Umar Rajab			
124	Rao Bahadur Dr. V. V. Mulay, L.M. and S.	President, Sholapur Municipality.	586—587	469—472, A.-7715.
125	Narsinggirji Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Sholapur.	587—588

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1	K. B. Ardeshir Rustomji Dalal	Contractor, B., B. and C. I. Railway, Ahmedabad.	437—439	
2	Mr. S. C. Joshi ..	} Representatives of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Staff Union, Bombay.	439—455	232—248, K.-2122.	
3	Mr. P. S. Bakhle ..				
4	Sir Ernest Jackson, Kt., C.I.E.				Agent ..
5	Mr. H. P. Ball ..	General Traffic Manager.	} Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Company, Limited	249—273, K.-2329.	
6	Mr. J. A. Jones ..	Chief Engineer.			
7	Mr. J. J. C. Paterson	Loco and Carriage Superintendent.			
8	Dr. Scoresby Jackson	Chief Medical Officer.			1—358
9	Mr. G. H. Kennedy	Secretary to Agent.			
10	Mr. J. D. Antia ..	Auditor and Chairman, Co-operative Credit Society.			
11	Colonel H. F. Hobbs	Staff Officer			
12	Mr. G. V. Ganu ..	Welfare and Labour Adviser to the Staff Officer of the B., B. and C. I. Railway.	653—657	....
13	Mr. C. W. A. Gidney	} Representatives of the National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma.	458—461	273—283, K.-2566.	
14	Mr. H. T. Wilson ..				
15	Mr. J. Turner ..				

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16	Mr. D. S. Burn ..	Agent ..	1-358	283-313, K.-2715.
17	Mr. A. Richardson ..	Deputy Chief Mechanical Engineer.		
18	Mr. P. Wood ..	Acting Deputy Agent (Staff).		
19	Mr. C. G. Limpus ..	Deputy Trans- portation Superinten- dent.		
20	Mr. W. T. Griffiths	Divisional Traffic Man- ager.		
21	Mr. V. R. Kundun- mal	Assistant De- puty Agent.		
21	Dr. P. L. Stallard ..	Acting Prin- cipal Medi- cal and Heal- th Officer.		
23	General Secretary, All-India and Bur- ma Covenanted Non-Gazetted Rail- way Services Asso- ciation	Bombay.	455-458

THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

Conditions of Industrial Labour in the Bombay Presidency.

INTRODUCTION.

This memorandum follows very closely the schedule of subjects falling within the terms of reference to the Royal Commission on Indian Labour, which was given in a "draft letter to prospective witnesses" sent to the Government of Bombay by the Government of India. Every endeavour has been made to furnish information on the 16 main heads and over 200 sub-heads. The most important omissions are those which relate to mines, railways and plantations. It is understood that the railway board are preparing a comprehensive statement and it was not thought necessary to incorporate matters specifically referring to railways in this memorandum, although there are various references to railways, incidental to the various subjects dealt with. The mining industry is a very small one in this Presidency, especially so far as underground workers are concerned, and it was not thought that the Government of Bombay could add very much to the information which is available with the Government of India, and will be obtained from those provinces where mining is an important industry, while the plantation system does not exist in the Bombay Presidency. Very little has been said also on the question of staff organization, and kindred subjects as those are matters on which no official information is available. The effect of various factors on industrial efficiency is another subject with which the memorandum deals very briefly.

The object of the memorandum has been to collate as much information as possible in the very short time available for the purpose. The information has, therefore, been derived from published reports of the labour office and other printed matter in the possession of the labour office, from unpublished data and from the personal knowledge of the staff of the labour office with the assistance, in several important sections, of the chief inspector of factories. There has been no time to institute any *ad hoc* enquiries on any of the points upon which information is required. No attempt has been made to give detailed opinions on the subjects dealt with and, where opinions are expressed, they are on matters which have already been the subject of discussion and examination.

Chapter I.—Recruitment.

Origin of Labour—Extent of migration.—In the absence of any recorded statistics regarding the actual number of persons who migrate from the villages to the towns in order to find employment, the only way in which a rough idea of the extent of migration can be obtained is on the basis of information regarding the birth-place of persons living and working in Bombay city. Such information is available in the census report of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1921. An attempt was made during the 1921 census to record immigration statistics by occupations but the data finally tabulated were so unsatisfactory that much reliance cannot be placed on them. The only available statistics, therefore, are those recorded for the whole population irrespective of its occupation. So far as Bombay city is concerned, as industrial workers form the bulk of the total population, it is believed that the figures for the whole population also hold good for industrial workers.

According to the census report for the year 1921, the percentage of the total population which had actually been born in Bombay has steadily declined at each census. The following figures are of interest in this connection :—

Percentage of persons born in Bombay to total population at each census.

1872	..	..	31·1	1901	..	..	23·4
1881	..	..	27·8	1911	..	..	19·6
1891	..	..	25·0	1921	..	..	16·0

In considering the figures for birthplace it should be remembered that, whenever possible, workers send their wives to their native places for confinement. Many of those returned in the census as having been born outside the city are not therefore fresh immigrants in the strictest sense of the term, because they are the offspring of parents already residing in the city.

According to the census report the population of Ahmedabad is made up as follows :—

Birthplace.	No. per 1,000.
Ahmedabad district	603
Baroda State	128
Rajputana	73
Kathiawar	54
Kaira district	40
Mahi Kanta agency	19
United Provinces	17
Palanpur agency	15
Surat district	8
Broach district	5
Bombay city	4
Central provinces	3
Punjab and Delhi	3
Panch Mahals	2
Other centres	26

Certain figures regarding birthplaces of the workers in Ahmedabad were obtained during the family budget investigation conducted there by the labour office in the year 1926. These figures together with those obtained at the census of 1921 and enquiries made from mill officers and the labour union officials at Ahmedabad show that the cotton mill workers of Ahmedabad come from different places in the following proportion :—

Place of Origin.	Per cent.
Ahmedabad city	20
Ahmedabad District (excluding city)	25
Baroda State	20
Rajputana (Marwar)	10
Kathiawar	5
Gujarat (excluding above)	10
Deccan and Konkan	5
Other places (including U.P., C.P., Madras, etc.)	5

In Sholapur the labour force is mainly local and it is immigrant to a very small extent. The following figures regarding the birthplaces of cotton mill workers in Sholapur, which were obtained as a result of the family budget enquiry conducted by the labour office in the year 1925, are of interest :—

Classification of Families by place of Birth.

Place of Birth.	No. of family budgets.	Percentage to total.
Sholapur (city and district)	545	60.4
Deccan (excluding Sholapur district)	291	32.2
Karnatak	34	3.8
South India	26	2.9
Other places	6	0.7
Total	902	100.0

In the mines situated in the southern division of this Presidency local labour is not available and is generally imported from Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, Poona and Bellary districts. In the mines and quarries situated in the northern division labour is imported from the districts of Jaipur and Ajmer in Rajputana, from Katni in the central provinces, and from Raichur, Kathiawar and Khandesh.

Causes of particular Streams of Migration and Changes in recent Years.—The following tables shows the number of immigrants in Bombay city from the more important districts of origin during the period 1881 to 1921 :—

Actual Numbers of Immigrants into Bombay City from the more important districts of origin, 1881–1921.

Birth-place.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Ahmedabad	7,004	9,439	9,594	16,298	17,557
Surat	35,803	29,940	25,097	35,072	39,682
Thana (including the Bombay Suburban district).	17,051	15,128	10,557	15,705	14,797
Kolaba	11,506	28,851	21,100	37,119	43,180
Ratnagiri	126,190	162,586	145,835	216,060	235,566
Nasik	7,142	6,352	7,939	9,863	24,451
Ahmednagar	8,274	9,543	15,100	14,611	48,501
Poona	69,004	54,543	64,791	71,185	89,231
Sholapur	8,749	4,420	8,812	8,528	11,816
Satara	45,404	37,864	60,387	56,754	65,953
Cutch	45,333	38,000	28,179	36,470	37,480
Kathiawar	32,568	39,050	45,531	58,775	72,435
Kolhapur	4,220	4,248	5,993	9,309	9,261
Baroda	3,906	8,857	5,625	4,501	6,349
Hyderabad State	8,525	9,518	7,431	9,302	19,602
Madras	6,075	8,276	6,005	8,278	15,156
Rajputana	9,381	12,907	10,461	12,453	19,722
Punjab (including Delhi)	2,429	6,572	6,116	8,616	10,425
United Provinces	—	—	—	50,682	70,911
Oudh	8,722	8,831	6,043	—	—
Upper India	—	15,393	—	—	—
North-West Frontier Province(s)	2,227	16,653	29,881	1,101	2,273
Central Provinces and Berar	2,391	1,950	4,330	3,843	5,046
Central India Agency	2,088	2,966	2,407	4,005	3,360
Portuguese and French possessions in India.	21,938	21,399	18,794	32,106	34,111

It will be seen from the above table that the bulk of the immigrants in Bombay comes from the Ratnagiri district. Other places which are next in order of importance are Poona, Kathiawar, United Provinces and Satara.

Without making elaborate enquiries into the matter, it is difficult to assign causes of particular streams of migration, but it would appear that emigration on a large scale takes place from such places as have either a population which they are

unable to support owing to the limited amount of land available for cultivation, absence of any industrial towns close by or constant failure of the rains. The higher wages paid in the city as compared to agricultural wages is also one of the causes of migration.

As regards changes in recent years in the streams of migration, the following table, which shows the proportionate numbers of immigrants from the more important districts into Bombay city at each census, is of interest :—

Proportionate Numbers of Immigrants from the more important districts into Bombay city at each Census, taking the 1881 figure in each case as 100.

District.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Ahmedabad.. .. .	100	135	137	233	251
Surat	100	84	70	98	111
Thana	100	84	59	87	82
Kolaba	100	225	184	323	375
Ratnagiri	100	129	116	172	187
Nasik	100	89	111	138	344
Ahmednagar	100	115	183	177	586
Poona	100	79	94	103	129
Sholapur	100	51	101	98	135
Satara	100	83	133	125	145
Cutch	100	84	62	81	83
Kathiawar	100	120	140	180	221
Kolhapur	100	100	142	221	220
Baroda	100	224	144	115	162
Hyderabad State	100	112	87	109	230
Madras	100	136	99	136	250
Rajputana	100	138	112	133	210
Punjab and Delhi	100	270	257	355	429
North India*	100	375	329	475	671
Central Provinces	100	82	182	161	211
Central India Agency	100	142	115	194	161
French and Portuguese possessions	100	98	86	147	156

* Including the North-West Frontier Province and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

It will be seen from this table that Thana was already supplying Bombay with as large a stream of immigrants as was likely to be attracted thither as early as 1881 and probably earlier, and the same is true of Cutch. Poona has always been a great source of immigration but the stream has increased only slightly since 1881. The same applies to Surat. The Baroda stream is not as large now as in 1891, as such persons as desire to work in factories find it more convenient to go to Ahmedabad.

The stream from Ahmednagar and Nasik showed a sudden increase at the census of 1921. The most important growth is in the stream from the Punjab and the North India.

As regards Ahmedabad city, workers in Ahmedabad district usually leave their villages and come to the city because of the attraction of higher wages, amenities of city life and the absence of a suitable secondary occupation for indebted agriculturists. Landless labourers, such as Dheds, and handloom weavers like Vankars, have come in large numbers to the city as they could not earn their livelihood by the products of their handlooms, owing to the competition of factories. The Vankars have taken to spinning in the mills. They are regarded as untouchables and cannot, therefore, work with the higher caste people in the weaving departments. Patidar weavers come to the city in order to supplement their agricultural income. The high proportion of immigrants from Baroda state is due to the proximity of the state to the Ahmedabad district. Moreover, labour conditions in Ahmedabad are better than in Baroda because of shorter hours of work and legislation regarding workmen's compensation, etc. The industrial backwardness and poverty of the soil of Rajputana, Marwar and Kathiawar, and the economic backwardness of some of the petty Native States are to some extent responsible for migration of labour to Ahmedabad. Some Deccani and Konkani labour is permanently settled in Ahmedabad. The immigration from the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Madras is due to the fact that these provinces are not as industrially advanced as the Bombay Presidency, and those going to Bombay in search of employment when they fail to get it there come to Ahmedabad to secure a job. The immigrants from Jubbulpore are said to be handloom weavers who have lost their occupation because of their inability to compete with machine-made goods.

There have been considerable changes in the stream of immigration in Ahmedabad in recent years because of the higher wages after the war, and shorter hours of work after 1920, when the 10-hour day was introduced into Ahmedabad. More labour has poured into Ahmedabad since then from Marwar, Kathiawar and the surrounding districts.

Contact with Villages—Extent and frequency of return.—The workers in Bombay city are in close contact with the villages from which they come. Those hailing from the neighbouring districts of the city, who either own landed property or whose families have rented land, go to their villages every year before the setting in of the monsoon and return soon after the rains are over. In the months of April and May, therefore, there is a regular exodus, mostly to the Konkan. Workers who do not own lands or have not rented fields for cultivation usually go once a year either for the *Shimga* holidays or during the *Diwali* holidays. Workers coming from the Ghats generally go to their native places during the *Navratri* holidays. Those coming from distant parts of the country, such as Northern India and the United Provinces, go once in two or three years and stay at their native places for three to four months at a time.

Besides merely going for a holiday or for cultivation of fields, it is usual for the working classes in Bombay to go to their native places when they fall ill. They also go back to their villages in large numbers when an epidemic breaks out in the city and during strikes of long duration. Married women workers coming from the adjoining districts to the city usually go to their native places for confinement.

The Goan seamen in Bombay usually proceed to their villages for a holiday of three to six months' duration after working for two or three years.

As regards Ahmedabad, labour coming from the city itself has no contact with villages at all. About 2 per cent. of the people go to work daily from neighbouring villages within a radius of three miles. Those coming from the villages nearby go there almost on every holiday. Visits to villages are frequent, especially during the marriage season (April, May and December), the sowing (July and August), and the harvesting (December and January) seasons. Marwari workers in Ahmedabad go to their villages during the *holi* holidays. Many people go to their villages only once a year. Workers coming from distant places like the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Madras, etc., go once in two or three years only and are absent for more than a month.

Extent of Permanent Labour Force.—It is difficult to give any statistical measurement of the permanent labour force in the industrial cities of the Bombay Presidency. But the permanence or otherwise of any stream of migration is ordinarily indicated by the sex ratios. In the Presidency as a whole the sex ratio is 919 females to 1,000 males. In Bombay city as a whole the ratio of females to 1,000 males is 525. In

the Bombay-born population of Bombay city it is much higher, namely, 785. The following are the other ratios as given in the census report for the year 1921 :—

Ratio of Females to 1,000 males in each stream of Immigrants from the more important regions of birth.

Bombay population as a whole	525
Birth-place.	
Bombay city	785
Ahmednagar	785
Nasik	765
Poona	716
Kolaba	600
Cutch	580
Hyderabad Deccan	543
Thana and Bombay suburban district	535
Kathiawar	532
Ratnagiri	526
Satara	471
Surat	419
French and Portuguese possessions in India	411
Punjab, Delhi and the North-West Frontier Province	199
United Provinces	167
Rajputana	154
Europe	264
Other Asiatic countries	206

The census superintendent points out in this connection that the Ahmednagar and Nasik immigrants have brought their wives and children with them. In his opinion this may be due to either of two causes, viz. (1) that they have come to settle permanently or (2) that conditions were so bad in their villages that they had no option. The figure of 525 for Bombay city may be compared with that for the big non-industrial city of Poona, where the figure is 912.

Sex ratios, is, however, only one of the tests which can be applied to find out the extent of the permanent labour force. If by permanent labour force is meant workers who have permanently settled in the city, who follow industrial or other occupations and have lost all contact with their villages, there is very little permanent labour force in the city. Such a rigid test cannot, however, be applied to Indian workers owing to their peculiar social and economic organization. India has been and still remains a land of villages, and an Indian worker who is brought up in his village is much more attached to it than to the city in which he works. Besides this, the prevalence of the joint family system adds to the difficulties of the industrial cities having a permanent labour force in the sense in which the term is understood in western countries. The joint family system imposes upon the individual more duties and obligations towards more distant relatives than in a society where such a system does not prevail. Only a few members of a family migrate to the towns. The family itself remains domiciled in the mofussil and the centre of the family life is there, so that the women folk return to it to bear their children; the men folk when old age or disability comes to them, or when death causes a vacancy in the agricultural workers of the family. So far as the Bombay textile workers are concerned it may be said that although they maintain a very close and living contact with their villages, the bulk of them are permanent in the sense that they are not merely birds of passage but continue to work in the industry for a considerable period of time once they join it.

The following figures show the sex distribution in Ahmedabad during the period 1881 to 1921 :—

Number of Females per 1,000 Males.

1881	1,010	1911	848
1891	937	1921	765
1901	919		

These figures although they show the rapid industrialization of the city point also to the less immigrant character of Ahmedabad labour as compared with Bombay.

It has been pointed out already that only about 20 per cent. of the labourers in Ahmedabad come from the city proper. This class consists mostly of landless Muhammadan weavers and some Dhed spinners who have settled in Ahmedabad for many generations. But it cannot be said that the remaining immigrant labour is purely migratory. Once the workers come to Ahmedabad they try to stick to their jobs and seldom, if ever, return to their villages for good. They no doubt go to their villages for short or long periods but do not fail to return. Moreover, when workers go to their villages many of them try to employ their own substitutes in order

to be sure of getting their machines when they return. And it might be said that a very large majority of the labour force in Ahmedabad is permanent, although workers without any connection with villages form about only 20 per cent. of the working class population.

Methods of Recruitment.—Existing methods and possible improvement.—The Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) which submitted its report in 1927 inquired into the question of recruitment of labour and made the following observations :—

“ It was urged, in evidence before us, that the system of recruitment of labour in Bombay leaves much to be desired and does not tend to efficiency, as it places too much power in the hands of the jobber or foreman who recruits not necessarily the most efficient man, but the one who is willing to pay him the largest commission, or in whom he is otherwise interested. The Millowners' Association, on the other hand, whilst admitting that the present system furnishes openings for corruption hold that it is the only possible system in Bombay conditions, as the jobber is in touch with labour to an extent that no official of the mill can possibly be and that it does not necessarily follow that because a jobber produces men, they are engaged by the mill. They further contend that it is not always possible for all vacancies to be filled from the applicants waiting at the mill gates for employment and that, when this is the case, the only course open is to send out jobbers to the homes of the operatives to collect men. This should, however, only be necessary in abnormal conditions. We are of opinion that the present system is undoubtedly open to the objection that it places too much power in the hands of the jobber and that it is desirable that all labour should be engaged directly be the officer of the mill in charge of the department which requires it or by a responsible assistant. This we were told was the practice in Ahmedabad and in most of the up-country centres we visited, and we see no reason why it should not be followed in Bombay. It will be obvious that the acceptance of the recommendation we have made in paragraph 60 above in regard to the maintenance of a reserve to provide for absenteeism would reduce the amount of casual labour required to a minimum.”

Since the publication of the Report of the Tariff Board, however, it appears that the Bombay Millowners' Association has been endeavouring to improve the method of recruitment. In this connection the following extract from the statement submitted by the Bombay Millowners' Association to the Fawcett Committee is of interest :—

“ A special enquiry has been made by the Association since the publication of the Tariff Board Report with a view to ascertaining the exact practice in regard to recruitment of labour and the results definitely prove that the practice of direct recruitment is making rapid strides throughout the Bombay mill industry and this movement is receiving every encouragement from the Association and from the management of individual mills. The days when the jobber had almost complete power over the labour force working under him in the mills and the management had perforce to accept whatever labour the jobber thought fit to bring, are fast coming to a close owing to the growth of a more independent spirit among the workers. The enquiry just completed has shown that so far as the daily replacement of absentees is concerned, operatives as a rule are not finally engaged by the jobber. They may, it is true, be brought to the mills by the jobbers, but even this practice is becoming more rare and it is now the more general rule for the jobber to obtain replacements for his absentees from the applicants for work who daily attend at the mills. Whatever the method adopted by the jobber to obtain the workpeople necessary for replacing absentees, the final selection and appointments are made by the heads of the departments concerned, and in many mills even the preliminary assembling of applicants for replacements of casual vacancies is conducted by the heads of departments and not by jobbers.

“ There may in the future still be occasions when, owing to an extraordinary shortage, jobbers will be still required to recruit labour, but these revivals of the power of the jobbers are likely to be temporary and infrequent.

“ The mill-owners have always strongly discountenanced the practice of extorting commission from workpeople by jobbers, and where charges of this nature are substantiated, the most severe disciplinary action is taken against the jobbers concerned.”

Recent enquiries made by the labour office in this respect show that although it is true that the mill authorities are endeavouring to put down corruption among the jobbers, the powers of the latter are still as great as formerly, and that the method of recruitment is still substantially the same as when the tariff board submitted its report.

That the system leads to intensive “ graft ” is indisputable and both the jobbers and their female counterparts, the naikins, levy contributions from the workers. The hold that jobbers have over the workers is shown by the fact that if a jobber is

dismissed he almost invariably takes a certain number of men with him and the number of small departmental strikes attributed to "dismissal of a jobber" is surprisingly large.

In the textile mills at Ahmedabad, labour is recruited through jobbers and mukadams, one of whose main functions is to see that the machines under their supervision are worked with full complements. Before 1923, some shortage of labour used to be felt in mills. At that time jobbers and mukadams used to offer some inducements to labourers to work under them. These inducements usually took the form of giving tea or some cold drink to the labourers and the mills used to defray these expenses. Sometimes labourers working in other mills used to be brought in and compensated for the forfeiture of their wages in the mills in which they were working. This amount was also paid by the mills. Jobbers used to advance small sums of money to the labourers in order to induce them to continue to serve under them. However, the position now is the reverse of this. The supply of labour is plentiful and so labourers have to hunt for jobs. They go to the jobbers' houses or present themselves at the mill gates early in the morning, inquiring whether there are vacancies. The jobbers and mukadams are notoriously corrupt and do not hesitate to extort bribes. Something has to be paid at the time of entering service and on the first and every subsequent pay day in order to keep the jobber in good humour. Recently, at the instance of the labour union, about two dozen jobbers and one spinning master have been dismissed for corruption, and this has had some effect on other jobbers. As a result of the persistent propaganda of the labour union, the workers are also becoming more and more conscious of their rights with the result that in recent years corruption has to some extent decreased.

It is of interest to point out here that the mill jobbers recruit Dhed boys from neighbouring villages and enter into contracts with their parents to pay them about Rs. 30 per annum and feed, clothe, and house the boys in return for their earnings. In the case of grown-up boys who can work full time the amount offered per annum varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 125. The contract is generally entered into for two or three years.

A similar system to that obtaining in the mill industry exists amongst labourers employed in the docks. The firms of stevedores do not engage their men themselves. They select foremen known as mukadams or tindals, each of whom collects a gang usually of nine men. The money paid for the work done is given to the tindal or mukadam and not to the individual workers and it is quite open to the tindal to pay the men as small a sum as they will accept. The latter also endeavours to increase his own remuneration by putting fewer men into the gang than the employer is paying for.

Speaking generally, this system of paying something to the foreman exists wherever large bodies of labour are employed. It is to some extent connected with the fact that industrial labour still continues, although to a less degree than formerly, to be recruited from outside the city. Young men or older men who have been out of the industry for some time come to Bombay and take up their quarters, either with a relative, or with someone from the same village. These people are usually associated with a jobber or mukadam from the same part of the country, and he helps to keep the new comer until he can be found a job, charging, of course, something for his services. Some of these jobbers and mukadams therefore tend to have a position which is something analogous to that of the Patil or Headman of a village. In the case of Kanarese speaking labourers from the south of the Presidency and the Nizam's dominions, the experience of the commissioner for workmen's compensation suggests that their mukadam is a very important factor in their lives. While, therefore, the system of recruiting labour leads to corruption or worse, it has its beneficial aspects. The evils, however, outweigh the benefits, but it is not easy to suggest a system to replace it because the peculiar social organization of the workers and the attitude of mind of many Indians of higher intelligence than mill hands to expect to pay for favours received makes any radical change difficult to undertake. It appears to the Government of Bombay that well organized trade unions could do much to put down the nuisance by impressing on the men their rights and by taking up every case of corruption which is brought to their notice. It has been suggested that if the jobbers were recruited from a better educated class, corruption would be diminished and recruitment made on a fairer basis. The only solution appears to be better educated workers and heads of departments, determined to stop corruption even if for the time being it leads to less efficiency. The most important of all perhaps, is that labour should be organized and that unions should not accept jobbers as members. These could very well form a union of their own, which would be a valuable addition to organized labour within the industry, but they should not be associated with unions primarily intended to further the interests of the men, and one of these interests is directly opposed to the interests of the jobber.

Desirability of Establishing Public Employment Agencies.—The Government of Bombay are not in a position to express any considered opinion on the question of the desirability of establishing public employment agencies, either as a method of dealing with unemployment or as an alternative to the existing system of recruitment. It is understood that the question is already under the consideration of the Government of India, and it would be premature, therefore, for the Government of Bombay to express any opinion on the subject. Owing to the prevailing financial stringency the Government of Bombay would not in any case be in a position to start public employment exchanges. Moreover, these depend for success on the close co-operation of the organizations of the masters on the one hand, and the organizations of the men on the other and there is no reason to believe that this would be forthcoming. Besides this, the Government of Bombay are not aware of there being any serious demand on the part of the public for starting such agencies. It is often forgotten that employment exchanges cannot create employment. Their function is so to regulate the supply of labour that no job remains unfilled for want of men. This involves a willingness on the part of labour to go anywhere when a job is vacant. It is very doubtful if the workers themselves would accept such a system. If the exchanges are intended as recruitment offices then it appears to the Government of Bombay that the industries themselves should first take up this work before asking for Government intervention.

A special recruiting officer has recently been appointed in the office of the shipping master at the instance of the unions and the Government of Bombay will watch with interest the effect of the experiment.

In this connection it might be pointed out that it is understood that the labour union at Ahmedabad has under contemplation the establishment of a labour exchange, under the joint management of the labour union and the millowners' association. The details of the scheme have not yet been worked out, but it is reported that the scheme, when finally evolved, is likely to meet with the approval of the millowners' association.

Extent and Effects of Disturbance of Family Life.—The industrial worker when he first leaves his village to take up employment in the cities usually goes alone although he may be married. He does not bring his family until either he has settled down or his wife has become old enough to look after the house. In the meanwhile he lives as a boarder in some family and is exposed to all the temptations of the life of a great city. Social workers will no doubt be able to give some estimate as to the effect of urban life on the rural immigrant and its relation to his physical and moral well-being. It is not a subject on which the Government have made specific enquiries.

Another important question is of the effect of women's work in factories on the family life of industrial workers. Owing to the system of early marriage, the majority of women employed in factories in this Presidency are married. Factory work, therefore, entails upon them a double responsibility, viz., looking after the home and the children, and work in factories. It is a common practice in the cities of this Presidency for women workers to administer opium to their children in order to lull them to sleep when they are away at their work. Sometimes the children are handed over to neighbours to look after in consideration of a small amount. Occasionally a child of school-going age is entrusted with the care of little children, and this interferes with his schooling. The investigations made by the lady doctor appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into the question of maternity benefits, whose report was published in the September, 1922, issue of the *Labour Gazette*, showed that opium is given to 98 per cent. of the children of factory workers. The family budget enquiries made by the Labour Office in Ahmedabad and Sholapur, also suggest that opium is administered to children both in Sholapur and Ahmedabad.

Recruitment of Seamen—Existing practice and the effects of changes introduced in Calcutta.—The P. & O. S. N. Company and the B. I. S. N. Company and one or two smaller companies recruit their own seamen. In the case of the other companies recruitment is made through the Shipping Office. A special officer for the recruitment of seamen has recently been appointed and has taken over charge of his new duties as from the 1st July. He keeps a register of the leading hands in each department, i.e., deck and engine-room serangs and butlers, and sees that they are given an opportunity for selection by rotation, that is, according to the time each man has been out of employment. The actual selection, however, lies with the shipping companies and their officers who maintain the right of selection independently of the above rotation. The serangs and butlers, when selected, usually bring the men who are to work under them subject to the approval of the selecting officer. If the serang or butler is unable to make up the full complement of the crew, the men are obtained with the aid of the licensed shipping brokers.

The effect of the changes introduced in Calcutta is not known.

Unemployment—Extent and character.—As there is no organization in this Presidency, nor in India, which maintains unemployment records, it is impossible to describe statistically the extent and character of industrial unemployment. Unemployment figures in England and elsewhere are derived from the Trade Unions or from the Employment Exchanges. No such sources are available in India. Any opinions expressed on this subject therefore have no statistical foundation and are merely inferences drawn from conditions or circumstances. For example, the disturbed condition of the cotton mill industry in Bombay City during the last few years, due to strikes and poor trade, must have caused a certain amount of unemployment quite apart from the participants in the strike itself. But apart from these circumstances there does exist a certain amount of unemployment among those desirous of working in the textile industry. It is not possible to state the numbers of those unemployed but it was by no means rare for the lady investigators of the Bombay Labour Office during their house to house visits in connection with social and economic enquiries, to come across persons who were unable to find employment. In any industrial city, even in prosperous times, there is always a labour reserve or labour pool consisting of persons who have no regular job, and it is particularly noticeable in Bombay, where absenteeism is fairly high and where the "badli," or substitute system, is a feature of the labour market. It is only when the reserve becomes unduly large that its existence creates an unemployment problem. The conclusion reached by the Fawcett Committee was that the general strike of last year was largely due to the fear of unemployment owing to the introduction of the standardization and efficiency schemes which it was estimated would mean a reduction of approximately 13,000 operatives. In this connection the following figures are of interest :—

Year.						Average daily number of persons employed in cotton spinning and weaving mills in Bombay City.
1921	..	..	..	..	..	146,300
1922	..	..	..	..	..	151,241
1923	..	..	..	..	..	144,676
1924	..	..	..	..	..	144,547
1925	..	..	..	..	..	146,244
1926	..	..	..	..	..	148,254
1927	..	..	..	..	..	145,005

It will be clear from the above figures that in spite of the growth in population (and incidentally in the supply of labour) the demand for labour has not kept pace with the supply

In Ahmedabad, new cotton mills are being erected and there is considerable activity in the cotton mill industry. About half a dozen mills are working a night shift and consequently, instead of there being any unemployment among cotton mill workers, there is actually a slight shortage of weavers. In the engineering departments of the mills, however, the supply of fitters, carpenters, etc., is somewhat in excess of the demand, and there is also a certain amount of unemployment among casual workers. But it can safely be said that in Ahmedabad and in Sholapur unemployment does not exist to any appreciable extent. As has been pointed out by the tariff board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry), the depression has not affected the up-country centres as it has the Bombay industry. In fact, Ahmedabad has been finding more and more employment for labour every year. In the case of the Sholapur textile industry also demand for labour seems to be growing, though at a smaller pace than in Ahmedabad. The following figures regarding the number of persons employed in the Ahmedabad and Sholapur mills are of interest :—

Year.						Average daily number of persons employed in cotton spinning and weaving mills in	
						Ahmedabad.	Sholapur.
1921	..	..	..	..	..	54,654	18,355
1922	..	..	..	..	..	54,761	16,830
1923	..	..	..	..	..	54,473	17,322
1924	..	..	..	..	..	53,162	17,816
1925	..	..	..	..	..	56,378	18,416
1926	..	..	..	..	..	57,723	19,263
1927	..	..	..	..	..	59,716	19,587

As regards cotton gins and presses in the Presidency, it would appear that the number of persons employed in this industry during the last few years has tended to increase. In 1925 the number of workers was 44,387, in 1926, 47,457, and in 1927, 46,535. But this is essentially a seasonal industry, both in the sense that it only provides work during certain periods of the year and also that it is dependent on the size of the cotton crop.

As regards seamen, opinions differ as to the intensity of unemployment, and also as to its nature. The Indian Seamen's Union contend that it is serious and their opinion is supported by an enquiry made by the Social Service League. The shipping master estimates an annual average demand of 31,118 seamen, but as approximately 7,000 re-engage three times a year, only 10,118 are actually required. He puts the total available supply of men at 26,460, which gives a total of 16,342 unemployed. This is a formidable total. According to the shipping master, 55 per cent. represent recently discharged and newly registered men awaiting employment, and 15 per cent. are men temporarily recruited during the war who still try to obtain work as seamen. The shipping master estimates that 10 per cent. of the men abandon the sea every year for a number of years and 5 per cent. for work on the land during part of the year. Five per cent. are men of bad character, the same percentage are unfit, and the remaining 5 per cent. are accounted for by the refusal of one line to employ Bombay men.

Application of International Conventions relating to unemployment.—As regards the application of International Conventions relating to unemployment, in the short time at their disposal, the Government of Bombay are not in a position to formulate any conclusions. They would, however, like to draw the attention of the Commission to a tentative scheme for dealing with unemployment suggested by the Fawcett Committee which enquired into the causes, etc., of the general strike last year in the textile mills and which published its report early this year. The Committee refer to the unemployment likely to result from the policy of "rationalisation" and in order to reduce the consequent hardship have made the following suggestion: "The Millowners' Association should consider the feasibility of a scheme for the payment of a gratuity to a worker, which may amount to say, four weeks' or six weeks' wages according to his length of service, payable in suitable cases of discharged employees who may need help during the waiting period while they are seeking employment. With this view, we suggest the formation of what we may call an 'Out of work Donation Fund' on a voluntary basis, to be created by a system of setting aside a contribution by the millowners of one anna per operative per month (which means virtually a contribution from the shareholders), to which fund the operatives, through their representatives, should be invited to contribute one anna or at least half-anna per head per month. As there are about 150,000 operatives in the textile trade in Bombay, we expect this will yield on the one anna basis about Rs. 18,750 per month, i.e., Rs. 2,25,000 per year, or in the case of the half-anna basis about Rs. 14,000 per month, or Rs. 1,68,000 per year. We have reason to believe that such a small contribution will not be felt a burden in the case of the workers, especially by the weavers, whose wages are about Rs. 50 per month. This fund could be administered in consultation with the labour leaders through the joint committee to be set up, or through a separate committee if necessary for this special purpose. Rules for the administration of this fund can be framed by the committee, and the position reviewed from time to time as 'Rationalisation' proceeds."

Neither rationalization nor standardization has yet been introduced in the textile industry in Bombay City and the Government of Bombay has no information in its possession to suggest that unemployment exists amongst industrial workers to any serious extent. Certainly there is nothing like an unemployment problem amongst such workers.

Labour "Turnover."—Average duration of employment and extent of casual employment.—The information on this subject is somewhat scanty. It is therefore difficult to discuss at any length the question of the average duration of employment and the extent of casual employment in the various industrial centres of the Bombay Presidency. The charge is very often levelled at the cotton mill workers, especially those working in Bombay City, that owing to their migratory character there is a great deal of absenteeism resulting in loss of efficiency and that the workers change their mills from time to time. The question of absenteeism received the attention of the Indian Tariff Board (cotton textile industry enquiry) and it was urged in evidence before them that the efficiency of labour in Bombay was greatly reduced by the high percentage of absenteeism among the operatives. The Board came to the conclusion, on the basis of the absenteeism statistics supplied by the labour office, that Ahmedabad had a great advantage over Bombay in the matter of absenteeism both in respect of a low rate throughout the year and also of the absence of the wide seasonal variations which were apparent in other centres. They therefore recommended that in order to minimize the effect of absenteeism there

should be a general adoption of a system, already in force in a few mills in Bombay, under which a certain number of spare hands are entertained in each department, except the weaving. They said "The percentage of extra men in each department is not necessarily the same, but we were given to understand that, spread over the whole of the mill, it usually worked out at about 10 per cent. The spare men are borne on the pay roll and receive their wages even if the full complement of workers in their departments is present. It may thus occasionally happen that the number of men on the pay roll for a particular day may be in excess of the labour force necessary for the efficient working of the mill, but the figures for absenteeism seem to indicate that this is seldom the case since the absenteeism generally exceeds 10 per cent. In any event, any loss to the mill on this account should be much more than made up by a gain in efficiency for it will be obvious that men who are already employed in the mill and are familiar with its conditions and machinery must be of greater use than men casually recruited on the day for which their services are required. We consider the general adoption of this system most desirable. It would, moreover, facilitate the grant of leave to operatives on a regular system such as we found in force in a mill in Madras."

It is understood that this recommendation has not been adopted in the mill industry.

There are three sources from which information can be obtained on the question of labour turnover. These are: (1) the monthly absenteeism statistics published by the Bombay Labour Office, (2) the results of the wage census conducted by the labour office in the year 1926, and (3) the results of an enquiry, conducted by the labour office in the year 1927-28, into the length of service of mill operatives in Bombay City. As is pointed out in the section dealing with "Intelligence," the monthly absenteeism statistics may not be strictly accurate owing to possible variations in the filling up of returns, because all mills do not follow a uniform practice with regard to marking absentees. The statistics obtained as a result of the wage census of 1926, however, are quite accurate and these show that in Bombay City absenteeism for all workpeople in the textile mills comes to 8.26 per cent. It is 4.35 per cent in the case of weavers, 7.13 per cent. in the case of all male operatives (including weavers), and 11.86 per cent. in the case of women. In Ahmedabad the percentage absenteeism amongst all workpeople (men and women) comes to 7.90, being 10.76 per cent. for weavers, 8.04 per cent. for men (including weavers), and 7.40 per cent. for women. Absenteeism in Sholapur is the highest in the Presidency being 12.19 per cent. for all workpeople (including men and women), 15.07 per cent. for weavers, 12.49 per cent. for men (including weavers) and 10.81 per cent. for women workers only. The figures given above for Ahmedabad and Sholapur are provisional and subject to correction.

The following table based on data collected by the labour office in the course of an enquiry into the length of service of Bombay mill operatives may be of interest in connection with the question of the average duration of employment of cotton mill workers in Bombay City:—

Analysis of Workers according to the length of Service and number of Mills in which service has been spent.

Approximate period of total service in years.	Number of cases in which the following number of mills were served.								Total	Percentage to total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 and over.		
Below 5 ..	341	104	41	14	6	—	—	—	506	37.54
5-10 ..	132	82	47	39	6	6	2	1	315	23.37
10-15 ..	58	53	47	23	19	8	4	2	214	15.88
15-20 ..	42	18	18	14	11	12	5	3	123	9.13
20-25 ..	31	18	9	12	11	4	2	—	87	6.45
25-30 ..	18	6	5	4	6	1	2	4	46	3.41
30-35 ..	10	3	3	1	4	1	2	1	25	1.85
35-40 ..	5	5	1	1	—	2	1	—	15	1.11
40-45 ..	4	2	1	—	1	—	1	—	9	0.67
45 and over..	2	3	—	2	—	—	—	1	8	0.59
Total ..	643	294	172	110	64	34	19	12	1,348	100.00
Percentage to total ..	47.70	21.81	12.76	8.16	4.75	2.52	1.41	0.89	100.00	—

As a regular system of granting leave to operatives does not exist in the mills of the Presidency, workers who go on short or long leave usually give substitutes who are known as *badlis*. No figures are available as to the number of persons who are casually employed but, as most of the vacancies are filled, the percentage of casual employees would be approximately the same as the percentage of absentees in the various mills of the Presidency.

Chapter II.—Staff Organization.

Selection of Managing Staff.—In the cotton textile industry in Bombay City the majority of the managers are Lancashire men directly recruited from England. The tendency in recent years, however, is to replace Englishmen by Indians.

In Ahmedabad the agents themselves personally manage the mills in the majority of cases.

Recruitment and Training of Subordinate Supervising Staff.—The subordinate supervising staff, so far as the cotton textile industry in this Presidency is concerned, is generally recruited from among the operatives. The highest rank such persons reach is, however, that of the jobber. There are no special facilities provided for the training of such persons except in the small textile school, conducted in Bombay by the Social Service League at Parel.

There are two fairly large technical institutes in this Presidency, one in Bombay and the other at Ahmedabad. The Victoria Jubilee Technical School in Bombay is doing, as pointed out by the Indian Tariff Board, excellent work in regard to the training of the supervising staff both by its regular courses and by its short courses, which are held on Saturday afternoons and are attended by apprentices already at work in the mills. Persons who have passed out from this institute after serving for a few years in the mills have an opportunity of rising to the position of heads of departments such as a spinning master or a weaving master.

In connection with the technical training of operatives, the following observations made by the Indian Tariff Board (cotton textile industry enquiry) are of interest : " We cannot too strongly emphasise the necessity for the provision of more facilities for technical education if the efficiency of the mill operative is to be improved within a reasonable period. A beginning should obviously be made with jobbers and those who wish to qualify themselves as such. We, therefore, recommend the early establishment of trade schools in two or three convenient centres in Bombay. This is obviously a matter for joint action by Government and the mill industry. The latter, in present conditions, is not, however, in a position to find funds for this purpose and a subsidy towards it might well be given from the funds which would be available if the proposals which the majority of us put forward elsewhere are accepted. We consider that attendance at such schools should be treated as attendance in the mills and that certificates should be issued at the end of the course, the details of which would be worked out by the Department of Industries in consultation with the mill industry.

" A number of technical books and pamphlets on all branches of the industry of which he makes good use are available to the cotton mill operative in England. No steps in this direction have so far been taken in India, though there are a number of jobbers and operatives who could profit from such pamphlets if they were drawn up in the vernacular on the right lines and contained simple instructions with plentiful illustrations. A pamphlet drawn up for weavers would, for example, contain instructions as to the best methods of setting loom parts, the proper care of healds, reeds and shuttles and so on. Pamphlets of this character have, we believe, been issued by the Department of Industries in Madras for the use of handloom weavers. We would suggest that the matter should be taken up by the Department of Industries in Bombay in consultation with the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Association and the Principal, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay."

Relations between Staff and Rank and File—Works committees.—Apart from the staff councils which exist on the G.I.P. and the B.B. & C.I. Railways which will be dealt with under the heading " joint standing machinery for regulation of relations between employers and workpeople " in Chapter XIII, there is, as far as Government are aware, no system resembling works committees in industrial concerns in the Bombay Presidency either on the German or the English model. That is to say, there is no system whereby by reason of agreement with employers, workers are given a wider interest in, and a greater responsibility for, the conditions under which their work is carried on. The constitutions of the Bombay Textile Labour Union and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union provide for the creation, at each centre, of mill committees, but the millowners do not recognise these committees except in so far as they recognise the trade union. The mill committee is merely part of the trade

union organization for ascertaining and representing grievances. It may or may not be recognized by the management. The Bombay Textile Labour Union reports that its mill committees have been functioning successfully since the formation of the union in 1926.

The Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union has alleged, that individual mills in Bombay had adopted a deliberate policy of wrecking their mill committees by victimising those workers who had been elected on them. This matter was one of the issues on which the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union called a general strike of the workers in the Bombay mills with effect from the 26th April, 1929. No information is available as to the manner in which these mill committees functioned, but the whole question is under the examination of the court of enquiry appointed under the Trade Disputes Act for enquiring into the causes, etc., of this strike. Full information with regard to these committees will therefore be available in the report of the court.

Contractors as Intermediaries—Extent and character of work given on contract.—Most of the information available on this subject relates to the Public Works Department of the Government of Bombay.

Contractors are not employed either in the Presidency proper or in Sind, as intermediaries for obtaining labour, except when labour is required to be imported for special large concentrated works, such as the construction of dams. Works costing Rs. 5,000 and over are as a rule given out on contract unless the work is of such a nature as to necessitate its being carried out departmentally. In the case of works carried out departmentally the department engages labour direct, and for works given out on contract the contractors make their own arrangements for labour.

The following kinds of work are generally given out on contract: road construction and road repair work, buildings, bridges, electrical installation projects, sanitary projects, irrigation works and in the case of Lloyd barrage construction, excavation of new canals and masonry work pertaining to the barrage and regulators and work in cofferdams.

Extent of sub-contracting.—Sub-contracting is not permitted by the department under the usual conditions of contract. On large works, however, the contractors do not employ the several kinds of labour on daily wages but on task work and the amount paid to each individual or group of individuals depends on the quantity of work turned out irrespective of the time taken over the work. So far as Lloyd barrage is concerned every proper contract is thus sublet in varying degrees by the contractor. The regular contractor is held responsible in all respects for the proper execution of the work.

Control exercised over working conditions.—The Public Works Department does not exercise any special control over the working conditions of contract labour. The only control exercised is in ensuring that the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act are complied with and that any conditions of the contract regarding employment of women and children are conformed to. In the case of large concentrated works, camps are laid out by Government engineers and proper provision is made for water supply, sanitation, medical assistance, etc. Dispensaries and wards to accommodate accident cases are also provided in large concentrated works and medical officers are made available for free treatment of persons employed on the works. Occasionally materials, such as corrugated iron sheets, are hired or loaned to contractors for housing their workmen. Indirect control is also exercised in the case of complaints against the contractor being received from labourers and when necessary, action is taken after due enquiry.

Effects.—The general effect of the employment of contractors as intermediaries in the manner described above is satisfactory.

This system of contracting out is not confined to engineering, building and constructional work generally. In the docks, for example, the master stevedores have no direct contact with labour. Each firm employs a head Serang or Mukadam. When labour is required he gets into touch with other Serangs or Mukadams who engage gangs of men, each of whom is under a Tindal. Even the head Serang knows nothing about the individuals who are employed. He deals with the Tindals, who are paid a lump sum which they pay out to the men they engage, and the cheaper they get the men the more money the Tindal receives, and if he can employ fewer men and not be detected by the Serang, as very often happens, so much the better for him.

Another form of contracting out is found in the match factories, where box-making is done by men and women and children working at home, the material being supplied by the factory. Dyeing and bleaching work in the cotton mills in the Bombay Presidency is also generally given out on contract although some mills have their own dyeing and bleaching plant.

Chapter III.—Housing.

Extent to which Housing is Provided by Employers.—In the course of an enquiry into welfare work in the Bombay Presidency which the Labour Office conducted in the year 1926 information was collected regarding housing provided by employers. Out of 76 textile mills in Bombay City which furnished information, 28 mills reported that housing had been provided for their workers. Seven out of these mills provide residential accommodation only for Ramosees, gate-keepers and night watchmen and the rooms provided are given free of rent. The number thus accommodated was reported at 147. Twenty-two mills provide partial housing for all operatives who desire to take advantage of the special facilities offered. The total number of employees working in these mills amounted to 64,720 and the number of workers who lived in the tenements provided by the employers amounted to 12,149 or about 20 per cent.

In the textile mills in Ahmedabad 37 mills provide housing for their employees. Out of these, two mills give free accommodation to their Ramosees, gate-keepers and night watchmen. Thirty-five mills provide housing for all classes of employees. The number of workers working in these mills amounted to 34,714 and the number who took advantage of the housing provided amounted to 5,605 or 16 per cent. of the total number employed.

All the five mills in Sholapur provide housing for their employees. The accommodation provided is not sufficient to house all the 20,000 odd workers who work in these mills. The number of workers who are reported to have taken advantage of the facilities offered amounted to 2,406 or 12 per cent. of the total number employed.

Out of 11 textile mills who sent in returns from the rest of the districts in the Bombay Presidency ten mills provided housing. In one case 50 employees were accommodated rent free and in another case 25 employees out of 250 reside in the houses provided. The total number of employees in the ten mills amounted to 13,322 and the number of those accommodated in the tenements provided amounted to 5,568 or 42 per cent. of the total.

Among the concerns included in the enquiry under "Engineering and other trades," only three establishments provide free housing for sepoys and gate-keepers. The number accommodated is 30.

In the seasonal factories in the Presidency it is customary to provide single room tenements for the engine, boiler and mechanical staff. In Sind, quarters are often provided for the early morning workers in the ginning factories, while in other areas some factories provide corrugated iron sheets for the erection of temporary quarters for labour drawn from a distance. In Sind, where the bulk of the labour is obtained from Rajputana, labour colonies are built on the outskirts of the towns or villages. Huts are usually made of thatch by the workers themselves. In several areas imported workers are given old hessian cloth or matting to erect temporary accommodation which is often of the most primitive description.

Messrs. Braithwaite & Co. at Mulund, the Swedish Match Factory at Ambernath and the Raymond Woollen Mills at Thana provide 216 rooms, accommodation for 700 employees, and 128 rooms respectively for the workers employed by them.

Only in two cases does Government provide housing for the labour employed by them in factories. At the Government Security Printing Press at Nasik and the Government Central Distillery at Nasik which employ 517 and 242 persons respectively, 580 two and one-room tenements and 150 quarters respectively are provided.

The Public Works Department of the Government of Bombay does not provide housing accommodation as a rule for labourers employed on works carried out either departmentally or by contract. In the case of large concentrated works quarters are provided for skilled labour, such as carpenters, fitters, mistries, blacksmiths, etc. On the Lloyd Barrage Construction provision has been made for housing labour in blocks of coolie lines on each bank of the river. In the case of labour more or less continuously employed by Government directly, that is, without the intervention of contractors or piece workers, housing arrangements are generally provided. On the excavation of new canals where mechanical excavators are used all the labour employed is provided with accommodation either in the form of tents or huts.

Besides the factory owners and Government departments other large employers of labour are the Bombay Municipality, the Bombay Port Trust, the Bombay Improvement Trust and the G. I. P. and B. B. and C. I. Railways. As regards the

Bombay Municipality, in the Fire Brigade Department the whole staff is provided with quarters. In the Health Department, out of a total number of 7,537 scavengers and halalkhores accommodation is provided for 5,538. In the Municipal Hospital and College in Bombay City all the 226 employees are provided with housing accommodation. In the Gardens Department all the 39 employees are provided with housing. Of the 600 employees of the Drainage Department only 13 are provided with housing. In the general branch of the Engineering Department all the 289 employees are provided with housing accommodation. In the Mechanical Branch of the Engineering Department 104 employees out of a total of 664 are provided with housing accommodation. In the Roads Branch of the Engineering Department only 165 employees out of 1,545 are provided with accommodation. In the Markets Department 106 out of 135 are provided with accommodation. In the Water Department housing arrangements are made for 279 employees out of a total of 605.

The Bombay Port Trust engage on an average about 8,300 manual workers in all its departments, of whom a little over 3,000 are housed in accommodation provided by the Trust. The percentage of workers housed to the total number employed is about 36. These workers are housed in the Trust Dock Labourers' chawls at Wadi Bunder, at the Antop village and at the railway quarters for menials at Wadala.

The Bombay Improvement Trust houses its labour in its various schemes. It has built semi-permanent sheds for labour camps and in these camps there are sufficient rooms to house all its labourers. In all it has built 1,331 tenements for housing its labour.

According to information collected by the Bombay Labour Office in the year 1925, in Bombay City, the G. I. P. Railway owns 20 chawls containing 841 one-roomed tenements and the B. B. and C. I. Railway owns 303 tenements of one room each for housing its employees.

By Government or other Public Agency.—Government.—The Government of Bombay have provided 207 chawls or 16,524 single room tenements for the working classes in Bombay City at four different centres as under :—

Chawl area.	No. of chawls.	No. of tenements.
DeLisle Road	32	2,560
Naigaum	42	3,344
Worli	121	9,660
Sewri	12	960
Total	207	16,524

The sites for the chawls selected are such that a majority of the mills in Bombay are within a mile of one or other of the chawl sites. About 34,000 persons are housed in these tenements.

The Improvement Trust.—Besides Government, the only other public agency which provides housing to any large extent is the Bombay Improvement Trust. The position as at 1st June, 1925, was that the Improvement Trust owned 99 chawls containing 8,896 tenements in all.

By private Landlords and Workers.—As regards the extent to which housing is provided by private landlords and by the workers themselves, no statistical information is available on this subject. It might be pointed out, however, that the majority of the tenements available for the use of the working classes in the industrial towns of this Presidency belong to private landlords. Cases in which workers own the houses in which they live are rare although in some cases, especially among the cotton mill workers in Sholapur, a considerable number of operatives live in huts erected by themselves on land either belonging to themselves or rented from a private person.

Nature of Accommodation Provided in Each Class.—According to the census of 1921, 70 per cent. of the tenements in Bombay City were one-roomed tenements. The family budget investigation conducted by the Labour Office in the year 1921-22 showed that 97 per cent. of the working classes live in one-roomed tenements. These tenements are to be found in single or double rows in buildings locally known as chawls. The average area per working class room is 103.6 square feet, giving 24.7 square feet for each individual. The height of the rooms is usually from 8 to 10 feet.

The family budget investigation conducted by the Labour Office in Ahmedabad shows that 73 per cent. of the working classes live in one-roomed tenements, 18 per cent. live in two-roomed tenements and the rest in tenements containing more than two rooms. The average floor space in one-roomed tenements comes to 143·22 square feet thus giving each person 38·29 square feet of floor space. The average floor space for all tenements comes to 183·74 square feet giving 47·36 square feet per person.

The results of the family budget enquiry conducted by the Labour Office in Sholapur in the year 1925 show that the majority of the workers there live in two or more rooms. It is seen that 33 per cent. of the cotton mill workers live in one-roomed tenements, 48 per cent. in two-roomed tenements and the rest in more than two rooms. The average floor space per room in Sholapur comes to 92 square feet and the average floor space available to each individual is 36 square feet.

The above description relates to accommodation available to the working classes in the three industrial centres of this Presidency.

Employers.—Appendix I gives the details regarding the nature of accommodation provided by certain individual employers in the Bombay Presidency.

Cotton Mill Industry.—As regards the nature of accommodation provided by cotton mill owners in the Presidency, the predominant type of housing in Bombay and Ahmedabad is the single room tenement. In Sholapur, the tenements built by the owners contain two rooms.

Improvement Trust.—The quarters provided consist of semi-permanent sheds built of corrugated iron sheet walls and roof with an open verandah in front. The accommodation provided is a living room 10 feet by 10 feet and an outer verandah 10 feet by 5 feet. Some rooms have no verandah.

Bombay Municipality.—The accommodation supplied is provided in permanent or semi-permanent chawls or in temporary sheds. Single room tenements are mostly provided although in some cases double room tenements are also provided.

Port Trust.—The accommodation is provided in chawls of single and double row type and also in small detached houses of corrugated iron. The predominant type of tenement is the one-roomed tenement.

Mines and Quarries.—With the exception of three mines in Kanara, where the labourers have to provide themselves with temporary huts, all labour is huted by the employers. In the case of the Shirolvi mines the temporary huts erected by the labourers are reported to afford insufficient protection from cold weather with consequent frequent illness.

In the Bombay Suburban District, the Development Department provides for the employees in the Kandivli mines 500 rooms in good and sanitary condition which are supplied to the labourers free of rent. In the mines and quarries situated in the Northern Division, at the Shivrajpur and Bamankua mines the housing is partly in stone built quarters and partly in matting lines. At the Taibpur Bauxite Mines it is of matting lines with corrugated iron roofs. At the Jakhed quarry the contractor provides huts constructed of wooden rafters and bamboo matting. At the quarries in Surat district, temporary huts are erected for labourers in some quarries while at others no housing is required to be provided as the labourers return to their village homes after work.

Government or other Public Agency.—The housing supplied by Government in Bombay City consists mainly of one-roomed tenements, approximately 16 feet by 10 feet in size. The Improvement Trust chawls which are available to the public also contain mostly one-roomed tenements.

Private Landlords.—There are some chawls in Bombay City owned by private landlords and used by the working classes which contain two or more roomed tenements. But the predominant type is the single roomed tenement.

Workers.—The housing provided by the workers themselves usually takes the form of huts.

Utilization by Workers of Accommodation Available.—Speaking generally, in Bombay City, the workers use to the fullest the available accommodation. The only exception to this is the accommodation provided by the Government of Bombay in the concrete chawls built by the Development Department. Out of a total of 16,524 tenements available in March 1929, only 6,805 were occupied. This low figure was however partly due to the disturbed industrial conditions. The highest number of tenants recorded was reached in December, 1927, when it stood at 8,234. All the chawls have been provided with roads, water supply, lighting and shops, while at Worli one whole floor has been converted into a market for the convenience of the tenants. Schools and dispensaries are also established in all the chawl areas.

The following table shows the number of vacancies in March, 1928, and March, 1929, in the Development Department's chawls situated in the various localities of the city.

Chawl centre	Number of rooms			Rent per room in March 1929
	Constructed	Occupied in March 1928	Occupied in March 1929	
Naigaum	3,344	2,363	2,210	Rs. a. 7 0
DeLisle Road	2,560	1,761	1,318	9 8*
Worli.	9,660	2,692	2,498	5 0
Sewri	960	862	779	7 0

* For ground, first and second floor rooms. Rs. 9 only for top floor rooms.

In Ahmedabad, the available accommodation is fully utilized by the workers except in the case of the housing provided; at Saranagar by one of the millowners where only 40 out of the 50 tenements provided are occupied and the rest are empty. The reason for this is that Saranagar is situated rather far away from the city and workers do not like to go to such a long distance.

Rent Rates in Various Classes.—Employers.—Cotton Mill Industry.—The enquiry made by the Bombay Labour Office into welfare work in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1926, showed that out of the 28 textile mills in Bombay City which provided housing, full economic rent was charged in 2 cases and 1 mill let their rooms partly at a favourable and partly at the full economic rent. Fifteen mills charged favourable rent but 4 mills gave some tenements free and let the remainder at rents which were less than the economic rent. Sixteen mills supplied information with regard to the percentage of rent charged to the economic rent. In 3 cases, 30 to 40 per cent. was charged, in 9 cases 40 to 50 per cent. was charged, in 3 cases 50 to 75 per cent. was charged and in 1 case the rent charged was more than 75 per cent. of the economic rent.

In the textile industry in Ahmedabad, full economic rent was charged by 9 mills and 1 mill charged rent partly at the full economic value and partly on a favourable basis. Eighteen mills reported the percentage of rent charged to the economic rent. In 1 case, 25 per cent. was charged, in another 50 per cent., in 5 cases 60 to 65 per cent., in 2 cases 70 per cent., in 5 cases 75 per cent., in 2 cases 80 per cent., and in 2 cases 85 to 90 per cent.

In the case of the Sholapur mills, favourable rent was charged by all the mills. In 2 cases, the rent charged was 25 per cent. of the economic rent, in 1 case 50 per cent., in 1 case 50 to 60 per cent. and in 1 case 85 per cent.

As regards the textile mills in the rest of the British districts of the Presidency, full economic rent was charged by 1 mill, 40 to 45 per cent. of the economic rent was charged in 1 case, 50 per cent. in 4 cases and 75 per cent. in, 1 case.

The Bombay Municipality.—No rent is charged by the Bombay Municipality to its employees in the fire brigade department. In the health department 10 annas per month are charged to each halalkhore, man or woman, 8 annas per month for each male scavenger and 5 annas per month for each female scavenger. Rs. 2 per month are charged for each outsider who is a male relative of a municipal employee and Rs. 1 per month for each outsider who is a female relative of the employee. In the municipal hospital, accommodation is provided free of charge to the employees. In the gardens department, out of the 39 rooms provided, a monthly rent of 3 annas per room is charged in 22 cases, while the other rooms are rent free. In the roads branch of the engineering department a rent of 10 annas per month for a male labourer and 5 annas per month for a female labourer is charged. The relatives of the employees are allowed to keep the tenements on payment of a monthly rental of Rs. 2 in case of a male and Re. 1 in case of a female. In the other departments of the Municipality no rent is charged.

Bombay Port Trust.—The accommodation provided by the Bombay Port Trust is given either rent free or at favourable monthly rentals up to Rs. 7·8 annas per unit, according to the class of workers keeping the quarters. In the case of the dock coolies, who form the largest proportion of the labour housed, Rs. 7·8 annas per unit is regarded as 50 per cent. of the economic rent.

Bombay Improvement Trust.—No rent is charged to the employees but in some cases sanitary charges are recovered. This comes to about 4 annas per fortnight. Sweepers are charged rents at Rs. 2·4 annas to Rs. 6·10 annas per month per room. Two malis are charged Rs. 2·8 annas and Rs. 2·5 annas respectively as rent.

Government or other Public Agency.—The following is the scale of rents charged, with effect from 1st April, 1929, by Government for the tenements in the chawls built by the Bombay Development Department:—

Chawls at De Lisle Road	Rs. 8 per room per month.
„ Naigaum	„ 7 „ „
„ Worli	„ 5 „ „
„ Sewri	„ 7 „ „

Re. 1 is charged extra for certain corner rooms. These rents are much below the economic rents.

Improvement Trust.—The data regarding the rents charged by the Bombay Improvement Trust relate to the year 1925. The rents charged per room to tenants who are not employees of the Trust are given below:—

	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Suparibag	3 12 0	Foras Road	13 5 0
Agripada	4 1 0	Peon Chawl	13 13 0
Imamwada	4 11 0	New Kalapani	14 0 0
Nagpada	4 11 0	Mazgaon	14 5 0
Nowroji Hill	5 2 0	Kalapani	14 8 0
Mandvi Koliwada	5 14 0	Love Lane	16 8 0
Mahar Chawls	7 3 0		

Private Landlords.—The Bombay Labour Office made in 1923-24 an enquiry into house rents in Bombay. The data collected related to rents charged by private landlords. The data relating to rents were tabulated separately for one- and two-roomed tenements and also for old and new buildings, i.e., those built after 1st January, 1916. Rents were limited by the Rent Act to certain percentages over pre-war rents. The following table gives the results of the enquiry:—

Rentals of Working Class Tenements.

Monthly rental.	Number of tenements bearing rentals as per column 1.				Total.
	Old buildings.		New buildings.		
	One-roomed.	Two-roomed.	One-roomed.	Two-roomed.	
Rs. 2 and below Rs. 3	116	—	—	—	116
„ 3 „ „ „ 4	2,252	—	—	—	2,252
„ 4 „ „ „ 5	2,421	—	54	—	2,475
„ 5 „ „ „ 6	1,659	—	59	20	1,738
„ 6 „ „ „ 7	1,122	37	53	—	1,212
„ 7 „ „ „ 8	408	8	70	8	494
„ 8 „ „ „ 9	252	6	53	6	317
„ 9 „ „ „ 10	208	72	81	—	361
„ 10 „ „ „ 11	55	156	264	57	532
„ 11 „ „ „ 12	19	96	106	16	237
„ 12 „ „ „ 13	25	25	119	11	180
„ 13 „ „ „ 14	4	21	73	—	98
„ 14 „ „ „ 15	3	—	77	—	80
„ 15 „ „ „ 16	2	1	133	7	143
„ 16 „ „ „ 17	1	—	25	9	35
„ 17 „ „ „ 18	—	—	15	11	26
„ 18 „ „ „ 19	—	—	42	—	42
„ 19 „ „ „ 20	—	—	6	—	6
„ 20 „ „ „ 21	—	—	103	47	150
„ 21 „ „ „ 22	—	—	35	—	35
„ 22 „ „ „ 23	1	—	12	13	26
„ 23 „ „ „ 24	—	—	9	1	10
„ 24 „ „ „ 25	—	—	12	—	12
„ 25 „ „ „ 26	—	—	53	40	93
„ 26 „ „ „ 27	—	—	—	16	16
„ 30 and over	—	—	21	6	27
All	8,548	422	1,475	268	10,713

It will be seen from the above table that for old buildings rentals of Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 are by far the most common and Rs. 4 is the prevalent type.

The following table gives the rents of one- and two-roomed tenements in old buildings according to wards :—

Rents of Working Class Tenements (Old Buildings).

Wards.	One-roomed tenements.		Two-roomed tenements.	
	Number of sampled tenements.	Average monthly rent in 1923-24.	Number of sampled tenements.	Average monthly rent in 1923-24.
A	526	Rs. a. p. 7 2 8	—	Rs. a. p. —
B	430	6 14 0	—	—
C	408	6 13 9	—	—
D	416	6 11 10	165	11 5 8
E	2,373	5 1 7	50	10 1 3
F	2,064	4 3 3	37	7 0 3
G	2,331	4 2 8	170	9 15 9
All wards	8,548	5 0 2	422	10 4 4

In the year 1926 the Labour Office conducted an enquiry into house rents in Ahmedabad on the basis of a sample and the results of it were published in the July, 1927, issue of the *Labour Gazette*. This enquiry also related to tenements owned by private landlords. The following two tables show the frequency of rents and the average rents in the various wards of the city :—

Frequency of Rents (Working Class), 1926.

Monthly rent in Rupees.	One-roomed tenements.	Two-roomed tenements.	Three-roomed tenements.	Four-roomed tenements.	Five-roomed tenements.	All tenements.
1 and below 2	13	1	—	—	—	14
2 .. 3	60	3	—	—	—	63
3 .. 4	126	11	2	—	—	139
4 .. 5	171	22	3	—	—	196
5 .. 6	168	29	4	1	—	202
6 .. 7	70	21	7	1	1	100
7 .. 8	12	15	1	1	—	29
8 .. 9	8	12	2	—	1	23
9 .. 10	2	4	1	—	—	7
10 .. 11	4	7	2	—	—	13
11 .. 12	1	2	2	—	1	6
12 .. 13	—	2	—	1	1	4
13 .. 14	—	—	—	—	1	1
14 .. 15	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 .. 16	—	—	1	—	—	1
16 and over	—	—	—	1*	—	1
Total	635	129	25	5	5	799

* Rs. 20.

Working Class one-roomed Tenements, 1926.

Wards.	No. of tenements	Average monthly rent per tenement in 1926.		
		Rs.	a.	p.
Khadia	22	4	10	1
Kalupur	35	5	1	5
Dariapur	82	4	14	4
Shahpur	80	4	1	11
Raikhad	30	4	12	7
Jamalpur	65	4	4	7
Pura 1	66	4	10	7
Asarwa	48	4	10	7
Pura 4	75	4	8	2
Saraspur	26	3	10	2
Gomtipur	63	3	12	8
Raipur Hirpur	28	4	3	7
Others	15	—		
All wards	635	4	6	1

Special Problems arising in connection with various classes of Housing.—Subletting.—There is a considerable amount of subletting in tenements of industrial workers in Bombay City. Up-to-date information on this subject is however not available. When the results of the rent enquiry, which the Bombay Labour Office is at present conducting, are published, the Government of Bombay will be able to furnish more satisfactory data on the subject. According to the 1921 census, however, there were in Bombay city 3,125 one-roomed tenements in which two or more families lived. Of these tenements, more than 75 per cent. are situated in those wards of the city in which the bulk of the workers live. Subletting is resorted to either because the family cannot afford to pay the rent or because the workers consider that money spent on rent is money badly spent. It, however, sometimes leads to extreme cases of overcrowding. The report of the lady doctor appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into the question of maternity benefits to industrial workers, which was published in the year 1922, contains one such extreme example of overcrowding. The lady doctor says in her report: "In one room on the second floor of a chawl, measuring some 15 feet by 12 feet, I found six families living. Six separate ovens on the floor proved this statement. On enquiry, I ascertained that the actual number of adults and children living in this room was 30." In this connection it is of interest also to quote from the Report of the Industrial Disputes Committee which reported to Government in the year 1922. They say:—

"It is difficult to give figures to show the pressure of rent on the wage-earning class, but two instances which came before us illustrate its oppressiveness. In the chawls attached to the Spring Mills a monthly rent of three rupees per room is charged; inquiry showed that some of the lessees were making as much as ten rupees a month profit by subletting. The municipality gives its *halalcores* rooms at the low rent of Re. 1-3 annas per couple per month. The profit on subletting is said to be as high as twenty rupees a month. Until an adequate supply of sanitary rooms, let at rents within the means of the ordinary wage-earner, is available, every effort to really improve the condition of the operative classes, is pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp. All the increased wages are swallowed in rent; there is no fixity of tenure; and the people will not, nor can they be expected to, improve their homes."

It was to meet these conditions that the development department built over 16,000 tenements out of a projected programme of 50,000. But never more than 50 per cent. of these 16,000 tenements have ever been occupied.

In Ahmedabad city subletting is hardly prevalent among the working classes. According to the 1921 census, 13 one-roomed tenements in Raikhad ward are said to have been occupied by more than one family. During the course of the rent enquiry conducted by the Labour Office in 1926 only one such case was noticed in Saraspur. There are some instances of relatives living together for some time until suitable separate accommodation is available and also single men and boarders messing with families and sleeping in the verandah outside. But these are really not cases of subletting.

As pointed out in the Labour Office report on an enquiry into the family budgets of cotton mill workers in Sholapur city, the housing conditions there are much more satisfactory than either at Bombay or Ahmedabad and naturally, therefore, subletting does not exist there to any large extent.

Occupation of employers' houses by tenants in other employ.—In the chawls built by cotton millowners in Bombay city it is not unusual to find persons working in other concerns in these chawls. This is especially the case when the rent charged is at an economic, and not concession rate. When a favourable rent is charged, outsiders are usually not permitted to reside in the chawls built by the owners.

Only in a few cases does the Bombay Municipality allow distant relatives to share the tenements, but in such cases additional rent is charged. Speaking generally, the tenements built by the municipality, Port Trust, and Improvement Trust are strictly intended for their own employees.

In Ahmedabad the occupation of employers' houses by tenants in other employ is not uncommon. The principal reason is that the workers who are permanently settled in Ahmedabad do not like to leave the particular *Jalhas* (localities) in which their kinsmen live and the employers therefore find difficulty in keeping their own chawls fully occupied with their own labour. In fact some employers have not made it a rule that the tenements built by them should be occupied by the workers in their own mills.

Eviction.—Ejection or eviction of defaulting tenants need not be discussed here. The aspect of eviction which would be of interest from the point of view of the Commission would be eviction of tenants, residing in houses provided by the employer, who have gone on a strike. As has been pointed out above, in the cotton industry in Bombay city few chawls built by the employers are exclusively reserved for the operatives. This is the reason why in spite of the numerous strikes during the last few years, there have been so few cases of eviction. The only recent case of which the Government of Bombay are aware is of workers employed in the Wadia group of mills who are engaged in the strike which is at the moment of writing going on in Bombay. These workers were served with a month's notice and asked to leave the tenements. It is understood, however, that the workers gave no heed to this notice and are continuing to occupy the rooms.

In Ahmedabad some mills have a rule to the effect that their tenants should work in the mills whenever required to do so. This rule is not put into force except when there is a strike, but as industrial disputes in Ahmedabad are usually of short duration, it is rarely used. Owing to the fear of eviction, however, the labour union at Ahmedabad had at one time intended to boycott all mill chawls.

In December 1928, one mill in Ahmedabad whose operatives had gone on strike served notices to its tenants, but it is not known whether they had actually to vacate the premises. Recently one mill dismissed the leaders of a strike and compulsorily evicted them even after the strike was over. It is, however, understood that the labour union advised these persons to live as the guests of other persons living in the same chawl.

Chapter IV.—Health.

General Health Conditions of Workers.—In the absence of any statistical data regarding morbidity rates among the industrial workers of this Presidency it is difficult to generalize about their health conditions. Generally speaking, they are not very satisfactory in Bombay city. This is due to many causes such as bad housing, poor diet, want of open-air exercise, etc. But the main cause of their ill-health appears to be the prevalence of malaria in localities in which they live. The following extracts from the report of Major Covell, the special officer appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into malarial conditions in Bombay city, who submitted his report in the year 1928, are of interest in this connection. "The present investigation has shown that the disease (malaria) has now become very much more widely diffused. It is still present in certain quarters of the southern portion of the city to a serious extent, but the most intense malaria at the present time exists in the vicinity of the mills, more especially in Worli and Parel sections . . . In the northernmost portion of Worli section malaria is also slight, but as soon as the edge of the mill area is reached the incidence of the disease rises abruptly and extends over the greater part of Worli and Parel. . . In most of the remaining cases the source was found to be breeding-places in connection with the mills. *The correlation between the intensity of malaria and the proximity of mills was most striking, especially in certain cases where a single isolated mill happened to be present, e.g., the Victoria Mill in Chowpaty and the Colaba Land Mill in Colaba.* In the former case a number

of children living in a blind alley abutting on the wall of the mill compound were examined. Almost all those residing in the houses close to the mill had enlarged spleens, whilst at the other end of the alley cases of splenomegaly were comparatively rare. The vast majority of the mills in Bombay are situated in the highly malarious area."

In the southern division, in the mines owned by Messrs. Killick, Nixon & Co., a few labourers suffer from malaria and pulmonary attacks. In the mines owned by another company the coolies are frequently attacked by malaria within a fortnight of their arrival in the mining area. The maximum period during which a gang could work in this mine during the year 1928 was five weeks at a time. The general health of labourers in the other mines is good. In the Kandivli quarries owned by the Development Department in the Bombay suburban district malaria is prevalent among the labourers. In the mines situated in the northern division the general health of labourers, during the autumn months of the year 1928, was not good owing to the prevalence of malaria and influenza colds, which were more severe during the year than in previous years. The health of labourers in the quarries is good.

Figures of Mortality.—The following table gives the death-rates per thousand of the population for Bombay Presidency and for the cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, and Karachi during the years 1920 to 1927 :—

Year.	Bombay Presidency.	Bombay City.	Ahmedabad City.	Sholapur City.	Karachi City.
1920 ..	28·65	47·10	50·11	58·99	40·70
1921 ..	26·00	46·25	40·10	44·37	34·24
1922 ..	23·61	32·13	33·75	31·23	32·31
1923 ..	25·89	32·74	37·31	37·43	31·94
1924 ..	27·63	33·44	39·83	39·17	30·32
1925 ..	23·66	27·55	37·44	35·72	27·66
1926 ..	28·55	27·56	51·98	34·96	33·99
1927 ..	25·72	23·84	40·17	34·29	29·50

These figures are not likely to give an adequate idea of the rate of mortality among industrial workers, firstly because they relate to the whole population, and secondly because they relate to all ages. The Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay, however, publishes in his annual report a table giving deaths by causes and occupations. Information relating to workers in mines, industry and transport for the year 1927 has been abstracted from this table and printed in Appendix II.

Birth-rate and Infant Mortality.—The following two tables give the birth-rate and the rate of infant mortality in the Bombay Presidency and in the cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, and Karachi :—

Birth-rate per 1,000 of Population for the Years 1920 to 1927.

Year.	Bombay Presidency.	Bombay City.	Ahmedabad City.	Sholapur City.	Karachi City.
1920 ..	30·28	20·19	41·41	53·68	51·12
1921 ..	35·59	16·39	38·28	27·79	39·45
1922 ..	32·39	17·54	36·02	36·40	35·03
1923 ..	35·58	17·99	40·86	33·70	43·49
1924 ..	35·60	18·68	41·17	30·41	41·80
1925 ..	34·66	17·36	41·53	34·20	47·06
1926 ..	37·05	18·02	42·47	42·92	47·43
1927 ..	36·85	18·54	42·78	42·35	51·33

Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 Registered Births for the Years 1920 to 1927.

Year.	Bombay Presidency.	Bombay City.	Ahmedabad City.	Sholapur City.	Karachi City.
1920 ..	183·21	555·60	360·08	281·44	251·29
1921 ..	178·11	672·12	348·10	396·74	270·25
1922 ..	169·10	405·16	299·04	232·97	252·01
1923 ..	159·76	413·91	297·61	233·21	218·46
1924 ..	191·17	423·17	343·69	252·69	255·80
1925 ..	162·01	359·05	322·74	232·24	222·29
1926 ..	194·63	393·79	437·76	223·94	252·70
1927 ..	161·42	319·12	287·27	199·05	211·02

The figures of both the birth-rate and the rate of infant mortality in Bombay city must be used with caution, as owing to many disturbing factors they do not present a correct picture of the true position. The birth-rate given in the table is by no means a fair measure of the true fertility of the population. This is so because it is customary, especially among the working classes of Bombay, for married women to leave the city for their confinement and register their children in the mofussil where they are born. As regards the figures of infant mortality, the figures recorded for Bombay city considerably overstate the magnitude of the rate of loss of infant life because nearly one-third of the infants dying in the city are born outside the city, and also because still larger numbers who come and survive are not taken into account when the rate of infant mortality is calculated. Even so, however, the actual mortality among infants is very high. In the opinion of Major Covell, the special malaria officer appointed by the Government of Bombay, overcrowding is one of the chief contributory causes to this high rate of infant mortality.

In connection with the question of the relation between overcrowding and infant mortality the following table is of interest :—

Infant Mortality by the Number of Rooms Occupied in 1927.

Number of Rooms.	Births.		Deaths in Infants.		Infant mortality per 1,000 births registered.	
	Number	Per- centage.	Number.	Per- centage.	1927.	1926.
1 room and under ..	11,615	53·6	5,688	83·0	490	577
2 rooms	1,736	8·0	352	5·1	203	254
3 rooms	392	1·8	87	1·3	222	215
4 or more rooms .. .	174	0·8	34	0·5	195	163
Hospitals	7,764	35·8	680	9·9	88	107
Homeless and not recorded	4	—	16	0·2	—	—
Total ..	21,685	100·0	6,857	100·0	316	389

The Executive Health Officer of the Bombay Municipality points out in his report for the year 1927 that the high rates of infant mortality recorded suggest the presence in Bombay of some adverse factor in addition to the poverty and ignorance which are chiefly responsible for high rates in western countries. The added factor affecting all classes is probably malaria. Another factor which can hardly fail to enhance the infant mortality among the more ignorant section of the population is the practice of soothing babies by the administration of opium.

The Bombay Municipality is endeavouring to diminish the rate of infant mortality. The work which is being done to achieve this object consists of:—(1) Visits by the municipal district nurses for the purpose of getting into touch with prospective mothers and for discovering cases of sickness, especially among women and children and unvaccinated children; for enquiry into the condition of new-born infants, and for giving instruction by homely talks as to the care and rearing of children.; (2) Attendance on confinements; (3) Provision of necessaries and comforts during the lying-in period; (4) Maternity homes; (5) Infant milk depots, and; (6) Infant welfare centres.

During the year 1927 the municipal nurses paid 37,397 visits to houses, chawls and huts and enquired into 2,910 cases of ordinary sickness. They also attended on 1,330 confinements. The number of women admitted to the three municipal maternity homes during the year 1927 was 2,189. As regards infant milk depots, two infant milk depots have been established for the benefit of children born in the homes or under the supervision of municipal nurses; 21,263 seers of milk were distributed at these depots during the year 1927.

Efforts to prevent infant mortality are also being made by the Infant Welfare Society, which has established nine voluntary welfare centres. The society provides through them advice and instruction to mothers as to infant management, medical aid to infants, and a staff of trained nurses for visiting the homes of infants. During the year 1927, 24,430 seers of milk were given free. The number of confinements attended by the midwives of the society was 1,126.

Working Conditions.—At workplaces.—So far as the factories in this Presidency are concerned, the working conditions in them are usually considerably in advance of the conditions in the homes of the workers. In recent years improvements have been made to a very appreciable extent by the Factories Department in the development of ventilation in factories. It may even be said that workers have learnt the first principles of hygiene and sanitation in factories. In connection with this question the following quotation from the report of the lady doctor appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into the question of maternity benefits to industrial workers is of interest:—“Every mill so far visited had large, well-lighted, well-ventilated workrooms. Notwithstanding the fibre-laden atmosphere in workrooms, these women had better ventilated spaces to work in than in their own chawls where every ventilation space was packed to avoid the ingress of fresh air, and where for some fourteen hours of the twenty-four the family inhaled an atmosphere laden with smoke and other impurities.”

At home.—The home workers in this Presidency mostly consist of those engaged in cotton sizing and handloom weaving, those engaged in making gold and silver borders, *bidī* makers and a certain number who make matchboxes at home.

The workplaces of home workers engaged in cotton sizing and handloom weaving in Sholapur City are very unsatisfactory. The premises are rendered highly insanitary through overcrowding, want of ventilation and lighting, dirty and damp floors, defective drainage, etc. The standard of cleanliness is extremely low in all these workplaces. Similar conditions generally prevail in other handloom weaving centres of the Presidency.

As regards the *bidī* makers in the city of Bombay, women are mostly engaged in this work. There is considerable overcrowding in the workshops occupied by the workers in this trade and light and ventilation are generally insufficient.

Women and children are usually employed in matchbox making. No information is available as regards the conditions of their work, but the following passage from the report of the Indian Tariff Board on the Match Industry, which was published in the year 1928, may be of interest in this connection:—“In the vicinity of Bombay we saw several factories producing one thousand or more gross boxes a day where the system of piece-work for box-making in workers' own homes was in force. The system is one which, in our opinion, is not conducive to the workers' welfare. By its nature no restrictions can be placed on the number of hours worked or on the age or sex of the worker. When competition arises between such factories and the more modern concerns equipped with the latest machinery, the easiest and perhaps the only form

of economy for the smaller factories is a reduction in piece-rates. We have had evidence that such reductions have already been effected in some factories in the vicinity of Bombay. Remembering the appalling conditions of sweated labour which existed in Europe in industries where hand-work came in competition with machine-made goods, we cannot regard this feature of the match industry as one to be encouraged."

Dietary.—A great deal of detailed information is available on this subject in the three family budget reports published by the Bombay Labour Office. It will be seen from these reports and the statistical tables appended thereto that the industrial workers of this Presidency do not enjoy much variety in their diets, and that the bulk of the expenditure on food is on the staple. In Bombay City, owing to caste and similar causes there are variations in the details of the articles consumed. The industrial worker of Bombay is largely a vegetarian. The Ghati from the Western Ghats consumes more jowari and bajri, while the Konkani immigrant (who forms the predominant part of Bombay's industrial population) is chiefly a consumer of rice. The Gujarati, again, consumes more ghee and sweetmeats than his confrères. The Muhammadan is a consumer of mutton and beef. Of the total expenditure of the family nearly 57 per cent. is on food. Of this about 32 per cent. is on cereals, including rice which accounts for nearly 18 per cent. of the expenditure; 2.5 per cent. of the family's expenditure is on pulses. As regards other articles of food on which nearly 23 per cent. of the total expenditure is incurred, fish, mutton, vegetables and refreshments account for nearly 13 per cent. The expenditure on milk is less than 2 per cent. As regards Ahmedabad, nearly 58 per cent. of the family expenditure is incurred on food. It is difficult to say what is the staple food of the working classes in Ahmedabad. It appears that there wheat and rice are both equally important from the point of view of the consumption of the family. It may be pointed out here that the Labour Office is informed that in Ahmedabad the Hindu working class families change their staple according to the seasons. Bajri is generally used during the monsoon and wheat during summer. Bajri or wheat is used during winter according to one's liking, habit and means. Of the total expenditure on food, 12 per cent. is on wheat and 11 per cent. on rice. Among cereals, bajri is next in importance to wheat and rice. Among pulses, turdal and gram occupy a prominent place and account for 2.75 per cent. of the total expenditure. Among other articles of food ghee seems to occupy a very important place. The monthly expenditure on ghee is 6.39 per cent. of the total expenditure and the actual cost per month per family is Rs. 2-8 annas. The next important item amongst other articles of food is vegetables including potatoes and onions. This item accounts for 4.30 per cent. of the monthly expenditure. Milk and butter-milk account for 2.20 per cent. of the monthly expenditure and condiments and spices for 1.87 per cent.

As regards the cotton mill workers in Sholapur, 49 per cent. of the monthly expenditure is on food. Of this 25 per cent. is incurred on cereals, among which jowari accounts for 17 per cent. 3.50 per cent. of the expenditure is on pulses and nearly 21 per cent. of the expenditure is on other food. Among other food articles mutton accounts for 3.70 per cent., milk for 2.57 per cent., condiments and spices for 3.43 per cent., and vegetables (including potatoes and onions) come to 2.50 per cent.

In an article which appeared in the April, 1925, issue of the *Labour Gazette* under the caption "The Food of the Worker," prepared with the assistance of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, the following conclusions were arrived at. The analysis of the food consumed by the working classes in Bombay City shows that the diet is not well balanced as compared with the present standard diet, and is too bulky. It contains a very small amount of milk, butter and animal fats, and consequently does not give any appreciable power of endurance and resistance. Up to 25 per cent. of the food calories should be from fat in a perfect diet. In the case of the working classes in Bombay City, however, 91.6 per cent. of the calories are derived from cereals and pulses. Besides this, the diet does not provide enough vitamins or accessory food factors. Milk and milk products such as ghee and butter or other animal foods which supply these are used in extremely small quantities. The Bombay working classes use only 17.6 ounces of milk, mostly adulterated, per adult male per month. It is pointed out also that rice, the staple food, has many defects as food. "Its protein is poor in quality and scanty in amount; it is lacking in fats and in vitamins associated in nature with fats, and it is lacking in certain essential mineral elements. Even so, its dietetic uses may be, and to a wide extent are, seriously impaired by the manner of its preparation for human consumption."

Physiologie.—No up-to-date statistical information is available on this subject. But the attention of the Commission is invited to the report on humidification in Indian cotton mills, which was published by the Government of India in the year 1923.

The following table relating to workers in the Bombay Presidency, which has been abstracted from one of the tables published in this report, may be of interest:—

Centre.	Class of operative.	Number of cases	Average weight	Average age	Average height
Bombay ..	Weavers	282	101	28	ft. in. 5 4
	Frame department	66	101½	25	5 3
	Card and blowing	169	97½	30	5 2½
	Spinners	210	99	22	5 3
	Miscellaneous department	65	93	27½	5 4
	All male operatives ..	792	99	26	5 3½
	Reelers*	54	93	30	4 10
	Mill coolies	123	104½	34½	5 4
	Bombay, Baroda and Central India workshop coolies	20	112	31	..
	Police recruits	208	119	23	5 6½
	(a) Standard for Police recruits of average height 5 feet 3 inches.		Maximum 150 Minimum 100	..	5 3
	Government Central Press	16	105	..	5 3
	Great Indian Peninsular Railway workshops.	198	111½	..	5 3
Ahmedabad	Weavers	388	111½	25	5 4
	Frame department	41	98	32	5 2½
	Carding and blow	132	107	29	5 3½
	Spinners	237	102	26½	5 2½
	All male operatives ..	798	108	27	5 3½
Reelers*	74	90½	27½	4 11½	
Sholapur ..	Weavers	102	128	27½	..
	Card room	42	102	30	..
	Reeling and ring spinners	120	102½	32	..
	All male operatives ..	264	112	30	..
Reelers	49	100	37½	..	

**Note.*—Indicates women.

(a) Figures obtained from Bombay Police Records.

The above table shows that the average weight of cotton mill workers is the highest in Sholapur and the lowest in Bombay, and that the Ahmedabad worker comes between the two. This is in accordance with the impressions of the investigating staff of the Bombay Labour Office. It would, however, be desirable to point out in connection with these figures that they must be considered in relation to the origin of the labour force in these three centres. As has already been pointed out in the section dealing with recruitment, the bulk of the labour in Bombay City comes from the Konkan, which is a comparatively poor and unhealthy part of the Bombay Presidency. The poor physique is thus largely hereditary. The other immigrant labourers in Bombay, such as the Bhayyas from the United Provinces, and the Ghatis from Satara are healthier and better built. As regards the Ahmedabad workers, the Marwaris and Kathiawaris, and the Bhayyas from Jubbulpore and the

United Provinces, possess a better physique than the local labour force. The good physique of the Sholapur worker is in the first place due to the more healthy stock from which he comes, to the good climate of the district and also to the habit of taking regular exercise in *akhadas* (gymnasiums).

A rough idea of the physique of industrial workers in the Presidency may be obtained from the illustrations in Mr. Burnett Hurst's book *Labour and Housing in Bombay* and those contained in the reports on family budgets for Ahmedabad and Sholapur published by the Bombay Labour Office.

Extent of Medical Facilities Provided—By Employers.—During the course of an enquiry into welfare work in the Bombay Presidency which the Bombay Labour Office conducted in the year 1926, information was collected regarding the extent of medical facilities provided. The results of the enquiry show that the provision of facilities for medical attendance and the supply of medicines is fairly general in all the larger labour employing organizations in the Bombay Presidency. Out of 76 textile mills in Bombay City which supplied information, 68 mills reported that they maintained dispensaries for the supply of medicines. Four mills provide only medical attendance and three mills supply ordinary drugs, such as quinine, liniments, etc. Only one mill in Bombay reported that no provision had been made either for medical attendance or for the supply of medicines. In most cases the dispensaries are attended by qualified medical practitioners, and in a few instances arrangements are made for the attendance of a doctor at the workers' homes in cases of serious illness. No charge whatever is made in 66 mills; one mill charges one anna per head per month for medical attendance only, and in another mill one anna per head per month is charged for those earning less than Rs. 7 per month, and two annas per head per month for those earning Rs. 7 per month and over. Five mills make nominal charges for the supply of medicines. Two mills charge about two annas per head and another deducts two pies in the rupee on wages earned up to a maximum of four annas. One mill charges two annas per head per month for all workers except those earning less than Rs. 7 per month. In the fifth case the charge is one to two annas per head according to earnings. Three mills charge for both medical attendance and for medicines supplied. In one case, 3 per cent. of the wages bill is set apart for this purpose. In another, the charge is one pie in the rupee for each employee and in the third case, two annas per head per month is charged for those earning more than Rs. 30 per month, whilst workers who earn Rs. 30 per month and under are treated free. Thirteen mills did not supply any information with regard to the numbers treated. In the remaining mills the daily average number treated amounted to about 2,000.

Out of the 59 mills working in Ahmedabad, 10 mills had no provision for medical aid of any kind, and in 8 cases only a few patent medicines and ordinary drugs were supplied. The remaining mills were making provision both for medical attendance and supply of medicines. Four mills maintain hospitals in addition to dispensaries for the treatment of out-door patients. No charge is made in any of the Ahmedabad mills for medical aid. Twenty-five mills which supplied information as regards the numbers treated, reported that the average daily number of patients dealt with amounted to 850.

All the five mills in Sholapur City provide both medical attendance and medicines. One mill maintains a hospital and 3 mills have maternity homes in addition. A charge of one anna per head per month is made in the case of one mill for the supply of medicines. In the other mills treatment is free. Four mills which kept records of the numbers treated reported that the average daily number of patients treated amounted to 350.

Out of the 11 mills which sent in returns from the mills addressed in British territory, in the rest of the Bombay Presidency, 3 mills reported that no provision had been made for medical aid, whilst 3 mills reported that they stocked a few patent medicines and ordinary drugs only. Five mills provided full medical aid and one mill maintained a maternity home in addition. The average daily number of cases treated in the 4 mills which reported information amounted to about 60. Seven mills make no charge for medical aid and in 1 case there is a nominal charge of one anna per head per month.

Out of the 5 organizations covered under the head "Engineering and Other Trades" in Bombay City, 4 concerns provide full medical aid, and in 1 case only first aid is given. The number of employees treated in 3 concerns amounted to about 90 per day. Treatment in all cases is free. The Belapur Sugar Company at Ahmednagar maintains a free dispensary. All the 4 cotton ginning and pressing factories in Mirpurkhas supply free medical aid.

All the 3 Railways which were covered by the enquiry provide hospitals at the bigger stations, dispensaries at convenient centres along the lines and full medical aid in all necessary cases. The charges for different kinds of attendance and treatment at employees' residences are graded according to earnings but no charge is generally made for attendance and medicines supplied at the hospitals and dispensaries. The railways also subsidise municipal and other dispensaries in a few cases. Among public utility companies the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Company maintains a dispensary with one senior and 3 assistant medical officers for the benefit of the out-door traffic and workshop staff. The employees in the other departments are supplied with medicine when they are sick and they are attended by the company's doctor in cases of accidents. The Bombay Gas Company only stock ordinary medicines at their works. Treatment in both cases is free. The average daily number of persons treated at the tramways dispensary amounted to 170.

The Bombay Port Trust maintains several dispensaries with qualified medical men in attendance for each department. The average daily number of persons treated is reported at 168, and no charge is made for treatment. The Karachi Port Trust provides a free dispensary with a medical officer at Manora, where the majority of the employees in the Chief Engineer's and Port Officer's departments live. The average daily number of cases dealt with at the Manora dispensary was reported at 62.

The Bombay Municipality maintains 2 special small dispensaries at Love Grove and Kurla for the benefit of the employees in the Love Grove Pumping Station and the Kurla-Deonar Railway and Reclamation Works. All other municipal employees are treated at the several municipal dispensaries which the Bombay Municipality provides in the city. The procedure with regard to the employees of the Karachi Municipality is similar to that in the Bombay Municipality. No charge is made for the treatment.

The Bombay Improvement Trust provides 4 dispensaries for outdoor and 2 hospitals for indoor patients. The daily average number of patients dealt with in the dispensaries amounted to 20 and 4 in the hospitals. Treatment is free and the employees of the trust receive half pay when they are being treated in the Improvement Trust hospitals.

Among Government departments in Bombay, the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard maintains a dispensary under a permanent medical officer. No charge is made for treatment and the number of cases dealt with every day is 24. The Back Bay Reclamation Scheme also maintains dispensaries under special medical subordinates. A hospital with 6 beds is provided in the camp at Kandivli. Other Government departments in Bombay City send their employees to Government hospitals. The Yeravda Prison hospital gives free medical aid to the employees of the Yeravda Prison Press. The Security Printing Press at Nasik has a dispensary with a sub-assistant surgeon.

By Government.—All hospitals and dispensaries maintained or aided by the Government which are open to the general public are resorted to by the labouring classes. In the City of Bombay, there are 5 large hospitals with 832 beds, and extensive out-patient departments for the treatment of Indians, of which two are exclusively for the treatment of women and children. In the mofussil there is a Government Civil Hospital at the headquarters of each district and a dispensary at each taluka headquarters with accommodation for indoor patients, maintained by a municipality or a local board, with a grant-in-aid from the Government. The Government hospitals in the Presidency number 38, and the local fund and municipal dispensaries number 348. Most of the civil hospitals have maternity wards attached to them and possess adequate nursing staff.

By Other Agencies.—During the year 1927, the Bombay Municipality maintained 13 dispensaries for the free medical relief of the sick poor of the city. The number of new cases treated during the year was 68,887. The total attendances numbered 166,991. This figure includes 888 visits by the dispensary medical officers to patients in their homes.

Medical facilities are provided to a very small extent by other agencies in Bombay City such as the Social Service League, Bombay, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Nagpada Neighbourhood House. The Social Service League conducts a charitable dispensary at Parel for the benefit of women and children of the poor, middle and working classes. During 1927, the number of patients treated at this dispensary was 19,802, as against 17,085 during the year 1926. The League also provides free eye treatment to the working classes at its dispensary at Madanpura

in co-operation with the Blind Relief Association. During the year 1927, 2,183 patients were treated at this dispensary. The Nagpada Neighbourhood House opened a dispensary in July, 1927, where up to now over 2,200 patients have treated.

The Naigaum Social Service centre of the Y.W.C.A. conducts a dispensary which is open twice a week. The average attendance is 22.

The Textile Labour Union in Ahmedabad is the only association of employees which does pioneer work in the direction of providing medical facilities for its members. The Union maintains two dispensaries and a hospital equipped for surgical work. In December, 1925, there was accommodation for twenty indoor patients but as the number of applicants for indoor treatment was steadily increasing, ten more beds were added during the year 1926. The hospital has also a female ward and special arrangements are made for maternity cases. During the year 1925, 170 new patients were admitted for indoor treatment. The average daily attendance which was eight in 1925, stood at about 25 at the end of the year 1926. Seventy-one major operations were performed and outdoor relief was given to 9,141 patients during the twelve months ending 31st December, 1925. The total expenditure under the head " Medical Aid " amounted to Rs. 9,688-10 annas 8 pises.

There are mission hospitals at Poona, Ratnagiri, Anand in Karra District and Gadag in Dharwar District, which are open to the labouring classes. A few charitable dispensaries in Surat provide medical facilities for this class. Among other institutions may be mentioned the King Edward Memorial Hospital, Poona, for women and children; the King Edward Maternity Home, Satara, maintained by the Red Cross Society; Women's Aid Hospital, Hubli; the Co-operative Hospital, Hubli; and the Lady Dufferin Hospitals at Sholapur and Karachi. At Broach, the Sanitary Association and the Red Cross Society's Branch run three table dispensaries in the mill areas for treating minor ailments among the mill hands.

Extent to which Medical Facilities are utilized.—Owing to ignorance and prejudice, the labouring classes in this Presidency do not utilize the available medical facilities to the fullest extent but gradually they are getting over their prejudice against Western medicine and are utilizing medical facilities provided by employers, Government and other agencies to a considerable extent.

As regards women, they are less willing to take advantage of the available medical facilities than are men. But women workers also are gradually learning to utilize these facilities. As a result of this, there is a fairly large number of women in-patients in hospitals and dispensaries, and maternity hospitals are utilized to a considerable extent. This is so, especially because the *purdah* system is practically non-existent in this Presidency except in Sind.

Latrines and other Sanitary Arrangements—At work places.—As regards latrines and other sanitary arrangements, according to the revised rules under the Indian Factories' (Amendment) Act, 1922, the following number of latrine seats are provided :—

Latrines at Work-places.

Where the number of operatives does not exceed 20	..	..	1
Where the number exceeds 20 but does not exceed 35	..	..	2
" " 35	" "	50	3
" " 50	" "	150	4
" " 150	" "	200	5
" " 200	" "	one seat for every 50 or fraction of 50.	

If females are employed, separate latrines screened from those of males and marked in the vernacular " For Women Only " are provided. Those for males are similarly marked " For Males Only."

In factories which employ more than 100 hands and which do not provide flushing arrangements in latrines one urinal is provided for every 100 operatives or fraction thereof.

At Home.—In the working chawls in Bombay City, especially among those owned by private landlords, the sanitary arrangements are not very satisfactory. In the chawls built before the war, the " basket system " still prevails and even where the flush system exists, the latrines are often in an insanitary condition. This is largely due to the inadequacy of the number of latrines available to the

tenants. The following provisional figures which have been compiled from the data which the Bombay Labour Office is at present collecting in connection with Housing and House Rents in Bombay may be of interest :—

Wards.	Old buildings.					New buildings.					Old and new buildings combined.				
	Having one latrine for the following number of tenements.					Having one latrine for the following number of tenements.					Having one latrine for the following number of tenements.				
	1-8	9-15	16 and over	No latrines	Total	1-8	9-15	16 and over	No latrines	Total	1-8	9-15	16 and over	No latrines	Total
A	15	—	—	—	15	16	—	—	—	16	31	—	—	—	31
B	61	—	—	—	61	74	—	—	—	74	135	—	—	—	135
D	30	11	—	—	41	51	—	—	—	51	81	11	—	—	92
E	778	125	21	—	924	333	—	—	—	333	1,111	125	21	—	1,257
F	529	162	—	2	693	526	—	—	—	526	1,055	162	—	2	1,219
G	749	71	13	1	834	216	11	—	—	227	965	82	13	1	1,061
All wards ..	2,162	369	34	3	2,568	1,216	11	—	—	1,227	3,378	380	34	3	3,795
Percentage to total ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	89 01	10 01	0 90	0 08	100 00

According to an enquiry made by the Labour Office into house rents in Ahmedabad in the year 1926, it is seen that privies in Ahmedabad belong either to the municipality or to the punch, or to private persons. By punch privies are meant the privies maintained in common by people in different *pols*. It is, of course, impossible to find out how many tenements are served by the municipal and punch privies. The number of tenements served by private privies was, however, ascertained. At the time of tabulation the following classification was adopted :— One privy for eight tenements and less, good ; one privy for more than eight but less than sixteen tenements, fair ; one privy for sixteen tenements and over, bad.

According to this classification the following results were obtained —

Tenements with	Number.	Percentage to total.
Municipal privies	382	47.8
Punch privies	42	5.3
Private privies—		
Good	172	21.5
Fair	114	14.3
Bad	24	3.0
Others	7	0.9
No privies	53	6.6
Unspecified	5	0.6
Total	799	100

Where no privies are available people use adjoining open spaces. About 48 per cent. of the working classes use municipal privies.

According to an enquiry made by the Labour Office in the year 1926 into the housing provided by the millowners in Ahmedabad the supply of latrines and privies is generally inadequate and in at least three cases no privies have been built.

In the course of the Family Budget Enquiry in Sholapur some information on this point was obtained. A tabulation of the results showed that the sanitary arrangements were good in 23.50 per cent. of the cases, fair in 42.46 per cent. of the cases, bad in 21.51 per cent. of the cases and in 12.53 per cent. of the cases information was not available.

Suitability of existing Factories Rules.—Control of temperature in factories.—At the Chief Inspectors' Conference in 1924 it was felt that power should be granted to an inspector to issue orders to secure reasonable temperatures in factories. A clause was therefore introduced in the Amending Bill circulated in October, 1925, to permit this but the Select Committee dropped it. It was then proposed to grant power to Local Governments to fix standards of temperature after injury to health was proved. At present the question appears to be under consideration in connection with the wider action to be taken under the subject of humidification.

Control of humidification in cotton mills.—The Local Government adopted, in March, 1927, Rules that required the maintenance of hygrometers, the record of wet

and dry bulb readings thrice daily and prohibited the introduction of humidity after the wet bulb exceeded a certain temperature according to the dry bulb temperature.*

The results have been specially analysed and suggest that Section 9 (d) should be cancelled and the words "and artificial humidity" omitted from Section 37 (2) (g). The Act might then grant power to Local Governments to fix a standard of humidity and the methods to be adopted to secure its observance for any area for all departments of cotton spinning and weaving factories in which artificial humidification is used, while power should be granted to Inspectors to grant exemption from the standard in any department of any such factory if ventilation is adopted so that a reasonable cooling power is maintained.

In cotton weaving factories of the ordinary shed, or saw tooth type in which reasonable cooling powers are not maintained, Inspectors should be granted powers subject to appeal, to order measures for the reduction of temperature by means, other than the provision of cooling combined with ventilation, when the outside shade temperature exceeds a temperature to be prescribed by the Local Government. In all humid cotton spinning or weaving factories the introduction of live steam for humidification should be prohibited after an internal temperature, to be prescribed by the Local Government, is reached.

The foregoing would involve consequential changes in Section 50 and also in Section 2 to provide for the definition of cooling power.

Industrial Diseases.—Prevalence—The Factory Department adopted a more progressive attitude towards industrial diseases some years ago and a periodical medical examination of all painters in the railway workshops was arranged.

As a result of the Geneva Conference, the Local Government recommended the abolition of the use of white lead unless dry rubbing-down is prevented. The extent to which the local railways have complied may be gauged from the following figures of consumption in tons :—

			1924.	1925.	1926.
B.B & C I.Rly.	..	White lead	.. 77	29	18
G.L.P.Rly.	.. ..	White lead	.. 95	88	Nil

The water-proof sand paper invented about 1923 was introduced to India by the Chief Inspector of Factories soon after its discovery. The railways adopted it but, as the above figures show, the use of white lead has been reduced to a minimum and no dry rubbing-down is in progress.

Improvements were effected in the foundries of printing presses, and in the composing rooms of these concerns, small yarn dyeing factories were brought under inspection, the provisions of the Schedule to the Act were applied, while a periodical medical examination of male adults in a few mulls dyeing with lead salts were also arranged. The Certifying Surgeon, Bombay, examines from time to time the employees of the small concerns liable to lead poisoning and in a few cases persons showing signs of lead absorption have been transferred to other work. No lead poisoning has apparently occurred in the last eight years and no compensation has been paid since the disease was a scheduled disease under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

An enquiry into the effects of card room dust on health was started some time ago but the strikes in Bombay have prevented progress being made.

The Certifying Surgeon pays special attention to dermatitis—chrome sores in the dyeing industry are specially watched. No case of mule spinners cancer has been detected by the Certifying Surgeon. The Certifying Surgeon also examines the persons employed on the paint-spraying processes in the motor car industry. A large American concern has recently been opened in Bombay and, at the instance of the factory department, a medical officer has been appointed to specially watch for any ill effects of this operation. No case of anthrax has yet been discovered and this disease does not appear to occur in the woollen industry.

No case of occupational disease has so far been reported to the Commissioner for workmen's compensation.

Sickness Insurance.—As is pointed out in the section dealing with administration, the Government of Bombay have already informed the Government of India that if the Commission after hearing evidence in all parts of India comes to the conclusion that a scheme of sickness insurance is desirable and is practicable, the Government of Bombay will give the scheme its hearty support.

Maternity Benefits.—Extent and working of existing schemes.—It has not been found possible in the short time at the disposal of the Government of Bombay to collect detailed and up-to-date information as regards the extent and working of the existing schemes of maternity benefits in the Bombay Presidency. The following information relating to the cotton textile industry in the Bombay Presidency was collected by the Bombay Labour Office in the year 1927, and probably represents the position to-day.

* The rules are printed on pages 1484–1527 of Part I. of the Bombay Government Gazette, dated 12th July, 1923.

Maternity Benefit Schemes.

Name of Mill.	Details of Benefits Granted	Remarks.
<i>BOMBAY *</i>		
1. David Mills . .	Wages paid a month before and a month after confinement, i.e., two months.	There is no maternity benefit scheme in existence at present. A scheme was introduced in 1921 but was discontinued at the end of 1923. A lady doctor, was employed up to April, 1923, and the number of cases dealt with during that year was 65, the women being paid two months' wages each.
2. The Indian Bleaching, Dyeing, and Printing Works.	Do.	A scheme was introduced in October, 1921.
3. The Currumbhoy Mills Co., Ltd	(a) Two months' wages are paid before and after confinement (b) Two months' leave is also granted on completion of nine months	A scheme was introduced in November, 1921. No lady doctor is provided.
4. The Standard Mills	Full wages are paid for a period of one month before and one month after confinement. (The medical advisors of the mills are of opinion that it would be to the interest of the females to keep to their normal work up to a week or at least a fortnight before confinement. The advisability of changing the free period to a fortnight before and one month after confinement is being considered.)	The scheme was introduced in the Swadeshi Mill No 2 from March, 1921, and in the remaining mills from January, 1921. A lady doctor was employed at the Swadeshi Mill No. 1 but the appointment was discontinued from September, 1924, as it was found that the female operatives had no objection to being treated by the male doctors.
5 The Swadeshi Mill, No. 1.		
6. The Tata Mills . .		
7 The Swadeshi Mill, No 2 (Formerly known as the Bombay United Mill)		
8. The Fazulbhoy Mills, Ltd	Two months' wages are paid, one month before and one month after confinement.	The scheme was started in January, 1922.
9 The Premier Mills, Ltd.	Maternity allowance is paid for two months. Leave granted two weeks before confinement and six weeks after confinement, provided— (a) that the woman completes at least 11 months service in the mills continuously, (b) that she makes a declaration binding herself not to engage in any kind of physical work outside her home for the purpose of earning her wages during the two months for which the allowance is paid to her.	The scheme was started on the 1st October 1921
10. The Pearl Mills, Ltd.	One month's pay is paid in advance and another month's pay is paid six weeks after delivery.	The scheme was started on the 2nd March, 1922. It was noted that the women worked right up to the end of the ninth month in expectation of receiving the wages earned for that month as well as the benefit. The benefit was, however, not given and such cases have now decreased.
11. The Ebrahimbhoy Pabany Mills Co., Ltd.	Two months' wages are paid, one month before and one month after confinement.	The scheme was started in October, 1921.
12. The Khatau Makanji Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.	A free dispensary is provided at the mills under a qualified doctor who attends the maternity cases assisted by a nurse of the crèche when necessary.	Negotiations are at present being made with a view to providing free beds at a Maternity Home.
13. The Colaba Land and Mill Co	—	No scheme exists at present. A Maternity Home was opened about October, 1916, but, owing to the poor response it received, it had to be closed down about March, 1919.

*N B.—A Maternity Hospital called "The Nawrosji Wadia Maternity Home and Free Dispensary" has also been established in the mill area solely for the benefit of the workpeople.

Maternity Benefit Schemes.—contd.

Name of Mill.	Details of Benefits Granted.	Remarks.
	<i>BOMBAY</i> —contd	
14. The Manockji Petit Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	—	No scheme is in existence at present. An attempt was made about 1922 to organize a maternity benefit scheme (with a view to enlarging it if successful) by providing a room in one of the mill chawls, furnished with a bed and necessary furniture, to be utilized as a sick room and for lying-in purposes. The management was conducted by the Social Service League, and the room was in charge of an experienced nurse. Since no advantage was taken of the facilities afforded by the mill authorities for lying-in arrangements, the qualified nurse, who occupied free quarters in the chawls, vacated of her own accord and no other has been thereafter engaged in her place.
	<i>AHMEDABAD</i> .*	
15. The Ahmedabad Advance Mills Co., Ltd.	Leave with full pay is given for one month before and one month after confinement. There is a dispensary where free medical treatment is available	A scheme was introduced in January, 1921. The total number of women who benefited under the scheme up to June, 1927, was 233. The number of cases dealt with in the year 1926 alone was 33.
16. The Ahmedabad Jubilee Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Six weeks' leave with pay before confinement and one month's leave after are granted. There is a dispensary where ordinary medical treatment can be had free	The scheme in operation was introduced in May, 1926. The number of women workers who have benefited under the scheme up to June, 1927, is 18.
17. The Ahmedabad Manufacturing and Calico Printing Co., Ltd.	Rs. 15 per month are given for a period of three months, usually six weeks before and six weeks after delivery. There is also a hospital which can be taken advantage of free of charge.	The scheme was introduced in the mill in 1919. The number of cases dealt with since the beginning was 128, and the number of cases dealt with only in 1926, was 44.
18. The Ahmedabad New Textile Mills.	Leave for about 20 days with pay is granted to women workers if they go on leave in the 8th month of pregnancy.	Usually, women workers leave early in the 6th or 7th month and no concession is granted to them. So far there have been only 2 or 3 instances where leave with pay has been granted.
19. Maneklal Harilal Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	—	The authorities of this mill have contributed a large sum (3 or 4 lakhs) for purposes of building a maternity ward. They are seriously thinking of having a regular maternity benefit scheme on the lines of that of the Ahmedabad Advance Mills Co., Ltd.
20. Becharidas Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.	There is no regular scheme. The management gives lump sums in deserving cases	—
	<i>SHOLAPUR.</i>	
21. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co	(a) Full wages are paid for the last month of the pregnancy, provided the women do the light work which is given to them in the pre-maternity ward (b) The women who take advantage of the Maternity Home are given half wages for three weeks as maternity benefit, provided they have been in the Company's service for two years.	The scheme was started in January, 1918, and lying-in arrangements for the accommodation of 10 beds are provided.
22. (The Bombay Co., Ltd.) Laxmi Cotton Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	†(a) A Maternity Home consisting of two beds is maintained in one of the mill chawls. There is also a qualified mill doctor (b) A qualified midwife is employed through the Seva Sadan organization, who pays house-to-house visits in the chawls. Her chief work is to find out and assist expectant mothers and help them in their confinement and persuade them to take advantage of the Maternity Home or the Dufferin Hospital. In difficult cases she gets advice and help from the mill medical officer	The scheme was started in August, 1924. By arrangement with the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, the local Dufferin Hospital treats female employees of the mills free of charge. A bed is maintained in this hospital by the mills for the exclusive use of the female labour of the mills. There is also an arrangement with the Poona Seva Sadan, Sholapur Branch, whereby the latter supply two trained nurses for house-to-house visiting in the mill area of the City
23. The Vishnu Cotton Mills, Ltd.		

* Some of the millowners in Ahmedabad have built charity hospitals with special arrangements for maternity cases, and women employees of their own or other mills can make use of the facilities provided. It has been noticed, however, that for some reason or other the women do not make use of the hospitals as they should.

† Note—This maternity benefit scheme is financed from a fund called the Macpherson Welfare Fund which was started by subscription from individual employees of the mills in memory of the late Mr. R. E. Macpherson.

Enquiries made recently by the Investigator of the Labour Office show that only three mills in Ahmedabad—the Advance, the Calico, and the Jubilee—give maternity benefits.

The working of the Advance Mill scheme is as follows. About six weeks before delivery, the mill doctor examines the woman and allows her to stay at home. Immediately after delivery she is paid one month's wages. A month or so after delivery, when she joins duty, she is paid another month's wages. The scheme has been working since 1921, and benefits were paid to 43 women in 1927-28 amounting in all to Rs. 1,312-12-3.

The scheme in force in the Calico and Jubilee Mills operates similarly with some slight differences. There also, the mill doctor asks the woman to cease work after the eighth month. An ayah visits the woman now and then to see that she does not work in any other mill and advises her to go to the mill hospital for delivery. Free conveyance is provided. The woman is kept in the hospital for about ten days, provided with all necessaries and conveniences free of charge and then discharged. If it is desired that delivery should take place at the woman's house, the free attendance of a nurse is provided. The woman is given Rs. 15 immediately after delivery and another sum of Rs. 15 a month after delivery when she joins duty. During 1928, thirty-one women were paid benefits in the Jubilee Mill and 36 in the Calico Mill. Not a single case of mortality of mother or child occurred in the cases treated at the mill hospital.

The Bombay Municipality has started since February, 1928, a maternity benefit scheme. Maternity benefit is given to halalkhore and scavenging women in the form of leave with full pay not exceeding 42 consecutive days, including the date of confinement, as certified by the Executive Health Officer; if the birth takes place in Bombay, and by a Police Patel or by hospital authorities if it takes place out of Bombay. Since the scheme came into force, 434 women have received the benefit.

History of Legislation.—On 30th July, 1924, Mr. S. K. Bole moved the resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council :—

“ This Council recommends to the Governor in Council the necessity of urging upon the Government of India the advisability of introducing legislation at an early date for the provision of adequate maternity benefits to women workers in all organized industries in India and to prohibit the employment of women during the period of such benefit.”

The resolution was fully discussed in the Council and Government decided not to vote on the question but to elicit the independent views of the House and to find out how far they were prepared to go and how far they were prepared to allow budget provision for maternity benefits. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the General Member, expressed the attitude of the Government towards the question in the following words :—

“ Government have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when we should look into the question of making such maternity benefits compulsory in factories and Government have also decided that it is one of those questions in which the State may give the factories financial assistance ; but they have also come to the conclusion that legislation is premature to any great extent.” The Resolution was put to a vote and agreed to.

In the year 1928 Mr. R. S. Asavle, M.L.C. (Bombay City, North), was granted leave to introduce his Bill in the Legislative Council to regulate the employment of women in factories some time before and some time after confinement and to make provision for payment of maternity benefit. The Bill as amended by the Select Committee was read a third time and passed into law on 15th March, 1929. The text of the Act and of the Rules framed thereunder will be found in Appendix IV.*

Chapter V.—Welfare.

In the month of May, 1926, the Government of India in the Department of Industries and Labour, requested all Provincial Governments to collect full and comprehensive information with regard to the measures undertaken and the efforts made to ameliorate the conditions under which the workers live when they are not actually employed. The enquiry originated as the result of the Recommendation adopted by the Sixth Session of the International Labour Conference in connection with the development of facilities for the utilization of workers' spare time. The Labour Office conducted an enquiry, the results of which were published in the issue of the *Labour Gazette* for January 1927.

* Not printed.

The utilization of the spare time of industrial workers is a matter which has received but little attention from employers as a whole in the Bombay Presidency, and such efforts as have been made in the direction of ameliorating workers' conditions take the form more of providing medical aid, minor educational facilities, and housing. Activities expressly directed towards the development of the physical, intellectual, material, and moral powers which is the object of those interested in the proper use of the workers' spare time are practically negligible as far as employers are concerned except in the case of some of the larger organizations such as the Railways and the Port Trusts which provide recreational facilities for the members of their superior staff; and the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd., Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons who are the Agents of eleven cotton mills in Bombay City and some other establishments also maintain a special Institute called the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute for carrying on various welfare activities for the operatives of the establishments under their control, but the work of this Institute has been considerably interfered with as the result of the unrest which has been so marked a feature of industrial life in Bombay during the last two years.

There are comparatively few organizations of social workers or of Industrial Associations in the Bombay Presidency which undertake welfare work for the benefit of workers. The most notable Institutions are the Ahmedabad Labour Union in Ahmedabad City, and the Social Service League, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association in Bombay. An Institution called the Nagpada Neighbourhood House was founded in Bombay in the year 1927 by Dr. Clifford Manshardt, Ph.D., to provide a centre to assist in cultivating the higher interests of the Nagpada Neighbourhood, to initiate and to maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, to investigate and to improve social and economic conditions, and at all times to work for the public welfare of the City of Bombay. The benefits of this Institution are intended to cover all classes and creeds of citizens of the City of Bombay resident in the neighbourhood of Nagpada; and its activities include a Young Men's Hostel, a dispensary; the holding of lectures, religious meetings, classes and athletics; providing concerts, cinemas, games, clubs, and dramatics; a night school, training in social service, and employment bureau, etc.

The Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha used to undertake a considerable amount of welfare work for all classes of industrial workers some years ago, but this once very useful organization has existed almost as a mere name for the last four or five years and its welfare activities to-day are mostly confined to the occasional holding of "tamashas" and wrestling bouts on festival days. With the exception of the Ahmedabad Labour Union and some Postal Unions no other Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency carry on specific welfare activities for the benefit of their members. Some Unions have organized Co-operative Credit Societies and various kinds of funds for specific benefits such as legal defence, death and retirement benefits, unemployment and sickness benefits, etc., but this cannot be considered as welfare work. These activities were not, therefore, covered by the enquiry conducted by the Labour Office in the year 1926.

It has not been possible owing to the shortness of the time at the disposal of Government for the preparation of this memorandum to make a fresh investigation in order to bring the information collected in 1926 thoroughly up-to-date. Endeavours have, however, been made to collect later information regarding the activities of bodies like the Social Service League, the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations, and one or two others, and this has been made use of in all cases where additional details were made available. The information therefore mainly relates to the position in 1926 as far as employers are concerned, and for later periods, specified in each case for the other Associations dealt with. The information given in connection with employers may, however, be considered as fairly representative of the position to-day; because, to the best of the knowledge of the Labour Office, very little, if any, development in the welfare activities of employers has taken place in the past few years. The subjects of health, housing, and maternity benefits have been dealt with elsewhere.

Extent of Welfare work by Employers—Recreation.—Among the Cotton mills in Bombay City four mills had provided playgrounds for the benefit of their employees, but three of these mills reported that none of their workers took advantage of the facilities offered. In one case where provision had been made for football, cricket, etc., the majority of the workers were reported as taking part in the games. One mill had provided two gymnasiums, one for Mahars and the other for Mahrattas. The number taking exercise in the first was reported as 50, and in the second as 65. One mill provided a hall for indoor games, but no statistics were available with regard to the number of workpeople making use of it. With regard to the question of entertainments, one mill regularly arranged for dramatic performances, cinema shows, religious discourses and open-air lectures. All the workers in this mill (about 3,000)

took advantage of these entertainments and the attendance at the open air lectures was reported as averaging 2,000. Another mill provided for lectures, magic lantern shows, etc., and the majority of the operatives of the mill were reported to present themselves at these shows.

The Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute provides a gymnasium, a social club, a cricket club and makes arrangements for sports and excursions. At the social club arrangements have been made for selling tea and refreshments of good quality at reasonable rates for all the workers of the Currimbhoy Ebrahim mills. The total number of persons who took advantage of this arrangement in 1927 amounted to about 55,000 and the sales amounted to about Rs. 12,000. Sports meetings are arranged frequently when workers take part in various prize competitions provided such as wrestling matches, running races, physical feats, long and high jumps, tug of war, etc. In addition to the above, the institute stages dramatic performances once or twice a month, conducts magic lantern lectures and social gatherings and provides a harmonium and a gramophone for the benefit of its members.

Among the Ahmedabad mills, one mill provided an open ground for sports. Another mill started a cricket club but none of the workers took advantage of it. In two cases rooms were provided for prayers. One mill had a gymnasium and provided periodic entertainments for half-timers and young children. Cinema shows were arranged occasionally by one mill, but apart from these instances the returns from the Ahmedabad mills under the head " Recreation " were all blank.

Three out of the five cotton mills in Sholapur provided facilities for outdoor sports. One mill had its own cricket and hockey teams and a special sports ground for half-timers. Sweets and eatables were given to the children on the playground off and on in order to encourage them to take healthy exercise. The same mill also started a boy scouts movement. The troop strength in 1926 was 120. The scouts were also provided with their own special playground for out-door sports. Four mills in Sholapur provided gymnasia with wrestling pits. The average daily attendance at the gymnasium of one mill was reported at 50. With regard to entertainments one mill had an amateur dramatic club which staged Marathi plays from time to time for the amusement of the employees of that mill.

Out of the 11 up-country mills which submitted returns one mill reported that provision had been made for suitable playing fields, a football ground, two tennis courts and three wrestling rooms. The loan of the school hall is given at a very low cost to touring dramatic companies for staging plays and it is also used for various other entertainments which are organized from time to time. Another mill provided a sports ground and a third mill arranged for cinemas and dramatic shows when convenient. These were reported to have been attended by about 50 per cent. of the operatives.

Among the concerns included in the group " Engineering and Other Trades " only one establishment, in Ahmednagar, provided a sports ground for its employees.

All the railways provide recreational clubs, or institutes as they are called, at all important stations on their lines. These institutes contain reading rooms and libraries, tennis courts, and in many cases, football and hockey grounds and billiard rooms. There is generally a small subscription for membership of the institute or for a particular section such as billiards, tennis, etc. The members organize their own entertainments such as dramatic shows, whist drives, dances and periodic sports. Membership of the institutes is generally confined to the better paid railway employees and their families and is not open to the lower grade and menial establishments.

Among public utility companies in Bombay City, the Bombay Gas Company has provided a building and grounds which are known as the Bombay Gas Company's Social Club. It is run by a committee which is composed of employees of the company. The committee takes over the full management of the entertainments as far as the building is concerned and also runs the sports section including cricket, tennis, billiards, etc. The company reported that generally speaking only a small number of its employees avail themselves of these facilities.

Municipalities make no special recreational provisions for their own employees.

The Bombay Port Trust provides land on various parts of the Port Trust estate for playgrounds and recreational purposes and it also maintains an institute with two tennis courts at Mazagon for the members of its engineering staff and an institute at Wadala for the railway staff. Cinema demonstrations of an instructional character are arranged for from time to time. The Bombay Improvement Trust maintains a cricket club and forms a hockey team when possible. It also provides a gymnasium for its workers and arranges for occasional cinematograph entertainments at the coolie camps.

Among Government Departments in the Bombay Presidency, only the Security Printing Press at Nasik provides a club house and a games ground for supervisors, overseers and the office staff. No other provision is made by Government Departments for the recreation of their manual labourers.

Tennis, cricket and hockey are not played by industrial workers and when these are provided they are made use of by the superior and clerical staff. For the ordinary operative employers provide very little recreation.

Creches.—A question closely connected with that of maternity benefits is of creches for infants of women operatives. A great deal of progress has been made in the Presidency in opening up new creches and in the care of infants of workers in the cotton textile mills. The progress made in this direction has been largely due to the efforts of the Lady Inspector of factories who was appointed in the year 1924. It is seen that in the year 1927, 13 Bombay mills maintained creches. The average attendance in December, 1927, was 269 as compared with a maximum attendance of 303. The mothers are beginning to take considerably more interest in matters relative to the health of their children and a number of them voluntarily consulted the Lady Inspector as to the exact effect of opium on their children. The administration of opium to 102 infants was directly stopped in the creches. In this connection lectures to the women and frequent talks to individual mothers were given. In one mill the creche costs Rs. 300 a month a large proportion of which was personally borne by a member of an agency firm. Nursery schools have been started in a few creches.

In Ahmedabad, 16 mills maintain good creches while some 10 others provide facilities that are in need of improvement. It has been reported from Ahmedabad that very few infants and children of working mothers are now seen in mill departments.

The mills in Sholapur continue to do very useful work in the direction of providing facilities for working mothers. There are three mills creches in the Sholapur mills. A nurse assisted by five Ayahs is in charge of each creche. Every morning the infants are given a warm bath and are cleanly dressed. Milk and parched rice are distributed to the babies every day. The average daily attendance at the three creches was 149 in the year 1928-29, and the expenses during that year amounted to Rs. 4,651.

By other Agencies—The Social Service League, Bombay.—The aims and objects of the Social Service League which was founded on the 19th March, 1911, are :—

I. The collection and study of social facts ; the discussion of social theories and social problems with a view to ameliorate the physical, moral, mental and economic condition of the people.

II. Adoption of measures for the training of social workers.

III. Adoption of measures for organization of charities and social work.

Under this heading the present activities of the League may briefly be classified as follows :—(1) Promotion of mass education by means of night schools, libraries, reading-rooms and magic lantern lectures, (2) Boy Scouts Corps and Boys' Clubs ; (3) Promotion of public health by (a) provision of medical relief through free dispensaries, (b) by sanitation work in the city, (c) by sanitation work in rural tracts by administering the Florence Nightingale Village Sanitation Fund, and (d) by child welfare propaganda ; (4) Work for women ; (5) Supervision of the work of the Police Court Agent ; (6) Welfare work among Kaikadis, a criminal tribe ; (7) Spread of the Co-operative movement ; (8) Securing compensation to workmen for accidents ; (9) Recreation for the working classes in the form of fresh air excursions and open air sports and the management of Indian Gymnasia and Theatricals.; (10) Social work at the Parel and Madanpura Settlements ; (11) The conduct of the Bombay Workingmen's Institute ; (12) Propaganda work through the medium of the " Social Service Quarterly," the " Samaj Sevak," lectures on social subjects, the Social Service Library and the Register of Social Service Institutions.

The League opened the Workingmen's Institute in Parel on the 26th February, 1922, as an organization intended to serve as a central institution for the labouring classes in Bombay. The main object of the League in starting this institute was to co-ordinate and centralize social, educational, economic and welfare activities in the interests of the industrial workers in an independent building under the control of the League.

The information given below is taken from the 16th Annual Report of the League for the year 1927.

The League maintains nine schools out of which one is Anglo-Marathi, two are Anglo-Gujarati, four Anglo-Urdu and two Night High Schools. The total number of students on the rolls in all these night schools was 521, the average daily attendance being 347. Out of these nine schools six schools receive grants-in-aid from the

Bombay Municipality. Almost all the students attending these schools, including the English High Schools, belong to the working classes and earn their living by doing work in mills, factories, offices, etc., during the day-time. Arrangements for teaching physics and chemistry at the Night High School were made for the first time during the year 1927 and the school was affiliated to the University of Bombay during the same year. Twenty-one students were sent up for the Matriculation and School Leaving Examinations during the year out of which four students were successful in the Matriculation Examination and two in the School Leaving Examination.

One of the most important activities of the League's Working Men's Institute at Parel is the conduct of the League's Textile Technical School which was started in 1924 for imparting practical and theoretical training to actual mill workers. There is a special building constructed for maintaining and accommodating these classes and a separate shed is kept for keeping machinery for demonstration purposes. The school provides for the education of 120 day and night students who are to be given elementary instruction both in the theory and practice of spinning and weaving through the vernacular. Owing to insufficient funds it was not possible to give scholarships to day students for maintenance; so the league only conducted night classes during the year 1927 and a scholarship of Rs. 3 per month was awarded to each student—the only qualification for receiving this scholarship being regular attendance throughout the month. Most of the machinery for the school was secured through the kindness of a few millowners, viz., Messrs. E. D. Sassoon United Mills Co., Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Sons, and Messrs. Tata Sons, Ltd. There are in all six classes in the school—three for each of the two departments, viz., spinning and weaving, each class running over a period of one hour. The number of students on the roll was 31 at the beginning of the year. Attempts were made to secure recognition of the qualifications acquired by students at this school for higher posts, but the Report of the League regrets that the mill authorities have given little encouragement so far to the students of this school by giving them preference over others in regard to admission to higher posts. The school receives grants from the Bombay Municipality and from the Committee of Direction for Technical Education.

The league maintains three standing libraries and three reading-rooms at its head office at Girgaon, and at the Parel and Madanpura settlements. It also provides free travelling libraries which consist of 20 boxes containing 75 Marathi books each, 15 boxes containing 100 Gujarati books each, and 3 boxes containing 140 Urdu books each. These boxes are supplied to different centres in the different localities of the city. The total number of books and pamphlets in all the libraries amounts to 10,000. During the year 1927, 4,074 books were issued. The number of books at the library of the Parel settlement was 1,870 and the number issued during the year amounted to 2,304. The majority of persons who took advantage of these facilities consisted mainly of workmen and clerks working in mills, factories and workshops. The average daily number of persons making use of the reading-room amounted to 50. The Urdu library at the Madanpura settlement is reported to have supplied a long-felt want in that locality. The total number of books in the library was 1,215 out of which 1,157 were issued during the year. The daily average number of people who took advantage of the reading-room was 52. The number of persons who issued books from the free travelling libraries was 456 and the total number of books issued amounted to 613.

During the year 1927, ten lantern lectures were arranged for the benefit of different classes, the subjects of the lectures being "Care of Infants," "Care of Teeth," "Social Service" and "Co-operation." Lectures on subjects of interest to working men are also delivered from time to time.

The provision of healthy recreation for the benefit of the working classes forms an important item in the league's programme of work. The facilities provided for this consist of gymnasias, theatricals, open air sports and fresh air excursions. An Indian gymnasium is attached to the Parel settlement since 1923, and is in charge of competent instructors. About 50 persons attended this gymnasium daily during the year 1927. The members organized and took part in the Workmen's Fancy Fete. The open space in the compound of the Working Men's Institute at Parel was placed at the disposal of a Lathi club during the year and 25 persons took advantage of this arrangement every day.

The Damodar Thackersey Mooljee Hall in the Working Men's Institute which is used for meetings, conferences, gatherings, etc., is fitted up with a stage for giving dramatic performances. During the year 1927, 75 performances were arranged. They were in the Marathi, the Bengali, the Tamil, the Telugu and the Konkani languages. Out of the 75 performances, 23 were given by the Sahakari Manoranjan Mandal which is an amateur dramatic club conducted under the auspices of the

league on co-operative lines. The plays were mostly classical ones in Marathi. The club consists of 125 members mostly drawn from workmen and clerks employed in mills and factories who receive no remuneration for their work. The Mandal gives occasional financial aid to deserving institutions out of the proceeds of the performances, the amount thus donated till the end of the year 1927 being Rs. 5,400.

The league has been maintaining a Boy Scout Troop known as the 31st Bombay Boy Scout Troop since the year 1918.

The Young Men's Christian Association.—After nearly half a century of Y.M.C.A. work in the city, the Board of Directors of the Bombay Young Men's Christian Association decided in the year 1924 to experiment in welfare service amongst the workers in the north of the Island of the City of Bombay. Following a survey of the field it was decided in October 1924 to open a centre at the Development Department chawls at Naigaum the aim being to make an effort to fill up the leisure time of the workers with worth-while pursuits and to establish relationships with them that would enable the organizers to render greater service in the mill industry in bad times as well as good. The first concern of the organizers was to obtain the confidence of the people. It was difficult to get them to realize that the service was free and disinterested. A beginning was made in the Naigaum chawl rooms and the near-by open spaces. Night schools were opened, indigenous games started, Indian music was introduced, lantern lectures, and talks on subjects that concern the life of the labourer, such as hygiene, sanitation, thrift, temperance, etc., were arranged. With the help of a Ladies Committee many women and children were also reached and helped in many ways. This continued until June, 1926, when a move was made into a hut (90 feet by 30 feet) erected and equipped at a cost of Rs. 8,000 on a plot of land about 200 by 260 yards in extent near the Naigaum chawls, leased by the Improvement Trust for a period of three years. Here the volume of work undertaken gradually increased. It also became the training ground for workers and the base for other centres in that area. The lease of this land has, since then, been renewed for a further period of three years.

At the suggestion of the Y.M.C.A. the Development Department installed some playground equipment such as swings, see-saws, etc., in the open space between the chawls at Naigaum. The supervision of this play centre was entrusted to the Y.M.C.A. In June 1927, the association opened another centre at the Worli chawls and in October of the same year still another centre was started for the workers employed at the Municipal Pumping Station at Love Grove. Then in November, 1928, two further centres were opened, one at Arthur Road and another in Main Road, Dadar. The association report that the interest aroused in these centres especially in the outdoor activities extends beyond even the residents of the chawls covered and many come from a distance to participate in them. For the most part the association serves Hindus. They are all industrial workers and nearly all belong to the depressed classes. There is also a fair number of Muhammadans and Christians.

The educational programme of the association covers 14 night schools teaching English, Urdu, Gujarathi and Marathi with an average daily attendance of 201.

Lantern slides and cinema shows are given from time to time the selection of the subjects being such as to give instruction, entertainment and amusement. Serious talks are given on sanitation applied to habits in the chawls and outside, thrift, temperance, gambling, etc.

A Wrestling Akhada and Lathi classes are provided at each centre. Boxing is only taught at the Naigaum centre. Ball games, e.g., "Cage," "Volley," "Football" and "Basket Ball" are often played. The Naigaum football team is reported to have given a good account of itself in the Indian football tournament, being played during the monsoon of the current year at Parel. Indoor games sufficiently attractive to both adults and children are provided for. Each centre also possesses a gramophone, and records by Indian artists are played. The singing of Bhajans are very popular and Kirtans are also occasionally provided for. Some attempts have been made to cultivate garden plots. Trees have been planted and seeds given and the association hope that the persons taking advantage of these facilities will show some results this year in growing flowers and vegetables. Prizes have been offered as an inducement for the best cultivated plot and the best produce. During such religious festivals as Holi, Ganapati, Divali, Id, Christmas, etc., special programmes are arranged with a view to the observance of such annual events in the right spirit. In addition to the activities of the association at its own centres, it also directs the activities at the three Municipal playgrounds at Mustan Shah Laug, Cilder Tank and at the Willingdon Memorial.

As in the case of the Social Service League, the Young Men's Christian Association has also formed three Scout Troops known as the 97th, 98th and the 99th Bombay Scout Troops. Rover Scout Troops, i.e., for boys over 18 years of age, have also been formed.

The Young Women's Christian Association.—The Young Women's Christian Association opened a social service centre in one of the Bombay Development Department chawls at Naigaum in the year 1928. The area was chosen as being inhabited mainly by millworkers and as the Y.M.C.A. were already at work among the men and boys, the Women's Association considered that occasional co-operation for general efforts on behalf of the whole population would be possible. As in the case of the activities of the Y.M.C.A., the work is on non-sectarian lines and is open to all without distinction of caste or creed. The financial support for the initiation of the centre has been provided by the Y.W.C.A., but the Social Service League and the Seva Sadan are also co-operating and are represented on the managing committee. The association hope that the necessary funds to support the work will be eventually raised in Bombay.

Although Naigaum is in a ward where education is compulsory, many, especially girls, do not attend school. Efforts are made to induce all girls of school-going age to attend the Municipal school though these are not always successful. Even those who do attend school are found to leave it very early, often at the age of 9 or 10 years, and appear to relapse into illiteracy very quickly. The Y.W.C.A. have started schools for such girls for two hours daily to encourage them to keep up their reading and writing and a small library has been started so that they may borrow books to read. There is also a class for young married women held daily where they study reading and writing and other subjects. Sewing classes for women are held once a week and for children twice a week. Character training is the chief aim in view at the classes. Attention is also paid to cleanliness, order and discipline and general behaviour and an effort is made to maintain an atmosphere such as to tend naturally to foster good habits in the children. A marked change in the appearance of many of those who attend regularly has been noticed.

A Nursery school was opened in June, 1929, for the benefit chiefly of women who go to work, where they can leave their children to be cared for. The opening of the school was delayed on account of the strikes which continue, it is reported, to affect the numbers. The average daily attendance for the first month was 23.

There are two Girls' clubs at the Naigaum centre where a programme of drill, singing, games and hand-work, also story-telling, is carried out. The senior club recently enacted a health drama for the benefit of their neighbours. Lantern lectures on health subjects are given once in two or three weeks when suitable slides can be obtained.

The Nagpada Neighbourhood House—The welfare activities conducted by the Nagpada Neighbourhood House have already been dealt with in the prefatory note given at the beginning of this section. No details are available with regard to specific activities in connection with education and recreation.

The Ahmedabad Labour Union.—The Ahmedabad Labour Union is an organization which controls the administration of six separate and individual unions of textile workers in cotton mills in Ahmedabad City, and it recently extended its activities to the organization of a union of the employees of the Ahmedabad Municipality. This union is the only association of industrial employees in the Bombay Presidency which conducts extensive welfare work for the benefit of its members. Its activities in connection with housing and health have been dealt with in Chapters III and IV.

In the year 1928, the union conducted ten day schools, which were attended by an aggregate number of 807 boys and 46 girls; twelve night schools attended by 610 boys and 3 girls; one Nursery school with 41 boys and 27 girls; one boarding school for boys with 26 boys, and one boarding school for girls with 8 girls. The total expenditure in connection with the 22 day and night schools and the Nursery school amounted to Rs. 35,965 during the year 1928. The cost and upkeep of the boarding school for boys amounted to Rs. 6,721 and that for the boarding school for girls to Rs. 2,081. The expenditure for the boys' boarding school was met by the Gujarat Provincial Congress committee and that for the girls' boarding school by the Trustees of the Jamnadas Trust fund.

The Social Betterment Department of the union supplements the work of the schools by conducting evening classes in chawls to teach workers reading and writing just sufficient for every day needs of life. Evening classes are organized in some localities and readings from a variety of books are given "in order to carry the light of literature to adults beyond the reading in school by evening classes."

The union maintains a library and a reading-room for the benefit of its members. There are also travelling libraries containing several boxes of books which are circulated from centre to centre.

The union has four physical culture centres for providing recreation and open air sports. No details are available with regard to the character of the sports indulged in. It has also organized a Labour Volunteer Corps from among those attending the physical culture centres.

Among the other welfare activities of the union are a cheap grain shop from which sales amounting to Rs. 6,758 were made during the year 1927. The union also conducts restaurants from which sales amounting to Rs. 17,400 were effected during the same year. It also conducts a Savings Bank and a Cheap Loans Department. Since the latter was established, a total amount of Rs. 69,790 has been given out in loans. The amount of loans issued in the year 1928, amounted to Rs. 7,712. In February 1928, the rate of interest charged on these loans was raised from 6½ to 9 per cent. Deposits totalling Rs. 5,104 were made into the Savings Bank during the year 1928, and withdrawals amounted to Rs. 5,617 during the same period. The balance in deposits at the end of the year was Rs. 4,584.

Other Associations of Industrial Employees or Social Workers.—Out of nine Postal unions which furnished information for the 1926 enquiry, two unions reported that they conducted evening classes for the benefit of postmen in the lower grade and menial establishment. The subjects taught were English, arithmetic, geography and vernacular languages and the attendance amounted to 35.

The Shewa Mandli at Rohri conducted a night school at its branch at Ubauro with an attendance of 30.

The Gurni Kamgar Mahamandal in Bombay maintained a reading-room for the benefit of its members and the members of the Currency Office union have also made provision for some books and papers. Four Postal unions in the Bombay Presidency made provision for both reading-rooms and libraries, two unions had only reading-rooms, one provided literature on postal affairs only, and another subscribed to a few newspapers which were circulated amongst the members. The Shewa Mandli at Rohri, an association which does welfare work for the benefit of farmers, weavers and villagers in Sind, has reading-rooms and libraries at all its branches.

To the best of the knowledge of the Labour Office no recreational facilities are provided by associations of industrial employees other than those dealt with above.

Employment of Welfare Officers and Workers.—Except in the case of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills in Sholapur and the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute at Bombay, no other employers have employed special welfare officers or workers to conduct their welfare activities.

Provision of Educational Facilities by Employers.—In accordance with the suggestions made by the Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1908, Government sanctioned in 1913 the opening of special schools for factory operatives at a recurring annual cost of Rs. 2,080 and a special simplified course was drawn up and sanctioned for these schools. Owing, however, to the migratory habits of the children, spasmodic attendance, and defective accommodation progress was inappreciable. In 1916 an understanding was arrived at between the representatives of the Millowners' association and the Bombay Schools committee whereby the Schools committee were to open schools at certain centres and the Millowners' association undertook to pay fees and give bonuses for regular attendance. In 1917 there were ten factory schools, with an attendance of 465 children, in Bombay. In 1921 there were only five such schools with an attendance of 310 children. It was found that the principal difficulty to be contended with was the unwillingness of the children to attend the schools provided, and the conclusion arrived at was that no rapid progress in the education of factory children could be looked for until compulsory education was introduced in the areas in which these children reside. The Bombay Municipality have now introduced compulsory education in F and G wards which are chiefly peopled by millhands.

For Adult Workers.—In Bombay City no provision has been made by the employers for the education of their adult workers. In Ahmedabad also there is no special provision except a small library in the compound of the Calico mill. In the Government factories at Kirkee the work of promoting literacy among the employees is carried on by the Kirkee Educational society which is well supported by the factory authorities. The society conducts two night schools at Kirkee proper and four in the neighbouring villages. These six schools have an attendance of about 400 pupils. In the Sholapur district there are four free libraries maintained by the millowners for the use of the millhands. The Gokak Falls Mills Company maintains a night school for its adult workers.

For Half-time Workers.—No schools are maintained in Bombay city for half-time workers. In Ahmedabad, during the years 1918 to 1922, the Jubilee and the Calico mills started a scheme for the education of their half-timers. A spacious building was constructed for this purpose and the mills offered scholarships of Rs. 4 per month to half-timers attending the school. The mill authorities were, however, not satisfied with the response from their workers for what they did and the scheme was, therefore, abandoned. The Advance Mill still runs a school for half-timers which was started in 1921. One set of pupils attend the school between 10 and 12 in the morning and the other set from 1 to 3.30 in the afternoon. All the half-timers in the mill attend the school. In all there are 21 boys and 24 girls on the rolls. The school is situated within the mill compound and workers' children who are not half-timers are not admitted. Three mills in the Sholapur district have made provision for the primary education of half-timers. These half-timers read up to the primary second standard and receive instruction for about 2½ hours a day. There is a primary day school at Dapuri, near Poona, which is intended for the half-timers employed in the Government workshop at Dapuri.

For Workers' Children.—In Bombay City the employers do not conduct any schools for workers' children but some of the cotton mills give special grants for this purpose to bodies carrying on educational work in the city. Donations are given out of the Currimbhoy Trust Fund to the technical school started at Parel by the Bombay Social Service League. In Ahmedabad eight mills maintain schools for workers' children. The Calico Mill School is managed by the Municipality; the Jubilee, the Bharat Textile and the Bharat Cotton Mills Schools by the Labour Union, and the rest by the mills themselves. The Jubilee Mill has framed a scheme according to which school fees and text-books are supplied to the workers' children or the dependants of workers whose pay does not exceed Rs. 150 per month. The Jubilee Mill is also running a Montessori school for the benefit of workers' children between the ages of 2½ and 5 years. The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association used to contribute from 1922 a sum of Rs. 15,000 per year, being the interest from their contribution of 2½ lakhs to the Tilak Swaraj Fund for the educational activities conducted by the Ahmedabad Labour Union. Since April, 1928, however, this contribution has been stopped as the Union has declined to allow the Association to have voice in the method of spending the money. The G. I. P. Railway makes a grant of Rs. 1,000 per year to the G. I. P. Railway Anglo-Vernacular School for the benefit of the sons of railway employees at Manmad. The Gokak Falls Mills Company has maintained a primary school and since December, 1928, an English class has been attached to standard V of the primary school. A separate girls' school has also been started. An English teaching school has been started since June, 1929.

Extent to which utilized.—Information on this point is not available except in the case of Ahmedabad. In Ahmedabad the number of mill children attending schools built by the employers is about 300. The Calico Mill has engaged two men to fetch children to the school, and the attendance is higher than in other schools. In spite of this, however, all children do not attend the school because parents do not take sufficient interest in the education of their children.

Co-operation.—Efforts have been made in this Presidency to organize co-operative societies among industrial labouring classes since the year 1911-12. The first society among the mill-hands was organized by Diwan Bahadur A. U. Malji in his spinning mill at Broach, with a capital of Rs. 1,557. There are at present 104 societies for this class of people in Bombay City and the suburbs, and five outside Bombay with a total working capital of Rs. 5,55,924 and a membership of 9,274. A list of such societies showing the dates of registration and their present condition will be found in Appendix V.

The question of the formation of co-operative societies among millhands and artisans was not taken up till the year 1912 in this Presidency, when the Broach Industrial Millhands' Society and four societies in the Western India Mills at Bombay were registered. The object of these societies was to relieve millhands by granting them loans for short periods to tide them over the period—about six weeks—during which their pay is held back by their employers as a security for their good conduct, and, secondly, to supply cheap groceries to their members. A note on co-operation among the millhands was placed before the Provincial Co-operative Conference in the year 1913 by Mr. G. K. Devdhar, M. A., of the Servants of India Society, and in pursuance of the resolution of that conference, societies amongst millhands were organized.

At the Provincial Conference of 1914 the question of Debt Redemption among the urban labouring classes was further discussed. In the year 1917, Rao Sahab H. V. Rajwadkar again raised the question of co-operative societies for factory workers. The bye-laws for co-operative societies for factory workers were accordingly

framed and about 60 societies were organized. The Government of Bombay also sanctioned the appointment of a special auditor for welfare work in Bombay City to audit and supervise the societies.

The societies in Bombay may be divided into three classes according to the three agencies by which they were organized :—

(1) For the debt redemption societies, members of suitable types were selected from the groups of millhands united by caste or by common employment in various departments of the mills. The members bound themselves to take up debentures in the societies by regular monthly deposits out of their pay. The whole scheme was under the control of a strong committee called "The Debt Redemption Committee" of which the Honourable Mr C. H. A. Hill, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., was president, and a small committee was formed for the purpose of taking an active interest in the affairs of the societies and generally in guiding them in their work. Through the efforts of Mr. Devadhar and his friends over Rs. 15,000 were secured from several generous friends. On the recommendation of the Provincial Co-operative Conference of 1914, the Government of Bombay sanctioned a grant of Rs. 500 per year, to the Bombay Debt Redemption Committee for the purpose of carrying on educational and inspection work in the then existing societies as well as the new societies which were started thereafter. In the year 1919 they also sanctioned an annual subvention not exceeding Rs. 750 for a further period of three years from 1st April, 1919, to the Debt Redemption Committee or any Banking Union into which it may merge. The members in the beginning displayed very keen interest and took pride in their societies and the progress made in thrift, temperance and self-respect was remarkable for some years. Nineteen societies were organized under this scheme but in the year 1919 it was found that some of the societies were very inefficient and unsatisfactory, partly owing to the circumstances connected with the Great War. The experience gained as to the working of the majority of these societies was very disappointing. The members made punctual repayments during the first few years but from 1919 onwards it became very difficult for the committee to make recoveries. Under such circumstances the overdues produced a demoralizing effect, and many of the members failed to repay their dues in spite of the strong moral pressure brought to bear on them by the promoters of the societies. At present over 50 per cent. of the out-standings are in arrears. The only satisfactory feature of the arrangement was that the money was raised by taking donations from the wealthy people in Bombay on a semi-philanthropic basis, and even if big losses occur in this part of the scheme, no money belonging to the outside depositors will be lost. In fact, from the very beginning this scheme had been organized more in a spirit of philanthropy than of self-help.

(2) The Social Service League, under the guidance of Mr. N. M. Joshi, organized a few independent societies and also founded two workmen's institutes in connection with the Currimbhoy and Tata groups of mills, and by utilizing the services of the permanent staff of these two institutes as a supervising and controlling agency, 39 societies among the millhands were organized by the year 1919. The League, profiting by the mistakes of the early pioneers, did not try to redeem the old debts of the millhands and became very cautious in their dealings by regulating advances in proportion to the wages of the millhands. A grant-in-aid of Rs. 1,000 per annum is being given by the Government of Bombay to the Social Service League in order to enable it to carry on its activities in respect of the spread of co-operation in the city of Bombay, particularly among the millhands. The Bombay Central Co-operative Institute has also a branch at Dadar to carry on propaganda among these classes. Two welfare institutes called "The Tata Welfare Institute" and "The E. D. Sassoon Welfare Institute," were organized in 1925 to assist in the organization, supervision and control of the co-operative societies of the millhands under these two agencies. The work of these institutes is carried on by a board of management constituted thus :—Three members nominated by the agents; three members nominated by the Central Co-operative Institute; one member elected by the societies in each mill; one co-opted member. The agents have agreed to bear almost the whole cost of Rs. 2,000 annually incurred by the institute for the pay of the secretary, peon and other charges.

(3) The third agency was that of Rao Saheb H. V. Rajwadkar and his friends, who, by their own personal influence, formed a dozen societies among the labouring classes of Bombay city on the basis of caste or similarity of occupation.

Outside Bombay city the movement among millhands has developed sporadically, depending on the amount of interest taken by the management in the working of these societies. Among the millhands of Haripur and Mansukhpura at Ahmedabad, two promising little societies were started by Miss Anusayaben Sarabhai. These societies were doing very well for some time, but the very next year after the registration of these societies, owing to political influences, they ceased to work as

organizations registered under the Co-operative Societies Act, and had to be wound up. The Broach Fine Counts Mill Employees' Co-operative Credit Society, being the first society among millhands, continues to work satisfactorily and has built up a reserve fund of Rs. 5,220 and has got a working capital of Rs. 7,090. Two millhands' societies in the Pratap Mills at Amalner are doing very good work and the managing agents and the proprietors of the mills take sympathetic interest in the well-being of the societies. These two societies at Amalner have a working capital of over Rs. 2 lakhs, out of which Rs. 1,75,000 is contributed by the members as share capital, deposits and reserve fund.

Chapter VI.—Safety.

Existing Regulations in Factories.—Section 18 (1) (a) of the Indian Factories Act provides for the fencing of fly wheels and parts of engines. Section 18 (1) (b) for the fencing of hoists or teagles, hoist wells, trap doors, etc. Section 18 (1) (c) provides for the fencing of the machinery, electrical fittings, etc., which the Local Government may by Rule require to be kept fenced. Each Province has adopted special Rules in this respect. Section 18 (2) provides that the Inspector may serve an order (subject to appeal) with a time limit to secure the fencing of other dangerous machinery or mill gearing.

Section 18 (4) provides for the framing of Rules for the protection from danger of persons employed in attending to the machinery or boilers of any factory. Rules 39 to 43 of the Bombay Rules have been thus framed.

Section 16 provides for means of escape in case of fire.

Section 17 prohibits smoking in the immediate vicinity of inflammable material.

Section 18-A permits an appealable order to be served in respect of repairs to buildings and the use of any part of the ways, works, machinery or plant in a factory. It also provides for an appealable order to be served to prohibit the use of any part of the ways, works, machinery or plant if imminent danger to human life is involved.

Section 19 prohibits the cleaning of machinery in motion by women or children and the working between the fixed and traversing parts of self-acting machines. It also provides for the prohibition of cleaning specified machinery in motion by male adults.

Section 19-A grants power to an Inspector to serve an appealable order to prevent the admission of underaged children to factories involving danger. A general order to ginning factories has been served.

Section 19-B prohibits the employment of women and young persons in certain lead operations and allows their employment in others subject to conditions.

Section 20 specially deals with a risk to women in cotton pressing factories.

Incidence of accidents.—The following table shows the incidence of accidents in factories in the Bombay Presidency :—

Year.	Number of persons injured.				Average per 100 operatives employed.	Remarks.
	Fatal.	Serious.	Minor.	Total.		
1926 ..	49	875	3,060	3,984	1.04	A "serious" accident is one that involves loss of an eye or limb or absence from duty due to the accident for more than 20 days. In practice, this is considered the difference between the date of the accident and the date of return to duty. The "serious" accidents are thus unduly swollen.
1927 ..	59	1,169	3,572	4,800	1.25	
1928 ..	39	1,060	3,419	4,518	1.27	

Causes of accidents.—The following table analyses accidents by causes :—

Causes of accidents.	1927.				1928.			
	Fatal.	Serious.	Minor.	Total.	Fatal.	Serious.	Minor.	Total.
I Machinery—								
(a) Pencil movers	—	7	6	13	1	6	5	12
(b) Transmission machinery—								
(1) Millgearing, shafts, pulleys	1	10	11	22	1	5	3	9
(2) Belts	6	42	57	105	4	26	16	46
(c) Lifting machinery—								
(1) Hoists	—	6	5	11	2	5	1	8
(2) Other lifting gear	1	11	52	64	1	14	26	41
(d) Working Machinery—								
(1) Textile machinery								
(a) Blow room machinery	—	65	37	102	1	41	21	63
(b) Carding room machinery	2	87	45	134	1	56	28	85
(c) Drawing machinery	—	21	16	37	—	21	10	31
(d) Speed frames	—	31	33	64	—	23	10	33
(e) Spinning machinery	1	45	33	79	—	45	15	60
(f) Looms	—	97	176	273	—	81	139	220
(g) Calenders	—	18	6	24	—	13	6	19
(h) Unclassified textile machinery	1	70	77	148	3	73	61	137
(2) Machine tools	1	75	245	321	—	78	248	328
(3) Miscellaneous unclassified machinery	3	47	25	75	1	67	34	102
II. Transport—								
(a) Rolling stock on lines	—	18	18	36	1	11	6	18
(b) Rolling stock not on lines	—	3	5	8	—	3	6	9
III. Persons falling—								
(a) From altitudes	6	45	87	138	3	24	72	99
(b) Into excavations, pits, etc	4	7	17	28	—	4	18	22
(c) On level	1	21	67	89	—	23	44	67
IV. Falling objects—								
(a) Handled by injured person	2	114	508	624	—	113	458	571
(b) Not handled by injured person	5	32	171	208	5	22	90	117
V. Hand tools (including chips and particles set in motion by them)—								
(a) In hands of injured person	—	76	759	835	—	69	823	892
(b) In hands of other person	1	10	137	148	—	8	119	127
VI. Electrically	1	4	1	6	—	2	5	7
VII. Poisonous, corrosive substances and occupational diseases	—	5	18	23	—	3	20	23
VIII. Explosions and fires—								
(a) Boiler and steam pressure equipment	1	3	6	10	1	2	—	3
(b) Other explosions	—	3	4	7	3	3	2	8
(c) Fires	5	15	2	22	3	14	9	26
(d) Hot substances and flames	2	28	128	158	5	35	129	169
IX. Miscellaneous								
(a) Heat prostration	—	1	3	4	—	—	1	1
(b) Stepping on or striking objects	—	25	176	201	—	17	144	161
(c) Others	3	95	599	697	1	106	840	947
Total	47	1,137	3,530	4,714	39	1,013	3,409	4,461

Accident prevention (including "Safety-first" propaganda).—Statistical research into the causes of accidents was introduced some years ago in the Factory Department. Accidents are thus not only classified by cause but an internal classification as to the part of the machine causing the accident has also been adopted. This enables concentration on special types of accidents to be made. The system has already been fruitful of results, since, by its aid the Mill Owners' Associations agreed to change the shuttle guards on a large number of looms and to provide new carding machines with automatic locks on the stripping doors while the Mill Owners' Mutual Insurance Association agreed to bear the cost of Safety Posters. An extended use of goggles to prevent eye accidents in the Railway workshops has also been secured. The Rules require Inspectors to enquire into all accidents so that accidents receive more attention from Inspectors in Bombay than in other countries. The Factory Department, in co-operation with the Railway Workshop authorities, produced four "Safety-first" Posters in 1926. These were the first industrial "Safety-first" Posters in India. They have been introduced in the large engineering shops throughout the Presidency, and were intended to educate the workers in an endeavour to reduce types of accidents in which the knowledge or carefulness of the operative is the controlling factor.

The posters illustrate :—(1) Right and wrong methods of chipping or fettling ; (2) Right and wrong methods of working at a forge ; (3) Right and wrong methods of using a mallet ; (4) Right and wrong methods of slinging.

The G.I.P. Railway authorities have also introduced an illustrated booklet dealing with general railway safety which includes a chapter on workshop safety.

The Mill Owners' Mutual Insurance Association, Bombay, agreed to pay for "Safety Posters" for the Textile Industry. These have been recently produced by the Factory Department in co-operation with them and with vernacular captions have been posted in the mills of the Presidency.

The Safety Pamphlets issued by the Home Office in England have been placed on sale and 774 copies sold.

The Inspectors have been impressing upon the lower subordinates in the mills the necessity of explaining the danger points of machinery and processes to ignorant workers before they are allowed to handle the machines.

In some factories, safety rules have been introduced.

First Aid and Medical Relief.—Most of the large factories engage part time doctors and full time compounders with provisions for first aid. The Railway workshops, and a few other concerns employ full time medical officers. In the smaller factories satisfactory first-aid appliances are often not maintained.

A provision in the Factories Act requiring the maintenance of prescribed first-aid boxes appears to be desirable.

Stringency of inspection and Enforcement of Regulations.—The following tables are of interest in connection with the question of the stringency of inspection :—

(1) *Industry generally (Perennial Factories).*

Year.	Number of factories.	Inspections.				Uninspected.	Remarks.
		Once.	Twice.	Thrice	More than thrice.		
1926 ..	675	112	178	246	131	8	Full time staff and ex-officio inspectors.
1927 ..	678	70	191	153	259	5	
1928 ..	715	91	206	177	232	9	

(2) *Seasonal Industries.*

Year.	Number of factories.	Inspections.				Uninspected.	Remarks.
		Once.	Twice.	Thrice.	More than thrice.		
1926 ..	723	321	247	106	31	18	Full time staff and ex-officio inspectors.
1927 ..	748	296	301	121	23	7	
1928 ..	783	264	347	134	32	6	

In addition to the above, the full-time staff of the factory department made 2,592 special visits in 1926, 2,389 in 1927, and 2,285 in 1928, for accident enquiries or surprise visits to check observance of the specified hours, holidays or rest periods.

As regards the enforcement of regulations, the following table is of interest :—

Year.	Cases.	Total fines.	Remarks.
1926	599	Rs. 9,382	Full-time staff only.
1927	237	4,125	
1928	326	8,275	

Effect of Hours of Work on Safety.—An analysis of 1,016 railway workshop accidents was made to ascertain whether fatigue had any bearing on accident causation. The results were as follows :—

	Time of occurrence of accidents.								
	8 to 9	9 to 10	10 to 11	11 to 12	1 to 2	2 to 3	3 to 4	4 to 5	5 to 5.30
Number of accidents.	75	164	177	127	77	112	137	104	43

It appears that fatigue has little, if any, bearing on the accident rate in railway workshops.

Chapter VII.—Workmen's Compensation.

Workmen's Compensation Act.—The Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in 1923 and came into operation on the 1st July, 1924. As the Commission will, no doubt, be provided with copies of the Act, it is not necessary to enter into details with regard to its provisions, the classes of workers with which it deals, or the scales of compensation which have been laid down. Having regard to the importance of Bombay as an industrial province, it was decided to appoint a full-time Commissioner to deal with cases arising in the more important industries and industrial centres of the Presidency. The jurisdiction of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay, now covers Bombay City, Bombay suburban district, and the districts of Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat, Khandesh and Sholapur. It also covers the B.B. and C.I. and the G.I.P. Railways in the Bombay Presidency. The Commissioner also deals with all cases arising in the Presidency to which the hydro-electric companies managed by Messrs. Tata Sons, Ltd., are a party. His jurisdiction, therefore, covers the greater part of the industrial area of the Presidency. For the rest, ex-officio Commissioners have been appointed. These are Judges of the Small Causes Courts, where they exist, or in other cases the First Class Subordinate Judge or the Second Class Subordinate Judge for the administrative district. The full-time Commissioner first appointed under the Act was a practising barrister. In April, 1928, he was promoted to act as a District Judge, and the officer in charge of the Labour Office, who is also a barrister and had had some experience of workmen's compensation in England, has been performing the duties of Commissioner in addition to his other duties.

A full statement of accidents for which compensation has been paid, the industries in which they have occurred, etc., is printed as Appendix VI. This gives the statistics up to the end of the year 1928 and shows that the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation does the bulk of the Workmen's Compensation work in the Presidency. He has dealt with 1,690 cases, involving the payment of nearly 7½ lakhs of rupees, while all the other ex-officio Commissioners have together dealt with 224 cases, involving the payment of about one lakh of compensation. A very large number of the ex-officio Commissioners rarely have a contested case to deal with, most of them having distribution cases only.

The following note by the Bombay Accident Insurance Association indicates the advantages of a full-time Commissioner and the point need not be further elaborated :—“The local Governments of Bengal, Bombay and Madras have appointed one official as Commissioner under the Act for the whole province (in the case of Bombay for all the important industrial areas) but in other Provinces, District Magistrates, or in the case of the Central Provinces, District and Sessions Judges have been appointed Commissioners in their respective districts. In view of the material changes in the Act likely to be effected in the near future and the growing complexity of the handling and disposal of claims, it now appears desirable that one Commissioner should be appointed for those Provinces in which no single Commissioner at present exists. The disadvantages of the present system of appointing district officials as commissioners are briefly as follows :—(1) Hardship caused by delay in the disposal of cases ; (2) Inconvenience to the parties connected with the claims ; (3) Absence of an expert Commissioner acquainted with Workmen's Compensation Law ; and (4) The undesirability of an executive officer being called upon to adjudicate in contested claims.

“Experience shows that district officials are, generally speaking, already fully occupied with a large volume of other judicial and executive work, and are not able rapidly to dispose of the cases which come before them. Such officials are not available for consultation with employers and workmen's representatives, and, in

view of pressure of other work, workmen's compensation cases are, not infrequently, protracted by numerous postponements. Moreover, these district officials' courts are not adequately equipped with clerical staff and other appliances necessary for the speedy handling of claims and the correspondence connected therewith.

"As regards (2) above, managers and other responsible officials of factories and collieries are frequently detained at the Commissioner's Court longer than absolutely necessary in contested claims, and the delay in the disposal of these cases causes much hardship to the dependants and inconvenience to the employer.

"Referring to (3) above, it is generally admitted that the subject of workmen's compensation is one which does not come within the study of the average judicial officer. It requires an intensive survey of the large volume of case law which has arisen in England, and a fairly wide knowledge of medical terms and technical phrases used in various industries. If one official were appointed for the whole Province the large number of cases would enable him speedily to acquire expert knowledge of such matters.

"As regards (4) above, it is undesirable that the official appointed as Commissioner for the administration of the Act should be the same person who is liable to be called upon at any time to hold an enquiry, under the orders of the local Government, into the circumstances of an accident in his executive capacity or otherwise. This may tend to pre-dispose him in favour of either one party or the other which should not be so as workmen's compensation claims have judicially to be decided."

Extent of use of Act—The statistical information available as to the number of persons engaged in the various industries covered by the Act does not enable any estimate to be made of the extent of the use of the Act. The details of accidents given in the Factory Report cannot be compared with those published by the Workmen's Compensation Office. In the first place the Factory Report refers to accidents which happened during the year under report, and those for the Workmen's Compensation office refer to cases disposed of during the year under report. Moreover, a fatal accident might happen in a factory where the workman would be entitled to compensation, but it would not be an accident that is reported under the Factories Act. Again, all statistical information of this kind relating to railways is sent to the Railway Board and not to local Governments and, of course, a number of trades are covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act which do not have to report to anybody accidents occurring in those industries. It may, however, be assumed that compensation has been paid in every case of a fatal accident where such compensation was legally payable. As regards serious accidents, with regard to which statistics are given in the Factory Report, here again no comparison whatever is possible with the Workmen's Compensation Act returns, because a "serious" accident in the Factory Report may not lead to "permanent disablement," which is one of the three types of injury for which compensation is payable, the others being "death" and "temporary disablement."

Having regard to the fact that the Workmen's Compensation Act applies almost entirely to occupations which are hazardous but which are also organized, it is probable that the great majority of workmen who are entitled to compensation receive it. That some of the smaller factory employers do try to evade their liabilities is unfortunately true, but it is not thought that the extent of such evasion is other than negligible as compared with the volume of compensation actually paid. So far as the large employers of labour are concerned, and indeed employers generally, the Act has been used with fairness and even with generosity, while so far as the insurance companies are concerned they have, so far as the experience of the Commissioner goes, always given the workman the benefit of the doubt. The volume of litigation has been relatively small, and the High Court has scarcely been troubled at all with the task of interpreting the Act and evolving a body of case law, which is so marked a feature of the Workmen's Compensation Act in England. The fact that the Indian Act is modelled upon the English Acts has enabled the Commissioners, in interpreting the Indian Act, to base their decisions on the principles which have been laid down by the highest judicial tribunal in the Empire, the House of Lords. Moreover, employers and insurance companies have not found it necessary to take the opinion of the Courts of Appeal on debatable points in order to establish general principles, such as those involved in interpreting the meaning of "out of and in the course of" employment. Some sections of the Act have proved difficult of interpretation, but on the whole the Commissioners in contested cases have had to deal with questions of fact rather than questions of law.

Effect on Industry.—The effect on industry, if by this is meant the financial burden on industry, as distinct from that involved in the necessity for employers to look after the safety of their men, or the bearing of workmen's compensation on industrial efficiency, absenteeism, malingering and so on, has been very small and no complaints have been made that any hardship has been inflicted on any industry.

Most of the insurance companies doing workmen's compensation business have a common tariff, but in cases where the total wages of any one firm or employer or for any one individual contract are estimated to exceed one lakh per annum special rates may be fixed by the Bombay Accident Insurance Association in which case the printed rates have usually been reduced. For example, the book-rate for cotton mill employees is 4 annas per 100 rupees, the special rate is 3 annas per 100 rupees, the book-rate for aluminium foundry hands is 20 annas per cent., and the special rate is 16 annas per cent., while for tramway employees in the upkeep and running departments the book-rate is 18 annas, the special rate is 10 annas.

Rates for some of the more important industries which are covered by the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act are :—

Occupation.	Rate per 100 Rupees.
Brass founders, workers and finishers—	Annas.
Foundry hands	20
All other employees	7
Builders and employees engaged in the shop or yard or on construction of buildings	24
Workmen engaged in demolition of buildings (with some exceptions)	128
Chemical works	24
Cotton ginning and pressing factories	10
Cotton godowns and warehouses	4
Stevadores loading and/or unloading coal or cargo	48
Employees engaged in blasting	56
Light and power, erection of plant, installations and repairs in generating stations and certain other places	12 to 24
Engineers, bridge building—	
Up to 20 ft. in height	20
Over 20 ft.	40
Bridge, column and girder buildings	64
Men employed on gasometers and tanks away from the shop or yard	80
Hydraulic machinery erecting away from shop or yard	48
Engineers not specially classified	16
Wood-working machinists	60
Leather dressers and dyers	8
Metal workers, usually	8
Printers and lithographers, excluding printing of daily newspapers	5
Daily newspapers, excluding lead poisoning	8
Quarries—	
Where no blasting is done	18
Where any blasting is done	27
Mines other than coal mines	27 to 32
Railway upkeep and mining	10 to 20
Rice millers	8 to 16
Saw mills, felling, sawing and carting of trees	60
Sewer and road contractors	20 to 64
Shipbuilders	24 to 48
Steel or ironfounders not otherwise classified	10 to 28
Steel or iron rolling mills	20
Steel making	14 to 20
Telephones and telegraphs—	
Work outside buildings	40
All other work	14

The Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association charge a flat rate for the textile mills of three annas per hundred rupees of expended wages. This rate was first intiated by this association and was later accepted by other insurance companies. The association also insures risks under the Workmen's Compensation Act in other industries carried on by its members, and it is believed that the rates in such cases are approximately 25 per cent. cheaper than those charged by other insurance companies. The Association has insured 45 textile mills in Bombay, and there are also on the register of the Association 12 mills from other parts of the country.

Insurance facilities.—Complete insurance facilities are available for any employer who desires to make use of them, because, apart from indigenous insurance companies, most of the big British companies doing workmen's compensation business are represented in Bombay, usually by their own representatives sent out by head office

From the worker's point of view it does not matter very much whether his employer is insured or not, where he is a railway servant or a tramway worker or a seaman or the employee of a port trust or other big local body, all of which carry their own insurance. In some of the smaller factories it would be an advantage to the workman if his employer was insured, because he would get his money more rapidly and with less argument, and it has been found, especially in Ahmedabad, that employers who are insured usually act as counsel for the workman. Any system of compulsory insurance, however, would be full of administrative difficulties, and would, in practice, be unworkable, especially when, as is proposed, the Act is further extended to trades and occupations where the employers are even less organized than they are at present. It is significant that the insurance companies do not favour compulsory insurance.

Desirability of extending the Act to other Occupations.—The question of the desirability of extending the Act has been very fully discussed in response to an enquiry from the Government of India quite recently, and the detailed report sent to the Government of India will no doubt be available to the Commission. The following letter from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India expresses the opinions of the Government of Bombay and it is not necessary to deal with the matter further :—

Sir,—I have the honour to refer to your No. L.1125, dated the 30th November, 1928, in which the Government of Bombay is asked to re-examine the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, and to make suggestions as to its amendment. In paragraph 18 of your letter you set out the main questions on which the Government of India desire to receive opinions and it will be convenient to reply under those heads. A large number of bodies and associations have been consulted representing every possible interest and the suggestions made by the Government of India have been most carefully considered in all their aspects.

2. *Question No. 1.*—To what fresh classes of employees, if any, should the Act be extended ?

This is one of the most important matters for consideration and there is a variety of opinion with regard to it. Important commercial interests such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Merchants' Chamber think that the Act is already sufficiently comprehensive, although the latter suggest that workmen engaged in the construction of dams and tunnels should be included. The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association are of the same opinion, but recommend extension to plantations. The bulk of the replies, however, seems to favour giving the Act a wider scope and extending the number of occupations to be covered, and as an illustration of the care and impartiality with which the employers of Bombay have considered this question it may be pointed out that the suggestions for extension to various trades and occupations come from employers in those industries themselves. The extension to all organized industries is generally recommended, but some of the recommendations, especially from the workers' interests, would apply to the most unorganized occupations which it would be difficult to define and almost impossible to include with any hope of administering an Act so framed. Having carefully considered the recommendations that have been made, the Government of Bombay suggests that the following occupations should be added to Schedule 2 :—

Any person employed in the construction, upkeep or demolition of any dam more than 20 feet high or of any canal or any embankment, cutting dock, harbour, or tunnel,

or employed by any borough, municipality or district local board in the construction or upkeep of roads,

or employed in the construction, repair or removal of pipe lines, gas, electricity, and water mains, where the principal is a company engaged in the production and distribution of gas or water or electrical energy, or is a borough municipality.

Drivers of mechanically propelled vehicles belonging to any local authority or any tramway company.

Any person engaged in the loading and unloading or transport of goods within the area of any dock, harbour, or port authority, or employed on dredgers, tugs, barges or other vessels owned or operated by a Port authority or engaged in submarine diving operations in connection with the service of a Port authority.

Workmen employed within the meaning of clause 2, section 2 of the Indian Factories Act, 1911, in any place which is a factory within the meaning of sub-clause (b) of clause 3 of that section.

The schedule should be amended so as to include the following :

Persons engaged in the construction, repair, or demolition of any building more than one storey in height or more than 20 feet in height irrespective of the purpose for which the building is required.

The limited definition of seamen, the effect of which is to deprive almost all Indian seamen of any *legal* benefit under the Act, quite apart from agreements with the owners and to which the attention of the Government of India has already been called, should be amended in such a way as to include all lascars and other Indian seamen employed in British and foreign and coast-going ships.

3. *Question No. III.*—Should any provisions be introduced for securing workmen against possible loss by reason of the inability of their employer to pay any compensation that may be due ?

Compulsory insurance, which would be the only possible method of securing workmen against loss is not generally favoured, and all the important employers' interests are definitely opposed to it. Some of the workers' interests favour the proposal, but the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad, which has had a great deal of experience of the working of the Act, is not in favour of compulsory insurance, but suggests that a claim for compensation against a defaulting employer should be made a first charge on his estate or his business or his successor in business. The Government of Bombay is of opinion, therefore, that a claimant under the Workmen's Compensation Act should be treated as a preferential creditor, but it is not in favour of compulsory insurance.

4. *Question No. III.*—To what extent, if any, should recurring payments be substituted for the lump sums at present payable under the Act ?

On this question there seems to be general agreement that lump sums are preferable to recurring payments. As the Bombay Accident Insurance Association points out, the lump sum system has worked admirably and has reduced litigation in no small degree. The Association does not consider that the average Indian workman is improvident after receipt of a lump sum as compensation, and—a very important consideration—the schedule enables the employer to settle the claim rapidly and with equity. The Act as amended this year already gives the Commissioner discretion as regards women, minors, or persons under a legal disability, and too much emphasis cannot be given to the fact that one of the main reasons why the present Act has worked so smoothly and has been so remarkably free from difficulty is the principle of paying lump sum compensation as opposed to pensions. If this principle were changed, it is extremely likely that considerable difficulty and litigation would arise. The acting Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay, points out that in practice the workman always prefers a lump sum and he has not come across one case where a man has asked that some arrangement should be made for the payment to him of a pension. The difficulties involved in the purchase of an annuity for a disabled workman or the dependants of a dead workman are considerable and where there are several dependants the annuity would be absurdly small. In the first place it is rare for a workman to know his age, and age is of the first importance when one is dealing with annuities. Again, quite 90 per cent. of the dependants of workmen come from outside Bombay or, if they are living in Bombay, go back to their native place. The same applies to workmen. Arrangements for payment of pensions would, therefore, have to be made through the Post Office, while the extra work involved in the office of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation would necessitate an extra staff. If, on the other hand, it were proposed to dole out the money monthly or yearly, this is a practice to be deprecated. Sooner or later the money comes to an end, and the recipient finds himself with no means whatever, or may die before the capital sum is exhausted and then his heirs have to be ascertained and the money paid over. The Governor in Council is, therefore, of opinion that the present system of lump sum payments, with the safeguards for women, etc., that have been provided by the amending Act, is the system best suited to Indian conditions.

5. *Question No. IV.*—Should the scales of compensation be enhanced either for the more poorly paid workmen or generally ?

This has been found to be a difficult question. Several important bodies are of opinion that the present scales of compensation are sufficient. Others, that they should be enhanced, not generally, but for particular classes. The workers' interests are unanimous in asking for an increase, not only in the minimum compensation payable but in the maximum and also as to the number of months' wages which should form the basis of the compensation, some of the suggestions going as high as double the present scale. In this connexion it should be pointed out that in this country dependency on a deceased workman does not have to be proved, nor the extent of the dependency. The maximum compensation is payable wherever there is a relative coming within the definition of dependant as laid down in the Act, and that relative is very often not a dependant in the literal sense. In countries where the scale of compensation is higher than in India, the burden on the employer is reduced so far as fatal accidents are concerned, by this provision requiring proof not only of dependency, but of the extent of it, because the amount of compensation depends upon whether the dependant is wholly or partially dependent on the deceased workman. This question is discussed later on in this letter and the existing system in

India is considered to be the one best suited to India, but when demands are made for large increases in the scales of compensation the favourable position of the relatives of workmen should be taken into consideration. There appears to be, however, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, a good case for the raising of the minimum compensation and for the alteration in the table of assumed wages given in Schedule 4. The present minimum, which is only rarely, if ever, reached in respect of cases arising in this Presidency, is Rs. 240 in the case of death and Rs. 336 in the case of permanent disablement. This minimum should be raised to Rs. 400 and Rs. 500 respectively. Schedule 4 should be amended as follows :—

Limits.		Assumed wages.
Less than Rs. 10	.. .. .	Rs. 10
Not less than Rs. 10 but less than Rs. 12	.. .. .	12
.. .. . 12	.. .. . 14	14
.. .. . 14	.. .. . 16	15
.. .. . 16	.. .. . 18	17
.. .. . 18	.. .. . 20	19
.. .. . 20	.. .. . 22-8 annas	21-4 annas.

and so on as in present scale.

Compensation payable in respect of the loss of a thumb should be increased to 30 per cent. and for the loss of the index finger to 15 per cent. The maximum amount payable in respect of half-monthly payments should be raised from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20.

6. *Question No. V.*—Should the waiting period be reduced either generally or in the case of those workmen who are disabled for more than ten days, and if so, to what extent ?

On the question of the waiting period and dating back the weight of opinion is in favour of an alteration of the existing provisions, but there is no agreement as to the extent of the change. The Bombay Accident Insurance Association, which has had a large experience in the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act, suggests the reduction of the waiting period to seven days, with no dating back. The association points out that the provision of a waiting period as well as its plan and length are the result of a compromise. On the one hand, the workmen's right to compensation is essentially the same whether his incapacity lasts for one or any number of days. On the other hand, there is the inexpediency of paying compensation for a brief duration of disablement. One object of the waiting period is to avoid a large volume of administrative work on account of trifling injuries. If no waiting period were provided, the employer or insurance company would have to handle a very large volume of small claims and the work of investigating and dealing with these would be disproportionately great in relation to the amount of compensation payable. The second object of a waiting period, and from the employers' point of view the most important, is to discourage malingering by making the workman bear the loss of wages himself during the first few days of incapacity. Any principle of dating back in India is, owing to the strong temptation to mangle, most undesirable, but the disadvantage to the workman of the present waiting period of ten days can be mitigated by reducing it to seven days. The association estimates that a reduction of three days would involve an increase of about 25 per cent. in the number of possible cases and an increase of about 10 per cent. in the average cost of all cases of temporary disablement. The change would not cause any administrative difficulty as all large employers are fully acquainted with the method of payment of compensation for temporary disablement, and it is, without doubt, more desirable to effect such a change than to introduce any principle of dating back.

While in general agreement with the views of the Association on this point, the Governor in Council is of opinion that the principle of dating back can safely be applied in those cases where the injury is of such a nature, and persists for such a period of time, as to make the question of malingering of no importance, because of its impossibility. As the acting Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay, points out, if a man meets with a serious injury which keeps him in hospital for two months, followed by a convalescent period of two months, there seems no point whatever in depriving him of half-monthly payments for the early days of his absence. The Governor in Council is, therefore, of opinion that the waiting period should be reduced to six days and, where the injury results in incapacity for more than a month, then compensation should be payable as from the date of the accident and not from the end of the waiting period.

7. *Question No. VI.*—Should the list of relatives entitled to claim compensation be enlarged.

Many of the bodies and associations replying to this question make their answers dependent upon whether or not it is decided that proof of dependency should be demanded. The relatives, with regard to whom there is a considerable body of opinion in favour of inclusion, are widowed sisters and widowed daughters. The

acting Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay, suggests that they were not included because social custom makes the support of such widows the care of their husband's family. The suggestions made for following some system of inheritance or regulating the amount of compensation according to the extent of the dependency are too complicated for an Act of this kind. Experience suggests that the present list of dependants is sufficiently comprehensive with the addition of a widowed sister or a widowed daughter.

8. *Question No. VII.*—Should proof of dependence be required in order to enable a relative to claim compensation ?

The bulk of the employers favour proof of dependence, although some of them recognize the considerable administrative difficulties involved in getting proof of dependence. Workers' interests are divided on the subject. While it is true that the assumption of dependency often leads to considerable sums of money being paid out to people who have not the slightest claim ever to have been dependent on the deceased workman, for example, husbands in respect of the death of their wives, the joint family system, which is still common among the working classes in India, means that all the members of a joint family are in some degree or other interdependent upon each other. It would, therefore, be extremely difficult to administer the Act where proof of dependency was required to entitle a person to compensation. If any provision insisting upon proof of dependency were introduced, it would open the door to a large volume of litigation between relations which would be a very distinct drawback to the Act. Moreover, it would enormously increase the work of the commissioners and entail long delays in the distribution of compensation. A comprehensive list of dependants, as at present, but with no proof of dependency, seems to be the best system for Indian conditions.

9. *Question No. VIII.*—Should the compensation payable vary with the number of dependants and with the extent of their dependence on the deceased workman ?

Opinion from all interests is practically unanimous against this proposal. To introduce a rule of this kind would be to add an unnecessary complication to the Act with no real benefit to anybody. Moreover, there would be long delays, because employers would not deposit compensation until satisfactory proof as to the number of dependants and the extent of their dependency was given. Again, employers would have to become a party to all dependency proceeding, the additional work would be enormous, and litigation greatly increased. The Governor in Council, therefore, is definitely opposed to the suggestion.

10. *Question No. IX.*—Should Section 12 of the Act be amended : (a) so as to place the ultimate liability for compensation on the person directly employing the workmen in every case, or (b) so as to place the ultimate liability for compensation on the principal, or (c) in any other manner ?

The object of Section 12 is to secure that the workman should not lose compensation because of the insolvency or poverty of a contractor or sub-contractor. The Act covers only workmen in occupations that are hazardous and organized and therefore the principals are ordinarily firms of standing. These firms usually accept liability for workmen injured in work undertaken by them and there is no reason why less honest employers should be enabled to escape their liability by creating a chain of subordinate contractors so that liability of compensation should rest on the person directly employing the workman. The system in vogue in India, whereby any large engineering work is split up at various stages among numbers of small contractors who are really nothing more than workers themselves, makes it specially necessary that the firm or person who had taken the main contract should be made liable for any accident taking place on the work. It is not the fault of the workman if the principal does not carry out his contract by direct labour but by a series of intermediaries. The Government of Bombay protects itself, and also the workman, by putting a clause in all contracts that contractors should pay any compensation due under the Workmen's Compensation Act and keeps a certain amount of money due to the contractor in hand to cover possible claims, and other big firms can or should do the same. Sub-clause 2 of Section 12 enables the principal to recover from the contractor, and the only amendment to section 12 required, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, is that the principal should also be able to recover from any sub-contractor. This is necessary because the Calcutta High Court has decided that the principal can get indemnity from a contractor, but neither of them can claim indemnity against a sub-contractor. At the same time the contractor should be able to recover compensation from the principal if the accident was caused by circumstances over which the principal alone had control.

11. *Question No. X.*—Should any penalty be provided in the Act for failure to comply with the provisions of Section 16 ?

Opinion is almost unanimous on this point that a penalty should be inflicted on employers failing to make returns, and the Governor in Council desires to point out,

with reference to the suggestion made by the Government of India in their letter, that at present employers who intentionally omit to furnish returns can be prosecuted under Section 176 of the Indian Penal Code, that there is no duty cast upon the Commissioner or anyone else to issue reminders to employers and that in practice it is not possible for him to issue intimations to all the establishments that may come under the Workmen's Compensation Act in his jurisdiction. The responsibility for submitting returns is placed on the employer, and the employer only, and it therefore seems reasonable that the Act should provide a small penalty for non-compliance, quite apart from the issue of reminders by the Commissioner and the legal conclusion as regards intention that an omission to answer a reminder may furnish.

12. *Question No. XI.*—Should employers be required to submit returns of accidents in respect of which compensation has not been paid, and if so, to what accidents should this provision apply?

Opinion is very definitely divided on this point. Having given the matter their careful consideration, the Governor in Council is of opinion that the suggestion made by the Bombay Accident Insurance Association should be adopted, viz., that employers should submit a report to the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation of every fatal accident which occurred in their premises at the time of submitting the report to the Inspector of Factories or Mines, as the case may be. The initial report could be followed by a supplementary statement, at an interval of say not more than one month, as to whether liability to pay compensation in respect of such accident was admitted or not, and that such statements could be put in by insurance companies or mutual associations handling claims on behalf of insured employers. Some additional information as to the volume of accidents in respect of which compensation has not been paid could be obtained by closer co-operation between Commissioners and Inspectors of Mines or Factories, to whom all reports of all accidents incapacitating a man for more than a certain period have to be submitted.

13. *Question No. XII.*—Should a dependant claiming compensation be relieved of the necessity of approaching the employer for the settlement of his claim?

As a dependant only has a claim to compensation where a fatal accident has occurred and as under Section 8 (1) the responsibility for depositing compensation with the commissioner has been thrown on the employer irrespective of whether a claim has been made or not, there appears to be no reason for requiring the dependants to approach the employer. This would not, of course, affect the right of an employer to notice of an accident as is provided in Section 10 of the Act.

14. *Question No. XIII.*—What steps, if any, should be taken to ensure that dependants who may have valid claims for compensation do not lose compensation through ignorance of their rights?

Various suggestions have been made in this connection, many of them, it would appear, in ignorance of the fact that under Section 8 (1) compensation in respect of fatal accidents has to be deposited with the Commissioner, and that therefore so far as dependants are concerned the employer is not interested in hiding from their rights. The experience of the Bombay Presidency is that dependants do not lose compensation through ignorance of their rights. In the only cases where money has been returned to employers it is certain that no dependants exist. The system which obtains in Bombay of people from the same village and the same district finding employment in the same industry makes the ascertainment of dependants relatively easy, and if employers as suggested above are compelled to notify all cases of fatal accidents to the Commissioners no difficulty should arise. The Governor in Council is, therefore, of opinion that no special steps are necessary to ensure that dependants who may have valid claims for compensation do not lose compensation through ignorance of their rights.

15. *Question No. XIV.*—Should employers be required to maintain a register of relatives of their workmen?

Almost all the bodies and associations and Government officers who have had practical experience of the working of the Act and the employment of labour generally are opposed to this suggestion, largely because of its impracticability, which is due partly to the ignorance and illiteracy of the workmen and partly to social custom. For example, as the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association points out many workers would be unwilling to give the names of their wives and many women workers will never give the name of their husbands, even when giving evidence on oath. In the case of large numbers of casual workers, e.g., those employed on engineering works or in docks where fatal accidents are particularly likely to occur, such a register would be clearly impracticable. In factories and workshops, where employment is more stable and regular, the difficulties would not be so great, but to keep a register would involve an amount of trouble and investigation quite incommensurate with the result obtained, because, as has been pointed out above, there is never any difficulty in finding one dependant at least and thence ascertaining all those who are

legally entitled under the Workmen's Compensation Act. In this connection the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay, points out, "If an employer had to keep a register it would be based upon information supplied by the workman himself. If it is to be of any use at all it would have to contain the names of all the people coming under the definition of dependant, and speaking as a Commissioner I should not take the slightest notice of it. If I did, the tendency would be to assume that the relatives mentioned there were the only dependants, which would rarely be the case. The only case that I have come across where a deceased workman—a seaman—left behind an official record of his relatives, it was discovered that the individual he had put down as his father was not his father at all, but merely the head of his community. The real father then turned up claiming compensation on behalf of himself and his wife. The experience of the Workmen's Compensation Office in Bombay is that there is no necessity for such a register being kept, because there is never any difficulty in ascertaining who are the dependants." The Chief Inspector of Factories also regards the proposal as impracticable, and points out that addresses of injured persons required under the accident form prescribed under Section 34 of the Factories Act are usually obtained at the time of the accidents. The reply to this question is, therefore, in the negative.

16. *Question No. XV.*—Should Commissioners be empowered to call on employers depositing inadequate compensation for fatal accidents to make a further deposit?

Opinion is unanimous in favour of this proposal, and form A should be modified so as to include in it all the particulars necessary for the calculation of wages and such other information as is required to arrive at the correct amount to be paid.

17. *Question No. XVI.*—Should provision be made for the suspension of distributions by the Commissioner pending the disposal of any appeal against his decision?

There is general unanimity as to the desirability of such a provision, and the Governor in Council is of opinion that there is no objection to provisions similar to those in Order 41, Rule 5 of the Civil Procedure Code being incorporated in the Workmen's Compensation Act. It is desirable, however, to give some discretion to the Commissioner in order to prevent the holding up of money by frivolous or vexatious appeals.

18. *Question No. XVII.*—Further suggestions for the amendment of the Act.

A provision should be inserted into the Indian Act on the lines of Section 7 of the English Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 but without going so far. It should be provided that an accident resulting in the death of a workman shall be deemed to arise out of and in the course of his employment unless the employer proves otherwise. At present the onus rests upon the applicant, who is a dependant, usually living in the mofussil, who sometimes finds it difficult in a disputed case to get the evidence necessary to discharge the onus of proof. The employer is in a better position to make out an affirmative case, and the onus should be placed upon him.

The procedure laid down as regards notice in Section 10 of the Indian Act is too elaborate, and if Commissioners did not exercise their discretion to an extent not contemplated by the Act very few workers would get compensation. A provision on the lines of the 1923 Act in England seems to be required. Under this Act notices giving the requirements of the principal Act as regards notice have to be put up in prominent places in the factory, etc. If the employer is proved to have had knowledge of the accident at or about the time of the accident, the want of notice is not a bar to the maintenance of proceedings, nor is it, if the accident has been reported to an Inspector of Mines or Factories, or if the injury has been treated in an ambulance room at the mine, factory, etc. Moreover, notice of any accident may be given either in writing or orally to the employer or to any foreman or other official under whose supervision the workman is employed. The Governor in Council is of opinion that the provisions of Section 10 as regards notice should be simplified, but that the provision with regard to making a claim for compensation should not be altered, as, if constructive notice is allowed then the employer should be protected so far as the institution of a claim is concerned.

Workers in the R.I.M. Dockyard and workshops who are not members of the Royal Indian Marine should be able to recover compensation for injury. It is inequitable that coolies working in the R.I.M. Dockyard should not get compensation on the ground that they belong to the Royal Indian Marine.

During the same period 472 cases involving the ascertainment of dependants and distribution of money to them were disposed of, and 827 agreements were registered. In Appendix VII will be found the number of persons in each wage class to whom compensation was awarded each year during the period from the 1st July, 1924, to the 31st December, 1928. There has been no case of industrial disease reported since the Act started.

Temporary disablement.—In considering Appendix VI, attention should be drawn to the very small extent to which use is made of the right to compensation for temporary disablement. The figures show that since the inception of the Act only a few

thousand rupees have been paid out by the Commissioners for workmen's compensation under this head. The reason for this is that cases relating to monthly payments during temporary disability very rarely come before the Commissioners at all, because they are paid by the employers, without reference to the courts. Returns sent in under Section 16 of the Act show that employers, in the four and a-half years in which the Act has been in operation up to the end of 1928, have paid compensation to the extent of Rs. 1,66,000 in 12,416 cases.

The following table shows the total number of cases filed and disposed of each year and how many of them were contested and how many were not contested —

Year.	No. of cases filed.	Contested.	Non-contested.	No. of cases disposed of.
1924 (six months)	24	12	12	24
1925	120	58	51	109
1926	146	96	50	146
1927	189	111	68	179
1928	176	124	61	185*
Total	655	401	242	643

* These include also the cases in balance from the last year.

Chapter VIII.—Hours.

Factories.

Hours Worked Per Week and Per Day—Normal hours.—A detailed statement regarding intervals, holidays and hours will be found in Appendix VIII.

In the textile industry in the Bombay Presidency the hours of work for men are 60 per week, with an average of 10 hours a day. Women in Ahmedabad mills are generally similarly employed. In a number of Bombay mills, however, women are employed for 9 hours a day and 54 hours a week. In the engineering trades men are generally employed 8½ hours a day for five days a week with a half day on Saturday to make the hours up to 48. Few women are employed in the engineering industries. They work the same hours as men.

In the seasonal industry a 60-hour week with a 10-hour day is general for men and women although a few concerns sometimes work five 11-hour days. A few concerns employ women on a system which entails a 9-hour day.

Children are generally employed for five hours a day with a 30-hour week in the textile industry. In the seasonal and other industries they are usually employed to the full legal limits.

Actual Hours including Overtime.—No general overtime is worked in the textile industry. In a few cases departmental exemptions are granted under Section 30 (2) of the Factories Act but these are almost infinitesimal. In some factories such as engineering shops, printing presses, etc., working to a normal 8½-hours day and 48 hours a week, overtime is occasionally worked within the legal limits.

Spreadover.—There is practically no spreadover in the industries in the Bombay Presidency.

Days Worked per Week.—A 6-day week is general throughout the textile and seasonal factories in the Presidency. The engineering and some miscellaneous factories work a 5½-day week.

Effect of 60 hours Restriction on Workers.—The 60 hours restriction has been generally welcomed by the operatives. A large number of workers did not work more than a 48-hour week prior to the Act of 1922. In the Bombay textile industry a 10-hour day and a 60-hour week have been secured by the workers as a result of the strike of 1920.

On Industry.—The Government of Bombay have no information as regards the effect of the 60 hours restriction on industry generally but they would like to invite the attention of the Commission to the discussion on this subject contained in paragraph 59 of the Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry). It is pointed out there that the Bombay Millowners' Association consider that the reduction of the hours of labour in 1920 from 12 to 10 has resulted in a fall in production of 16 per cent. in the spinning department and about 11 to 12 per cent. in the weaving department. The experience of some mills in upcountry centres has, however, been that owing to the increased labour efficiency and improved conditions such as the installation of humidifiers, the drop in the production in the spinning department has been reduced to 10 per cent. while there has actually been increased production in the weaving department.

Effect of Daily Limit.—In a few instances the daily limit operates somewhat harshly, and exemptions have to be granted under Section 30 (2) of the Factories Act. Besides this, in the ginning factories women are sometimes employed for five 11-hour days but receive pay at the rate generally fixed on a 10-hour basis. The result of this is that the employer obtains five hours' work without paying for it.

Possibility of Reduction in Maxima.—In the absence of any detailed information regarding the effect of shorter hours of work on production, the Government of Bombay are not in a position to express any opinion as regards the possibility of reduction in the maximum hours of work.

Intervals—In relation to fatigue.—The relation between intervals and fatigue has not been worked out in this country, and the Government of Bombay are therefore not in a position to make any observations on the subject.

In relation to Workers' Meal Times.—In the textile mills in this Presidency it is usual for workers to obtain unauthorised intervals for meals. But apart from the unauthorised intervals an hour's interval is practically general. In 15 factories working 8½ hours or less per day, the operatives preferred a shorter interval, and this has been granted under the proviso to Section 21 of the Indian Factories Act. In connection with the question of the interval for meals, it might be pointed out that the Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) suggested that a very essential reform to be immediately introduced in the Bombay mills is the fixation of a definite period of rest to enable the operatives to take their morning meal. In accordance with this recommendation the Bombay Millowners' Association suggested in their Standing Order No 6, which was presented to the Fawcett Committee, that a morning recess of half-an-hour should be granted to the operatives by reducing the afternoon interval by 15 minutes and by asking the operatives to work 15 minutes longer in the evening. After hearing arguments on this question from the representatives of the Millowners and the Joint Strike Committee, the Fawcett Committee after endorsing the opinion of the Tariff Board, that the morning recess was desirable, came to the conclusion that it was not reasonable to require the Millowners to reduce the present number of working hours from 10 in order to enable this recess to be provided so long as there was no general reduction of that kind made for all factories by legislation or otherwise. At the same time they felt that the Millowners could not reasonably insist on the operatives reducing the mid-day hour recess and staying one-quarter of an hour longer in the mill in order to enable the half hour morning recess to be given.

Day of Rest—Existing practice.—In the Bombay Presidency, 313 factories observe Sunday as a weekly rest day. The remaining 1,124 factories, apart from those specially exempted, observe either Sunday or a substitute day. It is usual for the mofussil factories, especially the seasonal factories, to observe the local bazaar day as a day of rest.

Suitability of the Law.—Section 22 operates harshly in certain industries. An Amendment is considered necessary with power either to change the definition of week (Section 2 (8)) or to provide for the maximum hours to be counted over a period of two weeks for certain industries.

Exempting Provisions and the Use made of them.—As will be seen from the following table for the year 1927, Bombay has applied the provisions of the Act in a fairly rigid manner:—

Province.	Total No. of working factories	Factories in which the majority of operatives are exempted from.				
		Section 21.	Section 22.	Section 26.	Section 27.	Section 28.
Madras	1,301	84	113	—	64	64
Bombay	1,426	120	30	—	—	19
Bengal.. .. .	1,297	299	703	347	120	59
United Provinces	332	89	210	—	124	75
Punjab	546	41	42	—	2	2
Burma.. .. .	940	53	61	—	—	—
Bihar and Orissa	255	170	83	—	75	17
Central Provinces and Berar	704	22	26	—	—	—

After the introduction of the 1922 Act, no general exemption was given to the seasonal industries in the Bombay Presidency. Other Provinces gave a wide exemption, e.g., the Punjab reduced the exemptions under Section 27 from 330 to 2 in 1927.

Mines.

Hours Worked Per Day and Per Week.—The mining industry in the Bombay Presidency is carried on a very small scale, in a few manganese mines and stone quarries situated in the northern, southern and Bombay suburban divisions.

The average daily number of persons employed is approximately 5,900, of whom 46 work underground, 4,653 in open workings, and 1,201 on the surface (i.e., not in the mines, but on sidings, loading wharves, etc.).

In the northern division, for work above ground, the hours of work are not more than 10 per day or 60 per week and for work below ground not more than 9 per day or 54 per week. In the Bombay suburban division the usual working hours range from 7 to 9 per day, excluding the hour of rest.

The miners actually work less than the number of hours specified for the northern division and have not been called upon to work overtime, except on one urgent occasion during the last six years. In the southern division the number of hours actually worked varies from 42 to 56 per week. In the Bombay suburban division overtime is paid for in the majority of cases.

As regards spread over, the workers in the northern division are within call all the time for any emergency.

Days Worked Per Week.—The number of days worked per week is 6.

Effect of 60-hour Restriction.—It is difficult to say what the effect of the 60-hour restriction has been, as no particularly good or bad effect has been noticed.

Suitability of the Law relating to Shifts.—As no mine in this Presidency is worked by shifts, the question of the suitability of the law relating to shifts does not arise.

Possibility of Introducing an Effective Daily Limitation.—It would be possible to introduce an effective daily limitation of hours in the southern division, as labour there is almost wholly imported.

Intervals.—All the labour in the northern division stops work every day for the purpose of taking food during two intervals of 50 minutes each. Those not actually engaged in the mining operations get a recess of half an hour in the morning and of a period varying from 2 hours in the cold weather to 3 hours in the hot weather in the middle of the day. In the Bombay suburban division one hour is allowed for rest and meals in the majority of cases.

Day of Rest.—One day in the week is observed as a day of rest. Hindu holidays and religious festivals are also observed as non-working days.

Adequacy of Existing Provisions.—In the opinion of the Government of Bombay the existing provisions regarding hours are quite adequate.

Exempting Provisions and Use made of them.—As regards the exempting provision and the use made thereof, in the northern division exemption from the limitation of hours applies only to clerks and to the hospital staff. The former are asked to work longer hours on about 2 days per month. In the southern division no exemption is granted.

Other Establishments The working hours of manual labour engaged in the various departments of the Bombay Port Trust are as follows.—

---	Week days except Saturdays.	Saturdays.
<i>Engineering Department—</i>		
(1) Workshops : Electrical, Hydraulic and Dry Dock Establishments ; General Work—Maintenance and Construction.	8 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., with interval for meals from 12.30 p.m. to 1.30 p.m.	8 a.m. to 1 p.m.
(2) Loco : Shed	8 a.m. to 5 p.m., with interval for meals from 12.30 p.m. to 1.30 p.m.	Same as on week days.
(3) Railway Works	8 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., with interval for meals from 12 noon to 1 p.m.	8 a.m. to 2 p.m.
Quarry	Sunrise to sunset with one hour's interval for meals at noon.	Same as on week days.
<i>Dock Department</i>	8 a.m. to 6 p.m. with interval for meals from 12.30 p.m. to 1.30 p.m.	"
<i>Stores Department</i>	8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., with interval for meals from 1.30 p.m. to 2 p.m.	8.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.

As regards seamen, the hours of work for deck hands, engine-room crew and saloon crew on board ships are as follows :—Deck hands—At sea from about 5.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., with two intervals of one hour each for meals and one hour's duty on look-out. Shorter hours are worked on Saturdays and Sundays. In port from 6 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., with the same intervals for meals and shorter hours on Saturdays and Sundays.

Engine-room crew.—At sea the crew is divided into watches. Each man has four hours' duty and 8 hours' off duty. In port the hours of duty are from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. with intervals for meals as above. Shorter hours are worked on Saturdays, and no work is done on Sundays except what is necessary to maintain the lighting and sanitary service.

Saloon crew.—The duties performed by this section of the crew are so various that any general statement regarding hours of work would be misleading. Generally speaking, the men are required to be on duty during service hours which vary with the class of employment and the rating of the individual.

The men are liable to be called out at any time in case of emergency. Such emergencies, however, seldom occur and overtime is avoided as far as possible. When overtime is necessary, it is the practice to allow an equivalent time off during ordinary working hours. Complaints regarding overwork and overtime are according to the shipping master unknown.

In the Government Printing Press at Bombay the following are the hours of work :—On all week-days from 9.30 a.m. to 6 p.m.; except Wednesdays (for *Gazette*), 9 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.; Saturdays, from 9 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.

The rest period under the Factories Act is from 1 to 2 p.m.

Overtime is granted to the technical establishment as follows :—After 7½ hours and up to 8½ hours' work, at ordinary rates; after 8½ hours and up to 10 hours, at 25 per cent. extra; after 10 hours and up to 12 midnight, at 50 per cent. extra; and after midnight at 100 per cent. over the rate per hour; provided that no employee shall draw any extra overtime allowance until an employee has worked a full 8½ hours on any one day. No person is employed for more than 72 hours in any week, including overtime, or for more than 11 hours in any one day.

Chapter IX.—Special Questions relating to women, young adults, and children.

Factories.

Effect of 1922 Act on Employment.—The most noteworthy result of the 1922 Act has been that the employment of children in the Bombay Mills has almost ceased while the percentage of children in the cotton spinning and weaving industry in Ahmedabad has been reduced from 13 per cent. in 1921 to 2 per cent. in 1928. The 1922 Act was immediately operative in Bombay, but in Ahmedabad double employment and defective certification neutralized its effect. Improved certification and effective measures to prevent double certification have, however, led to a steady reduction in the number of children employed in the Ahmedabad mills from 1923 onwards. The following figures are of interest —

Employment in Cotton Spinning and Weaving Factories.

Year.	Bombay.			
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1921	1,14,062	29,970	2,268	1,46,300
1922	1,20,232	29,770	1,239	1,51,241
1923	1,14,423	29,600	653	1,44,676
1924	1,12,904	31,065	578	1,44,547
1925	1,13,580	32,396	268	1,46,244
1926	1,14,658	33,541	55	1,48,254
1927	1,12,925	32,048	32	1,45,005
1928	(General strike.		Figures unreliable.)	

Year.	Ahmedabad.			
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1921	39,328	8,212	7,114	54,654
1922	39,046	8,790	6,925	54,761
1923	39,663	9,098	5,712	54,473
1924	39,859	9,553	3,750	53,162
1925	42,564	10,874	2,940	56,378
1926	44,372	10,983	2,368	57,723
1927	46,360	11,468	1,888	59,716
1928	48,217	11,432	1,226	60,875

Year.	Bombay.			Ahmedabad.		
	Per cent. Men.	Per cent. Women.	Per cent. Children	Per cent. Men.	Per cent. Women.	Per cent. Children.
1921	77·96	20·49	1·55	71·96	15·03	13·02
1922	79·5	19·68	0·82	71·3	16·05	12·65
1923	79·09	20·46	0·45	72·81	16·7	10·49
1924	78·11	21·49	0·4	74·98	17·97	7·05
1925	77·67	22·15	0·18	75·5	19·29	5·21
1926	77·34	22·62	0·04	76·87	19·03	4·1
1927	77·88	22·1	0·02	77·64	19·2	3·16
1928	(General strike. unreliable).		Figures	79·21	18·78	2·01

Admission of Infants to Factories.—Considerable progress has been made in the prevention of infants entering factories. In the Bombay mills, infants were not allowed to enter but the custom, prior to 1922, was fairly common in the mills in Sholapur and Ahmedabad. Crèche developments, the moral effect of Section 19A, together with the passing of a few orders have led to considerable improvements in Ahmedabad and Sholapur. Few infants enter the mills at the latter centre while the number has been considerably reduced in Ahmedabad.

A general order has been issued to all ginning factories prohibiting the admission of children between the ages of two and twelve to all places where machinery is at work. A few prosecutions have been instituted for breaches of the order which have involved the deaths of infants.

Sustainability of Regulations for Women's Work.—Apart from the length of the working day and the maximum weekly hours, the regulations affecting women's work are generally suitable.

Washing facilities and cloak rooms are necessary in some industries, and could be more generally secured if action is taken under welfare.

Sustainability of Regulations affecting Children.—Children usually work 5 hours a day without any interval. It does not appear to the Government of Bombay that any change in the Act is necessary.

No change in the minimum and maximum ages of children appears to be necessary.

Double Employment of Children.—As already pointed out, the Bombay Mills have ceased to employ children. The system of certification in Ahmedabad was defective and up to 1923 double employment in the mills was fairly common. A special enquiry was conducted in 1920 and as a result, Government appointed a full-time certifying surgeon in Ahmedabad in August 1923. He immediately improved certification methods. The number of children employed in the Ahmedabad mills was reduced from 5,712 in 1923, to 3,750, 2,940, 2,368 and 1,888 respectively in the succeeding years. A considerable amount of double certification was thus prevented but it was felt that some children were still obtaining two certificates and working in two mills.

The local Government proposed Section 44A to deal with the matter. This enables a penalty to be imposed on the parent or guardian and was enacted in 1926. Towards the close of that year the inspector and certifying surgeon made a special check in a large group of mills and over 100 cases of double employment were detected. Poverty undoubtedly induced some parents to sweat their children, but in 11 cases where there was no financial necessity for it, prosecutions were instituted and the parents and guardians were fined.

This undoubtedly had a good effect since a check in 1928 revealed only one case of double employment in a large group of mills.

Double employment has never been practised in the other mofussil mills. It is thus practically non-existent in this Presidency.

Work and Training of Young Adults.—Very little is done to train young adults. A mill in Sholapur has started a technical school, while the Social Service League conducts a Textile Technical School at Parel in Bombay City. The Bombay Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute has also attached to it a Textile Apprentice class for persons working in the mills.

Extent of "Blind-Alley" Employment.—There is practically no "blind-alley" employment in the factories. Children in the textile mills train up into spinners or weavers.

Comparative Merits of Double and Single Shift Systems as Affecting Health of Women, Young Adults, and Children.—There are no double shifts of women or young adults. Children are generally employed on the single shift system. It is impossible to state whether the single or double shift for children is preferable. Proximity to work and family arrangements are factors which would often outweigh any advantage that may be derived from adopting double shifts for children.

Work of Women and Children in Factories not subject to Act.—In the Bombay Presidency, 29 factories have been notified under Section 2 (3) (b). The policy adopted has been to notify factories in which there was a special risk or danger to health. Thus hand match factories, type-casting factories, cotton cleaning factories, train gas lighting factories, and yarn dyeing premises using lead salts have been notified.

In the smaller factories hours of work are often long and machinery unfenced. Sanitation is too often defective. An amendment to Section 2 (3) (a) fixing the limit at 10 persons would automatically bring a number of small concerns under supervision.

Mines.

Effect of Act of 1923.—In the Northern Division, Section 26 of the Indian Mines Act, 1923, under which no child is to be employed in a mine, is said to cause some hardship. In the Southern Division no dispute as to the age of a person employed has come to notice.

Exclusion of Women.—In the Southern Division adult women of the labour class such as "Vaddars" and "Lamanis" are employed on the superjacent manganese mines. They have as good or better physique than their men and have been accustomed to work on earth and stone breaking from their infancy. If they were eliminated from such surface workings it would completely disorganize labour, as no Vaddar or Lamani would come on to this work, if his wife were not permitted to earn her wage on it. The elimination of women should be by gradual reduction in their number. In the Northern Division, women are never employed underground.

Chapter X.—Wages.

Prevailing Rates of Wages and Earnings.

The Cotton Textile Industry.—The Labour Office of the Government of Bombay has held three enquiries into the wages of workers in the cotton mills in the Bombay Presidency. The first enquiry related to May, 1914, and May, 1921. The second enquiry was held for the month of August in the year 1923, and the third for the month of July* in the year 1926.

The first enquiry covered 82 out of 83 mills in Bombay City, 39 out of 64 mills in Ahmedabad, all the six mills in the Sholapur district, 10 out of 21 mills in the rest of the British districts of the Bombay Presidency, all the four mills in the Baroda State, and three out of six mills in other States, or a total of 144 mills out of 184 working mills in the Presidency. The 1923 enquiry covered all the 79 working mills

* In the case of Ahmedabad the month taken was May, 1926.

in Bombay, all the 69 working mills in Ahmedabad, all the six working mills in Sholapur district, all the 17 working mills in the rest of the British districts of the Bombay Presidency, all the nine mills in the Baroda State, and all the six mills in other States, or cent. per cent. of the 186 working mills in the Presidency. The results for the 1923 enquiry were presented separately for mills in Bombay City, in Ahmedabad, and in Sholapur; and the remaining mills were grouped together under the head "Other Centres." In the 1923 enquiry a further departure was made by giving separate information for the mills in the Baroda State.

A radical departure from the methods adopted for the 1921 and 1923 enquiries was made for the 1926 enquiry. In the two earlier enquiries the information was collected on specially designed forms which were filled in by the mill authorities and tabulated in the Labour Office. For the 1926 enquiry it was decided, after consulting the Bombay and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations, to conduct the enquiry on the basis of the actual muster rolls, which give full information for each individual worker regarding the number of days worked, the number of days worked by a substitute, the production of the regular worker and the substitute, the rates of wages, aggregate earnings, additions on account of percentage increases for dearness allowance granted, additions for bonus for regular attendance or better work, deductions for fines, etc. As it would not have been possible to conduct an enquiry on this basis for all mills at each centre it was decided to adopt the "Sample" method and to select representative mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Sholapur. In the case of Bombay 19 mills employing a little over 50,000 workers out of a total number of 75 working mills employing 148,000 workers were selected in consultation with the Bombay Millowners' Association and the Bombay Textile Labour Union. The number of operatives covered amounted to nearly 35 per cent. of the total number employed. In the case of Ahmedabad 16 mills with about 16,500 workers were selected out of 54 working mills employing about 58,000 workers, in consultation with the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association and the Ahmedabad Labour Union—the number of workers covered amounting to a little over 28 per cent. of the number employed. In the case of Sholapur two representative units employing about 5,000 workers out of 5 mills in Sholapur city employing in all about 19,000 workers were taken after consulting the Sholapur millowners. The number of workers covered in this case amounted to a little under 25 per cent. of the number employed. The results of the 1926 enquiry will be published during the course of this year.

As compared with the previous enquiries of 1921 and 1923, the tabulation of the returns of which only involved calculations in respect of mass figures for groups of workers, the tabulation of the returns for the 1926 enquiry involved calculations with regard to many sets of figures for 70,000 odd individual workers. No effort was made in the 1926 enquiry to indicate the occupations for which figures should be supplied. The result was that all the mills used an aggregate of over 1,000 terms for specifying different occupations. A preliminary tabulation of the various terms used was made, and this was forwarded to the Bombay Millowners' Association with a request for suggestions with regard to the grouping of different occupations. The association suggested that it was not necessary to compile the figures for as many occupational groups as were included in the 1921 and 1923 enquiries, and that it would be sufficient if the statistics were presented for the more important occupations in each department and to combine and present the figures for the rest under the term "Others" for each department.

In the 1921 enquiry no attempt was made to go beyond the presentation of average daily earnings. In view of the efforts made during the 1923 enquiry to collect figures for the aggregate number of days worked by groups of operatives during the Census month, it was possible to ascertain the average number of days worked during the month, and from this it was further possible to present average earnings during the month. In the 1926 enquiry it has not only been possible to present the average number of days worked and the average earnings during the month, but also the average earnings for those workers who worked full time as far as the Bombay and the Sholapur mill workers were concerned. It has not been possible to do this for the Ahmedabad mills on account of the variations in wage periods.

Wages in the Bombay and the Sholapur mills are paid monthly irrespective of the fact whether they are based on time-rates or piece-rates, or fixed on a daily or a monthly basis or in any other manner. In the Ahmedabad mills wages are paid fortnightly—the term "fortnightly" referring to a period of generally fourteen days for piece-workers and to a period of generally sixteen days for time-workers. These periods are called "haptas." The hapta does not begin or end on a particular day as far as all the mills in Ahmedabad are concerned. It may begin and end on any day in the case of individual mills. Some workers are paid according to the month. In the case of such workers the figures returned were for the complete month adopted for a particular census, but in the case of all other operatives paid

according to haptas, the returning mills were asked to take those two haptas which had the greatest number of days in the month selected for each enquiry. The results of the 1926 enquiry show a wide variation in the maximum number of working days in the two haptas taken in the case of the individual mills. In the case of some mills the maximum number of working days in the two haptas for certain classes of workers were as few as 23. In some others the maximum number of working days in the two haptas was 28. Even for one particular mill the maximum number of days for all the different classes of workers was not the same. For some workers it was 23, for some 24 and so on up to 28. Even for particular occupations there was a wide variation in the maximum number of days worked in the different mills. It was impossible, therefore, to arrive at any formula for ascertaining the average number of days worked by a particular class of workers. The results of the 1926 enquiry, in so far as Ahmedabad is concerned, can therefore only be presented in the form of average daily earnings without any attempt at ascertaining the average number of days worked by each group.

In arriving at the figures for daily average earnings, wages for regular work only were considered and overtime earnings, and wages earned by "double substitute" work were excluded; but all additions to the "basic" rates, such as percentage, dearness allowances, and bonuses were included. There is a very wide variation in the systems adopted at different centres with regard to the methods of calculating wages. In the case of the mills in Bombay City there is first a "basic" rate to which is added a dearness allowance of 80 per cent. for male piece-workers, and 70 per cent. for male time-workers and all female workers. Those mills which grant a good attendance bonus add the amount of the bonus granted to the gross wage, from which are deducted any fines that might be inflicted before arriving at the net wage payable. The term "basic" in the case of the Bombay mills may be generally considered to apply to the pre-war year, although in the case of some individual mills it might apply to any year between 1913 and 1918, when the first increase of 15 per cent. as a dearness allowance was granted. The stages by which this percentage dearness allowance rose to 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. will be dealt with in the next section dealing with "Movements of wages in recent years." In the case of the Sholapur mills there is also the same distinction between the "basic" rate and the dearness allowance; but as will be shown in the section dealing with "Payment in kind and allied problems" the bonus for good attendance is granted in the form of the right for all operatives who have not been absent for more than four days in the month to purchase a certain quantity of grain at a certain price, which varies as between jobbers, weavers, and half-timers. For all practical purposes, however, it may be considered as the right to purchase 20 seers of grain, which cost about Rs. 2-8 annas for Rs. 2. The effect of this is that all workers who have not lost more than four days in a month on account of absenteeism receive the equivalent of about Rs. 1-8 annas. No account was taken of this in the 1921 and 1923 enquiries, but in the 1926 enquiry the Sholapur mills were requested to indicate specifically all those workers who exercised this right. With the assistance of the mills concerned the gain to the worker was valued and the cash equivalent was added to the monthly earnings. The average daily earnings in the case of Sholapur for the 1926 enquiry therefore includes the benefit gained as a result of the grain allowance.

In the Ahmedabad mills there is not only a complete lack of uniformity in the methods adopted in calculating the different additions and deductions before arriving at the final earnings, but wide variations in the methods adopted also exist for different classes of workers in a particular mill. In the first place there is what is hypothetically called a "basic" rate. The term "basic" does not apply to any particular period for the whole industry. It varies as between groups of occupations and also between mills and mills. In the case of some occupations the term may relate to the pre-war year. In the case of others it may relate to any other year. But for particular occupations covered by the awards of arbitrators it relates to the date on which an award for a percentage or a flat rate of increase was granted. Next to the "basic" rate comes the *moghvari*, or dearness allowance. In the case of certain occupations, and generally in the case of monthly paid workers, this allowance was consolidated with the basic rate, and in others it was kept as a separate item on the muster. Some mills consolidated one or two of the first increases but kept the subsequent increases separate. In the case of some occupations it was given in the form of a percentage on the basic rate and in others it was granted in the form of flat money values, say Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 per month, or at so much per hapta, or at so much per week—the variations even here being considerable. Next to the *moghvari* allowance comes the deduction of 15½ per cent. for the general wage cut effected in the year 1923. Here also there is a wide variation in the method of its treatment. In the case of some occupations 15½ per cent. is deducted from the total arrived at after adding the *moghvari* allowance to the basic rate, in others it is deducted from a consolidated wage—the term "consolidated" in this case relating only to the consolidation of the basic rate with the allowance—and in still others

there are flat consolidated rates without the addition of the allowance to a basic rate and the deduction for the percentage cut effected in 1923. Lastly, there is a good attendance bonus which always takes the form of a flat money value. It is true that the majority of the Ahmedabad mills grant such a bonus to process operatives on time rates, but there are some mills where no such bonus is given. The amount of the bonus where it is given is not uniform in all mills even for the same occupation. In some cases it is computed at so much per month and in others at so much per hapta or so much per week.

The 1921 and 1923 enquiries covered "big lads" and children in addition to adult and female operatives in all centres. For the purpose of the 1926 enquiry no separate figures were called for for "big lads" not only because it was found that this term was a misnomer inasmuch as it covered all age groups but also because "big lads" work for the same number of hours as other adult operatives. With regard to children, no half-timers were employed in any of the nineteen mills selected for the 1926 census in Bombay City. Figures for children were, however, returned for this enquiry, both from Ahmedabad and from Sholapur.

Rates.—Although full information was procured in the 1926 enquiry in connection with rates of wages paid to individual operatives in cotton mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur, it has not been possible to tabulate the information obtained owing to the wide variations which exist as between unit and unit. In the case of the mills in Bombay City it was further considered that it would not be necessary to undertake this tabulation in view of the proposals made by the Millowners' Association during the general strike of last year to standardize the rates for different classes of operatives in all cotton mills in Bombay City. This question will be more fully dealt with under the head "Extent of Standardization," but it may be pointed out here that the basis adopted by the association in arriving at their proposals for the rates for different occupations was to take the average daily earnings according to the results of the 1926 enquiry conducted by the Labour Office. The extent to which rates vary as between mill and mill will be better understood by an examination of the figures given below for the average monthly earnings of all workers, the average daily earnings and the average monthly earnings of full-time workers, mill by mill, for the nineteen mills selected for the 1926 enquiry in the case of two-loom weavers and warpers. The month was July and the number of working days 27.

TABLE I.—Earnings of Two-loom Weavers.

Mill No.	Total number of workers.	Average number of days worked.	Average monthly earnings.	Average daily earnings.	Number working full-time.	Average monthly earnings of full-time workers.
1	373	25.5	Rs. a. p. 50 8 3	Rs. a. p. 1 15 9	187	Rs. a. p. 54 1 7
2	979	25.9	49 15 7	1 14 10	755	52 4 4
3	331	26.2	51 11 4	1 15 7	301	53 5 3
4	561	25.6	46 1 0	1 12 10	268	49 0 5
5	803	25.0	41 13 3	1 10 9	409	45 2 5
6	383	25.2	39 7 9	1 9 1	286	42 2 9
7	489	27.0	49 9 1	1 13 4	489	49 9 1
8	300	26.3	54 6 4	2 1 2	274	55 1 7
9	457	26.4	47 7 10	1 12 10	428	48 11 6
10	443	26.3	47 15 6	1 13 2	414	49 7 7
11	874	25.4	53 4 4	2 1 6	442	56 8 0
12	994	26.2	46 0 3	1 12 0	905	47 7 5
13	372	24.9	39 5 7	1 9 4	218	42 10 2
14	233	25.9	41 14 9	1 9 11	169	44 7 6
15	588	25.7	45 9 3	1 12 4	384	48 1 4
16	444	26.9	52 4 10	1 15 2	430	52 9 10
17	1,458	26.7	46 12 7	1 12 0	1,232	47 6 4
18	515	26.4	53 4 11	2 0 4	492	54 9 8
19	761	23.4	42 15 11	1 13 6	159	49 11 7
Total ..	11,358	25.8	47 5 11	1 13 4	8,242	49 9 11

TABLE II.—Earnings of Warpers.

Mill No.	Total number of workers.	Average number of days worked.	Average monthly earnings.		Number working full-time.	Average monthly earnings of full-time workers.		
			Rs. a.	p.		Rs. a.	p.	
1	12	26.3	64	10 4	2	7 3	8	65 6 8
2	37	25.3	45	2 9	1	12 7	18	48 2 5
3	11	26.2	58	5 5	2	3 8	4	58 5 5
4	19	24.9	58	4 7	2	5 6	6	63 3 1
5	28	24.6	40	5 11	1	10 3	13	44 4 6
6	15	25.9	52	7 9	2	0 6	12	54 15 11
7	15	26.9	57	10 0	2	2 4	13	58 3 9
8	10	23.0	66	2 11	2	14 0	4	82 15 1
9	14	25.0	45	3 4	1	12 11	8	48 5 3
10	14	22.6	57	14 7	2	9 1	—	—
11	22	22.7	48	9 3	2	2 3	1	57 13 0
12	24	26.4	51	7 11	1	15 3	21	52 15 3
13	14	22.6	39	7 6	1	12 0	—	—
14	13	24.3	42	13 9	1	12 3	4	48 11 2
15	20	23.8	50	2 1	2	1 8	4	56 6 6
16	14	24.5	64	11 2	2	10 3	9	74 10 4
17	47	25.9	53	0 9	2	0 10	22	56 9 10
18	16	27.0	68	7 11	2	8 7	16	68 7 11
19	18	23.0	60	1 0	2	9 9	—	—
Total ..	363	24.9	52	8 10	2	1 9	163	57 2 7

As will be seen from these tables the earnings of weavers vary between Rs. 1-9-1 and Rs. 2-1-6 per day and those of warpers between Rs. 1-10-3 and Rs. 2-14-0 per day.

It has already been stated above that both "basic" rates and the methods of calculating the additions to the basic rates and the subsequent deductions vary enormously in the case of the Ahmedabad mills, not only between mill and mill but for the same occupation in one particular mill.

This is illustrated in the examples given below :—

In the case of grinders one mill paid a daily rate of As. 13-9 plus Rs. 2 per month for dearness allowance, less 15½ per cent. for the wage cut effected in 1923 plus Rs. 2 per month for good attendance bonus. In another case there was a daily rate of As. 15-9 with no addition for dearness allowance, less 15½ per cent. and no bonus. In the case of the same mill there was a consolidated rate of Rs. 45 per month as far as the basic rate and the dearness allowance were concerned, but 15½ per cent. was deducted for the wage cut. Some mills gave absolute consolidated monthly rates without any additions or deductions, the variation being as follows : Rs. 27, Rs. 29-4, Rs. 30, Rs. 32-2, Rs. 33, Rs. 33-12, Rs. 34, Rs. 40, Rs. 43 and Rs. 45. Another mill gave Rs. 1-2-6 per day without dearness allowance and bonus, but deducted 15½ per cent. for the cut. Still another variation to be found was a daily rate of 13 annas or 14 annas without the dearness allowance and the cut, but with Rs. 2 per month for the bonus.

Head jobbers in the ring department received flat consolidated monthly rates, the actual figures being Rs. 60 in one case, Rs. 65 in two cases, Rs. 70 in one case, Rs. 75 in one case, Rs. 94 in one case, Rs. 95 in one case, Rs. 101 in two cases, Rs. 110 in one case, Rs. 115 in one case, Rs. 125 in two cases and Rs. 130 in one case. Ordinary jobbers in the same department were also generally paid on flat consolidated monthly rates with the same wide variation, but in one case 20 per cent. was added to the monthly rate and in another 15½ per cent. was deducted from an otherwise consolidated rate of Rs. 40.

In the case of siders in the spinning department there was a general similarity as far as basic rates were concerned, the variations being due to number of spindles tended or counts spun. But even here one mill gave flat rates of As. 11-9 pies and As. 12-7 pies per day to warp and weft workers respectively without a dearness allowance or a cut, but with a bonus of 8 annas for each complete week's work. The dearness allowance was uniformly given as a flat rate which was variously computed

at Rs. 2-8 annas for 20 days, Rs. 2-6 annas for 22 days, Rs. 2-12 annas for 22 days, Rs. 2-12 annas for 23 days, Rs. 3-4 annas for 26 days, Rs. 3-4 annas for 30 days, Rs. 2-11-6 pies for 32 days, Rs. 3-4 annas for 32 days and Rs. 3-4 annas per month. The bonus was added at a rate equivalent to Rs. 2 for 32 days, but computed per week, for 8 days, for one hapta or for two haptas. The number of possible permutations and combinations of these several ways of payment can be better imagined than calculated. It is not considered necessary to give further instances illustrating this point, but the same sort of variation is to be found in the case of almost all occupations, both for time rates and for piece rates.

Earnings.—As it would be of interest to compare the average daily earnings of different classes of workers in the mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur for the years 1921, 1923 and 1926, a table has been prepared giving these figures for those occupations which are comparable. In preparing this table it was necessary to group certain occupations together from the 1921 and 1923 enquiries in order to compare them with those for the 1926 enquiry in view of the curtailment in the number of occupations for which the figures for 1926 were tabulated. The table in Appendix IX shows the daily average earnings for the years 1921, 1923 and 1926 for Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur, for all classes of workers in respect of whom comparable figures were available. On examining the figures for Sholapur it will be noticed that the average daily earnings of the higher paid operatives and the workers employed on skilled work, as distinct from process operatives, show noticeable variations in comparison with the figures for 1921 and 1923. The variations are due partly to the inadequacy of the sample taken for the 1926 enquiry, as far as those groups having a small number of workers were concerned, and partly to the inclusion in the 1926 enquiry of the cash equivalent for the benefit gained by the workers from the grain allowance. In the case of the more important occupational groups among process operatives, the figures for 1926 are generally comparable with those for 1921 and 1923 because a sufficiently large number of workers were taken. It is necessary to emphasize here that in those cases where the figures are not comparable, the fault, if any, lies more with the 1921 and 1923 figures owing to the inadequacy of the methods adopted for those enquiries.

The results of the 1926 enquiry for Bombay in so far as they related to number of days worked and earnings, were supplied confidentially in a preliminary form to the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee in May, 1928, for purposes of standardization and they were again submitted confidentially in a more complete form to the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee. The results of the enquiry for Ahmedabad and Sholapur were completed only recently. The report of the whole enquiry is now under preparation and, as already stated, will be published during the course of this year. The figures will be available in detail for the Commission and it is not necessary to overload this memorandum with many pages of tabular matter on this subject. The comparative table referred to above and given as Appendix IX gives all the information that is necessary at this stage.

Printing Presses.—An enquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the printing press industry in Bombay City was held in the month of June for the month of May, 1929. All the bigger English and vernacular newspaper presses and job printing presses were covered, and the total number of workers in respect of whom information was procured was 2,907 out of 5,445 printing press workers in Bombay City. The information was collected from the muster rolls personally by an investigator of the labour office. The statistics in connexion with the earnings of operatives on time rates have not yet been tabulated. Three tables have, however, been prepared showing the frequency of rates by occupations in (1) English newspaper presses, (2) vernacular newspaper presses, and (3) job printing presses. These tables are given in Appendix X. There is no similarity in the rates paid to different classes of operatives as between press and press or even in the same press. For example, in English newspaper presses, five compositors received rates between Rs. 80 and Rs. 100, five between Rs. 70 and Rs. 80, fourteen between Rs. 60 and Rs. 70, twenty-five between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60, eight between Rs. 40 and Rs. 50, five between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40, three between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30, and three below Rs. 20. Of course, in the lower class intervals the compositors were more apprentices rather than skilled workers. The same wide variations in rates exists in the case of all occupations.

Except for inter and linotype operators in the English newspaper presses, and compositors, machinemen and pressmen in the Government Central Press, all press workers in Bombay are paid on monthly time rates. In the Government Central Press a dearness allowance of 10 per cent. is given on the basic rate for earnings up to Rs. 150 per month, but no other additions or deductions are made from the basic rates in the case of other classes of operatives in other presses in Bombay.

In the Government Central Press, compositors are paid according to what is known as the companionship system. A foreman has a gang of about 25 men whose individual pay is first nominally fixed according to ability. The gang works

at a scheduled rate of Rs. 1-7-2 pies per page foolscap folio, pica solid, plus 10 per cent. The rates vary from this basis according to different kinds of type used. From the total amount of the earnings of the gang at this rate during the month is deducted the total amount of the nominal pay given. The balance termed "profit" is then apportioned individually *pro rata* according to nominal pay. The foreman is responsible for the bill, which has to be made up monthly. Mono and linotype work is done at Re. 1-3-10 pies and As. 6-7 pies respectively per page foolscap folio, pica solid. Twenty per cent. extra is paid for confidential work. In the case of machine men and pressmen in the Government Central Press the rates are fixed on a nominal scale. Each machine has a fixed rate for the number of impressions to be taken in a working day. Each worker who puts in a larger number of impressions than those scheduled gets a bonus proportionate to his nominal rate of pay.

There were 60 inter or linotype operators included in the enquiry. The average number of days worked by these operators out of a maximum number of 27 working days in the month of May, 1929, was 25.37. The average earnings of all these operators amounted to Rs. 144-10-4 pies per month and to Rs. 5-11-3 pies per day. Forty-two operators who worked full-time earned an average monthly wage of Rs. 154-14-5 pies.

Engineering Trades.—No enquiries have been conducted into wages and earnings in engineering workshops in the Presidency. An attempt made by the labour office to hold a wage census for the engineering industry in the year 1922 was opposed by the Bombay Engineering Employers' Federation. This Federation was, however, approached in June, 1929, for information regarding rates of wages paid by its members. It has now furnished these figures and they are printed in Appendix XIII.

Building Trade.—With regard to the building trade in Bombay City, one large firm of contractors have reported that the average daily wages paid by them to their workers during the last year were as follows:—

	Rs. a.		Rs. p.		
Masons	2 8	per day	Stone-cutters	2 4	per day
Bricklayers	2 8	"	Carpenters	2 8	"
Fitters	2 8	"	Coolies	1 0	"
Mixer coolies	1 2	"	Women coolies	0 9	"

No other information with regard to wages in the building trade for any other centre is available.

Mines.—In the mines and quarries in the northern division of the Bombay Presidency the average rates of wages per day per head during the year 1928 were as follows:—

—	Shivrajpur and Bamankua mines.		Taibpur mines.		Jakhed quarry.		Quarries Nos. 1 to 5 in the Surat district.		Quarry No. 6 in the Surat district.	
	Rs. a.	p.	Rs. a.	p.	Rs. a.	p.	Rs. a.	p.	Rs. a.	p.
Skilled labour ..	1	7 6	1	8 2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unskilled labour ..	0	10 2	0	11 3	0	6 8	0	12 0	0	8 0
					to		to		to	
Females	0	7 2	0	8 9	0	7 0	1	4 0	0	12 0
					—	—	—	—	—	—

In the mines and quarries in the Southern Division men were paid wages ranging from 6 to 10 annas a day and women from 4 to 6 annas a day during the year 1928. The mining work of the Shirolu mines was carried out on piece work, the rate paid being Rs. 8 per 100 cubic feet of manganese quarried and stacked on the site.

In the case of quarries in the Bombay suburban district, tapkers and masons were paid Re. 1 1 anna to Rs. 1 10 annas and Re. 1 4 annas to Rs. 1 12 annas respectively. Coolies were paid 14 annas to Re. 1 each, women 8 annas to 10 annas each, and boys from 7 annas to 8 annas each.

There are no mines or quarries in the Central Division or in Sind.

Seamen.—Wages in the case of seamen are paid on the termination of the voyage and the completion of their agreement. An advance of one month's wages is usually made when the crew are signed on, and further advances may be made during a voyage at the discretion of the master. The English Merchant Shipping Act provides

for final payment of wages within two days of discharge (Section 134), while under the Indian Merchant Shipping Act payment must be made within five days after discharge or within three days after delivery of the cargo, whichever happens first (Section 47).

The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company fix their own wages which are generally higher than those of other companies. The other companies fixed a standard rate of wages at a meeting of shipowners and agents held in Bombay in September, 1923. The following are the rates paid by the P. & O. Steam Navigation Co. :—*

In the case of the steamship lines other than the P. & O. Steam Navigation Co., the following rates have been in force since September, 1923, for "coasting" and "home" lines respectively :—

<i>Purser's or Saloon Department.</i>			<i>Pursers' or Saloon Department—contd.</i>		
	Coasting.	Home.		Coasting.	Home.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Butler in charge ..	75	85	Troop baker mate ..	20	22-8
Butler, 2nd class ..	70	75	" cook ..	50	55
Chief cook ..	60	65	" asst. cook ..	45	50
2nd cook, ¹ ..	60	70	Deck steward ..	27	34
" " ² ..	30	40	Barman ..	35	40
Curry cook ..	35	40	Bell boy ..	23	26
3rd cook, ² ..	35	40	Knifeman ..	26	30
" " ¹ ..	22-8	28	Laundryman (Dhobi) ..	40	45
4th cook ..	20	22-8			
Baker ..	16	20	<i>Engine Department.</i>		
" " ..	60	70	Serang ..	55	65
" " ..	45	50	1st tindal ..	38	40
3rd baker or asst. ..	30	35	2nd tindal ..	35	37
" " mate ..	20	22-8	3rd tindal ..	32	35
Chief cook and baker ..	65	75	Cassab ..	30	35
Pantryman, ² ..	30	40	Donkeyman ..	30	35
" " 1st class ..	40	45	Hydraulicman ..	40	45
" " 2nd class ..	35	40	Iceman or freezer ..	35	37
" " cargo ship ..	33	37	Fireman ..	25	27
" " mate ..	18	20	Coal trimmers ..	18	21
Butcher ..	45	50	Lampman ..	28	32
" " mate ..	18	25	Bhandary ..	25	30
Topas saloon ..	20	22-8	" " mate ..	17	20
" " stock ..	20	22-8	Oilman ..	28	32
Scullions ..	20	22-8	Pumpman ..	52	62
Head waiter, ¹ ..	35	40	Coal trimmer serang ..	37	40
" " ² ..	40	45	Lascar's average ..	22	26
Salloon boys, 1st yr. ..	23	26			
" " 2-5th yrs. ..	25	30	<i>Deck Department.</i>		
" " over 5 yrs. ..	27	34	Serang, Muammedan ..	55	65
Messroom boys, ¹ ..	25	30	Serang, Hindu ..	52	65
" " boy ..	28	33	1st tindal ..	40	46
" " boys ..	27	34	2nd tindal ..	32	35
" " asst. ..	20	25	3rd tindal ..	30	34
" " mate ..	14	16	Cassab ..	27	32
C.E. boys, 1st yr. ..	23	26	Winchman ..	20	34
" " 2-5th yrs. ..	25	30	Seacunny ..	50	60
" " over 5 yrs. ..	27	34	Lascars $\frac{1}{2}$, at ..	18	22
Captain boy, 1st yr. ..	23	26	" " ..	21	25
" " 2-5th yrs. ..	25	30	" " ..	23	28
" " over 5 yrs. ..	27	34	" " ..	26	30
Officers boys ..	23-27	26-34	Lascar boys ..	13	15
Marconi boy ..	8	10	Bhandary ..	26	30
Saloon crew cook ..	35	40	" " mate ..	15	20
" " mate ..	16	20	Topass ..	20	23
Troop baker ..	50	55	Carpenter ..	75	120
" " 2nd baker ..	40	45			

¹ Cargo ship local liners.

² Passenger ship local liners.

These wages are, of course, in addition to rations. The value of food and lodging has been assumed for the purposes of Workmen's Compensation Act in assessing wages at Rs. 19 per month.

* These rates are given in memorandum of Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., and are there reproduced.

Other Industries and Trades.—The labour office held an enquiry into wages of municipal workers in selected municipalities in the mofussil in the year 1923. But as the information returned was not satisfactory no attempt was made at ascertaining daily or monthly average wages. An enquiry was also conducted into wages of clerical workers in Bombay City in the year 1924. The results of this enquiry were published in four issues of the *Labour Gazette* from February to May, 1926. But as the commission are not concerned with clerical workers it is not considered necessary to give the results of that enquiry here. The labour office also collects, month by month, information with regard to agricultural wages in Taluka Form No. XVIII-A from all talukas in the Bombay Presidency. A report on an enquiry into agricultural wages in the Bombay Presidency from 1900 to 1922 was published in the form of a special report during the year 1924. Since that year summary tables incorporating the information for each year have been regularly published both in the General Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency and in the *Labour Gazette*. As the commission are also not concerned with agricultural wages no attempt has been made to reproduce the figures here. But should the commission require any information on this subject it can be supplied.

No reliable information with regard to wages in other industries is available.

The appendix to the workmen's compensation section giving the wage groups of persons receiving compensation may be of interest in this connection.

Movements in Recent Years.—Speaking generally there have been no important changes in rates of wages in any industry in any centre in the Bombay Presidency since the wage cut of 15·625 per cent., i.e., two and a half annas in the rupee, effected by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association in June, 1923. A few cotton mills in the districts have reduced the percentages granted during the years 1919 to 1921 for dearness allowance, but no detailed information with regard to these reductions or their effects is available.

In the cotton textile industry in Bombay City the Bombay Millowners' Association gave an increase of 15 per cent. in wages to all workers on the 1st January, 1918. This was increased to 35 per cent. on the 1st January, 1919. The next increase granted on the 1st February, 1920, was 20 per cent. extra to male workers on time rates and to female workers both on time and piece rates, and 40 per cent. extra to male operatives on piece rates—the total percentages amounting to 55 and 75 respectively. On the 1st November, 1920, the 55 per cent. was increased to 70 per cent., and the 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. There have been no changes in these percentages since the year 1921. The percentage dearness allowances have been maintained right through as a separate item on the muster. In the Seventeen Demands submitted by the Joint Strike Committee during the general strike of the year 1928, Demand No. 12 required that the present high prices allowance should be consolidated with the original wages. The views of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee with regard to this demand are contained in paragraphs 171 to 179 (pp. 82-85) of their report. The committee held that this demand was fair and reasonable and recommended that in view of the advantage of simplifying wage-calculations so as to make them intelligible to the operatives, and, in particular, the desirability of facilitating the introduction of the standardization scheme, it was advisable for the association to do away with the present cumbrous system, founded as it was on the basic wages of 15 years ago, and to take advantage of the proposed standardization of wages to embody in the scheme a consolidated wage-scale incorporating the existing high prices allowances with any slight modifications that might be desirable for rounding off figures, etc.

The Joint Strike Committee also stated during the course of the strike of last year that individual mills in Bombay had made several attempts in various ways to reduce the earnings of the workers. Mr. N. M. Joshi, on behalf of the Joint Strike Committee, sent a statement to Government on the 21st May, 1928, showing the reductions in wages which had been made in 18 mills. Government forwarded the statement to the Millowners' Association with a request that inquiries should be made into the matter. The Millowners' Association in replying to Government on the 16th June, stated that from investigations made the committee of the association were satisfied that the statements made in the Press and elsewhere by the Joint Strike Committee to the effect that wages had been reduced in many ways, direct and indirect, were without foundation. They further stated, however, that adjustments had to be made occasionally in the rates of wages according as the rates were found too high or too low when compared with the rates in other mills; and that, in certain cases it had been found necessary to reduce wages, they had certainly been increased in certain other cases. The whole question was subsequently examined by the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee in connection with Demand No. 1 of the Seventeen Demands which required that "the present practices resorted to by some millowners which result in the reduction of wages shall be stopped, and reductions and altered conditions already effected since 1925 shall be restored." The Joint Strike Committee

submitted to the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee that reductions in monthly earnings had been effected owing to the following causes: (a) introduction of new varieties of cloth at rates which did not bring the level of wages to those earned on the production of the old sorts; (b) reduction of piece rates to meet unanticipated high production by individual operatives; (c) adjustments in rates made to bring them in line with the rates prevailing in other mills; (d) no adjustments made to increase rates in cases where mills went on finer counts; (e) introduction of artificial silk and inferior raw material; (f) gradual withdrawal of bonuses such as good attendance and efficiency bonus, free railway passes to workers, etc.; and (g) introduction of a method of paying wages on the weight of the cloth after it had undergone a subsequent process, instead of on the actual weight produced on the looms.

The committee held that in view of the proposed standardization of wages it would serve no useful purpose to discuss the various cases cited with regard to the alleged reductions, whatever foundation there might have been for these allegations and some of which appeared to have been substantiated. The standardization scheme was an effective answer to this demand.

When the standardization schemes come into operation, they will no doubt tend to raise the wages of the operatives in those mills where wages are low but it will also, on the other hand, reduce the wages of the operatives of many mills where the existing rates of wages are higher than those fixed in the standardization schemes. As this subject has been fully discussed in the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee's Report it is not considered necessary to go into it further here.

Complete information is not available with regard to the changes in the rates of wages in the Ahmedabad mills between the years 1914 and 1923. Prior to 1917 no concerted action was taken by the millowners with regard to granting percentage increases and each mill did as it pleased. The differences in the rates between mill and mill although wide were not very abnormal. From December 1917 to 1921 the managing committee of the Millowner's Association or the arbitrators or umpires chosen from time to time awarded increments to different departments in different proportions. The warpers obtained an increase of 25 per cent. in their rates in 1917. The weavers were awarded an increase of 35 per cent. in 1918, and spinners were given an increase of 85 per cent. in March, 1919, when the weavers also obtained a further increase. In the beginning of the year 1920 Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, the then president, and the managing committee of the Association granted an increase of 62½ per cent. in wages to workers in the sizing, calendering and engineering departments. The same increment was granted to Mochies and the pay of some workers in the cloth folding department was fixed after giving a similar increase. About the same time increases ranging from 60 to 62½ per cent. over the wages of July, 1917, were granted to blacksmiths, to the workers in the yarn bundling department and to some workers in the cloth department. In the same year the hours of work for spinners were reduced from 12 to 10 in consequence of a strike, and a further increase of about 40 per cent. was granted to spinners. In order to keep other workers contented an increase of 40 per cent. was granted to winders and workers in the frame department, 33½ per cent. to weavers, warpers and drawers, and 25 per cent. to bobbin carriers, lorrymen, oilmen, workers in the blow and card rooms and other low paid time workers. In 1921 the arbitrators recommended that blow room and card room workers should be granted an increase of 40 per cent. in place of the 25 per cent. of the previous year. In the same year Seth Mangaldas granted an increase of about 15 per cent. to spinners on account of the high level of house rents and the dearness of food-grains.

In June 1923 wages in the Ahmedabad mills were reduced by 15·625 per cent. on account of depression in the industry and the difference between real wages in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Since the year 1923 no general changes have been made in rates, but slight changes have been effected in piece rates for certain sorts in particular mills, but these changes have not affected the general level of wages to any appreciable extent.

No information with regard to wage movements either in the cotton mills outside Bombay and Ahmedabad or in any other trade or industry is available.

Amounts sent to Villages.—As regards amounts sent to villages by the working classes in this Presidency for the support of their dependants living in the mofussil a certain amount of information has been collected by the Labour Office in the course of its family budget investigations.

In Bombay City, the average working class family consists of 4·8 persons, 4·2 of whom live in the city and 0·6 in the mofussil. A large number of workers in Bombay City do not maintain an establishment but live as boarders, and though married, keep their dependants in their villages. In the case of families, the average monthly amount remitted comes to Rs. 1-11-1 pie, which constitutes 3·2 per cent. of the family income which is Rs. 52-4-6 pies per month. In the case of persons living singly in the city, the average monthly amount remitted comes to Rs. 11-7-1 pie, which constitutes 26·2 per cent. of the monthly income which is Rs. 43-10-3 pies.

It has already been pointed out that the labour force in Ahmedabad is not immigrant to the same extent as in Bombay and therefore remittances to dependants is not such an important item in the worker's budget. The family there consists of 4 persons of whom 3·87 live in Ahmedabad and 0·13 in the mofussil.

From the family budget enquiry made by the Labour Office it appears that nearly 7 per cent. of the working class families in Ahmedabad remit money to their dependants living away from them. The average remittance per family comes to 7 annas 1 pie per month and the average for only those remitting money comes to Rs. 6-6-9 pies. For all the families the average monthly expenditure on this account comes to 1·00 per cent. of the monthly income which is Rs. 44-7-2 pies.

Sholapur draws its labour force from the immediate neighbourhood and the labour there is not of the same cosmopolitan character as in Bombay. The average cotton mill worker's family contains 4·68 persons, only 0·11 of whom live away from Sholapur. Of the total number of families whose budgets were collected during the family budget investigation only 6 per cent. reported that they had to remit money every month to their dependants living away from them. The average of the amount remitted by such families comes to Rs. 4-12-7 pies. The average for all the families from whom budgets were collected comes to 4 annas 6 pies per month. This constitutes 0·70 per cent. of the monthly family income which is Rs. 39-14-10 pies.

Payment in kind and Allied Problems.—Wages to industrial workers in the Bombay Presidency are almost universally paid in cash. In some cases housing is provided free of rent in addition to the cash wage but this facility is extended more to the employees of the "Watch and Ward" departments of the factories or establishments where the system prevails rather than to the actual process operatives. It also exists in the case of a few establishments where the nature of the work done demands that the workers should live on the premises. The only two known instances where wages in kind are given in addition to a cash wage in industrial concerns are the cotton mills in Sholapur City and the British India Printing Press in Bombay.

In the cotton mills in Sholapur, all operatives who do not lose more than four days in the month get a grain allowance which takes the form of a right ordinarily to purchase 20 seers of grain,—18 seers of jowari and 2 seers of dal—for a sum of Rs. 2, irrespective of the retail selling prices of these food-grains in the city. In the case of one mill, jobbers are allowed to purchase 31 seers of grain for a sum of Rs. 3 8 annas. Half-timers have the right to purchase 10 seers of grain for Re.1. In the case of another mill only two-loom weavers have the right to purchase 20 seers and one-loom weavers and half-timers can only purchase 10 seers. The value of the grain given differs from month to month according to the variation in prices. For the purposes of the enquiry conducted by the Labour Office into wages in Sholapur City from the month of July, 1926, for which two mills were covered, the total price of the grain supplied worked out at Rs. 3-12-1 pie in the case of one mill and Rs. 3-14-3 pies in the case of the other, the variation being mainly due to the prices at which the mills bought wholesale. The value of the actual benefit gained by the worker getting this allowance was of course higher than the difference between these figures and the price at which the grain is given to the worker on account of the fact that he would have had to purchase this grain at retail prices. No option of a cash equivalent is given and workers sell the grain if it is not required for their own consumption although such instances are very rare.

In the British India Press, which employs nearly 500 workers, special arrangements are made for boarding and lodging about 30 workers in a special building provided in the premises of the Press. No charge is made for the services of a barber and washing, and medical attendance is also provided free. In addition to free board and lodging they receive in cash the difference between the rates of pay to which they would be entitled if they did not receive these privileges and Rs. 25 the cost per head for the arrangements provided. This system has been established in the Press for several years as the result of the desire of its founder to procure young and intelligent men from his native district for training in printing press work and at the same time to protect them from the evils of town life by providing for their board and lodging in a place close to their work. No restrictions of any kind are, however, placed on these men who are allowed the fullest liberty of movement outside working hours, but all boarders arriving after midnight have to report their names to a night watchman. If any worker persists in the habit of returning after midnight he is warned, and if a warning has no effect he is deprived of his rights of being housed in the firm's hostel.

In almost all factories in the Bombay Presidency which produce articles used or consumed by the workers, the operatives are given the right to purchase limited quantities sufficient for their own consumption at cost price. A number of textile mills in all centres of the Presidency have special cloth shops attached to the mills

for the sale of cloth to their workers and the value of the sale is in some cases deducted from wages. Fents or pieces of cloth spoilt during manufacture are sold at less than cost price to the workers of the establishments concerned. Some factories such as flour mills, in addition to selling flour to their workers at cost price, allow them the right to grind their own corn free of charge.

Method of fixing Wages.—By negotiated agreements or other means.—In the section dealing with conciliation and arbitration machinery, full details have been given with regard to the permanent arbitration board which functions in Ahmedabad for settling disputes between the employers and the employed. Appendix XII gives the various awards of the arbitrators since the formation of the permanent board in April, 1920. Most of these awards, however, dealt only with questions concerning percentage increases or decreases for particular groups of occupations. As far as Government are aware, none of these awards related to the fixation of a "basic" rate. Notwithstanding this fact, however, a certain similarity exists with regard to the basic rates of process operatives in the spinning sections of the Ahmedabad mills. This is due not to the formulation of a scheme of standardization or concerted action by all the millowners, but to efforts made by individual mills to have basic rates similar to those in adjacent mills. Wage fixation by negotiated agreements may, therefore, be considered to exist in the Ahmedabad mills only so far as general increases or wage cuts are concerned.

In the Bombay cotton mills there have been many strikes during the last ten years, both general and individual, in connection with demands for increases in rates of wages or proposals for cuts in wages. Similar strikes have also occurred in several industries throughout the Bombay Presidency. The majority of the strikes prior to the year 1923 where workers demanded increases in rates met with considerable success, and the workers have also had some success since then; but in all cases where employers agreed to enhance rates, the increase was made either in the form of a flat percentage covering all workers or an increase in the piece rates for particular sorts. No endeavour was made to ascertain what is a living wage or whether a standard rate should be introduced for a given piece of work in a particular unit or in a particular industry in a particular centre. The first concerted action in this connection was the proposal made by the Bombay Millowners' Association in the year 1928, to adopt standard rates of wages for all cotton mills in Bombay. This will be fully dealt with in the next section. Mention is made of it here because the scheme has been under continual discussion between the Millowners' Association and the representatives of labour since it was framed in July, 1928. The manner in which rates of wages are fixed on railways will be dealt with in the memorandum being prepared by the Railway Board.

The law of supply and demand, in conjunction with custom, appears to have been the basis of wage fixation in all industries in all centres in so far as the existing rates of wages are concerned. These remarks also apply to the Ahmedabad mills subject to the qualification that a greater attempt has been made in that centre to fix general increases or cuts by negotiation between the representatives of the employers and the employed. The Permanent Board of Arbitrators, consisting of Seth Mangaldas and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, are now considering the question of the restoration of the wage cut of 15½ per cent. effected in all the Ahmedabad cotton mills in June, 1923.

The result of the lack of proper wage fixation is that time rates of wages show an enormous variation, not only between district and district and centre and centre, but also between unit and unit in the same industrial class in one town or centre. It may be true that process operatives in textile mills get the same rates of wages that are paid to other operatives doing the same class of work, as far as a particular unit is concerned. But this does not hold good for the majority of the workers in the Maintenance Departments of the textile mills or in the engineering workshops or other classes of factories where a worker who enters into employment for the first time on a time rate does not necessarily get the wage that was paid to his predecessor for doing identical work. He is more often than not paid a lower wage and when there are others who are prepared to take up the work on the wage offered, he has either to take it or leave it. Occasionally, of course, the converse has happened, while in every industry there are many examples where long years of service on the same work, or special efficiency have earned the operative a wage very much higher than that paid to other men doing the same work.

Extent of Standardization.—Prior to the proposal made by the Bombay Millowners' Association during the general strike in the year 1928, to standardize wages in all the cotton mills in Bombay City, there was, so far as the Government of Bombay are aware, nothing like standard rates of wages in any industry or centre in the Bombay Presidency except, to a limited extent, in the case of basic time rates for process operatives in the spinning sections in the Ahmedabad cotton mills. Whilst dealing with the question of prevailing rates of wages and earnings in the first section in this chapter it was shown that there was a complete lack of uniformity

in the methods adopted in calculating the different additions and deductions to "basic" rates of wages in the Ahmedabad mills. It is necessary to repeat here that the term "basic" does not apply to any particular period for the whole industry. It varies as between groups and groups and also between mills and mills. In the case of some occupations the term may relate to the pre-war year. In the case of others it may relate to any other year. But for particular occupations covered by the awards of arbitrators it relates to the date on which an award for a percentage or a flat rate of increase was granted.

Similar "basic" rates with small variations are to be found in almost all the cotton mills in Ahmedabad for process operatives in the spinning departments. This is due not so much to the introduction of a scheme of standardization on scientific principles, but to an arbitrary levelling up of rates as the result of the various awards granted by individual arbitrators or by the Permanent Arbitration Board during the years 1917-20. There is no standardization or similarity in rates whatever in the Ahmedabad mills with regard to piece rates. These vary from mill to mill for the same class of production although two or more mills may give similar rates. Proximity plays an important part in the fixing of both time and piece rates in all industries at all centres, and there have been many disputes due to the workers of one mill or concern demanding the higher rates paid for similar class of work in an adjacent mill or a concern of the same type. In the case of skilled artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, fitters, etc., and the workers in the maintenance departments (as distinct from process operatives) who are all on time rates, the same wide variation in the methods of wage calculations exists; the general tendency, however, being towards consolidation without any additions or deductions. There is little similarity between the rates of different workers of the same class even in the same mill, the rates depending on the degree of skill possessed by each individual.

The question of standardizing wages in the cotton mills in Bombay City has been under consideration by the Millowners' Association for several years. In the written statement submitted by the Association to the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee they stated that "the advantage of standardization was already perceived as far back as 1891 when the late Honourable Mr. N. N. Wadia had prepared a draft scheme." The attempt was, however, not successful. Several attempts were made subsequently but for one reason or another the old system was allowed to continue.

In 1921 the Industrial Disputes Committee recommended standardization of wages in the following terms:—

"Amongst the employers of labour there are strong organizations and the present tendency is for them to become more and more representative; but employers' associations have not yet evolved any standard scales of wages and individual employers are usually ignorant of how their rates compare with the wages given by others. The uncorrelated raising of wages in one factory is almost invariably seized upon as a grievance in other factories of the same class, and instances of strikes caused in this way are within the memory of all. The attempts made to standardize wages on a definite principle have hitherto been largely ineffective, though the Bombay Millowners' Association and more recently, we understand, the Engineering Employers' Federation have begun exploring the ground in that direction. It appears to us that the continual insistence of our witnesses on the differences of machinery and conditions of labour in the various factories, however justified, is liable to obscure the importance of a common practice in the scale of wages which, if it is not reached by agreement amongst the employers, will eventually be arrived at by pressure from amongst the men at a greater sacrifice of industrial peace. We think the subject is one which merits the most careful consideration for all employers."

No effective action was, however, taken on this recommendation. In January, 1927, the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) also recommended standardization of wages. Paragraph 65 (page 140) of the Report of the Board stated:—

"We cannot regard as satisfactory the present system, under which the wages in the Bombay mill industry vary from mill to mill, even when the managing agents are the same, and would recommend, for the consideration of the Millowners' Association, the adoption of a system of standardized wages for the same class of work as between mill and mill. We realize that the adoption of such a system presents very great difficulties in Indian conditions owing to the illiteracy and imperfect organization of labour and that its introduction might probably cause discontent among those operatives whose wages might be prejudicially affected. None the less, we think that the standardization of wages throughout the Bombay industry would tend to strengthen its position. A suitable scheme could, or course, only be satisfactorily drawn up in consultation with representatives of labour. It is obviously preferable that it should be adopted by all mills but if a large proportion of the mills were willing to accept it, it would not be long before the others followed suit."

In pursuance of this recommendation the Committee of the Millowners' Association appointed, on the 8th January, 1928, a special sub-committee "to investigate and report as to the measures which might reasonably be taken towards the standardization of muster-rolls and wage rates." (A full account of the work of this sub-committee is given in paragraphs 185-187 (pages 87-88) of the Fawcett Committee's report.) In the meanwhile, the Joint Strike Committee, which had been formed early in May, 1928, in connection with the general strike of that year, included in the Seventeen Demands which they published on 3rd May, one that "conditions of employment, work and payment should be standardized." In the reply which the Millowners' Association gave to these demands on the 12th May, they stated with reference to this particular demand that the matter had already received their attention and that a scheme had been prepared. This was the first public intimation given by the association of its intention to standardize wages. Subsequently in a statement which the association published on the 17th May, defining the terms on which they would re-open the mills affiliated to their association and readmit the employees to work, they specified that the workers would only be readmitted on standardized rates of wages and revised and standardized muster-rolls. Several discussions on the Millowners' scheme took place between the sub-committees of the association and the Joint Strike Committee appointed to discuss the proposed scheme. A certain measure of agreement was arrived at at one stage, but the negotiations eventually broke down over the proposal made by the association to fix the standard piece rates for weavers in such a manner as to bring about a cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the average earnings of those operatives. The schemes submitted for consideration of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee were those that were presented to the Joint Conference on the 4th October, 1928.

The Standardization Scheme of the Millowners' Association is divided into two parts :—(1) The standardization scheme proper for the regulation of wages and work in the majority of the mills in Bombay and (2) The efficiency scheme, called in discussion "Rationalization," for the regulation of wages for work requiring greater efficiency, such as attendance by a sider on two sides of a ring frame instead of the ordinary one, or by a weaver on three or four looms instead of the ordinary two with a suitable increase in wages.

The latter scheme was further sub-divided into two parts, one applicable to the mills under the agency of Messrs. E. D. Sasson & Co., Ltd., and the other to the mills under the agency of Messrs. James Finlay & Co.; and to a certain extent, in the Kohinoor mills under the agency of Messrs. Killick, Nixon & Co. Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co. were successful in introducing double-frame working in all their mills by the year 1928, although their attempt led to a prolonged strike of about two months during January and February, 1928, in all their mills. The workers were, however, eventually defeated and the Sassoons were successful in introducing the system. An earlier attempt made by the same firm to introduce three-loom working in their Apollo and Manchester mills in 1927, also met with strikes lasting for about a month in both these mills. These strikes also resulted in favour of the employers. In all cases where the Sassoons introduced efficiency measures the percentages granted for the additional work were standardized, but the actual rates, basic or otherwise, in the individual mills remained the same and will continue on the existing bases till such time as the general standardization scheme is introduced by the Millowners' Association in all mills in Bombay City which are affiliated to the association.

The general standardization scheme, as it is to be applied to the majority of the mills in Bombay, follows in the main the "Uniform Lists," which obtain in Lancashire. The fundamental basis of the whole scheme is stated by the Millowners' Association to be "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." The main principles on which the scheme was based were as follows :—(1) There should be no variation between mill and mill in the rates of wages of operatives of the same class doing the same amount of work with the same skill and similar machinery and material, and that variations in the earnings of individuals should depend on their own individual labour and skill as tested by production. (2) Operatives should not suffer owing to defects in machinery or material. (3) All the operatives except the weavers should get at least the same average wages that they have been hitherto getting provided they work with reasonable efficiency, but that there should be a cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the present average wages of the weavers.

The scheme as put forward by the association at the Conference on the 4th October, 1928, was considerably modified as a result of meetings that took place between the sub-committees of the association and the Joint Strike Committee in January and February, 1929, during the sittings of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee. This modified scheme was accepted by the Joint Strike Committee, subject to some general objections and some qualifications which have been dealt

with in paragraphs 188 and 266 of the Committee's Report. The Committee held that the scheme, as modified, was fair and reasonable with a few minor alterations on some points of difference between the parties (paragraphs 268, 272, 273, 277, 278, 280 and 281A of the Report), subject to such revision of the part of the scheme that related to the wages of weavers as might be necessary to prevent a cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in their wages, if the Committee's recommendations on this point in paragraph 239 of their Report were adopted. The scheme itself reserved various matters for subsequent standardization and it was proposed to revise sections of it after a few months' trial, if necessary. With this object, and that of avoiding strikes and lock-outs, machinery was provided by "Mediation Rules," agreed to by both sides for setting up joint committees to enquire into disputes arising under the scheme, and to arrange for their settlement. The part of the Standardization Scheme which is called the "Rational" or "Efficiency" system and which aims at reducing the number of operatives employed in mills while raising their wages and providing conditions favourable for extra efficiency expected from the operatives, was also held to be fair and reasonable. The modified main "Standardization" and "Efficiency" schemes are given in Appendices VIII and IX at pages 202-239 of the Committee's Report.

The Millowners' Association proposed to bring the main standardization scheme into operation with effect from 1st October, 1929, after discussing the recommendations made by the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee with the representatives of labour. In view of the fact, however, that the joint discussions on the committee's report broke down on the 24th April in consequence of the refusal of the Mill owners' Association to agree to the reinstatement of 6,000 hands displaced as a result of the three strikes in the Wadia group of mills in Bombay, and also in view of the progress of the present general strike, it is not known, at the moment of writing, whether the Association will be in a position to bring the scheme into operation with effect from the date proposed.

Effect of Wage-changes on Labour Supply.—Although there have been no general changes in the rates of wages obtaining in the chief industries in the Bombay Presidency since the reduction of $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. effected by the Ahmedabad Millowners in June, 1923, several individual concerns have made direct and indirect attempts to reduce wages during the last five years. In the case of some up-country mills outside the cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Sholapur, these attempts by employers have met with some success, mainly owing to want of effective trade union organization. But, as far as the Government are aware, these attempts have had no perceptible effect on labour supply. The comparatively high absenteeism which is to be found among the workers employed in Indian industrial concerns gives employment to a large number of "badlis" or substitutes who are able to get a fair amount of employment during the month by securing temporary work in different concerns.

Another important factor for consideration in dealing with this question is the fact that the Indian industrial worker is primarily an agriculturist. If he cannot get employment in industry he returns to his native village and either cultivates his own land or works for another cultivator. One of the reasons why the strikers were able to last out for over five and a half months in the big strike of 1928, was, that thousands of workers who could not earn a living or raise funds by other means in Bombay, migrated to their villages.

Government possess no statistics or information with regard to the question of unemployment in industrial concerns in the Bombay Presidency. Labour leaders frequently state that a good deal of unemployment in industry exists, but this has not been substantiated to any extent by the personal investigations made by the officers of the Labour Office, although there was a displacement of a large number of hands consequent on the introduction of the double-frame working and other efficiency measures in the mills under the agency of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., during the years 1927 and 1928. One of the principal clauses of the agreement of the 4th October, 1928, was, that "the question of musters shall not arise" in so far as the offering of employment to the number of workers who had originally gone on strike was concerned. The Millowners' Association insisted on the insertion of this clause because they wanted to bring their standardization muster into immediate operation on resumption of work. The effect of the introduction of the standardized muster in October, 1928, was to displace about six to eight thousand workers. A few disputes occurred on account of displacements in individual mills, but as it was, some mills were not able to secure the full complements they required because several thousands of the workers who had left Bombay during the strike had not returned. It is probable that many of these were under the impression that their places must have been permanently filled, and did not return at all. The introduction of the standardization schemes, when they are brought into complete operation, will probably result in the displacement of a few thousand more workers.

The question of "effects of wage-changes on labour supply" has, generally speaking, not arisen in the Bombay Presidency in such a manner as to justify an enquiry into it, and consequently no further information than that given above is available on the subject.

It is assumed that the Commission, in this section, do not wish to deal with the question of the effect of *industrialism* on agricultural labour. Every big engineering work, e.g., the Tata Hydro-Electric Schemes, the Irrigation Dams and Canals of the Public Works Department, absorbs for the time being a quantity of labour from surrounding villages attracted by the relatively high wages paid on such works, and causes either a shortage of agricultural labour or sends up its cost. But this is presumably not a matter for discussion under the heading of "Effects of wage-changes on labour supply."

Minimum Wages—Advisability and possibility of statutory establishment.—There are three main considerations which govern the adoption of legislation on minimum wages. These are (a) the living wage, (b) the fixing of minimum wages in any trade in relation to the wages paid to workers in the same trade in other districts and (c) the capacity of an individual industry to pay what is regarded as a minimum wage. When it has been decided upon what basis legislation is to be framed, there are various methods of applying the principles. By the first method different minima may be fixed for different industries by *ad hoc* boards appointed to deal with each industry as is done under the Trade Board system in England and in the Wages Boards in certain Australian States. According to the second method, national minima may be fixed for various industries as is done in certain parts of Canada, the United States of America, etc. According to the third method, an actual figure may be laid down in law as a minimum to apply for the whole country as was done by the Minimum Wage Act of New South Wales in 1908.

The Government of Bombay have no information in their possession which suggests that conditions in the Presidency necessitate legislative action on this subject, although they agree that the principle is unobjectionable.

One of the chief objects of Minimum Wage Legislation of the English type is the prevention of "sweating," particularly in what are known as the home working trades. These, in the sense in which the term is usually understood, do not exist to any large extent in this Presidency, and if the object of the legislation is to prevent sweating in such trades, so far as this Presidency is concerned, such legislation would appear to be quite unnecessary.

The question of a minimum wage in the Bombay cotton mill industry has been considered by the Fawcett Committee in their report in connexion with the seventeen demands submitted by the Joint Strike Committee. After discussing the principles underlying Minimum Wage Legislation, and the opinions expressed on this question by various authorities, the committee say, "In the present case, we have material for safely saying that any considerable increase in the wages bill would hamper the industry to an unjustifiable extent in the existing circumstances of trade depression; but we may well decline to go further and say that the state of the trade does not permit of even a small increase in the lowest wage proposed to be paid if it is shown that the wage does not enable the workers concerned to maintain a suitable standard of living." They further observe, "We do not think that in this enquiry we should be justified in importing the principle of a minimum wage to the extent demanded, viz., the fixing of a definite standard of Rs. 30 below which the wages of no mill operative in Bombay should fall. The introduction of such a standard was not contemplated by the parties when they agreed to the reference, as is clearly indicated by the fact that the standardization scheme put forward by the Joint Strike Committee themselves in opposition to that of the millowners contains a number of instances in which the wages are less than Rs. 30."

While considering the question whether the minimum wage should apply to female as well as male operatives the committee arrived at the conclusion that a woman can maintain herself in Bombay on Rs. 18 per month. They point out that they appreciate the contention that the standard of comfort of textile workers in Bombay is exceedingly low, and sympathise with their aspirations to improve it. But they think that any attempt to do this by raising the general level of wages in the mill industry in the present circumstances of trade depression and fierce outside competition, might only result in the closing down of more mills and thus, in the end, be injurious to the interests of the working classes. In their opinion to impose a minimum wage of Rs. 30, might also probably lead to the return of the former practice of employing boys instead of adults.

Deductions.—The Labour Office of the Government of Bombay, conducted a comprehensive enquiry during the years 1926 and 1927, into the subject of Deductions from Wages or Payments in respect of Fines. It was held in response to a Circular Letter issued by the Government of India to all Provincial Governments requesting

them to obtain information on the extent of the practice, in their respective administrations, by which employers in industrial concerns are empowered to inflict fines upon their workmen. The enquiry covered all industrial establishments and also all the larger labour employing organizations, such as the docks, municipalities, building and construction works, railways, tramways, shipping agencies, hotels, restaurants, shops, clubs, stores, etc., and all large offices in the Bombay Presidency. The scope of the enquiry was not confined to the question of deductions only; and many of the other more important matters dealt with in the English Truck Acts were also covered. In the case of the textile industry the period selected was the first ten months of the year 1926. The whole of the year 1925 was taken for all the other factories, industrial organizations, etc., included in the investigation. The results of the enquiry were published in the form of a special report during the year 1928, with the title "Report of an Enquiry into Deductions from Wages or Payments in respect of Fines."

The following notes contain the results of the 1926-27 enquiry conducted by the labour office. The proposals made by the Bombay Millowners' Association to standardize rules governing conditions of employment and discipline, the infliction of fines, etc., which were one of the Terms of Reference of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Government of Bombay, on the 13th October, 1928, are given at p. 180 of the committee's report, together with the recommendations of the committee.

System of Fining.—The system of making deductions from wages in respect of fines is general in the textile industry in all parts of the Bombay Presidency. With regard to factories, the system exists in almost all Government and local fund factories and in the majority of the more organized and larger workshops. It is also associated with municipalities, factories and establishments working regularly throughout the year. It does not appear to be the general practice in seasonal establishments such as gins and presses. In offices the system is almost wholly limited to the fining of peons and menials in the establishments where the system exists, although a few cases were reported where clerks were also occasionally fined. Among the classes of concerns included in the group "Miscellaneous Establishments," fining was general in the large hotels, clubs and restaurants but was almost absent in most of the larger commercial organizations such as shops, stores, etc.

The table below shows the number of establishments among those sending in returns in which fines were stated to be inflicted:—

Groups of Establishments covered.	Number of returns.	Number of concerns in which fines were inflicted.
I. Textile Mills—		
(a) In Bombay	76	76
(b) In Ahmedabad	49	49
(c) In Sholapur and Other Centres	19	19
II. Factories (excluding Textile Mills)—		
(a) Government and Local Fund	32	23
(b) Ordinary Factories	277	75
(c) Gins and Presses	400	30
III. Public Utility Establishments	18	18
IV. Municipalities	68	57
V. Government and other Non-Factory Establishments.	15	11
VI. Steamship Lines	12	12
VII. Offices	180	48
VIII. Miscellaneous Establishments (Shops, Stores, Hotels, Restaurants, Clubs, Theatres, etc.).	85	23
Total ..	1,231	441

All textile mills in Bombay City have printed rules and regulations governing conditions of employment, dismissal with or without forfeiture of wages, fines, etc. Only three mills in Ahmedabad city reported the existence of such rules. In the mills in the remaining centres of the Bombay Presidency rules are occasionally found to exist. All municipalities and Government and local fund factories have properly drawn up rules which, among other things, lay down the conditions under which fines may be imposed. The infliction of fines is also governed by prescribed rules in railway workshops, the larger and the better organized factories, in large public utility companies and in some of the larger non-factory establishments. If the results of the enquiry as a whole are considered, it would appear that outside the textile mills in Bombay and the larger workshops, rules setting out the conditions of fining are the exception and not the rule.

As regards the extent to which fines could be inflicted in industrial establishments by persons in the positions of foremen, jobbers, mukadams, etc., only one or two textile mills in Bombay reported that the power was delegated to jobbers. In many of the Ahmedabad mills this power rests with special employees, who are called "detectors." With the exception of these cases, all the remaining factories and concerns reported that the power to fine rests with the heads of departments. In some cases a confirmation is required by the manager or superintendent-in-charge of the whole establishment. In the smaller concerns the proprietors, who act also as managers, reserve the power to themselves.

With the exceptions of a few workshops and factories, which give employment tickets or check cards with the main rules under which fines are inflicted, printed on their reverse, no endeavour appears to have been made to communicate to employees the conditions under which fines are imposed beyond posting the rules, where they exist, in prominent positions. In the majority of cases the reporting concerns stated that such rules and conditions were known by custom or usage—the few notable exceptions being the few mills and factories which maintain records of signatures or thumb impressions signifying that the rules have been made known to the signatories.

With the exceptions of the railway workshops, the large public utility companies, municipalities, some of the larger Government and non-Government factories and non-factory establishments, no limits appeared to have been prescribed with regard to the extent to which fines may be inflicted.

The offences for which fines are inflicted are generally breaches of discipline, insubordination, disobedience, bad or negligent work, careless or negligent loss or damage to tools or machinery, etc. In some cases special lists of further offences connected with the nature of the work undertaken are drawn up. Deductions made from wages in respect of *actual fines* for bad or negligent work did not appear to cover the loss sustained by the employer with regard to the spoilt or damaged article, but appeared to be in most cases (to quote the Government of India's letter) "*bona fide* fines inflicted as correctives."

Generally speaking, the employee fined is given full particulars relating to the fine at the time of the occurrence necessitating it. In the case of some municipalities and a few of the larger workshops, the procedure is more elaborate. The offence for which a fine is intended to be inflicted is put down on a "charge sheet" and the worker is asked to record his explanation—a fine being imposed only if the explanation tendered is unsatisfactory. In some cases appeals against fines inflicted by subordinate officers in the position of heads of departments lie to the controlling authority.

Out of the 144 textile mills in the Presidency which furnished information on this subject 84 mills, or 58·3 per cent., reported that deductions were made from wages in respect of material spoilt or damaged during manufacture and handed over to the workers concerned. In most cases the deduction was made at the price at which the article would have been sold had it not been spoilt or damaged, and only in a few cases at actual manufacturing cost or at a price intermediate between the cost and the selling value of the undamaged article. This practice is very rare in factories and establishments outside the textile industry.

All amounts realized in respect of these deductions were generally credited to the "sales account," except in the case of a few mills in Ahmedabad, where a certain percentage of such deductions was handed over to detecting folders.

Speaking generally, there are few deductions made from wages in the Bombay Presidency on account of charges for supply of tools or materials to workers. In cases where such deductions were reported they appeared to be on account of the supply of special tools to special workers. In the textile industry some mills require weavers to provide themselves with their own reed hooks and combs, and in cases where these are supplied by the mills their cost is recovered in cash or by deductions from the wages. The conditions governing such deductions, where they exist, are made known to the workers concerned prior to engagement.

A few cases were reported where a worker preferred to resign rather than be fined, but the evidence with regard to this question was overwhelming that workers generally preferred to be fined rather than to forfeit their service instead.

The punishment of suspension is general in municipalities and in Government establishments. A few of the larger workshops inflict no fines at all, and only punish offenders by suspending them from work for some days. This form of punishment is also found to exist in railways, other public utility companies, and some of the larger non-factory organizations in addition to a few concerns in all the other groups.

Speaking generally, some sort of punishment for late attendance is universal except in the case of the majority of the seasonal factories, such as gins and presses. In some cases employees are not admitted to work after a period of grace has expired.

In some others "pay for work" is the rule, i.e., employees only receive pay for the actual number of hours worked. But in the majority of cases where late attendance is punished by the infliction of a fine, the fine is either a fixed amount or it is graded according to the number of minutes late.

Non-attendance is similarly punished in various ways. In the mills in Sholapur city the "double khada" rule is observed—loss of two days' wages for each day's absence without leave. This practice is also followed in various mills and factories in all parts of the Presidency. In some cases the penalty for continued absence without leave over a number of days (prescribed in most cases), is dismissal with or without forfeiture of wages. In some other cases absence without leave is punished by set fines. In almost all cases wages are not given for the days of absence.

Extent of Fining—The textile industry.—The following table shows the deductions made in respect of fines together with the numbers of instances in which fines were inflicted in 45 textile mills in all parts of the Bombay Presidency employing an average daily number of 90,819 workers comprising 68,754 men, 20,568 women and 1,497 children, with a total wages bill of Rs. 2,63,89,592-14-8. Only 45 mills correctly gave the information in the detailed manner in which it is set out here.

Subject of deduction.	Number of instances in which fines were inflicted during the first ten months of the year 1926.			Total amount of deductions made in respect of fines.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
				Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Fines for—						
(a) Breaches of discipline or establishment rules.	14,782	6,332	44	4,259 3 6	1,161 14 3	11 10 9
(b) Bad or negligent work.	284,951	15,334	11	68,223 6 3	2,585 6 6	1 6 6
(c) Loss of and injury or damage to materials, tools, machinery or plant belonging to the employer.	11,568	1,077	236	4,371 13 6	225 12 0	19 15 0
(d) Any other purposes than those enumerated in (a), (b) or (c).	6,928	1,911	932	1,432 12 9	185 6 6	115 13 0
Total ..	318,229	24,654	1,223	78,287 4 0	4,158 7 3	148 13 3

An examination of the above table shows that fines for offences connected with bad and negligent work predominated both in the case of men and women operatives, the proportions of instances under this head to the total number of offences for which fines were inflicted being 89·54 per cent. in the case of men and 62·20 per cent. in the case of women. The incidence of fines for bad or negligent work works out to 3 annas and 10 pies for offences committed by men and 2 annas and 8 pies for offences committed by women. This suggests that fines of this nature are, generally, *bona fide* fines inflicted as correctives and not with a view to recompense the employer for damage sustained. An important caveat to this statement, however, is the fact that in the textile industry nearly 60 per cent. of the reporting mills hand over spoilt or damaged material to the workers concerned and recover the cost—generally at the selling price of the undamaged materials—from the workers' wages. This practice is dealt with in a subsequent paragraph; but it will be obvious that the real extent of the worker's financial loss depends upon the price he obtains for the article and on that point no information was available.

In the case of children, fines were inflicted in 76·21 per cent. of the instances for reasons other than breaches of discipline, bad or negligent work and loss of or injury to materials, tools, etc. Fines, in the case of children, are generally for loss of identification tokens. The incidence of fines under this head works out at 2 annas per offence. If all offences are considered together, the incidence of fining works out at 3 annas and 11 pies per offence in the case of men, 2 annas and 8 pies per offence in the case of women and 1 anna 11 pies in the case of children. The proportion of total fines to the total wages bill for the 45 textile mills covered by the statistics contained in the above table works out at 0·313 per cent.

Many mills did not give particulars under the separate heads (a), (b), (c) and (d) but gave combined figures for one or more of the four sections. It was possible, however, to obtain from these returns figures showing (a) the wages bill, (b) the numbers of workers employed, and (c) the total amount of fines inflicted. Grouping these figures, it is found that in the case of 66 textile mills in Bombay city employing 146,753 workpeople—comprising 113,506 men, 33,192 women and 55 children—with a total wages bill of Rs. 4,73,83,399 for the first ten months of the year 1926, the total fines inflicted amounted to Rs. 1,18,707, or 0·25 per cent. of the wages bill.

In the 30 mills in Ahmedabad which supplied similar information, the total amount of fines inflicted was Rs. 1,02,488 as against a total wages bill of Rs. 1,01,66,873 for 31,396 workers comprising 24,170 men, 6,087 women and 1,139 children. The proportion of fines to wages in this case amounts to 1·01 per cent.

For 16 mills in Sholapur and other centres, employing 26,134 workers, comprising 18,390 men, 5,732 women and 2,012 children, with a total wages bill of Rs. 49,80,528, the total amount inflicted in fines during the period covered was Rs. 21,268, or 0·43 per cent. of the wages bill.

If the above figures are combined for all the textile mills in the Bombay Presidency, it is found that in 112 mills employing 204,283 workers comprising 156,066 men, 45,011 women and 3,206 children, with a total wages bill of Rs. 6,25,30,800 the total amount of fines inflicted was Rs. 2,42,463, or 0·39 per cent. of the wages bill.

Factories (excluding textile mills).—The following table presents statistics in respect of 25 factories and workshops employing 25,359 workpeople, comprising 25,031 men, 251 women and 77 children with a total wages bill of Rs. 88,17,530 for the year 1925 which furnished detailed information under group I (a), (b), (c) and (d) :—

Subject of deduction.	No. of instances in which fines were inflicted during the year 1925.			Total amount of deductions made in respect of fines inflicted.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
				Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Fines for—						
(a) Breaches of discipline or establishment rules.	6,785	—	—	5,274 1 9	—	—
(b) Bad or negligent work.	2,668	1	—	4,434 0 4	1 0 0	—
(c) Loss of and injury or damage to materials, tools, machinery or plant belonging to the employer.	1,659	1	20	1,787 14 1	5 0 0	10 0 0
(d) Any other purposes than those enumerated in (a), (b) or (c).	2,799	—	—	4,437 5 6	—	—
Total ..	13,911	2	20	15,933 5 8	6 0 0	10 0 0

An examination of the above table shows that fines were inflicted in factories for breaches of discipline to a greater extent than for bad or negligent work, the proportion of instances under this head to total instances amounting to 48·77 per cent. Women operatives were only fined in two cases, Rs. 5 in one case and Re. 1 in the other. The incidence of fining per offence works out at Rs. 1-2-4 for men, Rs. 3 for women, and 8 annas for children, and the proportion of total fines to the total wages bill amounts to 0·18 per cent.

Public utility establishments.—Out of the 18 returning organizations or departments of organizations included under the category of "public utility departments" eight departments submitted detailed information in the schedule with regard to deductions made under the various subheads under Group I. The following table summarises the deductions made in the case of these eight departments during the year 1925 out of the earnings of 8,512 workpeople comprising 8,223 men, 167 women and 122 children with a total wages bill of Rs. 40,19,980 :—

Subject of deduction.	No. of instances in which deductions from wages were made.			Total amount of deductions.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
I. Fines for—				Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
(a) Breaches of discipline or establishment rules.	7,096	5	3	4,595 12 0	1 14 0	2 0 0
(b) Bad or negligent work.	725	—	3	1,352 12 6	—	1 0 0
(c) Loss of and injury or damage to materials, tools, machinery or plant belonging to the employer.	756	—	—	652 1 7	—	—
(d) Any other purposes than those enumerated in (a), (b) or (c).	2,185	—	—	1,849 8 0	—	—
Total ..	10,762	5	6	8,450 2 1	1 14 0	3 0 0

It will be seen from the above figures that the incidence of fining per offence amounted to 12 annas 7 pies in the case of men, 6 annas in the case of women and 8 annas for children. The proportion which the total amount of fines bears to the total wages bill is 0·21 per cent. The majority of fines were inflicted for breaches of discipline.

Five public utility establishment or departments did not supply detailed information under each subhead but gave total amounts for fines inflicted and the numbers of instances. All these five departments gave figures for the total wages bill for the year 1925, but information regarding workpeople involved was furnished by only three departments. If the figures for these five departments are combined with the group figures for the above eight departments it is found that in 13 departments with a total wages bill of Rs. 55,18,301 fines were inflicted in 11,602 instances and amounted to Rs. 9,337, or 0·17 per cent. of the total wages bill. The average amount of fine per instance works out at 12 annas 11 pies.

Municipalities.—All the 68 municipalities which furnished replies in the questionnaire did not give figures with regard to the numbers of workers employed and the wages bill—only twenty municipalities giving complete information with regard to numbers employed, the total wages bill, the amounts inflicted in fines and the numbers of instances in which they were inflicted. The tabulated results for these

twenty municipalities showed that out of a total number of 1,832 employees comprising 1,252 men, 545 women and 35 children, with a total wages bill of Rs. 3,24,098 for the year 1925, the total amount imposed in fines was Rs. 337 inflicted in 569 instances. The incidence of fining per offence works out at 9 annas 6 pies, and the proportion of fines to the total wages bill at 0.10 per cent.

Six municipalities employing a total of 263 workers, comprising 174 men, 77 women and 12 children, with a total wages bill of Rs. 37,690 reported that no fines were inflicted during the year covered by the enquiry.

Five municipalities which did not supply information regarding either the wages bill or the numbers of workpeople employed, although called for, showed that a total amount of Rs. 461-8-0 was deducted as fines in 386 cases. The incidence of fining per offence in these cases worked out at Rs. 1-3-2. If the combined figures for all municipalities which supplied information regarding amounts of fines and instances are taken, it is found that the incidence of fining worked out at 13 annas 5 pies per offence.

Four other municipalities supplied figures for the total amounts of fines deducted, but gave no information regarding the number of instances in which they were inflicted or figures for the wages bill and the numbers of workpeople employed. The total amounts of fines inflicted in these four municipalities during the year 1925 amounted to Rs. 422-12-6.

Government and other Non-factory Establishments.—The returns from the Kandivli quarries of the Bombay reclamation scheme, the Shivrajpur mines, and the works and dredging fleet and stores departments of the Bombay Port Trust submitted properly classified information under each head under Group I of the schedule. The following table gives a summary of the deductions made under each head in the case of 8,264 employees, comprising 6,959 men, 1,288 women and 17 children, with a total wages bill of Rs. 36,84,102 for the year 1925:—

Subject of deduction.	No. of instances in which deductions from wages were made.			Total amount of deductions.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
I. Fines for—				Rs.	a. p.	Rs. a. p.
(a) Breaches of discipline or establishment rules.	329	—	—	342	5 0	— —
(b) Bad or negligent work.	871	—	—	400	8 0	— —
(c) Loss of and injury or damage to materials, tools, machinery or plant belonging to the employer.	169	—	—	161	11 0	— —
(d) Any other purposes than those enumerated in (a), (b) or (c).	234	—	—	145	10 0	— —
Total ..	1,603	—	—	1,050	2 0	— —

It will be noticed that no deductions on account of fines were made in the case of women and children. The proportion of the amount of fines to the total wages bill is 0.03 per cent. The incidence of fining per offence works out at 10 annas and 6 pies.

Two other establishments did not give classified figures under the various sub-heads under Group I, but gave only the total amounts inflicted in fines together with the number of instances in which the fines were recovered. If the figures for these two departments are combined with the figures of the four departments already

dealt with, it is found that the amount of fines inflicted in the case of 12,439 work-people comprising 11,129 men, 1,293 women and 17 children, with a total wages bill of Rs. 67,63,400 was Rs. 1,527 recovered in 1,637 cases. The proportion of fines to the wages bill in this case works out at 0.02 per cent. and the incidence per offence at 14 annas and 11 pies. One manganese mine employing over 1,000 work-people reported that the total amount of deductions in respect of fines during the year 1925, amounted to Rs. 14 2 annas recovered in two instances. The mine, however, did not give its total wages bill for the year. The dredging section of the Bombay Reclamation which employed over 500 workers with a wages bill of nearly Rs. 2½ lakhs for the year 1925, reported that deductions in respect of fines amounted to Rs. 48 11 annas, but no information was available regarding the number of instances in which these deductions were made.

Twelve offices employing 2,102 clerks and peons, comprising 2,083 men, 1 woman and 18 children, with an annual wages bill of Rs. 23,69,837 for the year 1925, reported that the total amount deducted in fines during the year was Rs. 508 1 anna recovered in 266 instances. The proportion of fines to the total wages bill was 0.02 per cent. and the incidence of fining worked out at Rs. 1-14-7 per offence.

Nineteen other offices in which no fines were inflicted during the period covered by the enquiry gave the number of workers and the total wages bill. The tabulated results for these offices showed that the total wages bill for 849 workers, comprising 838 men, 7 women and 4 children, amounted to Rs. 11,63,611. If these figures are combined with the previous figures, it is found that in the case of 2,951 workers comprising 2,921 men, 8 women and 22 children, with a total wages bill of about Rs. 35,33,450 the total amount of fines inflicted was Rs. 508 1 annas, or 0.01 per cent.

Miscellaneous Establishments.*—Thirty-five out of the 76 reporting concerns gave information in the schedule. In 16 out of these 35 concerns no fines were inflicted. In the 19 concerns where fines were inflicted the results of the tabulations showed that out of a total wages bill amounting to Rs. 8,99,113 for the year 1925, for 2,664 workers comprising 2,417 men, 89 women and 158 children, fines amounting to Rs. 6,094 were deducted in 5,621 instances, the proportion of fines to total wages being 0.68 per cent. and the incidence of fining per offence amounting to Rs. 1-1-4. If these figures are combined with the 16 concerns in which no fines were inflicted, it is found that deductions amounting to Rs. 6,094-14-2 were made in 5,621 cases out of a total wages bill of Rs. 12,62,951 for 3,278 employees comprising 2,967 men, 133 women and 178 children. The proportion of fines to the wages bill in this case worked out at 0.48 per cent.

Steamship Companies.—No information was available with regard to the extent of fining in the steamers under the agencies of the various companies with offices in Bombay and Karachi. Fines to seamen are regulated by law and are laid down in the articles.

Other Deductions.—The figures returned in the enquiry on account of deductions made from wages under the various other heads were not capable of tabulation in summary form. Deductions from wages on account of supply of tools, materials, etc., provided by the employers were negligible. Deductions for supply of water were fairly frequent. Only a small number of textile mills reported that deductions from wages were made for the supply of medicines and medical attendance. Almost all establishments which provided housing for their workers stated that rent was collected by making deductions from the wages of their employees. Education appeared to be an item for which no deductions of any importance were made from the wages. Deductions on account of provident fund were generally confined to Government organizations, public utility concerns, larger non-factory establishments such as port trusts, etc. Establishments mainly connected with the railways reported deductions from the salaries of their better paid employees for the provision of reading rooms and libraries. All the textile mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad which charge interest on advances granted to their employees frequently make deductions on that account. Although a few returns showed that deductions were made in respect of compulsory contributions to charity this practice appeared to be very rarely followed. Deductions for articles damaged during manufacture were almost entirely confined to textile mills, and 84 mills in the Bombay Presidency reported such deductions. In the 46 mills which furnished statistics regarding both the amounts realized for such deductions and the number of instances in which they were effected, it was found that these deductions amounted to Rs. 1,60,326-5-4 and related to 50,981 instances.

Utilization of fines.—Textile industry.—In Bombay City, all deductions from wages in respect of fines, and the value of spoilt or damaged material handed over

* The group "Miscellaneous Establishments" includes shops, stores, wholesale book depots, hotels, restaurants, clubs and gymkhanas, theatres, cinemas and other similar concerns.

to the workers were made in the pay books from the gross wages payable and disbursement was only made of the net wages due. In the case of fines, 67 out of the 76 reporting mills stated that the amounts of fines were deducted from the gross wages bill and only net wages actually payable were drawn from the bank for wage payments. The amounts for fines thus went to the reduction of the total wages bill. Out of the remaining 9 mills, 6 mills reported that the amount recovered in fines was utilized for workmen's welfare work. One mill had a special fines fund to which all fines were credited. This fund is entirely used for welfare. One mill reported that it utilized fines not only for welfare but also for payments of gratuities to retiring operatives and heirs of deceased workmen. Another mill stated that it proposed to devote all fines collected for donations to various charitable objects. The total value of the deductions made in respect of spoilt material handed over to the workers was generally credited to the sales account but in some cases the amount was considered as a reduction in the wages bill.

As in the case of the textile mills in Bombay so also in Ahmedabad, amounts recovered in fines and deductions for the value of spoilt or damaged material handed over to the workers are not recovered after payment of gross wages have been effected but are deducted from the gross wages payable, and net wages only are disbursed. The amounts recovered in fines either go towards a reduction of the wages bill or are computed separately and variously credited either to the wages account, the general fund account or to some other special account. In some cases the amounts were utilized for cost of replacement and were credited to depreciation. Out of the 49 reporting mills in Ahmedabad only 2 mills utilized the amounts recovered in fines specifically for welfare work. One mill devoted all money thus recovered entirely to charitable purposes and another mill appropriated half the total amount and made over the other half proportionately between the informers who brought offences punishable by fines to the notice of the management.

With regard to deductions made in respect of spoilt or damaged articles handed over to the workers, the proceeds were credited to sales account in 9 cases. Ten mills reported that half the amount thus recovered was credited to the company's accounts and the other half handed over to the "detecting folders." One mill made over the whole of the amount so realized towards rewards to detectors, whereas in one case the proportion of the amount realized handed over to these detectors was nine-sixteenths. Two mills credited this amount to the wages account and in the remaining mills the amount went directly to the credit of the profit and loss account.

In Sholapur and other centres in all cases where deductions were made on account of spoilt material handed over to the workers the amount realized in such deductions was appropriated by the company either by crediting the amount to sales account or some other head of revenue. With regard to the disposal of fines, 17 mills credited the amount of fines to the wages account and only two mills utilized the amount realized in connection with welfare work.

Factories.—Government and local fund.—One factory reported that the amounts recovered in deductions for spoilt material or lost tools were used entirely for welfare work. Five factories reported that all fines were credited to special fines funds. In the remaining cases, fines are recovered in the pay bills submitted either to Government or to the controlling authority as the case might be, and automatically go towards the reduction in the wages bill. In all cases where fines funds exist, the funds are governed by prescribed rules. These rules provide that all fines shall be credited to the fines fund and that the assets of the fund are to be placed in a bank to the credit of the controlling officer under his official designation. The following is legitimate expenditure from the fund:—

(a) Gratuities or donations to workmen on discharge; (b) donations to widows and families of deceased workmen; (c) allowances to sick or injured men in special cases; (d) relief in deserving cases, e.g., losses from floods or fires in the houses of men who have claims on the factory; (e) cost of construction and maintenance of such buildings and institutions as rest and dinner sheds, grain and other shops and schools for the benefit of the workmen and their families provided that the entire expenditure on this account, capital as well as recurring, is met from the fines fund and no portion thereof is charged against the working expenses of the factories; and (f) bonuses which may be given periodically for good attendance or long service or for specially good service.

Separate cash books are maintained for the fines fund and it is laid down that this fund should not appear in the factory balance-sheets. It is a distinct fund at the disposal of the controlling officer and is not to be merged in the factory permanent advance or general cash account.

Ordinary Factories (excluding Gins and Presses).—Eighteen concerns included under the group of non-Government or ordinary factories, did not appropriate the amount of the fines inflicted to their own credit. In six cases which included almost all the larger railway workshops, all fines are credited to special fines funds which are entirely devoted to welfare work. In 2 cases fines were credited to the employees'

sports funds ; in 1 case it was utilized for the purchase of medicines for employees ; in 1 case it was distributed, at the end of the year, amongst those who showed specially good conduct ; in 1 case they were utilized in giving an annual feast to the workers ; in 1 case all fines were added to the annual Divali bonus ; in 2 cases they were devoted to charity ; in 1 case the amount was utilized for gratuities to good workers and to donations for charitable objects ; in 1 case all fines were refunded to the workers at the end of the year if their conduct, subsequent to being fined, was found to be satisfactory ; in 1 case fines were credited to the subscriptions and donations account and, in the last case, they were applied to the school fund. In the case of the remaining factories all fines were appropriated by the establishments concerned.

Deductions made in respect of damaged materials handed over to the workers went to the credit of " sales " accounts.

Other Establishments.—In the case of the other classes of establishments fines inflicted for damages to or loss of tools, materials, etc., were generally utilized for replacements. Fines inflicted for other reasons were utilized in some form or other for the welfare or benefit of the employees in the majority of the " public utility establishments," " offices " and " miscellaneous establishments." In the case of " cotton gins and presses." all Municipalities except the Bombay Municipality which reported the existence of special fines funds utilized for the benefit of the workers, and the majority of " Government and other non-factory establishments " the amounts realized in fines were generally credited to the establishments concerned.

The question of standardizing the various rules in the Bombay mills regarding the conditions of employment of operatives arose at an early stage of the general strike of the year 1928. The Joint Strike Committee in May, 1928, included in their demands one that the conditions of employment, work and payment should be standardized (No. 10), and another that all the rules that are usually posted in the mills or departments should be standardized by the Millowners' Association so that they should be uniform in all the mills (No. 15). In reply, the committee of the Association answered that they agreed that there should be such standardization, and said that rules accordingly had been already formulated, and would be published in due course. During the strike, draft rules were discussed with some of the labour representatives, and some of the proposed rules amended. The draft that was submitted to the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee for consideration was the one finally presented by the Millowners' Association on the 4th October, 1928. Some proposals for amendments and additions were submitted to the committee by the Association on the 15th January, 1929, but the committee concerned themselves primarily with the draft of the 4th October.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this memorandum to summarise the comments made by the committee on these rules or the considerations which led them to frame the rules in the form given. These matters are discussed at pp. 13-58 of the committee's report.

Desirability of fines legislation.—Having carefully considered the results of the Labour Office Enquiry, Government came to certain conclusions with regard to the desirability of legislation and the form it should take, and these conclusions were submitted to the Government of India in 1927. The Government of Bombay see no reason to modify the opinion then formed. Briefly the following principles should govern any legislation that is proposed :—

(1) Fines cannot be altogether abolished as a method of maintaining discipline and efficiency. The alternatives of suspension and dismissal would be unsuitable in cases of offences of a minor character. Legislation, therefore, should not prohibit fines, but only aim at their regulation and control.

(2) The maximum amount of fine should be fixed and no fine should be paid by instalments or carried over to another wage period.

(3) All fines should be devoted to welfare work for employees.

(4) No employee whose remuneration depends in any shape or form on the amount of fines which he inflicts should be allowed either to recommend or to inflict a fine on a worker. The power to fine should be vested only in managers and heads of departments.

(5) Employers should be required to maintain complete and detailed registers of all fines inflicted.

(6) All offences for which fines could be inflicted should be clearly defined and made known to the workmen.

(7) The withholding of wages as a form of punishment should be prohibited.

(8) Forfeiture of wages as a punishment should not be permitted except where, as laid down by the Fawcett Committee in Rule 15 of the rules referred to above, a workman does not give the employer the prescribed notice demanded by his conditions of service. In such cases wages due at the time could be forfeited as liquidated damages.

(9) A fine should be substituted for the present system of handing over spoilt material to the worker and charging him its value.

(10) The "double khada" system whereby employers have the power to cut a man two days' wages for each day's absence without leave should be abolished. Government understand that the Bombay Millowners' Association have definitely condemned this system, and that no provision to this effect has been incorporated in their standardized rules.

(11) Employers should not be allowed to make compulsory deductions for medical attendance as such deductions are not fair to employees not taking advantage of the facilities offered and also because the worker is made to pay for something over which he has no control.

(12) Compulsory deductions for the use of reading rooms and libraries should not be made although there is no objection to employers asking for voluntary contributions.

(13) Compulsory contributions to charities selected by the employer should be abolished.

(14) The rate of discount charged for cashing "havala" tickets, i.e., the pay-note given to employees who leave the service of an employer before pay-day, as explained in the wages section of this memorandum, should be limited to the amount necessary to defray the extra cost of making payments other than on pay-day.

(15) Every employer must frame rules and bring them to the notice of his employees showing the terms of employment and the conditions under which fines may be inflicted. The amount of the fine inflicted together with the reasons therefor should be made known to the worker at the time of inflicting the fine, i.e., when the offence is detected.

(16) The power of suspension should be retained, but all punishments of this kind inflicted should be recorded in a register.

(17) Every employee should be given a notification slip informing him of the reasons for his dismissal.

The results of the labour office enquiry showed that the system of fining prevailed in almost all the various types and classes of establishments and concerns covered by the enquiry, but only in the large industrial establishments did it appear to have reached such proportions as to necessitate legislation. Government consider that it would be premature at the present stage to apply to all concerns the provisions of any legislation that might be passed and it does not appear necessary. Even if a simple act were passed the present inspecting staffs of the Factories and Mines Departments would have to be considerably strengthened for its proper administration. Detailed legislation might cost more than would be justified by the results. Besides it might not be possible to administer the law effectively if it entered into too many details. Government further held that the employers' interests would also have to be taken into account as too much interference with industry was undesirable. It was recommended therefore, that the proposed legislation should be confined, for the present, to factories and mines coming under the Factories and Mines Acts.

Government were of the opinion that even if the proposed legislation was confined to factories and mines coming under the Factories and Mines Acts its proper enforcement would present innumerable difficulties. The existing Factories and Mines Departments appear to be the most suitable agencies for administering the law in its broader aspects. The work of inspecting the registers and of prosecuting defaulting employers could be entrusted to them. Their activities would however have to be supplemented by some other agency who would hear complaints, investigate into their causes and bring them to the notice of the prosecuting authority. This appears to be essential if the spirit of the law as well as the letter is to be observed.

Government did not consider it necessary to recommend to the Government of India that the proposed legislation should cover such matters as fines for damage to or loss of property; deductions for supply of materials and tools, in respect of rents for housing provided by employers, for supply of food grains, for supply of water, for contributions to provident funds, or for entertainments provided by the employer, because no abuses appeared to exist in connection with such deductions. It was also not considered desirable to have any legislative control for bonuses for regular attendance or for better work.

Periods of Wage Payment—*Periods for which wages are paid and periods elapsing before payment.*—In September, 1924, the Government of India in the Department of Industries and Labour requested all local governments to collect full and authoritative information as to the extent to which wages are paid daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly or for other periods, the normal time which elapses between the close of the month in which the wage was earned and the actual payment of the wage; and the extent to which the practice of providing rations or giving advances prevails.

The Labour Office conducted a comprehensive enquiry on the subject, the results which were published in the issue of the *Labour Gazette* for January 1925. To the best of the knowledge of the Labour Office no radical changes have taken place in any industry in the Bombay Presidency with regard to the systems which prevailed

in the year 1924, both with regard to the periods for which wages were paid and the periods elapsing before payment. The results of the 1924 enquiry may therefore be considered as exhibiting the conditions which prevail to-day.

In the *Cotton mill industry* which is the premier industry in this Presidency two different systems of wage payment prevail. In the mills in Bombay City and, it is believed, in mills at such other centres as are affiliated to the Bombay Millowners' Association, wages are calculated on a monthly basis and payments are effected from 12 to 15 days after they become due. One of the terms of reference which the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, appointed on the 13th October, 1928, in connection with the general strike in the Bombay textile mills of the year 1928, were asked to consider was: "whether the standing orders for operatives as amended and presented by the Millowners' Association on the 4th October, 1928, are fair and reasonable." Standing Order 12 of these rules laid down that "before the beginning of each month a notice will be posted outside the time-keeper's office and in the mill stating (a) the dates on which the mill will be closed during the following month and (b) the date or dates on which wages will be paid." A list submitted by the Millowners' Association showed that in recent years pay days were mostly between the 11th and 15th of a month and in some cases even the 9th was suggested if falling just before a Sunday or other holiday. As the advisability of legislation to prevent undue delay in the payment of wages to industrial workers was already under the consideration of the Government of India, the committee were of opinion that this question should best be left to the Government of India and to the decision of the legislature of a Bill on the subject was introduced. The committee were, however, of opinion that there are undoubtedly good arguments to be urged in support of the proposal that monthly wages should ordinarily be paid within a week of the close of the month for which they are due; but, on the other hand, they appreciated the difficulty in the way of making a general rule to that effect. The committee recommended that the Millowners' Association should, without waiting for legislative effect, try to get their members to agree to a reduction of the period, at any rate, to 10 days and they considered that as the joint committee of the employers and the employed was to be established under the proposed mediation rules, this was a matter which could very well be referred to them for discussion.

In the *Ahmedabad mills* and, it is believed in mills at such other centres as are affiliated to the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, wages in the case of piece-workers are calculated on a fortnightly basis and are paid about 8 days after they are due, and in the case of time workers are calculated on a monthly basis and are paid about 15 days after they are due. The term "fortnightly" is used with reference to what is known as "haptas." A "hapta" is a period which varies from 14 to 16 days, not according to the solar or lunar calendar, but according to the convenience of each particular mill and which may begin and end on any day in the month. In all centres when important holidays fall a day or two before the pay-day, payment of wages is usually made a day or two earlier.

With regard to the facilities for purposes of mitigating the extent of indebtedness due to the withholding of payment of wages, the Bombay Millowners' Association conducted an enquiry on behalf of the Labour Office in the year 1924, the results of which showed that out of 62 mills which supplied information 40 per cent. were conducting cheap grain shops where food grains were sold at wholesale market prices on the basis of cash as well as credit. In the latter case payment was recovered on pay-day. Just before and during the time when prices were controlled in Bombay City, namely, in 1918-19, 49 mills out of the 62 mills which provided information to the Bombay Millowners' Association in 1924 had opened cheap grain shops. The object of these cheap grain shops was not so much the offering of any particular facilities for the purpose of mitigating the hardships caused by the withholding of wages as to afford some measure of relief against the high prices charged by unscrupulous retail grain dealers at a time when the market was disorganized. With the return to normal market conditions 24 out of these 49 mills had closed these special shops. Thirteen out of the 62 reporting mills had no grain shops at any time. Since 1924 these cheap grain shops have been discontinued in most cases, the cause for discontinuance being that the workmen would not take advantage of these shops because their *Bamas* (retail grain dealers) did not give those who did not buy grain from them credit for other purchases they might choose to make. This worked as a hardship on the men and they preferred to buy the grain also from the *Bamas*.

In the enquiry conducted by the Labour Office in the years 1926-27 in connection with the question of deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines only 12 out of the 76 reporting mills stated that grain was given in the shape of advances to workers, who required loans for purchasing articles of food. At the present moment, Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., who are the agents of 11 textile mills in Bombay City are about the only large employers of textile labour in the city who provide cheap grain shops at their mills for the benefit of their workers. The total sales from these shops during the year 1928 amounted to Rs. 34,554 and to Rs. 37,398 for the half-year ending 30th June, 1929.

In the 1924 enquiry 56 per cent. of the mills were found to advance money to the workmen in times of difficulty, either against the provident fund or wages, at nominal or no interest, or through co-operative credit societies, where the rates of interest varied from 9 per cent. to 18½ per cent. per annum. In the 1926 enquiry 46 or 60·5 per cent. of the reporting mills stated that no advances were granted either directly by the mills or through privileged "pedhiwalas" or grain dealers appointed or recognized by the mill authorities. Twenty mills or 26·3 per cent. of the reporting mills granted advances against wages due. Interest at 9 per cent. was charged in three cases, at one anna per rupee in two cases and at half an anna per rupee in one case, in all cases up to next pay day. In the case of "havala" tickets they were cashed at a discount of 3¼ per cent. The term "havala" requires to be understood. When a worker leaves the service of a mill before pay-day and has arrears of wages due to him at the time of leaving, he does not generally receive his wages in cash at once. Instead he gets a ticket on which the amount of wages due to him is entered. This ticket is called a "havala." The worker, if he remains in Bombay can present the ticket for payment on the regular pay-day or ask one of his friends to collect the money and remit it to him in case he leaves Bombay. If the worker, however, requires the money at once, he presents the "havala" ticket to a pedhiwala (money-lender) or a grain dealer who is often both a retail merchant and a money-lender and cashes the ticket at a varying rate of discount. Eight mills permitted recognized grain dealers or pedhiwalas to grant advances to their workmen at specified rates of interest. In two cases the rate permissible was half an anna per rupee: in one case one anna per rupee and in four cases a quarter of an anna per rupee. One mill, which permitted a privileged money-lender to grant advances at one anna per rupee, prescribed that the interest which could be charged on "havala" tickets should be half an anna per rupee only.

In the case of the Ahmedabad mills only 5 out of the 49 reporting mills for the 1926 enquiry did not grant advances to their operatives. In the remaining 44 cases advances were granted, but only for bigger festivals such as Divali, Holi, etc., in 5 cases. In 26 mills no interest was charged. In the remaining 18 mills interest was charged at varying rates. In 9 cases the rate charged was either 3 pies per rupee per fortnight or per month according as the worker concerned was a fortnightly or monthly employee. In one case it was 2 pies per rupee and in another 1¼ pies per rupee up to the next pay-day. In 2 mills the rate charged was 3 pies per rupee for fortnightly workers and 1 anna per rupee for monthly workers. Two mills charged 6 pies per rupee—in one case per month and in the other up to the next pay-day. Three mills, however, charged 1 anna per rupee per "hapta" or per month according as the workers concerned were fortnightly or monthly employees. It is interesting to observe that the rate of interest in these cases works out at 150 per cent. per annum in the case of loans given to fortnightly workers and at 75 per cent. in the case of loans granted to monthly workers.

In the mills in Sholapur and other centres, 8 out of the 19 mills which furnished information for the 1926 enquiry reported that advances were normally granted on demand; in 2 cases only if the circumstances under which advances were asked for were considered to be sufficiently sound to warrant them and in another case loans against wages due were given only before special festivals or holidays. In one case advances were made from the provident fund provided that an employee who asked for such an advance was a subscribing member to the fund. Interest was charged in three cases—at half an anna per rupee in one case, at one anna per rupee in another and at a nominal rate of interest in a third. In the cases where advances were granted from the provident fund account the rate of interest charged was 6¼ per cent.

* In *Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories* wages are paid in as many as four different ways—daily, weekly, fortnightly and monthly. In the first two cases there is no delay in the payment of the wages due; but when wages are paid fortnightly the interval between the completion of the period and the actual payment varies from 3 to 20 days. A similar period in the case of monthly wages varies from 1 to 14 days. The 1924 enquiry showed that no facilities for rations were provided for gin and press workers, but advances were granted in some cases to regular monthly paid workers. In the 1926 enquiry no fewer than 191 concerns out of the 400 reporting gins and presses stated that advances were granted to their employees. In four of these cases advances were granted before employment owing to the fact that gin and press labour is difficult to secure. The limit to which advances could be granted was laid down at 75 per cent. of the wages due in one case. In all cases where advances were granted no interest was charged. It was not possible to ascertain the reasons which led up to a greater latitude in the matter of granting advances to gin and press workers between the years 1924 and 1926. In a few cases where owners of presses forwarded covering letters commenting on the 1926 enquiry they expressed the view that the system of fining could not be introduced in the mofussil gins and presses owing to a shortage in the labour supply during the season. It

was also pointed out that advances had to be granted to prospective employees in order to attract them into service. Sometimes advances have to be granted to the Mukadums who act as labour recruiting agents. But these facts alone would not account for the great increase in the number which reported in 1926 that facilities in the form of advances against wages were given.

In the *Engineering Industry* payment for regular workers is generally on a monthly basis. In a very few cases wages are calculated on a fortnightly basis. The number of days for which wages are withheld in the case of monthly payments varies from 1 to 30, but 15 to 20 days is the general rule. In cases where wages are settled fortnightly payment is withheld for periods varying from 6 to 15 days. Where workmen are engaged for job work the method varies according to the particular arrangements made, but payment is generally effected within one or two days after the close of the period. There is very little in the nature of the granting of any special facilities to the workpeople. In *iron and steel works* wages are generally calculated on a monthly basis, and the period after which payment is made varies from 1 to 15 days. Advances are seldom made, but, if given at all, are granted to the extent of one-fourth to one-half of the pay earned at the time when the advance is asked for. In the case of contract labour wages are calculated for fortnightly periods, and are paid from 10 to 28 days after they are due.

In *Brick Factories* the systems mostly in vogue are daily and weekly payments with no delay in payment of the wages due. In cases where wages are paid weekly payment is made after a lapse of one day in one case, and on the following marketing day after the completion of the week in another. Fortnightly and monthly systems are also to be found, and in one case wages are calculated on the completion of a particular contract or a definite piece of work, and are paid either at the end of the year or on the completion of the work. Advances are, however, given from time to time against wages earned, but there are no other special facilities.

In *Flour Mills* the monthly system may be said to be general with a delay of 1 to 10 days in respect of payment of wages due although in some cases the period of delay is as long as 30 days. Daily and weekly systems exist generally with no delay in payment. In one case of weekly payment a delay of ten days was reported. Where wages are paid monthly cash advances are often given, but there are no facilities for rations. In one case a mill reported sales of flour to its employees at production prices.

In *Printing Presses* the monthly system is general and wages are paid from 1 to 30 days after they are due. In one case a delay of 20 days to 2 months was reported. Cash advances are generally given. In two cases where wages are paid fortnightly the period of delay varies from 5 to 25 days and no advances are given. There is one case of weekly payments and wages are paid 10 days after they become due.

In *Rice Mills*, the monthly system was found to prevail in 8 cases, the weekly and daily system in 4 cases, and the fortnightly and the bi-weekly systems in one case each. There is generally no delay in payment where wages are calculated weekly, fortnightly or bi-weekly, but where wages are paid on the daily method payment is made every second day in two cases and daily in others. Where wages are paid monthly the period of delay in payment varies generally from 1 to 7 days, but cases have been reported of delays up to 10 and 15 days. In a few cases advances are given, but there are no other facilities.

In *Tanneries* wages are paid weekly, fortnightly and monthly, and the period of delay varies up to 15 days, but 5 days is the general rule. Advances are given to workers where wages are calculated on the monthly basis, but no facilities at all are granted in other cases.

In *Docks* and other outdoor establishments there are five different methods of wage payments. In the case of monthly and fortnightly payments the period of delay varies from 1 to 15 days, and in the case of weekly payments it varies from 3 to 7 days, while in the case of daily payments there is no delay. In one case wages are paid on a 10-day basis but 2 or 3 days after they become due. Facilities in the shape of cheap grain and advances are given in some cases and employee's Co-operative Credit Society advances loans in one case. In the case of *Tramways* wages are in two cases paid monthly after a lapse of 10 days, and in one case fortnightly after a lapse of a period which may vary from 1 to 20 days. No facilities of any kind are given.

In *Municipalities* the monthly system is fairly general, with a delay which varies up to 15 and 20 days in one case each. The weekly method was reported in 4 cases, with a delay of 1 to 8 days for payment, and the fortnightly method in 6 cases with a delay of 1 to 10 days. There are practically no facilities allowed.

In *Government Factories* wages are paid monthly after a lapse of 1 to 10 days. In one case, piece workers are reported to be paid after a lapse of a period varying from 10 to 15 days.

The following table gives a general summary of the 1924 enquiry for the whole of the Presidency by industries or classes of establishments covered —

Establishments.	Period of payment (daily, weekly, monthly, etc.).	Number of days normally elapsing between conclusion of period of work and actual payment.	Notes regarding facilities, if any, for obtaining rations from employers.
Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills.	(a) Fortnightly (Process workers in mills affiliated to the Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association). (b) Monthly (all other workers).	8 days. 12 to 15 days.	
Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories.	(a) Daily (b) Weekly (c) Fortnightly (d) Monthly	Nil Nil. 1 or 2 days in a few cases. 3-4 days in one case and 20 days in another case. 1 to 14 days	None None. None. Advances are in a few cases paid if required.
Engineering Works ..	(a) Monthly in 14 cases .. (b) Fortnightly in three cases (c) Contract labour on completion of jobs or according to terms agreed upon.	Two weeks on an average in 11 cases. 20 to 30 days in three cases. One week in two cases and one to two weeks in one case. 1 or 2 days	Advances given in 3 cases only. No facilities. Advances given if required except to daily wage-earners.
Iron and Steel Works	(a) Monthly in four cases .. (b) Contract labour fortnightly in one case.	1 to 15 days 10 to 28 days.	(a) Advances given in one case to the extent of $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the pay
Brick Factories ..	(a) Daily in three cases .. (b) Weekly in five cases .. (c) Fortnightly in one case .. (d) Monthly in one case .. (e) On the completion of work in one case.	Nil One day in one case, on the market day in one case, in all other cases nil. 10 days. Nil. When the work is finished or at the end of the year.	No facilities Advances paid in two cases. Money paid in advance from time to time
Flour Mills	(a) Monthly in 15 cases .. (b) Weekly in four cases .. (c) Daily in three cases ..	1-10 days, 15 days in one case, 7-30 days in one case, and 2-25 in one case. Nil One day in one case only.	Advances paid in 7 cases. Advances paid in only one case.
Printing Presses ..	(a) Monthly in 18 cases .. (b) Fortnightly in two cases ..	1-15 days. 20 days to 2 months in one case. .. 5-25 days in one case ..	Advances paid in 7 cases. No facilities
Rice Mills	(a) Monthly in 8 cases .. (b) Weekly in three cases .. (c) Daily in four cases .. (d) Fortnightly and Bi-weekly in one case each.	1-7 days but 7-10 and 10-15 days in one case each. Nil Every second day in two cases and every day in two cases. Nil.	Advances paid in 4 cases. Advances paid in 1 case only. Advances paid in 1 case only.
Tanneries	(a) Monthly in three cases .. (b) Fortnightly in one case .. (c) Weekly in one case ..	10-15 days in one case. Within five days in other cases. Only one day 1-15 days	Advances paid if required. No facilities. No facilities.
Docks	Monthly	14 days	Employees' Co-operative Credit Society advances loans.
Tramways	(a) Monthly in 2 cases .. (b) Fortnightly in one case ..	10 days 1-20 days	No facilities. No facilities.
Municipalities ..	(a) Monthly in 20 cases .. (b) Fortnightly in 5 cases .. (c) Weekly in four cases ..	3-19, 5-15 and 1-12 in one case each and 1-10 days in other cases (1-15 days in 12 cases). 1-10 days 1-3 days	Practically no facilities. No facilities. Advances paid labourers in one case only.
Local Government Factories.	Monthly	1-10 days. Piece-workers 10-15 days in one case.	No facilities.
Government Offices ..	Monthly	1-15 days. School teachers up to 20 days and village officers up to the end of the following month.	No facilities.

Desirability of legislation to Regulate periods of Wage Payments.—The question of shortening the period for which wages are paid in the Bombay cotton mills received the earnest attention of the Government early in the year 1924. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay endeavoured to bring the Millowners' Association round to the view that wages should be paid fortnightly. The association originally agreed with His Excellency on the point that wages should be paid on a fortnightly basis, but eventually decided in full committee that the proposal was not a popular one because (1) the workers themselves did not desire more frequent payment; and (2) it was impracticable from the employers' point of view. The association quoted the instance where the system had been introduced into the mills under the agency of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Company, and had to be abandoned subsequently at the request of the employees themselves.

In October, 1924, the Government of India invited the views of all local governments on a private Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly by Diwan Chaman Lal for weekly payment of wages. After consulting the various interests concerned the Government of Bombay arrived at the conclusion that the demand for such legislation should precede its introduction, and that it would be futile to place on the Statute Book an Act which is asked for by nobody, and would, therefore, remain a dead-letter in a great number of cases, and be used as an engine for blackmail and false accusations in the remainder. In replying to the circular letter issued by the Government of India, the Government of Bombay said that it would probably come as a surprise to many members of the public, and especially to the public of other countries, to learn that it has been repeatedly ascertained from the Bombay mill hands that they do not desire any change in the monthly system of wages now prevailing. One of the main reasons why the mill hands appear to prefer the monthly system is their apprehension that, if wages are paid weekly, the traders who deal with them on credit, as also their money-lenders, will demand the making up of accounts weekly without any reduction in the rate of interest. It is an axiom that when dealing with compound interest any given rate operates more severely the more frequently it is computed. The money-lender probably argues with the customer that one anna per rupee per month is the same as one pice per rupee per week. But as a matter of fact, with these two rates of interest, the former made up monthly and the latter weekly, the sum of Rs. 100 invested at the beginning of the year (without any repayment during the year) will amount at the end in the one case to Rs. 206-5 annas 1 pie, and in the other to Rs. 223-14 annas 4 pies. This apprehension was believed to be perfectly genuine, and would constitute the main objection to the acceptance of the principle asked for by Diwan Chaman Lal.

It was stated that from the point of view of the employers, there was no doubt that, having regard to the character of Indian labour, industrial concerns on this side of India would suffer considerably more from absenteeism under the weekly than they do now under the monthly basis for payment of wages. It has been observed in studying the returns from mills supplying information to the labour office that there is almost invariably a marked drop in the number of workmen attending the mill on the day succeeding pay-day. With weekly payment instead of monthly payment of wages this marked drop would occur four times instead of once in the month. It is believed that if weekly payment of wages were the best method in the general interests of the industry, the Bombay Millowners' Association would have introduced it long ago. The Government of Bombay see no reason to modify now the views then expressed. In view of almost general opposition, Diwan Chaman Lal withdrew his Weekly Wage Payment Bill in the Legislative Assembly on the 4th February, 1926.

Desirability of Legislation to prevent Delay in Payment.—The Government of India in the department of industries and labour issued a circular letter to all local governments in July, 1926, requesting their views, after consulting the interests concerned, regarding the advisability of legislating for the purpose of preventing undue delay in the payment of wages to industrial workers. The Government of India briefly outlined the matters to govern which legislation might be provided. The main points for consideration were (1) the principal of such legislation; (2) the scope of the proposed measure; (3) the method of its enforcement; (4) the statutory limits to the time within which wages must be paid; (5) the statutory limits for wage payments in the case of piece workers; (6) the dates on which periods for which payments are to be made should begin and end; (7) the question of including bonuses within the scope of the legislation; (8) the limitation of wages to payments in cash; (9) penalties; (10) disposal of fines inflicted under the Act; (11) power of local Governments to grant exemptions; (12) advisability of legislation providing for shorter periods of wage payments; (13) forfeiture and withholding of wages; and some other miscellaneous points such as the necessity for providing co-operative societies amongst workers, etc.

In replying to the Government of India's letter, the Government of Bombay agreed with the view expressed by the Government of India, that if abuses can be checked or eliminated by legislation, it is the duty of the Government to introduce such legislation. It was, however, essential first to ascertain whether the evil it was desired to eradicate was a real one and prevailed to such an extent as to justify the somewhat drastic remedy of penal legislation with its natural accompaniments—interference with long established methods of conducting business and an addition to the expenditure of local governments. Such considerations ought to carry no weight if the lot of the workers in this Presidency could be improved by legislation of the kind proposed, and it was necessary therefore to examine the proposed legislation and the assumptions on which it was based in order to see if the conditions laid down had been fulfilled.

The Government of India's letter suggested that Government action was necessary because systematic delays in the payment of wages add appreciably to the economic difficulties of workmen. This was perfectly sound theoretically, but it required examination in the light of the practice as regards payment in industry generally, and when so examined this argument lost a good deal of its force. As was pointed out by the Bombay Millowners' Association, who quoted a speech of the Honourable Sir B. N. Mitra, Member of Industries and Labour, in the Legislative Assembly in February, 1926: "What the worker wants is that his wages should be paid quickly." The workers whose economic difficulties were affected by the present delay of a fortnight in the payment of monthly wages were those who take up employment in a particular mill or other establishments for the first time, i.e., it is only the first period of wages that is withheld for longer than a month because after the first period of waiting is over the worker gets his wages *regularly* every month. Under the monthly system of payment prevalent throughout India,—with which it was *not proposed to interfere*—a new worker entering a mill, etc., at the beginning of a month has to wait nearly six weeks for his first month's wages. Thereafter he is paid promptly every month. The legislation that was proposed would therefore, in practice, benefit only the irregular or casual worker or the person entering into employment for the first time and then only to the extent that at the best he would receive his *first* wages a fortnight earlier than is usual but most probably not more than a week earlier than usual. The Government of Bombay were unable to see that the economic position of industrial workers generally would be materially assisted by legislation of this kind. There was an almost general consensus of opinion that legislation of the kind proposed should be, and could in practice only be, applied to those establishments coming under the Factories and Mines Acts, but these are the establishments where the regular payment of wages is the rule. The practical effect of such legislation therefore would be to permit a relatively small number of workmen to receive their first month's wages a week earlier than they do at present. The Government were unable to agree that penal legislation was necessary in such circumstances, for the practical benefit to the worker in industry generally would be negligible. While being of opinion that the proposed legislation was not required, the Government of Bombay after consulting various labour and employers' interests, submitted the following views on the points raised in the Government of India's letter in case it was decided by that Government to proceed with the proposed legislation.

Scope of the Measure.—Opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of confining such legislation, if it was necessary, to establishments subject to the Factories and Mines Act, the main reason for such limitation being the practical impossibility of enforcement if it were made generally applicable. The workers' interests generally agreed to this limited application but suggested that State employment, railways, municipalities and all organized industries and large establishments should be covered while the Central Labour Board were of opinion that it should also be extended to other industrial concerns "where the more intellectual classes such as clerks are employed." The Bombay Textile Labour Union recognised that additional staff would have to be employed but considered it worth while incurring this extra expenditure.

Method of Enforcement.—Opinion on this subject was largely in favour of the responsibility for enforcing legislation being confined to the existing Factories' and Mines' staff. The workers' interests, however, favoured an "outside and independent agency" to enforce the Act. The Bombay European Textile Association (which is composed of mill managers) objected because the duties of the factory inspector should not entail having to take sides between employers and employees where wages are concerned.

After carefully considering the various suggestions that were made, the Government of Bombay were unable to agree that the power of putting the penal law in motion should be given to any other authority than the officials who would be responsible for administering the Act, that is, factory inspectors. The Director

of Information and Labour Intelligence pointed out that a clear distinction should be drawn between procedure for the prompt recovery of wages due to a worker and the punishment of an employer for an infringement of the law. A workman or an organization of workmen might draw attention to breaches of the Act and ask for the law to be put in motion, but the initiation of proceedings should be in the hands of the administrative authority. Government concurred with this view and were opposed to any suggestion that the power to prosecute should be given to private individuals or associations of individuals.

Statutory Limits of Wage Payments.—Government agreed with the view expressed in the Government of India's letter that a bill providing for the weekly payment of wages was not likely to receive the support of public opinion or to prove effective in its operation. It was pointed out by one group of mills that, in 1912, they made the experiment of fortnightly payments, but the attempt had to be given up owing to opposition from the workpeople. The workers' interests who dealt with this point in their reply to the Government of India's letter recognized that the system of monthly payments was the one most favoured by the workers. The Social Service League hoped, however, that public opinion would soon be unanimous for weekly payment of wages, while the Bombay Textile Labour Union felt confident that if the advantages accruing from a weekly system of wage payments were fully explained to the workers, they would withdraw their opposition and agree to the system of payments for shorter periods. One labour organization, however, definitely stated that the monthly system of wages was more advantageous to the majority of workers. The Bombay European Textile Association pointed out that the association had approved of the fortnightly payments of wages but when their members were instructed by their respective employers to persuade the operatives employed under them to accept this system, they were in almost every case informed by the operatives themselves, that any departure from the present monthly system would be detrimental to their interests. The operatives refused to accept any change from the present system and said that any attempt to change would be met by a strike.

Government were in entire agreement with the views expressed almost unanimously by well-informed opinion. They considered that legislation therefore should deal only with wages paid under the existing system which in the Bombay Presidency is almost universally monthly, the chief exception being the Ahmedabad mills.

Period within which Wages should be paid.—There was a wide difference of opinion on this point. The view of the Government was that in organized industries wages were already paid *regularly*, and the practical benefit of reducing the period within which wages must be paid after they become due would be very small. The Government were therefore inclined to the view that so far as piece workers were concerned 14 days should be allowed after the end of the month, but in the case of workers on time rates, the period should be seven days. In the Ahmedabad mill industry, where payment on a fortnightly basis is general—the men affected being mostly piece workers—and for fortnightly wages generally, the period should be seven days. For weekly workers it should be three days, but where workers were engaged from day to day they should be paid off at the end of each day. It was important in framing legislation that the period for which wages were paid and the rate at which they are calculated should be kept distinct because workers may be engaged on weekly or daily rates of pay, but may be paid once a month or once a fortnight, or once a week as the case may be. Employers should also be empowered to fix the date upon which they elect to begin and close the month and to fix different dates for different departments.

Inclusion of Bonuses.—Only a few opinions were received on the question of including bonuses within the scope of the legislation. Government were of opinion that where a bonus was another name for a high cost of living allowance or an allowance at a fixed percentage over basic rates or was a reward for good work or good attendance and is provided for in the muster rolls and paid regularly month by month, it should be treated as other wages were treated. Bonuses which take the form of payment to the employees when the profits of the business, in the opinion of the employers, justify such a distribution, should clearly not be affected by the operation of the Act.

Limitations of Wages to Payments in Cash.—Government did not consider that any expression of opinion was called for upon this question as it could more appropriately be dealt with in any legislation which might be considered necessary as the result of the enquiry which was being conducted at the request of the Government of India into the question of fines in industry and deductions from wages.

Penalties for Infringement.—None of the non-official bodies consulted and very few officials expressed any opinion as to the extent of the penalty. Government concurred with the suggestion of the director of information and labour intelligence

that penalties might be fixed at Rs. 100 for the first offence, Rs. 250 for the second offence, and Rs. 500 for the third and subsequent offences, the fines recovered under the Act to be credited to the Public Treasury in the same way as the fines inflicted for any other breach of the law.

Exemptions.—Government were of opinion that power should be reserved to local Governments to grant exemptions from the Act in cases where special circumstances rendered this necessary.

Payment of Wages for Broken Periods.—Several questions were raised in the course of the enquiry regarding points not specifically covered by the Government of India's letter. The most important related to the question of the forfeiture and withholding of wages. Government held that the period of notice in any particular industry varies and is largely a question of custom which it will be difficult to deal with by legislation, but the question of payment for broken periods should be considered.

Government were of opinion that this question of prompt payment for broken periods depends upon whether the period of employment is broken by the action of the employer or of the employee. Where an employee takes a job which is payable monthly and leaves before the end of that period it is not unreasonable for the employer to insist that the ordinary procedure should be followed and that the wages should not be payable until the regular pay day. Where, however, an employer himself gives notice to an employee at any time in the course of the month he should be compelled to pay the wages of that employee up to date and the wages of that employee should continue until payment is received.

Indebtedness.—Indebtedness prevails to a very large extent among industrial workers in the Bombay Presidency and there is considerable statistical information available on the subject, mostly collected by the Bombay Labour Office during the course of its family budget investigations.

According to the report on an enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay City published by the Labour Office in 1923, interest on debts forms nearly 3 per cent. of the total monthly expenditure. Of the families considered, no fewer than 47 per cent. were in debt. The extent of the indebtedness of the family in debt is ordinarily the equivalent of two and a half months' earnings. The extremes were 14 months' and one-third of a month's earnings respectively. The usual rate of interest is one anna per rupee per mensem or 75 per cent. per annum and in a few cases 150 per cent. The interest is often not paid monthly and the worker frequently does not know what his interest charges are. Some money-lenders obtain in fact even a higher rate than 150 per cent. by taking promissory notes for larger amounts than the loan actually given.

As regards single men, for whom 603 budgets were collected, 45 per cent. were in debt, the average expenditure on interest being 12 annas 3 pies and the average expenditure on interest for those in debt being Re. 1-11-2 pies per month.

The Labour Office made in the year 1926-27 an enquiry into the social and economic conditions of workers belonging to the Bombay Port Trust and living in the tenements built by the Trust. Over 80 per cent. of the families considered were found to be in debt. In the majority of cases the amount of debt varied from a month's income to four months' income. The rates of interest paid on the money borrowed were very high. In over 40 per cent. of the cases the rate was 150 per cent., in three cases it was 225 per cent., and in three other cases it was 300 per cent.

The Ahmedabad worker is also heavily in debt. According to the Labour Office enquiry made in the year 1926, 69 per cent. of the families were in debt. The amount of debt varies from a few rupees to many times the monthly income. The most common rates of interest are from 12 to 24 per cent. but higher rates of interest are not unknown and in fact in one case the rate of interest reported was as high as 225 per cent.

According to an enquiry made by the Labour Office in the year 1925 into the family budgets of cotton mill workers in Sholapur City, 63 per cent. of the cotton mill workers' families in Sholapur are in debt, the extent of which varies from less than a month's income to many times the monthly income. In 49 per cent. of cases, however, it is equal to between one and four months' income of the family. The rate of interest paid is between 36 and 42 per cent. in 40 per cent. of the cases. The highest rate of interest reported was 150 per cent. These conclusions regarding the heavy indebtedness of the working classes are confirmed by investigations made by social workers and the experience of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation.

In Bombay City money is usually borrowed either from a Marwari or from a Pathan. The Marwari generally lends money on good security such as ornaments, utensils, etc. The Pathan, on the other hand, usually lends money on personal

security only and charges a higher rate of interest than the Marwari. The Pathan's methods of collecting his debts seldom require him to have recourse to a Court of Law. In Ahmedabad and Sholapur money is usually borrowed from the local *swcar*.

As regards the causes of indebtedness, it is difficult to generalize. The almost universal system of paying wages monthly means that the workers live on credit all the year round. A man taking up a job for the first time, or after a spell of unemployment or on return from a holiday, if his place has not been kept open for him, may have to wait for as long as six weeks before he draws any pay, for pay-day is usually ten days after the expiry of the month in which the pay was earned. It is easy for such a man to get into debt and be forced to borrow money to cover it. Once he gets into debt high interest charges usually keep him in debt. The extraordinarily high amounts which are spent on marriages and other ceremonials, however, account for the bulk of the money which the workers owe to the money-lenders. Social customs and religious observances are responsible for great waste of money, because the amount a working man spends on them is out of all proportion to his income. Drink, amongst those who do drink, often leads to indebtedness, while the available surplus on a working man's budget leaves but a small margin for emergencies or extraordinary expenses.

Bonus and Profit Sharing Schemes.—*Nature and effect of schemes which are or have been in operation.*—The system of paying bonus in addition to a cash wage either for better work or for better attendance obtains in several industrial concerns in the Bombay Presidency, and may be said to be almost general in textile mills especially in Bombay and Ahmedabad. The Labour Office collected complete information with regard to this subject during the enquiry conducted by it in the years 1926–27 with regard to deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines. In the textile industry no fewer than 109 out of the 144 mills in the Presidency which furnished returns reported that bonuses were granted for regular attendance and 76 or 52·8 per cent. stated that bonuses were given for turning out work better than specified standards. Several cotton gins and presses also reported that such bonuses were granted, but in the majority of such cases, these rewards took the form of annual bonuses given on the results of a season's working. In a few cases the system is similar to that of profit sharing—the bonuses payable being dependent on the profits made by a concern during the year. Bonuses for better work were, however, not generally granted in railways, public utility companies, municipalities, commercial offices, and Government and other non-factory organizations. The results of the 1926–27 Labour Office enquiry are summarized below according to the classes of industries covered.

The Textile Industry.—Fifty-eight mills in Bombay City granted bonuses for regular attendance. These bonuses were generally found in the carding, winding, spinning and frame departments for time-workers. As the earnings of piece-workers such as weavers are dependent on their output and production, the system of bonuses for good and regular attendance has not been introduced to any appreciable extent amongst piece-workers although a few mills reported that such bonuses were also granted in the weaving departments. In one case bonuses for better attendance were granted to young workers only, in order to encourage them in regularity. With regard to bonuses for better work, 51 out of the 76 reporting mills stated that no inducement was offered in the form of higher wages or bonuses for work better than specified standards. Twenty-five mills, however, reported that such bonuses were given. In one case it was only granted in certain departments. In another case, operatives of the card and frame departments received 15 to 20 per cent. more over their earnings per day if output was greater than normal specified standards. Similar bonuses on a greater number of hanks than the averages laid down were also given in the frame department, but two mills which reported with regard to this did not give any information in respect of the rates of increase.

During the proceedings of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, the Bombay Millowners' Association stated that the system of granting bonuses was to be entirely done away with as soon as their proposals with regard to standardization of wages in cotton mills in Bombay City take effect—the standard rates fixed having been based on consolidation of average earnings, which include rates *plus* bonuses.

In Ahmedabad bonuses both for regular attendance and for work done above specified standards were more frequently found than in the case of the Bombay mills no fewer than 40 out of the 49 reporting mills stating that such bonuses were granted. Bonuses for good attendance were generally confined to time-workers only and were extended to weavers and other piece-workers only in a few cases. In some cases, the bonus granted for better output was conditional on regularity in attendance also.

With regard to bonus for better work, three up-country mills reported that special efficiency bonuses were granted to jobbers who showed production figures higher

than specified standards for the workers under their control. Eight mills reported simply that bonuses for better work were given but no information was furnished as to the form which such bonuses took. Eleven mills excluding those in Sholapur stated that bonuses were allowed for better attendance. In most cases this bonus, as in the case of the Bombay and Ahmedabad mills, was given in the form of a cash payment. The mills in Sholapur, however, observe an entirely different system. The Millowners in Sholapur pay all workers, who have not lost more than four days' work in a month, a grain allowance. The system adopted is that a worker who has put in a required minimum is allowed to purchase a quantity of grain for Rs. 2, the market price of which may be about Rs. 3.8 annas or more. Full details with regard to this practice have already been incorporated in the section dealing with "Payment in kind and allied problems."

Government and Local Fund Factories.—Bonuses for turning out better work were reported as having been granted to all classes of workers in three cases, and to certain classes of operatives only in one case. In one Government printing press a bonus for better attendance was granted to compositors only. Annual bonuses covering both better work and better attendance were granted in one case.

Ordinary Factories (excluding Gins and Presses).—Bonuses for regular attendance were granted in 34 factories. In one factory all employees who put in full attendance during the month received a special bonus of Rs. 5 per head. Special prizes were granted periodically in one factory to those workers who showed the best attendance on the muster-rolls. It is interesting to observe that one factory reported that they had introduced a system of 29 days' pay for 28 days' regular work, but "dropped it because the attendance improved marvellously." Regular bonuses for better work were granted by 31 factories and one factory gave bonuses only if production was specially good. In two cases it was rewarded by rapid promotions and in six cases only those workers who showed a better output than the normal received special annual bonuses.

Gins and Presses.—About 120 gins and presses reported that bonuses were given to their employees. These took various forms. In three cases there was a special regular attendance bonus, and in 38 cases, bonuses were given for better work. In most cases it took the form of an annual payment, generally dependent upon profits, and varied from a gift of clothes to the equivalent of a fortnight's or a month's pay. In some cases, all the employees in a factory were covered; but, bonuses were generally given only to the permanent staff on a monthly basis of pay. In two cases the rate of bonus was determined at 2 annas per rupee on the wages earned by each employee at the end of a season.

Public Utility Establishments.—Better work and better attendance in the departments of public utility companies were generally rewarded by more rapid promotion and not by special time bonuses. In one case one month's extra pay was, however given for 12 month's regular service.

Municipalities.—Municipalities do not give any bonus for better attendance. Bonuses for better work were, however, reported as having been given in one instance and for especially praiseworthy work in another. One municipality reported that cases were known where a bonus of better work had been granted. In the case of one municipality better work and better attendance counted whilst calculating the amount of gratuity payable to a municipal employee on leaving service.

Government and other Non-Factory Establishments.—Bonuses for both better work and better attendance were given in three establishments included in this group. In three other cases they were rewarded by promotion.

Miscellaneous Establishments.—Bonuses for better attendance were granted in one case, but no concern reported special bonuses for better work only. In the case of clubs there is a general practice of collecting "Christmas Boxes" by voluntary donations from the members. Two clubs reported that the amounts of gratuities from "Christmas Boxes" to the members of the club establishments were determined according to the attendance put in and work done. One large confectionery shop in Bombay City gave conditional remuneration for both better work and better attendance up to a maximum of 25 per cent. of pay in addition to fixed wages. This concern also gave 13 months' pay for 12 months' regular work throughout the year.

Annual Leave.—Leave on pay is generally not granted to industrial employees in the Bombay Presidency, except in the case of some Government factories and public Utility concerns, which extend the privileges of the Government Fundamental Rules with regard to leave for workers on fixed monthly rates of wages. For example, in the Government Central Press at Bombay every employee on a time-rate is entitled to a month's leave on full pay for every 11 months of service in addition to 20 days

casual leave on full pay during the calendar year. In the case of piece-workers, one month's pay for every 12 months' attendance in all cases where workers have not been absent for more than 15 days during the year is granted.

During the General Strike in the Bombay textile mills of the year 1928, Demand No. 14 of the Seventeen Demands put up by the Joint Strike Committee required that the Millowners' Association should make standard rules for the guidance of its members regarding the grant of leave to their employees. In the reply which the Millowners' Association gave on the 12th May, 1928, to these demands, the Association stated that the question of granting leave on pay to the operatives was considered by the Association in the past, but in view of the high percentage of absenteeism and the migratory habits of the workers, it was decided that no such concession could possibly be granted. This answer was given under the impression that the demand referred to leave *on pay*. The Millowners' Association, during the proceedings of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, drew up rules regarding the grant of leave without pay to all employees.

The Committee recommended that the following re-draft, of which the main features were accepted during the course of the discussions on this rule, should be adopted :—

" Any operative who desires to obtain leave of absence must apply previously to the head of his department or any officer appointed by the Manager for this purpose, who if he thinks fit, may grant him leave for a period not exceeding two months. If the leave granted exceeds one day, the officer granting it shall keep a record of its grant, and give the operative a written and signed certificate as to the period of leave granted to him. In the event of an operative taking leave in excess of the period granted, he shall lose all his rights to re-instatement, unless he has previously secured written permission to extend the leave originally granted, and returns to work on the first working day following the period covered by any such extension, or unless on his return to work he gives a satisfactory explanation for his omission to apply for such an extension, and the extension is retrospectively sanctioned."

The Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Company Limited grants one day " off " on pay per week to those men who have not been absent without leave during the week, and pay for 15 days is also granted at the end of each year in respect of other casual leave taken during the year without pay, thus making a total of 67 days leave on pay during the year.

The Bombay Municipality grants 12 days' leave in the year on pay to all male employees in the Conservancy department, and women get 42 days' leave on full pay for confinement. The employees of the superior and subordinate clerical grades are governed by Municipal Leave rules.

In the Parel and Matunga workshops of the G.I.P. Railway, 15 days' leave on full pay is granted every year to all employees. With regard to other railway workers Government Fundamental Leave Rules are generally followed in the case of all Government-owned railways ; but full particulars with regard to this question will be incorporated in the memorandum being submitted by the Railway Board.

No particulars are available with regard to the manner in which leave is granted or controlled in industrial concerns in the Bombay Presidency not specifically dealt with above. The information gained, however, from the personal observations of the Investigators of the Labour Office shows that industrial workers are apt to take leave whenever they want to do so, and that in almost all cases where it is specifically asked for it is granted without pay. The returns received by the Labour Office for the wage census conducted by it in the textile mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Sholapur in the year 1926 showed that in some cases full pay was granted to the workers, although they had been shown as having been absent for several days during the month. Personal enquiries which were made in connection with some of these cases elicited information that leave on pay was granted to particular individuals in view of their length of service and meritorious work in the past.

Information regarding the Engineering trades will be found in Appendix XIII.

Chapter XI.—Industrial efficiency of workers.

No systematic attempt has been made to study this question scientifically either by Government, or, so far as is known, by anyone else. The Government of Bombay has therefore no information on the subject, but the following note is of interest.

Effect on Production of Changes in Working Conditions.—At Ahmedabad weaving shed adopted a fairly efficient gutter system of ventilation and humidification in

1926 in one of its sheds. An average of the average yardage multiplied by the picks per $\frac{1}{4}$ in. produced in the first four months of 1926 and 1927 was worked out in the factory office as follows:—

	Year and month.	Shed I.	Shed II.
	1926		
March .. .. .	.. .. .	599	626
April .. .. .	.. .. .	605	636
May .. .. .	.. .. .	563	578
June .. .. .	.. .. .	558	579
	Total	2,325	2,419
	1927		
March .. .. .	.. .. .	592	594
April .. .. .	.. .. .	644	633
May .. .. .	.. .. .	609	609
June .. .. .	.. .. .	587	582
	Total	2,432	2,418

Thus shed No. 1 showed an increased production of 4.6 per cent. which as far as could be judged was solely due to the improvement in working conditions. This figure was confirmed by the agent.

A second mill reported an increased production in the weaving shed of 9 per cent. after installing a ventilating cooling, and humidifying plant. It appears from the figures given in the Annual Factory Report for 1928 that Ahmedabad is convinced that expenditure on such apparatus means increased production.

Chapter XII.—Trade Combinations.

Extent of Organization—Employers—There are nearly thirty associations in the Bombay Presidency representing almost every important trade and industry in the province. In addition to these there are some associations of professional men as distinguished from associations or unions of clerical or manual workers such as the Bombay Architectural Association and the Bombay Association of the Institute of Engineers. The three Chambers of Commerce in Bombay, Karachi and Aden, the two Indian Chambers of Commerce in Bombay and Karachi, the Maharashtra and the Marwari Chambers of Commerce in Bombay, the Bombay Presidency Trades Association, the Motor Manufacturers and Importers Association, Ltd., and the Buyers and Shippers Chamber in Karachi are associations of both commercial houses and industrial employers, but their main interest is commercial.

Among the more important associations of purely industrial employers may be classed the Bombay and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations and the Bombay Engineering Employers' Federation. The Bombay Type Foundry Owners' Association and the Press Owners' Association are also associations of industrial employers, but their memberships do not include many of the larger and the more important concerns in their respective trades.

With the exception of eight mills (six cotton, one woollen and one silk), all the textile mills in Bombay City and Island, including Kurla, are members of the Bombay Millowners' Association. The membership of the association also covers the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills, the Vishnu Cotton Mills, the Lakshmi Cotton Mills, and the Jam Shri Ranjitsinghjee Mills in Sholapur; the Khandesh Spinning and Weaving Mills, and the Bhagirath Spinning and Weaving Mills in Jalgaon, Khandesh; and the Gokak Mills at Gokak Falls in the Belgaum district. In addition to these, some mills in the Madras Presidency, Bengal, the Central Provinces and Berar, the Nizam's Territory, Central India, Coimbatore, Tinnevely and Ceylon, and three ginning and pressing factories are also affiliated to the association.

The membership of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association covers almost all the textile mills in Ahmedabad city, the Kadi Laxmi Cotton Mills at Kadi, the New Shorrock Spinning and Manufacturing Mills at Nadiad, the Saraswati Ginning and Manufacturing Mills at Broach and the Surat Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills at Surat. Unlike the Bombay Millowners' Association, which has a membership confined to the textile industry, the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association covers the Gujarat Oil Mills, the Ahmedabad Dyeing Factory, the Ahmedabad Victoria Iron Works, the Imperial Iron Works, the Bansi Roller Flour Mills, the Gujarat Islam Match Manufacturing Company, the Gujarat Chemical Works, the Nowrojee Vakil Brick and Tile Works and the Ahmedabad Electricity Company, Limited.

The membership of the Bombay Engineering Employers' Federation, formed in 1921 mainly in order to combat the growing industrial unrest prevalent in the Bombay Presidency during the years immediately following the end of the war, is confined to those concerns whose administration is mainly in the hands of Europeans, but notwithstanding this fact it covers the industrial operations of almost all the larger non-textile employers of labour in Bombay such as the G.I.P., the B.B. and C.I., and the Port Trust Railways, the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co., Ltd., the Standard and the Burma Oil Companies, the Asiatic Petroleum Co., the Bombay Gasworks, the Government Dockyard, Messrs. Mackinnon McKenzie & Co.'s Mazagon Dock, the Telegraphs, and the workshops under the control of Messrs. Richardson and Cruddas, Messrs. Turner, Hoare & Co., Ltd., Messrs. McKenzies Ltd., Messrs. Mather and Platt, the Jost's Engineering Co., Ltd., the British Thomson Houston Co., Ltd., Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co., Messrs. H. L. Rochart & Co., etc. According to the constitution of the association concerns as such are not admitted as members, and the membership is personally limited only to European representatives of each large labour employing organization having some engineering interest.

Among purely commercial associations having little or practically no interest in industrial labour may be included the Bombay Fire Insurance Association, the Association of Wiring Contractors, the Bombay Native Piece Goods Merchants' Association, the Bombay Paper and Stationery Merchants' Association, the East India Cotton Association, the Grain Merchants' Association, the Motor Trade Association (Western India), Ltd., and the Sugar Merchants' Association. The Bombay Textile and Engineering Association affords opportunities for promoting acquaintanceship and interchange of opinion amongst employers, managers, engineers, foremen, draughtsmen and apprentices connected with the diverse Textile and Engineering Trades in all their various branches, including merchants, salesmen, and suppliers directly connected with these trades.

The Bombay European Textile Association is an association of Europeans employed in the organization and management of the textile industry of Bombay, and has for its objects the protection of the mutual interests of its members, and the advancement of the industry, chiefly. The Indian Textile Association is a body similar to the European Textile Association, but its membership is mainly confined to Indians. These associations primarily represent the employers' interest in the textile industry as far as labour is concerned, and include in their memberships superintendents of groups of mills attached to the offices of the agency firms of various mills, although the main object of these associations is the promotion of the welfare of their members as employees of the owners.

The Bombay Accident Insurance Association is an association of those insurance companies which underwrite insurances under workmen's compensation. The majority of the mills affiliated to the Bombay Millowners' Association have their own association for underwriting workmen's compensation risks, and this is known as the Bombay Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association, Ltd. These two associations are very important bodies in connection with questions relating to the Workmen's Compensation Act, and from this point of view they may be considered as representing the interests of industrial employers.

Employed.—Active trade unionism in the Bombay Presidency may be said to have commenced after the end of the war, although four unions had been formed during the previous twenty years. The first union was the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma, formed in April, 1897, and registered under the Indian Companies Act. This society on registering under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, in August, 1928, changed its name to the National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma. Its membership is spread over more than fifty branches at various stations on almost all railways in India and Burma. Just after the end of the war the Amalgamated Society had a membership of nearly 10,000, but as a result of the formation of various unions having a more local character as far as the individual railways are concerned, its membership has been steadily declining, and now stands at about 1,600. The activities of this association are primarily concerned with providing various benefits for its members such as legal defence, sickness insurance, life assurance, etc.

The next union to be formed in the Bombay Presidency was the Bombay Postal Union, founded in 1907 mainly for the clerical classes employed in the Bombay post offices. A union of the warpers of the Ahmedabad Cotton Mills was formed in 1917 by Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, but the members of this union were absorbed in the Weavers' Union, formed in the year 1920. The Clerks' Union was established in April, 1918, in order to organize various classes of clerical labour employed in commercial and other offices in Bombay City. This union remained dormant between the years 1924 to 1927, but has revived its activities since its registration under the Trade Unions Act in October, 1928.

The acute industrial unrest of the years 1919 to 1921 was responsible for the formation of several unions of postal employees in various parts of the Bombay Presidency, of railway employees in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Karachi, Barsi, and Sukkur, of textile workers in Ahmedabad, and of Port Trust employees and seamen in Bombay. No figures are available to show the growth of the movement prior to the year 1921, when the newly formed Labour Office of the Government of Bombay started the collection of statistics for trade union membership.

The workmen of the carriage and wagon (workshops) departments of the G.I.P. Railway formed a union under the name of the G.I.P. Railwaymen's (Carriage and Wagon Departments) Union in May, 1919. This union subsequently changed its name in August, 1926, to the "G.I.P. Railway Workmen's Union." Just prior to its amalgamation in October, 1928, with the G.I.P. Railway General Employees' Union, formed in May, 1927, to cover the line staff and the subordinate services of the administrative establishment of the railway, the membership of this union covered, and was fairly representative of, the employees of the G.I.P. Railway workshops at Parel and Matunga, in Bombay. The employees of the B.B. and C.I. Railway at stations in the Gujarat Division of the Bombay Presidency formed the B.B. and C.I. Railway Employees' Association in February, 1920, with its head office in Ahmedabad, and the workmen of the B.B. and C.I. Railway workshops at Parel formed the B.B. and C.I. Railway Employees' Union in August, 1920. The workers of the Bombay Port Trust workshops formed a union in March, 1920, and those of the Bombay Port Trust Railway formed the Port Trust Railway Staff and Employees' Union in June of the same year. Two unions of the employees of the North-Western Railway were formed at Karachi and Sukkur in September, 1920. The Sukkur branch of the union ceased to function as a separate entity with effect from April, 1928. A union of the employees of the Barsi Light Railway, which was formed in March, 1921, was wound up in September, 1925. The Indian Seamen's Union, with a membership of 10,000 Goans, employed as saloon crews mainly in the steamers run by the Peninsular and Oriental and the British India Steam Navigation Companies, was also one of the earlier formations established in April, 1921, by an amalgamation of two small unions—the Asiatic Seamen's Union and the Portuguese Seafarers' Union, which were formed in 1919.

Among the earlier unions of workers employed in the textile industry were the Mill Jobbers' and Mukadams' Union, formed in Ahmedabad in February, 1919, and the seven separate unions of the employees of the throstle, the weaving, the folding, the sizing, the winding, the card, blow and frame departments, and the drivers, oilmen and firemen of the Ahmedabad Cotton Mills, formed between February and September, 1920, and which had a total membership of 24,185 in June, 1922. The Jobbers' and Mukadams' Union ceased functioning in the latter half of the year 1922, but was re-created in March, 1926. The separate unions of the employees of the folding and the sizing departments were wound up during the latter half of the year 1923. The unions of the employees of the cotton mills in Ahmedabad are practically the only instance of unions of industrial employees which are organized laterally, that is to say, by occupations, and not vertically by mills, factories, or establishments, or territorially by town localities, although the lateral method of combination exists in the case of unions of clerical workers, and peons and menials, both of the postal department and of administrative offices. The unions of the Ahmedabad Cotton Mill operatives are run by a central organization called the Labour Union. Separate accounts are maintained for the individual unions, which make *pro rata* contributions for expenses of administration and the various welfare activities conducted by the Labour Union. These activities have been dealt with in other sections.

Curiously enough there were no stable and effective unions of textile operatives in Bombay City until the formation of the Bombay Textile Labour Union by Messrs. N. M. Joshi and R. R. Bakhale of the Servants of India Society in January, 1926, although several so-called unions or strike committees had been formed from time to time since the year 1919, whenever a general strike took place in the industry. The interests of labour employed in the Bombay Cotton Mills were more or less vested in the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha, an association founded in the year 1909 by the late Mr. B. R. Nare, a retired weaving master, and Messrs. S. K. Bole, M.L.C., and H. A. Talcherkar, "for watching the interests of Indian working men." During normal times the activities of the Sabha were confined to social welfare, but in times of industrial unrest the Sabha did its best to carry on negotiations between the masters and the men. In 1926 it was the intention of this association to reconstruct its constitution with a view to making it a thoroughly representative trade union to be registered under the Trade Unions Act, but the idea was subsequently abandoned owing to the success met with by the Bombay Textile Labour Union, on the committee of which Mr. S. K. Bole, the moving spirit of the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha, was appointed a vice-president.

The Girmi Kamgar Sangha was founded by Messrs. Kanji Dwarkadas, Laxmidas Raojee Tairsee and D. R. Mayekar, a storekeeper in the Colaba Land Mills, during the general strike of cotton mill operatives in Bombay City in the year 1919. This union passed through various changes and vicissitudes, and eventually was registered by Mr. Mayekar under the Indian Trade Unions Act under the name of the Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal on the 21st May, 1928. According to the constitution of this union no persons who are not employed as workers in the Bombay Cotton Mills can be admitted as members of its executive.

There was practically no expansion in the trade union movement in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1922 to 1925. The number of unions, as recorded in the list of trade unions maintained in the Labour Office, fluctuated between 19 and 23 from June, 1922, to December, 1924, when the addition of 15 unions, mainly of postal employees, which had been formed between the years 1918 to 1924, and which had not previously been included in the Labour Office list on account of the fact that they were considered to be quasi-unions, were added, and this brought the recorded number of trade unions to 36, with a membership of 52,227. The figures for the membership of the unions prior to the year 1925 are not quite satisfactory, owing to the fact that most unions did not maintain proper registers of members and supplied round figures for membership from recollection, or gave exaggerated figures with a view to overstate the importance of the unions concerned. As a result, however, of a demand made by the Labour Office for an examination of registers of members before accepting the figures supplied by trade union officials most unions began to record membership figures systematically in special registers from about the end of the year 1924, and since that date more or less accurate figures have been supplied. This statement, however, needs qualification owing to the fact that in many cases the membership figures represent the total number of names on the registers rather than an effective paying membership.

There was a sudden growth in the movement in the first quarter of the year 1926, when fifteen new unions were added to the Labour Office list of trade unions in the Bombay Presidency, bringing the number of unions as at 1st March, 1926, to 51, with a total membership of 59,544.

By the end of the year the number of unions increased to 56 with a membership of a little under 75,000.

At the end of the year 1927 the total number of unions stood at 72, with a membership of 87,340.

The year 1928 saw a very rapid expansion of the trade union movement, not only in the number of new formations, but also in the figures of membership of the existing unions. This was mainly due to the tendency of employers to recognize unions which had been registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, which came into operation with effect from the 1st June, 1927. The number of individual unions, excluding federations of trade unions, stood at 94 as at 1st December, 1928, and the total membership of these unions amounted to 198,072. The increase of nearly 70 per cent. in the number of trade unionists in the Presidency over the figures of the previous quarter as at 1st September was mainly due (a) to the success met with by the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union after the settlement of the general strike of last year on the 4th October, 1928, when, within two months, this union was able to enrol an effective membership of 54,000 workers in the Bombay Textile Mills, and (b) to the large increase in the membership of the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union.

The Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union owes its formation directly to the general strike of the year 1928. At the beginning of that year there were five unions of textile workers in Bombay City :—(1) The Bombay Textile Labour Union, formed in January, 1926, and registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act on the 23rd December, 1927 ; (2), (3) and (4) three unions known as Girmi Kamgar Mahamandals at Chinchpokli, Prabhadevi, and Ghorupdeo, and (5) the Bombay Mill Workers' Union, formed in March, 1928, by Mr. S. H. Jhabwalla, a vice-president of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, who was not in agreement with the policy of that union. The moving spirit in calling out the workers at the beginning of the general strike of 1928 on the 16th April was Mr. Jhabwalla. Within a few days of its commencement Mr. Jhabwalla sought and secured the assistance of Messrs. S. A. Dange, B. F. Bradley, S. S. Mirajkar and R. S. Nimbkar from the Workers' and Peasants' Party, an organization which had not previously been prominent in the textile labour movement in Bombay, except in the case of a few strikes immediately preceding the general strike. These persons were successful in persuading Mr. A. A. Alwe, the President of the Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal (Prabhadevi Mandal) to join them in forming a strike committee for the conduct of the strike. When His Excellency the Governor of Bombay met the Millowners' Association on the 27th April to discuss the situation in connection with the strike, the representatives of the association gave an assurance to His Excellency that they would be prepared to receive representatives of registered trade unions with a view to opening negotiations for a settlement of the dispute. The Bombay Textile Labour Union was the only union of

cotton mill workers in Bombay city which had so far registered under the Act. Mr. Mayekar registered the Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal on the 21st May, and Mr. A. A. Alwe thereupon formed a new union under the name of the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union with himself as president and an executive consisting of Messrs. S. H. Jhabwalla, B. F. Bradley, R. S. Nimbkar and P. T. Thambhanekar as vice-presidents, Messrs. B. T. Alwe and S. V. Ghate as treasurers, Mr. S. A. Dange as general secretary, Mr. K. N. Joglekar as one of three secretaries, and Mr. S. S. Mirajkar as one of the members of the managing committee. All these persons, excepting Messrs. P. T. Thambhanekar and B. T. Alwe, were active members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. This union was registered on the 23rd May. Mr. Jhabwalla registered his Bombay Mill Workers' Union on the 1st June. After the settlement of the 4th October, 1928, which resulted in the appointment of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee with Sir Charles Fawcett, Kt., I.C.S., as chairman, the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union, as mentioned above, rapidly increased its membership.

As regards railway workers there are two unions of the employees of the B.B. and C.I. Railway in Bombay and Ahmedabad. The Bombay union covers the workers in the B.B. and C.I. Railway workshops at Parel, and the Ahmedabad Union covers line workers in the stations in Gujarat and other classes of workers excluding those employed in the Parel workshops. The N.W. Railway has only one union of its workers in the Bombay Presidency at Karachi.

The position in connection with the workers of the G.I.P. Railway is very complicated.

The G.I.P. Railway Staff Union is a federation which was registered on the 17th August, 1928, and has the following nine district unions with a total of 3,740 members as at 1st March, 1929, affiliated to it:—(1) The Wadi Bunder Staff Union (G.I.P. Railway). (2) The Victoria Terminus Commercial Section Staff Union (G.I.P. Railway). (3) The G.I.P. Railway Cabin Staff Union, Bombay. (4) The G.I.P. Railway Poona Staff Union, Poona. (5) The G.I.P. Railway Audit Staff Union, Bombay. (6) The G.I.P. Railway Dhond Staff Union. (7) The G.I.P. Railway Sholapur Staff Union. (8) The G.I.P. Railway Administrative Office Staff Union, Bombay. (9) The G.I.P. Railway Mechanical Department Office Staff Union, Bombay.

As a counter move to the G.I.P. Railway Staff Union, another union of the employees of the G.I.P. Railway in May, 1927, under the name of the G.I.P. Railway Employees' General Union was formed. This Union amalgamated with the G.I.P. Railway Workmen's Union to form the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union which was registered on the 5th October, 1928, with Mr. F. J. Ginwala as president, Mr. B. F. Bradley as one of three vice-presidents, Mr. S. H. Jhabwalla as general secretary and Mr. K. N. Joglekar as an organizing secretary. Messrs. Bradley and Joglekar were members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. At the general meeting of the Union held at Chalisgaon on the 25th May, 1929, Mr. Ginwala was not re-elected as the president and the members who were present at the meeting elected Mr. B. T. Ranadive on the new executive in place of Messrs. Bradley and Joglekar. As Mr. F. J. Ginwala and his group were against the inclusion of outside persons with communist tendencies on the executive of the Amalgamated Union, those members of the Amalgamation who had come in from the G.I.P. Railway Workmen's Union decided to resign from the Union and to form a new union under the name of the G.I.P. Railway Kamgar Union to cover the workers in the G.I.P. Railway workshops in Bombay. The constitution of this Union has not yet been finally decided upon but Mr. F. J. Ginwala has already been elected its president.

The G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union claims a membership of 41,000.

It has already been stated in an earlier paragraph that the Indian Seamen's Union comprised of Goans working as members of Saloon Crews, was formed in April, 1919. In July, 1926, it was decided to make the Union thoroughly representative of all classes of seamen and as a result of extensive propaganda the Union succeeded in registering 5,968 Khalasis, Serangs, Tindals, etc., from engineering and deck crews as members. The constitution was remodelled and at a meeting of the members held on the 19th October, 1926, Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., was elected treasurer and Mr. Syed Munawar, M.L.C., was appointed general secretary. The Union was registered under the Trade Unions Act on the 1st December, 1927. Mr. N. M. Joshi was elected president of the Union about the middle of the year 1928, and Mr. S. V. Parulekar, another member of the Servants of India Society, was appointed treasurer. The membership of the Indian Seamen's Union stood at 21,512 as at 1st March, 1929. A few years ago a number of members of this Union broke away and formed a separate union called the Bombay Seaman's Union which now has a membership of 8,548. Efforts to bring about a reconciliation between these two Unions with a view to an amalgamation have failed. A third Seamen's

Union in the presidency was formed at Karachi in July, 1927, under the name of the Indian Seaman's Union, Karachi, but the membership of this Union as at 1st March, 1929, stood at only 25.

Among the best organized workers in India are the employees of the Postal Department. In the first place there is the Bombay Presidency Postal and R.M.S. Association formed in April, 1920, which is a federation of 16 district unions of workers in the Postal and Railway Mail Services. There is also the Bombay Presidency Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union with 12 affiliated unions with a membership of 2,729.

The Trade Union movement among municipal workers began early in 1927, with the formation of the Karachi Municipal Sweepers' Union. This was followed by the organization of the employees of the Bombay Municipality into the Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union in March and of the clerical classes into the Bombay Municipal Official's Association in April, 1927. In view of the fact that the Workers' and Peasants' Party was represented on the executive of the Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union, the Servants of India Society and the Social Service League formed another Union of the workmen of the Bombay Municipality under the name of the Bombay Municipal Kamgar Sangh in September, 1928. A union of municipal sweepers in Ahmedabad was formed in January, 1928, by the Labour Union. The total membership of these five municipal unions stood at 4,092 as at the 1st March, 1929.

The workers of the Bombay Port Trust were among the earlier groups to unite and a Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union covering the Workshops Department was formed in March, 1920, and this was followed by the formation of the Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union in June. The Dock Staff Offices under the administration of the Port of Bombay formed a union in July, 1926. This was followed by the organization of two separate unions of the employees of the Royal Indian Marine and the Mazagaon Docks in March, 1928. The employees of the Karachi Port Trust also formed a union in November of the same year. The total membership of the five unions of Port Trust and Dock employees, excluding that of the Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union, amounted to 5,906 as at the 1st March, 1929.

Among unions of clerical workers outside posts and telegraphs, railways, municipalities and the Port trust may be mentioned the Clerks' Union formed in 1918 to which reference has already been made; the Central Body Military Accounts Association founded in February, 1920; the Bombay Currency Association formed in March, 1923; the Professional Letter-Writers' Union; the British India Steam Navigation Co.'s Staff Union; the Central Board of Revenue Ministerial Officers' Union formed in January, May and November, 1927, respectively; and the Bombay Mill Clerks' Union, founded by the Servants of India Society with Mr. N. M. Joshi as president, in May, 1928.

Among unions of workshop employees other than those of railway, municipal and port trust workshops are the General Workshopmen's Union formed in May, 1928, and the Bombay Engineering Workers' Union formed in December in the same year. A union of the workers in the government arsenal at Kirkee was formed in July, 1928.

The employees of the Kurla and the Ambarnath Match factories were also organized into separate unions in May, 1928. In addition to the above, there is a union of the employees of the Bombay Telephone Company formed in March, 1928; two unions of office peons, the Government Peons' and Menial Service Union with 907 members as at 1st March, 1929, formed in February, 1926, and the Bank Peons' Union with 331 members formed in June, 1928; two unions of press workers, the Poona Press Workers' Union, founded as early as February, 1921, and the Bombay Press Workers' Union formed in March, 1927. Among unions of gold thread workers are the Bombay Kasbi Karigars' Union and the Jari Workers' (Gold Thread Workers') Union, both formed in March, 1927. A union of the employees of the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co. Ltd., was first formed in January, 1921, with 1,500 members. This ceased to exist in 1922, but a further attempt to reorganize the tramway employees was made in April, 1927, when Messrs. Ginwalla and Jhabvala formed the Tramwaymen's Union. In October, 1927, the union was again reported to be defunct owing to the fact that the Tramway Company's employees did not take sufficient interest in it. A still further attempt was made by Messrs. Jhabvala and S. A. Dange to organize these workers early last year with the result that the Tramwaymen's Union with 769 members was formed and registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act on the 24th May, 1928. The present membership of this union stands at a little over 800.

Other unions in the Bombay Presidency are the Shop Assistants' Union in Bombay and the Sind Workers' Union formed in May and October, 1927; and the Bombay Taxi Drivers' Union and the Bombay Oil Companies' Employees' Union formed in August and October, 1928.

In addition to the Bombay Presidency Postal and R.M.S. Association, the Bombay Presidency Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union, the G.I.P. Railway Staff Union and the Ahmedabad Labour Union—Federations of trade unions which have already been dealt with above—there are the Central Labour Board and the Bombay Trades Council both with their head offices in Bombay. The Ahmedabad Labour Union is not exactly a federation of individual trade unions in the accepted sense of the term, but rather a Central Bureau controlling the administration of the individual unions of cotton mill operatives and of the municipal sweepers in Ahmedabad city.

The Central Labour Board was formed in Bombay in 1922 to federate into one Central union the various unions in Bombay city irrespective of the trade or industry which they represented. Since 1925 its principal activities have been centred in propaganda for the creation of new unions and the carrying on of Purity Mission work. Although intended to be a very active and live trade union organization when formed, the Central Labour Board has not achieved many of the objects for which it was created beyond the propaganda work conducted by Mr. Jhabvala personally. Its membership is now limited to only 4 unions in Bombay: (1) The G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union; (2) the B.B. & C.I. Railway Employees' Union; (3) The Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union; and (4) the Bombay Presidency Telegraph Peons' Union. All these unions with the exception of the last are also affiliated to the Bombay Trades Council which was formed in February, 1928.

Thirty-two representatives of 12 trade unions in the City of Bombay met on the 11th February, 1928, on the invitation of Mr. S. H. Jhabvala and a resolution was passed at the meeting to form a trades council for the City of Bombay. Mr. S. H. Jhabvala was appointed President of the Council, Messrs. R. S. Nimbkar and Marcel Fernandes, joint honorary secretaries, and Mr. Syed Hussein, honorary treasurer. The Executive Council was to consist of Messrs K. G. Kulkarni, V. N. Juvekar, B. K. Parab, K. N. Joglekar and S. S. Mirajkar in addition to the other officers. It will be seen that the Workers' and Peasants' Party was thoroughly represented. The objects of the council are to co-ordinate the efforts and activities of all the labour unions and the branches of such unions in the City of Bombay and suburbs, generally to further the interests of the workers in economic and political matters, to assist in local industrial disputes and generally to watch local conditions of labour in the interests of the workers, to organize educational classes on trade unionism and to carry on propaganda among the working classes by organizing periodic demonstrations, to become the co-ordinating body in Bombay to assist in the economic and political emancipation of the workers, etc. The council has not achieved any results up to the moment of writing. The following eleven unions are affiliated to it:—

(1) The Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union	1,891
(2) The Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union	457
(3) The G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union	41,000
(4) The Bombay Kasbi Karigars' Union	600
(5) The Jari Workers' (Gold Thread Workers') Union	120
(6) The Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union	2,109
(7) The Bombay Mill Worker's Union	984
(8) The General Workshopmen's Union	500
(9) The Bombay Press Workers' Union	310
(10) The B.B. & C.I. Railway Employees' Union	6,108
(11) The Bombay Tramwaymen's Union	824
Total	54,903

In addition to the six federations of trade unions there is also the central council of the employees of the Bombay Port Trust. This council has no separate identity of its own and functions only when the interests of all the workers of the different departments of the Bombay Port Trust are affected. There is also the All-India Trade Union Congress to which some unions in the Bombay Presidency are affiliated Mr. N. M. Joshi is the general secretary of the Congress.

To sum up, the position in connection with the trade union movement in the Bombay Presidency as at the 1st March, 1929, was that there were six federations of trade unions and 95 individual unions with a total membership of a little over 200,000. Of these 95 unions, 46 with a membership of 162,187 are in Bombay city, 10 with a membership of 24,152 in the City of Ahmedabad, and 39 with a

membership of 13,986 in the rest of the Presidency. The following table shows the development of the movement, according to the statistics collected by the Labour Office every three months since June, 1922.

Summary Table showing the Membership of the Unions.

Three months ended 1st	Number of Unions	Membership at end of quarter	Percentage increase (+) or decrease (-) on previous quarter	Three months ended 1st	Number of Unions	Membership at end of quarter	Percentage increase (+) or decrease (-) on previous quarter
June, 1922	22	57,914	—	Dec 1925	38	49,318	- 8.97
Sept, 1922	23	52,776	- 8.87	Mar, 1926	51	59,544	+ 20.73
Dec, 1922	22	51,472	- 2.47	June, 1926	53	64,572	+ 8.44
Mar, 1923	22	48,689	- 5.45	Sept, 1926	56	72,411	+ 12.14
June, 1923	21	51,276	+ 5.08	Dec, 1926	56	74,875	+ 3.4
Sept, 1923	19	41,646	- 18.77	Mar, 1927	56	75,602	+ 0.97
Dec, 1923	19	46,037	+ 10.54	June, 1927	66	75,847	+ 0.32
Mar, 1924	21	48,502	+ 5.4	Sept, 1927	68	81,107	+ 6.94
June, 1924	21	49,729	+ 2.5	Dec, 1927	72	87,340	+ 7.68
Sept, 1924	21	47,242	- 5.0	Mar, 1928	74	95,321	+ 9.14
Dec, 1924	36*	52,227	+ 10.7	June, 1928	87	111,320	+ 16.78
Mar, 1925	36	51,625	- 1.25	Sept, 1928	88	117,004	+ 5.11
June, 1925	38	53,591	+ 3.8	Dec, 1928	94	198,072	+ 69.29
Sept, 1925	38	54,175	+ 1.09	Mar, 1929	95	200,325	+ 1.14

* The rise in the number of Unions from 21 to 36 in December 1924 is due to the inclusion of 15 Unions of Postal employees formed between 1918 and 1924 which were not included in the Labour Office list of Trade Unions prior to that date.

The table in Appendix XI gives the names of all known Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency, together with their dates of formation and membership as at 1st March, 1929, grouped territorially by industries and trades in the order in which they were formed.

Details regarding the names of the principal office-bearers, rates of subscription, and the average monthly income and expenditure of the individual unions will be found in three tables published at pages 796 to 824 of the April, 1929, issue of the *Labour Gazette*. Since the publication of the information contained in these tables the following three unions of textile workers in Bombay have been formed :—

Name of Union	Date of formation.	Number of members.
1. The Chinchpokli Textile Workmen's Union (registered on 5th August, 1929.)	5th July, 1929	11
2. The Fergusson Road Textile Workmen's Union	6th July, 1929	9
3. The Elphinstone Road Textile Workmen's Union	9th July, 1929	9

An examination of the classified list of trade unions given in Appendix XI shows that employees in almost every important trade and industry in the Bombay Presidency, and especially in Bombay city are now organized to a greater or less degree. Both the G.I.P. and the B.B. & C.I. Railways have unions of their workers as also the port trusts, the large municipalities, the posts and telegraphs, workshops, match factories, tramways, printing presses, the telephone company, Government and private offices, etc. Seamen are also organized at both the Bombay and the Karachi ports. In the textile industry, there are seven separate unions in Bombay city, six unions under the central control of the Ahmedabad Labour Union in Ahmedabad and a branch of the Bombay Textile Labour Union in Sholapur. But although trade union organization has permeated into almost all branches of trade and industry in the Presidency, the number of workers who are organized form a comparatively small percentage of the total numbers employed in many of the

trades or industries concerned.* In the textile industry, 42·50 per cent, of the operatives in the Bombay Cotton Mills are organized. In Ahmedabad only 28·52 per cent. of cotton millworkers are covered and in Sholapur less than 5 per cent. In the cotton mills in the rest of the Presidency, there are no unions representing the 22,000 odd workers employed. It has not been found possible to work out percentages to show the extent of trade union organization in other trades and industries, but it may be safely said that outside the posts and telegraphs, and possibly the G.I.P. Railway, no other administrative or industrial unit has a trade union membership amounting to more than 50 per cent of the total numbers employed. Moreover the organization is very loose. Members do not pay their subscriptions regularly and generally show little interest in the unions in normal times.

Effect of Organisations of Employed on conditions of Workers generally.—The condition of workers in the Bombay Presidency has undoubtedly been improved during the last ten years as a result of their organization into trade unions, although there has also been a considerable amount of distress, particularly during the last two years, among the workers in the Bombay cotton mills on account of prolonged strikes. The strike of 1928, however, enabled the millhands to secure many important concessions as a result of the appointment of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, e.g., the recommendation that the millowners should give up their proposal to reduce the wages of weavers by 7½ per cent., the granting of most of the seventeen demands and the remodelling of the proposed standard rules in favour of labour.

The Ahmedabad Labour Union has done much to ameliorate conditions of work in the Ahmedabad cotton mills and has provided medical and educational facilities for its members. The creation of a permanent arbitration board for the consideration of all disputes which cannot be settled between the workers and the mills concerned or between the labour union and the Millowners' Association is, in itself, a great achievement. It is hoped that when the mediation rules proposed by the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee are brought into effect, trade unions of textile workers in Bombay city will be able to achieve a certain amount of success by friendly negotiation rather than by resorting to frequent strikes.

In the case of the railways, recognition following registration of unions of railway employes has led to the systematic representation of grievances which are assured of receiving sympathetic consideration.

There is still a vast amount of spade work to be done before labour in the Bombay Presidency can expect to reap the full benefit of trade unionism. It is essential that the unions should build up an organization, accumulate funds, start benefit schemes and in other ways impress on members that strikes are not the only method by which a trade union shows its utility. For example, the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation has commented on the fact that except in Ahmedabad no trade union systematically takes up the work of obtaining compensation for the workers who are mostly represented by claims agencies. Here is a simple way in which unions can be of assistance to its members and thereby help forward the movement as a whole. A spirit of aggression towards capital and the importation of political prejudice into the relationship between employers and employed will do no good to the trade union movement. On the contrary it will definitely retard its growth.

Nature of Activities—Workers.—The activities of trade unions in the Bombay Presidency have so far been confined to attempts to secure the redress of the grievances of their members by making representations to their employers. With the exception of the Ahmedabad Labour Union whose welfare activities have been dealt with in the chapters on health, housing and welfare, there are very few unions in the Bombay Presidency which are financially strong enough to render any monetary help to their members during strikes or to undertake activities in the direction of paying any sickness, unemployment or superannuation benefits. There are some unions which give death benefits, some meet the burial expenses on the death of a member and there are one or two others which have made special provision for legal defence, insurance and sickness benefit. The National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma, formerly known as the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma, has separate funds for insurance, legal defence and sickness insurance, but in each case only those members who specifically subscribe to these funds are entitled to the privileges afforded by them. Most unions in the Presidency include all kinds of trade union benefits for their members in their rules but very few have been able to carry out any effective work in connection with them. About 25 unions, however, publish weekly, monthly or quarterly journals for the benefit of their members. These journals are more or less devoted to the ventilation of grievances. The following list of objects taken from the constitution of the Bombay Textile Labour Union is more or less representative, with minor variations here and there, of the "objects" adopted by the majority of the Unions:—(a) To organize and unite the workers; (b) to secure to members fair conditions of life and service; (c) to try and redress their grievances; (d) to try to prevent any reduction of wages,

and, if possible, to obtain an advance whenever circumstances allow; (e) to endeavour to settle disputes between employers and employees amicably so that a cessation of work may be avoided; (f) to endeavour to provide against sickness, unemployment, infirmity, old age and death; (g) to endeavour to secure compensation for members in cases of accidents under the Workmen's Compensation Act; (h) to provide legal assistance to members in respect of matters arising out of, or incidental to, their employment; (i) to endeavour to render aid to the members during any strike or lockout brought about by the sanction of the union; (j) to obtain information in reference to the industry in India and outside; (k) to co-operate and federate with organizations of labour, having similar objects in India and outside; (l) to help, in accordance with the Indian Trade Unions Act, the working classes in India and outside in the promotion of these objects; and (m) generally to take such other steps as may be necessary to ameliorate the social, educational, economic, civic and political condition of the members.

The activities of the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union with regard to strikes and particularly the general strike which is now in progress in the Bombay textile mills are matters which are *sub judice* owing to their being covered by the terms of reference to the Court of Enquiry appointed under the Trade Disputes Act. The report of the Court, when published, will give a full account of these activities; and, it is not considered necessary, therefore, to enter into a description of them here.

Employers.—Generally speaking, employers in the Bombay Presidency have organized themselves in the interests of commerce and trade, and not with reference to the regulation of the relations between employers and employees. Their object has been the collection of commercial and industrial information and its dissemination to members and the maintenance of arbitration machinery for the settlement of disputes between members in connection with the purchase and sale of goods, etc. The examination of legislation affecting their interests has also been one of the important objects of these associations. Some of the employers' organizations are directly represented on the local legislatures and in the central legislature. A few years ago it was proposed to organize a federation of employers' associations, one of whose objects would be the "inauguration of a concerted policy in regard to labour legislation," but no such federation has been formed. Some of the members of all these bodies employ industrial labour but in very few cases do the aims and objects of the association specifically refer to the relations of the association with labour. The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, however, has for one of its objects "the promotion of good relations between employers and employees," while the specific object of the Engineering Employers' Federation is to "discuss matters of mutual interest which have relation to the general conditions of service of members' employees." As will be apparent from the various sections of this memorandum, the Bombay Millowners' Association and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association have had a great deal to do in their collective capacity, with wage questions and other matters affecting the labour employed in the textile industry. The other associations have not been prominent in such matters and have not taken concerted action for the regulation of wages in the industries with which they are connected. Both the Government of India and the Government of Bombay consult these associations when labour legislation is being considered as well as, of course, in regard to legislation which affects commerce and industry, and the views of these bodies undoubtedly receive very careful consideration and have had some influence upon the measures proposed. The action taken by the Millowners' Associations has had a direct effect on labour conditions. For example, the success of the propaganda for the removal of the excise duty saved a cut in the wages of operatives in Bombay in 1925, while the strike of 1928 was due to concerted action on the part of employers to enforce standardization in the mills. Apart from matters of this kind, the effect of employers' associations on industry and on the conditions of workers generally cannot be estimated.

Individual Trade Unions—History.—While dealing with the question of the "extent of organization of employed" in the Bombay Presidency, historical details with regard to the growth of some of the more important individual unions of industrial workers were given. It is not necessary, therefore, to go into further detail here, but if the Commission require any additional information with regard to any particular unions it can be supplied.

Attitude of Workers and extent of their control.—The outstanding feature of trade union administration in the Bombay Presidency—and, indeed, in India generally—is the fact that it is largely controlled by persons who are not engaged in the industry with which the union deals, and that many of these people are interested in several unions in different industries. The illiteracy of the workers is the principal reason for this peculiarity. Another is the fact that social reformers have taken the lead in organizing labour and rousing them to a sense of their grievances and insistence on

their rights. Up to very recently the bulk of the unions were very loosely organized and activity was only apparent when a strike was in existence or threatened, or when wage increases were being discussed. This is particularly seen in the case of the Ahmedabad Unions. While the unions were successful in securing favourable awards from the Board of Arbitrators during the years 1920 to 1922 the membership figures of the individual unions under the control of the Ahmedabad Labour Union stood at their peak, but after the wage cut of 15½ per cent. was effected in June 1923 and during the years 1924 to 1927, when no dispute went up to the Arbitration Board, there was a sharp decline in the membership of all the unions. Generally speaking the workers of Bombay did not appreciate the necessity for building up a strong organization, accumulating funds, and increasing membership. They took little interest in the work of their unions and were wholly indifferent to the movement as a whole. The position is not much better to-day, although as regards management the rank and file are undoubtedly taking a keener interest.

While the above remarks apply to the majority of the unions in the Presidency, there are notable exceptions. The members of all the various unions of workers in the Postal Department of the Government of India which exist in the Bombay Presidency take a considerable interest in the unions' affairs largely because they are better educated and more homogeneous. Outsiders are admitted on the executive, not so much for purposes of assistance in administration, but primarily for the advantages that can be secured by having prominent and influential persons as Presidents or Secretaries—the main advantages being the facilities thus afforded for asking questions and raising debates in the Legislative Assembly on matters connected with the grievances and conditions of service of Postal Employees. There are also the National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma, formerly known as the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma Limited, and the All India and Burma Covenanted Non-Gazetted Railway Services' Association whose affairs are directly under the control of the members themselves. The only outsider on the executive of the former union up to two years ago was a paid general secretary. The present general secretary, is an ex-railway employee. Amongst unions of industrial employees the only other instance where no outsider is admitted on the executive of the union is the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, a small union in the Bombay mill industry.

The Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, has had a good effect in securing greater recognition for trade unions. Registration under the Act has in most cases resulted in the recognition of the unions by employers. This recognition has stimulated membership and done away with any reluctance on the part of workers to join a union of which their employer might not approve. The Trade Unions Act permits the executive of a union to contain 50 per cent. of "outsiders" that is to say, persons not engaged in the industry. Few unions have so large a proportion and the management of affairs nominally devolves on the workers themselves. As a result the members of various unions have for the last two years been taking a greater interest in their activities and are also participating to a greater extent in the control of the union. Questions of policy are, however, still largely decided by the "outsiders" on the executives.

Perhaps the best example of true trade union organization is that which obtains in the Ahmedabad textile unions although none of them have registered under the Act—for political reasons, largely. The affairs of the individual unions are controlled by a Council of Representatives elected by the workpeople triennially in the proportion of one seat for every 50 members or less and two seats for more than 50 or less than 100 with an additional seat for every 100 or fraction in excess thereof. The Council of Representatives elects an Executive Committee consisting of the office-bearers and three to nine workpeople. The office-bearers can be dismissed by the Council of Representatives. The Ahmedabad Labour Union consists of the constituent unions. In order to ensure close contact with the various departmental unions a Joint Council of Representatives of the different unions has been formed, invested with exclusive authority to determine, with the help of the Advisory Committee, all questions involving the common interest of two or more individual unions. The total strength of the Joint Council is about 160. The Executive Committee of the Central Union consists of office-bearers, viz., the president, the treasurer and the assistant secretary and at least one non-official member from the Executive Committee of each union. The Executive Committee of the Central Union administers the funds and other assets of the union, subject to the control of the Joint Council of Representatives. The surplus funds are invested in the name of the president in a bank or banks in the manner approved of by the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee consists of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, Mr. Shankarlal G. Banker and Lala Gulzarilal Nanda. This committee lays down the policy for the guidance of the Council of Representatives, engages the staff, distributes the work among office-bearers, and generally advises in all matters connected with the work of the individual

unions. The office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee of the Central Union are, strictly speaking, "outsiders". The Council of Representatives takes a keen interest in the affairs of the union. During 1928 there were 31 meetings of the Joint Council and the average attendance of the members at these meetings amounted to 77 per cent. The workers follow the proceedings of the Council intelligently and are able to suggest changes in details. If the workers prove obdurate and do not accept a certain line of action suggested by the Advisory Committee, the Advisory Board and the officers resign and leave the workers to conduct their own affairs. This actually happened in 1922 when the spinners struck work for a bonus against the mandate of the Advisory Board. Left to themselves they were not able to do anything owing to their illiteracy and so they requested the Committee to take up their cause again. They were allowed to join the union after paying a fine of As. 4 each and expressing regret for their hasty action in declaring an unauthorized strike.

As has been pointed out above, a characteristic of the trade union movement in the Bombay Presidency is the association of a few individuals with a large number of unions. Mr. N. M. Joshi, B.A., M.L.A., in addition to being the General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress and the President of the G.I.P. Railway Staff Union, is connected, either as president or treasurer, with eleven other unions in the Presidency. Mr. S. H. Jhabvala, B.A., is actively interested in two Federations and eighteen unions. Mr. F. J. Ginwala, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., is the President of the Central Labour Board and is on the executives of thirteen other unions. Mr. S. C. Joshi, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., is the General Secretary of two Federations and is either the President or the General Secretary of eleven other unions. Mr. S. V. Parulekar, M.A., a member of the Servants of India Society, is connected as a Treasurer, General Secretary or Assistant Secretary with seven different unions. Mr. P. S. Bakhle, B.A., LL.B., is connected with six unions; Messrs. B. D. Mistry, B.A., LL.B., R. S. Asavale, M.L.C., and A. H. Kirtikar are connected with four unions each. Mr. R. R. Bakhle, the General Secretary of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, is also a Vice-President of the Bombay Engineering Workers' Union and the General Secretary of the Sholapur Branch of the Bombay Textile Labour Union. Mr. Syed Munawar, B.A., M.L.C., the General Secretary of the Indian Seamen's Union is also connected with the R. I. M. Dock Workers' Union and the Bombay Textile Labour Union.

Early in 1928 when Mr. S. H. Jhabvala found that he could not cope with the work that was devolving on him in view of his association with 20 unions in Bombay City he brought in Messrs. S. A. Dange, R. S. Nimbkar, K. N. Joglekar and S. S. Mirajkra, all of them belonging to the extreme left wing of labour, into the trade union movement. Mr. S. A. Dange was put in charge of the Tramwaymen's Union, Mr. K. N. Joglekar was put on the executive of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Mr. S. S. Mirajkar on the Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union, Mr. R. S. Nimbkar on the Bombay Trades Council and the Bombay Oil Companies' Employees' Union. Mr. B. F. Bradley, an English Communist, was put on the executive of the B. B. and C. I. Railway Employees' Union. Messrs. Jhabvala, Dange, Nimbkar, Bradley and Joglekar were all nominated on the executive of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

It is inevitable, for many years to come, that the educated non-industrial worker shall play a large part in the guidance and control of trade unions, and that labour leaders will be drawn from the ranks of the intelligensia rather than the workers. Where such leaders are imbued with sound trade union principles and have no other interest at heart but that of the workers the trade union movement stands to gain by their leadership. It is otherwise when the intelligensia seek to exploit labour for political ends, or have no knowledge of trade unionism and its functions.

Attitude of Employers towards individual Trade Unions and relations with them.—Prior to the passing of the Trade Unions Act, the attitude of employers towards unions of their employees was generally lukewarm if not actively hostile. It was only after the unions were registered under the Act that employers began to extend their recognition to associations of their employees. This question will be further dealt with under the heading "Opportunity afforded to workpeople of making representations."

Trade Union Act, 1926—Extent to which utilized.—The Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, was brought into operation with effect from the 1st June, 1927. During the first ten months ending 31st March, 1928, 12 unions with a total membership of 52,201 had registered out of 74 unions (as recorded in the list of trade unions maintained by the Labour Office) with a total membership of 95,321. During the next 12 months ending 31st March, 1929, one Federation—the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union—and 24 more unions were registered. The G. I. P. Railway Workmen's Union, which was registered on the 27th October, 1927, amalgamated with the G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union (registered on the 31st October, 1927) on the 5th October, 1928, to form the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union. The total number of registered unions as at 1st April, 1929, stood at one Federation and 35 unions with a membership of 156,787 out of six federations and 95 unions with a total membership of 200,325.

The following table shows in a comparative form the progress of registration of unions (excluding federations) under the Act by quarters since September, 1927, together with the membership figures for all Unions :—

Period.	Total Number of Unions.	Membership.	Number of registered Unions.	Membership.
September, 1927	68	81,107	1	1,200
December, 1927	72	87,340	11	45,243
March, 1928	74	95,321	12	52,201
June, 1928	87	111,320	18	64,660
September, 1928	88	117,004	27	74,176
December, 1928	94	198,072	30	152,061
March, 1929	95	200,325	35	156,787

In the list of Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency which is given in Appendix XI those unions which have been registered under the Act have been marked with an asterisk. The Ahmedabad Labour Union which controls six unions of cotton mill workers in the Ahmedabad mills and the Municipal Sweepers' Union in Ahmedabad do not intend to register for political reasons. Among the six federations and 95 individual unions in the Presidency as at 1st April, 1929, there were two federations of postal unions and 37 unions of Government servants comprising 29 unions of postal employees, two unions of telegraph employees, the Government Peons' and Menials' Union, the Central Board of Revenue Ministerial Officers' Union, the Central Body Military Accounts Association, the Bombay Currency Association, the Kirkee Arsenal Workmen's Union, and the R. I. M. Dock Workers' Union. The last union was formerly known as the Bombay Dock Workers' Union and was registered as such on the 24th May, 1928. Subsequently on account of the fact that some members of the Workers and Peasants Party were represented on the executive of that union, the workers employed in the R.I.M. Dock, who formed a majority in the union, ousted the old executive and changed the name of the union into the R. I. M. Dock Workers' Union. If employees of State owned railways, although technically Government servants, are excluded, the R. I. M. Dock Workers' Union is the only union of Government servants that has been registered under the Act. And this union was registered as stated above under the name of the Bombay Dock Workers' Union comprising workers from all Docks in Bombay.

Recognized associations or unions of Government employees have been asked not to apply for registration under the Act pending the consideration by the Secretary of State, of amendments to the Government Servants' Conduct Rules which are in conflict with the Trade Unions Act. It is anticipated that as soon as a decision with regard to this matter is reached, all unions or associations of Government employees will register under the Act.

Effects.—Out of the one federation and the 35 individual unions registered under the Act in the Bombay Presidency, one federation and 29 unions are in Bombay City. As has already been shown in the previous section there is no question that registration of trade unions under the Act has led to increased recognition of unions by the employers. The consequences of both registration and recognition have led to a considerable improvement in the conduct and administration of the registered unions and the proper maintenance of accounts and registers of members. In the form prescribed under the Bombay Trade Union Regulations, 1927, for the annual return to be made by all registered unions "Unpaid Subscriptions Due" have to be shown separately and this has led to a more careful scrutiny of the membership registers in order to avoid bloated figures being shown under this head. Some unions, however, still continue to maintain on their registers names of members who have not, in many cases, paid their subscriptions for a year or more.

The effect of Section 17 of the Act was exemplified in May, 1928, when a union of cotton mill operatives was formed in Sholapur which the Bombay Textile Labour Union claimed to be a branch of their Bombay Union. This branch appointed a separate executive including a president and a treasurer, and took an active part in the general strike in the Sholapur mills of last year. One of the mills in Sholapur prosecuted certain members of the union for criminal conspiracy under Section 120B of the Indian Penal Code on the ground that the union was not a registered union and was, therefore, not protected by the Trade Unions Act. The case is still proceeding.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., introduced a Bill in the Legislative Assembly on the 8th September, 1928, to amend the Indian Penal Code in order to give the members and office-bearers of any union protection from criminal liability under Section 20B of the Indian Penal Code in respect of acts by any two or more persons acting in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute or in restraint of trade. This was sought to be done by adding the following proviso to Section 43 of the Indian Penal Code :—

“ Provided that nothing is illegal if done or procured to be done by two or more persons in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute or in restraint of a trade unless it be an offence when committed by one person.”

The Government of Bombay stated that they were definitely and entirely opposed to the Bill, as they considered it most undesirable that any encouragement should be afforded to the organization of unregistered trade unions. The effect of the Bill might be most disastrous so far as registration of trade unions was concerned and might seriously affect the organization of labour in this country on true trade union lines.

On the 8th September, 1928, Mr. Joshi moved a motion in the Legislative Assembly that the Bill should be referred to a select committee. The motion was strongly opposed both by Government and by commercial interests in the Assembly and when put to the vote was lost by 57 votes to 49.

In view of the considerable unrest which has existed in Bombay since the Trade Unions Act was brought into operation it has not been possible to form any definite opinions as to the effects of the Act.

Possible Amendments.—Before proceeding to deal with the question of possible amendments of the Trade Unions Act it may be of interest to give the rulings by the Registrar of Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency in connection with the interpretation of the Act and the Bombay Trade Unions Regulations, 1927, in respect of matters with regard to which the Act or the Regulations were not quite clear.

Section 2 (h).—It was held that a retired or an ex-employee in a particular trade or industry can be an ordinary member of a union connected with that trade or industry.

Section 4.—It was held that honorary members as well as ordinary may be signatories to applications for registration.

Section 6 (d).—It was held that a provision in the rules of a union to the effect that a week's notice should be given by members wishing to inspect the books of the union did not appear to be in accordance with the requirements of the Act.

Section 6 (e).—A paid official of the union who is neither on the executive nor engaged in the industry concerned may be made an honorary member of the union, and in that capacity be a signatory to the application of the union for registration.

Section 6 (f).—The definition of fines and forfeitures includes the limitation of the rights of membership and the conditions under which restrictions may be imposed.

Section 8.—It was held that the application for registration and the rules of a registered trade union should be considered as a part of the register of trade unions and should be open for inspection by the public.

Section 15 (1).—It was held that the division of the funds of the union on the secession of certain members from the union to form a new one is not governed by this section.

Section 15 (2).—Subscriptions from any part of the general funds to any association, charitable or otherwise, was held to be *ultra vires* of the Act unless that institution or fund was intended to benefit workmen in general.

Section 15 (3).—It was held that the general funds of the union may be utilized for payment of fines imposed on office-bearers under Sections 31 and 32 of the Act provided no fraudulent intention was proved against them.

Section 15 (4).—It was held that the general funds of a registered trade union cannot be spent for the maintenance of a co-operative society. In this connection it was further held that as Section 62 of the Bombay Co-operative Societies Act, 1925, lays down that “ no person other than a registered society shall, without sanction of Government, trade or carry on business under any name or title of which the word ‘ co-operative ’ or its vernacular equivalent forms part,” and also in view of the fact that the registration of registered trade unions under the Bombay Co-operative Societies Act would be void, *vide* Section 14 of the Indian Trade Unions Act, no registered trade union could form a co-operative society for its members unless an entirely separate society was formed and registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.

Section 15 (5).—It was held that it would be *ultra vires* for a registered trade union to raise a legal defence fund by compulsory levy on the members of the union

for the defence of a member charged with an offence under the Penal Indian Code. It was also held in the same case that there is no objection to subscriptions being raised for such a fund on an entirely voluntary basis from members who might desire to contribute provided that the failure of a member to contribute does not in any way affect his rights as a member and that he is not deprived of any of those rights for refusing to contribute.

Section 15 (6).—It was held that the general funds of a union could be utilized for the prosecution of any legal proceeding covering a dispute between a member and "a person whom the member employs" provided the employment is connected with the member's trade, i.e., where weavers employ their own beam carriers, or in coal-mining and stevedoring where workmen employ other workmen and there is no question of sub-contracting.

Section 20.—The word "members" alone was considered sufficient to connote the meaning conveyed by the words "an officer or member" occurring in this section in view of the fact that office-bearers must be either honorary or ordinary members.

Section 28 (2).—If a vacancy in the executive is filled after registration of the trade union the appointment made should be notified to the Registrar for entry in the register; but if the individuals holding posts on the executive change posts after registration, these changes are to be notified in accordance with Section 28 (2), i.e., in the Annual Return.

Section 29 (2) (a).—It was held that when a fresh certificate of registration is issued for the registration of an amalgamation of two or more registered trade unions, the full fee under regulation No. 7 of the Bombay Trade Unions Regulations, 1927, should be charged.

No appeals against any of the rulings given by the Registrar of Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency have yet been preferred; and it is not possible, therefore, to state, at the present moment, whether any amendment of the Act in respect of any of the matters dealt with above is necessary. However, there are two or three matters regarding which it has been suggested that an amendment of the Act is desirable. Section 16 of the Act deals with the constitution of a separate fund for political purposes. Section 6 sets out the matters for which the rules of a trade union must provide. There is nothing in this section which makes it obligatory for a registered trade union to make rules regarding its political fund. One union applying for registration had a separate political fund. When its rules were submitted for examination it was suggested that rules should be framed for dealing with the political fund. The reply was that the Act did not compel the union to do this, and that the union did not propose to make any rules. Section 16 (3) of the Act lays down that no member shall be compelled to contribute to the political fund, but as the average trade union member is ignorant of the Act it is more than probable that when a levy for a political fund is made the members will contribute under the impression that they must do so. It appears to be desirable that where a union has a political fund it should be compelled to incorporate in its rules the provisions of Section 16 in order that members of the trade union shall know precisely what their rights are and that their membership of the union cannot be affected by their refusal to contribute to this fund.

Section 15 (g) of the Act permits the "general funds" of a registered trade union to be utilized for "the issue of or the undertaking of liability under policies of assurance on the lives of members . . ." Insurances would normally be undertaken only on the lives of those members who subscribe premia for policies. But if the premium rates are not drawn up on sound actuarial lines there is every possibility of the general funds of the trade union being applied to meet the claims of its members. Section 3 of the Provident Insurance Societies Act, 1912, limits the application of that Act only to those societies which do not insure lives for amounts greater than Rs. 500 for full life policies. A trade union carrying on a scheme of life insurance for its members under the provisions of the Provident Insurance Societies Act, 1912, becomes immune from the operation of the restrictive provisions of that Act (*vide* Section 14 of the Trade Unions Act) when it registers under the Trade Unions Act. The Act does not empower the registrar to exercise any control over the conditions under which a registered trade union offers benefits to its members. In view of the possible danger to the interests of members of unwarranted rates of premia or the maximum amounts for which life policies may be under-written it appears desirable that the safeguarding provisions of the Provident Insurance Societies Act, 1912, should be made applicable to insurances undertaken by trade unions. The Government of India considered that this matter could be provided for by asking for a separate return from registered unions submitting annual returns in respect of any insurance business undertaken by them. The Government of Bombay are, however, doubtful whether this is a matter which can be satisfactorily dealt with in the manner suggested by the Government of India and whether the interest of the members should not be safeguarded by amending the Act in the manner suggested.

Section 7 (2) of the Act provides that if the name under which a trade union has proposed to be registered is identical with that by which any other existing trade union has been registered or, in the opinion of the Registrar, so nearly resembles such name as to be likely to deceive the public or the members of either trade union, the Registrar shall require the persons applying for registration to alter the name of the trade union stated in the application and shall refuse to register the union until such alteration has been made. The question arises whether under this section the Registrar of one province should confine his scrutiny to his own register or should consult the registers of other provinces as well in order to ascertain whether the name of a trade union applying for registration is identical with or nearly resembles the name of any other union. *Prima facie* there is nothing in the section to limit the Registrar's scrutiny to his own province although in practice that is all he could do as there is no official record published of registered unions in other provinces. If a trade union registered outside the Bombay Presidency under a name identical with or similar to the name of a union on the register of this Province transfers its head office to Bombay, the Registrar has no alternative but to enter the name of the transferring union in his register (*vide* Rule 11 (2) of the Bombay Trade Unions Regulations, 1927). He cannot refuse to place its name on the register in exercise of his power under section 7 (2) of the Act because the provisions of the section referred to are applicable only to an original application for registration under the Act. Consequently there would be on one and the same register two unions the names of which are identical, a position that is not intended by the Act. The contingency cannot be considered as by any means remote especially in the case of unions of employees of railways which extend into two or more provinces. The Government of Bombay have suggested to the Government of India that all provincial Registrars should furnish to the Government of India the names of trade unions as soon as they are registered and that the Government of India should publish those names regularly in the *Gazette of India*. There would then be an official record which could be consulted by Registrars before registering any trade union. This would be a possible means of getting over the difficulty but it might be advisable to make a definite provision for this in the Act itself.

CHAPTER XIII.—Industrial Disputes.

The Labour Office of the Government of Bombay has collected statistics of all industrial disputes in the Bombay Presidency since the 1st April, 1921. A dispute, as reckoned by the Labour Office, is an interruption of work involving 10 or more persons and of not less than 24 hours' duration, no distinction being made between a "strike" and a "lock-out." Complete and detailed information with regard to every dispute has been published in the *Labour Gazette* monthly in articles under the heading "Industrial Disputes in the Presidency." In addition to the monthly articles, annual reviews for calendar years have also been published for most years. The May, 1926, issue of the *Labour Gazette* contained a quinquennial review of industrial disputes in the Bombay Presidency for the five years ending 31st March, 1926. For the purposes of this section the statistics published in that review have been brought up to date for a total period of 8 years and 3 months, ending the 30th June, 1929.

No detailed or statistical information is available with regard to industrial disputes prior to 1st April, 1921, but the following extract from the Report of the Industrial Disputes Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay, in November, 1921, "to consider and report on the practicability or otherwise of creating machinery for the prevention and early settlement of industrial disputes" is of interest in connection with those strikes which occurred during the period immediately after the end of the war and prior to the collection of full statistics by the Labour Office:

"Since the mill strikes of 1918-19, and January, 1920, which lasted for a month and a half and a month, respectively, and involved about 150,000 men, there have been no general strikes in the textile industry in Bombay City. But we have had a postal strike lasting five months from September, 1920, till February, 1921; a tramway strike in October, 1920, lasting six weeks, and another lasting a fortnight in December of the same year; a gas strike lasting nearly three months in October, 1920; and two strikes among the oil companies in September, 1920, and January, 1921. Each of these strikes involved about 2,000 men. We have had, besides, a strike in the B.B. & C.I. Railway Parel workshop for a fortnight in February, 1921, involving 5,500 men, and a more serious strike in August, 1920, in the G.I.P. Railway Parel workshop, involving 7,000 men and lasting for two months, and a general strike involving 33,000 men in Ahmedabad in October, 1921. Before that the last serious strike at Ahmedabad was the spinners' strike in 1920, involving 30,000 men. In Sholapur the whole labour force is now on strike. This is the first strike in that

centre since the strike of 1920, which involved some 16,000 men and was an organized extension of the Bombay mill strike. Short strikes in single factories, often on trivial grounds, have, however, become matters of daily occurrence and are always liable to start a general conflagration."

The following table shows the number of disputes, the number of work-people involved in these disputes, and the number of working days lost, in a summary form, year by year, from the 1st April, 1921, to the 30th June, 1929 :—

Year.	Number of disputes.	Number of workpeople involved.	Number of working days lost.
1921*	104	131,999	1,272,362
1922	143	173,386	756,747
1923	109	109,332	2,836,000
1924	50	179,522	7,559,401
1925	69	175,631	11,387,797
1926	57	29,314	78,113
1927	54	28,078	165,061
1928	114	326,196	24,629,715
1929†	38	161,587	5,249,096

* The figures are for nine months from April to December.

† The figures are for six months from January to June.

Extent of Strikes and Lock-outs.—The total number of disputes during the period 1st April, 1921, to 30th June, 1929, amounted to 738. Of these, 22 were strikes affecting more than one industrial concern, as shown in the table below :—

	Number of factories and concerns affected.
1. Strike in Ahmedabad (7th October, 1921) ..	6 spinning and weaving mills.
2. Do. do. (19th October, 1921, to 29th October, 1921).	47 Do. do.
3. Do. do. (27th January, 1922, to 28th January, 1922).	13 Do. do.
4. Do. Sholapur (2nd March, 1922, to 24th March, 1922).	6 Do. do.
5. Do. Karachi (10th March, 1922, to 11th March, 1922).	5 firms of stevedores.
6. Do. Bombay (1st August, 1922, to 2nd August, 1922).	34 spinning and weaving mills.
7. Do. Surat (3rd October, 1922, to 23rd October, 1922).	4 Do. do.
8. Do. Ahmedabad (10th November, 1922, to 17th November, 1922).	29 Do. do.
9. Do. do. (1st April, 1923, to 4th June, 1923).	56 Do. do.
10. Do. Karachi (16th April, 1923, to 26th April, 1923).	6 firms.
11. Do. do. (25th May, 1923) ..	6 Do.
12. General strike in Bombay (17th January, 1924, to 25th March, 1924).	75 spinning and weaving mills, 2 silk mills, 2 woollen mills and 2 dye works.
13. Strike in Sind (17th April, 1925, to 30th June, 1925).	Carriage and loco. shops and running shed, Karachi; fitting staff, Kotri; loco. and carriage shop and engine shed, Sukkur.
14. General strike in Bombay (15th September, 1925, to 3rd December, 1925).	76 cotton mills, 2 silk mills, 2 dyeworks.
15. Strike in Bombay (2nd January, 1928, to 25th February, 1928).	9 spinning and weaving mills under the agency of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co.

Table—contd.

	Number of factories and concerns affected.
16. General strike in Bombay (16th April, 1928, to 6th October, 1928).	All spinning and weaving mills in Bombay except the Colaba Land and the Jehangir Wadia Mills; 2 silk mills and one bleaching mill.
17. Strike in Sholapur mills (21st April, 1928, to 6th October, 1928).	5 spinning and weaving mills.
18. Strike in Kurla mills (14th May, 1928, to 6th October, 1928).	2 Do. do.
19. Strike in Bombay oil companies (7th December, 1928, to 23rd February, 1929).	3 oil companies.
20. Strike in Bombay (25th February, 1929, to 18th March, 1929).	7 Spinning and weaving mills.
21. Strike in Bombay (3rd March, 1929, to 18th March, 1929).	5 Do. do.
22. Strike in Bombay (26th April, 1929, to)	64 Do. do.

It is not intended in this memorandum to examine these strikes in great detail, as full particulars in connection with them have been given in the tables and articles published every month in the *Labour Gazette*. In the event of the Commission requiring fuller details in connection with any of these disputes these will be immediately supplied. The following summaries give the main features of each of these 22 disputes :—

(1) On the 7th October, 1921, 289 mukadams and oilmen from six cotton mills in Ahmedabad struck work demanding a bonus equal to one month's pay. The managements of the mills affected immediately paid Rs. 36 to each striker drawing under Rs. 40 per month, Rs. 40 to those earning Rs. 40 per month, and promised to give one month's pay to those who earned more than Rs. 40 per mensem. The workmen resumed work the same day and the result was completely successful from the view point of the employees.

(2) With the success of the above strike it was natural that a demand similar to that made by jobbers and mukadams would also be made by the general body of workmen employed in the Ahmedabad cotton mills. On the 19th October, 1921, the workmen of nine cotton mills demanded a bonus amounting to 1½ month's pay, and when this demand was refused all the operatives of these nine mills went on strike. By the 26th October the strike had spread to 47 mills in all, of which 31 had completely closed down and 16 remained partially closed. Mr. M. K. Gandhi represented the case of the workers and Seth Mangaldas that of the owners. When these two arbitrators failed to arrive at a satisfactory agreement, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was asked to act as an umpire. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya published his award on the night of the 28th October, 1921, recommending (1) that to everyone whose salary was below Rs. 75 per month a bonus equal to one month's average salary plus a sum of Rs. 15 should be given; the maximum not to exceed Rs. 75. In calculating the salary or the wages earned by time-workers or piece-workers the bonus earned for regular attendance or good work should be included. In the case of half-timers the bonus should be one month's salary plus Rs. 7-8-0; (2) that to everyone whose salary was Rs. 75 or more a bonus of Rs. 75 should be given; (3) that the method of calculating the period of service of each employee should be the same as was adopted at the time of the settlement of the last bonus dispute; (4) that in calculating the period of service absence due to child-birth and accidents in the mills should be counted in such period. Other recommendations included suggestions for the removal of minor grievances. The strikers accepted the award of the umpire and normal working was resumed in all mills on the morning of the 29th October, 1921. Although the result of this strike has been considered as a compromise it must be admitted that it was a very satisfactory conclusion from the view point of the workmen.

(3) Thirteen cotton mills in Ahmedabad were affected by a strike on the 27th January, 1922, owing to the Muhammadan millhands demanding the weekly holiday on Friday instead of on Sunday. The number of workpeople affected amounted to

3,672. The secretary of the Labour Union issued a mandate to the strikers to resume work until the question was decided by the Ahmedabad millowners. The men accordingly resumed work unconditionally on the next day. This strike therefore, ended unfavourably to the employees.

(4) On the 25th February, 1922, the workpeople of all the six cotton mills in Sholapur made a joint representation by distributing leaflets printed in Marathi to the managers of their respective mills, demanding (1) that all workpeople who had been dismissed during the 1920 strike should be reinstated; (2) that the newly formed labour union should be recognized by the Sholapur millowners; and (3) that all representations of workers' grievances made through the Union should receive proper recognition. The operatives threatened that if these demands were not acceded to within eight days, they would go on strike. The men, however, did not wait till the period of the expiry of the notice, and 18,000 operatives struck work on the 2nd March, 1922. Two mills which attempted to re-start on the next day found that it was not possible to continue work on account of the rowdiness of the strikers. The owners consequently declared a lock-out, which continued up to the 16th March. On the 17th, 3,500 men resumed work unconditionally and three mills began partial working. By the 24th March normal working had been resumed.

(5) About 150 daily-wage labourers engaged in sewing up filled gunny bags for shipment in five commercial firms at Karachi struck work on the 10th March, 1922, demanding an increase of 4 annas per head in their daily rates of wages. The firms affected were Messrs. Ralli Bros., Messrs. Strauss & Co., Messrs. Louis Dreyfus & Co., Messrs. Sanday Patrick & Co., and Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co. The Jamedars and the contractors of these companies carried on the work in the absence of the coolies, but on the next day the strikers in the first three firms resumed work as their wages were increased. The men in the other two firms did not return to work as their employers no longer required their services. This strike thus resulted favourably to the employees of the first three firms and unfavourably to those of the other firms.

(6) The strike which occurred in the cotton mills of Bombay in August, 1922, can hardly be termed a dispute according to the accepted meaning of this term. 61,000 odd strikers in 34 cotton mills in Bombay struck work on the 1st August, 1922, on account of the second anniversary of the death of Mr. B. G. Tilak. On the next day all the strikers returned to work peacefully. The question whether the result of this strike was favourable or otherwise to the employees does not arise because the strike was organized only for abstention from work for one day in honour of a departed national leader.

(7) The strike of October, 1922, in the cotton mills of Surat was due to the demand for the payment of the usual annual bonus; 2,296 out of 2,765 workers in the four cotton mills of Surat went on strike on the 3rd October and elected a committee of 20 representatives from their ranks to negotiate with the owners on their behalf. The owners proposed to give bonuses calculated on varying percentages of the previous year's bonus except in one mill, which was to give no bonus. The strikers refused to accept this offer and made a counter offer of their own, asking for a bonus equivalent to 42½ per cent. of the average monthly pay for the last twelve months, but agreeing to work for one day without wages as a punishment for going on strike without notice. On the 11th the operatives of the Surat Weaving Mills submitted a petition to the Collector and District Magistrate to arbitrate with the owners on their behalf. The workmen of the Surat Spinning and Weaving Mills presented their case to the Collector through a local pleader. On the 12th and 13th all the operatives of the Hatim Mills and Surat Weaving Mills resumed work. The men of the Surat Spinning and Weaving Mills resumed work on the 14th in accordance with the settlement arrived at in that mill as a result of the intervention of the collector. The men of the Industrial Mills refused to accept a bonus of 25 per cent. which was offered to them by the management and decided to have their wages paid up. There was no change in the situation in this mill till the 19th, when 370 men returned to work unconditionally. Of the remaining employees, 171 hands were paid off on the 20th and the rest on the 23rd. The result of this dispute was on the whole not successful to the employees.

(8) The next big strike which occurred in the Ahmedabad cotton mills in November, 1922, also arose over the question of the payment of the annual bonus. The arbitrators elected by the Millowners' Association and the Labour Union gave their award on the 1st October. Whilst the negotiations in connection with the question as to the payment of this bonus were in progress between the Association and the Union the Association put forward certain proposals to reduce the *Moghwar* (dearness) allowance granted to spinners, whilst high prices prevailed. The throstlemens in 29 cotton mills, however, impatient at the delay in the payment of the bonus, struck work on the 10th November, 1922. The President of the Millowners' Association promised to give a sympathetic hearing to the case of the workers if work was resumed. The operatives of ten mills accordingly resumed work on the

12th November, of 13 mills on the 13th, of five mills on the 14th, and of one mill on the 17th November. The result of this strike was mainly favourable to the employees in all the mills except one, where some new hands were engaged and some were admitted only on payment of a fine of Rs. 3 each.

(9) The strike in the cotton mills in Ahmedabad of the year 1923 was by far the biggest and the most disastrous from the workers' point of view that has ever occurred in that city. It affected 56 mills, involved 43,113 workpeople, and resulted in a total time loss of 2,370,933 working days. It began on the 1st April and continued till the 4th June. The reasons for the strike were (1) the announcement that the millowners in Ahmedabad would reduce wages by 20 per cent. with effect from 1st April, 1923; and (2) the alleged non-payment by many mills of the bonus on the precise terms agreed on by the arbitrators to whom the settlement of this question was referred. The strike lasted for 64 days and the men were almost completely defeated. On the 4th June a compromise was arrived at by the terms of which (1) wages were to be reduced by 15½ per cent. instead of by 20 per cent.; and (2) the question of the interpretation of the last bonus award was to be again referred to arbitration. The president of the Millowners' Association also gave an assurance that wages would not be reduced again for at least six months from the date of the compromise.

(10) The strike of 650 employees out of a total number of 2,000 labourers employed by six commercial firms in Karachi which occurred in April, 1923, has a close parallel to the similar strike in Karachi of the year 1922. In this case the workers went on strike on the 16th April, 1923, demanding enhanced wages and the removal of certain grievances such as extortion by tindals. During the first week of the strike the men unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade the Pathan labourers in the Karachi docks to join them as well. On the 26th April work was resumed on a promise being made to the effect that the employers would favourably consider the question of an increase in wages. This strike thus ended in favour of the employees.

(11) The six firms referred to in the above dispute were again affected by another strike on the 25th May, 1923. On this occasion the cause was a demand for the payment of Rs. 2 per day instead of Rs. 1-12-0, as was hitherto paid; 160 sack-sewers were affected. The increase of 4 annas demanded was immediately granted and work was resumed forthwith.

(12) The general strike of 1924 in the cotton mill industry in Bombay City had its origin in the no-bonus decision of the millowners of Bombay. The men had been paid bonus regularly for five years and had come to regard its payment as an annual affair. The bonus was usually paid in the middle of January in each year along with the pay due for the month of December. When the bonus was not paid at pay-time in January the operatives of one mill demanded the payment of bonus on the 17th January and on its being refused went on strike. The strike fever soon spread, and in about a week almost all the cotton mills in Bombay had to close down. On the 22nd February, 1924, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay appointed a committee of enquiry, with the Honourable Sir Norman Macleod, Kt., Chief Justice of the High Court in Bombay, as chairman to enquire into the dispute. The terms of reference were (1) to consider the nature and basis of the bonus which was granted to the employees in the cotton mills of Bombay since 1919, and to declare whether the employees had established any enforceable claim, customary, legal or equitable; and (2) to enquire into the profits made in each year since 1917 with a view to comparing these profits with the profits made in the year 1923, and to report on the contention of the millowners that the grant of a bonus such as was given in previous years was not justified by the profits of the mill industry as a whole in 1923. The findings of the committee on these points were submitted to Government on the 11th March and were (1) that the millworkers had not established any enforceable claim, customary, legal or equitable to the annual payment of a bonus; and (2) that the results of the working of the mill industry as a whole for the year 1923 were such as to justify the contention of the millowners that the profits did not admit of the payment of a bonus. The strike, however, did not terminate till the 25th March, when work was resumed in almost all the mills, although with considerably reduced staff due to the fact that there was an almost general exodus of all up-country workers to their homes before the strike ended.

(13) The N.W. Railway strike of 1925 is the only important railway strike which has occurred in the Bombay Presidency during the last five years. The remote cause of the dispute was the secession from the N.W. Railway Union of Mr. J. B. Miller, who, in conjunction with Messrs. Hall and M. A. Khan, started agitation against the recognized union. In addition to indeterminate demands for increases in pay the men's demands included an eight-hour day, reinstatement of men dismissed in 1922, 50 per cent. increase of pay when no free quarters were given, no one who had served more than five years to be dismissed, all retrenched employees to be reinstated, all union fees to be recovered by the railway administration from the pay

of the men and credited to the union, etc. The unrest was originally confined to the Punjab but spread to the Bombay Presidency on the 17th April, when 2,223 workmen of the N.W. Railway carriage and loco. shops and the running shed at Karachi struck work in sympathy with the strikers at Rawalpindi and other stations on the N.W. Railway line in the Punjab; 154 railway men at Kotri and 742 men from the loco. and carriage shops and engine shed at Sukkur joined the strike on the 20th. By the 7th June the total number of workmen affected at Karachi, Kotri and Sukkur amounted to 6,186. The Punjab strikers resumed work on the 19th June, from which date the railwaymen affected in the Bombay Presidency also started resuming work in increasingly larger numbers until conditions had become normal on the 30th June. No settlement was reported in the case of this strike, but it would appear that the employees failed completely in getting any of their grievances redressed.

(14) There was a general strike in the cotton mills in Bombay City and Kurla at the end of the year 1925. The strike had its origin in the decision arrived at by the Bombay Millowners' Association in July, 1925, to reduce the wages of all workpeople in the mills affiliated to the association by $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with effect from the 1st September, 1925. The Millowners stated that they were forced to reduce wages on account of the severe and unprecedented depression which had overtaken the cotton mill industry in India during the year 1925 on account of (a) high prices ruling for cotton; (b) increased costs of production due principally to the high standard of wages paid to workpeople and generally to increased prices of coal and stores and heavier interest charges; (c) Japanese competition; (d) the maintenance of an excise duty of three and a half per cent. on cotton manufacturers; and (e) unprecedented accumulations of cloth and yarn due to the demand for cloth not keeping pace with production. Several representations were made to the Government of India urging them to abolish the excise duty entirely or, alternatively, to suspend the collection of this duty for the remainder of the current financial year. The millowners maintained that the non-collection of the duty would afford relief to the industry to the extent of nearly a crore of rupees which would help to tide over an exceptionally critical period. Proposals were also put before Government to afford protection to the industry either by increasing the import duty on Japanese cotton manufactures and/or by the levy of an export duty on raw cotton purchased by Japan in India. His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the address presented to him by a joint deputation of the Bombay and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations said that it was impossible to remove the excise duty in the middle of the financial year before the commitments and the prospects of the next year were fully known, and that it would only be at the time of the next budget that the situation could be thoroughly reviewed and a proper estimate formed. His Excellency pointed out (a) that the remission of provincial contributions to the central exchequer was the first charge on the consideration of the Government of India; (b) that the position of the industry could not be considered at that juncture to be so exceedingly critical as to justify the abolishing of the duty; and (c) that the duty would be abolished as soon as financial considerations permitted.

The millowners stated that in view of the very unsatisfactory reply received from the Government to their various representations regarding the abolishing of the excise duty they had no other alternative left open to them except to call on their workpeople to share the burden of the bad and difficult times through which the industry was passing and to consent to a cut in their wages.

The workpeople refused to agree to any reduction in their wages. They stated (a) that they had obtained the increases granted to them in the shape of dearness allowances on their pre-war wages as the result of several hard and bitter struggles during which they lost very heavily owing to loss of wages for the periods for which they were on strike; (b) that the present rates of wages received by them were insufficient to provide for a decent standard of living; and (c) that the millowners ought to hold an enquiry with a view to effecting a decrease in the cost of production by retrenchment in other directions. Labour leaders, after consulting the workpeople, offered to meet the millowners half way by agreeing to follow the example of Lancashire and to work shorter hours with a view to lessening the evils of over-production. The millowners contended that if the working hours were reduced by one day's work in a week the wages of the workmen would be reduced by $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. instead of by $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as proposed by the owners; and that the proposal for going on short time was not feasible in view of the fact that the cost of production would go up by five-eighths of an anna per lb. of cloth which would only result in still further increasing the prices of cloth and making it more difficult to sell the products of the mills in the home market against competitive Japanese goods. The millowners therefore adhered to their decision to cut wages and the men went out on strike.

No warning was given of the threatened strike; 33,249 workpeople from 15 mills suddenly downed tools on the 15th September and by the 2nd of October there was a complete stoppage of work in all the mills in the city. The two cotton mills

at Kurla, employing a total number of 4,600 workpeople and which are usually the last to be affected by a strike in the Bombay mills, were also compelled to close down on the 6th October. The total number of workpeople involved in the general strike therefore amounted to 151,986.

Several meetings were arranged between the owners and the representatives of the men, and His Excellency the Governor received frequent deputations from time to time from both parties with a view to formulating some basis for a compromise. Several discussions also took place on the subject in the Legislative Assembly and in the Bombay Legislative Council. The only point on which there appeared to be a general unanimity was the necessity for the immediate suspension of the excise duty. His Excellency the Governor and the Government of Bombay made representations to the Government of India to suspend the duty, and the press in India constantly demanded its total abolition. Both the parties to the dispute remained quite firm in the respective standpoints which they had taken up and the strike dragged on till the end of November, when, at length, His Excellency the Viceroy suspended, by Special Ordinance, the collection of the excise duty with effect from the 1st December, 1925.

In view of the repeated assurances given by the Bombay Millowners' Association that the old rates of wages would be restored in the event of the excise duty being removed, the strike virtually ended as soon as the Ordinance was published. The mills started their engines from the 3rd December onwards according as sufficient numbers of workpeople offered themselves for employment; but the strike cannot be considered to have terminated on that date in view of the almost complete exodus of up-country workers to their homes. On the 7th December only 44,584 or nearly 30 per cent. of the workpeople had returned to work and on the 13th December 88,388 or nearly 60 per cent. The total number of working days lost as a result of the strike amounted to nearly eleven millions. If the average daily earnings of all workpeople in the mills in Bombay City be taken as Re. 1-4-2 according to the figure published by the Labour Office in its second Report on an Enquiry into Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry in the Bombay Presidency in August 1923, the workpeople lost 137 lakhs of rupees in wages during this strike.

(15) At the beginning of the year 1928 a strike broke out in 9 cotton mills under the management of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Company, Bombay, over the question of the introduction of new systems of work in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) whereby each weaver was to look after three looms instead of two as before and each spinner two sides of the spinning frame instead of one at an increase of 50 per cent. in wages. The dispute lasted 54 days and in the end the workers resumed work unconditionally. The total number of workpeople involved was 14,187 and the time loss amounted to 535,602 man-days. This strike may be considered as the most important dispute immediately preceding the General Strike of the year 1928 because the chief reason which led to that strike and which helped to maintain it for a period of nearly six months was the fear of unemployment consequent on a probable extension of the efficiency methods introduced by Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Company in their own mills to other mills in the city.

(16) The General Strike in the cotton mills in Bombay City which lasted from the 16th April to the 6th October, 1928, and involved 147,644 workpeople was mainly due as stated above to the threatened general introduction of new systems of work and standardisation in accordance with the recommendations of the Textile Tariff Board. The new systems of work, which were adopted for achieving greater efficiency of labour, naturally involved retrenchment of hands. The hours of work for certain operatives were increased and additional emoluments in the form of bonus, etc., were curtailed. These reforms began to be gradually introduced from the middle of the year 1927 and several strikes of the operatives in individual mills occurred since August 1927 as a protest. The moderate labour leaders who then completely controlled the textile labour force in Bombay City were opposed to a general strike and brought about a settlement of the disputes in individual mills on the best terms possible. Subsequently, however, the members of the Bombay branch of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, a communist organisation, exercised a considerable influence over the cotton mill operatives, and mainly as a result of their instigation, the operatives of the Currimbhoy group of mills struck work on the 16th April, and brought out the men of all the other cotton mills in Bombay City, with the exception of those in the Colaba Land and the Jehangir Wadia mills, by the 26th April. The employers were not given previous notice of the proposed strike. In view of the serious situation thus created, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay came down to Bombay from Mahabaleshwar and granted separate interviews on the 27th and the 28th April to the representatives of the Millowners' Association, the Bombay Textile Labour Union and the Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal. The Millowners' Association assured His Excellency they would be prepared to open negotiations with the

representatives of registered Unions of Textile mill-operatives. This was the first instance in the Bombay Presidency where the special status of a Trade Union as the result of registration was publicly recognised. As a result of the visit of His Excellency the extremists and the moderate labour leaders joined hands and formed a Joint Strike Committee on the 2nd May, prepared a statement of the demands of the strikers and forwarded it to the Millowners' Association on the 3rd May, 1928. The statement contained 17 demands, which included (1) the restoration of the wage rates that prevailed in 1925; (2) that the hours of work of any class of workers should not be increased without the consent of the workers concerned and without granting overtime pay for the additional time put in; (3) that the new systems of work should not be introduced or continued without the consultation and free consent of the workers expressed through their organizations; (4) the necessity for making standard rules for all mills and (5) that no member of the Association should be allowed to alter the conditions of service to the disadvantage of the workers. On the 12th May the Millowners' Association issued a press communique replying to the 17 demands put forward by the Joint Strike Committee. They denied any reductions in wages and laid stress on the need for a standardized muster and a standardized schedule of rates of wages. They also stated that it was essential that disciplinary measures should be strictly enforced.

As the Millowners' Association refused to have anything to do with the Joint Strike Committee as it included officials of unregistered Unions, the Bombay Mill Workers' Union, the Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal and the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act and every member of the Joint Strike Committee thus became connected with one or other of the registered Unions of cotton mill-operatives in Bombay city. The Honourable the General Member of the Government of Bombay met deputations from the Millowners and the Joint Strike Committee on the 15th May with a view to smoothing the way for a Round Table Conference.

The Millowners' Association published a statement in the press on the 16th June, defining the terms on which they would be prepared to reopen the mills. The terms included the unequivocal acceptance by the strikers, of the following:—(1) Standardized rates of wages as prepared by the Millowners; (2) Revised and standardized muster-rolls; (3) full 10 hours work for all male operatives; and (4) a revised set of Rules and Regulations with a view to enforcing stricter discipline than obtained in the past. The Joint Strike Committee issued a rejoinder on the same day pointing out that the financial history of the industry did not warrant a reduction in wages and that in the preparation of the schemes of standardization the Millowners had not consulted the workers' representatives. In reply, the Millowners stated in a press note that the profits made by the mills were not, after all, high, and pointed out that the cost of living for workers had gone down.

On the 9th June, two representatives of each of the four registered Trade Unions of cotton mill workers in Bombay city were invited by the Millowners' Association to meet 8 members of their Negotiation Sub-Committee. The representatives of both sides met about half a dozen times before negotiations broke down over the question of a proposed cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the rates of wages for weavers. On the 3rd July, the Millowners' Association posted notices at the mills announcing the terms on which the strikers could resume work and also arranged for the standardization schemes being clearly explained to the operatives at the mills. On the advice of the Commissioner of Police, only two pickets were posted at each mill. Several women workers volunteered their services as picketers. The Millowners attempted to reopen the mills in batches with effect from the 6th August, but without success.

The Honourable the General Member convened a joint conference of the representatives of the Millowners and the Joint Strike Committee on the 15th and 16th August, in order to ascertain if they would agree to the dispute being referred to a conciliation board. The conference broke down on the question of the immediate calling off of the strike. Subsequently Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, the then President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, did his best to bring the parties to the dispute together and to arrive at terms satisfactory to both sides, but with no effect. The representatives of the Joint Strike Committee again met the representatives of the Millowners' Association during the last few days of September, in order to explore the possibilities of arriving at an amicable settlement, but no agreement could be reached on the question of the cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. proposed by the Millowners' Association in weavers' wages. At this stage, another joint conference of the representatives of the two parties was called by the Honourable the General Member on the 4th October, at which satisfactory terms of settlement were arrived at. According to the terms, the general strike was to be called off on the 6th October, 1928, pending the report of a Committee to be appointed by Government to enquire into the whole dispute. The rates of wages were to be those prevalent in March, 1927 and rates of advances to be paid to the strikers during the next two months were also specified.

The strikers began to resume work from the 6th October, and the mills resumed normal working by the 11th October. In accordance with the agreement arrived at on the 4th October, the Government of Bombay appointed the following Committee—

Sir Charles Fawcett, Kt., I.C.S., Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Bombay (*Chairman*).

Messrs. M. P. Kharegat, I.C.S. (Retired Judge), and B. S. Kamat (*Members*), with Mr. N. A. Mehrban, Investigator, Labour Office, and Assistant to the Registrar of Trade Unions, Bombay Presidency, as Secretary.

The terms of reference to the Committee were:—“(a) Whether the amended scheme of a standardized schedule of rates and of a standardized muster prepared by the Millowners' Association, and also the scheme prepared by the Strike Committee is fair and reasonable. (b) Whether the Seventeen Demands advanced by the Strike Committee are fair and reasonable and to what extent, if any, they should be met. (c) Whether the Standing Orders for operatives as amended and presented by the Millowners' Association on the 4th October, 1928, are fair and reasonable.”

The total time lost to the textile industry on account of this strike amounted to nearly 22 million working days and the loss in wages to the labourers is calculated at approximately 3½ crores of rupees. The Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee sat for over five months and its report was published on the 26th March, 1929.

(17) There was a prolonged dispute in all the cotton mills in Sholapur for practically the same period and duration as the general strike in the Bombay mills of the year 1928, but whereas all textile mills in Bombay and Kurla, with the exception of the Colaba Land and the Jehangir Wadia mills, were completely closed, some of the mills at Sholapur were affected only partially and for different periods. The main cause of the Sholapur dispute was alleged reduction in wages. The number of workpeople involved was 16,928 and the total time lost amounted to 897,012 working days. The result of the dispute was entirely unfavourable to the workers, who did not gain anything by this strike.

(18) The strike in the two spinning and weaving mills at Kurla, although reckoned as a separate dispute in the official statistics compiled and maintained by the labour office was really a part of the general strike in the Bombay mills of the year 1928—the only difference being that whereas the general strike in Bombay was completely effective by the 26th April, the strike did not take effect in the Kurla mills till the 14th May. The settlement reached between the millowners' association and the joint strike committee on the 4th October, 1928, also covered the Kurla mills.

(19) A strike involving 1,790 employees of three oil companies in Bombay city started on the 7th December, 1928, over the question of a proposed retrenchment of hands. The strikers, in this case, resorted to considerable rowdiness, but were kept under control by the police. After remaining out unsuccessfully for over two months, the strikers began gradually to resume work unconditionally from the 14th February, 1929 and normal working was resumed in all the three establishments affected from the 23rd February. The number of working days lost in this dispute amount to 95,839.

(20 and 21) A strike of the sizers of the mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons, in Bombay City, started on the 25th February, 1929, over the question of a demand for payment of wages at time rates according to the proposed standardization scheme instead of the piece rates at which they were hitherto paid. As a result of this strike the weavers of many of these mills did not get sufficient material for work and they also started going out on strike from the 3rd March. The sizers resumed work on the 18th March on the management agreeing to grant an increase of 2 annas in the piece rates of wages. On the resumption of work by the sizers all the weavers also resumed work unconditionally. The result of this dispute was in favour of the workers. The total number of workpeople involved in the two strikes of the sizers and the weavers was 11,068 and the total number of working days lost amounted to 96,298.

(22) The origin of the present general strike in the Bombay cotton mills which started on the 26th April, and which, at the moment of writing, is still in progress, is traceable to the strikes in the Wadia group of mills which first originated in the Spring Mill on the 1st March with the dismissal of a worker of the spinning department, who is stated to have absented himself from work from the 14th February to the 28th February on account of the fact that his frame was put on to spinning 10s. When the frame was again put on to spinning higher counts on the 28th February he presented himself for work but was refused admission on the ground that he had been absent without leave. The worker stated that he had taken leave from the jobber who, however, denied the statement. Thereupon, the Mill committee of the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union demanded the immediate reinstatement of the dismissed worker and, on this being refused by the management, called a strike of about 600 operatives

of that department in contravention of a written undertaking given by the President, the general secretary, and a member of the executive of the union, to the management on the 23rd November, 1928, to the effect that there would be no lightning strike in the Wadia group of mills in future "without first putting through a regular channel any grievances that the operatives might have." On account of the strike, the management kept the mill entirely closed from the 2nd March to the 8th April, when they re-started the mill with about 275 old and new hands. In the textile mill, two workers who returned to work on the 2nd March after several days of absence without leave were refused reinstatement and consequently 185 operatives of the mill struck work in sympathy on the same day. This mill also remained closed up to the 8th April, on which day it recommenced work with 725 old and new hands. In the Century mill a jobber of the spinning department was discharged on the 1st March for having stopped the spinning department without orders at 3 p.m. on the 28th February for cleaning the frames. The operatives of the department concerned demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed man, and, as their request was not acceded to by the management, 650 men struck work after the recess on the 1st March. They, however, resumed work unconditionally on the 4th March. The management dismissed 7 men on that date and 6 on the 5th March for their having been responsible for inciting the workers to go on strike. The Bombay Girni Kamgar union officially demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed men, and, as the management refused, the union took out on strike about 1,300 men from the departments where the dismissed men had been employed. This mill remained closed from the 15th March up to the 8th April, and restarted work on the latter date with about 1,000 old and new hands. By the 24th April, the total number of hands working in the three mills increased to about 10,000, of which about 6,500 were new hands employed in place of the strikers. The Bombay Girni Kamgar union interpreted the dismissals to be the outcome of a systematic policy of victimisation adopted by the management against the workers who took a forward part in the activities of the union inside the mills. The displacement of such a large number of old hands was also resented by the workers. Consequently, at a joint conference of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee, held on the 24th April, in order to consider the recommendations of the Fawcett Committee, the representatives of the Bombay Girni Kamgar union threatened to withdraw from the Conference if the Association did not take concerted action to prevent individual millowners from victimising workers taking an active interest in the union's affairs. The owners stated that the dismissals were on purely disciplinary grounds and led evidence to prove their statement. The representatives of the Bombay Girni Kamgar union demanded that witnesses on their side should also be examined, but the request was not acceded to as it was considered that it would be unwieldy and cumbersome for the Joint Conference to examine a large number of witnesses. A way out of the difficulty was suggested by a representative of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, who proposed that a sub-committee might be appointed to enquire into and report on the question of the alleged victimisation. The millowners were prepared to consider the proposal if the Bombay Girni Kamgar union agreed to it. The latter, however, demanded the reinstatement of all the old hands in the Spring, the Textile, and the Century mills as a condition precedent to signifying their approval to the proposal in question. The millowners were not prepared to dismiss the new hands employed in place of the old hands who had gone out on strike, and consequently the Bombay Girni Kamgar union decided to call a general strike in all the textile mills in Bombay City at noon on the 26th April. For this purpose, the union issued on the 25th April, Marathi leaflets advising the millhands to strike work at exactly 12 noon on the appointed date. Accordingly, 74,675 workers in 41 mills struck work after the recess on the 26th. About nineteen thousand more hands from thirteen mills were out on the 27th and 9,634 hands from seven mills on the 29th. On the 30th, one more mill employing 1,420 hands was closed on account of the strike. By the 1st May, the strike had spread to 64 mills in all, affecting a total number of 109,232 operatives. The Bombay Textile Labour Union refused to associate themselves with the strike, and the mills controlled by this union did not come out.

His Excellency the Governor came down to Bombay from Mahableswar on the 3rd May, and granted interviews to the representatives of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, the Millowners' Association and the Bombay Textile Labour Union on the 5th and 6th May. A joint conference of the representatives of the Millowners' Association and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union was held on the 7th May, 1929, presided over by His Excellency the Governor, but no agreement could be arrived at on the main point at issue. A further attempt was made by the Honourable, the General Member, to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties, but with no effect.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay again came to Bombay from Poona on the 18th June and held a joint conference of representatives of eighteen public

bodies and associations on the 19th June in order to ascertain public opinion on the best method of dealing with the situation. His Excellency, in his opening speech, said that the object of the conference was to consult the widest possible interests from the point of view of the city as a whole, as Government wished to learn the views held by representative public bodies as to the measure necessary to cope with the strike situation; and that if the conference were agreed in making any constructive suggestions he proposed to explain what the attitude of Government would be towards those suggestions and what each of them would involve. All the bodies at the conference then expressed their views on the measures which should be taken by Government to deal with the situation. In concluding the day's proceedings, His Excellency stated that a summary and notes on the existing legislation which was appropriate to the various forms of action which had been suggested, together with proposals regarding any additional legislation that might be necessary, would be circulated to the bodies which had been represented at the Conference, and the meeting was adjourned until Friday the 21st June. When the Conference re-assembled on that date, the representatives of the various public bodies again expressed their views on the measures that were necessitated by the strike situation in the light of the discussions of the 19th June, and the notes and the summary which had been forwarded to them by Government. His Excellency then outlined the steps which Government proposed to take to deal with the situation in the light of the opinions expressed at the Conference. His Excellency stated that Government equally with the members attending the Conference were against anything in the nature of repressive measures and that a Court of Enquiry under the Trade Disputes Act, 1919, would be set up immediately with the following terms of reference:—

1. To inquire into and ascertain the exact nature of the dispute or disputes between the employers and workmen of the following mills *.....which led to the strike in those mills in March and April, 1929.

2. If there was any such dispute, to what extent the employers or workmen, or both are responsible in matters connected therewith?

3. What are the causes of the prolongation of the strike? Whether the employers or workmen, or both, are responsible for such prolongation, and, if so, to what extent?

4. What are the difficulties in the way of a settlement of the dispute or disputes between the employers and the workmen?

His Excellency then said that intimidation and terrorisation of the kinds generally agreed to exist at some of the chawls of the workers could not be permitted to continue, and while he would strongly urge that the action of the parties concerned should, in their own interests, equally with those of the general public, help to enforce their eradication, the Police would also be directed to pay particular attention to this. His Excellency further announced that Government intended to take all necessary steps to stop it, and, in order that the initiative might not be left to private persons, the Governor General would be moved to make and promulgate an Ordinance making the offence of criminal intimidation of the kind to which he had referred cognisable pending the legislation necessary to effect this change in the Law. A Bill for the purpose of controlling picketing on the lines of the English Law would also be placed before the Legislative Council at its next session. Government also contemplated the introduction in the Legislative Council of a measure on the lines of the Presidency Areas Security Act of Bengal. Its object was to carry out in a very much better way than had been possible so far, the measures necessary to deal with hooligans and bad characters, such as had necessitated the temporary prison at the Worli chawls during the recent communal riots. In conclusion, His Excellency said that it was his earnest hope that the employers of labour would, as one of the lessons of the present troubles, take counsel together and organize themselves in a determined effort to make a real difference in the life of the work-people, and so with the confidence of a happier and contented population, place the mill industry of Bombay on a far sounder basis than ever before.

In accordance with the announcement made by His Excellency the Governor on the 21st June, a Court of Enquiry under the Trade Disputes Act consisting of the following three persons was appointed by Government on the 3rd July, 1929:—

The Honourable Mr. H. G. Pearson, Puisne Judge, Calcutta High Court
(*Chairman*).

Mr. F. S. Talyarkhan, Bar-at-Law (*Member*).

Mr. Rupchand Bilaram, B.A., LL.B., Additional Judicial Commissioner,
Sind (*Member*).

Mr. H. D. Warden, a Senior Superintendent in the General Department, was appointed to act as Secretary of the Court.

Full details of the progress of this dispute are being published monthly in the current issues of the *Labour Gazette*. At the moment of writing (1st August) about 40 per cent. of the workers originally affected still remain out.

General Effects of Disputes.—The general effects of all the 738 disputes which have occurred in the Bombay Presidency during the period 1st April, 1921 to 30th June, 1929, are shown in the two following tables (1) by Localities and (2) by Classes of Industries :—

Locality	Total number of disputes in 8 years 3 months from April, 1921, to June, 1929.	Total number of workpeople affected.	Total number of working days lost.
Bombay	401	1,077,927	49,297,817
Ahmedabad	221	135,200	2,605,087
Sholapur	10	39,484	1,214,434
Virangam	8	3,705	32,854
Broach	22	8,966	85,022
Karachi	14	9,893	399,554
Jalgaon	7	4,445	56,990
Surat	12	4,840	35,254
Poona	11	3,763	40,903
Rest of the Presidency ..	32	21,288	181,399
Total	738	1,309,511	53,949,314

It will be seen from the above table, that 401, or 54 per cent. of the total number of disputes occurred in Bombay City ; 221, or nearly 30 per cent. occurred in Ahmedabad and 116, or about 16 per cent. in the rest of the Presidency. Out of 1,309,511 workpeople affected in these disputes, 1,077,927, or a little over 82 per cent., were involved in Bombay City and 135,200 or a little over 10 per cent. in Ahmedabad City. The total number of working days lost amounted to 53,949,314, out of which the time lost for Bombay City alone amounted to 49,297,817 working days, or 91 per cent.

Class of Industry.	Total number of disputes in 8 years 3 months from April, 1921, to June, 1929.	Total number of workpeople affected.	Total number of working days lost,
Spinning and Weaving ..	612	1,233,170	52,450,814
Metal and Engineering ..	21	3,215	17,584
Railway Workshops ..	14	29,742	764,753
Railways (excluding Railway Workshops).	15	4,587	23,501
Printing Presses and Allied Concerns.	9	1,395	25,044
Government and Public Concerns.	10	1,529	7,050
Municipalities	12	8,299	36,894
Others	45	27,574	623,674
Total	738	1,309,511	53,949,314

In the re-classification of the statistics given in the first table according to industries concerned, cotton spinning and weaving mills are responsible for nearly 83 per cent. of the total number of disputes. The number of workpeople affected in the disputes in the cotton spinning and weaving mills was 94 per cent. of the total number of workpeople involved in all disputes. With regard to the question of time loss, nearly fifty-two and a half million working days were lost to the cotton mill industry alone. The percentage of the time loss in the cotton industry to the total time loss to the whole Presidency is 97. Railway workshops were affected to the extent of a little more than three-quarter of a million working days and "other classes of concerns" to a little more than six hundred thousand working days.

Extent of Disputes.—Out of the 401 disputes which occurred in Bombay City, 317, or 79 per cent. occurred in textile spinning and weaving mills, 19, or about 5 per cent. in metal and engineering concerns other than railway workshops, 7 in railway workshops, 7 in printing presses and allied concerns, and 4 in Government and public concerns. There were in all, 6 disputes between the Bombay municipality and its workers. Railways (excluding railway workshops) had 8 disputes in all—on an average, about 1 for each year, but with the exception of a strike of the gangmen on the B.B. & C.I. Railway early during the year 1929, railways, as far as Bombay City is concerned, have been singularly free from strikes during the last 5 years. In Ahmedabad, 218 out of the 221 strikes in that city occurred in spinning and weaving mills. In Sholapur, all the 10 strikes during the period under review occurred in textile mills, but Sholapur has no other important factories if the textile mills are excluded. The following table shows the number of industrial disputes in the Bombay Presidency during the period covered, classified territorially according to classes of industries :—

Classes of Industry.

Locality.	Spinning and Weaving.	Metal and Engineering.	Railway Workshops.	Railways (excluding Railway Workshops).
Bombay	317	19	7	8
Ahmedabad	218	2	—	—
Sholapur	10	—	—	—
Virangam	8	—	—	—
Broach	22	—	—	—
Karachi	—	—	4	1
Jalgaon	7	—	—	—
Surat	10	—	—	—
Poona	4	—	—	2
Rest of the Presidency ..	16	—	3	4
Total	612	21	14	15

Locality.	Printing presses and allied concerns.	Government and public concerns.	Municipalities.	Others.	Total.
Bombay	7	4	6	33	401
Ahmedabad	—	—	—	1	221
Sholapur	—	—	—	—	10
Virangam	—	—	—	—	8
Broach	—	—	—	—	22
Karachi	—	2	1	6	14
Jalgaon	—	—	—	—	7
Surat	—	—	2	—	12
Poona	2	2	1	—	11
Rest of the Presidency	—	2	2	5	32
Total	9	10	12	45	738

The next table shows the number of workpeople involved, classified territorially, according to classes of industries concerned. It is natural that in view of the preponderance of cotton mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur, the percentages for the numbers of workpeople involved in cotton spinning and weaving mills, when compared with the total number of workers affected in all disputes, should be considerable. If spinning and weaving mills are excluded, it is found that in Bombay

City only 56,245 workpeople were affected in disputes in all the other classes of concerns put together out of a total of over a million workers concerned in all disputes.

Locality.	Spinning and Weaving.	Metal and Engineering.	Railway Workshops.	Railways (excluding Railway Workshops).
Bombay	1,021,682	3,045	20,450	2,496
Ahmedabad	135,005	170	—	—
Sholapur	39,484	—	—	—
Viramgam	3,705	—	—	—
Broach	8,966	—	—	—
Karachi	—	—	7,965	73
Jalgaon	4,445	—	—	—
Surat	4,318	—	—	—
Poona	2,050	—	—	175
Rest of the Presidency ..	13,515	—	1,327	1,843
Total	1,233,170	3,215	29,742	4,587

Locality.	Printing presses and allied concerns.	Government and public concerns.	Municipalities.	Others.	Total.
Bombay	1,285	405	7,143	21,421	1,077,927
Ahmedabad	—	—	—	25	135,200
Sholapur	—	—	—	—	39,484
Viramgam	—	—	—	—	3,705
Broach	—	—	—	—	8,966
Karachi	—	39	35	1,781	9,893
Jalgaon	—	—	—	—	4,445
Surat	—	—	522	—	4,840
Poona	110	1,058	370	—	3,763
Rest of the Presidency	—	27	229	4,347	21,288
Total	1,395	1,529	8,299	27,574	1,309,511

1.3 If the statistics for " number of disputes " are classified by Classes of Industries according to the number of workers affected, it is found that out of the 738 disputes which occurred in the Bombay Presidency during the period under review, 205 or 27.78 per cent. of the disputes affected less than a hundred workers; 369 or 50 per cent. of the disputes affected less than 250 workers in each case; 206 or 27.91 per cent. of the disputes affected from 251 to 1,000 workers in each case, the total number of disputes affecting 1,000 workers or less amounting to 575 or 77.91 per cent. of the total; 137 or 18.56 per cent. of the disputes affected between 1,001 and 5,000 workers in each case; 15 or 2.03 per cent. affected 5,001 to 10,000 in each case, and there were 11 disputes in all in which 10,000 or more workers were concerned;

465 or 76 per cent. of the disputes which occurred in textile mills in all parts of the Presidency affected less than 1,000 workers in each instance. The following table gives the classification of disputes by the number of workers affected :—

Number of workers affected.	Spinning and Weaving.	Metal and Engineering.	Railway Workshops.	Railways (excluding Railway Workshops).
10 to 100 ..	155	9	3	5
101 to 250 ..	132	10	2	5
251 to 500 ..	123	1	1	2
501 to 1,000 ..	55	1	2	2
1,001 to 2,000 ..	63	—	2	1
2,001 to 3,000 ..	42	—	—	—
3,001 to 4,000 ..	13	—	—	—
4,001 to 5,000 ..	8	—	—	—
5,001 to 10,000 ..	10	—	4	—
10,000 and above ..	11	—	—	—
Total	612	21	14	15

Number of workers affected.	Printing presses and allied concerns.	Government and public concerns.	Municipalities.	Others.	Total.
10 to 100 ..	7	6	4	16	205
101 to 250 ..	—	2	2	11	164
251 to 500 ..	1	1	3	6	138
501 to 1,000 ..	1	1	1	5	68
1,001 to 2,000 ..	—	—	—	5	71
2,001 to 3,000 ..	—	—	1	1	44
3,001 to 4,000 ..	—	—	1	—	14
4,001 to 5,000 ..	—	—	—	—	8
5,001 to 10,000 ..	—	—	—	1	15
10,000 and above ..	—	—	—	—	11
Total	9	10	12	45	738

Causes of Disputes.—The causes which most frequently lead to industrial disputes in the Presidency may be classified under the following seven main heads :—(1) Pay and allowances; (2) personal causes such as dismissal or reinstatement of particular individuals; (3) conditions of work, discipline, etc.; (4) bonus; (5) fines; (6) political (such strikes have not been included in the Labour Office statistics since 1927); (7) others.

The term "political" mainly refers to the cases in which workers observed a "hartal" or took a day or days off for reasons not connected with their work or conditions of service, but as a demonstration in connection with some public event.

Out of the 401 disputes which occurred in Bombay City between 1st April, 1921, and 30th June, 1929, 218 or 54·36 per cent. of these disputes occurred in connection with questions regarding pay and allowances. Forty-eight or nearly 12 per cent. of the disputes were connected with questions of conditions of work, discipline, etc. Twelve or 3 per cent. of the disputes arose over questions connected with the payment of either the annual or the good attendance bonus. A very frequent cause of dispute in India is sympathy with dismissed workers and this statement is illustrated by the fact that no less than 80 or nearly 20 per cent. of the disputes in Bombay arose in connection with this matter. An examination of the 221 disputes that occurred in Ahmedabad during the period covered shows that more than 40 per cent. of the disputes arose over personal causes and that the number of disputes in connection with matters relating to pay and allowances only amounted to 49 or 22·17 per cent. But the question of bonus accounted for 28 or more than 12 per cent. of the total number of disputes in Ahmedabad as against 3 per cent. in Bombay. If the figures

are considered for the whole Presidency, 391 out of 738 or nearly 53 per cent. of the disputes occurred in connection with pay, allowances and bonus, and 184 or nearly 25 per cent. in connection with matters relating to the dismissal or reinstatement of particular individuals. The reasons for the comparatively smaller number of disputes in the Textile Mills in Ahmedabad as compared with Bombay are to be found in the conciliation and arbitration machinery which exists at that centre for the negotiation and settlement of industrial disputes. As this will be dealt with fully in the next section it is not necessary to deal with it here. The existence of a strong trade union imbued with the right trade union principles is another important factor. The two following tables show the causes of disputes (1) by localities and (2) by classes of industries —

Table I.

Locality.	Pay and allowances.	Personal.	Conditions of work, discipline, etc.	Bonus
Bombay	218	80	48	12
Ahmedabad	49	89	36	28
Sholapur	6	2	—	1
Viramgam	6	—	—	—
Broach	13	2	1	4
Karachi	10	2	1	—
Jalgaon	5	—	—	1
Surat	6	1	1	4
Poona	5	3	—	2
Rest of the Presidency ..	20	5	3	1
Total	338	184	90	53

Locality.	Fines.	Political.	Others.	Total.
Bombay	3	19	21	401
Ahmedabad	4	1	14	221
Sholapur	—	—	2	11
Viramgam	1	—	—	7
Broach	2	—	—	22
Karachi	—	—	1	14
Jalgaon	—	—	1	7
Surat	—	—	—	12
Poona	—	—	1	11
Rest of the Presidency ..	—	—	3	32
Total	10	20	43	738

Table II.

Class of Industry.	Pay and allowances	Personal.	Conditions of work; discipline, etc.	Bonus.
Spinning and weaving	273	161	70	46
Metal and engineering	7	3	5	1
Railway workshops	3	6	5	—
Railways (excluding railway work-shops).	10	3	2	—
Printing presses and allied concerns	3	2	1	1
Government and public concerns ..	10	—	—	—
Municipalities	5	2	1	1
Others	27	7	6	4
Total	338	184	90	53

Table II--contd.

Class of Industry.	Fines.	Political.	Others.	Total.
Spinning and weaving	10	17	35	612
Metal and engineering	—	3	2	21
Railway workshops	—	—	—	14
Railways (excluding railway work-shops).	—	—	—	15
Printing presses and allied concerns	—	—	2	9
Government and public concerns ..	—	—	—	10
Municipalities	—	—	1	10
Others	—	—	3	47
Total ..	10	20	43	738

Duration and character of disputes.—The Industrial Disputes Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1921 found that the following were the main characteristics which were common to most of the strikes that had occurred between 1918 and 1921 :—(a) The frequency of the strike without notice ; (b) the absence of any clearly defined grievance before striking ; (c) the multiplicity and sometimes the extravagance of the claims put forward after the strike has begun ; (d) the absence of any effective organization (except perhaps at Ahmedabad) to formulate the claims of the parties and to secure respect for any settlement which may be made ; (e) the increasing solidarity of employers and employed and the capacity of the operatives to remain on strike for considerable periods despite the lack of any visible organization.

The findings of the Industrial Disputes Committee in the main apply to conditions in the period between the years 1921 and 1929. An unpleasant feature of the last two years has been the intimidation and coercion of men willing to work, both in their chawls and on their way to and from work. Picketing at the place of business has been permitted by the police and a feature of the 1929 strike in Bombay has been counter picketing by the millowners at the mill premises.

Out of the total number of disputes in the Presidency during the period under review 157 or 21·27 per cent. lasted for only one day, 321 or 43·50 per cent. lasted for 2 to 5 days, 182 or 24·66 per cent. lasted from 6 to 15 days, 41 or 5·56 per cent. lasted from 16 to 30 days, and 33 or 4·47 per cent. lasted for over 30 days. Four disputes were in progress on the 30th June, 1929. Out of a total number of 401 disputes in Bombay 18 or 4·49 per cent. lasted for over 30 days as compared with six disputes out of 221 or 2·71 per cent. in Ahmedabad.

Out of 612 disputes in the textile industry 400 or 65·36 per cent. lasted from one to five days, 146 or 23·86 per cent. from 6 to 15 days, 37 or 6·05 per cent. from 16 to 30 days, and 25 or 4·08 per cent. for over 30 days in each case. The detailed figures showing the duration of these disputes are given in the following two tables (1) by localities and (2) by classes of industries :—

Locality.	Number of disputes lasting			
	1 day.	2-5 days.	6-15 days.	16-30 days.
Bombay	69	172	115	23
Ahmedabad	71	109	32	3
Sholapur	—	3	3	3
Viramgam	1	2	3	2
Broach	5	4	9	1
Karachi	4	7	2	—
Jalgaon	—	2	3	1
Surat	1	7	2	2
Poona	2	3	3	3
Rest of the Presidency	4	12	10	3
Total ..	157	321	182	41

Locality.	Number of disputes lasting.	In progress.	Total number of disputes.
	Above 30 days		
Bombay	18	4	401
Ahmedabad	6	—	221
Sholapur	1	—	10
Viramgam	—	—	8
Broach	3	—	22
Karachi	1	—	14
Jalgaon	1	—	7
Surat	—	—	12
Poona	—	—	11
Rest of Presidency	3	—	32
Total	33	4	738

Class of Industry.	Number of disputes lasting					In progress.	Total number of disputes.
	1 day.	2-5 days.	6-15 days.	16-30 days.	Above 30 days.		
Spinning and weaving	136	264	146	37	25	4	612
Metal and engineering..	3	12	5	—	1	—	21
Railway workshops ..	3	6	2	1	2	—	14
Railways (excluding railway workshops).	2	8	4	—	1	—	15
Printing presses and allied concerns.	1	4	3	—	1	—	9
Government and public concerns.	2	3	4	1	—	—	10
Municipalities	1	7	3	1	—	—	12
Others	9	17	15	1	3	—	45
Total	157	321	182	41	33	4	738

Nature of Settlement.—The statistics in connection with results of disputes have been classified under the following five heads:—(1) Entirely favourable to workers. (2) Partially favourable to workers. (3) Entirely unfavourable to workers. (4) Results unknown. (5) Inconclusive.

The results of 501 or 67·89 per cent. out of the 734 disputes were entirely unfavourable to the workers. One hundred and four or 14·09 per cent. were entirely favourable and 108 or 14·63 per cent. partially favourable to the workers. No information was available with regard to the nature of settlement in 20 or 2·71 per cent. of the cases. The result was inconclusive in one case. If the figures for Bombay and Ahmedabad are compared, it is found that whereas the workers in Bombay were entirely unsuccessful in 72·82 per cent. of the disputes, the workers in Ahmedabad were entirely unsuccessful in 61·99 per cent. of the disputes in that city—the actual figures being 292 out of 397 in the case of Bombay, and 137 out of 221 in the case of Ahmedabad. The percentages for an entirely favourable nature of settlement from the workers' point of view are 11·22 and 19·46 for Bombay and Ahmedabad respectively. Again, if the figures are considered by classes of industries for the whole Presidency, it is seen that the workers were entirely unsuccessful in 425 or 69·44 per cent. of the 608 disputes in the textile industry and were entirely successful

in 82 or 13·40 per cent. of the disputes. As in the case of " Causes " and " Duration " of disputes, the statistics with regard to the nature of settlement of the disputes dealt with are also presented in the following two tables (1) by localities and (2) by classes of industries.

TABLE I.

Locality.	Entirely favourable to workers.	Partially favourable to workers.	Entirely unfavourable to workers.	Not known.	Total.
Bombay	45	53	292	7	401
Ahmedabad	43	32	137	9	221
Sholapur	2	—	7	1	10
Viramgam	2	2	3	1	8
Broach	4	6	12	—	22
Karachi	3	4	6	1	14
Jalgaon	1	1	5	—	7
Surat	2	2	80	—	12
Poona	1	—	1	—	11
Rest of the Presidency ..	1	8	21	1	32
Total	104	108	501	20	738*

TABLE II.

Class of industry.	Entirely favourable to workers.	Partially favourable to workers.	Entirely unfavourable to workers.	Not known.	Total.
Spinning and Weaving ..	82	84	425	17	612
Metal and engineering ..	6	4	10	1	21
Railway workshops ..	2	3	9	—	14
Railways (excluding railway workshops).	2	1	12	—	15
Printing presses and allied concerns.	—	—	9	—	9
Government and public concerns.	3	1	6	—	10
Municipalities	2	3	5	1	12
Others	7	12	25	1	45
Total	104	108	501	20	738*

* One dispute is classified as " Inconclusive " and four as " Still in progress."

Loss to Industry.—In dealing with the general effects of disputes, the total figures for the time loss, i.e., the number of working days lost, were shown in two tables by Localities and Classes of Industries. In the following table these figures are presented in further detail territorially by Classes of Industries :—

Locality.	Spinning and weaving.	Metal and engineering.	Railway workshops.	Railways (excluding workshops).
Bombay	48,259,737	17,294	366,400	7,914
Ahmedabad	2,604,737	290	—	—
Sholapur	1,214,434	—	—	—
Viramgam	32,854	—	—	—
Broach	85,022	—	—	—
Karachi	—	—	391,342	73
Jalgaon	56,990	—	—	—
Surat	33,100	—	—	—
Poona	27,450	—	—	450
Rest of the Presidency ..	136,490	—	7,011	15,064
Total	52,450,814	17,584	764,753	23,501

Locality.	Printing presses and allied concerns.	Government and public concerns.	Municipalities.	Others.	Total.
Bombay	18,586	805	33,723	593,358	49,297,817
Ahmedabad	—	—	—	60	2,605,087
Sholapur	—	—	—	—	1,214,434
Viramgam	—	—	—	—	32,854
Broach	—	—	—	—	85,022
Karachi	—	58	105	7,976	399,554
Jalgaon	—	—	—	—	56,990
Surat	—	—	2,154	—	35,254
Poona	6,458	6,000	545	—	40,903
Rest of the Presidency	—	187	367	22,280	181,399
Total	25,044	7,050	36,894	623,674	53,949,314

The following table shows the classification of disputes according to the time lost to the industries concerned :—

Number of working days lost.	Spinning and weaving.	Metal and engineering.	Railway workshops.	Railways (excluding railway workshops).
0 to 100 ..	95	1	1	2
101 to 250 ..	96	9	2	6
251 to 500 ..	78	4	3	1
501 to 1,000 ..	74	6	1	2
1,001 to 2,500 ..	94	—	1	1
2,501 to 5,000 ..	50	—	1	1
5,001 to 10,000 ..	46	—	2	2
10,001 to 20,000 ..	34	1	—	—
20,001 to 30,000 ..	11	—	—	—
30,001 to 50,000 ..	9	—	—	—
50,001 to 100,000 ..	11	—	2	—
100,000 and above ..	10	—	1	—
Total	608	21	14	15

Number of working days lost.	Printing presses and allied concerns.	Government and public concerns.	Municipalities.	Others.	Total.
0 to 100 ..	2	4	—	7	112
101 to 250 ..	2	4	5	9	133
251 to 500 ..	2	—	1	4	93
501 to 1,000 ..	1	—	1	8	93
1,001 to 2,500 ..	1	—	3	6	106
2,501 to 5,000 ..	—	—	—	5	57
5,001 to 10,000 ..	—	2	1	1	54
10,001 to 20,000 ..	1	—	1	1	38
20,001 to 30,000 ..	—	—	—	—	11
30,001 to 50,000 ..	—	—	—	2	11
50,001 to 100,000 ..	—	—	—	1	14
100,000 and above ..	—	—	—	1	12
Total	9	10	12	45	734*

* Four disputes in progress are not included.

Conciliation and Arbitration Machinery.—Prior to the passing of the Trade Disputes Act as an All-India measure early this year, there was no official machinery for conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes in India. The Employers and Workmen (Disputes) Act which was passed in 1860 to make provision for the speedy termination of certain disputes between workmen engaged in railway and other public works and their employers, and which was extended to the districts of Ahmednagar, Broach, Ahmedabad, Khandesh, Kaira, Poona, Sholapur, Surat and Thana in the Bombay Presidency in 1860 and 1861 and to Sind in 1873, deals with individuals and does not provide any machinery for the settlement of disputes in other trades or industries.

The Government of Bombay published a Bill to provide for inquiry into and settlement of trade disputes in the *Bombay Government Gazette* in May, 1924. It was intended to introduce this Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council at the Poona session in July of the same year. But, in the meanwhile, the Government of India asked the local government not to proceed with this measure because they themselves intended to introduce similar legislation for the whole of India. Subsequently, the Government of India, in the Department of Industries and Labour, issued a circular letter to all local governments in August, 1924, inviting an expression of their views, after consulting the interests concerned, on a Bill to make provision for enabling the investigation and settlement of trade disputes. The delay in the passage of the Trade Disputes Act since the circulation of the original Government of India Bill in 1924, was due to the intention of the Government of India to pass the Trade Unions Act first and to allow that Act to function for a year or two before proceeding with legislation on the lines of the Trade Disputes Act.

Results of Previous Investigations.—Although the Government of Bombay had no statutory machinery for the investigation, conciliation or arbitration of industrial disputes prior to June, 1929, when the Trade Disputes Act was brought into operation, three *ad hoc* committees had been appointed during the previous ten years either to enquire into the question of providing machinery for the settlement of disputes or to deal with specific strikes. The first committee to be appointed was the Industrial Disputes Committee appointed on the 18th November, 1921, with Sir Stanley Reed as Chairman, "to consider and report on the practicability or otherwise of creating machinery for the prevention and early settlement of industrial disputes." This committee made several recommendations with regard to standardization of wages, trade unions, the attitude employers should adopt towards unions of their workers, and the recognition of such unions, works committees, welfare work, co-operative societies, housing of labour, etc. These recommendations were in the nature of measures that might contribute to the prevention of industrial disputes. With regard to the methods of settlement when such disputes either develop irreconcilable differences between capital and labour or else become a menace to the community, the committee recommended the formation of an Industrial Court of Enquiry, to be followed if necessary, by an Industrial Court of Conciliation. They were of the opinion that no outside agency, and in particular, the agency of the State, should be used until all other means had been employed and failed; or, unless it was invited by one or other of the parties to the dispute; or, unless the situation was such that peace, order and good government were prejudiced. The placing of the function of enquiry first and separate from the role of conciliation was done deliberately in order "to avoid too facile opportunism which seeks to patch up an industrial dispute by proposing a compromise between the views of the two parties without going down to the economic principles which are at stake." The committee appended to its report a draft for a Bombay Industrial Courts Act. For further information with regard to the work of this committee reference is invited to its report which was published in the issue of the *Labour Gazette* for April, 1922.

The next committee to be appointed by the Government of Bombay was the Committee of Enquiry, with the Honourable Sir Norman McLeod, Chief Justice of the High Court in Bombay, as Chairman, to inquire into the general strike of the Bombay cotton mill workers of the year 1924, in connection with the non-payment of an annual bonus for the year 1923, by the Bombay mills. The terms of reference to the committee have already been given in the summary dealing with this strike. The committee held that the mill workers had not established any enforceable claim customary, legal or equitable to the payment annually of a bonus, by which was meant that in the committee's opinion such a claim would not be upheld in a court of law. The Committee also held that the results of the working of the mill industry as a whole for the year 1923, were such as to justify the contention of the millowners that the profits did not admit the payment of a bonus. The report of the Bonus Disputes Committee of Enquiry has not been printed as a separate document but it was published in the issue of the *Labour Gazette* for March, 1924.

The Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Charles Fawcett was appointed in connection with the general strike of the cotton mill workers in Bombay City of the year 1928, in pursuance of the agreement arrived at

between the Bombay Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee, at a conference held under the Chairmanship of the Honourable Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, General Member of the Government of Bombay, on 4th October, 1928. The recommendations and the findings of this committee have already been dealt with in previous sections or will be dealt with in subsequent sections with regard to the specific questions dealt with in this memorandum. In view of the fact also that the committee's report is in itself a document worthy of special examination, it is not considered necessary to summarise its conclusions still further here.

Part played by Official or Non-Official Conciliators in Settling Disputes.—The McLeod Committee did not play any part as official conciliators in the bonus dispute between the Millowners' Association and the Bombay mill workers during the 1924 strike. The Fawcett Committee, although appointed to enquire into and report on specific terms of reference functioned as conciliators on many questions in connection with the Seventeen Demands, the Standing Orders, and the "Standardization of Wages," and the "Efficiency" schemes. Several adjournments were given by the committee to enable the parties to the dispute to discuss and arrive at settlements with regard to various matters. During a long adjournment granted in January and February, 1929, the two parties reached a considerable measure of agreement on lines indicated by the committee with regard to several points of difference in connection with the Standardization Schemes.

In the case of almost all the general strikes that have taken place in Bombay City since the end of the war, the Governor of Bombay has invariably taken a considerable part in endeavouring to bring about a settlement between the employers and the employed. During each of the strikes in the Bombay cotton mills, conferences were frequently held between the Governor and the representatives of the Millowners' Association and those who appeared to be in a position to speak on behalf of Labour. In the case of the general strike of the year 1924 over the question of the non-payment of the annual bonus, the McLeod Committee of Enquiry was only appointed by Government when all other endeavours to bring about a settlement had failed. During the 1925 strike, which arose over the proposal made by the Millowners' Association to effect a general wage cut of $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the Government of Bombay approached the Government of India to suspend the collection of the Excise Duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This was done and the Millowners' Association agreed to give up the proposed wage cut. The part played by the Governor and Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr) and the Honourable Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah in order to bring about a settlement of the general strike of last year has already been dealt with in the summary given in connection with that strike in the section on industrial disputes. Again, during the general strike which is in progress in Bombay City at present, both His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes and the Honourable Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah held several conferences with the representatives of both parties in order to find a basis for settlement before appointing the court of enquiry under the Trade Disputes Act which is now sitting.

Among officials who have acted as conciliators in the case of disputes in the Ahmedabad cotton mills may be mentioned Mr. G. E. Chatfield, C.I.E., I.C.S., who was Collector of Ahmedabad in 1918, and Commissioner of the Northern Division from 1920, Professor A. B. Dhruv of the Gujarat College in 1918 and Dr. F. X. DeSouza, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge in 1923. In a dispute which arose in the Ahmedabad mills in February, 1918, over the demand by weavers for an increase of 35 per cent. in rates, Mr. M. K. Gandhi proposed that Mr. G. E. Chatfield should be appointed the Chairman of a Committee to decide whether the weavers' demand was fair and reasonable. Again, in May, 1920, when another dispute arose over a demand made by spinners for an increase in wages, a 10-hour day and adequate facilities for drinking water, dining sheds, sanitation, etc., Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai a prominent millowner of Ahmedabad, proposed Mr. G. E. Chatfield's name as an arbitrator. Neither of these proposals materialized. But in a later year Mr. G. E. Chatfield induced Seth Mangaldas, another prominent millowner of Ahmedabad, to agree to accept Mr. Gandhi's award with a view to bringing about a speedy settlement of the dispute. Seth Mangaldas is reported to have accepted Mr. Chatfield's recommendation. It was Professor Dhruv who was eventually appointed arbitrator in the earlier dispute. He awarded an increase of 35 per cent. in the weavers' rates as demanded and the award was accepted by the Millowners' Association. In July, 1923, a dispute arose in connection with the interpretation of clause 1 (b) of an award made by Seth Mangaldas and Professor A. B. Dhruv in connection with the bonus dispute of the year 1922, with regard to the method of calculating bonus. When Seth Mangaldas and Mr. Dhruv could not agree as to the correct interpretation of their own award the Millowners' Association suggested Dr. DeSouza's name and the labour union accepted it. District magistrates and revenue officers in the Presidency have also acted on many occasions as informal conciliators with regard to disputes that have occurred in textile mills outside the cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur.

The part played by Mr. M. K. Gandhi as a member of the Permanent Arbitration Board appointed by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association in April, 1920, in bringing about settlements of disputes in the Ahmedabad cotton mills, is dealt with below under the heading "Joint standing machinery for regulation of relations between employers and workpeople." Prior to his appointment on the permanent arbitration board, Mr. Gandhi, however, took a considerable part as a non-official conciliator or as a negotiator in settling disputes in the Ahmedabad mills. In December, 1917, when the warpers asked for a 25 per cent. increase in rates, Mr. Gandhi was largely responsible in bringing about a settlement as a conciliator on the basis of an increase of 12 to 14½ pies in the rates. These rates were subsequently increased to 15 pies by the Millowners' Association. In another important dispute in February, 1918, over the demand made by weavers for a 40 per cent. increase in the rates of wages, it was Mr. Gandhi's personal influence that was responsible for about modifying its demand to an increase of 35 per cent. Professor A. B. Dhruv was actually appointed an arbitrator for the settlement of this dispute but it was primarily due to Mr. Gandhi's influence that an award of an increase of 35 per cent. was granted and accepted by the Millowners' Association.

The position of Mr. Gandhi as a peace-maker in industrial disputes in Ahmedabad is a remarkable one, and is due to the fact that his political and spiritual ideals have won him devoted followers both in the ranks of capital and in those of labour. His impartiality is unquestioned, for it is known that he does not put forward a demand or support a proposal from labour unless he is convinced, in his own mind, that it is fair and reasonable. He is as severe in his condemnation of indiscipline among the workers as he is of failures on the part of millowners to treat their labour fairly. It is his personal influence that has kept the peace so well in Ahmedabad as compared with Bombay and prevented the dislocation of the industry by ill-advised strikes or lock-outs.

Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, a sister of Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, a prominent millowner of Ahmedabad, and Mr. S. G. Banker, both followers of Mr. Gandhi, have also played a considerable part in settling industrial disputes in Ahmedabad. Miss Anasuya Sarabhai has been a Patron of the Ahmedabad labour union since 1920 and its President since the year 1922, and has taken an active part in its welfare activities. She has been associated with every trade dispute that has occurred in Ahmedabad since her connection with the labour movement.

Mr. Banker has been associated with the labour movement in Ahmedabad almost from its inception and is, at present, the Secretary of the All-India Spinners' Association. He is also a member of the Permanent Advisory Committee of the Labour Union consisting of Mr. Gandhi, Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, Lala Gulzarilal Nanda and himself. Both Miss Sarabhai and Mr. Banker are staunch disciples of Mr. Gandhi and endeavour to work with his methods and principles. The organization of a strong trade union movement in Ahmedabad owes more to these two persons than to anybody else.

Use (if any) of Employers' and Workmen's Disputes Act, 1860.—At the moment of writing no information is available with regard to the extent to which the Employers' and Workmen's Disputes Act, 1860, has been made use of in the Bombay Presidency. As far as the knowledge of the labour office goes no use has been made of this Act since the year 1921, when the office was constituted.

Joint Standing Machinery for Regulation of Relations between Employers and Workpeople.—Both the Great Indian Peninsula and the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railways provide for joint standing machinery for the regulation of relations between employers and workpeople. In the textile industry in Ahmedabad there is the permanent Arbitration Board consisting of Seth Mangaldas and Mr. M. K. Gandhi which was appointed by a resolution passed by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association on the 4th April, 1920, for the conciliation and arbitration of all industrial disputes where differences of opinion arise between the millowners and the workpeople which they are not able to settle among themselves. Machinery for the conciliation and settlement of disputes in their early stages in Bombay City with a view to preserve good feeling between employers and operatives was created under the Mediation Rules framed by the Fawcett Committee with the approval of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee. These rules have not yet come into operation on account of the general strike which is now in progress among cotton mill operatives in Bombay. Prior to the formulation of these rules, joint standing committees consisting of representatives of the management and the workers had been created during the years immediately following the war in a few mills under the Agency of Messrs. Tata Sons, Ltd., Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons, Ltd. and one or two other firms. These joint committees functioned successfully for a few months or for a year or two in some cases, but they had to be given up subsequently, either on account of the apathy of the workers or an inherent

suspicion in their minds that such committees do not work in the interests of labour. The Bombay Post Office made an experiment with a similar committee during the year 1924, but no progress was made on account of reasons similar to those which led to the abandonment of the system in the case of the few textile mills which had it. To the knowledge of the labour office no other trade or industry in Bombay is known to have joint standing machinery of the kind which exists on the railways and in Ahmedabad or similar to that which is to come into operation in the case of the Bombay mills. Descriptions of the different types of machinery which obtain at present in the Bombay Presidency are given below.

The G.I.P. Railway.—With the approval of the Railway Board, the Administration of the G.I.P. Railway decided in January, 1924, to introduce, on the railway, "Staff Councils" to consider questions governing conditions of employment and the well-being of the staff generally, and also to provide a regular method of negotiation for issues arising between the railway and its employees. In introducing these staff councils the agent remarked that the main object for creating these councils was to provide means by which the staff and officers may have opportunities of conferring together on matters affecting the staff and the area generally and not to turn them into bureaux for complaints and nothing more, and that if this was the only result which emerged from them, they will have failed in their object.

The councils were introduced as an experimental measure and are subject to alteration or abolition at the discretion of the Administration or in the event of over-riding legislation on the subject. Staff councils include three different types of bodies: (1) divisional committees at divisional headquarters; (2) a railway council at Bombay; and (3) station committees at selected stations. The functions of divisional committees are (a) to provide a recognised means of communication between the employees and the company; (b) to give the employees a wider interest in the conditions under which their work is performed; (c) to consider any matters of interest to their division and to make recommendations to divisional or district officers with regard to those that affect them, subject to the right of the railway council to veto any recommendation if it be found to involve the interests of other divisions or districts or be in the opinion of the railway council objectionable; (d) to consider any matters sent from the station committees, or from the railway council; and (e) to make recommendations to the railway council. Among the more specific functions falling under (c) include suggestions for the satisfactory arrangement of working hours; the well-being of the staff in such matters as Co-operative Stores, recreation, institutes, etc.; the local application and interpretation of any agreement relating to general rules issued by the railway in regard to salaries, wages, hours of duty, conditions of service, etc.; and suggestions for improvements in organization of work, labour-saving appliances, etc. The functions of the railway council are (a) to consider questions and recommendations which may be referred to it by divisional committees, or be raised by its own members; (b) to refer to divisional committees any subjects for consideration and report; and (c) to make recommendations to the agent. The functions of the station committees are almost similar to those of the divisional committees but only in relation to matters affecting particular stations and the staffs at those stations.

Staff councils are not allowed to deal with any matters they please. Questions of discipline and matters in connection with the treatment of any single individual are outside the scope of their discussions. Similarly, no recommendation involving expenditure can be put into force except under administrative sanction by an officer duly authorised by the administration.

As these committees will no doubt be dealt with in detail in the Railway Board's memorandum, there is no need to discuss them further here.

The staff councils are reported to have done a considerable amount of constructive work since they were created in the year 1924. The majority of the higher paid operatives are recognising the advantages of these councils for the presentation of demands and the redress of grievances. The trade unions are, however, not in favour of the councils and the majority of the lower paid operatives are inclined to view the work done by them with considerable suspicion.

In May, 1928, the Railway appointed a Special Liaison Officer to hear and enquire into, with the assistance of the heads of the departments concerned, all grievances submitted to the administration by the different trade unions and in some specified cases by the workers themselves. Mr. K. S. Bakhale was the first officer to be appointed to hold this post in June, 1928. Mr. Bakhale has now been replaced by Mr. S. M. Basrur. The system is reported to be working satisfactorily.

The B.B. & C.I. Railway.—This railway inaugurated staff committees on the various lines under their administration in the year 1921. A commencement was made with district committees; from these district committees central committees were formed, and again from those central committees one joint select committee

was formed to represent the subordinate staff of the whole of each department. Subsequently, a proposal was made that a joint staff committee consisting of representatives of every department should be formed for the discussion of matters of general interest to all departments. On the G.I.P. railway the stages of progression are: station committees, divisional committees and the railway council. On the B.B. and C.I. railway there are departmental committees by districts, technically called district committees, the central staff committees, a joint select committee, and finally the general staff committee. An important point of difference between the two sets of staff committees is that whereas in the case of the G.I.P. railway, representatives to the various committees are nominated and elected in equal numbers by the administration and the workers respectively, the representatives for the committees on the B.B. & C.I. railway are almost entirely elected.

District Staff Committees.—The aims and objects of these committees are (1) to encourage the staff to have free access to their district officers and to have a greater say in matters affecting their own welfare; (2) to increase the good relations between the officers and the staff; (3) to create a spirit of comradeship and goodwill amongst railway employees and to cultivate a better understanding among themselves and their officers; (4) to preserve the efficiency of the service; and (5) to improve the moral and material well-being of the service. The district committees consist of six members representing the staffs by whom they are respectively elected for the district concerned. Election is by ballot. The elected members nominate their own president and secretary from amongst themselves. All employees who have put in more than twelve months permanent or temporary service are eligible to vote but only men who have put in at least seven years' permanent service are eligible for election. It is not necessary that the service should be continuous. The members are appointed for three years.

Central Staff Committees.—These committees consist of two elected members from each district committee. Whereas district committees have free access to their district officers, the central committees have free access to the traffic superintendent. Their duties are to investigate the general grievances of the staff which are left unredressed in the district committee for one or other reasons, and examination of the cases which have been entered into the minutes of the district committees for investigation by the central committee.

There are two central committees, one for the broad gauge system and the other for the metre gauge system. Both central committees are to meet once a year at any station mutually agreed upon between the secretaries of the central committees of both gauges in consultation with the central committees members. The proceedings of all the meetings of each central committee are sent to the president and the secretary of the other. Each central committee elects three members for the joint select committee.

Joint Select Committee.—The joint select traffic committee consists of six members, three being elected from each central committee. The general traffic manager of the railway is the *ex-officio* president of the joint select committee. The secretary is elected by the members from amongst themselves. The aims and objects of this committee, in addition to those of the district and the central staff committees are (a) to see that the staff generally are contented; (b) to see that discontent, if any, is removed from the service; and (c) to invite suggestions from the staff for improving the service. The joint select committee has free access to the general traffic manager and officers subordinate to him. The joint select committee meets when 10 or more items on the agenda are collected for discussion. The duties of this committee are (a) to investigate the general grievances of the staff; (b) to study carefully cases undisposed of by the district and central committees; and (c) to suggest possible remedies for redressing established grievances.

General Staff Committee.—This committee has been formed to encourage the staff to have access to the agent of the railway in matters affecting the welfare of the railway staff in general through the general staff committee and to foster a spirit of comradeship amongst the railway employees throughout the line. The committee consists of two elected members from the joint select committee to represent the traffic staff of both the broad and metre gauges, two elected members from the joint central committee to represent the engineering staff of both gauges, two elected members from the staff of the audit department of both gauges, two elected members from the district committees to represent the electrical department, two elected members from the district committees to represent the locomotive and carriage departments of the broad gauge, two elected members from the district committees to represent the locomotive department of the metre gauge, two elected members from the district committees to represent the line staff and the workshops on the metre gauge, and one elected member each from the staffs of the medical and the stores departments. In the case of the medical department the staffs themselves elect their member through their central staff committee, but in the case of the stores department the central committee selects a member.

The general staff committee meets twice a year. Its duties are to discuss general questions relating to the staff which may come up to them from the various staff committees or which are considered of sufficient importance to be brought up originally by the members themselves. The general staff committee are authorized to bring to the notice of the agent cases of any general grievances of the staff which, in the opinion of the committee, are likely to cause discontent and subsequent trouble.

The B. B. & C. I. railway have also appointed a special officer, Colonel H. F. Hobbs, as a staff liaison officer to receive complaints submitted by trade unions or direct by the workers themselves. Colonel Hobbs reports that the staff committees on the B. B. & C. I. railway have generally worked excellently and continue to function in a satisfactory manner. Notwithstanding this, however, trade union officials and members do not regard these committees as very satisfactory and the same suspicion which is found to exist in the case of the G. I. P. railway is found in the case of the B. B. & C. I. railway as well.

The Ahmedabad Mill Industry.—In the Ahmedabad cotton mill industry it has been mutually agreed between the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association and the Ahmedabad Labour Union that all grievances should, in the first instance, be discussed between the workers themselves and the managements of the mills concerned. If any worker has a grievance he reports it to a member of the council of representatives from his mill. The member speaks to the head of the department and the agent of the mill, if necessary. If the grievance is not redressed a formal complaint is recorded with the Labour Union. The Labour Union official—usually the secretary or the assistant secretary—goes to the mill, ascertains the correctness of the complaint and requests the mill officer or the agent to redress the grievance. If no settlement is arrived at during this stage the matter is reported by the Labour Union to the Millowners' Association. The secretary of the Millowners' Association speaks to the mill concerned and tries to settle the matter amicably. The procedure in connection with grievances of a general nature referring to several mills or several workers in a mill are also similarly dealt with. If the workers do not get redress after the matter has been discussed between the Millowners' Association and the Labour Union, the matter is finally referred to the Permanent Arbitration Board consisting of Seth Mangaldas as the representative of the millowners and Mr. M. K. Gandhi as the representative of labour.

The formation of the Permanent Arbitration Board in Ahmedabad is largely due to Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai who was the president of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association during the years 1918 and 1919 and also in the early months of 1920. At his instance a meeting was held on the 8th December, 1919, between the managing committee of the association and the accredited representatives of labour with a view to frame recommendations for the creation of some permanent machinery for the settlement of disputes. On the 12th January, 1920, a tentative scheme was drawn up for an informal discussion between the representatives of labour and capital in the first instance. This scheme provided for a board of referees with seven members from each side who were to elect a chairman from among themselves for deciding disputes which could not be settled by informal discussions. The scheme was circulated among the members of the association. A labour settlement sub-committee was appointed by the association on the 15th February and they submitted their report on the 19th of the same month. A sub-committee of 12 members was again appointed on the 25th February to discuss with Mr. Gandhi questions connected with the formation of unions and conciliation boards. In the meanwhile, Seth Mangaldas was appointed chairman of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association in succession to Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai. The discussions between the sub-committee appointed by the association and Mr. Gandhi resulted in the formation of a permanent arbitration board by a resolution passed by the Millowners' Association on the 4th April, 1920. The following is an extract from this resolution :—

“ If any dispute or difference of opinion arises between the millowners and workpeople and if they are not able to settle it among themselves such dispute shall be settled by Mahatma Gandhi and Seth Mangaldas. For doing so they are invested with such powers as are ordinarily given to arbitrators on such occasions.”

Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai was opposed to the nomination of a single individual to represent each side and was for appointing a panel of distinguished officials or leaders as umpires from whom the representatives of each side might choose their chairman. His suggestion was not followed, because the millowners thought that if they could not negotiate a settlement with a person of high moral principles like Mr. Gandhi, they would not be satisfied with the decision of an official or non-official umpire however eminent he might be.

The absence of an umpire leads to prolonged discussions as differences of opinion between members of the arbitration board cannot be referred immediately to a third party for final decision. The necessity for referring disputed points to an umpire was actually felt in 1921 and 1923 when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. DeSouza

I.C.S., acted as umpires. Occasions for differences of opinion would have been greater if anybody other than Mr. Gandhi represented labour on the permanent board. His presence on the board helps the comparatively smooth working of an imperfect machinery. Much depends on Mr. Gandhi's personality. In a recent dispute in January, 1929, between the Labour Union and the Gujarat Ginning Mill, the mill objected to the nomination of somebody else to represent labour on the board whilst Mr. Gandhi was away and they wanted to wait till Mr. Gandhi's return from tour.

The sanction behind the awards of the arbitrators is moral and not legal. In the constitution of the Millowners' Association it is laid down that all special resolutions of the association should be compulsorily binding on all local mills of the association when the same are passed by a majority of three-fourths of the members present in the meeting and confirmed at a subsequent confirmatory meeting by a majority of three-fourths of the members present in the said meeting. If any member fails to observe such a resolution, the managing committee can call upon the member to explain his position and in case the committee decide by a majority to put the member out of the association he ceases to be a member under the penalty of forfeiture of all his rights and claims on the association accrued up to that date. In accordance with this rule, if any mill does not abide by an award which has been accepted by the association such mill can be expelled from the association. Much, however, depends on the attitude of different millowners. There are many awards which have not yet been given effect to fully, e.g., those relating to the supply of cold drinking water, the provision of adequate dining sheds, etc.

There is often considerable delay in arbitration proceedings under the present arrangements. Mr. Gandhi is usually very busy with his various other activities and Seth Mangaldas also often finds it difficult to spare time in the midst of his other pre-occupations. The appointment of a joint committee to inquire into and settle complaints which arise from day to day is a long-felt necessity and this is seen from the long list of pending complaints with the Labour Union. 429 complaints were pending at the beginning of 1929 of which not less than 50 were said to have been pending since 1922. The Labour Union is keen on putting the whole system on a sound and constitutional basis with proper rules and regulations; but at the same time they recognize that whilst Mr. Gandhi's services are available to fight their battles for them, full justice will be given to their demands.

A summary of the previous investigations by conciliation and arbitration machinery in the Ahmedabad cotton mills is given in Appendix XII. As will be seen from that summary there were no references to the Permanent Arbitration Board during the four years 1924 to 1927. In November, 1928, there was a dispute between the Millowners' Association and the Labour Union with regard to the collection of Union fees by Union officials within the precincts of the mills. The dispute was referred to the arbitration board. The award given permitted the mills to deduct subscriptions from wages and to pay these to the Union by cheque. The association accepted the award and this system obtains in the mills since that date. The arbitration board is at present engaged in considering the question of restoring the wage cut of 1923.

The Bombay Mill Industry.—Reference has already been made in the preliminary remarks to this section of the existence of joint committees consisting of the representatives of the managements and of the workers which were created in a few Bombay mills in the years immediately following the end of the war. For over five years prior to the formulation of the Mediation Rules by the Fawcett Committee there was no standing machinery in the cotton mill industry in Bombay City for the settlement or conciliation and arbitration of disputes between employers and the employed. The Mediation Rules framed by the Fawcett Committee are based on the Joint Rules for Settlement of Trade Disputes in the Cotton Industry in Lancashire, which are given at pages 119-126 of the "Uniform List of Prices for Weaving" for 1924. In commenting on the rules framed by them, the committee said they hoped that they would afford machinery for the discussion of disputes and would lead to a diminution of the present too common practice of "lightning strikes." The committee remarked that although the agreement of the 4th October, 1928, constituted a truce in "hostilities," such as strikes and lockouts, no less than 70 strikes of this nature took place during their proceedings. They held that it was obvious that this state of things is prejudicial to the well-being of the industry, including that of the workers themselves, and that its continuance, when combined with a high level of wages in Bombay, might result in increasing the existing tendency of millowners to establish mills up-country, where labour is cheaper and works more steadily. The present greater uncertainty as to when a lightning strike may take place in a mill necessarily disables its management in many ways, e.g., in accepting large contracts, and the workers themselves ought surely to benefit by progress towards the stage now

generally reached in Europe, where discussion and an attempt at settlement between the workers' and the employers' organizations are almost necessary preludes to a strike or a lock-out.

The "Mediation Rules" provide that in the event of a trade dispute arising between any member of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, and any operative(s), member or members of a Trade Union registered in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, in any mill or mills in Bombay City and island, other than a trade dispute as to the correct interpretation of the standing orders or the standardization rates of wages laid down for Bombay mills, which are members of the Bombay Millowners' Association, the following course shall be taken :—

(1) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment for the purpose of a lockout or strike, the dispute shall be brought forthwith before a joint meeting consisting of not less than two and not more than six authorized representatives of the mill or mills concerned and an equal number of representatives of the trade union or unions of which the operative(s) is a (are) member(s) and such meetings shall be called within four days from the date of a written application by either party for such a meeting; and if a settlement of the dispute is not come to at such meeting or at an adjournment thereof, then

(2) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment for the purpose of a lockout or a strike, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting consisting of two or more members of the Employers' Mediation Panel and an equal number of the Textile Trade Union Mediation Panel, and such meeting shall be called within seven days from the date of an application by either party for such a meeting, and if a settlement of the dispute be not come to at that meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then

(3) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment, for the purpose of a lockout or strike, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting of the Committee of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, and the representatives of the registered Textile Trade Unions of Bombay, and such meeting shall be called within seven days from the date of an application by either party for such meeting, and if a settlement be not come to at such meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then either party shall be at liberty to take whatever course it thinks fit.

In the event of a dispute arising as to the correct interpretation of the standing orders or the standardization scheme of wages laid down for Bombay mills which are members of the Bombay Millowners' Association, the following course is to be taken:—

(1) The dispute shall in the first instance be investigated without delay by the management of the mills concerned who shall, after completing their investigations in those cases in which a settlement is not arrived at, submit a report within seven days in writing to the secretary of the Millowners' Association and to the secretaries of the Textile Trade Unions registered in Bombay.

(2) Upon receipt of such communication by the secretary of the Millowners' Association, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting consisting of two or more members of the Employers' Mediation Panel, and an equal number of the Textile Trade Union Mediation Panel, to be called within seven days from the date on which the secretary of the Millowners' Association received the notification referred to in sub-clause (1), and if a settlement of the dispute be not come to at that meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then

(3) Upon application of either party to the dispute, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting of the committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association and the representatives of the registered Textile Trade Unions of Bombay to be called within seven days from the receipt of an application by either party for such a meeting, and if a settlement be not come to at such a meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then either party shall be at liberty to take whatever course it thinks fit.

Whenever a settlement of any trade dispute shall not have been come to and the operatives are on strike, or have been locked out, meetings shall be held periodically between the representatives of the Millowners' Association and representatives of the members of the trade unions concerned in the dispute. The first of such meetings shall be called within four weeks after the commencement of the strike or lockout, and subsequent meetings at monthly or shorter intervals thereafter. The exact date, time and place of the first of such meetings shall be decided at the last joint meeting previous to the commencement of the strike or lockout.

Upon an application from either the Millowners' Association, or at least one-half of the registered Textile Trade Unions, a joint meeting of the committee of the Millowners' Association and the representatives of the registered textile trade unions shall be called within 28 days from the date of such an application to discuss any suggestions for altering or amending terms and or conditions of employment affecting or likely to affect more than one-quarter of the cotton textile mills in Bombay.

At a meeting held between the representatives of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee on the 8th April, 1929, for a discussion on the recommendations and the findings of the Fawcett Committee a tentative agreement was reached that the Mediation Rules should be brought into operation at once and that both parties should proceed to the formation of their respective panels. Before this could be done, however, the joint discussions between the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee terminated on the 24th April over questions now under investigation by a Court of Enquiry, connected with the recognition of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union's mill committees functioning at the respective mills, refusal of the association to permit the collection of union subscriptions on mill premises, alleged victimisation of workers on the union's mill committees and the alleged refusal by mills to consider representations submitted to them by the union; and also in connection with the refusal of the Millowners' Association to reinstate the 6,000 workers replaced in the Spring, the Textile and the Century mills on account of the strikes which had either been supported or called by the union in these mills during the month of March, 1929. After a breakdown of the joint discussions on the 24th April, the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union called out the workers for a general strike on the 26th April. This strike still continues and consequently no progress has been made with regard to bringing the Mediation Rules into operation.

Opportunity afforded to Workpeople of making representations.—The opportunities afforded by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association and the G. I. P. and the B. B. & C. I. railways to their workpeople for making representations have already been dealt with above. The Bombay Textile Labour Union often complained to the Fawcett Committee that the Bombay Millowners' Association, as a matter of deliberate policy, refused to enter into any discussions with them with regard to complaints submitted by the union in connection with specific matters of dispute in individual mills prior to the meeting which they had with the Joint Strike Committee early in June, 1928. The decision of the Millowners' Association to enter into negotiations with representatives of registered trade unions was the first official recognition publicly announced of the right of registered trade unions to be heard. These remarks should not, however, be taken to mean that other employers did not recognize unions of their employees. The Government of India extended official recognition to unions of postal workers as early as the year 1924. Since that date Government have accorded official recognition to several unions of employees of various Government departments. Definite recognition by the railways of the unions of their employees was only accorded after registration under the Trade Unions Act. Most of the bigger employers are now insisting on registration prior to recognition. No information is available with regard to the procedure followed in industries where the workers are not organized.

Trade Disputes Act.—This Act only received the assent of the Governor General on the 12th April, 1929. It was brought into force from 8th May, 1929, at the urgent request of the Government of Bombay so that machinery might be available for dealing with a general strike in the Bombay cotton mills. Rules were immediately framed and published in order that a court of enquiry should be able to function forthwith. That court of enquiry was appointed and is now sitting. This is the first tribunal to be established under the Act and therefore there has not been sufficient time to consider the effectiveness or otherwise of the measure as a means of dealing with industrial disputes. One or two defects, however, have been revealed. For example, Section 3 is not suitable to existing industrial conditions. It refers only to trade disputes existing or apprehended between "an employer and his workmen." Neither this section nor any other part of the Act appears to recognise associations of employers or associations of workmen. Consequently, when the court of enquiry was appointed to investigate a dispute in the Bombay textile mills, it was not possible to frame the terms of reference on the basis of the facts of the situation, namely, that there was a dispute existing between the Millowners' Association and the Girni Kamgar Union. Notifications issued under the Act had to set out the names of all the mills in Bombay City, and the workers in these mills, as separate parties. Notice had to be given to each mill separately and, in order to give notice to the other parties, namely, the workmen in seventy odd mills, notices had to be posted up at all the mills and served on all the Trade Unions of mill workers. An amendment of Section 3 or a definition of employers and workers appears to be necessary in order to include associations of employers and associations of workmen, thus making it possible to set up a court of enquiry to deal with a general strike where the parties are an association on one side and a union on the other.

As the report of the court of enquiry may deal with matters of this kind, i.e., defects in the Act, and as this Report will be available to the Royal Commission, the Government of Bombay do not desire to express any opinion on the subject at this stage. When the Bill was sent to Government for consideration, the Government of Bombay expressed their apprehension that the lack of conciliation

machinery in industry itself was likely to cause embarrassment to local Governments in the administration of the Act. The events of the past 12 months have emphasised this point and the Government of Bombay are of opinion that the Trade Disputes Act should be reinforced by a system which would ensure the setting up in every important industry of conciliation machinery and would provide that until that machinery had been made use of, the powers under the Trade Disputes Act should not be exercised. The present position is, in effect, that there exists no statutory method open to any Government to deal with a single strike in one industry or a general strike in a whole industry, except the Trade Disputes Act with its courts of inquiry or boards of conciliation. It appears to Government that the gap should be filled by the establishment of conciliation machinery within an industry itself set up by the parties concerned but validated if necessary by legislation. This would have the effect of narrowing down the issues in any particular dispute and would leave the machinery of the Trade Disputes Act to function only in disputes of serious importance, affecting a whole industry or raising questions of general application to all industries.

Chapter XIV.—Law of Master and Servant.

There are no special laws passed in this Presidency which govern this subject. The various Acts passed by the Governor General in Council which affect or relate to it are:—(1) The Employers and Workmen (Disputes) Act, 1860 (IX of 1860); (2) The Indian Factories Act, 1911; (3) The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923 (VIII of 1923), as amended by Act V of 1929; and (4) The Trade Disputes Act, 1929 (VII of 1929).

The first Act has been extended to certain districts in this Presidency while the latter Acts apply to the whole of the Presidency. In matters which are not specially provided for in these Acts, the principles of the English common law are generally followed.

The relation of master and servant gives rise to four kinds of liabilities, namely:—(1) liability of master to third persons; (2) liability of servant to third persons; (3) liability of master to servant; and (4) liability of servant to master.

The first two relationships are not germane to the present enquiry and need not be discussed. As regards liability of master to servant, a master is liable to his servant for injuries received by him during the course of his employment and the doctrine of common employment and the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, apply.

The contract of service governs such questions as wages and notice. Usually it is not a written contract and terms and conditions of service are a matter of custom. The Factories Act requires the exhibition of notices relating to certain matters covered by the Act some of which bear on the relationship between the owner and the worker. In many textile mills there are rules framed with regard to dismissal, etc., and the Fawcett Committee has laid down a series of rules which, when generally adopted, will form the basis of the contractual relationship between the millowner and the mill operative. Most of the large Government and semi-Government factories also have rules of the same kind.

A servant is liable to his master though not to others, for the consequences of his acts. A master can recover damages from his servant if damages have been recovered from him for the servant's negligence in doing the master's work.

Chapter XV.—Administration.

Central and Provincial Legislatures.—Action and attitude on labour questions.—The last eight years have seen the enactment of labour legislation on a scale entirely unprecedented in the history of India. The Factories Act has been revised to such an extent as to be virtually a new Act. The Mines Act has been replaced by an entirely new Act, while an amending Act relating to the introduction of the Shift system has also been passed. The Workmen's Compensation Act, the first measure of its kind in India, has been passed into law. A Bill amending it was passed this year and further amendments are now under consideration. An Act for the registration and protection of Trade Unions has also recently been passed. The most recent labour legislation is the Trade Disputes Act which has for its object the establishment of tribunals for the investigation and settlement of trade disputes.

The local council is taking considerable interest in labour questions. It has already passed a law for granting maternity benefits to factory women and the rules under the Act have been published. A law has also been passed for granting separate representation to Labour in the Bombay Municipality through registered

trade unions. The interest evinced by members of the local legislature in labour matters can be seen from the following typical resolutions which have been proposed to be moved in the council from time to time but which were not discussed owing to time limits :—

1. Recommending to Government that a committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to consider a scheme for establishing a Bombay Presidency Workmen's Welfare Fund with the co-operation of municipal and other local bodies and various kinds of employers in the Presidency to be spent for the benefit of the workmen in organized industries.

2. Recommending to the Governor in Council to appoint a committee of official and non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council and representatives of labour to enquire into and suggest ways and means of improving the general condition of labour of every kind, by organizing welfare funds for the purpose of providing sickness, health, maternity, old age, unemployment and other kindred benefits, on the same lines as they exist in Great Britain and other civilized countries.

3. Recommending to the Governor in Council to appoint at an early date a committee with adequate representation of labour thereon to investigate and report upon the best ways and means of improving the condition of textile workers in the Bombay Presidency, with special reference to the system of recruitment, their hours of work, system of leave, housing and maternity benefit.

4. Recommending to Government to organize the Labour Directorate as a separate department to deal with all questions concerning labour.

During the general strike of last year in the cotton mill industry the situation was discussed on a motion for the adjournment of the House and the appointment of a committee to enquire into the cut in wages proposed by the millowners, and the whole question of the management of the Bombay mill industry was urged.

The voting of the Labour Office grant usually provokes a discussion on matters of labour interest. In 1928 the question of unemployment and labour exchanges was raised on a token cut, and an interesting discussion followed. The result of the debate was that the motion for the cut was lost.

Three out of the nine seats in the Legislative Council reserved for nominated non-official members are given to representatives of labour. The present members are all on the executive of trade unions, as are several of the elected members.

Relations between Central and Local Government.—The relations between the central and local Government on labour questions have, on the whole, been cordial. In a few instances, however, the Bombay Government has had occasion to criticize the line of action adopted by the Government of India. In 1921 the Government of India invited the opinion of the Government of Bombay on the subject of the Draft Conventions and Recommendations of the Labour Conference at Washington regarding public employment agencies. In this case the Government of Bombay while replying to the specific questions made *inter alia* the following observations :—

"The Government of Bombay are inclined to doubt the wisdom of endeavouring to bring into force a number of measures relating to industrial questions without allowing sufficient time for the careful consideration which these measures demand. The questions raised in your letter under reply, and in the correspondence relating to the Workmen's Compensation Act, are admittedly of a difficult and, as experience elsewhere has shown, of a complicated character. The Government of Bombay realize that the Government of India attach the greatest importance to the necessity of ensuring that industrial organization in India should proceed on sound lines, but they have grave doubts whether this can be achieved by introducing legislation on all the most important industrial questions on *Western lines* without giving ample time to the local governments to formulate considered opinions and to decide whether the action that is proposed will be in every way suitable to Indian conditions."

In the case relating to legislation for the provision of compensation to workmen which was referred to the Government of Bombay for opinion in the same year the following remarks were offered :—

"While the Governor in Council is in general agreement with the view that an Act to regulate the important and difficult matter of workmen's compensation will eventually prove to be necessary, he is entirely opposed to hasty legislation on the subject in view of the difficulties which have surrounded the administration of the law in England, and of the greater difficulties which are likely to arise in India unless all aspects of the case are subjected to prolonged and careful scrutiny." They further observed : "The Governor in Council does not feel justified at this stage in offering any opinion in detail on the proposals which have been made, but would prefer merely to reiterate with emphasis the view expressed in connection with the allied subject of public employment agencies, that it would be in the highest degree

unwise to proceed hastily with important industrial legislation for which no public demand has yet been voiced, and for which no adequate justification can be found in the present industrial situation."

In another case regarding the introduction of compulsory sickness insurance schemes in India in connection with the draft Conventions and Recommendations concerning sickness insurance adopted by the Tenth International Labour Conference held at Geneva in 1927, the Government of Bombay made the following observations :—

"While sympathizing with any movement for the amelioration of the conditions of industrial labour in India, the Government of Bombay feel constrained to point out that the extra expenditure which will inevitably be occasioned by any legislation which involves the starting of sickness insurance schemes will fall entirely on the local Governments. This legislation will necessitate the maintenance of a staff of highly paid experts to deal with work which will be of a very technical nature, and the expenditure on this is bound to be considerable. The Government of Bombay have already had to incur extra expenditure in connection with the Trade Unions Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act. As the Government of India are aware, the financial position of the local Government is most unfavourable at present, nor does there appear to be any hope of an improvement in it in the near future unless some radical change in the Meston Settlement is made. . . . The recent tendency on the part of the Government of India, Industries Department, to introduce legislation aiming at the improvement of industrial labour conditions without apparently considering the financial burdens which it must impose on the provincial revenues, and without first consulting those Governments on the question of their ability to bear these burdens or not cannot but alarm a Government so unfortunately situated as is the Government of Bombay at present in respect to finance."

The Government of India, however, asked this Government to re-consider their views. In reply the Government of Bombay stated that if the Commission after hearing evidence in all parts of India comes to the conclusion that a scheme of Sickness Insurance is desirable and is practicable, the Government of Bombay will give the scheme its hearty support.

It must not be assumed that the Government of Bombay is opposed to social legislation. Responsible as it is for the government of the most important industrial province in India, the welfare of the industrial population must always be its especial care. It does, however, desire that its special knowledge and understanding of labour matters should not be forgotten and that any legislation that is proposed should be submitted to it for consideration before it is published as a Bill of the Legislative Assembly. The financial burden of all social legislation falls upon the local governments who have to administer it. There are many pieces of social legislation which might be excellent in theory, but the cost of administration and the burden on industry might far outweigh the benefits likely to be derived from them by the persons such legislation is intended to benefit. The financial position of the local Government is worse than last year, and must necessarily limit all social legislation involving State expenditure. It is imperative that no further obligations of this character should be assumed until either fresh sources of revenue can be made available or the Central Government undertakes to bear the expenditure.

Administrative Authorities in Various Governments—Work of special Labour Offices or Officers.—In the Bombay Presidency the General Department of the Government of Bombay is the administrative authority which deals with all labour questions, but the Revenue Department is consulted on labour questions relating to mines. There are four offices in the Bombay Presidency which deal with labour matters : (1) The Bombay Labour Office, (2) the Factories Department, (3) the office of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, and (4) the shipping offices at Bombay and Karachi.

Labour Office.—The Bombay Labour Office was established in the year 1921. In the Government resolution announcing the establishment of this office the following were declared to be its functions :—

(1) *Labour statistics and intelligence.*—These relate to the conditions under which labour works and include information relating to the cost of living, wages, hours of labour, family budgets, strikes and lock-outs, and similar matters.

(2) *Industrial disputes.*—As experience and knowledge are gained and the activities of the Labour Office develop it will promote the settlement of industrial disputes when these arise, and

(3) *Legislation and other matters relating to labour.*—The Labour Office will advise Government from time to time as regards necessary new legislation or the amendment of existing laws.

When the Labour Office was first started it was placed in charge of a Director of Labour. The post of the Director of Labour was, however, abolished in the year 1926, and at present the officer in charge of the Labour Office is styled the Director

of Information and Labour Intelligence. He is also the Registrar of Trade Unions and the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation. In addition to the Director, there are three other gazetted officers who are styled Investigators, one of whom is in charge of the branch office at Ahmedabad. There are also three whole-time lady investigators in Bombay. All investigators receive conveyance allowances. The office staff contains two statistical assistants, three senior clerks, eight junior clerks, two stenographers, one typist, one cashier and one despatcher. There are also one daftari and five peons in Bombay and one peon in Ahmedabad. The work is broken up into branches as follows :—

Branch I.—General registry, accounts, etc.

Branch II.—Prices, family budgets, rents, cost of living and unemployment.

Branch III.—Wages, strikes, industrial intelligence, legislation and trade unions.

Branch IV.—Labour Gazette and library.

Two branches are under each Bombay Investigator. Statistics are largely compiled by means of comptometers, of which the Labour Office has five.

The Labour Office activities fall under the following heads :—

- (1) Prices and cost of living.
- (2) Wages and hours of labour.
- (3) Rents.
- (4) Economic and social conditions of various communities.
- (5) Unemployment.
- (6) Industrial disputes.
- (7) Trade unions.
- (8) Other industrial and labour intelligence.
- (9) International labour intelligence.
- (10) Labour legislation.
- (11) The Labour Gazette.
- (12) Library.
- (13) Office organization.

Information regarding the statistics collected by the Labour Office will be found in the section dealing with intelligence and need not be repeated here. The only points which need to be discussed here are Labour Legislation, the Labour Gazette, and the Library.

As regards legislation, the Labour Office drafts bills on labour subjects for the Government of Bombay, supplies information required for the consideration of these bills, circulates them to interested persons and bodies for opinions, and summarizes the various views expressed on each point covered by a Bill before submitting the case to Government with its own views and its answers to any controversial views expressed. It also drafts or subjects to examination in the same way any rules or regulations to be framed on the Labour Acts by the Local Government. So far the Labour Office has framed two bills for the local Government, one on industrial disputes and the other on the collection of labour statistics. The Labour Office has also drafted the Bombay Trade Unions Regulations, 1927, and the Rules under the Trade Disputes Act, 1929.

When any bill on labour subjects is introduced either in the Bombay Legislative Council or the Legislative Assembly it is reprinted in full in the *Labour Gazette*, and all rules and notifications issued by the Bombay or the Central Government are similarly reprinted. Legislation of this nature undertaken by other provinces will also be reprinted in the *Labour Gazette*, but up to the present there has not been very much done except by the Bombay and the central Governments.

The *Labour Gazette* has been published monthly since September, 1921. It is intended to supply complete and up-to-date information on Indian labour conditions, and especially the conditions existing in the Bombay Presidency, and to supply to local readers the greatest possible amount of information regarding labour conditions in the outside world. The *Labour Gazette* circulates to many different countries, and is perhaps the only publication of its kind in this country from which foreigners interested in labour and economic conditions in India can obtain accurate and up-to-date information. It has also hitherto been practically the only medium through which the work and publications of the International Labour Office have been made regularly available to people in India.

A substantial grant is allowed for the purchase of books, and the Labour Office has now accumulated a very useful and fully catalogued library on labour, industrial and economic matters. The Labour Office library is open to research workers in Bombay. In addition to books, the library contains bound copies of all the more important periodicals received from Labour Ministries, international organizations and research organizations in various parts of the world.

Factories Department.—The Factories Department is in charge of the Collector of Bombay. Information regarding the staff of the department will be found in the section dealing with factory inspection.

Office of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation.—The Workmen's Compensation Act came into force on 1st July, 1924, and the Government of Bombay appointed a special officer to hold the post of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation. In the year 1928, however, the officer in charge of the Labour Office was asked to hold the post in addition to his duties, and that officer has been doing the work since then.

Shipping Offices in the Bombay Presidency.—In addition to the shipping, paying-off and discharging of ships' crews the Shipping Office has a variety of miscellaneous duties to perform. These include the settlement of disputes between shipmasters and seamen, the administration of the estates of deceased seamen of the mercantile marine, the disposal of distressed British and Indian seamen and the inspection of rations and water provided for the crews. The settlement of claims of seamen or their dependants in case of accident or death and the receipt and disposal of dead seamen's effects and the registration of seamen also come within the scope of the shipping master. An assistant to the Shipping Master, Bombay, has recently been appointed to assist in the proper recruitment of seamen.

During the year 1927–28 the Bombay Shipping Office signed on 33,661 seamen of many nationalities and discharged 35,209. About 10,480 Goanese were signed on and 10,400 were discharged, almost all in the steward's department. Over 20,000 other Indians were signed on and 21,800 discharged. Deck hands were both Hindus and Muhammedans, but those in the engine room were exclusively Muhammedans.

The Karachi Shipping Office signed on 412 seamen and discharged 660.

As a result of the Indian Merchant Shipping (Amending) Act, 1928 (VI of 1928), which came into force from 1st April, 1929, the local Government have ceased to act as the agents of the Government of India in the administration of the subject "Shipping and Navigation."

Acquaintance of Workpeople with Factory Legislation.—The workpeople in the larger industrial areas are fairly well acquainted with the provisions of the existing factory legislation. In the seasonal industries the workers have become far better acquainted in recent years as a result of the surprise visits and prosecutions instituted. An Abstract of the Act in the vernacular languages is posted in factories.

Factory Inspection—Adequacy of staff.—The full-time factory staff in the Bombay Presidency consists of the Chief Inspector of Factories, three inspectors, three assistant inspectors and one woman inspector. The Chief Inspector, two inspectors and two assistants have their headquarters in Bombay. An inspector and an assistant are stationed in Ahmedabad. The Woman Inspector has her headquarters in Bombay, but has jurisdiction over the whole Presidency. She deals with problems mainly affecting women.

Full-time certifying surgeons are stationed in Bombay and Ahmedabad. They have been appointed additional inspectors with powers under the health and sanitary sections of the Factories Act. They have also been granted powers under the provisions of the Maternity Benefit Act. The Director and Assistant Directors of Public Health have also been appointed additional inspectors under the health and sanitary sections of the Act. Their reports are sent to the Chief Inspector, who passes orders on the same.

Local magistrates have *ex-officio* powers under the employment sections of the Act.

Uniformity of Administration in different Provinces, and rigour and efficiency of Administration.—The following two tables show the number of persons convicted in the various provinces in the years 1923 to 1927, and the number of uninspected factories :—

Persons Convicted.

Year	Madras	Bombay	Bengal	United Provinces	Punjab	Burma	Bihar and Orissa	Central Provinces	Assam
1923 ..	30	18	18	5	65	13	—	22	—
1924 ..	56	64	28	6	16	21	—	31	—
1925 ..	78	57	54	7	25	12	3	32	—
1926 ..	90	90	63	6	26	23	1	37	—
1927 ..	150	48	72	7	49	37	2	40	3
Total..	404	277	235	31	181.	106	6	162	3

Uninspected Factories

Year	Madras	Bombay	Bengal	United Provinces	Punjab	Burma	Bihar and Orissa	Central Provinces	Assam
1923 ..	17	71	320	44	33	82	112	34	430
1924 ..	89	52	315	33	56	88	44	12	352
1925 ..	56	27	291	37	48	138	62	5	318
1926 ..	46	26	243	33	36	99	50	3	311
1927 ..	16	12	160	41	44	123	140	9	267
Total ..	224	188	1,329	188	217	530	408	63	1,678
Average ..	45	38	266	38	43	106	82	13	336
No. of factories in 1925.	1,121	1,358	1,148	276	527	893	242	644	589
Percentage of uninspected factories.	4.0	2.8	23.2	13.8	8.2	11.9	33.9	2.0	57.0

Prosecutions and their Result.—Bombay may claim to have led the other provinces in the matter of obtaining reasonable penalties for breaches of the Factories Act and the system introduced by the present chief inspector of obtaining convictions for the irregular employment of each person in contravention of the Factories Act has been followed elsewhere.

Prior to 1917, fines could not have been said to have acted as a deterrent. In a case in Ahmedabad in that year a manager was fined Rs. 100 in each of ten cases for employing women at night. There was no appeal. In a similar case in 1918, the manager was fined Rs. 100 in each of 18 cases, and an appeal to the Sessions resulted in the reduction of the fine to one of Rs. 100, since it was held that only one offence had been committed. An appeal to the High Court, however, upheld the legality of individual fines but reduced the fine in 17 cases to one of Rs. 50 in each case. In 1919 irregularities regarding labour were generally prevalent in Ahmedabad. The agents of several mills were successfully prosecuted and fines amounting to nearly Rs. 25,000 were imposed. This total included two fines of Rs. 3,000 each and one of Rs. 2,400.

The same system was introduced in Bombay in 1922 and prevented the irregular employment of reelers on the weekly holiday.

Although proviso (ii) to Section 15 of the Act of 1891 was omitted in the Act of 1911, High Courts in India have decided that individual fines may be imposed where persons are irregularly employed.

Nowadays it is not difficult to obtain a fine of Rs. 50 per individual in the case of the irregular employment of women at night.

Practically all prosecutions in the Bombay Presidency are conducted by the full-time staff and reasonable fines are imposed. In 1928 the fines imposed amounted to Rs. 8,275, the average per case being Rs. 25 and the average per factory Rs. 140. The following table gives a comparison between England and the Bombay Presidency:—

Year.	Number of inspectors.	Number of cases.	Average per inspector.	Total fines.	Average per case.
1927— England	206	1,980	9	£ 4,558	Rs. 30
1928— Bombay	6	326	54	Rs. 8,275	25

The Rayer case which, after being three years before the courts, ended in the conviction of the occupiers and manager has had considerable effect on occupiers of mofussil factories and has enhanced the prestige of the Factories Department in these areas

XVIII.—Intelligence.

Existing Statistics—Extent and Use.—Owing to the existence of a special Labour Office in the Bombay Presidency, the Government of Bombay are in a position to collect and publish a great deal of statistical material directly or indirectly connected with industrial labour. The published material falls into four classes :—(1) Statistics published regularly every month in the *Labour Gazette*; (2) Statistics published in the reports based on the special investigations conducted by the Labour Office; (3) Statistics contained in the reports prepared by heads of departments dealing with the administration of certain Acts relating to labour such as the Factories Act, the Trade Unions Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act; and (4) Statistics regarding retail and wholesale prices published fortnightly and monthly in the *Bombay Government Gazette*.

The following statistics are published in the *Labour Gazette* :—Working-class cost of living index number for Bombay; cost of living index numbers in other countries; wholesale prices index numbers for Bombay, with a chart showing a comparison between the index numbers of wholesale prices in Bombay and Calcutta; wholesale and retail food prices index numbers in other countries; retail prices of food in Bombay; retail prices index numbers of food articles in five centres of the Bombay Presidency; industrial disputes in the Presidency; statistics regarding cases under the Workmen's Compensation Act decided by the various Commissioners in the Presidency; statistics regarding the employment situation, together with figures of absenteeism in the textile and the engineering industries; monthly statistics regarding prosecutions under the Indian Factories Act; statistics of the production of cotton yarn and cloth; four-monthly statistics of accidents; and quarterly statistics regarding trade unions in the Bombay Presidency.

In addition to these statistics, the statistical results of enquiries conducted by the Labour Office which are not of sufficient importance to be incorporated into special reports are published occasionally in the *Labour Gazette*. For instance, the results of the following special enquiries conducted by the Labour Office have been published in the *Labour Gazette* from time to time :—

- (1) Wages of peons in Bombay, 1923.
- (2) Welfare work in Bombay mills, 1924.
- (3) Rentals in Bombay, 1924.
- (4) Maternity cases among women operatives in the Bombay mills, 1924.
- (5) Method of payment of wages, 1925.
- (6) Agricultural wages and prices (1889–1923), 1925.
- (7) Unemployment among the middle classes in Bombay City, 1925.
- (8) Distance between mill operatives' home and place of work, 1925.
- (9) The food of the worker, 1925.
- (10) The condition of the children of Bombay mill operatives, 1925.
- (11) Crèches in Bombay, 1925.
- (12) Ahmedabad working-class rents, 1925.
- (13) Rentals in Bombay for tenements owned by public bodies, 1925.
- (14) Clerical wages in Bombay City—preliminary results of the Labour Office Census, 1926.
- (15) Ahmedabad mill chawls, 1926.
- (16) Crèches in Ahmedabad, 1926.
- (17) Welfare work in the Bombay Presidency—results of the Labour Office Enquiry, 1927.
- (18) House-rents in Ahmedabad, 1927.

The following is a list of special reports published by the Labour Office :—

- (1) Report on an Enquiry into Working-class Budgets in Bombay, 1923.
- (2) Report on an Enquiry into the Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry, 1923.
- (3) Report on an Enquiry into Agricultural Wages in the Bombay Presidency, 1924.
- (4) Report on an Enquiry into the Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry, 1925.
- (5) Report on an Enquiry into Middle-class Unemployment in the Bombay Presidency, 1927.
- (6) Report of the Labour Office Enquiry into Deductions from Wages or Payments in Respect of Fines, 1928.
- (7) Report on an Enquiry into Middle-class Family Budgets in Bombay City, 1928.

(8) Report on an Enquiry into Family Budgets of Cotton Mill Workers in Sholapur City, 1928.

(9) Report on an Enquiry into Working-class Family Budgets in Ahmedabad, 1928.

A report on a wage census in the cotton textile industry in the Bombay Presidency conducted by the Labour Office in the year 1926, will shortly be published.

The industrial unrest in the city during the past eighteen months has seriously affected the work of the Labour Office in this direction. A family budget or any other enquiry based on the sample method cannot be conducted during periods of strikes or when conditions are abnormal.

As regards statistics published in the reports of heads of departments dealing with labour matters, mention may be made of the report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for the Bombay Presidency, the report of the Registrar of Trade Unions, and the report of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay.

Retail prices statistics contained in the *Government Gazette* relate to prices of articles consumed by people ordinarily in receipt of an income of not more than Rs. 50 per month and are collected by the Director of Agriculture with the assistance of the district officers. The agency for collecting wholesale prices is the same, although the *Gazette* also contains wholesale prices published by the Chamber of Commerce.

It cannot be said that the existing statistics are widely used. Statistical science is still in its infancy all over the world and much more so in this country. The desire for a scientific use of statistics has not yet developed in this country to the same extent as it has, say, in an Eastern country like Japan. The use of the published statistics is therefore confined to scholars writing books, to committees and commissions appointed to enquire into specific problems, to Government Departments dealing with questions relating to salaries, allowances, etc., and to employers' associations and trade unions when they want to prepare cases on particular subjects.

Method of Collection.—Various methods are followed in collecting the data enumerated above. The Bombay Labour Office, for instance, follows three methods : (1) collection of data by the interview method, (2) collection of data by the method of sending circulars, schedules, and questionnaires to various selected bodies and persons, and (3) collection of data from published sources.

As regards (1) the Bombay Labour Office maintains a special investigating staff, including three lady investigators, whose duty it is to collect data by this method. The male investigators at Bombay restrict their investigation work to the collection of retail prices for the cost of living index number, to the verification of the data collected for the wholesale prices index number, to the collection of information regarding trade unions, to the verification of the data regarding strikes and industrial disputes, to making such personal enquiries as may arise in the course of statistical investigations and to the supervision and direction of the work entrusted to the lady investigators. Much of their time is devoted to office work, for they are the only gazetted officers in the department under the director and they are in charge of the various branches into which the work of the office is divided. The investigator at Ahmedabad is a purely investigating officer. He collects data regarding prices, industrial disputes, and trade unions in Ahmedabad and conducts such special investigations as he may be asked to do. The lady investigators attached to the Labour Office have no office work to do and their duty is to make house-to-house visits and to collect data regarding any topic which the Labour Office has decided to enquire into. All the family budget investigations conducted so far by the Labour Office as also such special enquiries as the rent enquiry at Bombay and Ahmedabad, enquiry into maternity cases among women operatives in Bombay mills, enquiry into the condition of children of Bombay mill operatives, etc., were conducted by the lady investigators by visiting the houses of the work-people. In recent investigations the method usually followed is the method of sampling.

It is a matter of considerable controversy as to whether information collected by the interview method for enquiries relating to family budgets, rents, etc., is as accurate as the information collected with the help of schedules filled by the householders. The experience of the Labour Office seems to suggest that the view held by Dr. Royal Meeker, Commissioner of Labour Statistics, U.S.A., that it is possible to get accurate estimates of itemized family expenses by the interview method is correct and that if the investigating staff is sympathetic, tactful, and honest, information can be collected with a fair degree of accuracy by the interview method. And the Labour Office is satisfied that the data which it has collected so far by the interview method is accurate, that is to say, the degree of accuracy reached is as high as such enquiries would permit. As regards (2), it is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the method followed. It will be sufficient to point out here that the schedules received are carefully scrutinized and, in order to test their accuracy,

enquiries are very often made on the spot. Such personal enquiries have been numerous, especially in such important matters as the cotton wage censuses conducted by the Labour Office. As regards (3), the sources usually used are the various market reports and economic and statistical journals. Sometimes information is also collected by letter.

The method followed for compiling the data for the annual administration reports of the various Acts is fairly simple. According to the Rules under the Factories Act, managers of factories are required to furnish to the Inspector of the area in which the factory is situated an annual return in a specified form. The Chief Inspector of Factories compiles his report on the basis of these returns. As regards the report on the administration of the Trade Unions Act, the Act lays down that every registered union shall furnish returns once a year in a specified form. The annual report is based on the tabulation of these returns. As regards the administration report on the Workmen's Compensation Act, the various employers and ex-officio commissioners submit returns in a prescribed form to the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay, who compiles his annual report on the basis of these returns.

Degree of Accuracy.—In the absence of any well-informed criticism of the statistics published by the Government of Bombay, it is difficult to ascertain the degree of accuracy reached by the statistics published. Taking those published every month in the *Labour Gazette* it would appear that the cost of living index number for Bombay admits of improvement and the Government of Bombay have already under consideration a revision of the index number. This revision would, however, entail a fresh family budget enquiry in Bombay City which cannot be undertaken until there is industrial peace. It is proposed also to revise the wholesale prices index numbers for Bombay and Karachi which are published every month in the *Labour Gazette*, but the revision has been postponed pending consideration by the Government of India of the recommendations of the Economic Enquiry Committee's Report in which it has been suggested that a Central Statistical Bureau should be responsible for the collection of wholesale prices of the chief commodities of commerce. The information regarding industrial disputes which is published every month in the *Labour Gazette* is received from the Commissioner of Police so far as Bombay City is concerned, and from district magistrates from other centres in the Presidency. It is believed that this information is reasonably accurate. The monthly statistics regarding Workmen's Compensation, published in the *Labour Gazette*, can be regarded as quite accurate. As regards information concerning the employment situation and absenteeism, published every month in the *Labour Gazette*, the method of collecting the data is to send round schedules to various factories and concerns which they are asked to fill in. These returns are tabulated by the Labour Office. The returns received cannot be considered to have reached a high degree of accuracy, and the Labour Office is therefore shortly going to make enquiries into the matter to put these statistics on a sounder basis. The statistics published in the reports of the Registrar of Trade Unions, Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, and the Chief Inspector of Factories can be regarded as accurate.

It has already been pointed out that the statistics regarding retail and wholesale prices published in the *Bombay Government Gazette* are supplied to the Director of Agriculture by district officers. The district officers in turn entrust the collection of these data to their subordinates. The result, therefore, is that in spite of the fact that the Director of Agriculture maintains two Prices Inspectors whose duty it is to check the accuracy of the figures, the figures finally published are not as accurate as they should be. The Labour Office receives returns from district officers regarding wages of skilled and unskilled workers in the mofussil. These returns are, however, not published in the *Bombay Government Gazette*. On the basis of these returns the Labour Office has already published a report. Efforts have been made to secure the improvement of these statistics by sending the investigators of the Labour Office into the districts to discuss the returns with the district officers responsible for sending them in.

Possibility of Improvement in Statistics.—As regards the possibility of effecting an improvement in the available statistics, the question largely rests on considerations of finance. The matter received detailed and careful consideration at the hands of the Economic Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the Government of India in the year 1925, and published its report in the same year. It suggested that every province should constitute a Statistical Bureau. The proposals of the committee are still under the consideration of the Government of India. It is hoped, however, that as the Bombay Labour Office develops and gets experience it will be possible for it in the course of time not only to collect additional statistics but also to improve those that are now available.

Nature of Special Investigations Conducted.—A list of reports incorporating the results of special enquiries conducted by the Labour Office has already been given above. Some of these enquiries were initiated by the Labour Office, while others were undertaken in order to gather comprehensive and up-to-date data for the purpose of legislation relating to labour which was under contemplation by the Government of India. It will be seen from the list of reports published by the Labour Office that four of them relate to family budgets. In Bombay City in 1921-22, 3,076 working-class budgets were collected and the report based on the results thereof was published in 1923. This investigation was followed up by another into the family budgets of middle-class persons in Bombay City. 2,125 budgets were collected, out of which 1,325 were accepted for final tabulation, and the report based on the results was published in the year 1928. The Labour Office also collected 985 budgets of working-class families in Ahmedabad in 1926 and 1,133 budgets of cotton mill workers in Sholapur in 1925. The reports based on the results of these enquiries have already been published. An enquiry into the social and economic conditions of workers living in tenements, built by the Port Trust for their employees in Bombay City has also been conducted but its results have not yet been published.

Another important topic which the Labour Office has investigated is that of wages in the cotton textile industry in the Bombay Presidency. A census of wages in this industry was conducted by the Labour Office in the year 1921. Another census was conducted in the year 1923, and the last census was conducted in the year 1926, the results of which will be published very shortly. The report of an enquiry into agricultural wages in the Bombay Presidency, which was published in the year 1924, was based mainly on the returns received in the office of the Director of Agriculture and the intention in carrying out the enquiry was to ascertain the variations in agricultural wages from the year 1900 onwards. The enquiry into deductions from wages or payments in respects of fines, the results of which were published in the year 1928, was undertaken in connection with an enquiry addressed to the Local Government by the Government of India.

In addition to the mere numerical statistics regarding family budgets and wages, the Labour Office has conducted enquiries into the more general and less commensurable factors such as utilization of the workers' spare time, industrial welfare, health of the workers, maternity benefits, and all kinds of welfare work. The results of these enquiries have been published from time to time in the *Labour Gazette*.

Future Developments necessary.—The statistics most in demand at the present time are those relating to wages and cost of living. It has been the endeavour, therefore, of the Government of Bombay to pay special attention to these two subjects, and the Government of Bombay have already under contemplation the revision of the Bombay working-class cost of living index number and have under preparation a working-class cost of living index number for Ahmedabad and Sholapur. It has also lately, as pointed out above, conducted a wage census for the cotton mill industry, and has also collected data with regard to wage rates in other industries. A wage census, where the information relates to earnings and is compiled from pay rolls, is the best method of dealing with the subject. But this type of enquiry involves an immense amount of labour both in collection and tabulation, and even in England is not often attempted on a large scale. There wage rates, not earnings, are the usual form in which wage statistics are compiled, and then compilation is relatively easy, because they are usually derived from trade agreements. In India such raw material is rarely available and the information has to be obtained from individual firms. The absence of standardization also accounts for the wide variations both in rates and earnings.

As the future developments in connection with labour statistics collected by the Government of Bombay will greatly depend upon the findings of the Commission and their recommendations, it is unnecessary at this stage to express any opinion on the subject. It would be sufficient, if it were pointed out here, that judging from the trend of opinion and events in recent years, in the near future there is likely to be a demand for statistics regarding employment and unemployment, and statistics regarding morbidity among industrial workers. The nature of the statistics to be collected can be determined only when the purpose they are intended to serve is known.

A Supplementary Note on movements of Wages in recent years in relation to Prices and Cost of Living (Pre-war and Post-war).

In Chapter X and Appendices IX, X, and XIII of the Memorandum already submitted to the Commission the question of wages is dealt with, but no attempt was made to discuss wages in relation to prices and cost of living. The ascertainment

of real wages at any period requires accurate information as regards pre-war wages and a cost of living index that is unassailable. Those conditions do not exist in Bombay.

The information regarding wages in the textile industry may be recapitulated as follows. In Bombay city the Millowners' Association gave an increase of 15 per cent. in wages to all workers on the 1st January, 1918. This was increased to 35 per cent. on the 1st January, 1919. The next increase granted on the 1st February, 1920, was 20 per cent. extra to male workers on time rates and to female workers both on time and piece rates, and 40 per cent. extra to male operatives on piece rates—the total percentages amounting to 55 and 75 respectively. On the 1st November, 1920, the 55 per cent. was increased to 70 per cent. and the 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. There have been no changes in these percentages since the year 1921. The percentage of the dearness allowances have been maintained right through as a separate item on the muster.

From 1919 a bonus based on the monthly wages earned by the operatives was being paid by the mills in Bombay. This was discontinued in the year 1923.

As regards Ahmedabad, complete information is not available with regard to the changes in the rates of wages in the Ahmedabad mills between the years 1914 to 1923. Prior to 1917 no concerted action was taken by the millowners with regard to granting percentage increases and each mill did as it pleased. The difference in the rates between mill and mill although wide were not very abnormal. From December, 1917 to 1921 the managing committee of the Millowners' Association or the arbitrators or umpires chosen from time to time awarded increments to different departments in different proportions. The warpers obtained an increase of 25 per cent. in their rates in 1917. The weavers were awarded an increase of 35 per cent. in 1918, and spinners were given an increase of 85 per cent. in March, 1919, when the weavers also obtained a further increase. In the beginning of the year 1920, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai granted an increase of 62½ per cent. in wages to workers in the sizing, calendaring and engineering departments. The same increment was granted to Mochies and the pay of some workers in the cloth folding department was fixed after giving a similar increase. About the same time increases ranging from 60 to 62½ per cent. over the wages of July, 1917, were granted to blacksmiths, to the workers in the yarn bundling department and to some workers in the cloth department. In the same year the hours of work for spinners were reduced from 12 to 10 in consequence of a strike and a further increase of about 40 per cent. was granted to spinners. In order to keep other workers contented, an increase of 40 per cent. was granted to winders and workers in the frame department, 33½ per cent. to weavers, warpers and drawers and 25 per cent. to bobbin carriers, lorrymen, oil men, workers in the blow and card rooms and other low-paid time workers. In 1921, the Arbitrators recommended that blow and card room workers should be granted an increase of 40 per cent. in place of 25 per cent. of the previous year. In the same year Seth Mangaldas granted an increase of 15 per cent. to spinners on account of the high level of house rents and the dearness of food-grains.

In June, 1923, wages in the Ahmedabad mills were reduced by 15.625 per cent. on account of depression in the industry. Since the year 1923, no general changes have been made in rates, but slight changes have been effected in piece rates for certain sorts in particular mills but these changes have not affected the general level of wages to any appreciable extent.

No information with regard to wage movements either in the cotton mills outside Bombay and Ahmedabad or in any other trade or industry is available.

It will be observed that the increases referred to above have been granted on the basis of an increase in prices and in the cost of living, and are still called dearness allowances, but the amount of increase was not based on any existing cost of living index or on any scientific data.

The Bombay Cost of Living Index number for working classes in Bombay city was first published in 1921 and it has several admitted defects.

The method of constructing the index number is, briefly, to take 23 commodities and house-rent, ascertain the prices of given units of those commodities in the base month July, 1914, and the current month, multiply these actual prices in each case by the so-called "mass units," sum the products and reduce to index numbers, taking the sum of the massed expenditure in July, 1914, as 100.

The main objection to this method as here applied is that the mass units are for one population and the prices and the index number for another. The mass units are estimates for the total annual consumption of certain stated commodities in the whole of India for the average of the 5 years 1909-1914, but the prices are the prices of the grades of certain commodities mostly used by the labouring classes in the Bombay City

and the index number is intended to be the index number of the cost of living of that community only. The other objections to the present index are 5 in number, *vis.*, (1) the number of commodities is small; (2) many commodities consumed by the working classes find no place in the index while unimportant commodities such as beef and coal are included; (3) the prices are, in the case of cereals and other food articles, retail prices, but in the case of clothing, coal and kerosine oil, wholesale prices; (4) the base prices for rice, wheat, jowari, and gram are in each case for a quality different from the quality for which current prices are given, and; (5) the method adopted for the index breaks down when applied to rentals.

For the purposes of the index the average of the house rents for only 20 properties in Bombay with an arbitrary maximum of Rs. 25 as a basic rent was taken and this was multiplied by the "mass unit" for the whole of India. Even if the "mass units" were reliable, it would be impossible to arrive at an average rent for the whole of India where the range is from 0 to Rs. 10,000 or more. The rent figure given for 1914 is Rs. 11.30 which certainly was not the average working class rent for July, 1914. As a matter of fact the Labour Office enquiry shows that in 1914 the average rent was about Rs. 3-13-1 pie.

In view of the above objections to the present cost of living index number the Government of Bombay have decided to compile a fresh index number on a new base period using weights ascertained by a family budget enquiry. The strikes of the past two years have made such an investigation impossible, but when normal conditions return the enquiry will be put in hand.

No index numbers for other centres have yet been published, but they are under preparation for Ahmedabad and Sholapur with a post-war base. Attached is a table of Bombay Working Class Cost of Living Index numbers month by month from 1915.

The following note by the late Mr. L. J. Sedgwick, I.C.S., then Director of the Labour Office, in the report on the 1923 cotton wage census (p. 25) will be of interest in considering the question of real wages:—

"I have decided to abandon any idea of arriving at a Real Wages Index Number for the following reasons.

In 1921 the Cost of Living Index Number had been prepared for Bombay only, but was applied to all other centres as well. At the present time also no Cost of Living Index Number is available for any centre other than Bombay. But I am not satisfied that the Index Numbers for other centres would approximate at all closely to the Index Number for Bombay.* That being so—even assuming that the Bombay Cost of Living Index Number is really satisfactory—the denominator of the fraction in the formula might easily be as much as 30 or more points in excess or defect for centres other than Bombay.

The average earnings in the present Report have, as already explained in paragraphs 12 and 13 above, been arrived at by a method different from the method used for 1914 and 1921 in the last Report. Consequently the Wage Index Numbers appearing in the numerator of the fraction in the formula for 1914 and 1921 on the one hand and 1923 on the other would not be based on the same facts.

It seems far better to abstain from publishing Index Numbers which may be used as valid arguments for change in wages policy either by employers or employees than to publish such Index Numbers when they may be many points out, and when their proportions as against one another may be quite incorrect.

The present average earnings being based on more complete and better returns, and being arrived at after allowance for absenteeism, *may* perhaps form a sound basis of comparison at the next enquiry. And, if in the meanwhile Cost of Living Index Numbers can be constructed for the various centres, it *may* be possible to use 1923 as a base in estimating changes of real wages in subsequent years. But, with the data before us, it will never be possible to use either 1914 or 1921 as a base for real Wage Index Numbers, although this does not imply that for *other* purposes the 1921 enquiry was not of value.†

* The U.S.A. Department of Labour's Cost of Living Index Numbers for June, 1924 (on base December, 1914) for 19 Cities in the U.S.A. ranged from 153 to 182, and the Austrian Department of Statistics Cost of Living Index Numbers for July, 1924 (base believed to be July, 1914) for the 9 principal States in Austria ranged from 150.4 to 183.1, both of which show that rise of prices in various centres of the same country is by no means equal.

† It may be objected to the preceding paragraphs that the Labour Office ought not to be able to criticise its own past work as inaccurate. To this I have to reply that the Labour Office is a research office, and there is nothing diplomatic about research. All research bureaux are bound from time to time to revise their methods. The best known instance is that of the U.S.A. Labour Bureau—one of the most efficient in the world—which in 1914 entirely changed its method of constructing a wholesale Prices Index, condemned the old method and explained and justified the new one.

Bombay Working Class Cost of Living Index Numbers by Months.

Month.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.
January ..	107	115	120	134	182	183	169	173	156	159	157	155	156	154	149
February ..	107	109	117	134	176	181	162	165	155	156	157	154	155	148	148
March ..	106	108	113	136	172	177	160	165	154	154	159	155	155	145	149
April ..	104	106	112	144	167	172	160	162	156	150	158	153	153	144	148
May ..	103	105	111	147	168	173	167	163	153	150	156	153	152	147	147
June ..	104	107	116	148	174	181	173	163	152	153	154	155	154	146	147
July ..	104	108	118	149	186	190	177	165	153	157	157	157	156	147	148
August ..	106	109	120	153	179	191	180	164	154	161	152	155	157	146	149
September ..	110	109	120	165	172	192	185	165	154	161	151	155	154	145	149
October ..	113	109	121	175	174	193	183	162	152	161	153	155	151	146	—
November ..	112	113	127	175	173	186	182	160	153	161	153	154	150	147	—
December ..	113	116	129	183	174	181	179	161	157	160	155	156	151	148	—
Annual average..	107	110	119	154	175	183	173	164	154	157	155	155	154	147	—

APPENDIX I.

Nature of Accommodation provided by Employers.

Locality.	Firm.	Nature of housing.	Rents.	Remarks.
Bombay	Municipality	Line system and semi-detached houses.	—	—
Do.	Colaba Land and Mill Company.	184 rooms, average 10' x 11' chawl system. 226 rooms, 13' 10" x 12' 8" in lines of 26.	Rs. 4-Rs. 6.. Rs. 6 ..	Verandahs, latrine accommodation line chawls built about 6 years ago. No difficulty in letting the accommodation to the mill hands. Mill is isolated in Colaba.
Do.	Bomanji Petit Mill..	157 rooms, 12' x 10' with kitchen, 4' x 10'.	Rs. 2-8-0-Rs. 3.	Flush latrines water supply on each floor. No difficulty in letting to employees—waiting list Chawl system.
Do.	Manockji Petit Mill	150, 12' x 10' with kitchen, 4' x 10'. 217, 10' x 10'.	Old Rs. 2-Rs. Rs. 3. New Rs. 4-Rs. 4-8-0.	150 new chawls flush latrines, 97 old—flush latrines. 120 old—basket system. All occupied.
Do.	Victoria Mill ..	30, 10' x 10' ..	Rs. 7-8-0 ..	Flush latrines three storied chawl.
Do.	Assur Veerjee Mill..	148, 10' x 11' ..	Rs. 6 ..	Basket system few rooms vacant and some let to outsiders. (Chawl near Railway line.)
Do.	Tata Mill	6 blocks, two storied buildings 161, single rooms, 10' x 12'. 1 block, two storied, 20 double rooms.	Rs. 3-8-0 .. Rs. 10-Rs. 13	Flush latrines and washing accommodation. Flush latrines and washing accommodation. All occupied.
Do.	Kohinoor Mill ..	10, 3 storied blocks, 618 single rooms, 10' x 12', 183 double 12' x 14'.	Single, Rs. Rs. 6-8-0— Double, Rs. 12.	Built in 1921 at a cost of 13½ lakhs. About 250 rooms normally vacant. Attributed to Bombay Development chawls. Irrecoverable rent per year Rs. 9,000. Bathing places and flush latrines.
Do.	Morarji Goculdas Mill	4 storied block verandah. 28 rooms, 10' x 10'. 2 storied block, 32 rooms, 12' 9" x 11' 6". Single line 22 rooms, 12' x 12'.	Rs. 5-8-0 single. Rs. 10-8-0 double.	Seven rooms let to outsiders. Flush latrines and bathing arrangements, workers apparently not very appreciative and further building abandoned.
Do.	Dinshaw Petit Mill..	3 storied block, 98 rooms 56 rooms in lines back to back.	Rs. 2 .. Rs. 5 ..	Rooms in demand. Flush latrines and washing accommodation.
Do.	Century Mill ..	19 lines, ground floor, back to back of 24 rooms in each—456, 10' x 11' verandah.	Rs. 5 ..	A good housing scheme flush latrines, washing accommodation, shops, school. In good demand.
Do.	Bombay Dyeing and Manufacturing Co. (Textile Mill.)	216 rooms—84 single line system, 9½' x 11½', 26 back to back, 9½' x 10', 96 —2 floored chawl, 10½' x 9½'.	Rs. 2-8-0 ..	Utilised to fullest extent.
Do.	Bombay Dyeing and Manufacturing Co. (Spring Mill.)	504 rooms—8, three storied chawls, Development and Improvement Trust principle, 12' x 10'. 144 line quarters in six lines, 10' x 12'.	Rs. 5 ..	New housing scheme.

APPENDIX I—continued.

Locality.	Firm.	Nature of housing.	Rents.	Remarks.
Bombay ..	Bombay Dyeing and Manufacturing Co. (Dye Works.)	96 rooms, line system back to back.	Rs. 2.	
Do. ..	E. D. Sassoon & Co. (David Mill.)	255, 16½' × 14' .. 9, 12' × 12' ..	Rs. 7 .. Rs. 5 ..	} Fully occupied.
Do. ..	Jacob Sassoon Mill	190, 16' × 10' ..	Rs. 4-8-0 ..	
Do. ..	Meyer Sassoon Mill	16, 10' 7" × 10' 1½" 26, C.I. rooms, varying sizes.	Rs. 3-13-0. Rs. 4-12-0- Rs. 9-6-0.	
Kuria ..	Swadeshi Mill ..	693—164, 10' × 10' verandah, 4' × 10', 90, 12' × 10' verandah, 4' × 10', 164, 12' × 10' verandah, 4' × 10', 165, 14' × 12' passage, 8' × 10', 110, double rooms, 10' × 10' and 10' × 8' with 4' verandah.	Rs. 3 .. Rs. 3-12-0. Double. Rs. 5-8-0.		Basket system. Practically all occupied
Ahmedabad ..	—	About 3,800 rooms have been erected for the workers in the textile industry.	—	Generally built on line system.
Sholapur ..	Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company.	727 rooms in 8 blocks, line system.	2 per cent. on capital.	Single and double rooms
Do. ..	Narsinggirji Mill ..	240 single and double rooms, 14' × 10' 9".	Rs. 4 per double room.	Designed by Consulting Surveyor to Government.
Do. ..	Laxmi and Vishnool Mills.	400 rooms, lines, 12½' × 9½' (12 double rooms).	Rs. 1-8-0. Rs. 4.	
Do. ..	Jam Mill	159 rooms, 12½' × 9½', 12½' × 7½' lines.	Rs. 1-8-0- Rs. 3.	
Barsi ..	Barsi Spinning and Weaving Mill.	Line system, 183 rooms, 12' × 10' brick buildings.	Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0.	
Do. ..	Lokamanya Mill ..	28 C. I. rooms, 10' × 8½'.	Rs. 2 ..	New Mill.
Do. ..	Jayashankar Mill ..	20 C. I. rooms, 10' × 9'.	Rs. 2 ..	New Mill.
Dhulia ..	New Pratap Mills ..	Line system, in blocks of six or seven.	—	Designed by Surveyor to Government.
Amalner, Chalisgaon, Jalgaon Broach, Gokak.	} All mills	Generally on line system.	—	—
Nasik ..	Government Security Press.	An excellent housing scheme. Details in Chief Inspector of Factories' Report, 1927.	—	—
Do. ..	Government Central Distillery.	A good housing scheme for all employees.	—	Stone quarters line system.
Mulund	Braithwaite & Company.	216, single line, 12' × 10' with 4' wide verandah.	Rs. 4 ..	2-3 persons per room Basket system. 150 occupied.
Ambernath	Factories ..	Provide housing on line system.	—	—
Thana	Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co. (Raymond Woollen Mill).	128 rooms, 11' × 10', line system.	Rs. 3 ..	Fully occupied.

APPENDIX

Deaths by Causes and Occupations

Nature of Occupation.	Causes of								
	All causes.	Pulmonary Tuberculosis.	Cancer.	Rheumatic Fevrs.	Gout.	Diabetes.	Alcoholism.	Plumbism (Lead Poisoning).	Disease of the Nervous system.
<i>Production of Raw Materials—</i>									
<i>Class A (I and II).</i>									
Mines, Metallic minerals, coal, etc., and Petroleum wells.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Quarries of hard rocks	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Salt works, extraction of saltpetre, alum, etc.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>III.—Industry.</i>									
Textiles, cotton mills, workers in cotton	70	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Jute spinning, weaving, etc.	59	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rope, twine, and string making, workers in other fibres.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Woollen mills, blankets, carpets, etc. . .	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Workers in silk and hair (camel, horse, etc.).	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dyeing, bleaching, calico printing, etc. . .	13	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other textiles and millhands, weavers, etc., insufficiently described.	1,314	66	2	—	—	1	—	8	—
Furriers, workers in leather, bone, etc. . .	28	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Sawyers, carpenters, basket makers, etc.	189	24	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Workers in iron, makers of guns, etc. . . .	52	2	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	19	5	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Workers in lead, quicksilver and other metals.	56	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Workers in mints, die-sinkers, etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Workers in ceramics, glass, pottery porcelain, bricks, etc.	21	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making of matches and explosives	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making of aerated waters and ice	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making of dyes, paints and ink	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making, refining vegetable and mineral oils.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making of paper, papier mâché, etc.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making of soap, candles, perfumes, drugs	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bakers, butchers, fish curers, flour-grinders, makers of other food.	49	10	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Brewers, distillers, toddy drawers	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making of tobacco, opium and ganja	110	17	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tailors, etc., makers of umbrellas, boots, hats and other articles of dress.	202	21	2	—	—	—	—	3	—
Washing, cleaning and dyeing clothes . .	112	16	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Barbers and other industries connected with the toilet.	47	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Furniture, cabinet, tent makers, carriage painters, upholsterers, etc.	10	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Building industries, lime burners, excavators, stone cutters, etc.	58	6	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
House decorators, builders, painters, plumbers, tilers, etc.	49	7	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Makers of vehicles, ships, aeroplanes etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gas works and electric light	21	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printers, lithographers, engravers, etc.	62	5	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Book-binders, makers of musical instruments, clocks, etc.	29	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Workers in jewellery, necklaces, toys, etc.	36	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Employers (not actors) in theatres, race-courses, contractors, etc.	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Sweepers, scavengers, etc.	163	17	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
<i>IV.—Transport.</i>									
Persons (not makers) concerned with aerodromes and aeroplanes.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Persons employed in transport by water	145	11	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Persons employed on construction, etc., of roads and bridges.	18	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Managers and employers connected with vehicles.	27	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Bullocks, ass, etc., owners and drivers . .	184	10	1	—	—	—	—	4	—
Porters and messengers	12	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Railway employees (other than labourers)	117	5	2	—	—	—	—	11	—
Labourers and coolies on railways	183	8	1	—	—	1	1	11	—
Post, Telegraph and Telephone services	35	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—

* Excluding intervening numbers

APPENDIX V.—(Abridged).
Co-operative Societies among Industrial Labouring Classes.

	Numbers.	Number of members.	Loans due by Individuals.	Share Capital paid.	Loans and Deposits held at the end of the year from		Reserve Fund.	Working Capital.
			Rs.	Rs.	Mem- bers.	Non- members.		
Mill-hands' Credit Societies (Bombay and Suburbs).	72	4,406	1,17,434	73,135	16,257	18,481	32,683	1,40,713
Co-operative Credit Societies of Labouring classes working in mills, municipality, etc.	30	2,729	1,51,644	1,16,764	30,346	9,167	26,054	1,86,567
Consumers' Society for mill-hands.	1	257	—	322	—	3,375	409	4,106
Producers' Society for mill-hands.	1	128	493	647	—	—	—	647
Mill-hands' Credit Societies (Mofussil).	5	1,754	1,83,099	29,156	1,45,212	21,743	15,785	2,23,891
Grand Total ..	109	9,274	4,52,670	2,20,024	1,91,815	52,766	74,931	5,55,924

APPENDIX VI.—(Abridged).

Statement of Accidents in the following Industries and Compensation paid for them from 1924 (six months) to 31st December, 1928.

Year.	Reference to clauses of sect. II.	Accidents resulting in			Compensation paid for			No of cases where employers were insured.
		Death.	Permanent disablement.	Temporary disablement.	Death.	Permanent disablement.	Temporary disablement.	
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
					(1) Railway Servants.			
1924 ..		2	—	—	3,250 0 0	—	—	—
1925 ..		41	7	—	29,650 0 0	3,884 10 0	—	—
1926 ..		70	23	—	55,285 0 0	12,140 13 9	—	—
1927 ..		65	49	—	40,435 0 0	17,928 10 0	—	19
1928 ..		56	55	3	44,560 0 0	20,707 8 0	292 8 0	28
Total ..		234	134	3	1,73,180 0 0	54,666 9 9	292 8 0	47
					(2) Textile Mills (including Dyeing and Bleaching).			
1924 ..	(i)	38	21	8	30,380 0 0	7,782 14 2	163 1 6	60
1925 ..	"	23	109	4	12,150 0 0	32,429 14 8	545 0 0	84
1926 ..	"	18	179	3	13,160 0 0	33,648 9 0	176 4 0	170
1927 ..	"	42	183	1	35,303 0 0	37,277 8 2	19 1 0	169
1928 ..	"	17	160	4	15,080 0 0	33,973 0 0	330 0 0	119
Total ..		138	652	20	1,06,083 0 0	1,45,109 14 1	1,233 6 6	612
					(3) Factories (other than Textile Mills and Railway Workshops).			
1924 ..	(i)	1	3	—	1,050 0 0	404 4 0	—	2
1925 ..	"	15	27	4	15,507 8 0	10,155 4 0	141 9 4	18
1926 ..	"	9	34	4	12,615 0 0	9,449 2 0	212 8 0	23
1927 ..	"	17	50	—	15,430 0 0	13,094 4 5	—	24
1928 ..	"	14	64	—	16,280 0 0	20,919 7 2	—	40
Total ..		56	178	8	60,882 8 0	54,022 5 7	354 1 4	107
					(4) Railway Workshops.			
1924 ..	(ii)	7	5	—	7,800 0 0	3,224 5 0	—	—
1925 ..	"	3	16	1	1,500 0 0	8,811 6 0	252 0 0	—
1926 ..	"	3	30	—	1,387 8 0	9,349 1 0	—	—
1927 ..	"	7	18	—	5,400 0 0	7,236 11 0	—	—
Total ..		19	69	1	16,087 8 0	28,621 7 0	252 0 0	—
					Total, 1924-1928.			
Railway servants.	—	234	134	3	1,73,180 0 0	54,666 9 9	292 8 0	47
Tramways ..	(i)	6	4	—	6,450 0 0	2,352 0 0	—	—
Textile Mills	(ii)	138	652	20	1,06,083 0 0	1,45,109 14 1	1,233 6 6	612
Factories (other than Textile Mills and Railway Workshops)	"	56	178	8	60,882 8 0	54,022 5 7	354 1 4	107
Railway Workshops	"	19	69	1	16,087 8 0	28,621 7 0	252 0 0	—
Railway Workshops, Mines and Quarries.	iii	5	2	—	4,500 0 0	604 0 0	—	—
Seamen ..	(iv)	16	10	1	22,375 0 0	4,466 6 0	343 12 0	—
Loading and unloading ships.	(v)	16	22	4	12,007 8 0	9,504 4 0	150 0 0	10
Buildings and Bridges.	(vi)	26	5	—	22,870 0 0	556 14 0	—	5
Electric Cables (over head).	(vii)	15	14	1	15,067 8 0	4,753 4 0	27 2 0	26
Sewers ..	(viii)	5	—	—	3,150 0 0	—	—	—
Port Trust ..	(ix)	14	10	2	13,300 0 0	6,979 8 0	610 0 0	—
Total ..		550	1,100	20	4,52,670 0 0	2,20,024 0 0	52,766 0 0	74,931

Statement of Accidents dealt with by the Ex-Officio Commissioners in the Presidency from 1926 to 31st December, 1928.

Year.	Accidents* resulting in			Compensation paid for			
	Death	Perman-ent disable-ment.	Tempo-rary disable-ment.	Death.	Permanent disable-ment.	Tempo-rary disable-ment.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1926 ..	19	23	5	Rs. a. p. 13,721 0 0	Rs. a. p. 4,463 8 2	Rs. —	Amount shown in column 6 represents the amount of compensation deposited and that agreed upon under agreements registered.
1927 ..	28	36	4	15,097 8 0	13,577 10 0	—	
1928 ..	39	32	7	21,966 3 6	21,813 10 0	—	
Total	86	91	16	50,784 11 6	39,854 12 2	—	

* Excludes 31 accidents, dealt with in 1924-25, for which figures of compensation are not available.

APPENDIX VII.

Number of persons in each wage class to whom compensation was awarded each year during the period from 1924 (six months) to 31st December, 1928.

—		Assumed wage (see Schedule IV).	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	Total number
Adults	..	Rs. a. p. 8 0 0	—	2	—	4	1	7
		10 0 0	1	3	1	—	3	8
		12 0 0	—	3	2	7	3	15
		15 4 0	7	34	17	31	19	108
		20 0 0	9	57	38	45	46	195
		25 0 0	27	58	52	66	55	258
		30 0 0	8	32	23	32	33	128
		35 0 0	9	22	14	24	22	91
		40 0 0	3	18	14	17	17	69
		46 4 0	2	11	11	17	20	61
		55 0 0	2	14	6	12	9	43
		65 0 0	} 8	30	16	13	19	86
		75 0 0						
83 5 4								
Total Adults ..			76	284	194	268	247	1,069
Minors	..	Rs. a. p. 8 0 0	1	2	1	1	1	6*
		10 0 0	—	3	—	2	—	5
		12 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
		15 4 0	—	—	—	1	—	1
		20 0 0	—	—	—	1	—	1
		25 0 0	—	—	1	—	—	1
Total Minors ..			1	5	2	5	1	14
Grand Total ..			77	289	196	273	248	1,083

* Of these six, five were fatal accident cases for which no wage-class could be given as compensation in case of a minor is limited to Rs. 200 only and is not based on wages.

APPENDIX

Intervals, Holidays,

District.	Number of								
	Total.	In which intervals are			In which holidays are		In which normal		
		Granted under			Granted on		For Men		
		Section 21 (1) (e) (i)	Section 21 (1) (e) (ii)	Proviso to 21 (1) (e)	Sundays only	Week-days and Sundays	Not above 48	Above 48 and not above 54	Above 54
Bombay	374	309	1	13	113	246	94	68	207
Ahmedabad .. .	166	151	—	—	5	155	3	2	157
Broach	52	50	—	—	4	48	—	1	51
Kaira	19	18	—	—	8	11	—	—	19
Panch Mahals ..	13	9	—	—	1	11	2	1	9
Surat	52	48	—	1	7	44	4	4	43
Thana	9	9	—	—	5	4	3	—	8
Bombay Suburban	27	22	—	—	2	22	1	6	18
East Khandesh ..	166	158	—	—	30	133	3	6	155
West Khandesh ..	74	65	—	—	5	69	1	1	72
Nasik	29	27	1	—	9	19	5	5	19
Poona	33	29	—	1	13	17	17	5	11
Sholapur	46	44	—	—	2	43	1	1	44
Ahmednagar .. .	57	29	—	—	12	37	16	7	27
Satara	2	2	—	—	—	2	—	1	1
Belgaum	38	37	—	—	7	31	6	3	29
Bijapur	39	38	—	—	19	20	2	3	35
Dharwar	108	103	—	—	18	86	7	3	86
Kolaba	7	4	—	—	—	4	—	1	6
Kanara	3	3	—	—	3	—	—	3	—
Ratnagiri .. .	2	2	—	—	—	2	—	2	—
Hyderabad .. .	20	19	—	—	3	16	2	—	18
Karachi	52	33	3	—	14	30	10	13	26
Sukkur	21	19	1	—	6	15	10	1	10
Thar and Parkar ..	13	13	—	—	2	11	—	—	13
Nawabshah .. .	21	21	—	—	7	14	2	—	19
Upper Sind Frontier	5	5	—	—	1	4	—	—	5
Larkana	50	47	—	—	17	30	28	—	19
Total ..	1,498	1,314	6	15	313	1,124	217	136	1,115
Total for the year 1927.	1,426	1,276	11	—	295	1,082	185	136	1,085
Total for the year 1926.	1,398	1,232	19	—	236	1,019	175	110	1,045

VIII.

and Hours.

Factories.												Remarks.
weekly hours are					Ex- emp- ted from	In which majority of operatives are exempted from.						
For Women			For Children			Section 24 (a)	Section 21	Section 22	Section 26	Section 27	Section 28		Section 35
Not above 48	Above 48 and not above 54	Above 54	Not above 30	Above 30								
					36							76
4	1	136	49	8	—	11	2	—	—	2	80	
—	1	48	9	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	5	Four factories did not furnish information.
—	1	17 6	3	1	—	1 3	—	—	—	—	1 2	
7	7	37	2	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	7	One factory did not furnish information. Do.
2	—	5	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
1	5	12	3	10	—	3	1	—	—	1	7	Two factories did not furnish information. Do.
3	44	112	4	1	—	6	1	—	—	1	8	
1	1	72	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	1	Seven factories did not furnish information.
2	3	17	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	7	
2	2	5	1	5	—	3	3	—	—	2	10	
1	1	40	8	2	—	2	1	—	—	1	12	
13	10	19	1	2	—	21	1	—	—	1	—	
—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	Two factories did not furnish information.
5	4	23	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	
1	4	31	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
6	1	94	2	1	—	3	2	—	—	2	7	
—	—	2	1	1	—	3	3	—	—	3	—	Three factories did not furnish information.
—	3	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
3	—	10	—	9	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	
8	3	10	—	—	—	13	5	—	—	4	4	
—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	9	Three factories did not furnish information.
1	—	12	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11	—	10	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
5	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
112	169	809	94	83	—	133	31	—	—	22	268	Thirty factories did not furnish information.
107	167	777	99	102	—	120	30	—	—	19	261	
102	148	747	106	116	—	80	26	—	—	—	—	

APPENDIX IX.
Average Daily Earnings in Cotton Mills.
Men.

Department and Occupation.	Bombay.			Ahmedabad.			Sholapur.		
	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
<i>Mixing and Waste Room—</i>									
Jobs and Muka-dams .. Time ..	1 10 5	1 10 5	1 9 5	1 0 1	1 4 8	1 2 7	0 14 1	1 0 8	0 13 10
Nawghanies .. Time ..	1 2 2	1 2 0	1 2 2	0 11 9	0 15 8	0 14 7	0 11 4	0 12 8	0 12 5
<i>Blow Room—</i>									
Jobs .. Time ..	3 6 8	3 10 9	3 8 8	1 18 7	2 1 11	2 6 5	1 14 3	1 12 6	—
Assistant Jobbers .. Piece ..	1 15 4	1 13 4	1 12 10	1 3 6	1 0 1	1 10 6	1 9 3	1 5 3	1 8 4
Machine Atten-dants .. Time ..	0 14 9	0 14 10	0 15 2	0 12 11	0 14 10	0 13 10	0 10 5	0 11 0	0 11 4
<i>Carding Room—</i>									
Jobs .. Time ..	4 8 10	4 8 2	4 6 2	2 4 9	2 10 10	2 10 1	2 10 5	2 11 11	3 6 2
Assistant Jobbers .. Piece ..	2 2 7	2 1 10	2 3 9	1 7 11	1 9 3	1 12 11	1 5 3	1 4 3	1 13 1
Grinders .. Time ..	1 0 9	1 1 2	1 0 5	1 0 5	1 2 1	2 2 4	0 12 1	0 15 0	0 11 11
Strippers .. Time ..	0 15 11	0 15 10	0 10 13	0 13 8	0 14 7	0 14 3	0 11 6	0 11 10	0 13 2
Lap carriers .. Time ..	0 13 11	0 13 5	0 14 5	0 13 5	0 13 8	0 14 1	0 11 4	0 11 2	0 11 1
Fly Coolers .. Time ..	0 13 5	0 13 7	0 14 1	0 12 10	0 14 1	0 12 10	0 10 8	0 10 8	0 10 5
<i>Drawing Frames—</i>									
Jobs .. Time ..	3 4 9	2 12 3	3 7 5	2 1 3	2 0 4	1 10 6	2 6 1	3 4 1	5 11
Tenters .. Piece ..	2 6 11	3 4 3	3 8 2	1 4 7	—	—	2 7 1	1 9 1	12 7 10
<i>Slubbing and Intermediate Roving Frames—</i>									
Head Jobbers .. Time ..	4 15 1	4 15 5	4 3 6	3 0 3	5 2 3	3 10 8	3 2 5	9 2 8	4 —
Assistant Jobbers .. Piece ..	2 11 11	2 12 4	2 3 5	1 12 8	2 12 7	—	4 3 5	3 15 8	2 8 0
Slubbing Frame Tenters .. Time ..	1 6 2	1 5 3	1 6 3	1 3 7	1 3 0	1 3 9	0 13 10	0 12 10	0 13 3
Intermediate Frame Tenters .. Piece ..	1 5 11	1 3 11	1 4 6	1 3 0	13 5 0	12 11 4	7 —	0 11 8	0 11 8
Roving Frame Tenters .. Time ..	1 2 6	1 4 1	1 1 10	—	—	—	—	0 13 10	0 12 9
<i>Ring Spinning—</i>									
Head Jobbers .. Time ..	5 2 8	4 12 4	4 11 3	3 0 3	6 7 3	3 10 3	3 0 6	2 14 7	—
Assistant Jobbers .. Piece ..	2 12 10	2 11 8	2 7 5	1 13 3	2 0 4	1 9 4	1 14 0	1 15 4	2 14 8
Doffer Jobbers .. Time ..	1 10 4	1 12 6	1 14 4	1 7 7	2 1 1	1 4 8	1 13 7	1 5 2	1 4
Banders .. Piece ..	1 15 6	1 7 2	1 3 1	—	—	—	1 10 10	1 10 10	1 10 5
Siders .. Time ..	1 0 3	1 0 4	1 0 3	1 0 14	2 0 15	0 15 2	0 11 4	0 11 10	0 11 5
Doffer Boys .. Time ..	0 12 1	0 12 8	0 12 10	1 0 13	7 0 10	1 0 10	7 0 5	—	0 8 1
Tarwallas or Followers .. Time ..	0 13 11	0 14 4	0 15 5	0 11 6	0 11 10	—	0 7 8	0 8 2	—
<i>Winding—</i>									
Pirn Winders .. Time ..	1 3 0	0 13 9	0 15 6	1 0 11	0 13 7	0 15 3	0 8 0	0 7 10	0 7 10
<i>Warping—</i>									
Warpers .. Time ..	1 12 8	1 9 1	1 13 10	1 11 6	1 12 12	1 2 5	7 1 4	0 14 6	—
Creelers .. Piece ..	0 12 11	0 12 11	0 13 1	2 0 13	6 0 14	1 0 10	7 0 9	5 0 10	9 8
<i>Sizing—</i>									
Front Sizers .. Time ..	3 3 6	2 11 3	1 8 15	1 11 14	0 1 13	7 1 15	3 1 14	10 1 9	9
Back Sizers .. Piece ..	2 14 6	2 15 0	2 15 9	1 14 8	1 12 1	—	—	—	—
<i>Drawing-in—</i>									
Head Jobbers .. Time ..	2 10 8	2 12 4	2 1 4	1 11 4	1 0 8	1 14 11	1 11 10	1 8 3	—
Drawers .. Piece ..	1 8 3	1 12 11	1 13 4	1 8 3	1 6 8	1 13 11	4 2 1	5 10 1	5 2
Head and Reed Repairers .. Time ..	1 3 11	1 2 11	1 3 4	0 14 6	1 1 3	1 11 0	12 1 0	11 3 0	10 7
<i>Weaving—</i>									
Head Jobbers .. Time ..	6 15 0	6 7 6	6 6 7	4 14 11	5 7 2	5 15 7	2 4 1	1 15 10	—
Line Jobbers .. Piece ..	3 5 5	3 11 8	3 10 12	1 2 14	5 2 14	3 8 3	1 9 8	1 11 0	3 7 11
<i>Weavers—</i>									
Two Looms .. Piece ..	1 10 2	1 11 3	1 13 4	1 10 11	1 10 5	1 13 5	7 6 1	9 4 1	9 9
Four Looms .. Piece ..	2 9 1	2 9 3	2 14 2	2 10 5	1 13 6	4 1 3	—	3 13 7	6 9
<i>Calendering—</i>									
Head Jobbers .. Time ..	2 10 4	2 12 0	2 12 2	1 11 8	1 15 4	2 6 4	1 14 9	1 2 1	—
Assistant Jobbers .. Time ..	1 13 9	1 10 9	1 11 10	1 6 0	1 2 5	1 6 0	1 9 0	—	—
Front Calendermen .. Time ..	1 1 4	1 6 1	1 2 0	1 4 8	0 14 7	0 14 0	1 7 0	10 10	—
Back Calendermen .. Time ..	0 15 6	0 15 3	0 0 0	0 14 3	0 14 4	0 14 5	0 10 9	0 10 4	—

APPENDIX IX—contd.

Average Daily Earnings in Cotton Mills—contd.

Men—contd.

Department and Occupation.	Bombay.			Ahmedabad.			Sholapur.		
	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Yarn Bundling and Baling—									
Scalemen	Time .. 1 3 4 1	2 2 4 1	3 3 2 0	14 9 1 2	1 1 0 10	0 10 3 0	10 10 9 0	11 1 1	
	Piece .. 1 12 10	1 8 3 1	4 0 0	—	1 0 1	—	1 0 4 0	12 10	
Knotters	Time .. 1 1 1 1	3 11 1	3 10 1	3 3 1 1	3 0 15 7	0 9 5 0	13 8 0 12	0 12 0	
	Piece .. 1 9 0 1	5 11 1	2 5 1	8 2 1 12	0	—	0 13 11 0	12 6 0 14	11
Pressers	Time .. 1 4 9 1	7 2 1 1	1 10 1	2 9 1 2	0 1 1 2	—	0 14 1 0	13 4	
	Piece .. 1 12 11	8 6 1 4	2 1 6 0	1 0 0 0	—	0 15 3 0	13 10 1	1 5	
Bundle Wrappers	Time .. 0 13 7	0 13 7	1 0 5 0	14 2 10	12 8 0	14 0 0	8 10 9	5 10 11	
	Piece .. 1 1 7	0 15 3	1 7 2 1	9 10 2	0 0	—	0 11 2 0	9 8 0 8	11
Cloth Folding, Baling, and Finishing—									
Head Jobbers ..	Time .. 2 11 11	2 12 10	3 6 11 1	7 5 1 6	4 1 7 6	2 7 2 2	4 6 2 5	0	
Front Folders ..	Time .. 0 15 1	0 15 8	0 15 9 1	1 5 1 1	6 0 15 9	0 11 9 0	13 6 0 11	10	
Back Folders ..	Time .. 0 14 11	0 15 0	15 0 1 0	1 6 0 15	2 0 15 10	11 6 0 11	3 0 11 1		
Bundlers	Time .. 0 14 10	0 15 3	0 10 14	4 0 10 14	3 0 13 8	9 7 0 9	10 0 10 4		
Stampers	Time .. 1 1 5	1 8 1 1	3 1 1 1	1 11 1 1	1 10 1 1	5 0 10 11	0 11 2 0	11 10	
Engine and Boiler—									
Sarangs	Time .. 2 0 0	2 1 12 1	1 10 1	—	2 4 8 1	5 10 1	6 3 1 7	2 1 4 4	
Engine Drivers ..	Time .. 3 8 11	3 9 4 3	10 1 9 2	1 9 2 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	7 1 3 1	7 1 3 1	5
Splicers	Time .. 1 9 4	1 10 10 1	8 4 1 6	10 1 6 5	1 9 5 1	8 4 1 5	7 2 0 4		
Firemen	Time .. 1 3 11	1 5 8 1	5 4 1 7	9 1 7 1	1 7 1 1	10 14 8	0 15 5 1	3 9	
Electrical—									
Electricians ..	Time .. 3 15 0	4 0 9 5	0 4 2 3	4 3 0 1	2 9 0 2	0 6 2 10	7 2 10	4	
Wiremen	Time .. 2 7 9	2 10 6 2	5 5 2 2	6 2 5 0	1 15 4 0	15 9 1 1	6 1 6 3		
Mechanics—									
Foremen	Time .. 6 3 3	6 6 1 7	2 4 3 13	0 4 2 8	3 10 4 3	5 10 3 14	10 5 4 11		
Turners	Time .. 2 6 6	2 8 7 2	13 2 1 11	8 2 1 12	6 7 1 6	6 1 6 10	1 8 2		
Pattern Makers ..	Time .. 3 0 7	3 2 6 3	1 3 2 3	3 2 6 12	15 11 1 9	4 1 4 12	3 0		
Blacksmiths ..	Time .. 2 10 8	2 11 7 2	10 6 1 12	12 3 9 2	5 3 1 8	0 1 7 1	2 0 0 0		
Blacksmith Strikers	Time .. 1 1 1	1 9 1 1	4 1 0 2	1 4 0 1	2 10 0 11	10 12 0 12	0 15 8		
Tinsmiths	Time .. 2 1 10	2 4 6 2	9 2 1 11	6 2 0 10	2 0 1 3	4 1 6 5	1 1 1 2		
Masons	Time .. 2 0 11	2 12 1 0	2 0 2 2	5 3 2 5	4 1 9 11	2 11 1 5	6		
Moulders	Time .. 2 12 9	3 4 6 2	12 4 1 14	6 1 1 11	12 2 7 9	10 2 0 4	2 3 9		
Assistant Moulders	Time .. 1 15 9	2 1 6 2	3 10 1 0	1 1 3 9	1 4 1 1	5 4 1 3	5		
Ramossee or Sepoy Department and Odd Hands—									
Jamadars	Time .. 1 4 9	1 6 5 1	8 7 0 15	11 1 3 2	1 3 4 1	1 1 1 5	11 1 4	10	
Sepoys	Time .. 0 13 2	10 14 10	15 9 0 10	0 11 5	0 12 0 9	6 10 6 0	11 0 6	11 0	
Miscellaneous—									
Mukadams	Time .. 1 11 1	1 11 1 1	1 11 6 1	2 2 1 4	7 1 4 8	1 2 1 1	1 0 0 12	3	
Carpenters	Time .. 2 5 3	2 5 2 4	11 2 0 7	2 7 2 2	6 11 1 8	2 1 4 6	1 6 7		
Fitters	Time .. 2 9 8	2 12 8 2	11 9 1 12	10 2 2 7	2 5 0 1	6 10 1 6	10 1 9 1		
Oilers	Time .. 1 1 11	1 2 9 1	2 6 1 4	1 1 2 9	1 2 9 1	2 7 0 11	10 14 5	0 13 11	
Moches	Time .. 1 1 11	1 2 4 1	2 0 1 7	9 1 8 10	1 9 7 0	12 8 0 13	5 0 12 1		
Coolies	Time .. 0 15 3	0 15 5 0	15 11 0 12	6 0 14 4	0 14 10	10 8 0 10	7 0 11 3		
Sweepers	Time .. 0 12 0	0 12 4 0	13 6 0 11	5 0 12 9	0 13 3	8 7 0 11	4 0 10 8		

Women.

Department and Occupation.	Bombay.			Ahmedabad.			Sholapur.		
	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.	May 1921.	August 1923.	July 1926.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Mixing and Waste Room—									
Waste Pickers ..	Time .. 0 8 5	0 8 4 0	8 8 0 8	10 8 10 0	8 11 0 8	5 0 8 5	0 5 0 6	2 0 4 10	
Ring Spinning—									
Siders	Time .. 0 14 7	0 15 2 0	15 2 0 14	5 0 14 11	0 15 1 0	10 10 9	0 9 10 0	11 0	
Doffers	Time .. 0 10 11	—	0 11 5	—	0 10 5	—	—	0 7 10	
Winding—									
Naikins	Time .. 1 11 3	1 12 0 1	12 0 0 12	8 0 14 0	0 15 5 0	10 11 0	11 0 9	0 9 2	
Grey Winders ..	Time .. 0 11 10	0 11 10	0 11 2 0	13 0 0 10	9 0 10 9	—	0 7 6	—	
	Piece .. 0 12 2	0 12 3 0	11 9 0 11	1 0 12 2	2 0 11 9	0 7 5 0	5 4 0 6	2	
Colour Winders ..	Time .. 0 11 10	0 12 2 0	10 1 0 13	0 10 10 9	0 8 6 0	6 3 0 8	8 8	—	
	Piece .. 0 12 2	0 13 7 0	14 11 0 11	1 0 12 2	0 14 6 0	5 11 0	6 10 0	6 6	
Reeling—									
Reelers	Time .. 0 11 10	0 11 10	7 11 0 8	6 0 11 2	0 9 7 0	5 11 0	6 1 0 8	10	
	Piece .. 0 13 6	0 12 6 0	10 11 0 15	0 0 12 7	0 14 5 0	5 11 0	6 0 0 6	9	
Miscellaneous—									
Coolies	Time .. 0 12 7	0 11 3 0	9 6 0 9	6 0 11 9	0 9 9 0	7 1 0	6 11 0	6 7	
Sweepers	Time .. 0 8 3	0 8 8 0	8 8 0 9	7 0 10 1	0 9 2 0	4 11 0	5 7 0	5 9	

APPENDIX X (Abridged).

Frequency of Rates of Press Workers in Bombay.

Class intervals of rates.				English newspaper presses.	Vernacular newspaper presses.	Job printing presses.
Rs. 200 and over	..	..	..	5	2	11
Rs. 190 and below	Rs. 200	..	..	—	—	2
„ 180	„	„ 190	..	1	—	—
„ 170	„	„ 180	..	2	—	1
„ 160	„	„ 170	..	1	—	4
„ 150	„	„ 160	..	3	4	7
„ 140	„	„ 150	..	1	—	2
„ 130	„	„ 140	..	5	1	8
„ 120	„	„ 130	..	2	1	8
„ 110	„	„ 120	..	2	—	5
„ 100	„	„ 110	..	5	2	12
„ 95	„	„ 100	..	4	1	3
„ 90	„	„ 95	..	4	2	10
„ 85	„	„ 90	..	7	1	12
„ 80	„	„ 85	..	5	4	12
„ 75	„	„ 80	..	5	4	20
„ 70	„	„ 75	..	13	5	27
„ 65	„	„ 70	..	11	17	41
„ 60	„	„ 65	..	33	6	52
„ 58	„	„ 60	..	4	3	23
„ 56	„	„ 58	..	—	2	33
„ 54	„	„ 56	..	13	28	36
„ 52	„	„ 54	..	2	5	49
„ 50	„	„ 52	..	22	22	106
„ 48	„	„ 50	..	5	10	60
„ 46	„	„ 48	..	—	1	41
„ 44	„	„ 46	..	13	27	81
„ 42	„	„ 44	..	9	13	24
„ 40	„	„ 42	..	29	31	52
„ 38	„	„ 40	..	4	3	39
„ 36	„	„ 38	..	5	5	30
„ 34	„	„ 36	..	16	21	94
„ 32	„	„ 34	..	14	15	94
„ 30	„	„ 32	..	69	28	122
„ 29	„	„ 30	..	2	—	18
„ 28	„	„ 29	..	13	10	46
„ 27	„	„ 28	..	6	12	44
„ 26	„	„ 27	..	7	3	32
„ 25	„	„ 26	..	51	14	104
„ 24	„	„ 25	..	11	7	54
„ 23	„	„ 24	..	15	4	29
„ 22	„	„ 23	..	14	6	191
„ 21	„	„ 22	..	3	11	10
„ 20	„	„ 21	..	23	18	49
„ 19	„	„ 20	..	2	—	83
„ 18	„	„ 19	..	13	5	44
„ 17	„	„ 18	..	4	1	19
„ 16	„	„ 17	..	4	4	27
„ 15	„	„ 16	..	20	11	59
Below Rs. 15	..	..	..	3	4	38
Total number of workers..				505	374	1,968

APPENDIX XI.

Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency classified territorially according to Industries and Trades.

Name of Union.	Date of formation.	Number of members as at 1st March, 1929.
TEXTILE.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Girni Kamgar Mahamandal* ..	December, 1923 ..	1,200
The Bombay Textile Labour Union* ..	January, 1926 ..	6,749
The Bombay Mill Workers' Union* ..	March, 1928 ..	984
The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union* ..	May, 1928 ..	54,000
<i>Ahmedabad—</i>		
The Weavers' Union	February, 1920 ..	825
The Throstle Union	February, 1920 ..	11,180
The Winders' Union	June, 1920 ..	120
The Card Room, Blow Room and Frame Department Union.	August, 1920 ..	3,725
The Drivers', Oilmen's and Firemen's Union.	September, 1920 ..	525
The Jobbers' and Mukadams' Union ..	March 1926 ..	700
<i>Sholapur—</i>		
The Bombay Textile Labour Union (Sholapur Branch).	May, 1928 ..	800
RAILWAYS, INCLUDING RAILWAY WORKSHOPS.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma.*	April, 1897 ..	1,592
The Wadi Bunder Staff Union (G.I.P. Railway).*	January, 1920 ..	597
The Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union.	June, 1920 ..	457
The B.B. & C.I. Railway Employees' Union.	August, 1920 ..	6,108
The All-India and Burmah Covenanted Non-Gazetted Railway Services Association.*	June, 1926 ..	291
The Victoria Terminus Commercial Section Staff Union.*	July, 1926 ..	135
The G.I.P. Railway Cabin Staff Union* ..	July, 1927 ..	522
The G.I.P. Railway Audit Staff Union ..	December, 1927 ..	300
The G.I.P. Railway Administrative Office Staff Union.	May, 1928 ..	120
The G.I.P. Railway Mechanical Department Office Staff Union.*	July, 1928 ..	216
The G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union* ..	August, 1928 ..	41,000
<i>Ahmedabad—</i>		
The B.B. & C.I. Railway Employees' Association.*	February, 1920 ..	6,597
<i>Karachi—</i>		
The N.W. Railway (Recognized) Union (Karachi District).	1920 ..	955
<i>Poona—</i>		
The G.I.P. Railway Poona Staff Union*	August, 1927 ..	694
<i>Sholapur—</i>		
The G.I.P. Railway Sholapur Staff Union*	December, 1927 ..	944
<i>Dhond—</i>		
The G.I.P. Railway Dhond Staff Union	December, 1927 ..	212
SEAMEN.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Indian Seamen's Union*	April, 1919 ..	21,512
The Bombay Seamen's Union	March, 1926 ..	8,548
<i>Karachi—</i>		
The Indian Seamen's Union (Karachi) ..	July, 1927 ..	25
POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Bombay Postal Union	1907 ..	1,455
The Bombay Presidency Telegraph Workmen's Union.	1920 ..	530
The Bombay Branch of All-India Telegraph Union.	1924 ..	144
The Bombay Postmen's Union	January, 1926 ..	1,286

Those registered are marked *.

APPENDIX XI—*continued.*

Name of Union.	Date of formation.	Number of members as at 1st March, 1929.
POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS—<i>continued.</i>		
<i>Ahmedabad—</i>		
The Ahmedabad Postal and R.M.S. Union	January, 1924 ..	138
The Gujarat Postmen's Union	September, 1927 ..	142
<i>Poona—</i>		
The Poona Post and R.M.S. Union ..	January, 1919 ..	280
The Poona District Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	1923	336
The Poona R.M.S. B-Division Union ..	April, 1926 ..	230
<i>Broach—</i>		
The Broach District Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	(Not known).. ..	26
<i>Ahmednagar—</i>		
The Ahmednagar Postal and R.M.S. Union	1920	452
<i>Belgaum—</i>		
The Belgaum Postal Union	1920	128
The Belgaum District Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	January, 1924 ..	92
<i>Dharwar—</i>		
The Dharwar Postal and R.M.S. Union ..	August, 1919 ..	134
<i>Hubli—</i>		
The Dharwar District Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	June, 1927	100
<i>Jalgaon—</i>		
The Jalgaon Postal and R.M.S. Union ..	April, 1919 ..	156
The Khandesh Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	September, 1928 ..	163
<i>Nasik—</i>		
The Nasik Divisional Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	July, 1918	105
The Nasik Postal and R.M.S. Union ..	1920	155
<i>Ratnagiri—</i>		
The Ratnagiri Postal Union	1922	126
<i>Matwan—</i>		
The Konkan Divisional Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	May, 1927	260
<i>Satara—</i>		
The Satara Postal and R.M.S. Union ..	1919	278
<i>Surat—</i>		
The Surat Postal and R.M.S. Union ..	1921	133
The Surat District Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	November, 1923 ..	100
<i>Baroda—</i>		
The Baroda Postal Union	1920	195
The Baroda R.M.S. Union	1924	293
The Baroda Divisional Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	(Not known).. ..	50
<i>Bhavnagar—</i>		
The Bhavnagar Postal and R.M.S. Union	1923	93
<i>Rajkot—</i>		
The Rajkot Postal and R.M.S. Union ..	1923	147
<i>Karwar—</i>		
The Kanara District Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	August, 1924 ..	62
<i>Miraj—</i>		
The Satara Divisional Postmen's and Lower Grade Staff Union.	1926	149
MUNICIPAL.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union*	March, 1927	2,109
The Bombay Municipal Officials' Association.	April, 1927	633
The Bombay Municipal Kamgar Sangh*	September, 1928 ..	150
<i>Ahmedabad—</i>		
The Municipal Sweepers' Union	January, 1928 ..	200
<i>Karachi—</i>		
The Karachi Municipal Sweepers' Union*	January, 1927 ..	1,000

Those registered are marked *.

APPENDIX XI—continued.

Name of Union.	Date of formation.	Number of members as at 1st March, 1929.
PORT TRUST AND DOCK WORKERS—		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union	March, 1920	1,891
The Bombay Port Trust Docks Staff Union	July, 1926	945
The R.I.M. Dock Workers' Union* ..	March, 1928	851
The Mazagon Dock Employees' Union*..	March, 1928	1,166
<i>Karachi—</i>		
The Karachi Port Trust Labour Union*..	November, 1928 ..	1,053
WORKSHOPS OTHER THAN RAILWAY, MUNICIPAL AND PORT TRUST.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The General Workshopmen's Union* ..	May, 1928	500
The Bombay Engineering Workers' Union*	December, 1928 ..	100
<i>Poona (Kirksee)—</i>		
The Kirkee Arsenal Workmen's Union ..	July, 1928	499
MATCH FACTORIES.		
<i>Kurla—</i>		
The Kurla Match Factory Labour Union	May, 1928	500
<i>Ambernath—</i>		
The Ambernath Labour Union*	May, 1928	817
TRAMWAYS.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Tramwaymen's Union*	April, 1927	824
PRESS WORKERS—		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Press Workers' Union *	March, 1927	310
<i>Poona—</i>		
The Press Workers' Union	February, 1921 ..	75
TELEPHONE.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Bombay Telephone Company Employees' Union.*	March, 1928	195
GOLD THREAD.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Jari Workers' (Gold Thread Workers') Union.	March, 1927	120
The Bombay Kasbi Karigars' Union* ..	March, 1927	600
CLERICAL.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Clerks' Union*	April, 1918	381
The Bombay Currency Association ..	March, 1923	217
The Professional Letter-Writers' Union..	January, 1927	62
The British India Steam Navigation Company's Staff Union.	May, 1927	200
The Central Board of Revenue Ministerial Officers' Union.	November, 1927 ..	400
The Bombay Mill Clerks' Union	May, 1928	488
<i>Poona—</i>		
The Central Body Military Accounts' Association.	February, 1920 ..	1,929
PEONS.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Government Peons' and Menial Service Union.	February, 1926 ..	907
The Bank Peons' Union*	June, 1928	331
MISCELLANEOUS.		
<i>Bombay—</i>		
The Shop Assistants' Union	May, 1927	150
The Bombay Taxi Drivers' Union* ..	August, 1928	742
The Bombay Oil Companies' Employees' Union*.	October, 1928	169
<i>Hyderabad—</i>		
The Sind Workers' Union	October, 1927	240

Those registered are marked *.

APPENDIX

A Summary of Investigations by Conciliation and

Year.	Subject of investigation.	Personnel.	Other important persons who took part.
1917, December	25 per cent. increase in rates for warpers.	Mr. M. K. Gandhi (Conciliator).	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, Mr. Amubhai M. Mehta, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai.
1918, February	35 per cent. increase in rates for weavers.	Professor Anandshankar B. Dhruv (Arbitrator).	Messrs. M. K. Gandhi, G. E. Chatfield, S. G. Banker, Valabhai J. Patel, Krishnalal N. Desai, Ambalal Sarabhai, Amubhai M. Mehta and Miss Anasuya Sarabhai.
1919, December 1920, January.	Wages of warpers, folders, sizers, engineering workers, mochiees, calendar men and clerks.	Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, Managing Committee of Millowners and leaders and advisers of labour (negotiators).	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, Mr. Amubhai M. Mehta and Mr. S. G. Banker,
1920, beginning	Wages of workers in cloth folding and yarn bundling departments, clerks and blacksmiths.	Mr. Mangaldas Girhardas Managing Committee of Millowners and leaders and advisers of labour (negotiators).	Do. . . .
1920, May ..	Wages of spinners, 10 hours' day, potable water, dining shed, sanitation, caution money.	Messrs. Gandhi, Ambalal Sarabhai, Kasturbhai Lalbhai in the first instance and Mr. Gandhi and Seth Mangaldas in the second instance.	Mr. G. E. Chatfield, Mr. Amubhai M. Mehta, Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai and Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai.
1920, October..	Bonus	Seth Mangaldas and Mr. Gandhi.	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai and Mr. S. G. Banker.
1921, January and May.	Do.	Do.	Do.
1921, October ..	Holidays	Do.	Do.
1921, June ..	Beating	Seth Mangaldas and Mr. Gandhi.	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai and Mr. S. G. Banker.
Do. ..	Union activities ..	Do.	Do.
Do. ..	Work of mills ..	Do.	Do.

XII.

Arbitration Machinery in the Ahmedabad Cotton Mills.

Chief clause of award or settlement.	How far carried out.	Remarks.
Rate increased from 12 to 14½ pies ..	Subsequently 15 pies were granted.	
35 per cent. increase awarded ..	35 per cent. granted.	
62½ per cent. increase to warpers, folders, sizers, engineering workers, mochiees and calendermen. No increase or minimum for clerks.	All carried out.	
Higher wages to stampers and yarn bundlers, 50 to 62½ per cent. increase to blacksmiths and suitable increment to clerks with low pay.	Other items carried out but nothing done in the case of clerks as they were not united enough to enforce their demands.	
All demands conceded and increase in frame and other departments also recommended Seth Mangaldas wanted some changes in the award agreed to between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Ambalal. These changes were agreed to and the amended award was adopted by all, including Mr. Ambalal.	Wages and hours enforced but other items not fully carried out even to-day in spite of further awards in 1921 also.	
Rs. 12, 18, 24 and 36 to be given as bonus according to pay. Demand of double bonus by workers and grant of bonus by mills without consent of Association condemned.	Fully.	
Certain additions to previous year's award, e.g., absence due to maternity not to be excluded for bonus; permanent substitutes also to be eligible for bonus and four loom weavers to be granted double bonus.	Fully.	
Three days for Diwali; labourers should not observe holidays of their own accord.	Diwali holidays observed but labourers still stay at home on days other than declared holidays also.	
Agents should try to stop this practice.	Even now it has not stopped completely.	
Mills should sympathize with the union and should not place any difficulties in its way. Labourers should not intrigue to bring about strikes.	Only partially carried out.	
There should not be more than 50 per cent. sizing. Association should look into the use of inferior cotton and yarn.	Not much improvement still.	

APPENDIX

A Summary of Investigations by Conciliation and

Year.	Subject of investigation.	Personnel.	Other important persons who took part.
1921, June ..	Work of mills ..	Seth Mangaldas and Mr. Gandhi.	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai and Mr. S. G. Banker.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ...
Do. ..	15 per cent. increase for spinning department owing to high prices and rents.	Do. ..	Do. ..
Do. ..	Increase in wages for blow room and card room workers.	Do. ..	Do. ..
1921, October ..	One and a half month's bonus as wages.	Mr. Gandhi and Seth Mangaldas did not agree and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya acted as Sarpanch (Umpire).	Do. ..
1922, October ..	Bonus ..	Seth Mangaldas and Professor Anandshankar B. Dhruv (Arbitrators).	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai.
1923, June ..	Reduction of wages by 20 per cent.	Seth Mangaldas, Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mr. S. G. Banker (Negotiators).	Do. ..
1923, July ..	Interpretation of Clause 1 (b) of award dated 1st October, 1922.	Dr. F. X. DeSouza was appointed Sarpanch as Seth Mangaldas and Professor Anandshankar B. Dhruv could not agree.	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai and Mr. S. G. Banker.
1924-27 ..	Nil ..	Nil ..	Nil ..
1928, November	Collection of Union fees by Union officials within mill precincts.	Seth Mangaldas and Mr. M. K. Gandhi.	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai and Mr. S. G. Banker.
1929, January ..	Strike in Gujarat Ginning Mill.	Do. ..	Miss Anasuya Sarabhai and Messrs. S. G. Banker, Amubhai M. Mehta and Gordhanbhai I. Patel.

XII—continued.

Arbitration Machinery in the Ahmedabad Cotton Mills.

Chief clause of award or settlement.	How far carried out.	Remarks.
Union should report to the Millowners' Association mills which do not engage bobbin-carriers in the spinning department.	A few mills have no bobbin-carriers even now.	
Millowners should remedy the defect of scarcity of beams in the weaving department.	This complaint is not frequent nowadays.	
Mills to bear the cost of running grain shops and to sell cheap grain (wheat and bajri). Shops to be opened by 1st September, 1921. Millowners to build chawls within a year for housing labour.	This was not done but mills granted 15 per cent. increase. All mills have not built chawls. Those which have built them have done so for some workers only.	
Millowners asked to grant an increase	Granted.	
One month's wages <i>plus</i> Rs. 15 (or Rs. 7-8 annas for half-timers) awarded. Maximum to be Rs. 75.	Granted.	
One month's wages and Rs. 3 awarded. Maximum not to exceed Rs. 55.	Before the whole bonus was distributed differences of opinion arose as how Clause 1 (b) of the award regarding method of calculating absence should be interpreted (1st October, 1922).	Mr. Gandhi was in gaol, so Professor Dhruv was appointed Arbitrator. Mr. Banker was also in gaol.
Wages reduced by 15½ per cent. ..	Reduction effected ..	Mr. Banker returned from gaol during the closing period of the strike.
Professor Arandshankar's view upheld.	Bonus granted, calculating absence accordingly.	
Nil	Nil ..	
Mills to deduct subscriptions from wages and pay to Union by cheque.	Being followed ..	Nothing important took place.
Preliminary award to take the strikers back to work.	Workers taken back after threat of disciplinary action by Millowners' Association.	Final award not yet given.

APPENDIX
Bombay Engineering Employers'

Nos. given to Firms.	Blacksmiths or Springmakers.			Boilersmiths or Boilermakers.			Carpenters.			Coppermiths.			Tinmiths.		
	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.
1	2-6	4-2	2-6	..	..	..	2-2	3-0	2-6	..	..	..	1-14	..	..
2	2-8	2-8	2-8	2-10	2-12	2-11	3-0	3-0	3-0	..	..	..	2-7	2-7	2-7
3	1-10	2-10	..	..	..	..	1-14	2-0	..	..	..	..	2-7	3-4	..
6	1-12	3-6	2-6	..	..	..	1-4	3-0	2-2	2-0	2-10	2-3	1-6	2-4	1-13
7	1-8	3-8	2-4-8	..	..	..	1-8	3-10	1-15-9	..	..	..	1-8	3-0	1-15-5
8 (M)	1-10	3-9	2-10	1-10	3-9	2-7	..	..	..	1-10	3-9	2-1	1-10	3-9	2-10
(C)	1-10	3-9	2-14	1-10	3-5	2-6	..	..	..	1-10	3-9	2-12	1-10	3-9	2-12
(Civil Engineering).	..	..	..	..	..	..	p.m. 39	p.m. 65	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Ord. 2-9	Sup. 3-9	Spl. 4-5	Avr. 3-3	Sup. 3-9	Spl. 4-5	Avr. 3-9	Ord. 2-4	Sup. 2-11	Spl. 4-5	Avr. 2-11	Sup. 3-5	Spl. 3-8	Avr. 4-5	Sup. 2-15
10	Min. 1-11-2	Max. 3-0-9	Avr. 2-6-6	Min. 1-9-11	Max. 2-13-7	Avr. 2-3-0	Min. 2-5	Max. 3-4-11	Avr. 2-9-8	Min. ..	Max. ..	Avr. ..	Min. 1-11-8	Max. 2-13-7	Avr. 2-8-10
11	2-0	2-15	2-8-4	1-13	2-15	1-15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	2-13	..	..	2-10	..	..	2-14	..	..	3-4	..	..	2-15
	..	..	2-12	..	..	2-2	..	..	2-11	..	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	2-4	..	..	1-12	..	..	1-10	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	..	..	2-6	..	..	..	..	..	2-4	..	..	..	..	..	1-12
	..	..	2-12	..	..	..	..	..	2-6	..	..	..	..	..	2-4
19	..	..	2-0	..	..	..	..	..	1-14	..	..	..	..	..	1-10
	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-6	4-8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	..	2-9	..	..	..	..	1-10	2-0	Cabinet maker.	2-4	3-9	..	..	..	..
							0-10	0-12	Boys.	..	..	..	..	..	..
							*2-8	2-12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Nos. given to Firms.	Masons and Bricklayers.			Muccadams.			Ollers.			Patternmakers.			Painters.		
	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.
1	1-10	..	..	..	..	2-8	..	..	..	2-0	3-0	2-0	1-12	..	2-0
2	1-14	1-14	1-14	1-15	3-5	2-6-8	1-6	1 6	1-6	..	..	..	1-6	2-8	1-10
3	2-12	3-0	..	..	..	..	..	1-7	..	1-14	2-0	..	..	2-8	..
6	2-0	3-14	2-8	1-13	2-8	2-3	..	1-6	1-6	1-12	3-10	2-7	1-0	3-9	1-11
7	2-0	3-0	2-5	1-10	3-0	2-0-5	1-2	1-6	1-4	..	..	..	1-8	3-0	1-12-4
8 (M)	1-10	2-5	1-15	1-0	1-13	1-5	..	1-1	1-1	1-10	3-5	3-0	1-10	2-11	1-15
(C)	1-10	2-5	2-0	1-0	1-13	1-10	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-10	2-14	2-5
(Civil Engineering).	p.m. 45	p.m. 65	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	p.m. 39	p.m. 60	..
9	Sup. 2-0	..	Avr. 2-0	Sup. 2-4	..	..	Sup. 1-2	..	Avr. 1-3	Sup. 3-5	Spl. 4-5	Avr. 3-5	Sup. 2-10	..	Avr. 2-3

* Special rates for re-inforced

XIII.

Federation—Statement of Wages.

Crane and Engine Drivers.			Firemen or Augwallas.			Coolies.			Fitters and Brass Finishers.			Machinemen and Wheel Turners.			Moulders.		
Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.
..	..	..	1-4	..	..	1-0	..	..	2-0	3-8	2-2	2-8	2-14	2-10	2-4	3-0	2-4
2-8	2-8	2-8	..	..	..	0-15	1-8	1-2-7	1-8	1-10	2-9-8	1-2	1-13	1-6-3	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	2-2	..	0-12	1-0	0-12-4	..	p.m.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	0-12	0-15	0-12-8	2-0	2-10	..	1-8	2-8	..	1-10	3-4	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0-14	..	1-8	3-10	2-8	..	..	..	1-12	2-12	2-3
..	..	..	..	..	..	1-0	1-2	1-1	1-12	2-12	2-3	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-8	2-8	2-2-8	1-6	1-12	1-9-9	1-0	2-13-6	1-2-6	1-8	4-7-5	2-6-9	1-2	1-8-6	1-5	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	0-12	1-0	0-12-6	1-10	3-5	2-10	1-10	3-5	2-3	1-10	3-5	2-12
1-2	2-4	1-11	0-15	1-10	1-8	0-12	1-0	0-12-4	1-10	3-5	2-11	1-10	3-5	2-7	1-01	3-5	..
1-7	2-5	2-1	..	..	..	0-14	1-0	0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-8	1-13	1-12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-2	2-4	1-12	0-15	1-10	1-9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-7	2-5	2-1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-8	1-13	1-4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..
Sup.	Spl.	Avr.	Sup.	Spl.	Avr.	Sup.	Spl.	Avr.	Ord. Sup.	Spl.	Avr.	Sup.	Spl.	Avr.	Ord. Sup.	Spl.	Avr.
2-9	..	2-3	1-5	..	1-5	1-0	..	1-0	2-11	3-5	4-5	2-10	..	2-7	2-4	3-5	4-5
..
Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.
1-6	1-11	1-8	1-9-11	2-1-10	2-0-3	0-14-2	0-14-2	0-14-2	1-9-11	2-14-4	2-4-2	1-9-11	2-5	2-0-4	1-11-8	2-10-6	2-6-11
..	..	..	..	..	..	0-15	1-2	1-0	1-8	3-2	2-6-2	..	..	..	2-0	3-0	2-6
..	..	..	..	..	1-7	Nowgaries	1-2	..	..	..	3-1	..	..	..	..	..	2-10
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-4	..	..	..	2-9	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Men	0-15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	1-2	Women	0-10	..	..	..	1-12	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Men	0-15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Women	0-9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Men	0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	1-8	Women	0-10	..	..	..	1-12	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Mal coolies	0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Nowgaries	1-6	..	..	..	1-12	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	1-7	Men	0-15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Women	0-11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0-14	..	..	..	2-0	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	0-13	1-0	..	1-6	4-8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	1-7 Spl.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	*2-8	..	..	..	1-7	0-14	1-0	Max.	2-8	2-12*	..	..	2-14	..	..	1-10	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Nowgaries	1-4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-2*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Naikins	1-2*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Women	0-10*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	Boys	0-10*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Riveters.			Rivet Boys.			Strikers or Hammermen.			Turners (Lathemen).			Wiremen Electric.			Motor Drivers.		
Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.
1-8	2-8	1-10	1-0	..	..	1-0	..	..	..	3-8	2-8	2-4	3-2	2-8	2-8	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	1-4	1-4	1-4	2-15	3-0	2-15-6	2-12	2-12	2-12	74	117	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Avr. 99-10-8	..	..
2-0	2-2	..	1-6	1-8	..	..	1-1	..	2-2	3-14	..	..	..	..	2-6	2-10	..
1-7	1-15	1-11	1-0	1-5	1-2	1-2	1-8	1-5	2-4	4-6	2-12	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-8	2-8	1-14-6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-8	3-8	2-8-3	1-8	3-8	2-9	p.m.	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	120	..
1-10	2-7	2-2	..	..	..	1-0	1-1	1-1	1-10	3-7	3-0	..	..	..	Avr. 75-13-4	..	..
1-10	2-7	2-2	0-10	1-4	0-10	1-0	1-1	1-1	..	..	..	..	..	..	p.m.	4-1	3-8
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2-0	4-1	3-1
..
Sup.	..	Avr.	Sup.	..	Avr.	Sup.	..	Avr.	Sup.	Spl.	Avr.	..	..	..	..	..	..
2-7	..	2-3	0-13	..	0-13	1-2	..	1-3	3-5	4-5	3-6	..	..	..	..	..	..

concrete construction labour

APPENDIX

Bombay Engineering Employers'

Nos. given to Firms.	Masons and Bricklayers.			Muccadams.			Oilers.			Pattermakers.			Painters.		
	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.
10	1-6-10	1-14-10	1-14-10	1-2-6	1-8	1-8	1-0	1-1-3	1-1-3	2-10-6	3-4-11	3-2-0	1-4-4	1-2	1-7-7
11	2-4	..	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-2	4-0	1-8	1-0	1-2	1-1
12	2-5	..	..	2-9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2-1
	2-4	..	..	2-2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2-0
16	1-10	..	..	1-5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1-14	..	..	1-8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-8
	1-14	..	..	1-12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-13
19	2-0	..	..	1-6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-10
	2-0	2-8	..	1-8	1-12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	..	2-4	..	..	..	2-8*	2-0	2-7	..	..	..	..	..	1-10	..
	..	2-8*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Nos. given to Firms.	Motor Cleaners.			Maistries.			Moochees and Beltmakers.			Sawyers.		
	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.	Min. Rs.	Max. Rs.	Avr. Rs.
1	..	25	..	3-0	5-0	..	1-4	..	..	..	..	..
2	p.m. 20	p.m. 23	p.m. 21-6	p.m. 140	p.m. 140	p.m. 140	2-2	2-2	2-2	..	..	..
3	..	0-12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	5-0	5-0	..	..	..	1-15	3-0	2-3
7	p.m. 25	p.m. 40	p.d. 1-3-4	p.m. 100	p.m. 200	p.m. 108-7-6	..	..	..	..	..	..
8 (M)	0-15	1-1	1-0	3-11	5-6	4-5	1-10	2-5	2-1	..	..	..
(C)	3-11	5-6	4-13	1-10	2-11	2-5	1-10	2-5	2-4
Civil Engineering).
9	Sup. 2-4	..	Avr. 2-4	Sup. 2-10	..	Avr. 2-6
10	Min. ..	Max. ..	Avr. ..	Min. 3-9-10	Max. 4-8-4	Avr. 4-8-4	Min. 1-2-6	Max. 1-9-3	Avr. 1-7-2	Min. 1-9-11	Max. 1-14-10	Avr. 1-14-10
11	1-4	1-4	1-4	2-0	3-8	2-14	1-5	1-5	1-5	..	..	..
12
	Carpenter	..	4-2	..	..	..	..	..	2-2
16	Mason	..	3-3	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2-8	..	..	..	..	..	1-14
	Carpenter	..	2-14	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	Painter	..	3-10	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Mason	..	2-12	..	..	..	..	..	2-0
19	..	30 p.m.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Min. 100	Max. 165	..	..	2-3	..	Tables ..	..	3-1
	Carpenter 125	165	..	..	..	..	Frames ..	..	2-9
	Polishers	90	..	..	..	..	Band ..	..	2-5
	Mechanics	165	..	..	..	..	Hand ..	..	2-0
	Machineman	165	..	..	..	..	Bench ..	..	1-10
	* 3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Special rates for re-inforced

XIII—continued.

Federation—Statement of Wages.

Riveters.			Rivet Boys.			Strikers or Hammermen.			Turners (Lathemen).			Wiremen Electric.			Motor Drivers.		
Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.	Min.	Max.	Avr.
1-6	2-0	1-11	..	..	0-14	1-0	1-1-3	1-1-3	1-9-11	2-10-8	2-4-3	1-9-11	2-6-10	1-15-5	..	..	..
..	..	1-11	..	..	..	..	..	1-8	..	..	2-12	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1-2	..	..	..	..	..	1-4	..	..	2-15	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	2-0	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	1-6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	1-6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	0-15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	1-4	1-4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	1-2	..	..	3-4	..	..	..	..	p.m.	p.m.	..
..	70	78	..

Fettlers or Chippers and Lademen.			General Remarks.														
Min.	Max.	Avr.															
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.															
1-7	..	..	<p>No. 1. The workshop permanent staff are eligible for the following leave :— Casual leave for 10 days in a year. Special Casual leave in a year in case of illness supported by medical certificate and when there is no other leave to fall back on. Privilege leave for 1 month after 11 months' service. This leave is subject to forfeiture at the end of the year. Sick leave on half pay to the extent of 2 months in each year provided 6 years' service is rendered. Leave on urgent private affairs on half pay is granted to the extent of 6 months provided 6 years' active service is rendered. Casual workmen are not eligible for leave with pay.</p>														
..	..	..	<p>No. 2. Daily paid labourers are not granted leave with pay but those who can be spared in slack season are permitted to go to their native places and are re-engaged if they return on the date specified by them at the time of departure. Monthly paid labourers are granted leave with pay for a fortnight.</p>														
..	..	..	<p>No. 3. Fourteen days' privilege leave per annum is granted to all permanent employees, i.e., those who have put in at least one year's service. Privilege leave is taken by the majority of the workers although it is found that leave is either taken at odd times during the year or else allowed to accumulate for three or four years in order to allow the employee to proceed to his up-country abode. In all cases the privilege leave is paid annually whether the worker takes advantage of the holiday at the time or otherwise.</p>														
0-14	1-1	1-0	<p>No. 6. No leave with pay is allowed except four holidays, viz., New Year's Day, Good Friday, King Emperor's Birthday, and Christmas Day for which the men are paid.</p>														
..	..	..	<p>No. 7. Leave on full pay for 15 days to monthly paid labour who take full advantage of leave rules in force. No leave with pay is allowed to daily paid labour, the majority of whom ask for leave either yearly or every other year and it is granted them provided the period is reasonable.</p>														
0-14	1-1	1-0	<p>Nos. 8 and 9. All classes of employees shown against 8 and 9 are eligible for 15 days' leave with pay in a year after one year's service. Leave under the Workmen's Compensation Act for absence in consequence of injuries sustained while on duty. The leave is fully availed of.</p>														
Sup.	..	Avr.															
1-2	..	1-8															
Min.	Max.	Avr.															
0-14-2	1-1-3	1-1-3	<p>No. 10. Subject to certain conditions 15 days' additional pay is paid annually in respect of accrued leave or leave actually taken with permission during the previous year, to employees who have been in the Company's service for a full year.</p>														
1-2	1-12	1-8	<p>No. 11. No leave with pay is allowed except in cases of genuine sickness and of injury in which pay is given while in hospital according to Workmen's Compensation Act.</p>														
..															
..															
..	..	..	<p>No. 12. Leave on full pay for 14 days is allowed to daily and monthly rated staff after one year's service. No leave is given until an employee renders 6 months' service, when 7 days' leave is given. Daily rated staff are also allowed 1 day's leave on full pay on His Majesty's Birthday. The leave is fully availed of and is practically always granted when applied for. Leave with pay can be taken on Bank Holidays when the works are entirely closed.</p>														
..	..	..	<p>No. 16. Leave on half pay only is granted in exceptional cases to men of long service.</p>														
..	1-10	..	<p>No. 19. Monthly paid men are given leave with pay up to one month. Beyond that no pay is given unless there are very exceptional circumstances. The leave is granted to suit the convenience of men. Daily paid men are not granted leave with pay.</p>														

concrete construction labour.

Mr. J. E. P. CURRY, SHIPPING MASTER, BOMBAY.

I.—Recruitment.

5. The P. and O. S. N. Co. and the B. I. S. N. Co. and one or two smaller companies recruit their own seamen. The other companies obtain theirs through the shipping office. The special officer appointed by the Government joined this office on the 1st instant. He keeps a register of the leading hands in each department, viz., deck and engine room, serangs and butlers, and sees that they are given the opportunity for selection by rotation, i.e., according to the time each man has been out of employment. The actual selection, however, lies with the shipping companies and their officers, who maintain their right of selection independently of the above rotation. The serangs and butlers when selected usually bring the men who are to work under them, subject to the approval of the selecting officer. If the serang or butler is unable to make up the full complement of his crew, the men are obtained with the aid of the licensed shipping brokers. The effect of the changes introduced in Calcutta is not known.

Employment or recruitment by the shipping companies themselves, as is now done by the companies mentioned above, is desirable. The other companies, however, prefer to obtain their crews through the shipping office rather than recruit them themselves. Other employment or recruiting agencies are not desirable.

III.—Housing.

Housing for seamen is not provided by the employers, Government or other public agency. There are many lodging-houses for seamen in buildings owned by private landlords, which are situated in the localities where the working class live. The practice is for a number of seamen to live together in one room where there is sufficient space to sleep and keep their effects. The rent charged is Re. 1 per month for each seaman. The Goanese seamen live in clubs where the charge for lodging is from Re. 1.8 annas to Rs. 3 per month. The proportion which these charges bear to wages will be seen from the scale of wages attached. It is presumed that most of the questions under this heading refer mainly to housing by employers, Government or other public agency, and do not apply to private lodging-houses; and answers to them have not, therefore, been provided.

IV.—Health.

23. The general conditions of health of seamen on board ships are provided for in the English and Indian Merchant Shipping Acts, with regard to accommodation, provision and medical attendance (*vide* Sections 198 to 211 of the English Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, Sections 25 to 27, 34 and 64 of the English Act, 1906, and Sections 85 to 91 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act of 1923). The accommodation must be properly ventilated and protected from weather and sea and the space required for each lascar or native seaman is 6 superficial and 36 cubic feet. Provision is made for complaints from seamen regarding bad or insufficient food or water and for compensation therefor to the seamen. The agreement with seamen engaged in India must be in accordance with the requirements of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, XXI of 1923, and in a form sanctioned by the Government of India (*vide* sections 27 and 28 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, XXI of 1923). The sanctioned form of agreement prescribes the latitudinal and time limits of the voyage or voyages and provides for the free supply of warm clothing to the crew and the heating of their quarters in case the vessel proceeds to certain latitudes during the winter months. A scale of provision is included in the agreement, and at the commencement of every foreign-going voyage the Shipping Master inspects the crew, provisions and water in the presence of the serangs. The figures of mortality on board ships for the last three years are as follows :—

1926—1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	141
1927—1928	..	..	..	..	..	..	126
1928—1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	102

24. The English Merchant Shipping Act, 1894 (Section 209), provides for a doctor to be carried on foreign-going vessels having 100 persons or more on board. The Indian Merchant Shipping Act, XXI of 1923 (Sections 184 and 201), only provides for a doctor when more than 100 passengers or pilgrims are carried between Indian and Red sea ports. When no doctor is carried, any illness or injury to a seaman at sea is attended to by the master who is instructed by the Medical Guide prescribed for the purpose by the Board of Trade. Serious cases or cases requiring hospital treatment are landed into hospital at first port of call, where they are left in charge of the vessel's

agents and the Shipping Master or British Consul. In urgent cases at sea the master can obtain medical advice by wireless from any port within call, or any vessel within call, which carries a doctor. In case of illness or injury on board a vessel in port which carries no doctor, the practice is to get a doctor from the shore. Most if not all shipping companies employ a doctor on shore for this purpose. In the case of hurt or injury in the service of the ship, or illness not due to the wilful act or default of the seaman, all medical and maintenance expenses incurred until the seaman is cured or returned to his home-port or dies, and in the latter case the expenses of burial, are payable by the owner of the ship.

V.—Welfare.

32. There is no organized welfare work amongst Indian seamen in Bombay so far as I am aware. A committee has been appointed by Government to consider the various matters in connection with the building of a Home for Indian sailors in Bombay. Certain funds are required for the purpose and it is hoped that it will not be long before the proposed Home is in existence.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

Since April, 1926, the shipping companies have consented to the insertion in the articles of agreement of a clause by which they agree to pay compensation in case of injury to or death by accident of any lascar or other native seaman, in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act, VIII of 1923. Before the above date, Indian seamen employed in vessels registered in the United Kingdom were entitled to compensation under the English Act of 1906. The present arrangement is much more satisfactory, as it enables claims for compensation to be dealt with sooner, and the claimants can appeal to the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation in Bombay in case they are not satisfied with the compensation received.

IX.—Hours.

The hours of work for the three departments are given below :—

Deck Hands.—At sea from about 5.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with two intervals of one hour each for meals and one hour duty on lookout. Shorter hours are worked on Saturdays and Sundays. In port from 6 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with the same intervals for meals and shorter hours on Saturdays and Sundays.

Engine Room Crew.—At sea the crew is divided into watches. Each man is four hours on duty and eight hours off duty. In port the hours of duty are from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. with intervals for meals as above. Shorter hours are worked on Saturdays and no work is done on Sundays except that necessary to maintain lighting and sanitary service.

Saloon Crew.—The duties performed by this section of the crew are so various that any general statement regarding hours of work would be misleading. Broadly speaking men are required to be on duty during service hours which vary with the class of employment and the rating of the individual.

The men are liable to be called out at any time in case of emergency. Such emergencies, however, seldom occur and overtime is avoided as far as possible. When overtime is necessary, it is the practice to allow an equivalent time off during ordinary working hours. Complaints regarding overwork or overtime are unknown.

XII.—Wages.

96. Lists are *attached showing the prevailing rates of wages and the wages paid before the war in the P. and O. S. N. Co. also the rates in force in the other companies from 1915, 1920 and 1923.

101. The P. and O. S. N. Co. fix their own wages which are higher than those of the other companies. The other companies have fixed a standard rate of wages at a meeting of shipowners and agents in Bombay held in September, 1923. Each man's wages is entered in the articles of agreement.

104. The labour supply is invariably greater than the demand and has not been affected by the wage-changes.

105. It does not seem necessary to fix minimum wages.

* Not printed here : for existing rates see Memorandum of Government of Bombay and Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. (Bo. No. 44).

106. Fines are fixed by the regulations for maintaining discipline which are sanctioned by Government and included in the articles of agreement. These fines are paid into the shipping office and credited to Government on the termination of the agreement. The amount of fines credited for the last three years are shown below :—

						Rs.	a.	p.
1926-1927	..	..	..	..	..	681	14	4
1927-1928	..	..	..	..	..	728	12	7
1928-1929	..	..	..	..	..	593	0	7

Other deductions from wages provided in the agreement, are for embezzlement or wilful or negligent destruction of ship's cargo or stores, and for fines imposed by the Customs Authorities for contraband goods found on board.

107. Wages are paid on the termination of the voyage and completion of the agreement. An advance of one month's wages is usually made when the crew are signed on, and further advances may be made during the voyage at the discretion of the Master. The English Merchant Shipping Act provides for final payment of wages within two days of discharge (Section 134), while under the Indian Merchant Shipping Act payment must be made within five days after discharge or within three days after delivery of the cargo, whichever first happens (*vide* Section 47).

108. When seamen have been out of employment for a long time and have no money, they borrow from other seamen or from serangs or ghat-serangs, and pay back the money when they get employment. I am informed that professional money-lenders in Bombay do not lend money to seamen, on account of their frequent absences and because their homes are not in Bombay. There is no facility, therefore, for them to get heavily into debt.

XIII.—Efficiency.

112. Certificates of Efficiency as life-boatmen are now granted by the Board of Trade officials in the United Kingdom and by port officers in India. Seamen may appear for examination to obtain such certificates and are encouraged to do so by the shipping companies. The increased employment of Indian seamen in recent years would seem to indicate that they are up to the required standard of efficiency.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. The only organizations amongst seamen in Bombay are the Indian Seamen's Union and the Bombay Seamen's Union. The former union, which claimed in December, 1927, a membership totalling 18,700, comprises about half the total number of Goanese seamen who are employed as butlers, cooks, waiters, general servants, etc. (known as the saloon or Purser's department), and about a quarter or one-third of the seamen employed in the deck and engine room departments, the majority of whom are Mahomedans and the remainder Hindus. Punjabis and Pathans, who are mostly employed in engine room department in the P. and O. S. N. Co., do not belong to the union, neither do the deck crews of the same company, who are Mahomedans from the Bombay Presidency. The latter union is composed of the Goanese seamen employed in the P. and O. S. N. Co. and claims a membership of 6,000.

118. The above organizations do not appear to have had much effect on the conditions generally of the employees.

119. The objects of the Indian Seamen's Union are stated to be the same as other trade unions, and their activities are presumably directed towards the attainment of those objects. The Bombay Seamen's Union is rather in the nature of a club or centre for the Goanese seamen employed in the P. and O. S. N. Co.

120. (i) The Indian Seamen's Union has existed under that name since the year 1919. Previous to that it was known as the "Portuguese Seafarers' Union" and the "Goa Portuguese Seamen's Club." Up to October, 1926, the membership of the union was confined to Goanese seamen. Since then every endeavour has been made to enrol the Mahomedan and Hindu seamen of the deck and engine room departments but with limited success. In consequence of severe dissensions in the union a large number of the Goanese members who were employed in the P. and O. S. N. Co. left the union in the year 1926 and formed the Bombay Seamen's Union. A copy of the constitution and rules of the Indian Seamen's Union is enclosed.

(ii) It will be seen from the above that the majority of the seamen in the deck and engine room departments do not belong to the unions and evidently have no use for them. The Goanese and others have apparently joined with the idea that they would have a better chance of obtaining employment. The office-bearers of the union are elected by the members at the annual general meeting. As regards the Indian Seamen's Union, the workers or members appear in practice to have very small control of the management.

(iii) The relations of the Bombay Seamen's Union with the P. and O. S. N. Co. seem to be of a friendly and co-operative nature. The shipping companies have no use for the Indian Seamen's Union which has adopted a dictatorial and obstructive attitude on several occasions.

121. The Indian Seamen's Union has been registered under the Indian Trade Union Act, 1926. The Bombay Seamen's Union is not so registered.

XV.—Strikes and Lock-Outs.

123. There have been no strikes and lock-outs in recent years.

124. The Shipping Master is open to receive and hear grievances of seamen and represent the same to the shipping companies. The English Merchant Shipping Act, 1894 (Sections 137 and 211), and the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, XXI of 1923 (Sections 49 and 92), provide for settlement of disputes regarding wages, and for facilities, for seamen to make complaints against the master or any of the crew to the Magistrate, British Consular Officer or Officer in command of one of His Majesty's ships. The articles of agreement also provide for the representation of grievances to certain authorities in the United Kingdom, British Colonial ports or foreign ports.

125. No use has been made of the Employers' and Workmen's (Disputes) Act, IX of 1860.

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Mr. O. H. B. STARTE, I.C.S., CRIMINAL TRIBES SETTLEMENT OFFICER,
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

III.—Housing.

18 and 21. I would suggest to the commission that they should not condemn too readily on the score of health the huts in which some of the industrial workers live, which on a first impression looks so rough and unsatisfactory.

In dry areas, e.g., Sholapur and Hubli, our experience in industrial settlements with populations of 4,000 and 2,500 respectively, is that, given sufficient paces between the huts and arrangements for sweeping the intervening space and for sanitary conveniences, workers are possibly healthier. They use these huts mainly to keep their articles in and the family eat outside in the open and some of them sleep outside. The hut often has no door and the air inside by reason of the flimsiness of the construction and the consequent air holes is generally fairly good.

The birth and death rates for the settlements for the last two years has been :—

Total population.	Birth.	Death.	Rate per 1,000.	
			Birth.	Death.
12,780	663	333	51·88	26·05
13,029	567	348	43·52	26·70

Sometimes the distance of the hut sites from the factory is not a disadvantage provided it is not too great.

I have always thought that it is a good thing that in Sholapur the settlers of the new Umedpur settlement have to walk a mile in the open air after they come perspiring from the mill before they sit down in or by their huts. I should think they run fewer risks of chills.

It is important for the sake of health and because of the danger of fire that the huts should not be crowded too close together.

Mr. R. J. TATA, CERTIFYING SURGEON, BOMBAY.

I have been appointed since 1st June, 1927, certifying surgeon, Bombay, under Section 6 of the Indian Factories Act, 1911, for certification of factory children, and under Government Notification, General Department, No. 2804, dated 23rd November, 1922, I have duties as an additional inspector of factories regarding the sanitary requirements of Sections 9 to 14 of Factories Act.

IV.—Health.

26. (a) (i) The latrine accommodation for the factory workers is on the whole adequate. The sanitary flushing types of latrines are in use in the great majority of factories, the insanitary basket privies still exist in some places, but are gradually disappearing due to the action taken by the Bombay Municipality in providing the necessary drainage connections and paying half the cost of conversion from basket system to the sanitary flushing system. There is still much room for improvement.

(ii) There is a constant water supply in Bombay and the water supplied for drinking purposes from the municipal water taps is pure and wholesome.

(iii) A water tap with a paved area round it is provided for washing purposes and fortunately there is no scarcity of water supply in Bombay.

Regards sanitation in general, I may state that the sanitary arrangements provided in textile mills and big factories are more satisfactory than those in the smaller works places, but even here improvement is gradually taking place. All the efforts on the part of employers and the Municipality to improve sanitation will not be of much avail in my opinion until the sanitary conscience of the workers is roused by education and health propaganda.

29. (i) In Bombay nearly three-fourths of the workers coming under the Factory Act are absorbed by the textile industry. In the other industries the percentage of workers employed in the dangerous trades is very small, and in my opinion the prevalence of purely industrial diseases and poisoning from industrial processes is not much.

In Bombay the climatic conditions are favourable to the textile industry, and the workers are less prone to respiratory diseases than those in other countries where the outside and the work-room temperatures differ much.

About two years ago an enquiry into the effects of card room dust on the health of the operatives in cotton mills was started but two prolonged general strikes in the meantime, nullified much of the work and prevented any reliable conclusions being drawn so far from the enquiry.

No cases of mule spinners cancer in cotton mills have yet been noticed.

Workers engaged on lead processes, e.g., in printing presses, lead casting, type foundries, painting, etc., are observed from time to time for signs of lead poisoning and though many have blue lines on their gums showing absorption of lead in their system, no one suffering from the effects of lead poisoning was detected during the last two years.

Three cases of chrome sores were found last year in dye works.

Workers engaged on spray painting of motor cars are examined from time to time for any ill-effects from the process.

It is possible that many cases of industrial diseases go undetected as the workers try to avoid medical examination and do not come forward on their own accord to complain of ill-effects from industrial processes in dangerous trades.

There is also no notification of diseases arising from the industrial processes in the dangerous trades and no vital statistics or comparative table of sickness and mortality of different trades are available.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

A.—Factories.

81. There is a marked decrease in the employment of children in the Bombay factories, as can be seen from the numbers employed during the last five years:—

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1924	836	1927	164
1925	592	1928	122
1926	306		

The decrease in child labour in Bombay is due in my opinion to various factors:—

(a) Due to trade depression in general and particularly in the textile trade there is a glut of adult labour; (b) the encouragement and spread of primary education in the working class children; (c) the growing reluctance of the factory managers to employ children, e.g., in all big textile mills which absorb nearly three-fourths of the working class population of Bombay scarcely a dozen "half-timers" can be found; (d) the decrease in child labour is also due to the strict enforcement of the sections of the Indian Factories Act, 1922, relating to child labour by the factory inspection staff during the last few years.

84. In my opinion the regulations of both the hours and intervals and the minimum and maximum ages as laid down in the 1922 Act for children are suitable.

85. During the boom period in the textile mills a few years ago, double employment of children was very rife, but at present it is practically non-existing due to trade depression and to the supply of children for employment being in excess of the demand, and also due to the vigilance of the factory inspection staff.

Mr. T. W. JOHNSTONE, M.B.E., CHIEF INSPECTOR OF FACTORIES,
BOMBAY.

[Information on a number of points not referred to here has been supplied by the Chief Inspector of Factories and will be found in the Government Memorandum.]

II. Staff Organisation.

13. *Relations between Staff and Rank and File.*—(ii) *Value and defects of system of employing jobbers.*—The chief value lies in the fact that the jobber is usually a recruiter of labour and is frequently in touch with the labour supply in the mofussil. He frequently helps in assisting persons in the interval between their arrival in a large town and their obtaining employment. The system has thus certain advantages but the jobber wields far more power than his capabilities warrant and he often abuses them.

14. *Timekeeping, Piecework, Contract and Attendance Registers.*—(i) *Operatives "clock in"* in a few factories but generally either the ticket system is in force or else attendances are checked on work. The systems vary according to the size of the industries. Absenteeism is usually checked by a jobber or a departmental assistant to arrange for substitutes. The fairly high rate of absenteeism in the textile industry acts as a direct check on timekeeping methods since absentee reports are usually daily forwarded to the managers.

(ii) The system of payment varies according to the size of the industry. In most of the Bombay mills, pay slips are given to each worker on the day preceding pay-day and payments are made either departmentally by the cashier assisted by the timekeeper in the presence of a jobber or an assistant departmental head, or else in the office by a similar method, the workpeople being called out in batches. In several Bombay mills however, the envelope system has been introduced, payments being made in sealed envelopes on the work.

In the Ahmedabad mills the pay slips are often given on the date of payment and workpeople are departmentally paid by the timekeeper assisted by a clerk. A jobber or departmental assistant is usually present.

15. (1) There is little work given out on contract by the larger factories, although relatively more contracting is in force in the textile mills in Ahmedabad than Bombay. A considerable increase in bleaching has taken place in Ahmedabad in recent years. This is usually done by contract since the cloth is bleached by hand. Most of the Bombay bleaching is effected by machinery. A few mills in Ahmedabad let out contracts for the mixing department, while a number of mills arrange contracts for the drawing in, and also for cloth folding and baling. Baling contracts are also in force in some of the Bombay mills. Methods in the seasonal factories vary according to local conditions. Where the labour supply is adequate, it is engaged direct and weekly payments are made by the management usually on the local bazaar day. Where labour is scarce a labour contractor is often employed. Payment is often made to him direct on an outturn basis while he pays the workpeople on moneys advanced from time to time at the usual prevailing daily rate or else payment is made by the management direct and debited to the contractor's account. In other instances the contractor simply contracts to supply labour which is paid by the factory management.

In cotton pressing factories the labour for opening and mixing is usually engaged by the owner of the cotton being pressed while the pressing staff is usually employed by the press owner through contractors who are paid at a rate per 100 bales pressed and who pay the men engaged by them.

(iii) Persons engaged by contractors in factories are subject to the restrictions of the Factories Act.

III. Housing.

17. *Facilities for Acquisition of Land for Workers' Houses.*—I am not aware of any special facilities, but consider that the question of decent housing is one of the chief needs of the working classes. I am not entirely in favour of housing by employers but consider that, up to the present, the advantages in the provision of housing by employers in India have outweighed the disadvantages. If Government could acquire land in anticipation of industrial development, assistance might be given either to employers, municipalities or other organizations interested in the provision of housing for the workers.

IV. Health.

26. *Sanitary Arrangements, (a) at work Places, (b) at Home.*—(ii) *Drinking water.*—The supply is legally governed by Rules 26, 27 and 28 of the Rules under the Indian Factories Act.

It is thought that the Inspector of Factories should have power to order special drinking facilities for women.

(iii) *Bathing and Washing.*—The Factories Act should permit the local Government to order special facilities in factories where such are needed by the nature of the work. Washing facilities have been provided in several concerns at the instance of the Factory Department.

V.—Welfare.

32. A note on welfare activities has been incorporated in the factories annual report for a number of years. It would be advantageous if the State made a move forward. If legislation were passed on the lines of the English Police Act, Factories Miscellaneous Provisions Act (6 and 7, Geo. 5, c. 31), more improvements could be effected.

List of Ahmedabad Textile mills welfare work.—The list submitted by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association (Bombay witness No. 27) does not include mills who are not members and the labour union report is not up-to-date in my opinion. The information below may give a clearer idea of the position.

Creches.—Five very good, 27 passably good but in need of minor improvements in some respects, 14 poor, and 7 none. Out of 53 old mills employing women, 32 have reasonably good arrangements although only 21 have attendants. The seven new mills have not been included as they have recently commenced work, and in most cases will provide creches at an early date, six purely weaving sheds which employ very small numbers of women have also not been included. This makes a total of 66 concerns compared to 83 registered as factories. The difference is because there are in several cases two and three mills in the same compound belonging to one company.

Chawls.—With rooms totalling approximately 3,700 rooms have been built.

Dispensaries.—In 35 mills whilst many others arrange for their workers to receive attention from a doctor.

Hospitals.—In two mills with maternity wards whilst a third has given maternity benefits for a number of years.

Schools.—In 11 mills or chawls assisted or run entirely by mills (and in one case by the municipality, another a private person and in a third by the labour union).

Dining sheds and hotels exist in the majority of mills, although in a few old mills lack of space makes provision of dining sheds difficult.

VII.—Safety.

(Vide Government Memorandum.)

43. *Existing Regulations in Factories.*—In amplification thereof it may be stated that a serious collapse in a mill occurred in Ahmedabad a few years ago and a committee of enquiry recommended: (1) that as the extension of the mill in 1906 without having the plans designed by a qualified architect or civil engineer was unsound, structural alterations or additions to mills should be designed by qualified architects or civil engineers; (2) that the load on the cast iron columns was excessive and should be reduced as much as possible; (3) that as Section 18A of the Factories Act conferred wide powers on inspectors in connection with dangerous buildings, large new factories should be required to forward with the notice of occupation required under Section 33 of the Act, a certificate of stability from a qualified architect.

After the collapse, the question of the strengths of factory structures was specially examined. It was found that while factory buildings were well designed and built in Bombay where the municipal control was effective, such was not the case in Ahmedabad. A new storied extension to a second mill had to be dismantled

while in several others, roofs had to be lightened and cast iron columns strengthened. While there is ample evidence that the lessons of the collapse have been learned in Ahmedabad, the factory inspector found that a new mill was contemplated with columns of about half the requisite strength. In a new mofussil mill the chief inspector found that economy in structures had resulted in extremely weak girders and columns and remedy was effected before the mill started working.

A factory inspector ought to be able to assume that a new building is safe, but the control over the sanction of plans and the erection of buildings by local bodies is often defective.

The following amendments in the Factories Act were accordingly proposed :—

Section 18A (3).—If an inspector is of opinion that any factory or part thereof is in such a condition as to be dangerous to life or safety, he may serve on the manager of the factory, an order in writing requiring him, within such time as may be specified in the order, to drill any metal column or pillar used in the structure or to bore through any roof, or floor so that the thickness of metal used in the column or pillar or the thickness of the roof and floors may be correctly ascertained, and the inspector may serve on the manager an order in writing requiring him to forward to the inspector within such time as may be specified therein detailed plans prepared, if so required, by a person of qualifications to be prescribed by the local government, of the factory or any part thereof and such other information as the inspector may require to enable him to be satisfied that the factory and all parts thereof are not dangerous to human life or safety.

Section 18A (4).—If an inspector is of opinion that the materials used in the construction of the walls of a factory or any part thereof are of such quality as to render the factory or any part thereof dangerous to life or safety, he may serve on the manager of the factory an order in writing requiring him to forward to the inspector within such time as may be specified in the order, a certified test of the crushing strength of the material used in the walls of the factory or any part thereof, such test to be made in such manner and certified by a person of such qualifications as may be prescribed by the local government.

New Section 33A.—The occupier of every factory erected after such date as the local government by notification in the local official gazette may specify, and in which 150 or more persons will be simultaneously employed, shall forward with the notice of occupation required by Section 33 a certificate of stability in such form and signed by a person of such qualifications as may be prescribed by the local government, stating that the factory and all parts thereof are of adequate strength.

Where it is proved to the satisfaction of the local government that such certificate of stability should be forwarded by occupiers of new factories in which less than 150 persons will be simultaneously employed, the local government may, subject to the control of the governor-general in council, by notification in the local official gazette, require the occupiers of such new factories as may be specified and in which more than any specified number of persons will be simultaneously employed, to forward the prescribed certificate of stability from such date as may be notified.

New sub-section 37 (p).—"The form of the certificate of stability, and the qualifications prescribed by Section 33A."

Modification in Section 41 (j).—This should read "any notice, return or the certificate of stability prescribed by section 33A."

Modification in Section 49.—There should be no limitation of six months in the case of an offence for failing to submit the certificate of stability. The Factories Bill, at present under consideration, proposes to abolish the time-limit in the case of offences under Section 33, i.e., for failing to submit the occupation notice. The same should apply to the proposed new section 33A.

44. *Incidence of Accidents in Factories.*—A comparison between the machinery cotton textile accident rate in Great Britain and in the town and island of Bombay is attached (Table III).

50. *Effect of Hours of Work on Safety.*—An analysis of the time incidence of accidents in a large railway workshop and in the spinning and weaving departments of the textile mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad is attached (Tables I and II).

IX.—Hours.

A.—Factories.

60. (iii) *Suitability of Hours during which Factory is Working.*—The employment of women and children is governed by the limitations of Sections 24 and 51. A few areas of the cotton ginning industry are somewhat adversely affected. A late and heavy crop in the Broach and Surat areas is occasionally a gamble with the next

monsoon, and although the difficulty has not arisen recently, it is considered that the local government should have power in certain areas to slightly extend the timings permitted by Sections 24 and 51. The power should be limited to seasonal industries.

In England, "night" means the period between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.

(iv) *Number of holidays given.*—Government establishments, railways and some other establishments give Sundays as holidays in addition to the usual recognized government holidays.

The following information from the textile industry may be useful :—

—	Sundays.	Other holidays.	Total holidays.	Remarks.
Bombay Millowners' Association's list (1926).	39	18	57	Variations from the list are occasionally made.
Bombay Millowners' Association's list (1927).	39	16	55	
Bombay Millowners' Association's list (1928).	37	18	55	
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association's list (1927).	38	15	53	The Millowners' Association, Ahmedabad, were asked to stabilise holidays a few years ago. A holiday list is now published but there are frequent departures from it. In 1929, actuals will be about 30 Sundays and 26 other days. A few extra holidays are given.
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association's list (1928).	41	14	55	
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association's list (1929).	42	13	55	
Sholapur—One group of three mills (1926).	20	37	57	
Sholapur—One group of three mills (1927).	25	33	58	Actual holidays given. The mills have been asked to stabilise holidays in Sholapur.
Sholapur—One group of three mills (1928).	28	33	60	
Sholapur—A fourth mill (1926) ..	23	34	57	The mills generally observe Saturdays as the weekly holiday. The mills generally observe Sundays as the weekly holiday.
Sholapur—A fourth mill (1927) ..	27	31	58	
Sholapur—A fourth mill (1928) ..	26	32	58	
Sholapur—A fifth mill (1926) ..	22	35	57	
Sholapur—A fifth mill (1927) ..	22	33	55	
Sholapur—A fifth mill (1928) ..	27	33	60	
Sholapur—A sixth mill (1926) ..	25	32	57	
Sholapur—A sixth mill (1927) ..	26	30	56	
Sholapur—A sixth mill (1928) ..	23	35	58	
Sholapur—A seventh mill (1926) ..	25	31	56	
Sholapur—A seventh mill (1927) ..	26	30	56	
Sholapur—A seventh mill (1928) ..	23	35	58	
Barsi	—	—	—	
Gokak	—	—	—	

61. *Day of Rest*—(i) *Existing practices.*—Information has been supplied—Chapter VIII of the Government memorandum.

(ii) *Suitability of the law.*—A "week" means (Section 2 (8)) the period between midnight on Saturday night and midnight on the succeeding Saturday night, and corresponds with the English definition. English law is not however, applicable to male adults. Difficulties in connection with shifts of male adults do not therefore arise. In Bombay it has been impossible to get shifts to change at midnight. Such a change is not in the interests of workpeople or employers. The local government should therefore have power to vary the definition of week or for the maximum hours to be counted over a period of two weeks. The question of shifts is linked up also with the weekly rest day. Under Section 22 a "whole day" must be given. Normally the week end rest is about 36 hours duration. Legally it may be only 24 hours—from midnight Saturday to midnight Sunday. Actually it is possible to give 47 hours' rest and not give a "whole day".

According to Article 2 of the International Labour Convention it is only necessary to prescribe a period of rest comprising at least 24 consecutive hours.

I think Section 22 should be amended in the interests of employers and employees. It should also permit substitution within three days of the weekly bazaar day generally observed in the seasonal factories where Sunday has no significance.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.**A.—Factories.**

89. (ii) The smaller factories are not at present under adequate inspection while employers have no responsibilities under the Workmen's Compensation Act. Workpeople in such concerns are therefore at a double disadvantage. Distances in India are large and an extension of the Act would throw a large amount of extra work on the inspecting staff. The advisability of extending only the safety provisions of the Factories Act and the reporting of accidents to small concerns may be worth considering.

XII.—Wages.

108. *Indebtedness.*—Information collected by a mofussil mill revealed the following position : Of 2,000 persons in the spinning department, 994 or practically 50 per cent. were in debt.

Information relative to the interest charged was obtained and the following theoretical interest charges were worked out in the factory office and confirmed by the manager :—

Department.	Salary.	Number of indebted persons.	Average interest charge per month per indebted person.	Remarks.
A B C Spinning	Below Rs. 25	881	Rs. 3.79	
do.	26-50	38	4.9	
do.	51-75	4	10.9	
B (Weaving, Folding, etc.) ..	Below Rs. 25	131	5.37	
do.	26-50	37	7.6	
C Weaving	Below Rs. 25	122	8.9	C is a new mill.
do.	26-50	50	10.06	

Several factories grant advances to the workers, interest being charged at varying rates. A few concerns charge exorbitant interest. No risk is involved in the transactions and while it is considered that in the present state of labour, advances are helpful, the charging of exorbitant interest should be prevented.

A clause in the Factories Act stating that where advances are given, the rate of interest charged should be reasonable, may be considered.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

115. *Effect on Production of—(ii) Changes in other working conditions.*—The loom sheds concerned contained about 500 looms each.

I think it is undisputed that the textile industry is convinced that expenditure on ventilation and humidification means increased industrial efficiency. Conditions in Ahmedabad, formerly the worst centre in the Presidency, are being rapidly changed. Thus 37 of the older mills have spent Rs. 9,97,000 on ventilating improvements in the last few years. Six new mills have spent Rs. 7,34,000.

Four mills in Sholapur have spent over Rs. 3,00,000 while relatively smaller amounts have been expended in other centres.

XVII.—Administration.

139. *Factory Inspection.*—Information has been supplied *vide* Government memorandum, and in amplification thereof it may be stated that the average fine per case in Britain in 1927 for irregular employment was 17 shillings whilst the average per similar case in the Bombay Presidency in 1928 was Rs. 23.

The following further proposals for the amendment of the Factories Act may be considered :—

(a) *Section 2 (3) (a) and (b).*—The word "simultaneously" may be omitted. Under Section 2 (3) (a) it is possible to work 57 persons on three 8-hour shifts and 38 on two 12-hour shifts without the concern being amenable to the Act.

(b) An addition to Section 2 on the lines of Section 149 (5) of the English Act, viz. : "A place or premises shall not be excluded from the definition of a factory or workshop by reason only that the place or premises is or are in the open air" appears to be desirable.

(c) *Section 7.*—An addition on the lines of Section 64 (5) of the English Act is considered advisable, viz.: "The certificate may be qualified by conditions as to the work on which a child is fit to be employed and if it is so qualified, the occupier shall not employ the child otherwise than in accordance with the conditions."

Certificates are granted after an examination for age and fitness. Some children are unfit for strenuous employment owing to their poverty and fitness would improve with light employment.

(d) *Section 17.*—The word "immediate" may be deleted and an inspector may be granted power to order the posting and maintenance of vernacular notices prohibiting smoking in certain departments of factories.

(e) *Section 30 (2).*—The chief inspector should be granted power to exempt. Cases arise in practice demanding instant decision. The Government of India have issued orders that all exemptions should be included in the annual reports. This is a sufficient guarantee against abuse. In some instances exemptions are directly in the interests of the bulk of the employees.

(f) *Section 34.*—The word "ordinary" should be inserted between "his" and "work" in the third line. Instances have been known where persons have been seriously injured and reports have not been sent on the ground that the persons have been employed on light work.

The above would follow the English definition. The section may also be simplified so that notices of dangerous occurrences need not be submitted in a prescribed form.

An extension appears to be necessary to cover the reporting of accidents to persons on factory premises who are directly covered by an order under Section 19 A of the Act.

(g) *Control over shifts.*—It is thought that the Inspector should be granted control over shifts in seasonal factories.

(h) An equivalent section to Section 79 of the English Act should be incorporated in the Indian Factories Act.

(j) The Factories Act should provide that every child should receive a weekly holiday.

(k) Action is considered necessary to control the use of chains, ropes, and cranes. Clause 22 of the English Factories Bill would be suitable.

Comparative Accident Statement between the Cotton Textile Industry in Great Britain and the Town and Island of Bombay.

Effect of hours of work on safety.

The following figures show the relation between the time incidence of factory accidents:—

TABLE I.

—	Time of occurrence of accidents.								
	8 to 9	9 to 10	10 to 11	11 to 12	1 to 2	2 to 3	3 to 4	4 to 5	5 to 5.30
Number of accidents reported from a railway workshop (1927).	75	164	177	127	77	112	137	104	43

TABLE II.

Hourly frequency of Textile accidents (Spinning and Weaving), 1927, for Bombay and Ahmedabad.

Place.	Department.	Time of occurrence of accidents.										Remarks.
		7 to 8	8 to 9	9 to 10	10 to 11	11 to 12	1 to 2	2 to 3	3 to 4	4 to 5	5 to 6	
Bombay ..	Spinning ..	30	33	53	31	58	27	27	45	57	57	Spinning Departments include: Mixing, Blowing Card, Drawing, Frames, Spinning and Reeling Departments. Weaving, Departments include: Winding, Warping, Sizing, Weaving, Calendering, Folding and Baling Departments.
Do. ..	Weaving ..	19	23	46	29	36	27	32	31	36	38	
Ahmedabad	Spinning ..	21	16	24	32	21	14	16	19	22	18	
Do. ..	Weaving ..	8	12	21	11	15	11	15	19	14	19	
	Total ..	78	84	144	103	130	79	90	114	129	127	

TABLE III.

Cotton textile machinery accidents, excluding those on prime movers, transmission, machine tools, circular saws and abrasive wheels.

			Remarks.	
	1	2	3	
	Accidents	Em- ployees	Rate per 100 persons	
Great Britain	25,978	517,232	.50	Column (1):—Figures from Chief Inspector of Factories Report, England (page 144, 1927). Column (2):—Great Britain census of production figures, 1924 (1927 employment figures are probably less). Bombay Town and Island figures are for 1927. Working hours:—Great Britain 48½ hours per week, Bombay 60 hours per week.
Town and Island of Bombay	4,400	148,005	.30	An accident means an accident which is either fatal or disables the workman for more than 3 days.

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I.—Recruitment.

(1) (ii) *Causes of particular streams of Migration.—Konkan.*—Most of the Bombay factory workers come from the Konkan, Bombay being the nearest industrial centre by steamer. The immigrants can be broadly classified as labourers, agriculturists and tenants. The causes of migration of each of these are:—

The Labouring Class.—The labouring class who possess neither land nor tenancy in the villages do not get sufficient work on the farms of others on account of bad harvest, etc., and depend therefore fully on industrial work for the means of subsistence.

The Agriculturists.—Bad harvest debts and need of cash for purchasing land or cattle drive the agriculturists to take up factory work.

The Tenants.—Temptation of cash payment not only attracts the landless labourers but also the tenants who are desirous of buying more land or of securing the means of improving their holdings. The joint family system makes migration more easy as the small holdings are generally incapable of supporting the whole families even for three or four months in a year. So some members of the families leave the farms for factory work.

A small number coming from the Koshti (weavers) community takes up factory work as it has become impossible for them to earn sufficient wages for livelihood on the handlooms in their villages.

Deccan.—The immigrants from Deccan (*i.e.*, Poona, Satara, etc.) in the mill industry mainly belong to the low castes such as Mahars, Mochis, etc. These are mostly landless labourers and on account of bad harvests, etc., cannot get sufficient work in their villages, so they take up factory work for earning a livelihood. A small number of these Deccanis belong to the agriculturists' class who take up factory work because their land is not productive on account of irregularity of monsoon except where irrigation has been introduced.

Gujarath.—The Gujarathi workers are naturally attracted to Ahmedabad which is nearer to them than Bombay. A small number of the Gujarathi mill workers in Bombay mainly come from the Dhed and the Bhangi communities. The chief reason for these landless labourers taking work in Bombay is that the relatives of most of the workers are permanently employed in Bombay municipal and other departments and are settled there permanently.

The United Provinces.—The unsatisfactory conditions of agriculture drive many of the workers to take up factory work. The joint family system makes certain members free from their home duties and enables them to add to their family income. Also the small wages and insufficient work in the province force many of them to come to Bombay for industrial work.

Madras.—The Telangu workers in Bombay mills are generally landless labourers. On account of bad harvest and insufficient work in their province they come here to take up factory work. Besides their standard of living being low they can compete on easy terms with labour outside the province and can go over to any part of India.

(2) (i) Only a small proportion of the mill population is permanently settled in Bombay. They have neither houses nor relatives at their native villages and so they never care to return there. Even in times of difficulties such as sickness, accidents, etc., when they cannot work, they have to remain in Bombay as their relatives on whom the burden of their maintenance now falls work in the mills or somewhere else in Bombay. These are chiefly Muhammadans from Northern India and some Konkanis.

The majority of the mill population who depend more or less entirely on the mill industry for livelihood visit their villages every year for change and rest as they like to spend some time every year in their villages amid congenial rural surroundings. Most of them possess ancestral houses and have relatives in the villages.

The general season of return is the last month of the Hindu calendar when their Shimga festival falls, *i.e.*, in the month of March. The period of stay varies from one to two months and some prefer to go earlier and return immediately after Shimga while others go immediately before Shimga and return before the monsoons. Thus the period of retirement is from January to March and of return is from March to May. In short they visit their villages once a year necessarily for one to two months. The Ghattees generally return to their villages for the Dasara festival which falls in October or for the annual fairs of their respective villages between October and December.

There is no tendency to retire to the villages in cases of minor sickness, but in cases of serious illness or continuous attacks of malaria, etc., they usually return to their villages.

Those on the other hand who take factory work as supplementing their agricultural income naturally prefer to return in the monsoons. Their usual stay in Bombay is only about eight months as they come to Bombay when the agricultural season is over and when there is no work at home. They are attached more to their homes than to Bombay. Having their lands and houses in the villages they have their families stationed there more or less permanently which thus becomes an additional attraction to them. Some of them remain at home even for more than two or three years for agricultural purposes according to the necessity of their presence in the villages.

As said above these agriculturists leave their families in the villages and in cases of sickness, etc., in the family, marriages and similar occasions they have to return home. But in such cases they do not live there for more than about a fortnight.

This is however true of only those workers who come from nearby places such as Konkan, Decca, etc. The up country men, *i.e.*, United Provinces Muhammadans and Bhayyas and also the Telangu workers cannot afford to go every year on account of high travelling expenses. They visit their villages every three or four years for about four to six months.

(ii) Almost all the mill operatives except a few agriculturists put in at least ten months' service during a year, the remaining two months being spent in the villages. Though they thus keep a close contact with their villages and leave their work for visiting the villages every year most of their life is passed in the city on industrial work. They can, therefore, be said to belong to the permanent labour force. Some mill operatives who have permanently settled in Bombay and who very scarcely return to their villages do not stop work necessarily every year, and sometimes put in more than two years' continuous services. Even the agriculturists who stop factory work in the agricultural season work in the mills at least for about eight months during a year.

All these workers may be classified as permanent labourers of the Bombay mill industry. This, however, does not mean that they work permanently in any one mill.

Those agriculturists who take up factory work at intervals of some years cannot be said to belong to the permanent labour force. They take up mill industry as a supplementary work and spend more years in agricultural work at home than in mill work in the city. Such cases are, however, few.

3. (i) In the days of scarcity of labour, mill managers depended entirely on their jobbers and mukadams to secure the necessary labour, and the latter thus got opportunities to make a regular income by taxing the recruits. If they failed to get recruits who would pay them well, they did not hesitate to keep the machinery idle till the desired element turned up.

Even now the recruitment still lies in the hands of the jobbers and mukadams, and they exercise a great influence on the hands, but as labour is plentiful and there is a rush of hands at the gates of each mill the machinery cannot be kept idle as the

managers now know that labour is easily available. So the jobbers and mukadams do not get much chance to exact money from the recruits and the workers are not harassed as before. Still they are not quite free. They have generally to satisfy the jobbers and mukadams by offering something, though in a few cases admission has been secured without spending a single pie. The average amount of the entrance money can be put down at from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 per worker. So also the weavers who sustain loss owing to defective machinery and bad yarn are always on a look-out for better jobs and the jobbers who secure these for them receive a remuneration.

A Naikin who recruits female labour claims money from them, not only at the time of recruitment but afterwards also every month at about eight annas per head, and in cases of default punishes them by not supplying sufficient materials for work.

All this is supposed to be going on secretly without the knowledge of the authorities.

8. *Labour "Turnover"*—(i) *Average duration of employment*.—The peculiar character of the Bombay immigrants is that they never stick to one mill. The causes are both justifiable and unjustifiable. In the former may be classed bad treatment, bad yarn, defective machinery, insufficient supply of materials, situation of the mill far away from their residence, etc. In the latter category come *gaumwallas* (i.e., workers hailing from the same place) joining another mill or the dismissal of a favourite mukadam or jobber, etc.

Breaks in service are very common among the mill workers. There are very few cases of continuous services. The duration of the employment in one mill varies from eight days to even more than ten years. I have come across so many cases of workers who have left one mill for another even after fifteen years' service for trivial reasons. The percentage of mill workers who have completed more than ten years' service in one and the same mill is very small. It must be taken for granted that these ten or more years are not without break. A worker putting in one or two years' mill service will be found to have served at least in two mills.

The main reason for this temptation to change one mill for another appears to be the lack of a system like the provident fund, which if established will undoubtedly help the stabilize them.

III.—Housing.

18. (i) A large number of tenements occupied by the Bombay mill workers belong to the private landlords. Naturally the tenements have been built not with a view to providing the workers' requirements but with a view to making the maximum profit. The owners generally have built one-room tenements at rents within the reach of the workers. And even these are hardly sufficient for the barest needs of a normal family.

The workers themselves never raise the question as they are afraid that they will have to pay more rent for more accommodation. The workers do not know the disadvantages of living in dark, ill-ventilated dwellings. They must be educated in this respect and be taught the advantages of better standard of living then only they will be able to state their demands.

Judging from the way they partition the verandah wherever one is provided with empty gunny bags to convert it into a kitchen, one can infer that a modest two-room tenement, one living room and other kitchen with a fair-sized *nhani* to serve as a bathing place, should satisfy their needs.

So long, however, as the work of providing houses is left to private agencies it is bound to be based on economic considerations only.

20. The number of tenements provided by employers for the labourers is comparatively very small. The rent for these tenements varies from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 6-8-0 for single rooms and Rs. 10-8-0 to Rs. 12 for double rooms.

In the case of other chawls provided by private landlords and other agencies such as Bombay Improvement Trust and Bombay Development Department, etc., the rent depends not only on the accommodation of the rooms but also on the localities in which they are situated. There is a great demand for tenements in the centre of the mill area where rents are generally higher than in other localities.

In spite of the low rent in the Worli chawls most of the tenements there are vacant. A question naturally arises as to why the workers do not go the Worli chawls which have been built on a good site with large open spaces around with up-to-date sanitary fittings. I have often asked the workers their reasons about this and they say (1) that the chawls are far away from the mill localities, (2) that their *gaumwallas* (people coming from the same villages) do not stay in or around Worli and (3) persons like Pathans, of whom they are usually afraid, live there.

The following table is intended to give an idea of the prevailing rates :—

Table Showing the Various Rent Rates and Accommodations.

Agencies.	Approximate accommodation in one-room tenements.	Rent.	Approximate accommodation in two-room tenements.	Rent.
Millowners	10' × 10' to 12' × 14'.	Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 6-8-0.	10' × 12' each to 12' × 14' each.	Rs. 10-8-0 to Rs. 12.
Private	8' × 8' to 10' × 14'.	Rs. 4-8-0 to Rs. 7-8-0.	8' × 8' each to 10' × 8'; 12' × 10'.	Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 12.
Bombay Improvement Trust. Open for all.	9' × 9' 6" to 11' × 11' with independent verandah 9' 6" × 4' 6". Verandah 11' × 5'.	Rs. 4-15-0 to Rs. 9-8-0.		
Bombay Development Department.	16' × 10' with verandah 18' × 10'.	Rs. 5 to Rs. 8. For corner rooms Rs. 9 are charged		
Bombay Port Trust for Bombay Port Trust. Workers only.	10' × 10' with independent verandah 10' × 4'.	Rs. 5-8-0 to Rs. 7-8-0 on percentage of wages.		
Municipal for sweepers and scavengers.	12' × 10'	Ten annas per head in the family employed in the municipality. Other members of the family who are not employed in the municipality are charged Re. 1 and Rs. 2 respectively for female and male members.		

IV. Health.

23. (iv) The dietary of the Bombay working class varies according to the provinces from which they come. The Ghatis from the Western Ghats consume more jowari and bajri than rice while the Konkani immigrants consume chiefly rice.

The staple food of the workers (Muhammadans and Bhayyas) from Northern India is wheat. Turdal is consumed by all the classes even by the Muhammadans. The Konkans are fond of pulses such as turdal, grams, watanas, etc.

Potatoes, onions and greens are generally the vegetables consumed by the working classes.

The Konkanis like fish, but they cannot afford to spend much on fish as well as on mutton. The Ghatis take mutton only, and that also very scarcely.

The Muhammadans take mutton and beef even more than vegetables. The Konkani Muhammadans generally do not take beef.

As for eggs and fowls the working-class families as a rule cannot afford them.

The expenditure on milk is very small, and I have seen people taking tea without milk. They cannot afford to buy milk even for children.

The Muhammadans from Northern India spend a little on milk and ghee; Bhayyas spend more on ghee.

The Ghatis and the workers from the Northern India use sweet oil in cooking, while the Konkanis use cocoanut oil.

Some Konkanis and Muhammadans generally prepare tea at home once a day. The male workers take refreshments from shops, which consists generally of tea, butter, biscuits and Bhajas.

Ahmedabad workers.—Unlike the Bombay and Sholapur workers the Ahmedabad workers do not stick to one staple food throughout the year. The Hindu workers in Ahmedabad change their dietary according to seasons. In the monsoon they consume chiefly bajri, while in the summer they consume wheat and in the winter wheat or bajri according to liking and means. Kichare, i.e., rice cooked with mung or turdal is taken at night, generally throughout the year. The Patidar families can afford to purchase wheat but prefer bajri as they are used to it.

Among pulses turdal, mung dal and grams are consumed more than other pulses.

Many of the Ahmedabad workers are vegetarians. The non-vegetarian Hindu workers take mutton and the Muhammadans both mutton and beef. The Gujrathis like ghee, and even poor families purchase it. They use sweet oil in cooking.

The expenses on refreshment of an Ahmedabad family are less than that of a Bombay family.

Sholapur workers.—The staple food of the Sholapur workers is jowari. They use rice and wheat at times.

Turdal and gram dal are chiefly used for *zunaka* (a paste-like preparation of gram flour with spices) and curry. These workers as a rule do not like fish. Mutton is taken twice or once in a month. Like the Bombay workers they use onions, potatoes and seasonal vegetables. These people use chilly and spices more than the Bombay and Ahmedabad workers. Sweet oil is used in cooking.

One peculiarity of these workers is that they use raw sugar with bread. They take tea very scarcely but sometimes take milk with bread. Those who attend the gymnasium take milk necessarily.

On the whole the dietary of the workers is poor, there is no variety in the food which is not very nutritious. They cannot afford such items as mutton, milk and even staples of higher quality. At least the staples (bajri, wheat, jowari) of the Ahmedabad and the Sholapur workers are a little more nutritious than the staples of the Bombay workers, who chiefly consume rice only. The Konkanis no doubt take rice in their villages also, but the quality they use in villages is quite different and superior to the quality they consume in the city. In the villages they use rice prepared at home by themselves and they even make use of the water of the boiled rice, which is nutritious and tasty, but the rice they use in the city is tasteless and malnutritious.

(v) *Physique.*—The health of the majority of the workers does not seem to be satisfactory, the strenuous nature of their work being one of the reasons. They have to pass about 10 hours of the day in the fibre-laden atmosphere in the mills and get very little time to pass in open air. There is much difference in the work of an agricultural and an industrial labourer, though both of them have to work hard for about 10 to 11 hours a day for their livelihood. The former works in the open air all through the day and can take rest when he requires it, whereas the latter is confined to one place and in bad atmosphere and can take rest only at a fixed interval.

City life is further responsible for the bad health of the workers. The insanitary living conditions and the habits of drinking and taking tea frequently are also equally responsible. In the villages they can scarcely afford these things for want of cash. The situation of the liquor shops at a long distance from their houses in the villages helps them to check their desire. The city workers on the contrary cannot resist the temptation when they see the liquor shops near at hand in the very same locality where they live. The system of some shopkeepers to give liquor on credit further helps the process. Again, the city workers are much used to taking tea. Often the tea taken by them is of inferior quality and cheap. It is rarely freshly prepared, and is thus injurious to their health, particularly affecting the appetite. A worker who is in Bombay continuously for about two years finds that he cannot consume as much food as he used to consume in his village. The housing conditions are very

unsatisfactory. The rooms provided for them are ill-ventilated and dark and the sanitary arrangements often defective. About 97 per cent. of the working-class families live in one-room tenements. The rooms are generally crowded. The result of overcrowding in one-room tenements badly ventilated and very little open to sunlight is bound to be injurious to their health. And when to this are added the fatigues of indoor physical work, want of open-air recreation, drink and other bad habits, the result can best be imagined. Generally the Konkani workers, who form about three-fourth of the mill population, are not fond of gymnastics and never try to develop their bodies. The malaria also plays an important part in destroying their health.

Generally the women workers are not much used to taking tea. But the health of the women workers is more affected than that of the male workers by the present conditions of living. She is a wage-earner as well as a domestic drudge and has to sustain the strain doubly. She cannot pass even 15 minutes (except those spent in going to and coming from work) of a day in open air. Her bodily growth is stunted on account of over-work. Even in her delicate condition she cannot get rest, and sometimes she has to work up to the moment of confinement. When she delivers, rest is again denied to her as she is left alone at home to take care of her child and self as the other members have to attend work. She cannot get fresh and warm food. Often the nursing of the child is done by herself from the fifth or sixth day of her delivery and she has to look after the household duties if not to attend the mill work after the eleventh day. After one or two months of her delivery, according to the pecuniary circumstances of her family she again joins her mill. Naturally this cannot but affect the health of the women, many of whom look pale and anaemic.

Though the conditions of health are as described above, one would not come across many cases of tuberculosis. And the reason seems to be that many of the workers (males and females) leave Bombay for their native villages as soon as they suspect "kadaki" (vernacular name for tuberculosis in first stage).

26. (b) (i) *Latrines in Private Chawls*.—There are very few private chawls for the workers in Bombay where latrines on the flushing system have been provided, and still fewer where the flushing is in order, and that is why even in chawls with flushing w.c.'s the same sanitary inconveniences are experienced as in the chawls where the old type (basket system) w.c.'s are provided.

The chawls of the workers are generally in groups of 50 and more rooms. In some chawls, latrines are provided at the end of each chawl according to the number of tenements, and in others a separate block is provided at a short distance from the residential rooms.

Partly on account of the ignorance and laziness of the users and partly on account of the carelessness of the owners, the w.c.'s are kept so dirty that it becomes very difficult even to move about in the chawls on account of the unbearable smell.

One would really pity the occupants of the rooms which are close to the w.c.'s. Sometimes the dirty water from the w.c.'s flows in front of the chawls, emitting bad smells. In the monsoon all sorts of insects can be seen in the latrines. The scavengers never care to clean the w.c.'s from inside.

Apart from the insanitary conditions of latrines in most of the chawls, at least a few of the w.c.'s are out of order and useless. Some are without doors, some without bolts from inside and some with broken walls.

The conditions of latrines in storied buildings are still worse. In many of the chawls the dirty water from the upper floor w.c.'s leaks down to the lower floor w.c.'s.

Latrines in Millowners' Chawls.—The conditions of w.c.'s in millowners' chawls are not far superior to the conditions of w.c.'s in private chawls. In many chawls, w.c.'s on flushing system have been provided. Like the private chawls here also in some chawls w.c.'s are provided at the end of each chawl, and in some a separate block is provided at a short distance from the residential quarters.

Latrines in B.D.D., B.P.T. and B.I.T Chawls.—The arrangement of w.c.'s are far better in chawls provided by the above departments. Flushing system has been introduced in almost all the chawls. W.c.'s are provided not in separate blocks but in each chawl on each floor in most of the chawls. In some B.P.T. chawls only w.c.'s are provided in separate blocks. The number of w.c.'s seems to be adequate to the number of rooms.

(ii) *Drinking Water*.—In many of the private chawls the number of taps provided does not appear to be adequate judging from the crowd that one invariably sees at these places. No taps are provided exclusively for drinking purposes. They are used for drinking, washing, cleaning utensils and bathing.

Again some of these are often out of order and do not appear to receive prompt attention from the landlords in spite of complaints to the rent collector. This adds to the inconvenience.

In some chawls, taps are provided at the end of each chawl on each floor and in others a separate stand for the same is provided just near the chawls.

When the water supply was on the intermittent system there used to be a terrible rush at the taps generally from 4.30 to 7 a.m. and from 5.30 to 7.30 p.m., as everyone had to store water before leaving for work and after coming from work, and even those who did not attend work could not remain behind for fear of losing the chance of storing water when it was available. This led to quarrels and sometimes to fighting among the tenants.

In some private storied chawls, taps are provided only on the ground floors, which causes great inconvenience to the tenants who occupy the upper floors as they have to carry the water up the dilapidated staircases rendered slippery by the water spilling from their utensils.

The tap-stands are never cleaned properly. The tenants do not pay any attention to them because they do not realise its importance. The landlords do not pay attention to them because they do not care for the health of their tenants.

The arrangements for drinking water in chawls provided by the millowners are more or less the same.

B.D.D., B.P.T. and B.I.T. Chawls.—Adequate number of taps is provided in each chawl on each floor in the B.D.D. and B.I.T. chawls. In the B.P.T. chawls, separate stands of taps for drinking purposes are provided at a little distance from the residential quarters. This system causes inconvenience to the tenants especially to those occupying upper floors. In almost all the chawls provided by the above departments, arrangements are made to keep the tap-stands clean. Most of the chawls have a caretaker who seems to control the dirty habits of the tenants.

(iii) *Bathing and Washing.*—Bathing places as such, either separate or in blocks, are never provided in any of the Bombay chawls. Small rectangular spaces about 2 ft. by 2 ft., partially closed by a dwarf wall on one side, are provided in each tenement. They serve as a bath-room, a wash-stand, a sink and a receptacle for any waste water all combined in one and are called "Nhanis." The nhanis are so small that one can hardly sit conveniently in them. Baths have, therefore, to be taken standing, and as an Indian bath is taken by pouring water over the body it is inevitable that some of this water should find its way into the room.

In many of the chawls the nhanis in the rooms are not in good order; they often get choked up and become useless, and in spite of the complaints generally made to the rent collectors (because most of the tenants do not know even the names of their landlords) are not repaired promptly. Often in storied private chawls the condition of nhanis is deplorable. The dirty water from upper nhanis leaks down. Sometimes the pipes of the nhanis which are generally in the verandah are broken and the verandahs cannot be used as the dirty water flows therein.

Again, in some private chawls, rooms are without nhanis, which causes unspeakable inconvenience to the occupants, especially to the women. The male members in such rooms take their bath at the tap-stands, thus adding to the crowd, who flock there for storing water, cleaning utensils and washing. The women folk do not like to take their baths at the crowded tap-stands and they come out in the open in front of their respective rooms for bathing. When there are cases of delivery, etc. (generally these people do not go to hospitals for deliveries) it becomes very inconvenient for them. At such times I have seen small pits dug inside the rooms just near the beds of the women for making bathing arrangements for the newly-born children and the mothers. Such chawls are ground-floor structures only.

In some chawls where nhanis are not provided in the rooms, common nhanis, one for about eight or ten tenements, are provided just near the tap-stands. This arrangement also is equally inconvenient to the tenants.

Mill Chawls.—In very few millowners' chawls closed nhanis are provided. Here the arrangements are comparatively better. But in many of the chawls nhanis are provided in the rooms themselves. The nhanis are naturally very small as sufficient space cannot be had for them, the single living rooms being already very small. Inconvenience, due to lack of supervision on the part of the landlords, is experienced by the tenants of the mill-owned chawls also. But at least this much is true, that nhanis are provided in all the rooms, which removes a great deal of inconvenience. In some chawls, however, nhanis—one for two tenements—are supplied just in front of the rooms in the verandah.

B.D.D., B.I.T and B.P.T. Chawls.—In all the B.D.D. and B.I.T. and in some of the B.P.T. chawls, closed nhanis are attached to the rooms. The arrangements of nhanis in these chawls are far better than in the private or millowners' chawls.

In some chawls of the B.P.T. there are common nhanis near the tap-stands. This is generally not liked by the tenants and in many of the ground floor structures of the B.P.T. pits are dug by the tenants inside the rooms for the bath of the women folk. After the bath is taken the waste water in the pit is baled out by pots.

Washing.—No separate arrangements are made for washing purposes in most of the private, mill-owned or B.D.D. chawls. Some of the B.I.T. chawls provide separate washstands for their tenants. Still in the B.D.D. and B.I.T. chawls, where separate washstands are not provided, the same amount of inconvenience is not experienced as in the private and mill-owned chawls. And the reason seems to be that in private and in some of the mill-owned chawls the number of taps is inadequate. The tap stands in most of the private and mill chawls are so dirty and slippery that there may not be a single day on which accidents do not occur.

General Sanitation.—As for other sanitary arrangements, there being no drainage system in the north of Bombay, the dirty water flows in open house gullies around the chawls. The house gullies in many cases are quite close to the chawls. Often the w.c.'s being inconvenient for the children the gullies are used by them and this adds more to the dirt around the chawls. In almost all the chawls and in some of the mill-owned chawls the entrances are strewn with rubbish—refuse of food and all other useless things. There are no baskets kept in the chawls for collecting refuse and in a few cases where they are provided no use is made of them. The sanitary arrangements in the mill-owned chawls are not as hopeless as in the private chawls, but are not so good as in the B.P.T., B.D.D. or B.I.T. chawls. In the chawls provided by the above departments, baskets are kept in each chawl. Sweepers are engaged to remove the refuse twice a day and if they find that the baskets are not used they force the tenants to use them.

In many of the chawls there are supervisors who check the dirty habits of the workers. But, where there is no such check, and no suitable sanitary arrangements exist, the workers' chawls are a model of insanitary conditions.

XII.—Wages.

108. (ii) The workers who have permanently settled in Bombay, and the agriculturists who take to factory work temporarily, are somewhat free from debt. The remaining, i.e., about 50 per cent. of the families, are more or less involved in debts.

The causes that lead to indebtedness are generally connected with marriages, funerals, festivals, old debts incurred either by the workers' parents or by themselves before coming to Bombay, bad habits contracted in Bombay, especially drinking, and the small margin of saving that the workers' wages leave for emergency such as sickness, unemployment, etc.

When a villager comes to Bombay for factory work, he comes with empty pockets and takes the shelter of one of his relatives or gaumwallas. He fully depends on the helping hand of his relative till he gets work, and even after he gets work he cannot draw his wages till he puts in about one and a half month's services on account of the monthly payment system. This is the real beginning of his future indebtedness. Again, when he gets his first pay, it is not spent in repaying the loan, but on merry-making and entertaining friends. So again till the next pay-day he is more or less dependent on his relative, incurring more and more debts. But in this, the first stage of indebtedness, he is free from high rates of interest. Later on, when he brings his family and settles here, his relatives cannot help him any more and he has to take loans from the Pathans and the Marwari moneylenders at high rates of interest and once he gets into their clutches he rarely escapes.

On account of high rates of interest it becomes impossible for a worker to get rid of his debt. After defraying all his expenses he can afford at the most about Rs. 2 to 3 for repaying his loan every month. Thus a man who has taken a loan of say Rs. 40 and has to pay Rs. 2-8 annas (1 anna per rupee) as interest per month (sometimes if the rate is higher this goes even up to Rs. 5 per month) can afford to pay from month to month only the interest from his monthly savings and nothing towards the repayment of the original sum which thus always hangs round his neck as a perpetual dead weight.

In many cases loans are taken from the grocers with whom the workers keep the credit accounts for purchasing foodstuffs. So when a worker goes to pay off his interest the shopkeeper first puts it down to his account of foodstuffs and thus in some months even the interest remains unpaid.

The usual rate of interest charged by Pathans and Marwaris is from 1 anna to 2 annas per rupee per month without security, and 1 anna on security such as gold or silver ornaments. Further, ignorant workers do not know what interest is charged, how much is repaid and how much remains to be paid from month to month. Generally the Pathans deduct the first month's interest from the loan amount itself, i.e., if a person borrows Rs. 5 at 2 annas per rupee, he receives only Rs. 4-6 annas in cash.

In addition to charging high rates of interest the Pathans and the Marwaris harass their debtors a good deal. Often the workers after taking their payments from mills hide themselves (they do not even attend work for two or three days) for fear of the Pathans seizing their wages and not leaving them anything to live on.

In marriages and funerals a good deal of expenditure is incurred on unnecessary items, such as presents to relatives and drinking.

In many cases the remittances to be sent to dependents at their native villages is equally responsible for the indebtedness. It is not possible for many to save anything after defraying their own family expenses in Bombay for remitting to their relatives in the villages. So at least twice a year they have to take loans for remittances. In some cases it happens that if an agriculturist brother of a mill worker fails to pay his dues to his landlord he sends the latter to his brother in Bombay to recover the amount and the poor worker has to raise a loan to pay him, i.e., the members of joint families working in mills have to incur loans to save their families at home from indebtedness.

One more reason for the indebtedness of the mill workers is that most of them are without work for at least from one to two months when they go to their native villages. During the period they incur additional expenses in addition to the maintenance of their families, for travelling to and from the villages. Moreover, when they are in their villages for rest they spend a little lavishly as they are fond of showing to their gaumwallas that the Bombay mill workers are very happy though they themselves know that they really are not.

XVIII.—Intelligence.

143. (ii) The method adopted for conducting field enquiries is the interview method. The sampling method was first introduced in 1926 when the Ahmedabad budget enquiry was begun and has been since continued in Bombay also. In Ahmedabad three out of every 100 tenements in the city were visited and if a sampled tenement happened to be unoccupied or a temple or a shop or a tenement belonging to a trader, professional man or the middle or upper classes, it was omitted. If, however, the sampled tenement was occupied by a working class family who refused to give information, the next tenement was selected within the specified number. Refusals, however, were rare.

In Bombay 10 out of every 100 tenements in the predominant working class localities were visited in the following enquiries. Enquiry regarding the length of service of the mill operatives and the rent enquiry.

The budget enquiry is very comprehensive and covers all the details of a worker's domestic life. The very idea of a stranger trying to find out the condition of his domestic state does not appeal to the worker and in the earlier stages a good deal of opposition was shown to such an enquiry. Some viewed with suspicion such an attempt and others definitely resented it. The ground, therefore, has to be prepared with persuasion and the most essential requirement is to create in their minds confidence about the investigators. Once this is done further progress becomes easy.

The working class people being illiterate cannot keep accounts. Most of them do not know how to give correct information. The only thing they know correctly is the total amount they have spent. They have thus to supply the details from memory and their figures have, therefore, to be taken with caution. Expenditure on some items is exaggerated and on others minimized, and a searching cross examination in as sweet a language as one can use becomes inevitable to arrive at proper figures. Sometimes the neighbours of the family who generally collect there at the time of the enquiry help the investigators. If a worker cannot collect his thoughts and give proper replies the neighbours help him to give proper answers. The cunning, however, who wants to deceive the investigators cannot be brought round without a searching cross-examination.

As their expenditure is limited and does not cover too many items the details can be extracted with a good deal of accuracy with perseverance.

As regards items which are not required monthly, such as clothing, etc., figures given are checked by first ascertaining the number of articles in use, their market prices and their life. It is difficult to judge how long an article of clothing will remain in use and also to tell exactly the prices paid for it perhaps many months previously. But from the quality of the cloth one can judge these things fairly approximately. So also much care is to be taken to see that the expenditure on drinking is not minimized and on indebtedness and interest is not exaggerated. Here also the neighbours of the family come to the help of the investigators but even then in some cases it cannot be said that expenditure on these items can be accurately obtained in spite of the best attempts of the investigators.

The most suitable time for collecting working class budgets is the evening, as the workers do not like to be disturbed with enquiries in the morning when they are in a hurry to go to their work. So also on Sundays and holidays more budgets can be collected than on weekdays. The women generally do all marketing and know the expenditure of the family but cannot easily be persuaded to give out the information. So budgets are to be collected when both men and women are at home.

As for other enquiries, generally speaking, no difficulties are met with and information can be collected even from the women members of the families.

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I. Recruitment.

1. (i) Labour employed on the construction work of the Lloyd Barrage and Canals Scheme is, in general, recruited from the following sources :—

(a) Local labour, i.e., from Sind proper. This labour is generally seasonal it being for part of the year agriculturist. This labour is mostly Muhammadan and as no Muhammadan women come on works, the Muhammadan labour may, therefore, be taken to be entirely male. Besides Muhammadans there are *Ods* and *Menghwaris*. *Ods* are a wandering tribe who live in tents and work almost entirely on earth excavation. *Menghwaris* work seasonally on earthwork and when not so employed work as tanners and leather workers in general. Both these classes of labour bring their women-folk on work. Being residents of Sind the question of migration does not arise.

(b) *Pathans*.—This type of labour is considerable, is wholly male and comes from Afghanistan and the North-West border. It is, with the exception of a very small caste called "Barsati" Pathans (who will work in Sind all the year round), is wholly seasonal. Contractors and their jemadars come in advance to Sind to scout for work and later (in November) the main gangs start arriving. The gangs start to disperse towards the end of March so as to get away from Sind before the intense heat sets in. Pathans in such gangs, almost without exception, refuse to do any other kind of work than earth-work. They are strong in physique but cannot stand the heat of Sind in the hot-weather months.

(c) *Brohis*.—Mostly hillmen from the Khirtar mountain range who eke out a precarious existence on their small holdings in the mountainous tracts during the monsoon months. They are a somewhat primitive type of Dravidian stock and are excellent workers. Being unsophisticated they are easily swindled by unscrupulous contractors and have shown partiality for canal excavation on piece-work directly under Government, i.e., without the contractor intermediary. They enter Sind from the west in small parties and leave again in May and June.

(d) *Tharis and Bhils*.—This type of labour migrates to the south-eastern parts of Sind from the Thar desert tracts. Labour from this source is fairly plentiful when the rainfall in the desert tracts is in deficiency. Some of it remains on canal work all the year round but the bulk of it returns to the desert tracts as soon as information of monsoon rainfall in the vicinity of their homes reaches them. The bulk of this form of labour subsists on grazing flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of cattle.

(e) *Gujeratis*.—Thakurs from the higher lands of Gujerat enter Sind in small gangs when rainfall in their homeland is precarious. This labour is employed on earthwork and a not inconsiderable part of it remains in Sind on work throughout the year.

(f) *Hindustanis*.—This type of labour comes from the United Provinces and works mostly as contractors' labour. Its migration to Sind in large numbers is of recent date and it works all the year round on the canal works. They bring their wives and children with them on to works.

The above classes work almost solely on earth excavation.

(g) *Artisans* for the mechanical and masonry work of this scheme immigrate into Sind from all parts of India, the bulk coming from Afghanistan, the Punjab, United Provinces, the Mekhran and Gujerat. Small numbers come from the Bombay Deccan and Madras.

(ii) (a) *Sindhis*.—Not truly immigrants. They come on canal work during the slack season of agriculture.

(b) *Pathans*.—Migrate into Sind for work in the cold weather to escape the rigorous winter of Afghanistan and to trade whilst going from and to their homes. On entering Sind in search of work they trade with Shikarpur, depositing their merchandise either for cash or subsequent barter. On leaving Sind they complete their barter transactions at Shikarpur and supplement their homeward merchandise by purchases in cash made with money earned in Sind. Their migration thus serves two purposes, trading and manual work.

(c) *Brohis*.—Their seasonal migration into Sind is due to economic pressure as they can only cultivate their lands when there is sufficient rainfall and, even then, this source of livelihood is precarious in the extreme.

(d) *Tharis and Bhils*.—Economic causes influence seasonal migration to parts where there is comparatively lucrative employment.

(e) *Gujeratis*.—Enquiries amongst the workers themselves point to a precarious existence as agriculturists in the less fertile uplands of Gujerat. This class is very poor and their men-folk have been known to travel long distances into Sind

surreptitiously on the buffers of railway goods wagons, their women-folk and children coming later when they can be sent cash for the rail journey. It would seem possible to settle many of these workers in Sind in the new irrigation tracts later on.

(f) *Hindustanis or Bhayas*.—Enquiries show that the economic conditions of these persons who come to Sind to seek work are very severe, due, it is said, to excess population in certain parts of their homeland. They are prepared to work at much lower rates of wages than is any type other of labour entering Sind.

(g) *Artisans*.—The cause of migration appears to be due to ordinary seeking after continuous employment. There is no sign of poverty amongst artisans working on this scheme.

(iii) There have been no notable changes of recent years in the stream of migration. Brohis, Punjabis, Bhayas, and Thakurs have entered Sind in larger streams than they have in the past, due to the construction of irrigation works on a large scale.

2 (i) and (ii) A large percentage of the labour employed on this work being seasonal, it follows that the extent of return to villages is in general five months in the year, and this annually.

Conditions vary, and I give an approximation for the three main tracts of Sind :—

(a) *Left Bank Area*.—Some 50 per cent. of the labour employed in the Rohri Canal Circle remains on our works throughout the twelve months of a year. Batches of this labour return to their homes for special ceremonies from time to time but only for very short periods. This 50 per cent. is "foreign" labour.

(b) *Right Bank Area*.—Approximately 40 per cent. of the labour force in this area works continuously on the canals throughout the year. Local labourers pay frequent short visits to their villages whilst some never leave their villages, working within a 5-mile radius thereof and returning almost every evening to their homes.

"Foreign" labourers pay short and infrequent visits to their homes, such visits being neither frequent nor long enough to disorganize work.

(c) *Eastern Nara Tract*.—Approximately 45 per cent. of the labour in this tract works fairly steadily throughout the year. Infrequent visits of short duration of this force are not unusual when the homes are comparatively easy of access. Long *treks* across the desert, by camel or on foot, are very strong deterrents to frequent contact with the villages.

3 (i) We (i.e., Government in the Irrigation Department) have very few direct dealings in the recruitment of labour. Government Irrigation works are generally given out by contract or ordinary piece-work and those agencies recruit the labour. They send out "jemadars" who, for local labour, advance sums in the order of, say, a week's to ten days' wages. For foreign (imported) labour heavy advances are given. They may amount to 25 per cent. of the wages likely to be earned by the labourer during the working season *plus* railway fare. Monetary advances by Government officials to recruits is generally prohibited and this confines Government's direct recruitment activities to the local area in which the work is situated.

(ii) On the whole the existing systems work satisfactorily both from the point of view of the labourer and the contractor or piece-worker as well as from the Government's view-point.

As mentioned elsewhere there is always a battle of wits in which, since the abolition of the "Workmen's Breach of Contract Act" (XIII of 1859) by the India Act III of 1925, both recruiter and recruited are fairly evenly matched. The effect of the repeal of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act has been to raise tendered rates for Government works. This goes to show that the contractor has lost a powerful hold on labour for advances made. Generally speaking the abolition of the Act has removed hardships that were undoubtedly borne by labourers who were recruited by unscrupulous contractors. On the other hand it seems likely that labour may take advantage of the repeal of the Act and thus swindle his employer.

(iii) I am not in favour of any attempt to establish public employment agencies. The efficacy of such an agency is, in my opinion, more than doubtful, for we would not be able to employ the right type of petty official to get properly into touch with the labour required and be at all sure that corruption would not become rampant.

7. (i) There are definitely no good grounds for any unemployment problem in Sind at present, so far as the manual labourer is concerned, as there is enough work on hand on the Barrage and Canals Scheme to keep every able-bodied labourer in Sind employed for 300 days in the year for the next three years, and the same condition has existed since 1924. In fact one of our great difficulties has been to get adequate labour even for the seasonal working period.

(ii and iii) These do not arise in view of the fact that there is no unemployment problem in Sind in general.

(iv) As the vast bulk of casual labour in Sind, and, indeed, in India in general, is recruited from the agricultural classes, I see no call for Unemployment Insurance. Labour can and does fall back on agriculture, which in the majority of cases, supplies a bare subsistence allowance against unemployment in non-agricultural fields of work.

8. (i) On the large irrigation works now in progress in Sind, the bulk of the labour works for only six full months in the year—from November to April. For the rest of the year Sind labour proper is employed in agriculture.

(ii) Generally speaking the vast percentage of labour employed on irrigation works is casual in the sense that when the works are completed labour needs of the Government to any considerable extent cease. The amount of permanent labour employed on open canals is almost negligible.

II.—Staff Organization.

15. (i) Generally speaking, contractors are intermediaries in obtaining labour, the only exception being in cases where the extent of work is small and it can be undertaken by local labour available. As a rule, we have endeavoured on this scheme to give our works out as far as possible on piece-work, i.e., petty contracts, rather than on formal contracts, but where works are large and the great bulk of the labour required therefor has to be imported we are practically forced to give out the work on formal contract. This is necessary, because there is an extremely bad habit prevailing in India as a whole, and to a greater intensity in Sind, of labourers demanding very heavy monetary advances before they will proceed to work which is any appreciable distance from their homes. It is therefore, necessary in such cases to have contractors as intermediaries because it is against the general policy of the Government to give unsecured money advances to workpeople.

Were it practicable to have recruiting "jemadars" i.e., gangers, then the contractor as an intermediary would disappear.

To employ jemadars is, I consider, quite impracticable. A jemadar would probably make rash promises to the labourers whom he is recruiting, and having little or no financial stake in the successful outcome of the work on which he would be employed as a jemadar, he would certainly tend to be less responsible in such a position (from our point of view) than the contractor.

As regards the character of works given out on contracts, it varies so greatly that only a cursory idea is here given.

On a scheme such as the Lloyd Barrage and Canals we have at Sukkur, given out legally binding contracts for excavation inside cofferdams in the bed of the river Indus, and of the masonry work pertaining to the construction of the barrage and the regulators.

On canals the main work is excavation in earth. The length of a canal given out on contract depends upon its width and depth. Ordinarily speaking from one to three miles of a main canal forms a section that is given out on a contract and the value of the work may be from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 2,00,000.

Construction of masonry works is also given out wherever possible on formal contracts because Sind is very poor in supplying its own skilled labour. Such labour has to be brought from the Punjab, the United Provinces, or Kathiawar, i.e., someone has to take the financial risk of giving advances to labourers and we deem it politic to use the contractor as an intermediary for this purpose.

(ii) Almost without exception every proper contract is sublet in varying degrees by the contractor for works, such as on the barrage proper, gangs of men are given piece-work rates by the contractors for doing excavation work, and to masons for laying masonry.

On the canals the contractor ordinarily keeps a comparatively small number of men on daily wages for miscellaneous work, and the rest of his work of excavation he sublets at so much per thousand cubic feet, leaving himself as ample a margin as possible between the rates the Government pay under contract and the rates he pays to his sub-contractors or, more accurately, petty piece-workers.

(iii) Government exercises little control over the actual working conditions of the labourers. Labourers are in 50 per cent. or more of cases recruited from outside Sind. The contractor makes his advances, pays railway fares, and brings the people on to the work. He then sets each gang a task at a pre-arranged rate. The only direct control exercised by us over the working conditions is as regards sanitation. There is a certain amount of indirect control; for instance, if complaints are received from the labourers that the contractor is attempting to swindle them over measurements, or otherwise under-pay them, we endeavour to set matters right by bringing to bear as much pressure as we can on the contractor to treat his men justly.

☞ The Government does not attempt to fix any definite working hours for contractor's labour, nor does it fix any minimum scale of pay for labourers.

(iv) I consider that the general effect of contractors as intermediaries is satisfactory. I have already suggested that the only alternative to the contractor as an intermediary is the professional "jemadar" or labour-recruiter, but I am inclined to think that the labourer gets a better deal from the contractor than he would be likely to get from a professional jemadar. Any contractor of repute obviously treats his men, on the whole, fairly well, because if he did not he would not be able to depend on a regular supply of labour from outside the province in which he is working. Nothing spreads quicker in India than the information that a contractor is unreliable as regards his treatment of labour. Individual cases of hardship do occur, but without elaborate legislation I cannot see how such can be prevented. It has to be remembered that, owing to the vicious practice of heavy advances being demanded by labour, the contractor probably deceives his labour to some extent by holding out golden opportunities from which the gilt disappears in actual practice.

I have known during my long service as a constructional engineer, as many cases where labour has "done down" the contractor as where the contractor has played false to his labour.

On these works we have had many instances of labour having deserted a contractor after having received advances which they could only repay by working steadily for him for practically the whole working season. The result is unsatisfactory, because we have one set of wits working against another set.

III.—Housing.

16. Generally speaking, the Government does not undertake to house contractors' labour.

On the Sukkur Barrage itself, some provision has been made by the Government for housing labour in that we have built certain blocks of coolie lines on each bank of the river. These lines can only accommodate a small proportion of the labour that is employed during the working season, but the main idea is to provide some sort of reasonably good accommodation for a nucleus of the contractors' labour. The contractor makes his own arrangement for housing the rest of his labour and these are, as a rule, very primitive.

As regards labour more or less continuously employed by the Government directly, i.e., without the intermediary of the contractor or the piece-worker, arrangements are generally made to house them.

On the canals, where the bulk of the excavation work is done by mechanical excavators, all the labour employed is provided with accommodation. It, in general, takes the form of tents, and in certain special circumstances huts are erected. This labour is not stationary as the mechanical excavators during the course of the year have to move over a considerable distance of country. Were such work localized, then it is practically certain that we could and would make better arrangements to house the labourers.

IV.—Health.

24. (i) Although contractors are in most cases the direct employers of labour on irrigation works, the Government, on the barrage and canal works, make all main arrangements for medical facilities for labourers.

(ii) A medical organization under the immediate control of the inspecting medical officer is maintained for medical attention to all classes of workers on this scheme.

This organization consists of the Inspecting Medical Officer, Lloyd Barrage and Canals Construction, with 14 sub-assistant surgeons, and a complement of compounders and other staff.

At Sukkur, where a large force of labour is concentrated, and where the nature of the work calls for prompt medical and surgical attention to labourers, a well-equipped hospital has been established in the main barrage township with accommodation for 34 in-patients.

In the left bank township there is a small hospital, all serious cases being taken across the river to the main hospital.

Construction work being scattered over an area of approximately 13,000 square miles, it is not practicable to have other works hospitals in any fixed area.

The sub-assistant surgeons, with their field dispensaries, are therefore moved from place to place as necessity demands.

In addition to our own special organization full use is made of local board dispensaries wherever practicable.

So far, the medical organization has adequately served the purpose.

25. (i) The works hospitals and dispensaries are freely attended by labourers in need of medical or surgical attention.

I am definitely of the opinion, based on a long period of construction work, that the ordinary labourer nowadays far more readily attends dispensaries than was the case, say, 20 years ago and, as a consequence, there is a far less number now of uncared-for sickness than formerly.

(ii) The proportion of women workers to men on the irrigation works in Sind is low, but medical facilities are readily availed of by such female workers as there are on our works.

26. At Sukkur, where the workers are concentrated, latrines are provided and a large staff of sweepers employed to safeguard sanitary interests when the ordinary facilities provided are not used. Workers as a whole prefer to use open spaces rather than latrines. Away from Sukkur the labour is spread over a considerable area and, except in the vicinity of dragline excavators, no special arrangements are made for latrines, etc.

The workers prefer to use the jungle and no ill-effects from the point of view of sanitation are noticed by the following of this custom. The intense heat and dryness of Sind obviates the use of scavengers, provided labour is not specially concentrated.

(ii) Except when water-borne epidemics are anticipated, or water is particularly scarce, no special arrangements are made on scattered works for a drinking-water supply. Water is generally obtained from wells in the vicinity of the works.

Where drinking-water is scarce, special arrangements are made to convey it to the works by means of lorries, camels or bullocks.

In the two townships at Sukkur, a pipe supply is provided. Even then, surrounded by water as the works in the river are, it is difficult to prevent the general body of labour from drinking direct from the river.

When epidemics are feared, special arrangements are made in the two townships to sterilize the water.

On scattered works, treatment of the water by permanganate of potash is freely resorted to by the Government agency.

29. (ii) Until the recent general outbreak of cholera in Sind our works have been singularly free from dangerous epidemic diseases. Even the recent cholera epidemic has not been very serious amongst workers who remain on our works, special arrangements made by the medical staff of the scheme having been very effective.

Malaria is prevalent in certain areas in our works zone. Quinine is freely administered, and special care is taken to treat any labourer noticed to be suffering from this malady.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. (i) The bulk of the labour force on this scheme is not protected by the Workmen's Compensation Act. As a pure act of grace, however, all cases that would ordinarily receive protection under the Act are dealt with as if the Act applied, and this very liberal treatment is much appreciated.

Where works are given out on formal contract the contractor is held liable, and the Government protects itself and the workmen, by embodying a clause in all such contracts making contractors liable under the Act where such applies.

Where the Act does not apply, we endeavour to get the contractor to deal liberally with cases of permanent injury.

XIII. Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

112. No appreciable improvement in the efficiency of workers on the class of work dealt with by this scheme has been noticed in recent years.

Generally speaking, the efficiency of the labourer is as it was 25 years ago, but as the rate of wages has risen the value of work done for wages paid shows a distinct increase in costs.

Twenty years ago mechanical excavators, for instance, could not compete with labour. It has now been proved that for earthwork in heavy bulk mechanical excavators can more than hold their own against manual labour.

116. Education of the masses to take a greater pride in manual work seems to me the only efficient means of obtaining greater efficiency. There is in general a marked absence of intelligent application to manipulation on works of the nature comprised in the construction of irrigation works. Without the strictest supervision, efficient work cannot be relied upon.

XVI.—Law of Master and Servant.

127. *Effect of Repeal of Workmen's Breach of Contract Act.*—The effect of the repeal of this Act is all in favour of the worker.

It caused no little consternation to contractors who now have no redress against workmen who fail to work off advances of wages, except in a Civil Court, and as the bulk of the labour employed on canal works in Sind comes from outside the Province it is practically impossible for a contractor to sue a defaulter in a Civil Court for recovery of advances.

I have reason to believe that the repeal of the Act has tended to lower the amount of unsecured advances made by contractors to labourers.

Statistics have not been worked out to show what effect the repeal of the Act has had on the general upward trend of contract rates, but contractors give it as an excuse for tendering higher rates.

Mr. J. GHOSAL, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., COMMISSIONER, C. D., POONA.

I.—Recruitment.

1. There are seven districts in this division. The volume of migration in some of the districts is far more pronounced than in others. The migration from the districts of East Khandesh and West Khandesh is negligible. That from Nasik, Ahmednagar, and Sholapur stands midway between the Khandesh districts on the one hand and Poona and Satara on the other. It is from the last two districts especially from the eastern part of Poona and almost the whole of Satara, that the volume of periodic migration is particularly great. In recent years the emigration from Sholapur, Ahmednagar, and Nasik is showing signs of diminution. The reason is that labour that would have otherwise migrated from the Sholapur district, is more or less absorbed by the mills in Sholapur City itself. In Ahmednagar a good deal of labour, that formerly used to go to Bombay and other labour centres, is now absorbed nearer home on account of the construction and development of large irrigation works in the district. The same remark applies more or less to Nasik. Even in Poona the volume of emigration has been materially checked by the fact that the Tata and other works going on in the district attract a considerable portion of the floating labour population.

Thus it is only from the Satara district that the stream of migration still continues unabated, though the volume slightly fluctuates in response to seasonal conditions. The population of the Satara district is ten and a quarter lacs, of which the agricultural population was estimated in 1922 to be about 827,412. Of these from 15 to 20 per cent. may be taken to represent the seasonal volume of migration. In the census of 1921, 65,953 people from Satara, mostly from this class, were found in Bombay alone. It is not, however, to Bombay alone that the Satara migrants go. They go much further afield, as far as Karachi and beyond. In any labour centre, either in Gujarat, Central Provinces or Berars, a sprinkling of labour from the Satara district would be found in almost every sphere of labour. So far as I know the conditions in this district, the people have got the peculiar knack of picking up any kind of ordinary labour and of adapting themselves to different surroundings and circumstances. A considerable number of these migrants have practically established themselves in different labour centres. The annual migrants go to these men who form a sort of nuclei around which the others congregate.

2. As indicated in paragraph 1, above, a considerable portion of what may be called the annual migrants, return to their homes at about Akshayatruti, i.e., just a few weeks before the advent of the monsoon. They stay in their homes looking after their lands till after the Diwali, when they again proceed towards the labour centres. This annual visit to their homesteads is more or less confined to those who have either their old parents at home or some lands to look after. Those of the migrants who have no such attractions and others in whose case such attractions cease to exist in course of time for some reason or other, generally prefer to establish themselves in the labour centres. This is only a phase of the general tendency towards urbanization.

4. There is no doubt that the periodic migration referred to above, has a sort of disintegrating influence on the family life of the labouring classes. But on the whole I do not think it to be an unmixed evil. It probably serves to keep down the birth-rate to a certain extent. It is curious to note that in the Satara district, which shows the greatest volume of periodic migration, the average number of persons per house was found in the last census to be four as against five in the other districts of this

division. It is also observed that these periodic migrants receive some polish and enlightenment by their contact with urban life which they pass on to a certain extent to their "stay-at-home" brethren. Of course this contact with urban life has also its drawbacks but on the whole the effect is good.

6. Recruitment of labourers for the Assam tea plantations was being carried on in some parts of this division without direct cognizance by Government till 1925, when it was directed that the district magistrates should give careful attention to this matter and see that nothing illegal was done by the agents to obtain recruits. Later on it was directed that recruits should be taken before a first-class magistrate and that he should try to ascertain that the recruits knew what they were doing. Subsequently Government directed that these recruits should be taken before the first class magistrate of the district headquarters, who should satisfy himself that—(1) the labourers were willing to go to Assam; (2) they knew the terms on which they were recruited; and (3) they were aware of the conditions in which they had to live there.

As the recruiting agents complained to Government about the inconvenience experienced by them in taking recruits to the district headquarters, Government allowed the district magistrates to use discretion in permitting the production of recruits before any first-class magistrate to be specified by them.

In my opinion these precautions are sufficient to prevent abuses.

7. So far as unemployment of the labouring population is concerned I do not think that there are any visible signs of it. In fact the tendency to migrate not only gives the migrants a chance of earning better wages, but at the same time keeps down the supply of labour in the local market so as to enable the labourers who do not go abroad to obtain better wages than what they could have commanded otherwise.

III.—Housing.

16. In so far as the industrial concerns in this division are concerned, the housing accommodation afforded by the mills and factories is comparatively insignificant, though some of the millowners, especially in Sholapur, are seriously thinking of extending such accommodation.

VI.—Education.

42. I do not think education has made such progress in this class as to affect their standard of living. As compared with former years, standard of living in this class has arisen but this is due more to increased wages than to education. It is part of the general evolution.

In spite of a greater spread of education the "efficiency" of the labourer shows no marked improvement. There are genuine complaints that the efficiency of ordinary labourers is on the decline.

Mr. Y. P. GUPTE, ACTING CERTIFYING SURGEON, AHMEDABAD.

III.—Housing.

18. (ii) The types of accommodation supplied by the employers at Ahmedabad may be classified as below:—(1) double-room tenements, pucca buildings; (2) single-room tenements, pucca buildings; (3) single-room tenements with back to back rooms, pucca buildings; (4) single-room tenements, back to back rooms, semi-pucca buildings; (5) huts constructed by the workers on mill premises with material supplied by the employer, the usual material being corrugated-iron sheets.

The first type is very rare and is found in Asoka mills to a certain extent. It has two rooms, each measuring 12 feet by 12 feet, with large windows, roof ventilator and a kitchen.

The second type is also rare and is found in Asoka mills. It consists of a room, 12 feet by 12 feet, and a back yard converted into a kitchen.

The third type is much commoner. It consists of a room, 12 feet by 12 feet, with window and a verandah.

The fourth type is very common. It consists of a room, size 12 feet by 12 feet, with a small window, verandah in front, and in majority of the cases no plinth.

The fifth type consists of a hut built of any material available and has no definite plan. Often the hut is about 4 feet high, no plinth and no windows.

All the tenements are fully utilized by the workers.

(iii) In the double-room tenements the lighting arrangement is good, as they have big windows. In the rest of the types, the lighting arrangement is poor.

Conservancy arrangement is of the pail type.

Majority of the mills use water supplied by the municipality. There are about a dozen mills that use the water from wells in their own compounds.

IV.—Health.

24. (i) About 28 mills engage qualified doctors to attend to the sick and injured ; about two mills engage compounders for the purpose. Two mills maintain hospitals. No charge is made for the outdoor attendance.

(ii) There is a civil hospital in the centre of the City.

There are also two Government dispensaries located in different parts of the City. There is also Victoria Jubilee Institute for women only, managed by the district local board. Full advantage is taken of this institution by all class of women. There are several municipal dispensaries located in different parts of the City also.

25. (i) People take full advantage of these institutions.

(ii) Women take advantage of these institutions but for confinement they prefer to go to their villages.

26. (a) (i) Latrines, in majority of the mills, are of pail type. There are a few mills where they are of flushing type and are connected to municipal main drains. There are two mills where they are of flush system and are connected to a septic tank of their own. The pail system requires constant attention and even then it is difficult to keep it up to the requisite standard of cleanliness. The surrounding ground instead of being kept clean is used for dumping waste material and refuse.

(ii) In majority of the cases, mills use water supplied by the municipality for drinking purposes. There are some mills where the supply of water for this purpose is from a well in their own compound.

(iii) No regular bathing places are in existence. There are open washing places and these are at times used as bathing places as well.

(b) The same remarks as above hold good. No special bathing places are provided by the employers.

34. (a) (i) *Provision of Refreshment.*—All the mills maintain a tea shop and most of them on contract system. In majority of the cases, the accommodation is inadequate and sanitary standard is low.

Shelters.—The mills have started providing shelters for their workers during recess hours. Some of these are very well looked after but in majority of the cases there is total neglect on the part of the workers as well as the employers.

Creches.—Most of the mills have creches but roughly speaking there are about 12 good creches and as for the rest there is lack of interest in this direction.

VII.—Safety.

48. Although many mills engage doctors and have dispensaries, yet it is very desirable that some arrangement should be made for First-Aid, especially in departments where injuries are likely to be frequent. Suitable persons out of the workers should be trained in First-Aid work in the various departments. Provision of a box containing dressing material and antiseptic, and another box containing a few tourniquets, or rubber tubing instead and a few common splints would meet the requirements for the First-Aid.

Mr. P. B. ADVANI, M.Sc., TECH., M.I.E., DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIES,
BOMBAY.

It must be borne in mind that probably not more than one-eighth of persons engaged in industry are employed in factories which come under the Factories Act. A large number of such people, however, work entirely on their own in their own cottages and such persons probably do not come under the purview of the commission. But not an inconsiderable number of persons work in factories which either because they employ under 20 persons or have no machinery, do not come under the Factories Act. Accurate information about such persons will probably not be readily available. Among such establishments hand weaving factories are probably the most numerous in this Presidency. It is reported that in Sholapur there are some 250 such factories employing in the aggregate some 2,500 persons. Similarly, Surat has some 50 such establishments in addition to a number of gold-thread factories and lace factories where women and children are employed. Poona, Dhulia, Malegaon, Bhivandi, Ilkal are some of the other places where hand weaving factories are located. The Bombay Department of Industries maintains staff in the various centres to help the hand weaving and dyeing industries by the demonstration of improved appliances.

In conclusion I would state that all opinions expressed are in my individual capacity and not on behalf of Government.

I.—Recruitment.

1. In Sholapur hand weavers for employment in factories are drawn from the local hand weavers and from surrounding villages in H. E. H. the Nizam's territories. In centres like Malegaon, Dhulia, Bhivandi and Madanpura (Bombay), weavers are attracted in large numbers from the U. P. and other places in North India. In Surat hand weaving factories get their men partly from local resident weavers and partly from those that come from Kathiawar. The labour employed in small dye-houses in villages is comparatively small and is easily obtainable locally. Other small factories, such as small gold and silver thread factories and smithies, brass and copper works, etc., are usually able to get their men from local workers.

2. In Sholapur weavers from surrounding villages go away to their villages for some three months in the year. In other centres where weavers are drawn from other parts of the country such as U. P. and the Punjab, weavers return to their villages once in two or three years.

3. (i) The usual practice in Sholapur for the existing small factories is to ask their employees to induce their friends to join the factory. It is almost a universal practice for the small factory owners to give an inducement in the form of a loan to new employees. When a new factory is being established the owner gets in touch with a local mukadam and gets through him the first batch of employees. In Sholapur there is a fair number of permanently resident weavers. This force is supplemented by recruitment from the surrounding villages in H. E. H. the Nizam's territories. In places like Malegaon, Dhulia, Bhivandi and Madanpura (Bombay), a number of weavers engaged come from U. P. and they are recruited by the small factory owners with the aid of local mukadams.

(iii) In the present state of education and social conditions of workers it is doubtful if public employment agencies will be successful and will benefit the workers or the industries. In any case it will be necessary to establish them in a large number of towns to cover an appreciable number of small factories and their employees. Even for factories in large industrial towns it is doubtful if workers would use them to any large extent at present. The cost at present is likely to be out of all proportion to the benefit which may be derived.

7. In the slack season, i.e., from July to September, a number of hand weavers are thrown out of employment. It cannot, however, be said that amongst the hand weavers as a whole there is any appreciable amount of unemployment. They are able to continue their work in their homes even though, specially in the slack season, their earnings are reduced considerably.

8 (i) and (ii) In the small hand weaving factories most of the employees are permanent. The employer usually induces their continued employment by loans which the weavers are practically never able to completely discharge. The percentage "turnover" of labour, therefore, is small. In the busy season each year additional men are employed temporarily. But on the whole there is little casual employment in hand weaving factories.

(iii) In addition to the weekly day of bazaar when work is suspended, some 30 to 45 days are taken off in connection with religious and social observances.

II.—Staff Organization.

10. The owners of small factories carry on their business themselves. For a factory of 25 looms there may be a foreman on Rs. 25 to 30 p.m., an accounts clerk on Rs. 20 p.m. The proprietor usually works the factory himself. In a small factory of 8 to 12 looms there is usually no foreman and the owner does all the work himself.

12 (ii) As regards training of weavers, the Department of Industries, Bombay, maintains 7 schools (2 more are being started in Sind) and 12 demonstrations (2 more are being organized in Sind) for the purpose of training hand loom weavers in the use of the fly shuttle looms and modern preparatory appliances. There are also 2 dyeing demonstrations. These schools and demonstrations are peripatetic institutions and are moved from place to place. Generally speaking facilities for technical education whether in connection with small factories or large textile mills and other large factories must be considered as inadequate. The Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Inquiry) recommended the establishment of Textile Trade Schools in Bombay for the training of textile workers. Technical schools teaching weaving and other subjects are also necessary in centres like Sholapur.

13. The relations between the workers, proprietors and staff are usually cordial. In this connection it must be mentioned that there is intense poverty and lack of organization among hand weavers and that they are not in a position to assert themselves in order to improve their position. Works committees or councils do not exist. Even in large factories a very limited use has been made of these institutions.

14. Attendance register is generally maintained and the owner checks it regularly. Wages are paid directly to the workers by the owner himself. The men have direct contact with the master and the evil of jobbers extorting money from them as it obtains in the mills does not exist in connection with these small factories.

III. Housing.

16. No special provision for housing is made by the proprietors of these small hand-loom factories. In Sholapur a factory would be divided into 3 or 4 rooms. Each room will have 4 to 8 looms and the room serves as a living room as well as a workroom for some 4 families, the number depending upon the number of looms. Food is cooked in the same room and at night time the warps are rolled up and the space so vacated is occupied for sleeping purposes. The moral effect on the workers is deplorable, because of several families living together in one room.

In other centres no housing accommodation is generally provided. The employees have to make their own arrangements.

IV. Health.

23. Generally speaking, owing to insanitary conditions of the factories and dwellings and lack of sufficient ventilation and light the health of the workers is bad. Other causes of bad health are excessive drink and insufficient food. The small employer does not provide facilities for medical attendance nor does he make any contribution to the workers in this connection. The workers take advantage of the local Government dispensaries.

26 (i) Latrines are usually provided in the factories. These are of primitive type and are insanitary.

(ii) Drinking water is generally always provided.

(iii) Bathing and washing facilities are poor and use in this connection is made of public municipal taps.

The dwellings of the weavers are generally located in the poorest part of the town badly served by the municipality. The huts are badly ventilated and sanitary arrangements are most primitive.

Hand-weaving factories do not come under the Factories Act. They can be brought in under the Act by notification under clause 2 (3) (b). But this would mean a large increase in the Factory Inspection staff. Amendment of clause 2 (3) (a) so as to bring within the scope of the Act factories with machinery employing not less than 10 persons, is more urgent.

29. (i) There is no particular industrial disease amongst the hand-loom weavers ; but in the small dyeing factories workers suffer from "chrome sores". Such men are treated in the local dispensaries.

(ii) There is considerable prevalence of other diseases, such as cholera, malaria, etc. Most of the weaving centres are visited by one disease or another almost every year.

30. I would welcome some measure of sickness insurance to cover as many organized factories as possible.

V. Welfare.

32. There is no organized activity in regard to welfare in the small factories.

36. Apart from the facilities provided by Government and local bodies, the small employer of course cannot afford to provide any facilities for his workmen. Even where such facilities are available, full advantage is not taken of them. Owing to the intense poverty of workers it is found necessary by them to engage their children in the preparatory processes. They, thus earn 2 to 3 annas a day. Some hand-weavers, specially those engaged in fancy work who earn more than the coarse cloth weavers, do send their children to day and night schools where available. Some adults also attend night schools, but in very small numbers.

38. Co-operation amongst hand-weavers employed in small organized factories is practically non-existent.

VI. Education.

41. So far as hand-weavers are concerned, the Department of Industries has 7 peripatetic schools and 12 peripatetic demonstrations scattered all over the Presidency. Two more schools and two more demonstrations are being at present organized in Sind. There are two demonstrations for teaching dyers improved methods of dyeing. A hand-weaving institute for the whole Presidency is being organized at Poona.

Hand-weaving is also taught in some of the industrial schools, such as the Salvation Army School at Anand, Sonawala School at Bordi, Konkan Educational Society's Industrial School at Alibag, Salvation Army School at Ahmednagar, and Edward VII Technical school at Dhulia. All these schools receive a grant in aid from Government.

In big industrial towns like Bombay and Ahmedabad so far as jobbers and others are concerned, facilities for training are limited. In Bombay, Social Service League runs a textile technical school and a class is also held for jobbers in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.

It will help the textile industry considerably if textile trade schools, specially intended for jobbers are established in Bombay as well as in Ahmedabad. Similar facilities are also required for towns like Sholapur and Surat.

Apart from facilities for training in cotton textiles facilities for training of jobbers and skilled men in other trades also, such as tanning, iron and other metal industries, and artware industries, etc., cannot be considered as adequate.

42. Wherever use of improved appliances has been taught to hand-weavers, their earning power has been appreciably increased. They have been enabled to meet in a better manner their elementary needs of food, etc. But I cannot say definitely that their general standard of living has been appreciably raised.

VII. Safety.

Apart from the hand-weaving factories where there is no physical danger to the workers, there are quite a number of other factories which have moving machinery employing less than 20 men which do not come under the Factories Act. It is suggested that the beneficial clauses of the Factories Act should be extended to apply to as many organized factories with machinery as possible; and the number of persons employed in a factory to bring it under the Factory Act may be reduced from 20 to 10. This will require the amendment of Section 2 (3) (a) of the Indian Factories Act.

VIII. Workmens' Compensation.

Small factories with hand appliances are not within the scope of this Act, nor is it necessary and practicable to bring them in. It is, nevertheless, necessary to extend the scope of the Act as far as it is practicable to do so.

IX. Hours.

55. The hours of work in small hand-weaving factories are usually 10 per day. The day commences at about 7 a.m. and the work continues till 12 noon. Then there is a recess up to 1-30 p.m. after which again the work continues till 6-30 p.m. In some places the recess is from 12 to 2 and the work continues to 7 p.m. The workers usually work for 6 complete days in a week.

60. In Sholapur, each week the workers have a holiday for one complete day on the bazaar day. In addition to the weekly bazaar day the workers have about 30 to 45 days per year as holidays in connection with religious festivals. In Sholapur the bazaar day, i.e., the day of rest, is Wednesday.

X. Special questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

81. Act of 1922 has not affected small weaving factories. Weavers' children are employed in the small factories without any age limit. There are no special facilities for apprenticeship. Children grow up with their parents and learn their work from them.

87. There is practically no blind alley employment so far as the hand-weavers in small factories are concerned.

89. Work of women and children in factories equipped with machinery, but which do not come under the Act, is subject to long hours and bad sanitation. It would be desirable to amend Section 2 (3) (a) fixing the limit at 10 persons instead of 20 as at present. 20 factories have so far been notified under Section 2 (3) (b). Greater use of this section is also likely to be beneficial.

XII. Wages.

96. Most of the work in the hand-weaving factories is done on piece system. Weavers engaged on the coarse cloth earn on an average 6 annas a day. Those engaged on medium cloth earn 8 annas a day and those engaged on fine cloth earn 12 to 14 annas a day. Those who do ornamental gold thread weaving earn from Re. 1 to Re. 1-4 annas a day on an average. Women engaged in preparatory processes earn 4 to 6 annas a day. Children earn 2 to 3 annas a day.

Payment is usually made per one piece of cloth and the rates vary according to the season of the year. When the demand for hand woven cloth is great, higher rates are paid. In the slack season the rates may be some 25 per cent. lower. The payment is always in cash.

106. Deductions from wages for bad work are frequently made and the fines levied go to the employer for his personal use.

107. In Sholapur, the usual practice is to pay the weavers once a week. In some places payment is made once in two weeks and still in some other places payment is made once in a month.

108. As a general rule handloom weavers are always indebted to their employers. The loans are taken at the time of employment and are continued for marriage and other religious ceremonies. Deductions are made in instalments from the wages. The rates of interest charged are very high.

110. No leave is granted on full pay. As stated above, most of the workers are on piece wage system. They are, therefore, not paid for any time when they do not work.

The above remarks apply to hand-weaving factories. Generally speaking, however, in all factories, large or small, law of supply and demand is the basis of wage fixation.

105. Statutory establishment of minimum wages does not appear to be practicable at present.

106. Fines are universally levied both in small and large factories. I do not think they can be abolished but it is necessary to regulate their levying and the use of the money so collected. If legislation is undertaken in this connection, it should apply to large undertakings only.

107. Legislation in connection with wage payments to regulate the periods or to prevent delay in payment does not seem to be necessary.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

Trade combinations do not exist to any extent so far as small factories, specially handloom factories, are concerned.

Mr. V. S. BHIDE, I.C.S., REGISTRAR, CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

16. *Co-operative Housing for Factory Workers.*—The subject was first discussed in the provincial co-operative conference of 1917, but it has not been so far found possible to evolve a suitable type of co-operative housing society for the labouring classes in Bombay. The chief difficulties in the way of such organizations seem to be: (1) the working classes have shown no special desire for housing facilities on co-operative lines; (2) The incapacity of the industrial workers to raise the necessary funds for the formation of such societies; (3) The migratory character of the mill-hand population of Bombay which makes it very unlikely that even if suitable permanent tenements are provided for them on a co-operative basis, they would willingly stick to them for any length of time.

The housing schemes at present sanctioned by Government in this Presidency are organized on (a) the tenant-co-partnership system which requires the investment of one-fourth of the necessary capital by the prospective members of the society, the remaining three-fourths being provided by Government loan at the rate of 5½ per cent. payable in 20 to 40 years; (b) the tenant-ownership system where the individual member who desires to build a house for himself is required to provide one-third of the cost, the remaining two-thirds being loaned by Government at the same rate and for the same period as in (a).

The only housing society which could possibly be thought of in connection with housing for the labouring classes would be a society under the tenant-co-partnership system. At present there are a number of such societies for the middle classes in Bombay and their experience clearly shows that a society on a similar basis for the labouring classes is an impossibility, since the people for whose benefit the chawls would be provided are not in a position to provide for themselves their own one-fourth share of the cost. The present position, therefore, is that the co-operative movement is unable to do anything in the sphere of working class housing, and I do not think that the movement will be able to tackle this problem in the near future.

38. *Credit Societies for Labouring Classes.*—As regards co-operative credit, societies for the industrial labouring classes have been organized since the year 1911–12. In that year the industrial mill-hands society at Broach and four others in the Western India mills in Bombay were registered. The object of these societies was to relieve mill-hands by granting loans for short periods to tide them over the period of about six weeks during which time their pay was withheld by the employers as a security for their good conduct and secondly, to supply cheap groceries to their members. There are in all at present 104 societies for this class of workers in the Bombay city and suburbs, and 5 outside Bombay with a total working capital of Rs. 5,55,924 and a membership of 9,274. A list* of such societies showing the dates of registration and their present condition is enclosed herewith.

In the year 1914 the question of old debt redemption among mill-hands was taken up and about 60 old debt redemption societies were accordingly organized. Government also sanctioned the appointment of a special auditor for welfare work in Bombay city to audit and supervise these societies.

The principal lines on which the debt redemption work was organized were as follows :—

(a) The members of suitable types were selected from the groups of mill-hands united either by caste or by common employment in the various departments of the mills. The members bound themselves to take up debentures in the societies by regular monthly deposits out of their pay. The whole scheme was under the control of a strong committee called "The Debt Redemption Committee" of which the Hon. Mr. C. H. A. Hill, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., was president, and a small committee was formed for the purpose of providing guidance to the societies on sound lines. Through the efforts of Mr. G. K. Devadhar and his friends over Rs.15,000 were secured from several generous donors. Government also were pleased to sanction a grant of Rs. 500 per year to the Bombay Debt Redemption Committee for the purpose of carrying on educational and inspection work in the then existing societies. In May, 1919, Government were further pleased to sanction an annual subvention not exceeding Rs. 750 for a further period of three years from 1st April, 1919, to the Debt Redemption Committee or to any banking union into which it may merge. The members in the beginning displayed very keen interest and took pride in their societies and the progress made in temperance, self-respect and thrift was remarkable for some years. Nineteen societies were organized under this scheme, but in the year 1919, it became apparent that the societies had got into a very unsatisfactory state owing to the circumstances connected with the war and their administration also had become very inefficient. On the whole, therefore, the experience gained as to the working of these societies was very disappointing. From 1919 onwards it became very difficult for the committees of the societies to make any recoveries. At present the societies are in a most demoralized condition and 50 per cent. of the outstandings are overdue. Fortunately the money invested in this business was raised by donations from wealthy people in Bombay on a semi-philanthropic basis and even if big losses eventually occur in this part of the scheme, no money belonging to the outside depositors will be lost. In fact, from the very beginning this scheme had been organized almost as a matter of charity.

(b) The social service league, under the guidance of Mr. N. M. Joshi also organized a few independent societies and founded two workmen's institutes in connection with the Currimbhoy and Tata groups of mills. They had the services of the permanent staff of these two institutes for the purposes of supervision and control. By the year 1919, 39 societies among mill-hands were organized by the league. Profiting by the mistakes of the early pioneers, the social service league did not try to redeem the old debts of the mill-hands, but simply confined its operations to granting well-regulated advances in proportion to the wages of the mill-hands. A grant-in-aid of Rs.1,000 per annum is being given to the social service league by Government from the year 1924 onwards. This grant is being paid to the league in order to enable it to carry on its activities in respect of the spread of co-operation in the city of Bombay, particularly among the mill-hands. The Bombay Provincial co-operative institute, which is the most important propagandist body in the movement, has got a branch at Dadar for the purpose of carrying on propaganda among these classes. The welfare institutes referred to above called "The Tata Welfare Institute" and "The E. D. Sassoon Welfare Institute" were organized in the year 1925 to assist in the supervision and control of the co-operative societies of the mill-hands under the Tata and the E. D. Sassoon mill agencies. The work of each institute is carried on by a Board of Management constituted as under : 3 members nominated by the agents ; 3 members nominated by the central co-operative institute ; 1 member elected by the societies in each mill ; and 1 co-opted member.

The agents have agreed to bear almost the whole of the cost (amounting to Rs. 2,000) annually incurred by the institute for the pay of the secretary, peon and other expenses.

(c) The third agency which organized some societies was that of Rao Saheb H. V. Rajwadkar and his friends, who by their personal influence formed about a dozen societies among the labouring classes of Bombay city on the basis of caste or similarity of occupation.

Outside Bombay city the movement among mill-hands has developed sporadically, depending on the amount of interest taken by the management of each industrial concern in the organization of these societies. Among the mill-hands of Haripur and Mansukhpura at Ahmedabad two promising little societies were started by Miss Anusayabai Sarabhai. These societies did good work for some time, but the very next year after the registration, owing to political influences, they ceased to work as organizations registered under co-operative societies Act, and had to be wound up. The Broach Fine Counts mill employees co-operative credit society, being the first society among mill-hands, did satisfactory work and built up a reserve fund of Rs. 5,220 and has got a working capital of Rs. 7,090. It is unfortunate that at present the management of the mill does not seem to take much interest in the affairs of this society. The mill-hands societies in the Pratap mills at Amalner are doing very good work and the managing agents and the proprietors of the mills take sympathetic interest in the well-being of the societies. These two societies at Amalner have got a working capital of over Rs. 2 lakhs out of which the sum of Rs. 1½ lakhs is contributed by the members themselves as share capital, deposits and reserve fund.

Consumers' and Producers' Societies.—As regards co-operative production and consumption, there are only two societies of this class at present in Bombay. The consumers' and producers' societies have both met with a failure due mainly to inefficiency of management and absence of any real spirit of joint effort and co-operative production. The only two societies which survive are: (1) Currimbhoy Ibrahim co-operative stores (consumers); and (2) Sahakari Manoranjan Mandal (producers).

The Currimbhoy Ibrahim co-operative stores was registered on the 8th September, 1919, and it has now a membership of 257 with a share capital of only Rs. 322. It had a turnover of Rs. 7,796 and earned a profit of Rs. 1,250.

The Sahakari Manoranjan Mandal Society, which had as its object the public performance of certain plays, is the only society of the class now surviving. It consists of a band of amateurs interested in public theatrical productions. The mandal is not showing much activity at present, but there are some hopes of reviving its working.

Mr. F. B. PENDARVES LORY, M.A. (OXON.), I.E.S., DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

VI.—Education.

41. *Facilities for Industrial and Vocational Training*—(1) I would invite attention to the report of the Committee on Technical and Industrial Education in the Bombay Presidency (1921-22). The Government have publicly announced that they are prevented by their financial position from giving effect to the recommendations of this committee.

(2) A committee, appointed by the Government, to report on the reorganization of the Primary and Secondary School Courses and the introduction of Vocational Training is still sitting.

(3) The total expenditure on education in the Bombay Presidency is :—

Total	From provincial funds
Rs.	Rs.
3,89,93,737	2,00,29,462

The expenditure on technical and industrial education is :—

Total	From provincial funds
Rs.	Rs.
5,20,478	2,07,597

This includes the cost of inspection.

(4) Apart from the provision made for instruction in engineering in the engineering colleges (of university standing) at Poona and Karachi, and of the technical instruction given in the V. J. Technical Institute, Bombay, which has been recognised by Government as the chief technological institution in the Presidency, and in

the diploma classes attached to the engineering colleges and in some four or five technical schools, there are a number of institutions giving instruction in industrial or vocational training throughout the Presidency. The industries taught are chiefly carpentry, smithing, weaving, tailoring, book-binding and the like, the first two being by far the most common.

(5) The control of technical and industrial education, except in the case of university colleges and of the special institutions referred to in the previous paragraph is in the hands of a committee known as the Committee of Direction for Technical and Industrial Education. The committee is appointed by the Government. It consists of six members, of whom the Director of Industries and the principal, College of Engineering, Poona, are *ex-officio*. The Principal of the V. J. Technical Institute is secretary of the committee. The main function of the committee is to arrange for the inspection of schools, which it conducts through the agency of the Principal of the V. J. Technical Institute and the various members of his staff. It lays down courses of instruction and holds examinations and awards certificates.

(6) A sum of Rs. 20,000 is placed at the disposal of the committee for expenses, including those incidental to the inspection and examination work carried out. The committee submit to the Director of Public Instruction recommendations for grant to technical and industrial institutions, who awards grants from the allotment of Rs. 2,81,800, placed at his disposal for grants to special schools. In practice the Director of Public Instruction usually accepts unquestioned the recommendations of the committee.

(7) I attach a copy of the latest report* of the Committee of Direction, that for 1927-28. I also attach a copy of the compendium* of technical and industrial, commercial, agricultural, and veterinary institutions in the Bombay Presidency, 1926. A revised edition of the latter publication is in the Press. I would also invite attention to the Chapter on Technical and Industrial Education in the Director of Public Instruction's Annual Reports and in his Quinquennial Report for the years 1922-27.

(8) The industries commonly taught are fitting and jobbing, smithing and mounding, carpentry, weaving, canework, and rope-making. That the facilities for industrial education are inadequate is generally admitted. From the fact that there is annually a saving in the allotment for grants to technical and industrial schools, I assume that all applications for recognition for grant are entertained.

There is a general demand for more industrial education on the part of the public, and it is doubtful if the existing facilities are sufficient to satisfy the demand. Except in so far as the Department of industries encourages and arranges for instruction in weaving, it is left to private agency and to that of the local bodies (municipalities and district local boards) to supply that demand. It would appear that were a constructive scheme for the encouragement of industrial education set on foot it would benefit the industries concerned. Such a scheme would involve expenditure which it is not possible for the Government in the present financial position to undertake.

(9) There would appear to be room for enquiring how far the instruction given in the industrial schools is adapted to local needs and conditions. Thus, carpentry classes as a rule generally concern themselves chiefly with the making of furniture, to the exclusion of house carpentry.

(10) An important problem is the extent to which the labouring, and in particular the agricultural, classes are forsaking manual labour for occupations which are generally classed as "service." The problem has been fully dealt with by Professor Rushbrook Williams in "India in 1924-25" and by Mr. Coatsman in "India in 1926-27," and I need not I think, restate the problem here. It is particularly operative in this Presidency. I quote from my Quinquennial Report:—"It is commonly urged that the solution of the question is to provide more industrial and technical education. There is, however, the danger of turning out a number of young men with a technical knowledge of industries which cannot provide posts for them. As it is, more than one of those who have been given technical scholarships for study in Europe are now employed in occupations different from those for which they have been trained. It seems unreasonable to suppose that a supply of men trained for a particular industry will create a demand for that industry; it would appear that the industries must come first—or at all events the two movements must be parallel. For the majority of those who aspire to secondary and higher education as the means of escaping from manual labour, against which there exists a peculiar prejudice in this country, it would appear that the true solution lies in that form which they are trying to escape—manual labour itself."

(11) Secondary education, which in this Presidency means English education, carries with it a distaste for manual labour, the motive generally underlying the taking of secondary education being a desire to pass an examination which will

nominally qualify the holder for a means of livelihood which does not involve manual labour. Little has been done to make provision in the secondary course for industrial education, though there has been for some years past a loud, though ill-defined, demand for such education. It has been contended that the form of education commonly in vogue is responsible for the so-called "Slave-mentality," against which the protagonists of the non-co-operation movement protested. It is, however, a fact that the national schools which were the outcome of that movement entirely failed, in spite of the popular enthusiasm behind the movement, to produce a form of education which could, from any point of view, be regarded as preferable to those already in existence, or one which succeeded in winning popular favour.

12. The education given in the upper primary standards also (V-VII), which in other Provinces would be classed as secondary, is admittedly of too literary a character and is ill-adapted both in respect of its curriculum, and more especially by its methods, to the needs of the rural population. An alternative course, known as the agricultural bias, was introduced for these standards some seven years ago, and is now followed with admitted success, in 64 schools in rural area. The main object is to adapt the atmosphere of the school to the environment and to provide a form of education which will not unfit the boy for village life. Less time is given to the ordinary subjects and special attention is paid to practical work in agriculture, to which is added an elementary training in carpentry and smithing.

It would seem that there is scope for a similar course with an industrial rather than an agricultural bias. The provision of such a course would assist in checking the rush towards secondary education which is responsible for the excessive supply of half-educated graduates and matriculates, and would divert them to forms of education and to occupations for which they are more naturally suited.

Mr. W. H. PHILLIPS, INSPECTOR OF FACTORIES, AHMEDABAD.

The following statements and opinions are expressed in the undersigned's individual capacity and not on behalf of the Government of Bombay.

The undersigned agrees with the views set forth in the Memorandum from the Government of Bombay, more particularly those expressed in Chapters IV—Health, VI—Safety, VIII—Hours, IX—Special Questions relating to Women and Children, XI—Industrial Efficiency of Workers and XV—Administration, in so far as they concern Factories.

The following are on similar lines with figures for the Ahmedabad Office which comprises factories in Gujarat and Sind.

III.—Housing.

19. The following recent figures from one of the best of the housing schemes provided by an employer on the outskirts of Ahmedabad City indicate the extent to which accommodation is utilised and give some indication of the number of persons per chawl on the basis of two children equalling one adult :—

Block.	Chawls.	Vacant.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Persons per chawl.
A	130	3	159	120	110	389	2.56
B	48	—	49	58	81	188	3.06
C	21	—	24	16	13	53	2.2
D	119	—	149	131	89	369	2.7
Total ..	318	3	381	325	293	999	2.78

IV.—Health.

25. The majority of managers state that the facilities provided are utilised to an increasing extent every year and that prejudice against western methods and medicine is mainly when amputation is feared. Cases have been brought to the notice of Inspectors that owing to refusal to agree to amputation considerably worse injuries and deaths have resulted.

Women also are utilising facilities in steadily increasing numbers.

26. *Sanitary Arrangements.*—The majority of factories provide accommodation on a better scale than that which exists in the home surroundings.

VII.—Safety.

43. The existing section 34 regarding accident reporting would appear to need amendment to include accidents to any person or child and not only to workers in view of the fact that Inspectors use section 19-A and pass orders that children who cannot be lawfully employed shall not enter certain portions of factories.

44. *Incidence of Accidents (Gujarat and Sind).*—

Year.	No. of persons injured.			Total.	Average per 100 operatives employed.	Remarks.
	Fatal.	Serious	Minor.			
1926 ..	10	82	509	601	·646	A "serious" accident is one that involves loss of an eye or limb or absence from duty due to the accident for more than 20 days. In practice, this is considered the difference between the date of accident and the date of return to duty. The serious accidents are thus unduly swollen.
1927 ..	26	320	236	582	·623	
1928 ..	14	349	236	599	·614	

46. The majority of Ahmedabad mills have posted safety posters and some have special safety rules of their own.

48. A provision of the Factory Act requiring the maintenance of prescribed First Aid Boxes appears to be desirable more particularly in the case of smaller factories.

49. *Stringency of Inspection and Enforcement of Regulation.*—The majority of factories uninspected by full time staff were inspected by ex-officio officers.

As regards the enforcement of regulations the following table is of interest —

Year.	Cases.	Total Fines.	Remarks.
1926	399	6,835	Full time staff only.
1927	74	2,500	
1928	111	5,435	

50. An analysis of accidents in Ahmedabad Textile Factories for years 1926 and 1927 was made with a view to comparing the incidence of accidents during hours of work (1) when supervision is the strictest, (2) spinning and weaving departments where classes of labour are different and the effect of time or piece-work might be observed, (3) winter and summer month conditions, (4) times of taking meals and smoking in compounds at unauthorised hours. This leads to inconclusive results : figures will be supplied if required.

IX.—Hours.

59. *Possibility of Reduction in Maxima.*—The chief obstacles to this appear to be (1) the poor efficiency and carelessness of many workers, (2) the use of poor quality cotton although the attitude of owners in this respect has improved considerably in recent years, (3) quantities of Japanese goods in increasing quantities of better quality in some cases which some Ahmedabad mills have to compete with.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women and Children.**A.—Factories.**

81. *Effect of 1922 Act on Employment.*—The following table shows the distribution of women and children in industries employing the majority and that more women are employed as children are reduced.

Year.	Women.					Total.
	Gujarat.			Sind.		
	All Industries.	Cotton Spg. & Wvg.	Ginning & Pressing.	All Industries.	Ginning & Pressing.	
1924 ..	14,896	10,490	4,213	1,820	1,177	16,716
1925 ..	17,369	11,773	5,123	1,782	1,032	19,151
1926 ..	17,108	11,904	4,713	1,768	1,000	18,876
1927 ..	17,370	12,371	4,573	1,836	1,105	19,206
1928 ..	17,551	12,259	4,791	2,257	1,542	19,808

Year.	Children.					Total.
	Gujarat.			Sind.		
	All Industries.	Cotton Spg. & Wvg.	Ginning & Pressing.	All Industries.	Ginning & Pressing.	
1924 ..	4,592	4,308	226	956	894	5,548
1925 ..	3,701	3,450	107	819	732	4,520
1926 ..	3,007	2,863	202	766	758	3,765
1927 ..	2,521	2,306	107	611	580	3,101
1928 ..	1,810	1,624	52	613	592	2,423

Mr. W. B. GILLIGAN, I.C.S., COLLECTOR OF RATNAGIRI.

Only about two-thirds of the total area of 2,564,284 acres in this district being culturable the pressure of population (1,154,244 which excludes for the most part the emigrants who may number about 200,000) is heavy on the land. The district does not yield grains sufficient for the wants of the people. Some of the cultivators are very small landholders and the rest landless. The bulk of them therefore serve as field labourers on daily wages either in kind or cash and cultivate lands of others. But for the most part the chief crops in this district being monsoon crops, agricultural work occupies the husbandmen and labourers in this district for a portion of the year, viz., 4 to 5 months only. So yearly when the harvest is over, bands of able bodied husbandmen and field labourers (who belong chiefly to the Marathas, Kunbis and Mhars Communities) numbering not less than 100,000 go to Bombay and Karachi in search of employment and working there in mills, or as domestic servants or in private firms, docks, etc., during the fair season return to their homes in time for the rice sowing operations. Some of them, however, return to their homes twice—once for the Shimga festival and again at the beginning of the next cultivating season.

No difficulty is ever experienced in this district in securing field labourers. Recently, however, owing to the tension between the tenants and khots in the Northern Division of this district, the khots at some places find it difficult to secure an adequate number of labourers to work on their fields but as the tension is gradually being eased, it is hoped that the normal conditions will soon be restored.

There is no regular agency or organization in this district to secure agricultural labourers for work elsewhere, nor is there any permanent labour force and so the information in the prescribed form cannot be given.

The Royal Indian Marine has recruited its personnel from the Muhammadan Community of this district, particularly of the Northern Division, from time immemorial. Information regarding the number of seamen now in service in the Royal Indian Marine and in private ships is not available in this office. The information may be obtained from the Director, Royal Indian Marine, as to the agency employed by that Department in securing lascars in this district.

Colonel Sir George WILLIS, C.I.E., M.V.O., late R.E., M.I.Mech.E., M.I.E.,
MASTER, SECURITY PRINTING, INDIA, AND CONTROLLER OF
STAMPS.

The opinions expressed are personal to myself.

I have been closely connected with labour in India for the past 22 years, in the mints of Calcutta and Bombay, and in the presses at Nasik Road. In the mint I have been responsible for the work of over 2,000 men at one time, while the presses employ about 1,000 men. The whole of the press personnel has been recruited by myself.

I assume that the labour in the mints will be dealt with by the mint masters, and, therefore, I shall confine myself to the labour in the presses at Nasik Road for the purpose of the questionnaire, only using my experience in the mints when generalizing.

I.—Recruitment.

Practically the whole of the labour in the presses is locally obtained. A small proportion is imported mostly from Bombay city, but recruitment from this source is the result of personal application at the press. No agency is employed. The output is practically non-fluctuating and, therefore, questions of unemployment and turnover do not arise.

II.—Staff Organisation.

The presses are administered by gazetted officers drawn at present from the Corps of Royal Engineers.

The industry having only been lately brought to India, no detailed method of staffing the presses has yet been evolved. Proposals are now before Government for building up an administrative staff in the future. It is proposed that this staff shall have both technical and administrative training and it is probable that among the candidates there will be technical men who are unsuitable for administrative appointments but suitable for the technical supervising posts.

Workmen are trained in actual work. Those who promise well and have ambition and initiative are given every encouragement to improve themselves and are promoted to higher grades when fit.

Since fine printing is in its infancy in India, recruitment from outside sources is not possible. Hence, practically all workmen, with the exception of workshop fitters, turners and other skilled mechanics, started in the labour grade. From this grade those suitable rise through the semi-skilled grade to the skilled grade and, in exceptional circumstances, to the special grade. The maximum of this latter grade is Rs. 5 per diem. There are, of course, comparatively few posts in this grade.

The relations between the staff and the rank and file are generally excellent. Appeals by the workmen on any point are sympathetically considered by the administration, but I am glad to say that appeals are very rare, this being my justification for the statement that relations are excellent. The frequent presence of administrative officers in the presses affords full opportunity to the workmen to prefer appeals and to the officers to observe the nature of the relations existing.

Jobbers are not employed.

Works committees, works councils and industrial councils do not exist and I hold the very strongest conviction that the introduction of anything of the sort would be very harmful to the workmen themselves and a serious handicap to the work. Religious, communal and caste questions would arise at once and the professional agitator would be encouraged to begin his mischievous activities.

It has been said that the tendency of works councils and similar organizations in well managed works is to enable the bad workmen to embarrass a good management

while the bad and unsympathetic employer does not allow the organizations to embarrass him. My own enquiries at home, superficial though they have necessarily been owing to lack of time and opportunity, all tend to show that these activities appeal mainly to the indifferent and lazy man, who cannot hope to improve his position on his merits and knows it, and to the man fond of cheap notoriety. On the other hand the steady industrious worker, who trusts to his qualities to assure his retention and advancement in due course, has no love for and very little interest in the organization, but rather fears it, since he suspects that influence emanating therefrom may secure his discharge in case of reduction rather than that of some less efficient man. From my knowledge of what occurs already, unless close watch is kept, I am convinced that this fear would be justified fully if councils were introduced in India, where religious, communal and caste interests are so strong.

Timekeeping is done by a clerk from the office. There are fixed hours of entry and departure. Deduction of pay is made on account of late attendance. The closing of the outer gates and reopening provides a check on the timekeeper.

Wages are paid to workmen by the general cashier in the presence of the supervisor or assistant supervisor of the department.

No contractors are employed.

III.—Housing.

Practically the whole personnel is provided with quarters by the employer—the Government of India.

The accommodation provided is on the scale which workers would occupy were they living in villages near. The quarters are popular, the only workers who voluntarily reside elsewhere being young men whose families reside in the vicinity. The only complaint has been that some of the labour quarters are floored with stone, whereas an earth floor which can be leaped with cow dung is preferred, as it provides a warmer couch. The dwellings are widely spaced. In the superior quarters water-borne conservancy, a filtered water supply and electric light are provided, which are paid for on a reasonable scale. In the labour quarters each block of ten quarters has two latrines of four seats each, one for men and one for women, with a screened washing place with a filtered water supply separate for each sex. The sewage is water borne. No artificial lighting is provided in the labour quarters.

In most cases, including the whole of the labour, no rent is payable. Certain appointments do not include rent free quarters and rent at the rate of 10 per cent. of pay is payable; sub-letting and occupation of quarters by tenants in other employ are not allowed. Personnel leaving the employ of the presses are allowed a reasonable time to vacate, except when dismissed for offences involving moral turpitude, when summary eviction is the rule.

The effect on the worker of the provision of good housing in the close vicinity of his work are all good. He lives in healthy surroundings at some distance from the temptations of the bazaars. He has no long distance to traverse to reach his work in the morning and his home after work. Daily inspection of the area prevents the accumulation of fly-breeding rubbish and mosquito haunts. Regulations as to those whom he may have to live with him prevent his being preyed upon by relations to the n^{th} degree.

IV.—Health.

No health statistics are maintained.

The mortality during the four years the press has been in operation has been very good, both among the workers and their families. All births and deaths are reported to the Mamlatdar of the District.

The presses are well ventilated and light, with ample space for workers. There is a water-borne sewage and ample filtered water available.

The physique is generally good and I have noticed an improvement among those who have been here some time. This may be ascribed at least in part to the healthy conditions under which the workers live, their regular hours of work and their assured position.

The effect of good housing has been very noticeable. Cholera and plague have on several occasions severely attacked the neighbouring bazaars of Nasik Road and Devlali, but the labour quarters of the press have been kept clear in every instance.

A resident medical officer and compounder with a dispensary and a full supply of all ordinary drugs, dressings, etc., are maintained. Medical attendance and medicines are free. There is no provision for women doctors, trained midwives or

dais. In Nasik there is a Zenana hospital fully staffed by lady doctors, which is utilized to some extent by the families of the personnel. The medical facilities are fully utilized by both sexes.

The presses afford examples of model factory construction of the latest type.

There is no industrial disease. Malaria is endemic but not wide spread. There is no other prevalent disease.

At this stage in the development of industry the introduction of sickness insurance is a Utopian dream, on account of the difficulties enunciated in II, which are insuperable at present.

V.—Welfare.

Except for the provision of playing grounds, an annual sports meeting and accommodation for a house father for the Indian Christian lads recruited from the neighbouring missions, there are no welfare activities. The great difficulties of caste and communal dissension render such activities more likely to do harm than good. There are flourishing cricket and hockey teams formed by the workers themselves, while the superior staff have a social club for the encouragement of games and other amusements.

There is a primary school provided for the young children of workers in the press area. This is not very freely used. In Devlali village, one and half miles away, there is a district board secondary school which some of the children attend. There is no provision for adult workers and there are no half-time workers. I have heard no suggestion of a desire on the part of adult workers for education.

The workers will, I consider, for many long years prefer their traditional provision for old age, the raising up of a family, to any contributory scheme.

The presses have a co-operative bank, not long in existence. When it gets over its infantile diseases it may perform the useful function of spreading the blessings of co-operation.

VII.—Safety.

The provisions of the Factory Act are complied with. The accidents are few and far between. The causes are generally gross carelessness or disobedience of strict orders on the part of the sufferer or another employee. The Safety First propaganda is confined to stiff fines for breaches of rules designed to ensure the safeties of workers. This is the only effective action. Argument falls on deaf ears, not only in India. A supply of bandages and disinfectants is maintained in the presses for immediate use, but the resident medical officer has every case taken to him at once at the dispensary which is near by.

The hours worked in the presses are not long, so that no accidents can be ascribed to fatigue. The effect of good health probably conduces to accident among the young workers, as high spirits lead to skylarking and more than one accident is attributable to this. The good lighting and working conditions afford no excuse for accidents here.

IX.—Hours.

Working hours, normal and actual, 7.30 a.m. to 12 noon, 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Saturdays, 7.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. Overtime is seldom resorted to. Hours worked per week, 47½. Days worked per week, 5½.

X.—Special Questions.

Women and children are not employed in the presses.

There are two classes of apprentices, A and B, but no formal agreement is entered into. Recruitment is by selection and in the A class higher educational qualifications are necessary. Apprenticeship lasts four years and may lead to training in England, but the matter is now under the consideration of Government. B apprenticeship should lead to employment as a specially skilled worker or will qualify a worker fully for well paid employment outside. No guarantee of continued employment on the expiry of apprenticeship is given, but those giving satisfaction will be given preference in filling vacancies in the supervising staff.

XII.—Wages.

In addition to free quarters, labour employed in the presses starts on a rate slightly higher than the ruling local agricultural rate and can qualify by good work for regular increments. The higher pay is given in part as an inducement to honesty which is so necessary in an establishment of this nature and in part as an inducement to the extra cleanliness required, as well as to avoid frequent changes of personnel, which

would undoubtedly occur seasonally if emoluments were kept at the level of agricultural wages. No increments are given as a right but must be earned by good steady work.

Overtime and Sunday work are paid for at the rate of time and an eighth in the case of the technical staff and time and a quarter to labour. They are seldom required and usually only in connection with the unloading of consignments.

Fines are exacted for late attendance, careless and bad work, and damage by negligence or disobedience of orders to plant and machinery. Since all these cause direct or consequential loss to the employer—the Government—the fines are credited to Government. My experience here and elsewhere convinces me that there is no necessity for legislation regarding fines as the workmen will soon bring a system of unreasonable fining to an end by leaving the employment.

Wages are paid monthly in the case of staff on a monthly salary. Daily paid workers are paid monthly or weekly at their option but they are only allowed to elect to change the period once. Theoretically, weekly payment should be the most satisfactory to the employee. But it is found in practice that monthly payment is often preferred as the worker settles his grain bills and financial arrangements, including interest on outstandings monthly with the grain dealer. If he has drawn his wages weekly there is a liability to fritter the money away and the monthly settlement suffers.

Unclaimed wages are retained till the applicant appears to claim. No specified time is laid down by which the claim becomes barred.

Indebtedness is general as in most parts of India. It is possible that the establishment of the co-operative bank may mitigate the penalties of indebtedness, but its very popularity is proof of the general feeling that indebtedness is a normal condition.

Certain of the staff serve under leave rules and take full advantage of the rules. The daily paid personnel can take what leave they require without question on previous permission being obtained. Very little leave is asked for as religious and other holidays are so numerous that over pressure of work is not felt, and the loss of pay by absence is a serious matter.

India has not reached a point yet at which a fair wages clause would be anything but a farce. Contracts are so largely sub-let that it would be impossible to enforce the clause, and it is so difficult to get at the truth among the labouring class, that even without sub-letting, attempts at enforcement would entail endless difficulty. Indian labour forms a natural and very strong trades union and attempts to obtain labour beneath the ruling rate fail, except perhaps in the case of emigrant labour proceeding to distant places under unknown conditions. Here also, however, such attempts will fail as soon as returned emigrants are available to recount their experiences.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

The efficiency of Indian labour, as also of the labour of all countries, tends to diminish rapidly in respect of pure handicraft with the extension of the use of machinery. Where a fitter would have trimmed up a casting in a few minutes twenty years ago with a hammer and chisel, he now wants to put it on a machine, wasting three or four times the time in setting. This is only one example of many that I could give. Acquaintance with and intelligent use of machinery is increasing and the tendency to own bicycles and familiarity with motor-car engines is slowly spreading a mechanical sense.

Indian labour properly trained and supervised at one operation, if worked for reasonable hours, is as efficient as any labour so long as continued considerable effort is not necessary. I have had workers in my employ that I would not change for any that I have met elsewhere. Initiative is usually lacking, with some few very notable exceptions, and in jobbing and repair work, consequently the Indian does not shine. Intelligibly used, Indian labour employed on straightforward manufacturing is difficult to beat.

Increased efficiency can best be secured by continuous personal supervision of the whole establishment by the management. Firm, but sympathetic treatment of labour rapidly produces fruit. An absentee management or one so overburdened with office work that frequent visits to the works are not easy, leads inevitably to slack and bad work and decreased output. The mere presence of an administrative officer enforces the observance of orders and he seldom finds it necessary to interfere personally. Time spent in this way, though it may be grudged, is by no means wasted. Supervising staff which may be excellent when efficiently overlooked, are very apt to get slack on seeing no personal interest taken by those higher up and criticism and praise on the spot alike absent. This communicates itself rapidly to all grades and results in the end in the establishment of a low standard of output and of quality of work.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

No trade union exists in the presses. As mentioned above, Indian labour is very effectively organized by nature and attempts to drive down wages or to impose unpalatable conditions would be defeated by the impossibility of recruitment. This statement is true of isolated industries in agricultural areas, but probably does not hold to the same extent in large industrial areas. I have, however, found the same spirit very strong in Bombay when I was in charge of the mint there.

Mr. T. S. DOWNIE, O.B.E., CHAIRMAN, KARACHI PORT TRUST.

PART I.

III.—Housing.

16. (i) The Port Trust Indian village consists of 45 lines of masonry buildings. The accommodation in the village is as follows:—

		Approximate monthly rental.		
		Rs.	a.	p.
569	small houses	6	0	0 each.
95	„ (improved)	6	8	0 „
20	medium houses	7	0	0 „
114	new medium (cement) houses	9	8	0 „
18	large houses	8	8	0 „
30	shops	} 22	0	0 „
5	„ (improved)			
6	„ (medium size)			

The village also contains slaughter-house, cattle pen and blocks of latrines.

A large number of men, not in Port Trust employment, reside in the village, but as vacancies occur, Port Trust men are being accommodated there.

A number of Port Trust employees, about 40, receive rent-free quarters in the village.

18. (ii) The roads are lit by the municipality, who also carry out the cleaning and sanitation. The Port Trust pump salt water to the village for flushing purposes.

Owing to the lack of pressure in the municipal mains the Port Trust supply drinking water at groups of stand pipes served by pumping from the Erskine Wharf Power House.

Further accommodation is available in Karachi City, and the majority of Port Trust workmen reside there.

House rent is paid in the case of shunting staff at Rs. 4 p.m. each in lieu of quarters.

IV.—Health.

23. (i) *Figures of mortality.*—4·4.

(ii) *Birth-rate and infant mortality.*—Infant mortality at Manora, 15·8. Birth-rate: Registration is carried out by the Manora Cantonment Authority.

(iii) *Working conditions*—(a) *at workplaces.*—Satisfactory. (b) *At home.*—Suitable quarters are provided by the Karachi Port Trust.

(iv) *Dietary.*—According to circumstances.

(v) *Physique.*—Normal.

(vi) *Effects of disturbance of sex ratio in industrial cities.*—Not applicable to Manora.

29. (i) *Prevalence of industrial diseases.*—None.

(ii) *Prevalence of tropical diseases.*—None. Malaria is imported.

As regards Karachi, there is no reason to suppose that any labour occupation in the Karachi Port Trust differentiates the labourer from the average citizen of Karachi in regard to general health, mortality, birth-rate, infant mortality, etc., nor in regard to industrial diseases, cholera, malaria, etc. Nor are there any separate figures as to mortality, birth-rate, dietary, physique, etc., of the Karachi Port Trust employees. They have never been considered necessary.

VI.—Education.

40. One vernacular school at Manora controlled by Port Trust where Sindhi, Gujrati and Marathi languages are taught. In all 80 boys and 36 girl students receive tuition out of which 70 boys and 29 girls are children of Port Trust employees, chiefly workmen. Tram hire is allowed to the children of workpeople who send them for higher education to Karachi.

At Keamari and Karachi a number of primary schools are provided by the municipality.

IX.—Hours.**D.—Other Establishments.**

78. *Engineering Department.*—Hours worked per week, 49½ to 56 ; hours worked per day, 8 to 9.

Cranemen's working hours.—7.30 a.m. to 1.0 p.m., 2.0 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. in short days (winter). 7.0 a.m. to 1.0 p.m., 2.0 p.m. to 7 p.m. in long days (summer)

Spare cranemen are provided for each five cranes, and the work is not continuous by each man, as he is relieved at intervals by the spare man. Overtime is allowed for working beyond the above time.

Traffic Department.—Twelve hours with one hour's recess from 1 to 2 p.m., with the exception of the shunting staff, who work in shifts of eight hours each

XI.—Special Questions Relating to Seamen and Workers in Inland Navigation.

93. *Port Department.*—The men of this department on the station work for eight hours a day, but there are no fixed hours for those working afloat, as they have to work according to emergency

Floating Craft in the Engineering Department.—There are no definite meal hours on board the floating craft. The men are not continuously employed, and have intervals of rest for meals, etc.

94. *Port Department.*—Petty officers and stokers are paid Rs. 15-5-0 and lascars Rs. 11-2-0 p.m. in lieu of rations. They are allotted free quarters ashore and afloat according to their work. There are no articles of agreement for them.

Floating Craft in the Engineering Department.—Ration allowance as under is paid to all workmen (drivers, khalasies, firemen, etc.) on the floating craft, and house accommodation on shore is provided when available :—

Drivers, firemen	Rs 15-5-0 plus 2 cwts	firewood each.
Khalasies, etc.	Rs. 11-2-0 plus 1 cwt.	firewood each for <i>old hands</i> and
Khalasies, etc.	Rs. 10 plus 1 cwt	firewood each for <i>new men</i>

95 The engagement of labour on merchant ships under the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, XXI of 1923, is controlled by the Collector of Customs and Shipping Master, Karachi, and therefore the information required can be had from that officer

XII.—Wages.

96.	<i>Traffic Department.</i>					No.	Salary.
	Designation						Rs.
	Shakers	..	..	..	..	6	40
	Cranemen	..	..	..	..	1	40-2½-60
	"	..	..	..	..	1	40
	Sewingman	..	..	..	..	1	45
	Shunting staff—						
	Jamadars	..	..	..	..	3	40-2-50
	Pointsmen	..	..	..	..	16	20-1½-26
	Coolies—						
	Jamadars	..	..	..	..	3	50
	Coolies	..	..	..	..	13	37-8
	"	..	..	..	..	21	30
	"	..	..	..	..	16	28-8
	"	..	..	..	..	12	27
	Carpenter	..	..	..	..	1	70

106. (iii) Fines are credited to the Port Trust.

107. Men on monthly pay are paid monthly. Men on daily rated pay are also paid monthly. Men on daily wages are paid weekly.

Unclaimed wages are credited to the Port Trust after a lapse of three years.

109. *Traffic Department—Provident fund.*—Cranemen and shakers are admitted to the benefits of the provident fund under certain conditions. One-twelfth of a monthly pay is deducted and an equal sum added to it by the Port Trust. After five years' service the subscribers are entitled to the Board's contribution and interest thereon in addition to their own.

In addition gratuities are payable to such men at the rate of half a month's pay for each year's service up to a limit of thirty years.

Gratuity is payable in the case of those not entitled to the benefits of the provident fund on the following scale :—

After a service of :—

5 and under 10 years	..	..	..	3 months' pay.
10 to 15 years	..	..	..	4 " "
15 to 20 years	..	..	..	6 " "
20 to 25 years	..	..	..	9 " "
After 25 years and over	..	..	..	12 " "

Gratuities are also paid on the scale laid down in the Workmen's Compensation Act in case of injury or death irrespective as to whether the employees come under that Act or not.

110. *Traffic Department.*—One month's leave with pay after eleven months' service. This leave can be accumulated up to three months only. Casual leave, 15 days in a year.

PART II.

I.—Recruitment.

7. *Unemployment* (i) and (ii).—The depressed condition of the export trade which has fallen from 2,070,209 tons in 1924–25 to 660,988 tons in 1928–29, has led to the closing down of various improvement works, and to general retrenchment in office and labour staffs. This, with the lack of industries and a steadily increasing population, both through natural causes and through immigration from other parts of India, has led to general unemployment throughout the city.

(ii) From the Port Trust point of view, there does not appear to be any practicable means of alleviating and remedying the existing distress unless a strong and steady revival of trade sets in, as the improvement works of the Board are far ahead of present-day requirements, and it is not feasible to proceed with further works until there is reason to believe that the export trade is likely to exceed in volume the capacity of the existing accommodation.

II.—Staff Organization.

15. (i) A considerable portion of Port Trust work is given out on contract, the principal item being the work of slinging and unslinging cargo at the ship sharves. The arrangement is to give the Port Trust portion of the work to the stevedores of the discharging or loading vessels and to pay at prescribed rates on the basis of the tonnage dealt with.

(ii) So far as Port Trust work is concerned, there is very little sub-contracting.

(iii) The Port Trust do not exercise any control over working conditions except to ensure that the appliances used for the conduct of the work are in good order and condition.

(iv) It is considered that if the slinging and unslinging work were done departmentally the men employed would, as a whole, be better treated as regards wages and housing conditions than is the case at present, but the change would probably increase the cost of the work and necessitate the Port Trust keeping on idle labour during periods of depression, which is avoided under existing conditions. The present arrangement has so far been conducive to harmonious working, as it avoids the disputes which usually take place when the work on board ships and on the shore is conducted by different agencies.

III.—Housing.

16. The Port Trust have constructed and maintain over 800 houses for the accommodation of labour at Keamari. These houses, taking five as the average number of occupants, will accommodate over 4,000 persons, but it has been found impossible to prevent overcrowding, and it may be taken that over 6,000 people actually live in these houses.

It has been the policy of the Port Trust to charge minimum rates for these houses, the rents ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 9-8 annas p.m., according to the size of house. The rents, although recently increased, are still unremunerative, and there is an annual loss to the Port Trust in maintaining these houses.

As many of the Port Trust employees prefer to live in Karachi in communal groups and also because they can erect their own huts at very much less expenditure than is required to rent a house at Keamari, a large number of the Keamari houses have been let to the labour employed by the various firms, and consequently there is not sufficient accommodation for the whole of the Port Trust staff at Keamari.

The question of inducing employers of labour to acquire sites on which to build quarters for their workmen and thereby set aside more houses for Port Trust employees has been taken up and negotiations are on hand towards that end.

The Port Trust have under consideration the reconstruction of a large number of the houses which were built many years ago, and propose in due course to take this work in hand.

18. (iii) Sufficient water is supplied free of charge by the Port Trust for the use of their tenants, and a scheme for the installation of modern sanitation is now under consideration.

21. Sub-letting is a prevailing evil, and it is general knowledge that tenants obtain considerably higher rents from sub-tenants than are paid to the Port Trust. Eviction is resorted to in numerous cases to prevent this irregularity, but there is every reason to believe that many cases go undetected.

IV.—Health.

24. The Port Trust employ two medical practitioners for the needs of their employees and subscribe handsomely to the various hospitals. They also bear a moiety of the cost of the upkeep of a motor ambulance for removing patients from Keamari to city hospitals.

26. The sanitary arrangements leave much to be desired owing to the lack of a drainage system, which so far has not extended to the Port Trust property, but, as already stated, the matter is under consideration for installing the system at Keamari.

31. *Maternity Benefits.*—As a general rule, the wives of Port Trust labourers do not perform outside work, and it is not customary for the Port Trust to employ female labour. The Port Trust, however, subscribe to the Red Cross Association, which maintains a qualified nurse at Keamari and instructs and gives assistance at child-birth to those in need of such assistance.

VI.—Education.

The Port Trust maintain a school at Manora for the children of their employees.

Ample schools are available in Keamari and the city for those who reside on the mainland.

VII.—Safety.

Numerous rules and regulations have been framed to safeguard the interests of workers on Port Trust premises and gear and appliances are being constantly inspected.

As a rule the majority of the accidents which take place on the ship wharves are due to the neglect of precautions on the part of the injured, who are mostly illiterate and would not easily understand Safety First propaganda were such introduced.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. (i) This, under the existing Act, extends to a limited number of Port Trust employees, but the Port Trust grant compensation on the lines of the above Act to all their employees who may be injured or killed in the execution of their duty.

IX.—Hours.

D.—Other Establishments.

78. The working hours of the Port are :—

Day-work.—From 15th March to 14th September, 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. with one hour's recess from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. From 15th September to 14th March, 7.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m., with one hour's recess from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m.

Night-work.—7.30 p.m. to 6.30 a.m.

The question of reducing the above hours was considered some time ago, but after a prolonged correspondence with the various Chambers it was decided that, in view of the extensive improvements which were taking place in connection with the development of the port, further consideration should be postponed until experience had been gained of the working of the West Wharf berths and the effect of the improvements in the railway facilities of the port, which were likely to be introduced in the near future.

XII.—Wages.

106. (i) The amount realized in fines is trifling, about Rs. 60 p.a.

(iii) All fines are credited to Port Trust.

107. (i) (a) Men on monthly pay are paid monthly. (b) Men on daily rated pay are also paid monthly. (c) Men on daily wages are paid weekly.

(ii) (a) and (b) are paid within a week of the termination of the month; (c) are paid on Monday following the week ending on Saturday. Those who are discharged during the week are paid up at once.

(iv) Unclaimed wages are credited to the Port Trust after a lapse of three years.

Mr. JAMSHED N. R. MEHTA, KARACHI.

My experience is mainly for the city of Karachi and somewhat for the Province of Sind.

I.—Recruitment.

1. (i) Karachi is by itself a city where everything comes from outside, and thus labour practically consists of those who have migrated from other places. The chief portion of labour comes from the Makran coast and the mountainous areas in the vicinity. A portion comes from Cutch and Marwar and a small portion comes from Bombay and surroundings.

(ii) People are drawn from the villages to the city in order to earn their bread. The main cause is due to constant famine in the areas at Marwar and Cutch and Makran.

(iii) In the recent years we find several people coming from villages in Sind also. This is also due to same reason that they find agricultural industry not paying at all, owing to want of rain and proper facilities.

2. Generally the labour is permanent but a small portion returns back if they get the news of the rain in their area of native land.

3. There is no need of a public recruitment agency in this city for the reason that during a greater portion of the year or practically during the whole year the labour is more than is needed for this city.

4. The labour generally comes in Karachi with family nowadays. Formerly people used to come alone and the family used to be in their own villages. Now, therefore, there is no effect or disturbance in the family life.

5. (i) Generally they live in Karachi and they work from generation to generation. There seems to be no need for any recruitment.

(iii) But I would suggest that some kind of elementary education, both for further increase of knowledge in marine matters and also for better methods in fishing, would be very advisable for them.

7. (i) The unemployment is considerable in the city of Karachi. It is caused by slump in the trade and there being no industry in this city. The labour is employed generally by port trust, municipality and the railway. The railway has lately shifted their workshop from Karachi to Sukkur. Thus the unemployment is increased considerably.

(ii) The port trust had to retrench owing to export trade being considerably decreased. The prices ruling for seed and grain in Australia and America and Canada and the Argentine being much lower, the export through Karachi has considerably decreased and depressed state. So the labour had to be retrenched on the wharves and in the godowns of the exporters.

(iii) The only way I can suggest is to foster industries. The Government of Bombay has done nothing to help the people of Sind to carry out industrial schemes either to educate the people or to give them help by establishing industrial departments. It is also due to want of business education and understanding in the people of Sind and Punjab, who do not understand the methods and systems and advantages

of export trade. They have all been taught for centuries past to store their grain and seed until the prices rise high. The speculative spirit is the chief cause of loss of export trade. Investment ideal has been completely lost after the war and the people of Punjab and Sind lack the business education. This is the main cause of the loss of export trade and in consequence unemployment has become keen. They are not in touch with the world market of grain and seed.

(iv) Unemployment is so considerable that I feel any insurance for employment is hopeless.

(v) International conventions to be applied for employment would be ridiculous in the absence of education which is first necessary.

III.—Housing.

16. (i) By employer almost nil.

(ii) By Government—somewhat for their peons.

By the municipality hardly any. They have supplied about 200 houses to the people and pay rent to their peons and some of the employees at the rate of Rs. 4 per month.

By the port trust; they have built about 600 houses for the labourers, but most of the labourers live outside this area as they desire to live amongst their own people in the area provided by the municipality in the Lyari quarter.

The railway have provided some houses for their workers.

(iii) Some private landlords provide for their servants in their own compounds.

17. There is ample area of land for workers' houses if required and acquisition is not necessary.

18. The provision that is made generally for workers here is a small verandah and one room, a small kitchen for each and group of latrines and some water services are provided.

(iii) Conservancy is being provided by the municipality so also by providing group latrines. Sanitation is being observed by the municipality with more care. There is ample water supply being made to them but I do feel there is the more need of provision for bathing facilities which is not adequate at present.

19. The workers would like to utilize the accommodation made available for them. In recent years hundreds of small houses are being built by private landlords and are being lent out by them to the worker, but they demand nearly Rs. 5 which the workers cannot afford. The workers, therefore, prefer to build their own huts in Lyari quarter by paying the land rent of Rs. 1 per year to the municipality.

20. In Karachi the cheapest rent is Rs. 5, but the actual working classes have to pay from anything between Rs. 5 and Rs. 15 which they find very hard to pay.

IV.—Health.

23. (i) I have asked the health officer of the municipality to supply with figures and facts regarding mortality and birth rate, and infant mortality for the last ten years with the method of registration which will give you a general idea.

The city of Karachi is generally healthy, specially for nine months in the year. For some three months the mortality considerably increased all around owing to pneumonia and certain diseases. This, I believe, is due to want of proper housing accommodation and owing to lack of physical fitness—due to poverty.

(iii) The working conditions at places are fairly good but the living conditions at home are not desirable.

(iv) Amongst the Muhamedans they usually eat wheat nan and sometimes a little bit of meat. Amongst the Hindus it is always the rotti and dal and sometimes a little vegetable. There is hardly any variation. Tea seems to be entering almost every house.

(v) Physique is generally very poor, except the Makrani class, who have for generations past been keeping a well-built body, but when ever they come to the city and enter the city life in a certain number of years their physique gets poorer.

(vii) I do feel the mortality would improve with the improvement of housing conditions in the city.

24. Some employers do allow medical aids to be given to their employees but that is very little in proportion. Government have provided a civil hospital which is free for every one both for indoor and outdoor patients. There is an eye hospital also. Government gives liberal grants to the Lady Dufferin Hospital and also to the tuberculosis hospital run by the municipality.

(iii) The Port Trust has provided their own medical officer for their employees. The municipality has provided 13 dispensaries and 3 maternity homes, 1 venereal dispensary, 1 epidemic hospital and 1 eye hospital. From statistical reports it

appears that Karachi has provided in the whole of India the best possible medical facilities which could be provided for patients in comparison to other cities in India. We have also our Health Association, a non-official agency which does very useful work. It has 1 maternity home and 8 centres for midwives who go round the various quarters of Karachi and advise the ladies specially for their maternity period. They also attend at the time of the delivery. At the head of it there is a lady doctor in charge.

(iv) In Karachi we have got the Lady Dufferin Hospital with a special lady doctor, 3 female dispensaries, 3 maternity homes of the municipality worked by lady doctors. The Health Association is managed by the lady doctor and trained midwives are obtainable in Karachi through the health association. There is also a training institution for midwives in Karachi called the Louis Lawrence Institute under the Lady Dufferin Hospital. For Sind, Miss Piggot and Miss Ward are doing very useful work for training dais and midwives in Hyderabad and other places and they supply almost the whole of Sind with their trained midwives.

25. From all reports it appears that considerable use has been made of these dispensaries and maternity homes and other agencies of help both by males and females. The reports are available of all the agencies and can be collected for the Commission if need be by the Health Officer.

26. As far as the latrines are concerned, generally latrines and drinking water services are well supplied. The facility for bathing is not adequate as I said before and they require improvement. In the poorer houses there are no latrines and no water pipes and these are supplied through municipal group latrines and street water services. Drinking taps are provided for bathing, and washing places have been provided at about 5 places only for working classes. They need considerable improvement and extension. I have asked the health officer and engineer to supply you with the number of street water services, latrines, etc., if need be.

27. The municipality has a health committee which is completely in charge of health and sanitation and other health arrangements of the city

(iii) There is hardly any mill or industrial area in Karachi.

29 There is no particular division in the city there being no industry whatsoever.

(ii) Cholera, malaria, hookworm and other tropical diseases are not extensive in this city. But malarial attacks are frequent in certain months for which best possible precautions are taken.

30 As I have said above international labour convention and similar associations seem absolutely hopeless here. What is required is compulsory education first. It will be very difficult for the people to understand it and also it requires a complete change in the heart of the employer to accept such a convention.

(iii) There is no difficulty in Karachi for non-acceptance of western medicines or paucity of medical men. People take to western medical aids and doctors and they do it willingly and with faith. The difficulty is purely financial.

31. Owing to social work, the bodies like municipality, port trust and such other public bodies are now giving facilities during maternity periods such as leave on pay to women for 20 days at least. But I do feel that legislation is necessary in this direction in all parts of India which should make it compulsory for all employers, private or public bodies to give reasonable facilities.

V.—Welfare.

32. (i) There is hardly any for labourers. There are some social working agencies and the municipality is doing a little for the sweepers.

33. I think the municipality and public bodies ought to employ welfare workers and officers. As a matter of fact trained welfare work is not understood here at all. They do not know what it is and it is necessary that public bodies like port trust, railway and the municipality ought to employ well-trained social workers.

34 (i) There is none. Some attempt was made but somehow it was dropped.

(ii) There is hardly any serious attempt at physical culture, recreation or amusement for labourers. Of course the city amenities are provided to which the labouring class is free to take advantage of. But there is no special arrangement made for them, except for school children in which all children are free to come.

36 So far I do not see any facility provided by employers except the municipality which has opened schools which give books and slates and other educational requirements to the children of the labouring class. They also provide 2 suits of clothes every year to these poor children.

The municipality pays half the fees of their employees' children for secondary education.

37. I think that all public bodies and all private firms ought to be made to provide for at least a provident fund. Bodies like Municipality and Port Trust have their leave rules and retirement rules but generally they are not applicable to labouring classes. The general difficulty seems to be because they have not started special funds. It would lead to great financial strain to start provident fund at present for the old employees too. That is the main difficulty and it is a problem very difficult to tackle though there is the sympathy to do something.

38. The welfare work through co-operative movement for the labouring class has been so far to drag them out of the money lenders. There are 4 agencies working for it and it has led to very good results. Can give details if wanted. The municipality helps allowing co-operative banks and societies to deduct of the monthly pay of the employees instalment moneys towards loans already advanced to these employees to free them from falling victims to money lenders, who charge them heavily to the extent of 75 to 250 per cent.

VI.—Education.

There is no industrial area in Karachi and the children are taught in all schools. Labouring class is free to attend any school and many are taking advantages of the educational facilities. There is no facility for industrial or vocational training of any kind

42. The effect of education is that who ever takes to school does not like to come in for any kind of hand labour and considers himself too big a person for it. I have got some definite ideas about it. As the chairman of the school board, I had made a definite scheme for it. But owing to financial circumstances of the municipality it was not brought into operation. My scheme was to give educational facilities for 2 hours and vocational education for 2 hours. The training which I had proposed was mat making, tin box making, weaving, masonry and carpentry. There are enough regulations for factories and docks as far as I am aware and if need be, the same can be extended if expedient.

46. Education may save a lot of trouble from accidents and for bringing down number of accidents generally. I have found that accidents are purely brought about by ignorance and carelessness in many instances

48. There is ample provision made in Karachi for this purpose. There are ambulance cars, hospitals to take care of and to give help in time wherever needed.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation Act.

51. In Karachi, so far, there is the Workmen's Compensation Society which is vigilant to see every case of accident and breach of the provisions of the Act. This society is doing some good work both to the employers and employed. So far I have not seen any adverse effect on industry.

(v) The employees are free to take the advantages of insurance wherever there is the danger of frequent accidents. Others are willing to pay out of their own funds or general assets and therefore I do not suggest that insurance should be made compulsory except in certain trades where possibility of accidents is greater. I would make it compulsory in the case of dock contractors and such trades where the chance is great in regard to frequent accidents.

52. So far as possibility of providing against insolvency of employers is concerned, the Workmen's Compensation Act has been brought into force in India only very recently and I would advise to wait until experience is gained.

53. I would advise to wait for changing the scheme until some experience is gained. But I would strongly urge for a machinery of administration. I would make it compulsory that each and every case of accident should be reported to a particular agency and that particular agency should be made responsible to see that the claims are demanded and paid according to the provisions of the Act. I am not in favour of fresh legislation but with suitable modifications the existing regulations will be enough for the present.

IX.—Hours.

55. In factories they work from morning 8 o'clock to about 6 o'clock in the evening with a recess hour in the afternoon. This means practically 10 hours. This works out to be 60 hours per week. I consider this should be reduced to 54 hours in all cases and the daily limit should not be more than 9 hours, but in cases of emergency it should be extended to 12 hours but not for more than 2 days in a week, for which overtime should be paid.

60. Intervals should be fixed definitely at a particular time. The present system of any hour for rest should be discontinued and definite hours should be fixed by

providing 5 hours in the earlier part of the day and 4 hours in the later part of the day and 1 hour in the middle as interval for recess and rest. The number of holidays for various sections of the communities not exceeding 3 in a month ought to be given.

As far as docks and railway workmen's work is concerned, I would limit the night work to six hours with interval in between. For night work I suggested the pay to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ times, for 6 hours work, which they get for 9 hours in the day. That means that if a labourer is paid one rupee for 9 hours in the day he should be paid Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ for 6 hours at night.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

82. I strongly oppose the admission of infants into factories specially as our municipality is on the eve of introducing the compulsory primary education.

83. I would make no distinction in the regulation for women's work except for the maternity period and also that women should not be compelled to come and work during their monthly period and the interruption caused thereby should not be taken as interruption of service but may be treated as special leave at the most on loss of pay.

XII.—Wages.

96. The labourers earn in Karachi, between 8 annas to Re. 1 a day.

102. Overtime is paid generally 50 per cent. more in all cases.

105. I am in favour of legislation for minimum wage, but I am doubtful of it being carried out favourably unless an organization is set up to manage it.

106. I am in favour of legislation for the utilization of fines to the benefit of the employees.

XIII.—Efficiency of Workers.

113. In my opinion the efficiency of Indian worker is much poorer in comparison with that of a foreign labourer. The lack of energy is due to poverty, want of education, want of sufficient encouragement on the part of the employers and there being no scope for further progress in any manner.

114. (vii) Education as it is given at present is bound to affect the industrial growth day by day as far as labour is concerned, both in the factories as well as in the agricultural concerns. There is no doubt that as soon as a child is sent to school they forget hand labour. The only way is to give education to each and all. There is no other method. As long as education is given to a few (?) this will continue.

115. I have no doubt that liquor, drugs and dietary are great deal responsible for the inefficiency of the labour in India. By giving fair housing conditions with the requirements of health and sanitation, with proper working hours and adult education as far as possible, the Indian labour could be turned into greater efficiency, even greater than in other countries.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

Karachi and Sind are not yet advanced in my opinion for trade unions or associations. It would have hardly any effect upon the labourer.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

123. None at present, for two reasons. There is no recognized agency for education and secondly because the supply of labour is greater than demand.

107. I am in favour of weekly payment all throughout.

108. I am of the opinion that the indebtedness is great in all cities and villages. The temptation to borrow is so much. The poorer labourers are so honest that there are always many agencies ready to lend them, but generally they lend them at very high rates of interest. I find that more money is spent in liquor and ceremonies and this can only be removed by four different lines of work, (a) propaganda, (b) education, (c) direct legislation against the priest classes and sanyasis who take every opportunity to rob the innocent persons of their money and (d) through co-operative societies to lend moneys at equitable rates of interest.

109. Such large heartedness has yet to be created in India. This can only come when industrial men and financiers will understand the advantages of more production through co-operation and work for production. All industrial attempts of co-partnership should be encouraged by Government.

110. The labouring classes are generally excluded from leave rules by all sorts of pretexts that they are daily paid men, that it is difficult to maintain their service books and records. This requires a change of heart and mentality. I am afraid legislation may not be of much use in a country like India with the present system of education.

111. I admit the desirability of fair wage clause in public contracts, but I am not able to think out a way how to bring it into a working order. I would very much like to know it.

Mr. MULCHAND M. KIRPALANI, B.A., PLEADER, HON. GENERAL SECRETARY, INDIAN SEAMEN'S UNION, KARACHI.

INTRODUCTION.

In presenting a memorandum on behalf of the Indian Seaman's Union, Karachi, I wish to state that I want to be as brief as possible and confine myself solely to questions affecting the welfare of the Indian Seamen of Karachi. Incidentally, however, as I am also the General Secretary of the Karachi Port Labour Union, I shall refer to some of the important questions relating thereto.

Recruitment of Seamen.

1. *Existing practice*—At the present time, Karachi is most unfortunately not recognized as a shipping port, from which a full crew can be signed on. If a full crew are needed, they are sent for from either Bombay or Calcutta. All that Karachi Port has to do, is to fill up a few gaps here and a few gaps there. These gaps are sometimes caused owing to desertion of a seaman or by sickness while in Karachi harbour. Recruitment for filling such gaps is done in the following manner. The representative of our union, as a rule, presents a number of men to the shipping office and the captain selects a few from amongst them. The system of Ghat-syrangs and shipping brokers, fortunately, does not prevail here.

The shipping office is in charge of the collector of customs. He has entrusted his duties to the deputy shipping master who gets an allowance for the purpose. But he, in turn, has entrusted the duties to the chief inspector of the Preventive Service, at Keamari.

2. *Suggestions for Improvement.*—What we want is the immediate establishment of a separate shipping office at Keamari. It is our emphatic belief that until and unless a separate shipping office is established, the lot of the poor seamen of Karachi, can never be bettered. The shipping master would then be able to devote himself solely to the amelioration of the condition of seamen.

We understand that the control of the shipping office is being shortly transferred to the port officer. *Cui bono*, we ask. How this may lead the Government to lay a flattering unction to their soul that they have done something for the betterment of the seamen of Karachi.

But we, on our own part, feel that this is hardly a step in the right direction. And who knows that this step of the Government may throw us out of the frying pan into the fire. There are separate shipping offices at Bombay and Calcutta, and why not at Karachi? Karachi is growing day by day beyond all expectations. It is the nearest port to Europe. It is the most important aerial station for all aeroplanes coming over to India, and it is to have its own lustre, glory and eminence because of the Sukkur Barrage. Its importance can also be gauged from the fact that the former Amir of Afghanistan, is understood to have demanded the port of Karachi for his country.

That such an important seaport should not have a separate shipping office and a full time shipping master of its own shows that the Government has adopted an apathetic attitude towards the port of Karachi, which is to be highly deplored. If there were a separate shipping office a complete register of all the seamen could be maintained and the syrangs could be entrusted with the work of selecting the necessary quota of seamen.

The cost of maintaining a separate shipping office will not be much. The Government levies a fee of Re. 1 from every seaman who is signed on. These fees are bound to increase when full crews are taken from here. Then the Government would easily be able to defray the expenses of the separate shipping office. It will also mean a saving to the owners of the steamers for they will not have to pay the fare of seamen coming from Bombay and Calcutta, which comes to about Rs. 500 every time.

If there was a full time shipping master, he could easily bring the seamen of Karachi in touch with masters and owners of steamers by advertising in the papers. Then we come to the question of unemployment.

Unemployment.—The problem of unemployment, to say the least, is very acute. The number of men available for service will be approximately 25,000, from whom khalasis, firemen, coal trimmers, greasers and saloon boys can easily be drawn. Keamari, Baba, Hit, Lyari, Kuch Coast and other places round about, abound with them. Some sturdy Punjabi, N.W. Frontier Bander Abad, Basrah and Bushire seamen numbering about 15,000 would also come down to this place and Karachi will thus become one of the best recruiting grounds in India. The seamen of Baba Islands, Cutchis, Sommalis, Makranis and Shidis are a cool, daring and excellent seafaring lot and have excellent certificates from the masters of the steamers and can compare very favourably with the seamen of any other nation in the world. These people run about in search of employment to Bombay and Calcutta from Karachi but are generally rejected, the indigenous residents getting the preference. There is a deep indignation amongst them for not being taken up. They have vehemently protested against the system of full crew being signed on from Bombay and Calcutta for service in steamers at Karachi. The only excuse that masters of steamers give is that Karachi is not a shipping port. Representations have been made to Government, but they have produced no effect whatsoever. The net result of the magnitude of unemployment among seamen is that it has worked untold misery upon them and their families. To picture the miserable condition of these seamen, one must live amongst them. Their condition will ultimately result in a disturbance at any time.

It was not many days ago that a number of seamen came to the office of the Indian Seamen's Union and said that they would take the law into their own hands, offer resistance and drive away the seamen that had come from other ports to Karachi for being signed on. We have dissuaded them from pursuing such a dangerous course of conduct for the present, but we know we cannot restrain them for long. Such rowdy scenes were enacted at Bombay when the Calcutta crew was imported there. The net result of it is that it has not, since then, been possible for Calcutta seamen, to dare to come to Bombay for being recruited there. And we are afraid that unless Government adopts a conciliatory attitude towards the seamen and opens a separate shipping office at Karachi in the near future, these seamen will soon get out of hand with evil consequences to the peace of this city.

Housing.

There exist no housing arrangements for the seamen. They live mostly in mat huts on payment of Re. 1 per annum. Their employers live 6,000 miles away and consequently have done nothing for them. Their sanitary conditions are far from desirable. All the epidemics that have broken out, start from there. The only housing arrangements made for them by a local body, are the 800 houses built by Port Trust at Keamari. The rent of each house is Rs. 5 per month. But this also falls heavily on them. On every Tuesday, when the court is held at Keamari, one finds plenty of cases arising out of the failure to pay rent. Recently, the rent of these houses has been enhanced by Re. 1. This means an additional source of hardship for the poor people. Many of them have left these houses and have gone back to their old mat huts.

Health.

The health of the seamen is remarkably good. Sturdy men that they are, they seldom fall ill. Figures of mortality amongst them are very low unless when an epidemic breaks out. Medical facilities have been well provided for them, specially by private agencies.

Welfare.

Much requires to be done for the welfare of the seamen. Government, Port Trust and the Municipality could each contribute substantially and appoint welfare officers and workers. Provision could then be easily made for physical culture recreation and amusements. In fact it is an urgent necessity that the spare time of the seamen should be properly utilized. A good library is a great desideratum. A reading room is another. There should be a night school for them. Games, performances, shows, lectures and out-door exercises should be well provided for them.

Special Questions relating to Seamen and Workers in Inland Navigation.

1. *Hours of Work.*—The Indian seamen have got to work from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m., 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and then 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. This amounts to 9 hours. In fact, they should not be made to work for more than 8 hours a day. Besides that, they have

to perform watch duty at night time for 2 hours daily. This is also undesirable and constitutes a heavy strain upon them. Europeans have to work for 8 hours per day. This racial discrimination even at sea must be avoided at all costs. On Saturdays they should have only 5 hours work and on Sundays 4 hours work.

It is here that we have to draw your attention on behalf of the Karachi Port Labour Union to the pitifully tragic plight of the dock workers in the port. From 15th September, right up to 14th March, they have to work early in the morning from 7.30 sharp up to 6.30 sharp in the evening. They get only 1 hour's lunch time between 12 noon and 1 p.m. From 15th March to 14th September, they have to work from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. As regards night work, they have to work for 11 hours throughout the course of the whole year. At Bombay, they have to work from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. and from 8 p.m. to 3 a.m. with 1 hour's time for lunch. The hours of work for these dock-workers must not exceed 8 hours

Rations.—Their great complaint is that they do not even get milk with tea. Indians do not take tea without milk, but on board ship they are supplied simply with hot water made red by putting a small quantity of tea. Even as regards sugar, they get only one cup of sugar for the whole week. In fact, according to the terms of the articles of agreement entered into with the seamen, they ought to get 1 oz. and 8 drams of sugar per day. But this is honoured more in breach than in observance.

Accommodation—The present arrangement for the accommodation of seamen on board the steamer is simply revolting. There is a large common poop the walls of which are infested with bugs. The atmosphere all around is sooty, smoky and stuffy. 30 to 40 people are herded together like sheep. The rooms are very badly ventilated and very poorly lighted. If any contagious disease breaks out, then woe betide the seamen living there. They have no safeguard against disease. Even the arrangements for proper bathing are non-existent. They bathe without any clothes on and there is no privacy for them.

Articles of Agreement—The present form in force in Bombay Presidency meets with the requirements of the Indian seamen to a considerable extent. We have however to complain (as above) about hours of work, accommodation, good rations, etc

Indian Merchant Shipping Act—We will deal with Sections 52, 53, and 54 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act when we come to the question of wages. But one important thing we have to suggest is that even boats of smaller weight than 300 tons should also be included in the Act. This would materially benefit the seamen on those boats.

Wages—The prevailing rate of wages is a very important matter and we shall deal with it in a somewhat detailed manner. The prevailing rate of wages is as follows:—Seaman, Rs. 22 per month; fireman, Rs. 27 per month; coal trimmer Rs. 21 per month; greaser, Rs. 32 per month; serang, Rs. 65 per month

This is too low a scale of wages and we strongly recommend that it should be substantially improved. Nothing less than 50 to 60 per cent. increase will meet the situation. The fact that European seamen are getting 5 times the scale allowed to Indians is causing heart-burn and we feel that this racial discrimination must be done away with. This is a modest demand and we are certain that the Royal Labour Commission will recommend the same without the least hesitation.

Again we come to the question of the dock labourers, whose wages are sought to be raised by the Karachi Port Labour Union. We have already referred to the large number of hours they have to work, and their wages, considering the risk involved, are a mere pittance. It was about 4 years ago that the dock labourers went on strike and demanded better wages and a decrease in the number of hours of work. The strike lasted for about 6 to 7 days. The result of it was that there was a little increase in the wages but the demand for reduction in the number of hours was not conceded. It is remarkable that even the Port Trust favoured reduction in the number of hours.

The Allotment System.—Sections 52, 53 and 54 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act lay down the rules for the allotment system. But it is a dead law and instructions should be issued to masters and owners of steamers that it should be put into practical operation forthwith, for otherwise the seamen are subjected to very great hardship. They go on a voyage. The wife left behind goes and borrows money at an exorbitant rate of interest. The result is that when the sailor returns home from voyage, he finds everything mortgaged and the debt exceeding his wages for the period he has served. If about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the wages are allotted to his wife during the period of voyage, the family would not experience hardships and no debts would be contracted except under extraordinary circumstances.

Payment for Overtime and Sunday Work.—European seamen are given overtime allowance, and why should not Indian seamen get the same. It is a question of a fair field and no favour. Sometimes these seamen are made to work at meal time. They sit down to take their meals and off goes the whistle and they have to leave their meals in the middle and run off to their work. For such kind of urgent and extra work, they must be paid something extra.

Deductions.—We have not much to complain about the deductions that are made by levy of fines, etc. Now we suggest that this money should again be utilized for the welfare of the seamen. Grants-in-aid should be given to schools, libraries, reading rooms, etc., for seamen.

There are four other points which are not covered by the questionnaire issued by the Royal Labour Commission, but we should like to suggest the opening of the same to the Commission.

Firstly, there should be a Seamen's Rest for Indians. There is one at Karachi, but it is meant practically for Europeans and Indian seamen cannot take any advantage of it.

Secondly, there should be a small savings bank on board the steamer so that the seamen may learn the value of economy and frugality.

Thirdly, the system of unemployment insurance should be enforced. We understand that in England, for every man that is employed about 1s. 3d. is paid per mensem to the Unemployment Society. Out of the above amount, 8d. is paid by the employers and the rest is paid by the seaman himself. So when a seaman, not through his own fault or negligence, is out of a job and is unable to maintain himself, the society keeps him going. Here the work could be managed by the Indian Seamen's Union.

The fourth and the last point with which we shall conclude this memorandum is connected with the Karachi Port Labour Union. We strongly urge that a waiting hall be provided for the dock workers. They are so poorly paid that they cannot afford to have any house. The only roof they have got is the sky above them. And even when they take their meals, they sit under the rays of scorching sun. If something is done for them, the dock workers will be benefited to a great extent.

THE KARACHI PORT TRUST LABOUR UNION, KEAMARI.

I.—Recruitment.

1. (i) Karachi has very little original population of its own. The working classes employed by Port Trust come from Sind, Cutch, Kathiawar, Gujrat, Deccan of the Bombay Presidency, Punjab, Frontier Province, Baluchistan Province, and a sprinkling of men from other Provinces.

2. (i) and (ii) Particularly the manual labourer and such others getting small wages live singly and have necessarily to go to their native places once in about two years; whereas tally clerks, mistris, carpenters, masons and others forming about 15 per cent. living with families may be regarded as permanent force.

3. (i) The recruitment is generally made by timekeepers in workshops, and as the men are not regarded by Port Trust as permanent, it is often alleged that illegal gratification is taken at the time of employment and particularly when these men return from leave, they are not taken back although the jobs on which they are engaged continue to exist. The substitutes are allowed to continue while the original men, in many cases of long services, have to wait perhaps till some others go on leave. This has caused corruptions and injustice.

(ii) The union has made representation that men who have been in service and return from leave ought to be put on the appointments they held and that as usual elsewhere substitutes should be dispensed with. As usually new men are engaged in the beginning of the month it would not be difficult if the recruitment is made by a board of three men holding important positions in workshops when the superintendent or manager of workshops should also be present. This practice is followed by N. W. railway which has set up a board to select men for appointment of clerks and others.

7. (i) Unemployment among skilled and non-skilled, as also in clerical line exist on large scale in Karachi, due to general depression of trade.

(ii) (a) It has its reaction in Port Trust which has reduced its West Wharf construction scheme and retrenched a large staff of men as also in other establishment. In Maihora workshop since some time past the employment is very irregular the riveters, many of whom have ten years of service and over, have been kept idle for two weeks in a month.

(iii) The union has made representation that particular items of work which have been marked to be taken up at some later date should be taken in hand now in order to tide over the difficult times.

(iv) The union is in favour of unemployment insurance in case of workers who have been engaged in any urban areas for five years. It might be on contributory basis, but the contribution of labour should not exceed 25 per cent. and the Government and employers should contribute 75 per cent.

8. (iii) Absenteeism very little.

10. The managing staff is all European.

12. (i) The wharf supervisors are generally recruited by direct method and out of them the inspectors are recruited. All others are generally recruited direct.

(ii) No facility for training and promotion of tally clerks exist. There is only one case in which a tally clerk was promoted to the post of a supervisor in Keamari.

13. (i) Not altogether intolerable. As a result of union's activities the immediate officers have begun to realize the men's point of view and show consideration here and there.

(iii) and (iv) Do not exist. Strongly advocated.

III.—Housing.

16. (i) By Karachi Port Trust : 44 free quarters and 161 on rent.

(iii) Rest of the houses by landlords.

18. Two room tenements (first room 14 ft. by 13 ft., second room 14 ft. by 12 ft., verandah 14 ft. by 8 ft.) a portion of the first room is used for cooking. There is no sink. There are common privies, a good bit distant from the houses. The private houses are no better.

19. There is on the contrary acute shortage of houses.

20. Rs. 5 per month is the least.

21. In Manora, the Khalasis are huddled together 20 in a big room. Only 12 family quarters are provided with the result that twice or thrice during the full time of service a person would have the opportunity to stay with family for a year in rotation. It is necessary to remember that no private houses are available at Manora and that the nature of work compels men to stay at Manora. The unmoral evil effect of this can be more imagined than described and the union feels that something should be done immediately to improve upon these conditions. It is also necessary to remember that even criminals are treated better by Government in jails where accommodation of 10 ft. by 10 ft. is allotted to each prisoner.

IV.—Health.

24. The Port Trust have a medical officer who treats staff under establishment "A" the rest of the large staff have no benefit of being treated by him even when very necessary at the hands of first class doctor that the Port Trust medical officer is. The handicap is very great as the low paid staff cannot afford the heavy fees of a private first class medical man.

The municipality maintain a dispensary in each quarter and in some cases for two quarters combined in the city. The health association by means of grant in aid from Government and municipality and private subscriptions maintain a midwife in each quarter under the supervision of health visitors and a qualified doctor.

25. (i) and (ii) Fairly fully.

26. (i) Poor ; (ii) tolerable ; (iii) nil.

31. Port Trust have no women workers.

Welfare.

32. (i) and (ii) The Port Trust give a grant to Indian Red Cross Society which runs a small centre at Keamari.

37. Yes. With small and meagre salary some provision for old age is necessary. The Port Trust give after 25 years of approved service 12 month's salary as gratuity which does not carry very far. The Port Trust give one month's salary every year in provident fund which earns interest for the benefit of their staff on "A" and "B" establishment. If that is extended to other men it would greatly meet the needs, otherwise old age pension system should be introduced.

38. Papers for registration of Karachi Port Trust Labour Co-operative Credit Society have been sent to the Registrar, Co-operative Societies. A co-operative stores will also be soon organized.

VI. Education.

40. Municipality have schools in every area.

Night schools aided by the municipality exist in many working class localities.

42. Even the general rise in education among upper middle and lower middle classes has had a very wholesome and alleviating influence. The standard of living has considerably gone up all round during the decade and so also among the working classes. Most of the manual workers of over 30 years of age are illiterate, but they are anxious to educate their children. The young artisan class in workshop that is making its appearance does show, even with little education, a higher level of intelligence and with it also efficiency.

IX.—Hours. D.—Other Establishments.

78. (i) and (ii) The Karachi Port Trust bye-laws provide for wharf working hours from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. with one hour's break for meals at 1 p.m., i.e., 11 hours in summer; and 7.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. with one hour's break for meals at 1 p.m., i.e., 10 hours in winter. From 7.30 p.m. to 7 a.m., i.e., 11½ hours without any break at night. The whole of working classes keenly feel on the question of long working hours on wharf. The hours are tiresome in the extreme and takes away life out of workmen. The conditions of work on wharf is more strenuous, less congenial and more dangerous than those existing in factories where eight hours regulations operate. Representation was made by tally clerks to introduce shift system for their staff at least. The question was favourably put by Mr. Downie, the secretary, now acting chairman, before the Port Trust Board that the hours of work on wharf should be reduced. The Board appointed sub-committee to consider the question which recommended that the hours should be reduced to ten. The board adopted the recommendation unanimously and invited the opinion of the European and Indian Chambers of Commerce. The European Chamber first viewed the proposal favourably but, in spite of entreaties of their then chairman, Mr. Clayton, who even went to the extent of suggesting to the members at the meeting that the times were fast approaching when there would be strong agitation against the long hours of work by labour, and they would be well advised to agree to a small concession now and thus satisfy and pacify labour. Unfortunately the representatives of big business; the European shipping companies, led by Mr. E. A. Pearson, manager of Messrs. Forbes, Forbes, Campbell & Company, Limited, agents Ellerman Lines, Limited, set their faces against the proposal and wrecked even the small measure of reform. This attitude reveals nothing but exploitation and sweating of labour. It is interesting to bear in mind that the European Chamber of Commerce have four representatives on Port Trust, and when the question was discussed at the board they supported it. So far as the two Indian Chambers, which have the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Limited, as members are concerned, let it be said to their credit that they agreed with the proposal of the Port Trust without hesitation. They have a large portion of inland trade in their hands and many Indian firms are exporting cotton to Europe. Many Indian firms are direct importers. Besides the fact that the prices of the raw products exported from Karachi are governed by world prices and that the prices of imports, which include items of freight, are dictated by manufacturers, the Indian is ultimately more affected than European. It is also necessary to remember that the working hours in Bombay are only nine during day and still less at night, the output of work there is only two-thirds of Karachi. It is acknowledged by even stevedores in Karachi that the labourers here are more hardy and are thus able to do more work in an hour than the workmen of Bombay, whereas the wages in Bombay compare favourably with Karachi. In Bombay a gang of seven men, including tindal, get Rs. 10-8 annas for discharging cargo; and 11 men, including tindal, Rs. 17-8 annas for loading cargo. This works out at Rs. 1-8 annas per day per man, whereas in Karachi the wage is only Rs. 1-2 annas per day per man. Further, often more than one gang per crane is employed in the hold of a steamer working in Bombay, whereas invariably only one gang is employed after each crane in Karachi. The Port Trust dues and other charges are also much higher in Bombay than in Karachi and although no diminution of work will result by reason of reducing of working hours by one hour, even if it is assumed that there might be slight reduction, Karachi would still be at a far greater advantage in point of speed and despatch of work. Karachi's import trade is largely carried on with Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, Frontier Provinces, Afghanistan and Delhi which cannot be competed with by Bombay and even Kathiawar Ports, on account of Karachi's geographical proximity to those provinces. In fact conditions are so favourable to Karachi that cotton and wheat and other produce of United Provinces are railed down to Karachi for export. There can, therefore, be no fear of diversion of trade from Karachi. Indeed the proceedings of the Chamber of Commerce on the question of reduction of working hours make no mention of it. Their sole concern as stated therein is to maintain Karachi's reputation of giving quickest despatch and being the cheapest port. No general objection can be

taken to this but it must not be maintained at the cost of humane conditions for labour. The labour is greatly agitated over this and as a result of this a Bill to provide a reasonable ten hour's day has been brought before the Bombay Legislative Council by the Karachi member, Mr. N. A. Bechar, who is also President of the Karachi Port Trust Labour Union. It is suspected that Government would ask for postponement of consideration of the Bill till the Royal Commissions Report is issued. This would be fatal, as moderate measure like this should not be shelved under the pretext of Commission's Report. And it is the earnest prayer of the Union that the Commission will express and indicate their opinion on this question to the Government of Bombay. Indeed if anything to alleviate the conditions of long hours for labour in port can be done, the Commission will provide an everlasting memory of good to labour in Karachi by their visit.

XII.—Wages.

96. *Traffic Department*.—(1) Checkers Rs. 55-5-70; (2) tally clerk Rs. 40-2½-50; (3) shakers Rs. 40 p. m.; (4) lampman Rs. 25 p. m.; (5) naik of chowkidars and peons Rs. 21 p. m.; (6) chowkidars Rs. 18-1-22 plus Rs. 4 house rent; (7) coolies Rs. 30, Rs. 28-8 annas and Rs. 27 p. m.; (8) carpenter Rs. 70 p. m.; (9) jamadar of sweepers Rs. 22 plus Rs. 3 personal pay=Rs. 25 p. m.; (10) sweepers Rs. 18-1-20.

Port Department.—(1) Serang Rs. 50-1-55; (2) tindal Rs. 30-1-35; (3) driver Rs. 30-2-42; (4) lascars Rs. 22, Rs. 20 and Rs. 17 p. m.; (5) signalman Rs. 25; (6) sweeper Rs. 18 (7) cook Rs. 17 p. m.

Engineering Department Workshops.—(1) Coppersmith Rs. 4-8 annas a day; (2) fitter Rs. 3-12 annas and Rs. 1-12 annas a day; (3) boiler makers Rs. 3-4 annas and Rs. 1-12 annas a day; (4) blacksmith Rs. 3 and Rs. 2 a day.

Hammerman Rs. 1-4 annas a day; carpenters Rs. 3 a day; coolie jamadar Rs. 2-8 a day; coolie Rs. 1-4 annas a day.

Power House.—Boiler boys 12 annas a day; drivers Rs. 2-1 annas a day; firemen Rs. 1-4 annas a day; oilman Rs. 1-1 annas a day; coalmen Rs. 1-3 annas a day.

Crane Staff.—Pumpmen Rs. 1-6 annas a day; craneman Rs. 1-8 annas per day; crane foremen Rs. 80 starting p. m.; crane khalasis Rs. 1 per day; fitters Rs. 2-4 annas and Rs. 1-11 annas per day.

101. The Port Trust merely arbitrarily fix wages.

102. The cranemen get Re. 1 per night equivalent to day's wages instead of 50 per cent. extra on account of night work as is done in other branches of engineering department.

105. The disparity between the salaries of officers getting Rs. 3,000, Rs. 2,500 and so on, and a poor way gangman or a sweeper, chowkidar and peons getting hardly Rs. 20, i.e., 150th of big officer's salary is so revolting and unheard of in any civilized country that something ought to be done to improve the lot of the poor men. However miserably one would exist, it would be difficult to maintain a family with wife and only two children on a paltry sum of Rs. 20, this fact has been represented personally to the chairman, Karachi Port Trust, who has asked for family budgets, and if satisfied, has promised to put the matter of increase in salary of low paid staff favourably before the board. It does not matter what work is assigned to an individual but so long as that work is necessary and is required to be done the man who does it must be paid a wage which would ensure him and his family a minimum amount of comfort. As such, we are in favour of a minimum wage being fixed, but for obvious reasons not by a general statute but in Port Trust Acts.

106. The Karachi Port Trust do not seem to be keeping any separate account of deductions of fines imposed but we are in favour of crediting fines to a separate account and handing them over to the union or to a mixed committee for utilizing it for social purposes as is done by Bombay Port Trust.

(i) and (ii) Daily wages. Tally clerks are paid every week and Wednesday for work done up to previous Saturday. In other departments daily wages are paid every month, but in many cases the dates of payment extend to 15th of the succeeding month.

(iii) (a) The union is not in a position to express a definite opinion, (b) but legislation would greatly mitigate hardships caused by irregular payments extending to 15th. We are of opinion that payment should be made by 5th of every month.

(iv) We are strongly in favour of utilizing the unclaimed wages for social services among the workmen.

110. Annual and other leave.

(i) On an average once in about two years.

(ii) The Port Trust grant leave to what they call inferior establishment, but in no way inferior in point of loyalty and devotion to duty in comparison to the superior service, one month after eleven month's service provided the head of the department

can spare him and that no extra cost is incurred. The implications are both unfavourable and unjust to the men. It can be agreed by a critic that either there is superfluous establishment or that work must suffer by reason of granting leave. And as such, even on very important and urgent occasions, men are denied leave or else they have to depend upon whims or caprices of the officer who often exact consideration in nature of domestic work or of other kind. Besides, a large number of people working in workshops do not enjoy this restricted leave and must go without pay. Not only that, but their jobs are in danger when they return from leave, the union strongly feel that the Port Trust Act ought to lay down definite obligation to give one month's leave with pay per year.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. (i) Karachi not being an industrial centre, there is no other body except Chambers of Commerce.

(ii) A provincial branch of the All India Trade Union Congress is likely to be soon organized, also, this union having just been organized, some time will elapse for combination.

120. (i) A union of tally clerks, just a small section of men was formed, but the immediate officers took unkindly attitude to it. Even C. I. D. police indirectly harassed members and as such the union broke down in a short time two or three years ago. Last year, Mr. N. A. Bechar, member of the Bombay Legislative Council, who is interested in labour and labour organizations, asked questions in the council, also interviewed the chairman and secretary, K. P. T., in the matter of forming the union and its recognition by the Karachi Port Trust. Meetings were also held of workmen and the union was formed on the 26th November, 1928. It was registered under the Trade Union Act and the Port Trust also recognized it on certain conditions. Propaganda were carried on among men in different departments with the result that over 1,000 members have joined the union.

(ii) Sympathetic and are realizing value of organization. Each section have centre Committee officered entirely by the men themselves, the general secretary usually attends to give any information and general guidance required. Centre Committee meetings are frequently held, where grievances general and individual are considered. These are represented to the managing committee on which each centre committee has two representatives. The meetings of the managing committee are usually held once a month and attendance is 80 per cent. Members take lively interest. Recently as a result of union's representation the workers are given a half holiday on Saturday in two workshops which has given some satisfaction to men and are taking keener interest. There are only three outsiders, i.e., president, one of the four vice-presidents and general secretary. The latter is a full-time paid officer and has got a lot of secretarial and other work to do.

(iii) One of indifference and, of late, resentment. Very often information would not be supplied. Even schedule of staff rules and bye-laws and copies of particular resolutions of the board affecting conditions of service of a particular department were given after continued representation. One of the conditions of recognition is that individual grievances must not be taken up by the union. The union has pointed out its hardships and particularly where circumstances in individual cases have bearing on general conditions of service men. It is the usual practice with the Government departments and public bodies which maintain service books to give opportunities to men to explain any point before any adverse remark is made against him. This is not being done by Port Trust. The Port Trust passed a resolution to bring 30 cranemen of ten years' approved service on permanent establishment "B." Yet have few men been made permanent, the members got restive and no satisfactory reply was given to union's representation. The union then desired to ascertain the length of service of each member, as also remarks, if any, in the service books. The Port Trust refused to show the books, nor gave the information required, with the result that members concerned do not know whether or not they are entitled to become permanent. Instances could be multiplied. One redeeming feature, however, is that when matters are personally represented to Mr. Downie, the secretary, now acting chairman, the discussions produce a spirit of understanding and sympathy, and as such this practice is proposed to be largely pursued.

Mr. R. K. SIDHVA, KARACHI.

The following memorandum was passed at a meeting of workmen and labourers of the India flour mills :—

In view of fear of victimization the labourers and workmen of flour mills are not prepared to tender evidence of their numerous grievances before the Royal

Commission, but if they feel inclined to invite them officially they can do so. They have, however, deputed Mr. R. K. Sidhva to ventilate their grievances and to give evidence on their behalf.

The following are some of their main grievances with regard to the condition of workmen in the flour mills :—

- (1) That a majority of unskilled labourers have to work for full 12 hours at a stretch without any recess for meals.
- (2) Barring very few who draw salaries between Rs. 20–30 the average pay of unskilled labourer is Rs. 18.
- (3) That no allowance is given for either Sundays or extra work.
- (4) That even on Sundays when the mills are closed they have to work for half a day.
- (5) That they are not provided with either house allowance, or houses, or medical relief, education for children, or any amenities.
- (6) That those few labourers of engine department who are allowed recess for meals are not provided with any shed to take meals or rest.
- (7) That even after 10 years' service no leave is granted with pay; but that on the contrary when one returns from his native place after few months he is taken back on reduced pay.
- (8) That the condition of skilled labour, for instance, fitters, carpenters, blacksmiths are equally pitiable. They have also to give same hours of duties as the unskilled labourers give.

The following are some of the budgets of labourers :—

A labourer whose salary is Rs. 18 per mensem and whose wife and children are in his native place, spends his income as follows : house rent Rs. 3, food, cloth, barber, etc. Rs. 13; total Rs. 16, saving Rs. 2 which he sends periodically to his family in his native place, which is not sufficient to maintain them and therefore he is indebted to the extent of Rs. 200 and pays interest at the rate of one anna per rupee per month which has to be paid either by further borrowings or a portion out of the savings.

Budget of a fireman whose wife and two children are with him in Karachi : salary Rs. 36; expenses : house rent Rs. 5, food, clothes, etc. Rs. 28, total Rs. 33, saving Rs. 3, which he sends to his old father and mother for their maintenance who are old in age which sum is not sufficient to keep them on, so he is indebted to the extent of Rs. 300, and pays same rate of interest as above.

They therefore resolve and recommend to the Commission that they should be provided :—

- (1) With wage which would keep him and his family happy and free from debt and permit of a decent civilised existence.
- (2) With free, healthy, and sanitary quarters.
- (3) With free medical relief, free education for their children in the vicinity of their works.
- (4) With bonus or pension system or provident scheme as is given in other departments to clerical staff and officials to enable them to maintain themselves in old age or in lieu thereof a system of old age pension.
- (5) That they should be granted one day in a week holiday with pay.
- (6) That their working hours should not be more than 48 per week.
- (7) That one month's leave with pay every three years should be granted.
- (8) That a scheme of adult suffrage for men and women should be introduced in order to enable the working classes to safeguard their interests.

Messrs. COWASJEE & SONS, Stevedores and Banking Contractors, KARACHI.

Workmen's Compensation Act.

When Government inquired from various commercial institutions and individual concerns, employing labour at large, on the subject of Workmens' Compensation Act (amendment), we had submitted our views on the matter and a copy is submitted herewith.

The Workmen's Compensation Act as read by the local Commissioner provides that the wages of a casual worker is to be multiplied by 30 times to arrive at the earning capacity of a labourer. This may be working satisfactorily in industrial

areas in other parts of India where there may be little of unemployment and plenty of alternative industries, but it is not at all satisfactory from the point of employers at Karachi.

Karachi can boast of only one industry and that is the shipping industry.

Karachi Port Trust has provided 18 berths on the wharf, and 5 moorings in the stream, i.e., Karachi can accommodate conveniently 23 steamers in the harbour.

From experience it is known that during the course of a year, once or twice this number of steamers remain in port for a few days, and hardly any shortage of labour is felt during this rush.

The administration report of the Karachi Port Trust proves that the average occupation of the berths is only for 8 to 9 steamers per day, i.e., hardly one-third of the accommodation is fully occupied, and hence there is employment for one-third of the earning period, i.e., for about 10 to 12 days.

If a labourer gives an honest reply, it will be observed that wharf labourer hardly earns for 10 to 12 days in a month, when he is fit to do the work owing to shortage of employment, but if a labourer meets with an accident, he is sure of getting wages computed under the Act, whereby his daily wage would be multiplied by 30 times which again halved would yield him a monthly earning of nearly Rs. 23, his average wage being Rs. 1-8 annas per day, whereas as stated above a healthy workman honestly securing employment will not be able to get work for more than 12 days in a month which means about Rs. 18.

Thus it will be seen that the Act works more in favour of injured persons than in favour of those who are ready to work honestly.

The labour leaders in Karachi have taken it upon themselves to see the full application of the Act applied to cases of accidents, with the result that of late, accidents have been considerably on the increase for very minor injuries, the natural consequences being that the act is indirectly assisting idleness, and if a check is not put on these methods very soon, the entire discipline will be undermined, resulting in a complete breakdown, which may ultimately result in labour trouble, thus affecting the only industry of this city.

It is our opinion that the labour leaders in Karachi are more anxious to assist idleness, and they encourage labourers in submitting false claims, apparently the entire motive being to create troubles between the employers and the employees.

It is a significant fact that since the formation of the Workmen's Compensation Aid Society more accidents have been recorded for the same period than at any other stage during the history of Kimari for a similar period, and this proves our contention that minor injuries are intentionally suffered with a view to secure a steady income by way of compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

It is submitted that it could not have been the intention of the legislature that a man who is laid up suffering from some injury should earn more than a man who is willing to work when he is in good health, but the interpretation of the Act as interpreted by the Commissioner of the Workmen's Compensation Act, Karachi, evidently acts against the very principle of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

We have information from the Commissioners for Workmen's Compensation Act in Bombay and Calcutta, where they compute the earning capacity of a dock labourer as 20 days in a month or Rs. 30 per month and no more.

It is alleged that this is contrary to the correct reading of the Act, but the labour unions at those ports and the employers have come to a sort of an arrangement, and the Commissioners at those ports have agreed to decide cases on the basis of the earning capacity of the dock labourer at the rate of Rs. 30 per month.

Calcutta and Bombay are very big shipping ports and if the maximum number of days that a man can earn is put down to 20 days only or the earning capacity of Rs. 30 per month only, it is hardly fair to the employers at Karachi that the earning capacity of a dock labourer at Karachi should be calculated on the basis of 30 days or Rs. 46-4 annas per month for the purpose of assessing compensation.

In a concrete instance, in the case of a fatal accident, we have been made to pay as much as Rs. 1,387 because the deceased happened to be one of the three brothers who supported a minor sister.

It will be appreciated that when the man was alive, he was only contributing one-third towards the maintenance of the unmarried minor sister, but, owing to the faulty wordings of the Act, full amount computed, on the basis of the earning capacity at 30 days per month again multiplied by 30 times, was secured for the benefit of the sister.

It may be noted that if that man had lived till the age of 80 or 100 years he would never have collected this amount during his lifetime, but it can be seen that his unmarried sister benefited more by losing her brother than by having him alive.

We submit that the merciless application of the Act by the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation Act at Karachi is hitting very hard at the root of the shipping industry at Karachi, and unless action is taken in the matter, the employers of labour at Karachi will have to increase their charges for doing the same amount of service to their employers with the result that Karachi will become more expensive as a shipping port.

Karachi is struggling hard at present in competition with Kathiawar ports and Bombay, and if the loading and unloading charges are further increased, the steamers will have to increase their rates of freight for Karachi, which will result in entirely blockading of whatever little trade we are having for the time being.

This will prove that the shipping industry at Karachi is unable to bear any further overhead expenses and unless the present Workmen's Compensation Act is amended in a manner whereby the employers are safeguarded against bogus claims and intentional accidents, and faulty reading of the Act, the shipping at Karachi will fall to such a low level which will render the utility of the port redundant.

Extract from a letter from Messrs. Cowasjee and Sons, Karachi, to the Director, Labour Intelligence, Bombay, dated, 24th April, 1929.

It is inadvisable that the employer, who has enough responsibilities, should be saddled with additional ones, which come directly within the observance of the police and hospital authorities.

13. *What steps, if any, should be taken to ensure that dependents who may have valid claims for compensation do not lose compensation through ignorance of their rights?* To assume that the workmen are ignorant of their rights to compensation is to live in oblivion. The workmen are not only fully cognizant of their rights, but actually worry the employers by fictitious demands either direct or through their societies.

14. *Should employers be required to maintain a register of relatives of their workmen?* It may be possible to maintain register of relatives in case of regular employees, but in case of daily wage labourer, to maintain such a register would be a physical impossibility and unnecessary waste of labour and time and unnecessarily increasing the responsibilities of the employers.

15. *Should commissioners be empowered to call on employers, depositing inadequate compensation for fatal accidents to make a further deposit?* There appears no objection to the suggestion to furnish deposits to the limit prescribed by the Act, and not of a sum as should be deemed necessary according to the discretion of the commissioner.

16. *Should provision be made for the suspension of distribution by the commissioner pending the disposal of an appeal against his decisions?* Yes. This is most essential.

General Observations.

Workmen's Compensation Act was enacted for a good purpose and never was intended to make the workmen oblivious to the injuries received, but the workman now knowing that he gets compensation, allows his injuries to be neglected or he feigns disability to attend to work and somehow or the other he manages to get a certificate showing that he needs rest for a week or a longer period, and the Society of which the workmen is a member, helps the labourer to that end. Thus the Act has inadvertently tended to create lengthening of pretended agonies, and an incentive to the labourer to idleness.

To stop further abuses, it is necessary that the employers should not be saddled with further responsibilities. The employer has enough difficulties to contend with and this section of the society is most maligned owing to the present day mentality of "wasters" and the so-called friends of the labourers, and any steps taken to increase the employers' responsibility, would be to the detriment of the employers, and to the promotion of idleness and pretences amongst the labouring class.

Miss R. PIGGOTT, Hon. Secretary, DAIS' IMPROVEMENT SCHEME,
HYDERABAD (SINDH),

(On behalf of the All India Women's Conference, Sindh Branch).

III.—Housing.

16. (i) Employers, as a rule, do not make provision for the housing of the workers. One factory in the Thar Parkar district has quite decent quarters. These are, of course, free. Some employers supply materials for them to build their huts.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) A very few live in rented quarters. The rent is about Rs. 4 p.m.

(iv) Most live in huts of their own.

17. In some places Government has given land on easy terms to the labourers. On this they build their huts.

18. (i) They mostly have their own way as the houses are built by them.

(ii) The health point of view leaves much to be desired.

(iii) Where the huts are in municipal limits the municipality provide lighting and conservancy.

Some employers supply workers with water from tanks in the factories.

In many places drinking water is obtained from wells.

19. Where accommodation is provided the workers are generally glad to avail themselves of it as it is near the factories.

20. About Rs. 4 or 5 p.m.

21. Where accommodation is provided outsiders are not allowed and in their own huts there would be no room.

22. They seem to prefer their own arrangements. Up-to-date ventilation would not be appreciated as it would surely lead (in their opinion) to pneumonia.

IV.—Health.

23. (ii) Infant mortality pathetic.

(iii) (a) Fairly good as all the cotton picking is done out of doors; (b) Round reed huts, mostly far from sanitary. Where, in a few cases they are inspected by the employers, the conditions are better.

(iv) Generally bajri, as it is the cheapest grain.

(v) Normal—not at all bad.

(vi) The cotton picking is done entirely by women as they say women have more patience.

24. (i) Most employers provide medical aid (when needed) free.

(ii) In the large towns there are civil hospitals and municipal dispensaries.

(iii) There are many places where there is no public dispensary or medical aid of any kind.

(iv) No woman doctor, trained midwife or dai have I heard of being provided for the workers.

25. Medical facilities are generally gladly made use of.

26. (a) (i) Provided by the employers

(ii) Provided by the employers.

(iii) They make their own arrangements at home. N.P. (b) (i) Very often conspicuous by their absence, except where accommodation is provided by owners, and, in rare cases, inspected by them.

(ii) From wells or canals unless they live near the works.

(iii) In the open generally. In towns by a public tap.

27. Inspected by the Government factory inspector, generally 1-4 times a year.

29. Without an exception, malaria is the great foe.

30. No sickness insurance. In some cases owners pay accident premium. Others give compensation in extreme cases of accident.

31. Nil. Much needed.

V.—Welfare.

32. Practically nil except in case of bone factory, Hyderabad. (This is apart from Karachi where they have work at Kiamari, which I hope to see next week).

34. The bone factory at Hyderabad has two women who look after the infants while their mothers are at work.

A free trained midwife has been put on by the Hyderabad municipality, but the people do not patronize her.

The Dais' Improvement Scheme has arranged for lectures for the workers in the bone factory. It has also looked after some of the women in their homes.

36. At the bone factory a master has been engaged to teach the children of the workers. This school has been in existence 2 years. About 25-30 pupils.

VI.—Education.

40. In the large towns there are generally municipal schools for boys.

42. It generally raises the standard of living.

IX.—Hours.

55. Generally 10 hours for women. No overtime. Some work in 4-hour shifts.
 56. Six days in all I have seen.
 59. When this was mentioned it was remarked that the wages would, of course, drop.
 60. Some work from 6-30 a.m. to 7-30 p.m. with 2 intervals of 1½ hours each. Some work from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. with 1 interval of 2 hours.
 Some work from 7-30 a.m. to 6-30 p.m. with 1 interval of 1 hour.
 61. Most have Sunday, some Friday.

X.—Women and Children.**A. Factories.**

82. They say they are not admitted. I have seen them with the cotton pickers.
 84. (i) Generally 6 hours daily. Interval of 1½ hours.
 (ii) Declare no child under twelve employed.

XII.—Wages.

96. (i) On an average, annas 6 to 11 daily. Picking cotton is paid from 9 to 12 pies a seer (2 pounds).
 (97). (i) No increase contemplated as say prices are lower than just after the war.

Remarks.

I would like to stress the vital need of medical help for the women in the smaller towns and villages. As my work takes me all over Sindh, from Karachi to Quetta, I see so much of suffering among women and children. Suffering that could so easily be avoided.

In the spring of this year, I visited a small town where I found a school mistress suffering from anaemia in its worst form. She was about to become a mother and her condition was critical. It was impossible to move her as the railway was some miles off, the nearest dispensary was about 20 miles or more distant, and the nearest women's hospital a 4-hours journey by train. There was not a single trained dai in the place. Had there been, she would have seen that the patient had medical advice in time. I did what I could for her, wiring for all she needed but it was too late to save her. She died after a few days. I drew the attention of the Government to this matter.

We have come across places where there is not even an untrained dai. The women help themselves. Our great need in Sindh is education. During our last tour, out of the 2,000 women who attended our lectures in a certain area, only 2 were able to read.

Another huge need is roads. Owing to this delay in reaching patients has so often proved fatal.

The All India Women's Conference aims at ameliorating the lot of women labourers and helping women and children in every way, especially by the spread of education.

Owing to the limited time I regret not having more details—am collecting information.

In the emancipation of the women of the East it seems as though only the better classes had been thought of. On enquiring about women labourers, the other day, I was told about a certain factory where, they said, only very bad women work. I enquired why they were so called. The reply was: "Oh, they are only low caste people."

The Sweepers.—As a rule the municipalities are the largest employers of these. They are usually housed in huts erected by themselves on the outskirts of the town. During the recent rains their dwellings have suffered much. So far no relief have they received. Karachi, they say, is where this class of people receives good treatment.

The sweepers I know best, never have any holidays or day of rest. If absent from work they are not paid. They work about 8-9 hours a day, receiving on an average Rs. 13 p.m. These people ought to be looked after as they run a great risk during epidemics.

Provision ought to be made for workers who have served long periods. They ought not to be sent away because of old age without any reward. Inquiries made on this subject would repay the trouble.

School teachers.—This class comes in for either very favourable or unfavourable treatment. Some of the Government rates of payment are ridiculously high, considering the chronic plea of financial stringency.

Whenever local bodies wish to retrench it is invariably the work amongst women that the axe falls on. On the other hand, the grants to work among men and boys receive enhanced grants.

In the smaller schools the buildings are terrible. No playgrounds, and in some cases scarcely a tiny courtyard is available. The ventilation needs attention as the children spend hours in that vitiated atmosphere.

Every primary school teacher ought to be given a living wage.

The hardship felt most by the women in certain areas is their being under the direct control of men. This is much resented by them (the women). It is in every case desirable for these purdah women to have direct dealings with those of their own sex.

Sickness Insurance is an unknown quantity. With the exception of a very few instances health, education and welfare are not considered. I mean this as regards the ordinary labouring classes.

The grinding of grain seems to be one of the hardest works. It is not very handsomely paid.

In most cases, labourers are provided by contractors, especially in the seasonal factories.

What has struck me is the want of knowledge, on the part of the employers, of the real condition of the employed.

The Maternity Benefit Act passed by the Bombay Government, came into force on July 1 of this year. This provides for the worker an allowance of 8 annas a day for 7 weeks, 3 before and 4 after the birth of her child. As it is so new not many seem to know of it.

Labour is more often than not saddled with debt. The exorbitant rates of interest are well known. The co-operative bank charges 12 per cent. interest. This, though high, must appear mild after 75-100 per cent.

Some sort of provident fund is badly needed. The difficulty would be to find people to run it.

The dais-midwives are looked down upon as their work is considered unclean. It is amongst them that a good deal of my work lies. Their status needs to be raised. We are trying to do this by degrees. Some of them are learning to read and many have qualified. Their wages are incredible. Anything from 8 annas to 5 rupees a case are paid. The sum is always less in the case of a girl baby. Being paid so poorly means that they are obliged to take more work than they can safely manage.

Education will help labour to find its feet, therefore give education.

THE BUYERS AND SHIPPERS CHAMBER, KARACHI.

The labour problems of Sind except at Karachi and certain other places, are practically confined to agriculture, and as your reference directs an enquiry into the conditions of industrial labour only, we have treated the subject in a manner restricted to the conditions and circumstances attending on labour in the few industries that exist in Karachi and Sind. There are mainly cotton ginning factories and presses, flour mills, oil mills, haulage constructions, tin manufacture and shipping. The last named is the principal industry of Karachi and a good majority of Karachi labour directly or indirectly is dependent on conditions that are prevailing in the industry of shipping alone.

General Conditions—Immigration.—The most important feature of industrial labour in Karachi is that it is practically imported from other provinces. The class of labour required for unskilled purposes like haulage, carrying burdens, cleaning, etc., is mostly imported from Mekran, Cutch, and Kathiawar, Afghanistan, Punjab and Rajputana. A number of U.P. men are also met with in the police force as chowkidars on private and public premises and as gardeners. The skilled labour, i.e., the masons, carpenters, mechanics, etc., are mostly migrated here from Cutch, Kathiawar, Rajputana and the Punjab.

Domicile.—The fluctuations in number of labourers is greater in unskilled section of labour than in the skilled section, as the former form only the surplus from agricultural occupations elsewhere. A famine in any of the districts named above

increases the number of labourers in Sind. There is, however, a large number of even these Makranis and Cutchees (which term includes Kathiawaris and Gujjaratis) who have settled down in Sind as permanent residents. The skilled labourers especially the "Cutchees" have made Sind their home.

Apart from these, there are a few Mahratta labourers in Port Trust, Railways, Police, as private office peons and mechanics and a few Sindhis proper, most of the Sindhis being engaged in agriculture or other avocations rather than in manual or machine labour. Majority of these labourers are domiciled in Karachi.

Sex.—Amongst the unskilled labour, the shipping gangs do not have any women even as "tally hands" as there are in Bombay and elsewhere. Women are, however, evidenced in large numbers in bunkering and stacking coal and in sifting of grains, in building and digging operations. But on the whole except in these few cases, women labour is not so much in evidence as it is in other industrial cities of this Presidency.

Wages.—The ordinary wages of an unskilled labourer range from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4 annas, and Rs. 1-6 annas per day, the normal wage being only Rs. 1-2 annas per day. For a woman, this wage is 13-14 annas per day. For a boy it is often less than for a woman, i.e., about 8 to 10 annas a day. The skilled mechanics have different wages in proportion to the deftness required in different trades. A mason, carpenter or a joiner gets between Rs. 2-8 annas to Rs. 3-4 annas per day and a house painter about Rs. 1-14 annas per day. The "Nakhwas" or sailors on lighter boats in the harbour earn from Rs. 1-8 annas to Rs. 3 per day as may be their rank, and accrue wages on task payment system. There are in fact several operations like stacking, haulage, Nakhwas, etc., where "task-wage" system is favoured. The ultimate results in earnings however come to the same basis as time-wage, though in cases of rush work the results are often far better for the workmen. The aggregate wage-earnings are however adjusted by lack of continuous employment.

Unemployment.—Though not in any aggravated form under-employment and unemployment exist amongst the labourers in Karachi, especially when immigration is extra-ordinarily heavy, or when trade is abnormally depressed. It has been put by several experts that a casual labourer in Karachi is in normal times assured of an average of 20 days work in a month and skilled labourers too can depend on an average of 20 days work in a month every year.

This is mainly due to the fact that Karachi still is growing and additions in trade transport and constructional operations are quite evident though the progress may be slow.

Under-employment and unemployment being mild, Karachi has experienced hitherto a fairly contented labour. There is very little absenteeism in Karachi labour whereas as much as 10 per cent. absenteeism was registered for Bombay by the Bombay Labour Office. The stationary nature of employments in Karachi, which is an all the year round shipping port, also ensures a minimum of changes in the personnel of the labour, whereas it was reported to be 100 per cent. in Madras mills by a writer in "Factory Labour in India." To the knowledge of this Chamber only a railway strike in 1923 was of any magnitude otherwise strikes and lockouts are scarce in Karachi and so Karachi industries have not to pay the additional burden of costs involved through strike losses and Karachi labour have not to pay the additional penalty of loss of wages for long periods. Leaving aside the worst years of 1926 onwards in Bombay, for example, the loss to workers through strikes and lockouts in that City was calculated at 12,578,129 working days lost to 270,423 workers, i.e., an average of 46 days per worker were lost, in the year 1925 (Labour Gazette, Bombay, 1926, pages 779-82.).

The condition of labour in Karachi would, however, compare slightly favourably with that of labourers in other parts of India, if their days of employment are calculated over a year.

According to the census of India, 1921, Report 1: 245, a Punjab cultivator does not get work for more than 150 days in a year. It has been said that a U.P. or a Bengalee peasant or artisan does not have work for more than 7 months in the year. Dr. Tarakanath Das, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., has come to the conclusion that all classes of people in India have scarcely sufficient work for more than 6 or 7 months in a year. The condition of Karachi labourer in this respect is only slightly better. If Karachi despite its steady trade and minimum of fluctuations in general welfare cannot show a better record in this respect, the reasons are to be met with in general conditions governing the labour problems of all India.

Sickness and Disease.—These factors which play an all important role in the labour problems of other places is solved by nature in Karachi's favour till now. Even a superficial glance at the vital statistics of Karachi will convince an observer that Karachi is perhaps the most healthy of Indian ports. The population of Karachi is continuously on the increase, and the figure of immigration alone is not high enough

to account for whole of this increase. The daily returns of the births and deaths show that the former are every day of the year more numerous than the latter and the number of survivals in children is greater here than elsewhere. The condition of Karachi's health report, it need not be said, has a direct impress on labour. Though the epidemics like cholera, smallpox, influenza, etc., are almost perennially present, their toll in Sind is exceptionally low and in Karachi it is almost negligible. Karachi has no endemics such as are telling heavily upon the labour of other provinces. Bengal loses over 1,300,000 persons per annum by malaria, and 70 per cent. of her population is reported to be infected with hook-worm. The latter infection is reported to be universal in the rural population of Madras. Big industrial centres like Bombay and Ahmedabad, nearer Karachi have a heavy wastage in man power through Tuberculosis which is omnipresent in the slums (Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18, p. 162). Karachi as yet has avoided the acute wastage curve. Yet Karachi cannot long enjoy these amenities unless arrangements for proper housing are made for the workers by large employers. In the opinion of my committee all those that regularly employ over 500 monthly wage labourers should be obliged to provide for sanitary and sufficient tenements and medical aid for their employees. In this connection my committee recalls with interest a remark from the report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, 1921-22, wherein they state (paragraph 33) that though the agricultural population in India, is in excess of the needs of that industry, their adoption of Industrial labour is retarded owing partly to "deficiencies of housing in Industrial centres." In this connection my committee can only say that a move is set on foot in Karachi to consider the question of tenements for poorer sections of this City including the members of the lower middle class and my chamber is a co-operating party to the deliberations, which up to now have been led by the provincial Government themselves on the initiative of the President of the local Municipality. The Municipality have as a tentative measure allowed areas to be occupied on nominal rent by labour, on which they build their huts. The conservancy being supplied by the Municipality, and the trade bears this charge along with other charges through terminal tax which is about 30 per cent. of the total amount of their revenue. This problem is, however, not so serious in our opinion for Karachi as it is for other cities. In fact borrowing the arguments of the Fiscal Commission themselves, the influx in Karachi of surplus agricultural population from Sind is negligible and from Cutch, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Punjab and U.P. the imports represent only the residue of the surplus after dispersal to Bombay and Ahmedabad, etc., who employ lacs of labourers in their enormous industries.

General suggestions.—Having hitherto described the general conditions of labour in Karachi, we have to submit certain general considerations for your scrutiny and approval. We feel that on the whole the response given by the Indian employers to the growing demands of labour hitherto has been sympathetic and opportune. Whatever were the recommendations or conventions that emanated from Geneva or nearer home, the Indian employers have tried their best to incorporate these in their dealings with labour. But a menace from two not unforeseen quarters has been holding some of the most vital industries of the country in a deadly grip for past many months and my committee cannot but refer to this in connection with this subject. The menace is firstly from those countries who do not adopt similar conventions and recommendations and are in a position to beat Indian Industries on this score. Japan for example ignored the Washington Convention of 1919 when India embodied it in her statutory code and that, when added to the several other advantages that Japan possesses over India, broke the back of the textile industry of this Presidency. My committee therefore feel that before any labour legislation is contemplated the following conditions must be satisfied, viz. :—

(1) That Indian employers should be relieved of all those burdens in the form of excise duties, and stores duties and machinery duties, etc., in order to enable them to stand ground against foreign competitors.

(2) That the Indian industries further should be made strong enough to bear the onslaughts from bounty fed competitors importing their sweated manufactures in subsidised shipping and dump them in this country. This should be only achieved if Indian industries were protected by high tariff walls, in all deserving cases.

If these two conditions are not fulfilled, Indian industries will not be able to bear additional labour legislation however just and necessary it may be.

The second menace referred to above is as grave as the one already described, but it is fraught with more serious import to not only the industrial but even the political and social welfare of this country.

This menace is derived from the growing tendency amongst the labour leaders of the country in affiliating themselves intellectually if not actually with foreign labour organizations of extreme views and drafting their policy from the drastic programmes of the latter.

A short reference to the development of this menace will explain our statement.

At the eighth session of the Indian Trade Union Congress held at Cawnpore in 1927, a question was mooted whether the Indian Trade Unions should affiliate themselves as constituents of either the 2nd International at Amsterdam or the 3rd International at Moscow. Mr. N. M. Joshi, the General Secretary, was finally directed to convey the consensus of opinion of that session to both these bodies that unless the two organizations were amalgamated into one powerful body, the Indian Trade Union Congress would remain as it was. The wisdom of this decision will be apparent from what a scrupulously fair-minded critic like Mr. Andrews said about the latter (i.e., the 3rd) of these Internationals. "I found" says Deenabandhu Andrews, "that what I had expressed to be the basic character of the 3rd International, namely the insistence on a revolution of violence to accomplish the end which labour had in view, was entirely correct. Not only were violent methods regarded as imperative in the long run, but a practical policy amounting to violence was carried almost in every country, even while preparations were made for a revolution."

To our information it was decided to repulse the invitations of the 2nd International on quite different grounds. The 2nd International was alleged to be too imperialistic in their views and wanted to exploit Indian labour for their own benefit. This was more or less the gist of the charge laid against the 2nd International who are considerably more conservative than the 3rd at Moscow. It is evident, however, that the 2nd International have some support and sympathy in different labour camps and the prosperity of Industrial India can never be assured by this state of things if what Mr. Andrews and others say is true.

The problems of Indian labour in our opinion are peculiarly their own, and means and methods of their solution must be such as are naturally suggested by the conditions obtaining here. The progress of Indian labour must be the direct result of internal evolution and not revolution and such evolution in our opinion is possible if progress is achieved on the following lines :—

Main Recommendations.—(1) The labour to be content must have sufficient work all the year round with adequate and steady remunerations.

(2) The industries of India in order to be able to employ labour on these conditions must be protected from foreign competition by the tariff legislation on extensive scale and by relief from iniquitous excise imports.

(3) That labour should be literate and organized ; to see them so, being the duty of the state in India.

(4) That the progress of labour in India should be by internal evolution and without officious meddling from foreign labour organizations.

(5) That the maximum use of conciliatory boards may be instituted by statutory enactments if necessary.

(6) System of sick and family benefits, insurance, etc., may be introduced gradually wherever possible.

(7) The state and the people to co-operate in solving the housing deficiency problems wherever these are acute.

(8) A system of task wages and premium wages should be introduced wherever possible to promote ameliorative efficiency.

(9) Working hour legislation to be undertaken wherever the risk of competition from "Sweated" countries is thoroughly checked.

(10) That the labour legislation on compensation should be with a view to prevent greater privileges being conferred by Law on disabled workmen than such workmen were actually enjoying before being disabled.

Mr. T. K. JESWANI, SECRETARY, THE KARACHI INDIAN MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION.

With reference to your invitation to this association to submit a written statement in connection with the objects of the Commission's enquiry, and your subsequent reminder at Karachi, I am directed by the committee of my association to state their views as under :—

1. *Industrial undertakings in Karachi and Sindh.*—There is hardly any industry in Sindh or Karachi employing group or mass labour in industrial undertakings on a large scale except the North Western Railway. In the countryside in Sindh, lacs

of agricultural labourers are employed but with these evidently, the Commission is not concerned. In Sindh or Karachi there is hardly an industrial undertaking employing more than a thousand persons at any one time. Sindh being the most sparsely populated sub-province in India (the density of population is no more than 71 per square mile) labour is generally so scarce, that it has to be attracted by better terms than in the surrounding areas. In Sindh, besides Karachi, generally we have rice mills, flour mills, ginning and pressing factories, three electric companies, a wool factory at Shikarpur, etc. There are a large number of cottage industries such as weaving, lacquer work, leather tanning, boat making, toy making, etc., but these hardly come under the Commission's enquiry, because there is no distinction between the employer and the employed, and hardly any employment of mass labour creating anything like a labour problem. We have also gangs of men employed by contractors in the forests of Sindh and in public works department work, whether in building of bungalows or bridges, or excavating and clearing of canals. We have also thousands of labourers employed directly and through contractors by the Lloyds Barrage management. But the character and face of Sindh remain largely rural. With the higher average standard of living of the Sindhi, greater demand for labour than the supply, and lack of large capital being wedded to enterprise, we have not the big industrial undertaking on a large scale we witness in other parts of India.

There are two exceptions which may be noted. One is that of thousands of boats employed on the Indus for transport. This industry is older than Alexander's entry into Sindh, when Greek travellers saw thousands of boats and a prosperous port at Tatta. But there is hardly anything like industrial labour in large groups. Most of the boatmen either own their boats or, like their agricultural fellow-workers, ply their trade on the share system.

The motor transport is a recent growth and promises within a short time to be perhaps the most important industry in Sindh. The motor industry may, as has happened in England, come to employ more men than the railway. Even at present hundreds of motor cars and buses ply for hire in the districts but the industry has nothing like a labour or a group labour problem yet.

2. At Karachi, we have an electric company, a tramway company, flour mills, two big iron foundries (Messrs. B. R. Herman Mohatta & T. Cosser), copra oil and other oil mills, a few motor garages, a good number of printing presses, building construction, aerated water manufacture, and some salt works at Maurypur, which employ labour on a large scale. The biggest employers of labour are, however, the Port Docks, The Karachi Port Trust, the stevedores and dubashes and the Karachi Municipality. We have also three tile manufacturing concerns. All new construction activity on capital or loan account by the Railway, Port Trust and the Municipality mean a large employment of industrial labour, e.g., building of new railway bridges, the west wharf scheme, municipal water drainage and road works, etc. There are also a large number of small iron foundries in Karachi, but all these have not yet given Karachi the character of an industrial city. Karachi is argely a commercial place, most of the capitalists being either commission agents, landlords or bankers. In the former two capacities the Indian businessmen employ a good deal of labour in transport and handling goods, either in the T.P.X. or in their own godowns and in building houses. The European export and import offices are also largely commission houses. Messrs. Ralli Brothers have a bone mill and the oil companies have a tin making industry. These oil as well as exporting companies also employ a good deal of dock and other labour. The aircraft base at Drigh Road employs an increasing number of men, and the fishing and boat building industries are not much of a capitalist business or enterprise. All these do not change the largely commercial character of Karachi, in spite of its having a rate of growth unique in the cities and ports of India since over three quarters of a century.

3. Taken together Karachi has a large labour population settled mostly in the Ranchore lines and Lyari quarters. There does exist, therefore, in Karachi, a labour problem which ought to be tackled on humane grounds as well as in the interests of Karachi's industrial growth, which is imminent on the great irrigation schemes in the areas served by our port coming into full operation. We should like to avoid, in Karachi, the miserable conditions of industrial life, and the conflict between labour and capital, which has proved inevitable in bigger and older cities in India, leading to a partial paralysis of trade and industry.

4. My committee are, therefore, glad of this opportunity to state their views on this question of great importance, firstly, because as representatives of employers, they feel that better relations ought to exist between the employers and the employed than have been noticed in other parts of India in recent years, and secondly, it is most desirable to avoid the miserable conditions of life and service ordinarily prevailing in industrial areas.

The programmes of social and labour welfare carried out in western countries and in India, the efforts made at improving health and efficiency of labour, resulting in benefits to the employers and the employed, and the growth of trade unionism—all these point to the necessity of forethought in planning Karachi's industrial growth. My committee are convinced that the humane and sympathetic treatment of labour, as indeed its organization on sound lines, is the greatest factor likely to contribute to industrial success in this country.

While the main fabric of Karachi's industrial life is yet to be woven, my committee think it worth while stating some of their views on the growth of industrial life, peace, and prosperity as affected by labour.

5. *Origin of Labour.*—Sindh's population being sparse and fully occupied with agricultural work, and Karachi being practically the only industrial centre, we have skilled as well as unskilled labour mostly imported from Cutch, Kathiawar, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Rajputana, the Makran coast, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf. Skilled labour comes mostly from the first three places, whereas, unskilled labour comes from all the places. We have about 80,000 souls, or about one-third of the total population of Karachi, consisting of these labourers. They include domestic servants, chawkidars, and peons in offices. Including chauffeurs, petty mechanics, cartmen, workers in gardens, boatmen, railway employees, and the dependents of all these they would exceed about 1,50,000 souls, out of an estimated population of about 2,50,000 souls. The rest of the population are Karachites and Sindhis and Europeans. Very few of the labouring population are drawn from the first two classes, and none from the last. A good many of the immigrants from Cutch and Kathiawar are so well settled and since long, that they may well be considered Karachites.

6. *Causes of Immigration.*—Most of the labouring population is attracted to Karachi by good wages and plenty of transport work at the docks, haulage work at the Thole Produce Yard and godowns of merchants and retail labour in small industries and commercial offices and by public bodies. A good monsoon in Cutch, Kathiawar, Makran, and United provinces often induces large numbers to go to their native places for agricultural work, and anything approaching scarcity or famine conditions in those places increases the immigrants at Karachi. There has been no striking change in the composition of our labour population in recent years.

The Makrani population settled in the Lyari quarters is nearly steady in its own composition and the strength of its numbers, though it has large numbers going to and coming from Makran, their native country, almost every month. For thousands of Makranis, Karachi is the halting place while going to, or returning from, agricultural lands in Sindh, where they work either as tenants on the share system, or as labourers. Makran is likely to supply large numbers of agricultural labourers when Sindh needs them after 1932, and as Karachi is their natural halting place, this is likely to be a great source of labour supply to Karachi in the future.

The supply from other sources, except Sindh, is likely to increase as the port handles larger imports and exports.

7. *Unemployment.*—Most of the labour keeps employed for the major portion of the year. During the last three years, however, owing to slackness of trade, induced by falling prices, greater competition among middlemen at the port and direct import from overseas exporter to the up-country buyer, there has been noticed some unemployment among labourers and consequently some distress. The cause is oversupply in Karachi, and lack of demand in supplying areas, where the labourers find themselves none too prosperous or employed; and a generous municipality accommodates most of the labouring population practically without paying taxes. This over-supply of labour has not, however, led to material reduction of wages, though there is a fall from the high level of 1920 when a labourer could earn as much as even Rs. 3 or Rs. 3 8 annas per day at the docks. Women labourers are comparatively fewer at Karachi, mostly employed in building construction, earth digging, and coal bunkering operations.

8. The average wages of a peon in Karachi are about Rs. 20 per month, and those of a casual unskilled labourer range from Re. 1 to Rs. 1·4 annas per day. The woman labourer gets about 12 annas to 14 annas per day, and a boy about half the man's wages. A skilled labourer such as a carpenter or mason gets from Rs. 2 8 annas to Rs. 3·8 annas per day according to his known proficiency. The sailors on lighter kind of boats in the harbour earn from Re. 1·8 annas to Rs. 2·8 annas per day, the payment being largely for job done.

It would be a fair estimate in these days to put a skilled or unskilled labourer's employment as about 20 days a month.

9. Though labour organizations and trade unionism are in evidence we have not had many strikes in Karachi. They are discouraged for lack of big industrial undertakings, better wages than in the places from where labour is drawn and easier conditions of climate, etc., than in other ports.

Labour is, however, largely most ignorant, and though municipal arrangements, the climate and the wage earned are favourable factors, the conditions in which the labourers live are miserable and undesirable. This state of affairs must be improved. The remedy lies in education, not necessarily at school, but by open air lectures and visual demonstrations, by organization of labourers and their co-operation among themselves and more sympathetic treatment and care by employers. Primary education is now the care of local bodies. For that, there is a clear duty of the State to provide funds, but an appeal must, no doubt, be made to the patriotism of the country. The organization of labourers is coming as a result of consciousness among labourers the world over. It is to the interests of the country to see that this organization leads to constructive help for workers, and not mere propaganda of a destructive kind.

10. *Health and Housing.*—Though blessed by nature with a vast expanse on all sides, a salubrious climate, a progressive municipality, and a public opinion that lines up with the most forward school of thought in India, it must be confessed that the condition of some of the slums where these labourers live is horrible. The slums in old town, Ranchore, Lyari and Napier quarters would be a disgrace to any modern city. The following facts and figures of congestion taken from municipal records will show the wretched condition of the tenements occupied by the poorest section of Karachi's population.

In the old town, Napier and Market quarters, there live, according to official report, 27,829 people in an area of about 100 acres. Half Karachi's population lives in rooms, each of which accommodates 6 or more persons. No less than 5,162 of these people are crowded into rooms in each one of which 20 or more persons live!

Most of these one-room tenements are occupied by the labouring population, and the situation, in all conscience, does call for special remedies. The municipality have provided model sanitary chawls for their sweepers and some other employees, but the municipality ought to be empowered to prevent such over-crowding. The constructive remedy for better housing of this poor labouring population lies in cheap transport to outlying areas in Karachi, cheaper building materials, and co-operative organization among the workers. Hundreds of labourers live in much better conditions in the Garden quarter where the population is sparse.

The work of cheap housing in healthy areas outside the thickly-populated area is one in which the municipality, the Port Trust, the railway, the employers and the labourers through their trade unions should co-operate.

In this connection my committee would strongly suggest that any industries or industrial concerns may in future be located outside the residential areas in open spaces, with plenty of room for residential tenements nearby. This would be possible only, if the municipality, the Port Trust, the railway, the industrialists, and the labourers co-operate and not otherwise. Such co-operation, however, is not difficult if the public bodies mentioned above adopt it as their definite aim.

12. *Recommendations.*—My committee would make the following recommendations in the interests of the health, happiness and prosperity of labour, the peace and progress of industrial undertakings and better relations between the employers and the employed :—

(1) Every local body in an industrial area ought to have special attention devoted to its labouring population in the matter of housing and health. In this, it ought to be able to compel the employers to co-operate. The policy of the railway and the State all over India ought to be in favour of making it possible for the labouring population to have materials at cheap rates. The municipality may make some standard plans available for, say, a rupee a copy, have marked out plots available on annual rents and adopt stringent rules against over-crowding. In this way it is quite possible for say 10,000 labourers, living in the Garden quarter, paying rent of Rs. 3 per family. In any case co-operative management of such a plan would be essential.

(2) *Unemployment, old age, sickness, accident relief, etc.*—Under the circumstances now existing there is no better method at present than compulsory insurance of workmen. There ought to be compulsory saving of a portion of the labourer's wages, say, one anna in the rupee of monthly wage. To this the employer must add an equal amount. The ignorant Indian workman cannot look after his health, and the opportunites for better employment. Any slight disablement from disease or accident sends him into permanent inefficiency and debt for life. And even a slight debt at the usurious rates of interest (from 18 to 100 per cent. paid in Karachi) makes his life a drudgery. Two annas a month per rupee of the labourer's wage should be enough to insure him a modest standard of life, health, safety, and opportunity for work.

3. The labourer pays more than he should on the necessities of life, specially grain, flour, and cloth. In factories with over 250 employees, or for groups of between 500 and 1,000 labourers, there may easily be a co-operative shop to sell grain, ghee

and a standard cloth at cost price *plus* expenses of management. Also the very strictest supervision should be exercised to prevent the labourers getting into debt, specially at rates of interest over 10 or 12 per cent. Co-operative credit has, so far, been developed in Sindh for rural areas. Its benefits should be extended to industrial areas.

4. *General welfare work.*—For every 100 male workmen and 100 women labourers there ought to be a superintendent to look after their educational, economic, health, and moral needs. Without this personal attention no great improvement would be possible. The mere fact of medical aid, a healthy house, an opportunity for betterment of one's economic position, protection from debt is not enough. The ignorant Indian labourer, working often under conditions foreign to his natural training and environments, needs a friendly guide. The labourer often finds himself at sea for little things.

(5) The compulsory insurance and welfare work advocated above would add to the remuneration paid to labour. If the cost of it all to the employer be even as high as 10 per cent. of the wages to the labourer, my committee think it would improve the efficiency and contentment of labour very much to the advantage of the employer and the industry. But it is true that in some cases, "sweated" labour in foreign countries, not having the advanced labour or factory legislation India has adopted may compete with and cripple Indian industries. In that case due relief or protection should be given.

(6) My committee are convinced that ultimately it would not help the country to see industries advance in India with sweated labour. The humane conditions of labour must first be insisted upon, and then due protection be given in case of industries with natural advantages and prospects of holding their own after establishing themselves. In case of attempts by foreign countries to dump their manufactures in India in subsidised steamers or other bounty-fed attempts, the Indian industries ought to be protected by tariff duties in the interests of Indian labour.

(7) To avoid friction between labour and capital there ought to be a network of conciliation boards set up by law in all industrial centres. The conciliation boards would avoid a good many misunderstandings and sad situations.

(8) Schools for training of unskilled labour should be established to improve the efficiency of Indian workmen, to teach them happier and healthier living, and to help their diversifying their occupation to prevent unemployment. These ought to be financed like the primary schools. They will inculcate a better sense of responsibility. In these schools the labourers could be educated to prefer payment for job work or task work instead of pay in order to encourage their efficiency.

(9) Legislation to restrict hours of work, improvement of factory conditions, compensation for workmen, etc., may be undertaken with the fullest idea of foreign competition in the industries affected, and after protecting the Indian industries from unfair competition.

(10) There may be formed in every industrial city or area a labour bureau to collect all information and statistics regularly, and for special purposes, to help the organization and sound running of trade unions and co-operative organizations for housing, compulsory insurance, etc., the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act, Factory Act, etc., and generally to watch the interests of labour in all directions without identifying itself with labour to labour disputes. Such bureaus may also maintain registers of the unemployed, and keep the labourers informed about the general welfare work carried on for them, in order that they may take full advantage. The bureau should be no partisan in any labour dispute and should be financed by the Government.

My committee wish the time allotted had been greater for a fuller study of so valuable a subject.

Mr. G. N. GOKHALE, B.Sc., L.C.E., M.I.E. (Ind.), I.S.E. (Retired), Principal,
N.E.D. Civil Engineering College, KARACHI.

Insistence on a better Standard of Living for Industrial Labour only, not desirable.—It may even prove worse than the disease it is supposed to remedy. We all know that the present tendency for people to leave their villages to crowd into the slums in towns is due to economic causes. Whereas an agricultural labourer who follows agriculture as a profession fails to earn 2 annas a day, a casual hiring in a village can demand Re. 1 and gets it. As soon as he comes over to Bombay he can get

wages of Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per day while it lasts. He, no doubt, spends more in Bombay, and considering the wretched and demoralizing surroundings he has to live in, one wonders if he has really gained much. But the temptation is there, and as moths rush into a flame, people are attracted by the glare of Bombay and quite enjoy their new experience until their health breaks down. This is certainly not a state of affairs which any well-wisher of the country would like to encourage.

The conditions under which labourers have to live in Indian cities are, no doubt, degrading, but they are so all over the world; and I have seen with my own eyes slums in Newcastle which can compare very well with the worst slums in Bombay. I do not mention this to justify our slums, but I submit that if that is the condition of labour in an enlightened country like Britain, after a century of industrial growth, it is not surprising that Bombay is equally bad. Improvement in the conditions of labour is no doubt very desirable, but infant Indian industries, thrown as they are in competition with fully-grown giants all over the world, may not be able to stand the cost. The textile industry of India may perhaps be said to be on its legs, but the numerous other industries, which we hope to have in India in the near future, may be hampered in their growth by insisting on a standard of living, which Europe aspires to after a hundred years' growth. In India we have suffered a great deal from "efficiency," and many people feel afraid that this Commission will only add one more fetter to the growing life in India, which will make it impossible for our new industries to compete with the full-fledged factories of the west. I am voicing in this the feeling of a very large number of Indians, and I do hope that the Commission will not make any recommendations to justify these fears.

Industrial Slums.—To us the growth of our industries is not a luxury but a matter of life and death, and we cannot afford to throttle their growth, even for the sake of efficiency. We know that agriculture, being only a part-time occupation, cannot possibly pay as much as steady industrial occupation, and so we want industries to supplement—not to supplant—agriculture, and incidentally keep in the country the millions that we at present send out of our country to buy enormous quantities of goods which have now become our necessities of life. That is the first concern of awakened India, and in this task I feel that the Commission could materially help us if they inquired as to whether concentration in towns is at all necessary for the growth of industries. While dealing with slums as they exist, the Commission might justifiably point out a road for industrial growth without slums, where, instead of the farmers leaving their land, the industry will be decentralized to their farms. The amelioration of the condition of agricultural labour will then go hand in hand with industrial labour, and the standard of life will increase all round. Any attempt at raising the standard of life of the professional industrial labourer, who already gets Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per day, without even an attempt at increasing the wages of his cousin who gets 2 to 3 annas, will further increase the gulf between them, and at the same time throw an undue pressure on the infant industries which they cannot bear.

Unemployment Insurance.—Great Britain has adopted unemployment insurance, old age pensions and the like. All honour to those who have thus made it possible for the poorer classes to live, but I would like to point out that the time for similar reforms in India has not yet come. What we need first is an insurance against starvation for half the population in the land—young and old alike—and that is perhaps a task which will tax all our energies for the next generation. A right type of education will have its due place in this, and, if the Commission agrees with me, I would beg of them to emphasize the necessity of providing for the education of all labourers in the near future.

Trade Dispute due to want of Human Interest.—As regards the present industrial dispute, I attribute it to the employers not taking any interest in their employees as human beings. The employer wants to pay the minimum wages he can for the maximum work, while the employee is bent upon doing the least work he can for the maximum wage. During the last few years modern methods of carrying on trade disputes has enabled the employees to get higher wages, but neither they themselves nor their employers have bothered their heads as to how the increased wage ought to be spent. Instead of increasing wages, therefore, a sensible employer would have spent the same money for the better housing of his men, or in providing for their children and even for themselves some education, or even a restaurant or club, where they may spend their time instead of going to the liquor shop, etc., and thus taught them how to spend their increased wage. A lasting solution of the labour trouble will be found in some such measures, and if the Commission agrees, they might enquire as to how many employers have tried these methods, and with what result.

THE SANITARY ASSOCIATION, AHMEDABAD.

This Memorandum deals with the health of mill workers and other labouring classes in the City of Ahmedabad.

III.—Housing.

It must be stated that adequate housing facilities do not exist. A few mills have good housing accommodation, but it is insufficient to accommodate all their hands. The Ashoke Mill has comparatively the best housing arrangement. The rent charged is Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per apartment. The Advance Mill has also got fairly decent chawls of 196 rooms for its workmen and charges the nominal rent of only Re. 1 per month. The Calico Mill also provides good rooms in the Sara Nagar, not very far from the mill itself. But the majority of mills have not provided any housing accommodation, and some of those that have so provided, it is not fit for human habitation. Some of the worst specimens are to be noticed in the Saraspur, Gordhan, Motilal Hirabhai and the Gujarat Ginning Mills. It must be noted that some of the mills (under the same agent) have both good and very indifferent sets of rooms.

In the opinion of the association the rooms, stated to be unfit for human habitation, should be demolished and their place taken by others of a more suitable type. As regards sanitation in and round about them it is only necessary to state that it is very bad and in some cases indescribably filthy.

The association would, therefore, suggest the Government should enforce by legislation that all municipalities (including municipalities with industrial concerns) should have strict building by-laws and see that they are equally strictly enforced.

In some cases the labourers have built their own huts paying monthly ground-rent varying from 8 annas to Rs. 3, and these are mostly seen outside the city walls. Some of those huts are good and others very bad. If a scheme for cheap housing of this nature is evolved by Government it will prove a boon to the poor workers.

In the first place Government should see that no one is allowed to speculate or profiteer in land by buying it and keeping it (without building over it) for an indefinitely long period till it suits the person concerned to sell it at a considerable profit. The association would further suggest that Government land outside the city wall should only be sold or leased to those purchasers who agree to build houses or chawls over it within the prescribed period of one or two years, failing compliance with which, the land should be forfeited to Government. A procedure of such a kind will probably put a stop to speculation in land and heavy profiteering which has prevailed in the past and does even prevail now. Further, in the case of those who have already bought lands for years past (without building any structure over it) Government should impose an annual tax. Secondly, in an industrial place like Ahmedabad, the Government must give facilities for town expansion and growth of dwellings in suburban areas. This can be done by removing the tax imposed on agricultural land put to non-agricultural use, by Government, within a certain fixed radius from the city and near railway stations in the vicinity. This will prove an encouragement to the people to reside outside the city in healthy localities and come to the city for business purposes only. On the above two subjects the Sanitary Association has already passed resolutions No. 7 of the Conference held in 1923 and No. 9 of the Conference held in 1927 (copies of which are herewith attached).*

It will thus be possible to have land available at a cheap rate for real building purposes. The association would like to suggest to Government a scheme for providing cheap houses for the labouring classes, viz., as follows:—Government should reserve sufficient open land outside the city wall and develop it by providing roads, water and sanitary arrangements, divide it into plots and then lease them to prospective owner-builders out of the labouring classes at the rate of Re. 1 as ground-rent per tenement with the condition that the superstructure should be after the pattern prescribed by Government—a few of which may be built by Government to serve as models. Considering an acre of land outside the city wall would cost Rs. 2,000, the 6 per cent. interest on which would be Rs. 120 per annum, i.e., Rs. 10 per month. If 20 tenements are built per acre they would fetch monthly Rs. 20, i.e., twice as much as the interest at 6 per cent. The surplus can easily cover the development and maintenance charges. Unless Government themselves take up some such scheme the association fears that it will not be possible to provide right and cheap type of housing facilities to the labourers. The association further invites the attention of Government to the suggestion of Mr. E. M. Gilbert Lodge, made in his paper on the Housing Problem read before the Sanitary Conference held by the Sanitary Association in 1924, under the presidency of the Honourable Dewan Bahadur Harilal Desai Bhai Desai, B.A., LL.B., Minister of Local Self-Government, Bombay, namely, that the road should be of the minimum width of 40 ft., and that no more than one-fourth of any plots should be built upon. As the tenements are meant for the working classes the minimum area should be at least 755 sq. ft., as maintained by Mr. Linton Bogle in his "Town Planning in India." No back-to-back

* Not printed.

chawls, nor one tenement touching another should be allowed. Plinth, height length, breadth, surroundings, ventilation, etc., of each room or tenement should be strictly according to special by-laws made compulsory by law to towns of industrial importance. This should not be left to either the discrimination or the mercy of respective municipalities. The Sanitary Association, Ahmedabad, conducted an enquiry into the housing condition of labourers in Ahmedabad in 1923 as a result of the suggestion of Lt.-Col. A. W. Tuke, I.M.S., a former vice-president of the association. The interim report* of the enquiry is included as Appendix C in the report of the association for 1923, a copy of which is herewith attached. A copy of it was forwarded to the Ahmedabad Municipality, but it is to be regretted that no action was taken on it, thus discouraging the association to complete the enquiry. Further, modifications in building by-laws drafted by the association with the help of the engineers, Messrs. G. B. Soparkar and D. J. Samson, were sent to the municipality as a suggestion, but as yet no action is taken by the municipality, though a committee has recently been formed to revise the same. So it will be seen by the Commission that it is useless to urge the municipalities to be strict with regard to the chawls or tenements for the poor. Compulsion must be made through an Act and ready-made strict building by-laws inserted in the Act.

Ahmedabad is a city that has more than half the number of total tenements as one-roomed tenements, and has half the population of the city living in those one roomed tenements, as will be seen from the following extract from the Census Report :—

Ahmedabad, 1921.

Tenements.	Number.	Per cent. to total tenements.	No. of occupants.	Per cent. to total occupants.
One room	39,186	55	133,069	49
Two rooms	15,835	22	55,058	20
Three or more	15,855	23	82,648	31
Total	70,876	100	270,775	100

IV.—Health.

There are no separate statistics of workers but it can safely be said that mortality is higher among the mill workers and other labourers than amongst the other classes. From the following table it will be seen that the wards of Jamalpur and Raikhad which are not so congested have a higher rate of general mortality than the other very highly congested wards, because in these wards very large numbers of the poor people are living in one-room tenements. The following table will show the mortality and other figures in each ward of the city in 1928 :—

Wards.	Density per acre.	Birth-rate.	Death-rate per 1,000 population.	Infant mortality per 1,000 births.
Khadia	213	39·72	41·97	376
Kalupur	192	38·24	41·84	363
Dariyapur	240	41·00	42·93	353
Shahpur	130	47·21	54·55	307
Jamalpur	77	46·54	46·08	328
Raikhad	54	52·76	53·15	327
Paras	21	40·59	40·72	318
Ahmedabad (whole)	50	42·37	44·32	334
Saraspur (within its walls)	414	36·49	43·55	424

Working conditions at home and at workplaces in mills are not at all health promoting. The women particularly are engaged two hours in the morning and two hours at night in preparing food and in looking after their children in rooms which are in most cases dark and ill-ventilated. In the mills, both men and women are engaged in rooms in which there is not sufficient ventilation or in which the machinery is so close to each other that there is not sufficient moving space. The interior of the mills is so very dark and depressing that the wonder is how people manage to

* Not printed.

live and mortality is not higher. The dietary of the worker is generally scanty and ill-proportioned. A hurried spare meal is usual. They rarely use milk as a part of their diet. Considering the low wages of the workers it is almost impossible for them to spend more money on nutritive diet. Our Association is of opinion that a minimum wage legislation is essential, as the first charge on the industry should be a living wage. It is neither right nor fair that the agent's commission, which often is excessive, should be the first claim on the industry and that it should be based on profit earned rather than on production only. This state of affairs prevents the labourers from being paid more, with the inevitable result in many cases of their living on insufficient food. A glance at the mill-hands as they emerge from the mills will show generally their poor physique, the result of bad housing, ill-feeding and overwork in unhealthy rooms. There is no doubt that bad housing conditions increase the death rate, which in Ahmedabad is very high, and it would have been higher still if the people were not accustomed to sleep outside in the open except during rainy days and days of severe cold.

Inadequate medical facilities exist in some mills, whilst there are others where no medical facilities exist at all. It should be compulsory by law that every mill which employs more than 3,000 to 4,000 should have a qualified full-time medical man on its staff with all necessary equipments. There are some mills like the Calico and Jubilee which have maternity and hospital arrangements. Such arrangements may be made compulsory, where the number of workers is over 1,000, unless joint scheme of the hospital outlined at the end is adopted.

The Municipality provides at present about ten qualified midwives for the whole of the city, but full benefit of this is not taken by the workmen as the untrained Dais, totally ignorant of asepis, are still being availed of by the ignorant people. If these were to be rendered more efficient in their work through the activity of Lady Wilson's beneficent scheme for training Dais, it would considerably lessen maternal and infant mortality, which is so abnormally high in this city. It is to be noticed with regret that there are no health visitors in this city, employed either by the Municipality or by another body with the result that there is no agency to carry on the necessary propaganda, both in connection with the maternity welfare and pointing out the undoubted superiority of trained midwives over the untrained Dais of the old type; and if Government could advise the Municipality to open such welfare centres in charge of health visitors, the Municipality would probably do so, if at the same time a grant be given at least for a few years by way of encouragement.

It is also advisable in the interest of the labouring classes chiefly, that the Municipality should be advised to open up small maternity homes in different wards of the city.

Where medical facilities are provided by the mills or by the labour union they are utilized to the full. But where they do not exist the labourers go without treatment or have recourse to quacks or untrained Dais.

Sanitary arrangements at work-places are not adequate and in their homes still worse. The Municipality does not fully enforce the Act and the bye-laws in connection with chawls for sanitary arrangements. There are chawls without privy arrangements. Some of the mill chawls were constructed with privies and the landlords with a view to save themselves from the municipal tax, have either abolished or locked the privies to the great inconveniences of the tenants thereof. In many chawls where they exist, they are so very inadequate that the tenants have to wait a very long time to get their turn to go to the latrines. Similar trouble exists for drinking water.

One can imagine their trouble when there is water famine, as there has been recently. Water may have to be fetched from long distances and a spare use of it means personal uncleanness, both as regards the person as well as the clothes, which necessarily endangers health. Because there are no latrines or are in an insufficient number in chawls, the mill-hands often rush to the mill latrines in the morning, but here also they have often to wait for their turn. Hence it is most necessary to increase the number of privies required under the Factory Act.

The present requirement and the proposed scale are given below :—

Present scale.	Proposed scale.
1 privy for 20 workers.	1 privy for 20 workers.
2 privies for 35 workers.	2 privies for 35 workers.
3 " up to 50 workers.	3 " up to 50 workers.
4 " " 150 "	4 " " 75 "
5 " " 200 "	5 " " 100 "
And 1 more for every additional 50 or fraction of it.	6 " " 150 "
	7 " " 200 "
	And 3 privies for every additional 100 workers or a fraction thereof.

As the number of workmen varies from month to month, 3 per every additional 100 or a fraction thereof over 200 will make allowance for this variation.

There are generally no bathing or washing arrangements provided by the mills or chawls. These should be made compulsory in mills (of course, separately for men and women) to half the extent as the privies.

Drinking water arrangements exists in most mills. The provision of drinking rooms should be made compulsory in each mill under the Factory Act.

The appointment of a board of health in mill or other industrial areas is advisable. There is an international labour recommendation on this point, which should be accepted.

Strict supervision by various officers appointed is essential and it must be very frequent. The ordinary means of ventilation or fans for removing floating cotton fibres are seldom used or only used when the inspecting officers are visiting.

Regulation of temperature and of humidification in mills and factories should be by the latest scientific means. Every 20 years the old methods should be given up and new ones implanted, if the new methods are decidedly better and more conducive to health. The methods used in the Ashoka and the Aruna and a few other mills are the best in Ahmedabad, and all mills should have the same, since the life of a mill-hand is made not only more comfortable but also safer thereby. The carrier system, with its big fan and atomized particles of water for forcing cool air through risers in each room of the factory is a blessing to the mill-hands. The cooling effect is very great and particularly in the hot climate of Ahmedabad. Its effect is much appreciated. If combined with this the vacuum stripper is used, all the fibres from the card room would be removed without any flying into the air. The old crude method of hand cleaning should be given up and used only when the vacuum stripper is out of order, as a very large number of fibres float about in the air. Avoidable nuisance and danger must be given up in favour of more health-promoting methods.

In old type mills the various machineries are placed too close to one another. There is not sufficient ventilation, even though proper humidity and temperature required are maintained. The Association points out these defects without going into details with a view to their being removed as early as possible. There are some mills in the city which are so cramped up for space as to render their further development and expansion impossible. If such could be removed to localities where more space is available, it would be better for the health of the workers thereof.

Pthisis is the chief disease probably amongst the mill-hands as the result of inhaling the floating cotton fibres, working in an unhealthy and overcrowded atmosphere, being also ill-fed on account of low wages and overworked by long hours of work daily. Malaria is also very common, whilst occasionally cholera or choleraic diarrhoea also break out. All this can be easily prevented by suitable measures.

Waste Water.—The waste water of the mills flows out and causes much nuisance. As there is no suburban drainage, this waste water cannot be efficiently disposed of. An underground drainage is absolutely needed for this purpose. If Government were to kindly contribute half the cost of suburban drainage the Municipality would promptly undertake the work left undone for want of sufficient funds. This nuisance would then be regularly and efficiently removed as the present method of its disposal by sprinkling the water on open land is neither efficient nor health promoting. Some mills have not sufficient space to sprinkle and others store up the water in ditches and allow it to run out at intervals to the great detriment of the health of the people living in the neighbourhood.

Sickness Insurance though unknown in Ahmedabad is quite feasible and ought to be introduced. The International Labour Convention on this question is worthy of being adopted. Labour Unions can arrange for this and the Government should contribute a certain percentage towards it or give a subvention. Western medicine is generally accepted by the mill-hands in Ahmedabad and medical men trained in the above system are easily available for the purpose. Migration of labour will not come in its way as the labourer can produce a certificate from a qualified medical practitioner for the period he was under his treatment. As regards finance the labourer will himself contribute towards this to the Union and Government should give subvention for it. If some philanthropic mill owners do that themselves without Government aid, they may do so, but Government subvention should be given to the Unions, as though the mill-hands may be migrating from one mill to another, they will continue to remain members of the same union throughout.

Maternity benefits now given at 8 annas per day for one month before delivery and for one month after are sufficient, but should be extended to one month more in cases of complications arising, such as anaemia, general debility, etc.

V.—Welfare.

About half the number of mills have no creches at all, very few have well conducted creches and the rest have very nominal ones without any one to look after them. Those who have good creches have generally also arrangements for educating half-time workers and children of the mill-hands. The Women's Council has 2 creches in the city but women working on hand lorries mostly take advantage of these to a large extent. These creches are well kept and well looked after. The mill owners as a general rule do not care for such welfare activities, and if these along with the employment of Welfare Officers and Welfare Workers could be made compulsory by Act, it would be a boon to the working classes. The Mill Owners' Association should provide facilities for physical culture, recreation and amusement (sports, cinema, music, etc.) in the mill areas. The Labour Union is working in this direction, but some organized general welfare activity should be taken up by the Mill Owners' Association, for the benefit of the mill-hands in general.

No facilities are provided for adult education. Half-time workers are taught reading, writing, etc., in a very few mills. Even the annual contribution of Rs. 15,000 by the Mill Owners' Association from the interest of their donation to the Tilak Swarajya Fund has been withdrawn since last year. It would be better if this amount were to be used for welfare activities of these kinds. If this be not feasible, it will be for Government to consider if these could be made compulsory by law in the interests of the public at large.

In larger mills co-operative stores, housing facilities, etc., can be arranged by the employers or by Labour Unions to the great advantage and convenience of the mill-workers. Each mill should have a well-kept refreshment room, which may be under the supervision of the Labour Union or of the particular mill itself.

The Advance Mill sets a good example by having a Provident Fund for its employees. If all mills were to be advised or even if necessary compelled to provide such a fund, it will no doubt prove a boon to the workers.

VI.—Education.

Free and compulsory education should be provided for by the Municipality with the help of Government and the Association attaches such great importance to it that it would recommend that it be given even though a heavy expenditure may have to be provided for it. As the mill-hands, however, are mostly ignorant and illiterate, propaganda relating to health and welfare as now carried on, is practically wasted on these people.

Vocational training should be given side by side with the general education so that the children of the mills workers may be efficient in these crafts.

IX.—Hours of Work.

The Association is in favour of eight hours a day, and until such times as this could be brought into force permission for working for 11 hours on any single day should be withdrawn, as 10 hours a day is already too long. It is likely that the efficiency of workers will increase if the working hours are lessened. In regard to women the hours are very long. Including their domestic work at home, their working hours very often come to nearly 18 per day. Women work generally in the spinning, winding and reeling departments. The spinning department is worked both by men and women, whereas the workers of winding and reeling departments are exclusively women. It will be difficult to prescribe shorter hours for women only in the spinning department, where both men and women are working. The same difficulty does not arise in the case of the other two departments consisting exclusively of women workers. The working hours in the winding and reeling departments can be immediately reduced to eight. This reduction will not effect the finances of the mills because workers in these departments are paid according to the work they turn out. In other words they are piece-workers. A reduction in hours will not very much affect the wages of the workers also. Their production in eight hours is more likely to be equivalent to production in 9 hours. Women who have more domestic responsibilities will work in these departments of shorter hours and women who want to earn higher wages and who have not much domestic worry will work in spinning departments for longer hours. Shorter hours in the winding and reeling departments for women may be made compulsory under the Factory Act. This legislation is specially necessary for India because unlike England and other Western countries it is not unmarried girls alone but also married women with children work in Indian mills.

One might wonder how the industry is to bear the additional burden which will result from the recommendations made in the foregoing pages without entering into details. The Association believes that it is the duty of Government to put the industry on sound footing so that it may be enabled to bear the additional burden.

The Association has another suggestion to offer for financing general welfare activities like medical aid, recreation, amusements, etc. The Calico and Jubilee mills have got a Servants' Self Supporting Fund which is raised by deducting from the agent's commission down to workers' wages at various rates per rupee, e.g., workers earning less than Rs. 150 per mensem pay 3 pies per rupee, those getting between Rs. 150 and Rs. 400 at 4 pies per rupee and over that at 5 pies per rupee. The Calico mill alone realises from these compulsory deductions about Rs. 25,000 per year whereas the mill's total expenditure on welfare activities including hospital is about Rs. 30,000. If a similar scheme is adopted by all the mills and if in addition one pie per rupee on the sale of yarn and cloth is levied as a small burden on the public, it is estimated that the realisation from these deductions will run into lacs which will constitute an adequate general fund for undertaking welfare activities including hospitals. The fund may be administered by a Joint Committee consisting of the representatives of the Labour Union, Mill Owners' Association, the Municipality, the Sanitary Association, Women's Council and Government. The whole joint scheme of welfare activities can be executed economically and thus much wastage and duplication of work by individual mills can be avoided. The scheme, in the opinion of the Association, is deserving of serious consideration and a fair trial.

MR. G. I. PATEL, SECRETARY, THE AHMEDABAD MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

I.—Recruitment.

1. (i) Eighty per cent. of Ahmedabad mill labour has migrated from within the radius of 50 miles—round about Ahmedabad, including villages and districts.
(ii) Higher earnings obtainable in industrial concerns than in agricultural pursuits as also growing unemployment in villages and the districts are the principal causes of the streams of migration.
2. (i) Ten to 20 per cent. of such of the workmen who have connections with their villages go out for about a week during festive seasons.
(ii) Eighty per cent. is roughly the extent of permanent labour force.
3. (i) The assistants in the departments engage workmen whenever there are vacancies.
(iii) (a) No need for establishing public employment agencies is found in Ahmedabad.
(b) Under the present circumstances, no possibilities of practical schemes exist.
4. As work-people mostly come with their families to work in the mills and there are groups of families as workers, the disturbance of family life does not take place to any appreciable extent.
7. (i) There is no unemployment practically in local textile industry. Seasonal failure of crops and want of employment in the districts and villages tend to create unemployment, and draw labour in industrial areas.
(ii) (a) In local industry retrenchment or dismissals do not create special unemployment.
(b) Cases of voluntary retirement are rarely found.
(c) Temporary unemployment may be due to the causes of supply and demand at certain periods.
(iii) and (iv) There is no necessity of unemployment insurance or of special methods of alleviating and remedying unemployment, so far as the local textile industry is concerned.
(v) Under the existing condition of Indian labour no application of International Conventions relating to unemployment is desirable.
8. (i) In textile mills the composition of labour is uniform and no changes are required to be made in such composition.
(ii) Instances of casual employment in mills are rare.
(iii) (a) Usually absenteeism is found to an appreciable extent after pay days and holidays. This is due to illiteracy, indolent habits and want of training among working classes.
(b) During seasons of the sowing and reaping of the crops, absenteeism increases. The percentage of absenteeism is about 3 on an average.
(c) Time and wages lost could be roughly estimated from the above basis of 2 to 3 per cent. of absenteeism.

9. Act No. XIX of 1850 concerning the binding of apprentices is not found operative locally. The form of agreement under Schedule A of the said act could hardly be acceptable when labour has not been educated and trained up in such matters. There are orphans and poor children brought up by public charity in certain local institutions like the Ananha-Ashrama but they are not found to be taking advantage of learning trades, crafts and employments on the lines indicated in the said act.

II.—Staff Organisation.

10. The organisation and administration of local mills are conducted by the managing agent representing the firm of agents. He appoints secretaries, spinning masters, weaving masters and assistants. The manager of the spinning or weaving heads, select and appoint head-jobbers, line-jobbers and other departmental persons.

11. Managing staff is selected by the managing agent. Recommendation of the authorities under whom they have previously worked regarding the merits of the applicants is considered. Selection by merits after obtaining applications through advertisements is also in vogue.

12. (i) and (ii) Recruitment and training of subordinate and superior supervising staff is usually made by the ascertaining of merits and experience of the candidate. Apprentices are taken up by several mills in various departments for training. No special system of promotion prevails but promotions are given after taking into consideration the quality of work, experience gained and the satisfaction given by the candidate to his superiors.

13 (i) Relations between the staff and rank and file in mills are cordial and harmonious.

(ii) The system of employing jobbers has its value in ascertaining the qualification and experience of the workmen recruited. The jobbers are direct supervisors of workmen and thus they are a necessary factor in the maintenance of efficiency. The defects of this system are sometimes found in the lower moral tone of some jobbers who treat some workmen unfairly. In Ahmedabad, complaints of such character are brought to the notice of the mills by the Labour Union through the Millowners' Association whenever such instances occur.

(iii) and (iv) Under the existing arrangement duly established by constitution and convention between the Millowners' Association and local Labour Union there is no scope for any Works Committees, Works Councils or Industrial Councils. The system obtainable under the existing constitution is far better than such councils and has proved very efficient and satisfactory to capital and labour.

14. (i) Time-keeping work is done by trained clerks who are called time-keepers. Piece-work paysheets and attendance registers are kept and scrutinised by special clerks engaged for that work. All paysheets and registers are checked by accountants and verified by the secretary or manager whoever is in charge of the office.

(ii) Wages are paid to workers by pay clerks in the presence of time-keepers, assistants and head-jobbers.

15. In mills certain class of work only is entrusted to contractors. Dhobi-bleaching is given on contract to specially trained dhobis. Drawing, beam-carrying, cotton mixing, folding, stamping and such other works are done by contract (in group). The headman usually engages special workmen under him for that particular kind of work. Greater efficiency and regularity are experienced in entrusting such special class of work to trained contractors. There is no sub-contracting so far as mills are concerned. Under the Factory Act, due control is exercised over working conditions in regard to such contracts. The effects of giving contracts for certain special work are good, as less direct supervision and greater efficiency result therefrom.

III.—Housing.

16. Regarding housing the following quotation from the Factory Report of the Presidency of Bombay, 1927, p. 20 supplies the necessary information. "The Certifying Surgeon, Ahmedabad, has collected information to show that over 3,500 rooms have been built in the past by mill owners. The continued depression in industry has doubtless hindered activities in the provision of housing. In Ahmedabad, however, two agents are erecting 450 suitable rooms."

"The agent of the Asoka and Raipur mills in Ahmedabad built 130 rooms to improved designs. It is a moot point whether the housing of factory employees by the factory-owners is altogether in the interests of labour, yet decent housing is one of the chief needs of the working classes and up to the present, the housing of employees by factory-owners has on the whole, been beneficial to the working classes. In several

instances, however, operatives will not utilise the housing provided for them and housing provided by an occupier is utilised by operatives of other factories." (p. 19—Annual Factory Report of the Presidency of Bombay, 1928).

Ahmedabad mills provide over 100 chawls with 3,500 rooms for their operatives and schemes for working class housing are already under the serious consideration of the municipality. There are chawls of private landlords in which workmen stay owing to the convenience derived by them in going to the mills, situated in that locality. Few workers have their own houses.

17. There is hardly any facility for acquisition of land for workers' houses at present; however, the municipality is carefully investigating the problem with a view to afford such facilities.

18. Chawls erected during the last 6 years are of the best type from the points of lighting, conservancy and water-supply. However, the problem of water shortage in Ahmedabad causes inconvenience to the workers and public during certain seasons.

19. Workers do utilise accommodations made available to them and in some cases operatives would not utilise housing provided for them by mills, owing to their traditional habit of living in their communal group or locality.

20. Rents charged from workmen vary from Rs. 2 to Rs. 6 per month according to the class of accommodation selected by them.

21. In very few cases sub-letting is observed. In some cases, employers' houses are occupied by tenants in other employ as mentioned in the Report of the Inspector of Factories.

22. Improvements which are made in erecting chawls for workmen since the last 3 years produced good moral effect on workers. Reservations of certain areas for industrial housing have been made in town planning schemes. Primarily the education of working-classes and secondarily their housing provisions should be the chief duty of Government and the municipality. The following extract from the Report of the International Federation of Textile Workers published under the leadership of the Rt. Honourable Tom Shaw, M.P. after the Delegation's last visit to Indian cotton mills is noteworthy.

"I have already referred to the fact that in many cases the employers themselves are doing more to educate the people and to deal with the evil conditions than the authorities whose work it ought to be, I now desire to enlarge on what I say about the housing of the people. Whenever the great employers of labour, either companies or individuals, have built houses in connection with their firms, there appears to have been a laudable attempt to give greater cleanliness, more air space and better conditions than are found outside. I am quite satisfied that the worker who is working for the large firms of which I have spoken is generally better housed, better treated and lives under more hygienic circumstances."

IV.—Health.

23. No separate figures of birth-rate, mortality and infant mortality of workers in Ahmedabad are available. The municipality does maintain the method of registration in general.

(iii) Working conditions at work places are described in the Report of the Factories for 1927.

(iv) Dietary conditions of workmen are described in the Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Family Budget in Ahmedabad, published by the Labour Office, Bombay, in 1928. The staple food is changed according to the seasons in Hindoo working class family. Wheat is used during summer while bajri is generally used in monsoon. Bajri being cheaper than wheat certain class of work-people use it for diet. In this connection, the details mentioned in the tables printed at pp. 36 to 42 of the said Report, give necessary information.

(v) Physical conditions are fairly good. Under the Factory Act, operatives enjoy recess for 1 hour from 12 to 1 p.m. and the mills are closed at 6 p.m. leaving sufficient time for rest and entertainment for workmen. The Labour Union has also undertaken movements like that of the Sevadal (similar to the Scouting Movement) for mill operatives.

(vi) The number of women workers is being gradually reduced in Ahmedabad cotton mills since the last 2 years. There is less disturbance in the social life of industrial workers in Ahmedabad than in other centres.

(vii) Congested housing and ill-ventilated areas tend to increase mortality. The mill-chawls and certain other chawls which have been built in improved style would no doubt reduce mortality.

24. About 45 mills in Ahmedabad provide dispensaries or arrangements of medical aid for their workmen. More than 30 mills maintain dispensaries for this

purpose. Some mills in Ahmedabad maintain well-equipped hospitals and keep well-trained and efficient doctors, nurses and other staff. Medical aid is also given to the dependants of workmen. Thousands of patients are treated in such dispensaries every year. The Factory Report for the year 1927 has taken note of the following :—
 "The mill dispensaries were particularly valuable in dealing with the malaria cases that followed the floods in Ahmedabad. Thus in one mill dispensary, 210 malaria cases were treated in the 4 months preceding the floods while 771 cases were dealt with in the succeeding 4 months."

(ii) Government maintains a well-equipped civil hospital in the city and the municipality also maintains dispensaries for medical relief to the ratepayers in general.

(iii) There are private hospitals and dispensaries also in Ahmedabad. Institutions like the Victoria Jubilee Hospital for women and obstetric wards are rendering service to the public in Ahmedabad. A leading millowner has recently opened a maternity home in Dariapur and there is a similar maternity hospital in Dedka's Street, Maneckchock. These institutions are run on charitable lines.

(iv) Women doctors, trained midwives or "dais" and nurses are provided in such institutions and Government hospitals. The Labour Union also maintains a labour hospital.

25. (i) In general, medical facilities are well utilised by the public and the labour class in this city. The municipality has also received donations of large sums for a maternity hospital to be built near the Ellis Bridge and it is hoped that this medical institution will provide more up to date and ideal accommodation to the women of the city in near future.

(ii) Women take increasingly better advantage of the facilities provided by Government, municipal, private and charitable institutions. This fact could well be gleaned from the reports of different institutions which are published from time to time.

26. (i) and (ii) Sanitary arrangements at work places are supervised by the factory inspector and the certifying surgeon from time to time. Provision for latrines is made under the rules laid down in the Factory Act. Drinking water is supplied from municipal taps and storage tanks.

(iii) The municipality has recently sanctioned expenditure for the erection of bathing sheds in certain wards in which workpeople reside.

27. Public Health Department, Municipal Health Department, Certifying Surgeon and Factory Inspector supervise officially general health conditions of the city and industrial area.

28. Control of temperature and provision of ventilation and humidification in Ahmedabad cotton mills are regulated by the rules duly made in that behalf by Government since the last two years. The following remarks from the letter addressed by the Collector of Bombay to the Secretary to Government Department, Bombay, dated 18th June, 1928, and printed in the Factory Report for the year 1927, speak for themselves :—

"A very satisfactory feature of the year is the advance that has been made in the provision of comfortable working conditions in textile factories, particularly in Ahmedabad where several mills have instituted special humidifying, cooling and ventilating plants in their weaving sheds and spinning departments."

"Local government has already framed rules for this purpose and the results obtained have been stated to be successful in the Factory Report published by Government."

29. No special industrial diseases are prevalent in Ahmedabad. During times of epidemics greater efforts and active services are rendered by mills, Government, hospitals and other institutions.

30. Sickness insurance and introducing of similar systems are neither suitable nor necessary under the existing conditions. Difficulties arising from non-acceptability of western medicines, paucity of medical men, migration of labour and finance are not found in Ahmedabad.

V.—Welfare.

32. About 36 mills in Ahmedabad provide creches or facilities of cradles. Regarding schools for labour classes local millowners gave a grant of Rs. 15,000 every year for a period of 5 years to the local Labour Union out of a welfare fund raised by them for the good of Ahmedabad labour. In the Factory Report of 1927, it is mentioned that "8 mills in Ahmedabad maintain schools and a few mills in other localities. Infant schools are attached to some of the creches in Bombay and Ahmedabad."

"The Labour Union in Ahmedabad has continued its educational activities. Eleven day schools and 15 night schools were maintained and education was imparted to over 1,200 students about equally divided between the day and night schools." An infant class and spinners students' (Ashrama) Home as also a girls' school are run by the Labour Union.

33. Doctors, nurses, ayahs and compounders are employed in the welfare work.

34. Provision of dining sheds and creches is made in most of the mills. The Labour Union and Sanitary Association as also Temperance Society assist in the welfare work. There are in Ahmedabad general provisions for physical culture through "Akhadas" and a "Seyadal" of Majur Office along with public gardens for recreation and amusements like those of magic lantern shows, cinemas, theatres, etc.

35. As a result of various activities in the welfare work, labour population has profited and has obtained better facilities.

36. Some mills provide schools for the education of their workmen and some give grants to certain labour schools for assisting such education. Donations were also given by millowners for this purpose for 5 years.

37. Provision for old age and premature retirement of workmen in cases where they serve in a mill for a certain number of years would be desirable and possible but so long as labour is not first given education and raised to the level of understanding and obtaining the advantages accruing from better sanitation and modes of life purged of vices, of drinks, opium eating, gambling, etc., there appears little possibility of the successful application of such schemes of old age pensions and provisions for premature retirement.

VI.—Education.

40. Facilities for general education in industrial areas are extremely meagre and it can safely be said that they are practically nil. The following remarks embodied in the Report of the Rt. Hon'ble. Tom Shaw, M.P. are noteworthy :—

"It is precisely the great employers of labour in the textile trade who appear to be doing more for the education of the masses than either national or local governments. Over and over again in the huge concerns that we saw in different parts of India we noticed in the mill-grounds or compounds, schools that have been maintained by the employers for the purpose of giving instructions first to the young persons—boys and girls—who were employed in the mills and secondly in many cases the younger children of the work-people employed. The same thing applies to the provisions of sickness-benefit and medical treatment. Over and over again we found that there seemed to be absolutely no provision, or even meagre provision indeed, made by the authorities, but judged by Indian standard a remarkably good provision made by the employers."

The following quotations from the factory report for 1927 throws special light so far as Ahmedabad is concerned : "The physique of school children in Ahmedabad appears to be superior to that in Bombay and as a matter of general interest it is satisfactory to record that the physique of school children of the depressed classes in Ahmedabad is practically identical to that of the higher castes." (p. 11.)

41. The R.C. Technical Institute in Ahmedabad affords facilities for industrial and vocational training. A similar institution is also run by the Baroda State at Baroda called the Kalabhuvan. Students trained in these institutions obtain employment in industrial concerns of Gujarat.

42. Effect of education on standard of living and industrial efficiency of workers is good. However, the State should seriously tackle this problem of educating the working class and the masses of the ratepayers. Comprehensive schemes of compulsory primary education submitted by local bodies to the provincial government remain unsanctioned for over four years, and it is a misfortune to observe very slow progress of Government in such matters which are primarily concerned with the value of society and the structure of mass upliftment. A negligible proportion of the working class population knows reading and writing, much less does it know methods of intelligent working, decent living, abstinence from drinks and such other vices. Government and municipal bodies have neglected this important duty for all these years and introduction of compulsory primary education should without further delay be made.

VII.—Safety.

43, 44 and 45.—The provisions of the Indian Factories Act and the incidence of accidents in factories provide sufficient safety to industrial workers. On page 14 of the Factory Report for the year 1928 a tabular statement of accidents with details for the last ten years is given.

46. Safety posters for the textile industry have been recently distributed to the mills and inspectors of factories have found that the lessons involved in the use of such posters tend to produce precautionary effects.

48. First aid and medical relief are given by mill dispensaries or the civil hospital and private institutions.

49. There is no stringency of inspection and enforcement of regulations.

50. The effect upon safety of hours, health, light and working conditions generally is good and progressive.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. (i) Workmen's Compensation Act is in operation from 1924. Practically all industrial concerns insure their workmen and by now the commissioner for workmen's compensation holds regular sittings at intervals and decides the cases. Details are obtainable from the reports published from time to time in the Labour Gazette and other papers. (*Vide* Labour Gazette, August 1929, p. 1157).

(iii) The effect of this legislation on the industry is to increase financial burden on it. An average mill with 25,000 spindles and 600 looms has to pay about Rs. 800 every year for this purpose by way of insurance charges.

(iv) and (v) Insurance facilities are available and are utilised to a greater extent from year to year. From the workers' point of view these are also advantageous. The recent amendments to be made in the Act would practically tend to make the insurance by employers compulsory.

IX.—Hours.

55 and 56. The hours of employment in factories are 10 for a day and no persons are employed for more than 60 hours in any one week, under Section 27 of the Indian Factories Act. Under Section 28 no persons are to be employed in a factory for more than 11 hours in any one day.

57. The restriction of 60 hours has produced a good effect on the operatives, but it has increased cost of production on the industry.

58. Ten hours a day is the uniform daily limit and its effect on workmen is good as they get good time for rest, amusement and recreation.

59. No further reduction in the hours of working should be made. Workmen get sufficient time after 6 p.m. when the mills are closed for recreation and rest. The period of rest in the afternoon is one hour at a stroke, and this also tends to give them sufficient rest during the interval. Further reduction in working hours would enhance the cost of production to such a degree as would harm the industry and render its position to compete with other manufacturers very weak.

60. Section 21 of the Indian Factories Act regulates the periods of rest in factories. At intervals not exceeding six hours, periods of rest of not less than one hour are granted. At the request of the employees concerned periods of not less than half an hour each so arranged that for each period of six hours work there shall be periods of rest of not less than one hour's duration in all (and that no person shall work for more than five hours continuously) could also be granted. The law has proved suitable under existing circumstances.

(iv) Over 55 holidays are granted to workmen every year.

61. Under Section 22 of the Indian Factories Act holidays are granted usually on Sundays. In certain cases holidays are granted for a whole day on one of the three days immediately preceding or succeeding the Sunday. It has been provided in this section that the factory will not be worked for more than 10 consecutive days without a holiday for a whole day.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

81. The effect of 1922 Act on employment has been wholesome on the workers.

82. Owing to the provision of creches in several mills admission of infants in the departments of factories is not found in vogue.

83. Employment of women is regulated by the Indian Factory Act. Night work by women is prohibited.

84. Regulations affecting children are also embodied in the Indian Factories Act. Children under 12 years of age and without authoritative certificate for employment in a factory are prohibited from working in factories, under Section 23 of the Act. Children are not employed for more than six hours in any one day. Night work by children is also prohibited under the Act.

85. There is no double employment of children.

86. Apprentices are taken up by several mills though not by all. As young adults are trained to work they receive higher employment according to their capacity and knowledge.

87. Children are not usually dismissed on reaching full age but according to their training and quickness of work they are given adult wages.

88. Instances of double shift system are rare and at certain times or during certain seasons some mill or mills take to double shift system. If the same workmen do not work in two shifts in contravention of the Factory Act the health of young adults is not affected. Women and children are prohibited from working at night. (This question has been referred to in detail in para. 70 of the Tariff Board's Report.)

XII.—Wages.

96. Prevailing rates of wages in Ahmedabad mills are printed at page 110 of the report of the Indian Tariff Board. Average earnings of spinners and weavers in Ahmedabad are mentioned in the table printed at page 125 of the report of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, 1928-29, Vol. I. On page 111 of the report of the Indian Tariff Board the figures of average monthly earnings per head in 1914, 1921 and 1923 for Bombay, Ahmedabad and other centres in the Bombay Presidency are given under Table LXVI. Average monthly earnings of a weaver in Ahmedabad exceeds Rs. 44, while that of the spinner exceeds Rs. 26. Greater details are printed on page 125 of the report of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee. Ahmedabad mills pay the highest scale of wages in the northern division as compared with the scale of wages of other class of workmen including agricultural labour in surrounding areas. The question of money wages and money value of all earnings has been fully discussed in the report on "an Enquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the cotton mill industry," published in 1923 and 1925 (*vide* pages 20, 21 and 24, 25 respectively).

97. Increases and decreases in money wages and money value in recent years are contained in the report published in the Labour Gazette every month. Wages were increased when cost of living was high. On page 7 of the Labour Gazette for June, 1923, a tabular statement of average percentage increase in cost of living from 1918 to 1923 appears. From 83 in 1920 (which was the highest) it was reduced to 73 in 1921 to 64 in 1922, and to 53 in 1923. It is about 47 at present. Detailed information is available from Labour Gazettes which are published every month. When profits were abnormal wages were increased to about 122 per cent. over the basis of 1914, and annual bonuses were granted to the mill operatives.

101. Wages have been fixed in later years by negotiations with the labour union or by awards of arbitrators duly appointed by the millowners' association, and labour union.

102. Payment for overtime and Sunday work is governed by Section 31 of the Indian Factories Act, and the rules of exemption made by local government in that behalf.

103 and 104. Wages in the spinning section are practically on a fixed and standardized basis while in the weaving section these are based on piecework system. In Ahmedabad cotton mill wages being higher than other class of workers no effect on labour supply due to wage changes is visible.

105. The principle of minimum wages is not found in operation in any class of organized industry in this country. The Fawcett Committee in their report on the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee have recently thrown light on this question. A reference to paragraphs 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162 and 163 may be relevantly made in this connection. On page 78 of the Report the committee opine that "we consider that we should determine what would be a fair and reasonable wage on practical consideration suited to the circumstances of the case and that we should not entertain a new demand of a much larger kind based on debatable ideas as to a proper standard of living, etc." The Committee further state that "in Ahmedabad at any rate the earnings of cotton mill workers are greater than those of all other workers" (page 77). On the same page it has been mentioned that the cost of living in Bombay is higher than in Ahmedabad. In the circumstances when industries in India have not become fully self-supporting and when they have to meet keen and cutting foreign competition it would neither be advisable nor possible to have any statutory establishment of minimum wages. Labour is not yet trained to the level of having even primary education and is moreover unorganized and illiterate.

106. The Government of India have obtained through local governments information on the extent of the practice by which employers in industrial concerns inflicted fines upon their workmen in 1926. The system of fines on industrial workers does not constitute an evil of such proportions as would require any special consideration

as the infliction of fines is very small. The results of the labour office enquiry also support this view. In this connection reference to Labour Gazette for August, 1927, may be made. In view of the enquiry made by the labour office in 1927 there exists no scope for any legislation.

107. In Ahmedabad mills wages are paid to weavers and spinners on a fortnightly basis and to other workers on a monthly basis. Usually a period of about 8 to 10 days elapses before payment. No legislation is desirable in view of the easy and regular system which is obtained in local mills.

Unclaimed wages are paid to workmen even if they come to receive it after certain months. Thereafter if any balance remains it is utilised either for the good of labour or for charity or for making up deficits or in calculating profits as may be suitable to the mill concerned.

109. Bonuses were granted to mill operatives in 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1922 when profits were high and abnormal. Profit-sharing schemes in the present circumstances of labour and capital (industry) are neither possible nor desirable.

110. Workers go on leave on certain occasions, e.g., during certain days of monsoon or seasonal holidays. Wages are not paid for the days of absence. To certain workmen who receive their wages on a monthly basis leave is granted by the heads of the department. In this class boilermen, sizers, back-sizers, jobbers, fitters, workmen of the engineering department, etc., are included.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

112. Indian workers gradually show greater efficiency owing to training, experience and handling of different types of machinery. Want of sufficient education to enable them to read easy pamphlets and treatises about the work which they have to do prevents them from obtaining greater efficiency.

113. Efficiency of Indian workers is much lower as compared with that of foreign workers. The following extract from the Labour Gazette of July, 1926 would give a comparative idea about efficiency.*

114 and 116. All the nine factors enumerated in this question affect the extent to which comparisons are affected. Want of education, climatic conditions, indolent habits, and want of awakening of sanitary conscience affect in particular, efficiency of Indian textile workers.

115. The ten factors embodied in this question affect the production directly and indirectly. Abstinance from alcohol and drugs, better tone of health and sanitation, beneficial legislative measures, and improvements in working conditions would no doubt affect production favourably. In all such matters Government should shoulder the responsibility when various kinds of taxes are recovered from the masses, classes, industries and individuals. Limitations in regard to welfare work compatible with the position of the industry prevent progress beyond certain lines and the State should directly shoulder responsibilities regarding well being and amelioration of labour class and the masses.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association is an organization of employers wherein mills and factories are enrolled as members. Sixty-seven mills and factories, including some of Nadia, Surat and Cambay are members of this association. Practically the association represents cotton interests.

The labour union is an organization of workers in the spinning section of local mills and some other minor departments.

118. The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association was established prior to 1891, while the local labour union was founded in the year 1918, and properly organized from the year 1920. Labour troubles in organized form began in 1917 and after the great strike of 1918 the association and the union have established a constitution with convention to refer labour disputes which are not amicably settled between the union and the association to a Board of Arbitration, consisting of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Sheth Mangaldas G. Parekh. In case of a difference of opinion between the arbitrators the matter is referred to an umpire. This has improved the condition of workers in general and has preserved factors of co-operation between labour and capital in Ahmedabad in proper harmony.

120. The local labour union has taken up some benefit schemes for operatives. Their membership comes to about 18,000, and there are separate unions—Mahajans—called Throstle, Card, Blow, Frame, Engineering, Jobbers and Muccadams Mahajan,

* Not printed.

etc. Medical aid, hospitals, schools, infant class, assistants in case of accidents, arrangements of cheap loans in some cases, saving bank arrangement, some cheap grain shops and hotels, etc., are the chief activities of the union. Industrial education like sewing, carpentry, hand-sewing, hand-weaving, is given to children in the "Vidhyarthi Ashrama" (students home).

Arbitrators do not award strike pay as the convention of resumption of work unconditionally prior to the consideration by the arbitration board of an unauthorised strike is practically established by this time.

121. Trade Union Act of 1926, though taken advantage of by union in Bombay and other centres is not being taken advantage of by the local labour union due to certain reasons.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

123. In December, 1917, a strike of warpers took place when warpers from Bombay and other places were engaged by mills through the millowners' association. Ultimately a settlement was arrived at. The strike was settled after a fortnight. By the end of 1918, owing to plague in Ahmedabad, weavers were paid daily attendance bonus. This reached to the extent of about 70 per cent. After the plague was over the amount of bonus was to be reduced and practically all mills of Ahmedabad decided to reduced the percentage to 20 per cent. Mr. M. K. Gandhi on behalf of labour asked for 35 per cent. As a result of disagreement when the mills put up notices for 20 per cent. a strike was declared and this was followed by a lock-out at a subsequent stage. All the mills were closed and the strike began on 22nd February, 1918, and ended on 20th March, 1918. At a later stage Mr. Gandhi declared a vow to fast till the matter was settled. Ultimately the dispute was referred by way of arbitration to Mr. Anandshanker Dhruve, Prof. of Sanskrit Gujarat College. In 1920 there was a strike in the spinning section for about a fortnight and it was settled by mutual consultation between the authorities of the millowners' association and labour union. The condition of textile industry became very grave from the end of 1922 and in 1923 a reduction in wages was proposed by the association. The labour union insisted on a deed of arbitration to be executed by the association. As the association thought it to be humiliating, as also the union insisted on certain terms and conditions in the deed which were not relevant to the dispute a strike took place and it lasted for about 10 weeks. It was settled by the union agreeing to obtain decision through negotiations carried on by their representative, Professor Dhruve with Sheth Mangaldas, the president of the association. A cut of 15½ per cent. in wages was declared by these representatives of both the bodies. Since then no organized strikes and lock-outs have taken place in the textile industry of this city.

124. From 1917 gradual development in labour troubles and organized efforts between labour and capital brought into existence in 1920 a mutually agreed constitution which has been functioning (backed by certain conventions) till today. On certain occasions collectors and commissioners (officials) as also leading citizens have taken part in bringing about negotiations and settlements of disputes.

125 and 126. The Trade Disputes Act has recently come into operation, and the attitude of Government towards trade combination and industrial disputes is to be watched still.

XVII.—Administration.

133 to 135. Labour questions are increasingly handled by Government and during the last six years several enactments have been made. Workmen's Compensation Act, Trade Disputes Act, Trade Unions Act, Maternity Benefit Act and Humidification and Ventilation Rules are already in operation and the reduction of working hours from 12 to 10 as also prohibition of women and children in night work are due to international labour organization and ratification of certain conventions. Relations between central and local governments are harmonious and the Bombay Government maintain a labour office which publishes a monthly called Labour Gazette, and appoints labour investigators in industrial centres.

136. The director of labour, labour investigators, inspectors of factories, chief inspector of factories, certifying surgeons, lady investigators, are some of the administrative authorities of the Bombay Government.

137. Difference in working hours and working conditions in Indian States and British India affect industries in British India unfavourably. Factory law and other enactments pertaining to labour should be uniform in Indian States and British India so that no unfair advantage may be secured by one over the other.

138. Workpeople are obtaining greater acquaintance with factory legislation, particularly due to the organizations of labour unions and trade unions.

139. Factory inspection is carried on in Ahmedabad with adequate staff, sufficient rigour and good efficiency. Prosecutions are made and the results tend to greater caution. Details of these are available from the reports of the inspectors of factories.

XVIII.—Intelligence.

143. Statistics are collected, compiled and published by Government in Labour Gazettes and in separate reports like wages and hours of labour, working class family budget, workmen's compensation reports, etc., from time to time. The annual report of the factory inspector also contains necessary information.

144. The Bombay Government have greatly improved the system of compiling statistics and further improvements are made in the light of experience gained from time to time.

146. International exchange of views and labour conferences tend to throw more light on questions relating to industry and labour and further developments are likely to take place.

Financial Statement of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.

Number of cotton mills.	Years.	Paid up share capital.	Reserves including carried forward in Profit and Loss Account.	Block Account original value.
50	1921	3,01,76,893	5,00,39,223	7,51,73,944
49	1922	3,00,86,973	7,06,98,325	9,07,85,014
47	1923	2,86,31,157	5,81,30,852	9,00,93,721
50	1924	3,26,84,526	6,95,46,900	10,67,91,790
48	1925	3,25,68,873	7,25,13,462	10,30,35,987
56	1926	3,70,17,075	8,63,31,537	12,30,81,964
51	1927	3,59,13,342	7,56,48,931	12,01,70,262

Block Account after depreciation.	Annual depreciation.	Net profit of mills making profits.	Dividend.	Percentage on capital.	Reserve.
4,99,16,074	38,24,927	2,51,56,230	183,30,205	60·11/15	65,64,133
5,12,16,266	30,02,639	1,47,02,204	117,34,405	30·9/10	27,27,832
5,95,12,398	22,48,927	35,24,611	34,77,056	12·1/7	3,58,596
7,16,44,485	29,02,493	49,67,749	41,53,121	12·23/32	8,27,799
6,71,09,966	30,97,421	55,96,238	46,71,343	14·11/32	9,38,753
8,10,90,687	30,31,187	56,52,240	45,88,308	12·14/15	8,64,618
7,88,27,865	33,01,309	52,45,723	42,78,192	11·32/35	8,29,355

Carried forward in Profit and Loss Account.	Loss of such mills as made losses.	To declare Dividend	
		Agent's Commission given up.	Reserve debited.
2,16,505	3,998	—	—
3,11,264	53,790	52,638	42,000
2,27,052	7,16,035	1,58,661	2,73,515
2,59,806	9,01,038	4,50,709	26,000
2,38,042	5,17,898	1,17,522	47,547
1,72,265	3,93,975	3,27,740	60,000
1,25,692	3,55,221	2,12,834	7,210

Financial Statement—contd.

Year.	Capital <i>plus</i> Reserves.	Percentage.	Percentage in Block Account.
1924	10,22,31,426	3·9/10	3·4/5
1925	10,50,82,335	4·4/5	4·9/10
1926	12,33,48,612	4·1/4	4·1/4
1927	11,15,62,273	4·4/11	4·1/15

THE AHMEDABAD BRANCH OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY WOMEN'S
COUNCIL.—SECRETARY, LADY RAMANBHAI NILKANTH.

Introductory.

The Ahmedabad Branch of Women's Council, takes special interest in infant welfare of labouring classes. It runs two creches of its own to which infant classes for teaching, reading and writing are attached. The council has an honorary lady doctor who prescribes at the creches medicines. People in the near locality take advantage of this. It has made arrangements with the local eye specialist to treat free of charge children sent to him by the Creche Committee. Moreover the members of the council visit several creches at the local mills. Their advice is very often sought by mill managers when anything concerning creches has to be done.

I.—Recruitment.

4. In Ahmedabad, in the majority of cases the families of labourers live with them on account of living expenses not being prohibitive and also on account of the fact that labourers as a rule do not come from very great distances.

III.—Housing.

16. (i) 10 per cent. of houses for labourers are provided by the employers.

(ii) None by Government or public agency ;

(iii) Nearly 85 per cent. by private landlords.

(iv) 5 per cent. by workers such as heads of departments, etc.

17. At present no facilities are given by Government for acquisition of land. It is desirable that the Land Acquisition Act be extended for the purpose of acquiring land at reasonable prices for building workmen's houses by millowners or public agencies and not by private landlords.

18. Nearly 92 per cent. of houses are 1 room houses. Majority of them have either no plinth or a very low one. Ventilation is very bad. The roofs are made of corrugated iron sheets, mostly without tiles so the houses are very cold in winter and very hot in summer. Arrangements for water supply is very inadequate, and for latrines most unsatisfactory.

19. Quarters provided for workers are always taken advantage of and there is still great demand for them.

20. Rents paid range from Rs. 2 to Rs. 6 per month in mill area. In the city similar accommodation costs considerably more.

21. Cases have arisen when, labourers gone on strike, the employers have demanded the houses being vacated within 24 hours.

22. We suggest that houses for workmen should contain at least two rooms to secure privacy and consequently better moral condition and also hygienic improvements.

Housing of labour by industrial concerns has its disadvantages also, for by such a method the worker loses a certain amount of independence and cannot leave his employment without vacating his house.

IV.—Health.

23. (i) The rate of mortality of children in all mill areas is very high.

(iii) In most of the Ahmedabad mills, a large percentage of the women work in the cellars as reelers and winders. These places in all cases have been infested with mosquitoes. Arrangements should be made to get the water properly removed.

24. (i) Government do not specially provide medical aid in the mill area. Each mill should have by law a dispensary in charge of a *qualified* medical man who may be a part time worker, and a compounder who should always be on the spot.

(iv) No special provision for women doctors or trained midwives specially for the mill workers except the Labour Union Hospital (where there is no woman doctor but qualified midwives). Municipality engages qualified midwives for all wards in the city which includes mill areas.

28. (i) In the past, control of temperature in the mills has been impossible, until the advent of the carrier system of cooling.

(ii) With the advent of the carrier plant, cooling and control of humidification together with continuous changing of atmosphere has been made possible and is the only ideal method.

(a) Government have taken no definite action but it is essential that legislation should enforce this or any other similar method producing the same effect.

(b) The result is that the worker is not continuously inhaling the same atmosphere and does not have that same tiring feeling of exhaustion after completing a day's work. He also can earn more money by obtaining a greater efficiency by less exertion.

V.—Welfare.

32. Welfare work under proper supervision by mills would be ideal in the first stage. If any public agency were prepared to carry on the work, municipalities and Government should encourage these with every possible help.

34. Less than 50 per cent. of mills provide creches for children of women workers.

36. In one mill only education is provided, compulsory education should be strictly put into force. Thus either the local authority or millowners would be obliged to provide for schools for workmen's children.

Reading rooms and some recreations should be provided by millowners. These would to a great extent stop mill workers resorting to liquor shops.

IX.—Hours.

55. (1) At present mill workers work for 10 hours a day and 60 hours per week. We suggest 9 hours instead to ensure physical and educational uplift of working classes.

Mr. R. G. KAUTEKAR, THE TEXTILE BROTHERHOOD.

I.—Recruitment.

1. (i) Local and surrounding villages, 10 per cent. ; Marwar and Rajputana 25 per cent. ; and from U.P. side, 65 per cent.

(ii) The local labour is mostly from hand-loom weavers. The hand-loom industry has suffered and hence the migration. 25 per cent. of neighbouring villages form a majority of agricultural class, and as this occupation too has been suffering, part of the population has migrated. As regards 65 per cent. of migrations from northern side, the agriculture itself is insufficient to maintain its population.

(iii) Nil, except a small number from U.P. mainly weavers. The percentage being so low at present that it is simply perceptible and not measurable.

2. (i) and (ii) 25 per cent. coming from near villages return 2 or 3 times on short leave for marriage or crop season after short holidays during a year. The period of return covers about 1 month a year. 65 per cent. from northern side return once a year for about a month at a stretch.

3. (i) No organized method. However the direct suppliers are what they are called jobbers. Labour approaching them through friends and acquaintances thus get ushered into the mill line.

(ii) No possible improvement.

(iii) (a) There is a desirability of establishing public employment agencies. (b) Apprentice classes for different lines of textile industry should be maintained by public corporations and conducted by technical experts in different branches to supply adequate labour. The present primary school should be advantageously extended and the above training classes should be attached to them.

4. The present factory system of textile industry is not very conducive to a healthy mode of family life and consequently the disturbances in family life directly affect efficient working.

7. (i) There is no unemployment in skilled labour.
 (ii) (a) Retrenchment or dismissals affect only unskilled labour; (b) No voluntary retirement.
 (iv) Unemployment insurance not necessary.
8. (i) Average duration of employment is 11 months a year.
 (ii) One month in a year.
 (iii) (a and b) 3·45 per cent. monsoon and marriage season; (c) One month, Rs. 24 per head per month.

II.—Staff Organization.

10 and 11. The management rests with the agents and the departmental organization rests with the heads of the individual departments. The officers are selected by the agents and the subordinates by the heads.

12. There is no regular system of training supervising staff either superior or subordinate. Majority of them are recruited from practically trained persons and very meagre minority from amongst men of technical school.

13. (i) Relations :—good.

(ii) Jobber is in no way better than a buffer between officers and labour so far as the labour is concerned. His value as a mechanic is nil and hence the system is defective.

(iii) and (iv) Nil.

14. (i) The attendance registers of all the monthly hands is kept by a time keeper. The piece worker's work is booked by the clerks. The monthly paid staff excepting the head of the department is paid generally by the time-keeper and piece-workers by the pay clerk. In both the cases the supervisors or jobbers are to wait for payment and receipt. But this system, is, however found defective.

III.—Housing.

16. In fact there is no idea of providing houses. In some, there are chawls, but these are never meant to provide housing but an earning factor and in case of a strike, may get some hold over the workmen.

24. The medical facilities are really provided with. But it is painful to mention that our medical men have not got so much sympathy for the poor. Whatever facilities are given by our agents the fullest advantage could not be had owing to the social attitude of the middle class people towards the labour and the attitude of the operatives with the belief of the old methods of treating diseases.

25. If beneficial results could be had and if labour can get effective results, best and most supple mind people our labour are, and they will never fail to take the advantage.

26. (i) (ii) and (iii) Sanitary arrangements are just to meet the requirements of the Factory Act.

28. The control of temperature in existing factories is quite necessary. The local government, the millowners and partly labour also are tackling the problem, and better results both congenial to the health of the labour and the progress of the industry can be expected within half-a-decade.

29. (i) Tuberculosis.

(ii) Malaria.

30. It is quite essential and requires legislation.

31. (i) Already in existence.

V.—Welfare.

32. Employers and labour unions have realized the importance of the welfare work and are trying their best.

34. Judicious application is under consideration as the employers have realized the benefit of welfare activities.

36. Nothing yet except a few schools and creches.

(iv) Whatever little is so far done has been much appreciated by labour.

37. Provision for old age is quite essential and they should be on the lines of the Indian Railway Institutions.

38. Nil.

VI.—Education.

40. (i) and (ii) Deplorable.
 (iii) Facilities are existing but education must be compulsory.
 41. No facilities.
 42. Expected to be good.

VII.—Safety.

43. Quite alright.
 48. More efficient first aid and medical relief is quite necessary.

IX.—Hours.

55. (a) 60 hours a week and 10 hours a day.
 (i) Normal 10 hours.
 (ii) Actual 10 hours.
 (iii) Spread over 11 hours with 1 hour recess after 5 hours work.
 57. (i) Physical exhaustion.
 59. It is possible only if the working conditions are improved.
 60. More than one interval if food facilities are to be had in the mills.
 61 and 62. Present system is quite alright and suitable.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

81. Good. Less children.
 82. Allowed if sufficient creche system is adopted.
 83. Present regulations satisfactory.
 85. Double employment of children is practically getting extinct.

XII. Wages.

96. Departmental average wages per one man per month. Engine and boiler, Rs. 32; mechanic, Rs. 44; mixing, Rs. 20; blowroom, Rs. 25; card, Rs. 30; Frame, Rs. 27; spinning, Rs. 24; yarn bundling or baling, Rs. 26; Winding, Rs. 26; Warping, Rs. 50; sizing, Rs. 50; Weaving, Rs. 42; calendering or folding, Rs. 24; cloth baling, Rs. 26; waste, Rs. 24; dyeing, Rs. 24; store, Rs. 24; miscellaneous workers, Rs. 20.

97. (i) Increase demanded, 15 per cent.
 (ii) Standard of living has risen high due to city life.

103. There is no standardization in weaving, but in spinning the wages are practically standardized in some of the departments.

104. The effect of wage-changes as opposed to standardization is bad and hence undesirable.

105. Rs. 15 for females and Rs. 20 for males. It is advisable and possible and quite necessary to standardize minimum wages.

106. (i) Weaver's fine comes to 3 to 4 per cent. In spinning department there is no system of fining.

- (ii) Negligible.
 (iii) In weavers' case, half of the fine is used by the company in paying folders.
 (iv) Not desirable for the present.

107. (i) Wages are paid to the weavers and spinners fortnightly.

- (ii) One week.
 (iii) Regulation not necessary.
 (iv) Unclaimed wages are paid up to 3 months.

108. *Indebtedness.—Factory inspector's remarks.* 1928.—Of the 2,000 persons in the spinning department 994 or 50 per cent. were in debt. The average indebtedness per person in the lowest wage category, i.e., below Rs. 25, was practically Rs. 200. 159 out of these borrowed money at or up to 12 per cent. interest, 79 from 12 per cent. up to 18 per cent., 450 from 18 per cent. up to 24 per cent., and 193 above 36 per cent. 69 persons' rate not ascertained. Discarding these the average debt charge per month per person was Rs. 3.79 or between 15 to 20 per cent. of the earnings was theoretically absorbed in paying debt charges.

(*Vide* also memorandum of Chief Inspector of Factories).

109. (i) Bonus and profit sharing scheme is yet unknown in this country. There was something like bonus-system in the Great War times.

110. For the supervising staff some considerations are made but for operatives no paid leave is allowed.

XIII.—Industrial efficiency of Workers.

112. The efficiency of Indian workers in recent years is gradually on the increase.

113 and 114. Indian labour is less efficient than foreign labour because they are raw hands. They are not accustomed to machinery. The efficiency of plant and management is low, and physique and health below normal. Education not to the mark and standard of living very poor and above all the most oppressive climatic condition. However, in case the Indian labour is given the same facilities as foreigners are provided with, they can well stand in competition with the foreigners in efficiency.

116. Possible methods of securing increased efficiency. Efficiency can be improved by having technically trained, qualified and honest men at the head interested with the business. There should not be made frequent changes in the staff. The staff members should have theoretical knowledge as well as practical experience of the line.

Introducing co-operative system from the supervising staff down to the lowest worker is one of the factors in increasing the efficiency. The operatives should be educated and should be supplied with better conditions and comforts to work with.

Suitable labour saving appliances, most up-to-date machines and well spaced machinery and well lighted and well ventilated rooms go a great way to increase the efficiency.

Materials.—Scientific and practical testing of all materials should be made before buying.

Buying and selling should not be entrusted to interested parties.

(i) Specialization.

(ii) Mass production.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

122. There is an arbitration board in Ahmedabad which tries to meet the differences between the two unions.

(ii) Nothing has been done as yet.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

123. No strikes or lockouts after the settlement between the unions.

THE JOINT HON. SECRETARIES, GUJERAT CONSTITUENCY OF ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD.

We represent the Ahmedabad branch of the All-India Women's Conference, and as such are interested in the condition specially of women and children working in the textile factories in Ahmedabad.

11. Although there is such a large number of women workers there are hardly any women supervisors in the mills. It is desirable to place women supervisors in charge of departments largely worked by women.

16. (i) Thirty mills provide housing for 13 per cent. of their employees.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Most of the chawls, about 92 per cent., are provided by private landlords.

(iv) About 5 per cent. of the total number of labourers in Ahmedabad have no self-owned houses.

17. The land acquisition Act does not apply to the labourers' houses, but the benefit of it should be extended to such public agencies which will undertake to build houses for labourers.

18. (i) No difference between all the classes.

(ii) There is no difference in the accommodation provided in all the classes except in one or two mill-owned chawls where better quality of accommodation is provided. But even here the sanitary arrangement is very poor.

(iii) *Lighting (Ventilation).*—In chawls provided by employers and by private landlords ventilation is unsatisfactory, and in the latter it is worse than in the former, e.g., there are chawls even below the level of the road and the roof is so low that

a person can scarcely stand erect in the rooms. There is no arrangement for even the smoke to go out. *Conservancy arrangements* are unsatisfactory in all the three classes, but they are specially worse in chawls provided by private landlords and in those owned by workmen themselves. We feel that one latrine for two families should be insisted upon.

Water Supply.—Sufficient in all the classes. There is no water supply at all in houses owned by workmen themselves. There should be an half-inch tap in each two-roomed tenement. Apart from the unsatisfactory character of the existing tenements, it is to be noted that there is not even a sufficient number of these available. It is estimated that at least 5,000 more tenements are needed to meet the requirements.

19. Yes, fully utilized—the demand is greater than the supply.

20. The rent rates in various classes are almost the same. The lowest is Rs. 1 8 annas, rising to Rs. 8. In the majority of cases the rent is between Rs 4 and Rs 5.

21. *Eviction.*—There is some victimisation in the chawls owned by the employers. In chawls owned by private landlords rent is raised under the threat of eviction due to scarcity of houses. Government should legislate with a view to make public provision of houses as has been done in England and other European countries.

22. The existing industrial housing conditions in the majority of cases are so bad that they do affect the morals of the workers. Improvements have been tried by millowners where the housing conditions have been improved, tangible results are apparent.

In our opinion the minimum housing requirements of a family are a kitchen, a living room, an open space in front of the house and a verandah with adequate water facilities and proper sanitary arrangements. At the present scale of wages a workman cannot be expected to pay rents exceeding from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per month in different grades.

23. (iii) The places where the women work are mostly in the cellars, and as such are damp, therefore malarial.

23. (iv) *Dietary.*—Food in morning. Bread of wheat or bajri, and pulse.

Evening.—Khiehdi with oil or small quantity of ghee. Green vegetables and raw sugar are used every third or fourth day. Non-vegetarians afford meat only one or thrice a week. Milk scarcely forms part of a workman's diet; tea is drunk from the hotels in the mills, women scarcely drink tea.

(v) *Physique.*—Very poor. Tuberculosis is on the increase and a sanatorium is badly needed. Workmen do not have sufficient information about proper diet and personal hygiene. Compulsory education and proper housing arrangements will remove these disabilities.

24. (i) In about half the number of mills medical aid is provided. All the mills should be made to arrange for giving proper outdoor medical relief to the workpeople by law.

(ii) Nil. Except the civil hospital, which is closed on Sundays and on other holidays and open only during work hours, and therefore absolutely useless to the labourers.

(iii) Municipal dispensaries are not open after six in the evenings, and therefore practically not available to the workpeople.

(iv) Practically nil. There are dais in the municipal employ, but that scheme is not effective and extensive.

31. (i) There are no schemes except in Jubilee Mills, Calico Mills, and Advance Mills where they are satisfactory.

(iii) The Government of Bombay has recently enacted a Maternity Benefit Act, but we understand it has not yet come into operation. We strongly feel that the extent of the benefit should be given for at least six weeks before and after delivery.

34. (i) The provision of creches for babies of the workers should be made compulsory in factories employing women. Only a few out of 64 mills in Ahmedabad have at present made any satisfactory arrangements in this respect.

40. (i) and (iii) The Textile Labour Association is providing education for 15,000 children of workers and adults, the latter by night schools, spending altogether about Rs. 40,000 per year.

40. (i) and (iii) *Education.*—The working-class women, even the younger ones, are almost all illiterate. It is unfortunate that in India alone, of all civilized countries, the State has not yet realized its duty to provide free and compulsory primary education to the children of the land. The importing of elementary education is the only foundation on which can be raised the superstructure of the healthy and

efficient labouring population, fully cognisant of its rights and duties. The municipality, we understand, had drawn up a scheme for free and compulsory elementary education, but has not been able to bring it into operation because the necessary help by way of funds has not been forthcoming from the Government.

57. (i) There is a decided improvement in health since the 60 hours' restriction. The 48-hour week is a fact all over the world, and it should be introduced in India immediately.

96. Wages are inadequate with the present standard of wages; the workmen cannot afford sufficient nourishment, decent housing, no provision for sickness, old age and unemployment.

115. (ix) *Liquor Shops*.—A large part of the inadequate wages earned by the labourers goes, at present, to the liquor shops. We feel strongly that the conditions of the working population cannot materially improve unless these temptations are removed out of their reach. While the expenditure on drink combined with inadequate wages and the absence of any sickness insurance scheme keeps the labourer in a perpetual state of indebtedness, the results of the drinking habit on the health and the morals of the working population are terrible. A revision in the policy of the Government in respect of excise is immediately called for.

N.B.—*Age Limit for Children*.—The children are half-timers. It would be desirable to raise the present age limit of 12 to 15, so as to allow sufficient time for the completion of their education.

CERTAIN MUHAMMADEN WEAVERS IN AHMEDABAD.

1. In some of the mills in Ahmedabad jobbers and head jobbers take bribes from the workers when they employ them in the mills. This practice should be put an end to.

2. Government should establish employment exchanges. It will help the unemployed workers to secure work wherever it can be had.

3. Weavers are not generally promoted to the higher grades of weaving masters in all the mills. Increase in pay depends on the will of the jobbers and head jobbers, who will not concede it unless men resort to flattery. Jobbers generally take a binding from the men when they are employed that they would be content to serve on the same pay for a certain period of years, and only after they have received some money from the men that they would give them promotion. An inquiry should be made in this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

4. When we refer our complaints to the jobbers and head jobbers they are redressed only where there are some sympathetic jobbers and head jobbers. But in many cases our complaints are not only not listened to, but we are threatened with discharge for bringing complaints. In some cases men have been discharged for this.

5. We have to pay heavy rents for our houses. We have to pay sometimes Rs. 5 for a room which can with great difficulty accommodate one man. We have again to stay far away from the place of our work. We think, therefore, that houses should be built for us near our place of work. It would be better if the Municipality provides better housing for us; for in that case we shall have no difficulty in transferring ourselves for work from one mill to another when we need it.

6. It is impossible to describe the hardship involved in working in some mills where no fans have been provided. It is impossible to work continuously there, as the air gets stuffy. In the mills where fans have been provided working conditions are better. But it will be found that where fans have been provided lower wages are being paid than where there are no fans installed. We think that installation of fans is a great necessity for good work and should be provided in all the mills, but wages should not be cut down on that account as is being done in some mills.

7. Dispensaries should be provided in all the mills, and they should be kept open all the day and not only for a short time, as is done in some of the mills.

8. In times of sickness, as the municipal dispensaries are situated at a great distance from our places, we have to spend a good deal for medical treatment. Municipal dispensaries should be opened in the mill area to enable us to take advantage of them in time of need.

9. We get no remuneration during the time we are sick and not at work on account of it. We should get some pay during that time, as we have to spend for medical aid.

10. There are two schools conducted by the Municipality in the mill area—one day school and one night school. There is a want of two or three more schools in that area, and we would suggest that provision should be made also for teaching of English in some of them.

11. We have been working ten hours a day. It would be better if the working hours are reduced.

12. The present rate of wages is insufficient and inadequate, and we are unable to make both ends meet. We think that the wages should be increased. In some mills, when the millowners want to reduce the rate of wages, they recruit new jobbers on the undertaking that they would get men to work in the mills at the new reduced rate. When they get these new jobbers they dismiss the old hands and the old jobbers even without any excuse if they do not readily agree to work on the reduced scale. This involves great hardship and inquiry should be made in this matter.

13. Deduction of one anna per head per day is made from our wages, and further deductions are made for any damage to the cloth. The damaged cloth is given to us and money deducted from our wages. We have then to sell the cloth at a much reduced price and we thus suffer a loss. Damaged cloth is made over to us even though the fault may lie with the machine alone; we have thus to suffer for no fault of ours.

14. In many mills, in order to harrass us, leave is not granted when we want it. If the owners do not want our services they discharge us without notice, but six days' notice is demanded of us when we want to leave the work. We think the owners also should give us six days' notice in case they want to discharge us, or they should pay us six days' wages in lieu of the notice for discharge.

15. After we become unfit for work after a long period of work in the mills some provision should be made for giving us some pension, as we are then unable to do work and earn our living.

16. There is frequent unemployment in Ahmedabad and we have to sit idle for no fault of ours. It would be better if we receive some unemployment benefit during that time.

17. Whenever we are late in coming to the mills, even by five minutes, we are asked to go back to our homes or else we would be regarded as absentees. But if there is any damage in the machinery, or if the machinery does not work properly and takes time to be set up properly, we have to suffer for no fault of ours, as our production suffers to that extent.

SETH AMBALAL SARABHAI, THE AHMEDABAD MANUFACTURING AND CALICO PRINTING CO., LTD.*

I.—Recruitment.

1. From enquiries, it appears that approximately 15 per cent. of the workers are permanent residents of Ahmedabad (see Appendix VII). The rest come from the rural classes of the adjoining districts of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Some of them go to villages for seasonal work. There is, however, a small but fair number from the C.P., the U.P. and the South of India.

2. (i) Please see Appendix VIII.

(ii) The extent of permanent labour force is, as given above, about 15 per cent.

3. (i) Daily vacancies are filled from amongst the machine workers who come every morning for work. Appointments are nominally made by the departmental heads or by the assistants, but in actual practice, very largely from amongst the men brought by the jobbers. Efforts are being made to give due consideration to the qualifications of the persons in the way of previous experience, but so far with no or little success. The persons so appointed are called *Badlis* or *substitutes*. They may be made permanent, if their work is satisfactory, when vacancies occur or when new posts are created.

(ii) For a beginning, in one of the mills under my management, the duties of making appointments and investigating causes of dismissal are entrusted to an employment officer, whose main duty is to interview men waiting for work and allocate them to

* Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai in a covering letter informed the Commission that this statement contains his personal views which should not be considered as those of the companies under his management.

the various departments according to requirements. The selection has to be made quick enough to enable new men to begin work soon after the starting time. This point is of special importance, as, under the present system, the practice of direct appointments in each department separately, minimizes loss of time. The system deserves and is being given a trial. Its success will depend largely on the calibre of the employment officer and the support he gets from the management. The employment department has not yet been able to show any good result, the reason being the disfavour with which it is viewed by the heads of the departments, who do not like any curtailment in their authority in this respect, even though when they possessed it they did not use it judiciously and with care.

(iii) (a) The work of collecting and disseminating information regarding requirements of labour in different mills can best be done by a public employment agency, situated centrally, and having branches in the different areas of the city. In the matter of casual or day-to-day appointments, e.g., *Badli*, the agency will not be in a position to render valuable service unless it can be kept in touch from day to day with the requirements of the mills in advance. This the mills will not be in a position to do, as they themselves are unable to forecast the number of absentees, for even in cases where leave is granted, it is very rarely asked for in advance. It will be at the best a guess work. Moreover, in the mills in which working conditions and wages are good, there are a number of men every morning at the starting time who apply to be taken as substitutes. In this particular respect the advantage to a worker is of small value as it does not do away with the necessity of walking from mill to mill for employment. The case is different when permanent vacancies are to be filled either owing to the installation of new machinery or dismissal of workers.

(b) An employment agency may be either (1) a Government agency managed by Government with the co-operation of the employers and the labour union, or (2) a private agency worked by the employers acting through their association or jointly with the labour union, or (3) by the labour union. The first alternative is both desirable and necessary only when the problem of unemployment becomes so acute that Government assistance can rightly be demanded in the economic interests of the nation in general and the workers in particular. It is not, however, called for under the present conditions in Ahmedabad. Nor can the millowners in Ahmedabad be asked to start such an agency as the needs of labour are well served under the existing methods. The party that is most concerned and will stand to gain from such arrangement is the workers, and it is, therefore, the function of the labour union to start such an agency. For the efficient working of the scheme it will be necessary to collect men in central places, whence they can be despatched to the different mills according to their requirements.

4. Results of enquiries among the workers regarding age, sex, marriages, and the number of members in each family, are given in Appendices I, II, III and V.

7. (iv) The introduction of unemployment insurance is unnecessary and uncalled for. Industrial labour forms only a small percentage of the total labour in the country. Before introducing a scheme for the benefit of the industrial workers, Government should do everything in their power to diminish unemployment in other ways. This could be done by passing agricultural legislation, preventing fragmentation of land and uneconomic holdings. It would be a better policy to send labourers in towns looking for industrial work to villages, where the land can be utilized in a much better way than is being done at present. Cottage industries should also be started and encouraged. A good deal of labour can be absorbed in making roads, improving transport facilities, and in starting more irrigation works.

8. (i) Please refer to Appendix IV.

II.—Staff Organization.

10. The details of administrative and departmental organization for the mills under my management are as follows :—

The board of directors decide the policy in all important matters. The actual management of mills is left to the managing agents, whose duties are defined in the Articles of Association. Under the managing agents there is a general assistant, who supervises and co-ordinates the working of all the mills (separate companies but under the same management), subject to the control of the managing agents. In addition to this, each mill has got a manager who works under the general assistant, and is responsible for the good working of the mill under him. Next comes the assistant manager. Under him are the heads of the technical and administrative departments, who have got assistants under them to whom some of their powers are, in turn, delegated. In mills which are not big, assistant managers are not kept.

11. Managing staff is selected from men of university education, who, after the necessary training, are confirmed as assistant managers and managers.

12. Superior supervising staff consists of departmental heads, assistants and sub-assistants. Subordinate staff consists of jobbers.

(i) *Assistants*.—Formerly, the assistants were recruited from amongst persons who had served in similar capacities in other mills or who after receiving necessary training in the same mills were appointed as assistants. Such men mostly came from the middle class, as they did not do well in schools and had no other openings. Very few of the persons so appointed could be said to possess a sufficient sense of responsibility and any education at all—either university or secondary—except practical knowledge in their technical lines. There was no theoretical background to their practical knowledge, while the type of men whom the work attracted had neither the desire nor the equipment for gaining fresh knowledge and information about their subjects and for keeping themselves informed about the progress of the industry. The reason for this is not far to seek. The conditions of employment, work, and prospects, were not such as to appeal to an educated man; also the education received by them did not encourage them to seek anything except professional and desk work.

Having been dissatisfied with the calibre of the assistants, a few graduates were taken as apprentices in 1919. A regular scheme was introduced in 1921, and at present, in the mills under my management, there are 12 graduates in the technical departments and 10 in the commercial departments.

According to the scheme, applications are invited from honours graduates, and selected candidates are appointed as apprentices in the technical departments on an initial salary of Rs. 60 p.m., rising to Rs. 150, after a period of apprenticeship of five or seven years. During the period of apprenticeship, the apprentices have to work on machines to gain practical experience, and are required to read books, periodicals, and other literature to understand the theoretical side of their work and keep themselves in touch with the latest methods. After gaining sufficient experience and as vacancies occur, they are confirmed as assistants in their respective departments and they take full charge of the departmental working during the absence of the heads. This system has now been tried for about eight years and it has very largely fulfilled the expectations. Thus a new type of assistants is being created—men who have greater sense of duty, a wider view of the industry, and above all, a desire to learn and to progress.

(ii) *Jobbers*.—Persons appointed as jobbers are promoted from the ranks in the same department. No special training is given to fit the worker to be a jobber. He learns by experience. No attempt is made to train the worker to be an assistant, as the calibre of a man required for an assistant's post is much higher and different from that of the worker, due to lack of sense of responsibility and literacy amongst the machine workers. He becomes a jobber if he has friends and relatives in important positions in the mills and is also a favourite of the head of the department; the chances of his becoming a jobber entirely on his own merit are very few.

13. (i) The relations are usually cordial, except with the Pratinidhis (shop stewards) between whom and the supervising staff there are occasional estrangements which, however, do not last long.

(ii) The policy of recruiting labour through jobbers is attacked on various grounds, e.g., it makes it difficult for the ordinary worker to obtain work on the strength of qualification alone; he must know the jobber or purchase his acquaintance and goodwill directly or through intermediaries; once employed, he must continue to retain the goodwill by payments in money or kind in addition to standing whatever bad treatment he might receive from the jobber. Most of these are not necessarily the accompaniment of this system of recruitment; they are common wherever men who abuse their powers find others who will stand the abuse.

It is useless to expect a change in the present relations between the jobbers and the workers, and to abolish amongst others the evil of corruption unless the former are recruited from a different class of men altogether. The present class is uneducated, corrupt and tyrannical. The employers have very often to put up with such jobbers, due to the difficulty in doing without them and getting better men to replace them. It is a heritage from the past. Attempts must be made to recruit them from higher social strata—young men with school or college education, of better moral and mental calibre. It would be difficult to get such men in the beginning—the nature of the work would appeal only to a few. But as the prejudice dies away it should not be impossible to enlist the services of such men which will ultimately contribute a great deal towards soothing the labour troubles.

The duties of a jobber are (1) to get full complement of men, (2) to supervise their work, and (3) to attend to minor repairs and alterations in the machines. With regard to the first, there is no need now for a jobber, as there is surplus labour,

particularly in the mills in which working conditions and earnings are good. In regard to Nos. 2 and 3, the duties can be better discharged by a fitter than by a jobber. An attempt was made in one of my mills to do without jobbers, but the system was too novel and due to want of support on the part of the manager and the departmental heads and I had to give it up. Due to disinclination of the supervising staff, the present mood of labour and the objections that are urged by the labour union, it is not probably the right time to introduce such an innovation.

(iii) and (iv) Works committees, works councils, and industrial councils have not yet been tried in any of the mills under my management. The reasons for this are to be found in the present labour situation in this country. A recent scheme for these was not viewed with favour by the labour union and had to be abandoned.

There can be no objection on principle to the formation of the workers' committees. Joint meetings of the employers and the employees for the purpose of free discussion of the conditions of work, of grievances and other matters of mutual interests will not only conduce to goodwill and harmony, but will increase efficiency and the earnings of the employees. But if this result is to be brought about, it is essential that the discussion be conducted in a spirit of sympathy, goodwill and understanding. There is suspicion and distrust on both sides. And as a result of this feeling undue importance is being given to the well-being of the industry on one part and of the workers on the other.

This is inevitable in the present state of transition. It should be taken as a temporary reaction against the old order of things, when due to the absence of any combination amongst the workers, the employers, perhaps unintentionally, did not give labour its due in wages, conditions of work and in treatment.

14. (i) The ticket system was introduced but did not work.

The attendance of all workers paid on the time scale, including those in the frame department, is marked twice a day, i.e., before and after the mid-day interval, by the clerks in the timekeeper's office. This is done not at the gates but in their respective departments. If a worker is absent in the morning a substitute is appointed in his place for the whole day. A worker who leaves with permission after the mid-day interval is marked as present for half the day; if he absents himself without permission, he is marked absent for the whole day. In the department in which payment is made at the piece rate, the attendance is marked by the departmental clerk. In the frame department it is marked by the timekeeper's clerk. In addition to this, every machine has a wooden board with a form of attendance pasted on it. The clerk who marks the presence in his book simultaneously marks it on the board which is kept hanging on the machine. It enables the supervising staff to check the presence of the worker near the machine and the employee to see that he has been marked properly.

For the calculation of wages, the following systems are adopted.

In case of time workers, the timekeeper sends the attendance musters to the pay department which calculates the wages according to the fixed scales. In the frame department where payment is by piece-work, the timekeeper's clerks also mark the production per man according to the hank indicators and send the registers to the pay department as above.

In the weaving department, the production for each weaver is marked by the departmental clerks. The clerks of the pay department copy the same every day in their books. The two are checked daily with the production of the department in which the cloth is folded. The registers kept by the weaving clerks are sent to the pay department at the end of each hapta for the calculation of wages.

In the winding, reeling, and warping departments, figures of production are marked by departmental clerks and are sent to the pay department which calculates the wages.

(ii) The pay rolls are prepared by the pay clerks, the amounts being worked out as per rates fixed for piecework or time scale as the case may be.

Deductions and additions for fines, bonus, etc., are duly made. Each worker is given a slip on his pay-day showing his name, department, and the amount due to him. The worker exchanges the slip for his pay from the pay clerk after getting it initialled by the departmental head or his assistant. This is done so as to allow him time to make complaints if his wages are not properly made up.

15. (i) The following work is done by contract:—(1) Weighing the incoming cotton bales, taking them to the godowns and from the godowns to the mixing rooms, and stacking the mixing. (2) Carrying the beams from the warping to the sizing machines and from there to the loom sheds. (3) Bundling the reeled hanks and pressing of yarn bales. (4) Pressing the bales of cloth. (5) Delivery of the local bales and despatching bales to railway stations. (6) Bleaching such cloth as is not calendered or machine bleached. (7) Whitewashing and turning tiles. (8) Cleaning the boilers.

- (ii) There does not appear to be any sub-contracting.
- (iii) No special control is exercised over the working conditions. As long as the work is satisfactory, no stipulations as regards the number of men to be employed, time of attendance, etc., are made.
- (iv) The working of the contract system has been on the whole satisfactory. It has relieved the mills from the trouble and expense of maintaining a large staff in such of the processes where the amount of work varies from time to time necessitating constant engagements and dismissals of workers, e.g., when the cotton bales arriving from outside are to be weighed or when the bales are to be pressed during the slack and the busy seasons. The contractors are in a better position to regulate the number of men according to the seasonal or daily requirements.

The workers themselves have the advantages of continuous employment. They also get the benefit of the compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act, for which the premium is paid by the company.

III.—Housing.

16 to 21. The Calico mills have built houses on two different sites for their workers.

(1) Chamanpura.—This is just near the mills. These are chawls of single tenements with verandahs in the front. The total number of rooms is 131. These were built years ago and are not satisfactory.

(2) Saranagar.—This is situated at about half a mile from the mills. Each tenement consists of a room, a kitchen, a bathroom, and a common verandah. Such tenements are 48. This settlement is not popular, due to its distance from the town.

There is a great deal of overcrowding in these tenements. A worker in addition to his own family, will take in to live with him his relations and their families, not working necessarily in the Calico Mills. Six or seven persons including children in one room is a matter of common occurrence. There is always a great demand for accommodation in Chamanpura owing to the proximity of the houses to the mills and to the city. Rooms in Chamanpura are not rented to non-workers in the Calico Mills. In Saranagar, it is done on rare occasions. Sub-letting is done to a small extent, but the mills discourage it and at present it is much reduced. Arrangements are made for conservancy, water, compound lighting, etc. The rent is Rs. 3 per month per tenement.

Private persons have also built some tenements near the mills but the total accommodation is only a small fraction of what is in demand. The blocks in Saranagar were built with a view to provide housing for our workers on sanitary lines. Every attempt is being made to make it a small compact colony and to develop social life. Open spaces are kept, gardens are being made, and it is our intention to provide further amenities of life. Cases of eviction are very rare, they occur only when the tenant becomes a source of nuisance to other tenants or refuses to pay the rent for several months.

Lands for housing purposes are available under the Municipal Town Planning Scheme and also under the Land Acquisition Act for co-operative housing societies.

Results of the inquiry into the rents paid by the workers in the Jubilee Mills have been given in Appendix VI.

22. Industrial housing conditions in Ahmedabad are far from satisfactory. The houses are badly built, in insanitary surroundings, ill-ventilated, unclean, and above all, overcrowded. The resulting evils are constant illness, physical and moral deterioration, high child mortality, and high death rate. The problem of housing, closely bound as it is with the health and productive capacity of the worker, is of no less importance to the employer than to the employee. No real solution of the problem on an adequate scale has yet been attempted.

The building byelaws are defective and are not properly enforced. This is due among other reasons, to the landed interest being strongly represented in the past, and at present, on the municipal board. There are many chawls without proper arrangements for water and sanitation. Roofs are low and of iron sheets. A good many houses are surrounded by pools of water.

The work which the mills can do in this regard is of a limited character. It involves a large capital outlay, supervision of buildings and repairs, recovery of rent, work for which they are not well equipped, and which is outside their normal sphere of activities. Even while acting with the best of intentions their action is often misunderstood. Genuine attempts to relieve housing congestion and provide better housing facilities are almost without exception, interpreted in the labour circles as additional weapons to strengthen the employers' grip on the workers.

The position of the owners during strikes and lockouts will be particularly difficult. Eviction will become both impracticable and inadvisable, rents will remain in arrears, and cases of default will be not a few. The provision of housing is hardly a business proposition for the mills, with private owners it is a different thing.

The best way out of the difficulty is for the workers to build and own their houses by starting co-operative housing societies and for local bodies to build houses and to give grants-in-aid. According to the scheme, Government advances as loan the major portion of the cost; the remainder is to be paid in small instalments by the prospective owners of the houses. The labour union and the municipality can render great help by advancing whenever necessary, the workers' share of capital to be recovered in small sums as in the case of Government instalments. The solution of the housing question along this line would, in addition to providing sanitary houses and removing the congestion, encourage thrift and teach self-reliance to the workers. A housing society under the above scheme is being started for the workers of the Calico Mills, the workers' share of cost being advanced by the mills.

IV.—Health.

23. (iii) (a) Working conditions in some of the old mills are being improved. Conditions in most of the new mills are as good as in any of the Lancashire mills and in some cases even better.

(iv) Workers can afford to buy better food than what they usually eat, but they do not pay sufficient attention to the quality of their diet. Articles of food are chosen not for their food value, but for reasons of taste. This is not naturally conducive to good health.

(v) Physique is very poor. This is mainly due to want of education, religious and social superstitions and customs, and unhealthy surroundings.

24. (i) The Calico mills provide the following medical facilities: a dispensary and a hospital, under the management of a qualified medical practitioner assisted by another medical graduate. Both of them are appointed by the mills. The number of out-door patients treated during the last three years are given below:—

	Calico mills.	Jubilee mills.
1926	9,643	5,513
1927	11,388	6,622
1928	11,582	6,716

In the Calico mills and the Jubilee mills hospitals there is accommodation for 18 and 16 indoor patients respectively. Buildings specially built for hospitals will improve conditions. The hospital at the Calico mills will be removed from its temporary quarters to a new building which is under construction. The hospitals are equipped for medical, surgical, and maternity cases. Qualified nurses are employed. No charge is made for treatment either in the dispensary or in the hospital. The doctor visits the patients in their houses whenever necessary. Our efforts to get a lady doctor have not been successful so far.

The number of indoor patients treated during the last three years is as under:—

	Calico mills.	Jubilee mills.
1926	356	No hospital
1927	409	90
1928	432	257

(ii) and (iii) There is a Government civil hospital in the City as well as a few municipal dispensaries. The hours until recently were not convenient for the mill employees. If a private practice is not allowed to the doctors employed in the Government or municipal dispensaries, the patients are likely to derive greater benefit. There are a hospital and a dispensary run by the Labour Union. They are popular and are doing very useful work.

25. (i) The medical facilities provided by the mills are fully appreciated and utilized, as will be seen from the number of out-door patients and the demand for accommodation in the hospital.

(ii) In the beginning there was some prejudice against the use of the hospital by women, specially in maternity cases, but it has now completely disappeared and most of the deliveries in the workers' families take place in the hospital.

26. (a) (i) Latrines with the flush system are built in different parts of the mill premises, separately for women and men, the total number being 72 in the Calico mills and 48 in the Jubilee mills.

(ii) Drinking water is kept in several places either in covered tanks or in large earthen jars. A special attendant is appointed in each place to keep sufficient stock of water, to maintain cleanliness, and to dole it out if necessary. It is intended to place a refrigerator in the dining room of the Calico mills in order to ensure a supply of cold water to the workers.

(iii) Bathing and washing :—There is no drainage in the locality and hence the scheme has been held up.

A special inspector has been appointed by the mills to supervise the sanitary arrangements and to maintain cleanliness.

27. (iii) The certifying surgeon and the factory inspector visit the mills from time to time. They exercise proper supervision.

28. (ii) An effort is being made to control temperature according to Government regulations. Existing conditions are a great improvement on the past.

29. Diseases of the respiratory tracts are more prevalent among the workers in the spinning department. Skin diseases are more common among the workers in cotton mills.

31. Realizing the importance of compulsory rest before and after the delivery to the mother and the child, and with a view to provide proper medical attendance, diet, and sanitary surroundings at the time of delivery, a scheme was introduced in the mills under my management in 1920. Maternity benefit is given only to such of the workers who came for delivery in the mills hospital. It was found necessary to lay down this restriction in the interest of the female employees. The conditions in the private houses—specially in the workers' dwellings—are admittedly bad and hence in the sheer interest of the mother and the child delivery in the hospital was made a necessary condition for getting the benefit. As the benefits of the medical facilities are being increasingly appreciated, most of the deliveries take place in the mills hospital.

Every woman is paid Rs. 15 on her leaving the hospital after delivery to go home, and an equal amount on her resuming work in the mills. The total amount received by her is a little short of the wages she would have earned if she had been working the whole time. The number of cases in 1928 was 46 in the Calico mills and 31 in the Jubilee mills.

V.—Welfare.

32 and 33. For several years past the Calico mills have a welfare department to direct and co-ordinate the various welfare activities in the mills. It is under a medical officer assisted by a staff.

34. In addition to housing and medical facilities the following are amongst the welfare activities :—(a) Creche :—The creches are under the supervision of nurses assisted by ayahs. The staff is both experienced and trained for their work. Special sheds are set apart for this purpose. The creche in the Calico mills contains 72 cradles and that in the Jubilee 57 cradles and both are fitted with electric fans. Each child is washed and put into clean clothes every morning and free milk and food are also provided whenever necessary. The mothers are allowed to visit the creche during the working hours to nurse the babies. (b) There are three refreshment rooms in the Calico mills which are in the process of being moved to a large, commodious, ventilated, and furnished refreshment and dining hall. There are refreshment sheds in the Jubilee mills but they are not satisfactory. (c) Library :—There are a reading room and a library in the Calico mills. The daily average attendance is very poor. (d) Loans :—A special fund has been created to enable the workers to obtain loans for short periods. The rate of interest is lower than what the workers have to pay to the money-lenders, but has been intentionally kept high enough to prevent frequent applications for loans. In 1927, a sum of Rs. 38,605 was given as loans to such of the workers who wanted to rebuild their houses fallen during the floods. The loans were given at the rate of 6½ per cent. and are being recovered by small instalments. (e) Cricket and tennis :—Clubs for playing cricket and tennis have been started recently in the Calico mills. These have proved a success. (f) Widows and orphans of ex-workers who are destitute receive financial assistance from the mills.

36. The Calico mills had opened a school formerly for imparting free education to the children of the workers and to the half-timers. It was closed for want of building accommodation. There is a municipal school nearby. At present the workers' children, i.e., such of those as are allowed by the parents to go to schools, are sent to the municipal school near the mills with a man who has been specially appointed for the purpose.

The children are taught scouting for which a teacher has been appointed.

For secondary and college education, fees and free books are given to the children of the employees.

The number of workers' children taking advantage of this facility is negligible—six in the Calico mills and nine in the Jubilee mills.

The Jubilee mills have a Montessori school for workers' children between the ages of three and five. The school is in charge of a male teacher assisted by a school mistress. Free food and clothing are provided for the children whose number at present is about 30. It is under the supervision of the president of the Labour Union.

38. A Co-operative Housing Society for the workers of the Calico mills is being started. The building work will be begun shortly.

VII.—Safety.

43. With a view to minimise the number of accidents to the buildings it is desirable that the plans of mills should first be passed by the factory inspector. The municipality should also make proper regulations, which do not exist at present.

44. The number of accidents in the Calico mills during 1928 was 46, of which one was fatal. In the Jubilee mills the number of accidents in the same year was 15.

46. Every care is taken to lessen the number of accidents by giving oral instructions to the workers and by placing printed posters and other notices regarding the proper methods of working on the walls near the machines.

48. First-aid and medical relief to the persons who have accidents are provided in the dispensary and the hospital in the mill premises to which a reference has been made before.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. The Calico and the Jubilee mills have insured against accidents to the workers. All accidents are reported to the insurance company and due care is taken to see that the worker gets the maximum amount of compensation whenever it is due to him under the Act. The provision about insurance does not seem, however, to have been understood by the workers in Behar where most of the workers are still ignorant of their rights under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The law at present regarding the contractor's liabilities in case of an accident to a man under him is vague. It should be amended so as to fix the responsibility directly on the contractor. Only in cases when he is unable to pay, the mills should be held responsible.

52. Insurance by employers should be made compulsory. The provisions of the Act should be extended to all classes of manual workers—agricultural, domestic, and others.

53. (i) and (ii) The scale of compensation and the methods of payment as they stand at present can be improved upon. The worker's claim for payment should begin from the eighth day of the accident instead of from the eleventh day, but it should begin from the first day if his incapacity exceeds seven days. The minimum amount payable should be Rs. 15 p. m. and the maximum Rs. 75 p. m. In case of death, the whole amount should not be paid in one lump sum to the heir as it is likely to be mis-spent. The present system does not ensure real protection and help to the dependants of the deceased. The amount due should be paid in 60 equal monthly instalments and a legal provision preventing the creditors from having any lien on that amount should be introduced. In addition to this, every child under 15 should get Rs. 60 per year until it reaches the age of 15 except in case of earlier death. In case of death of a woman, the husband should get only half the amount due, to be paid in 15 equal instalments if he has no living children from the woman.

IX.—Hours.

55. Hours of work are governed by the Factory Act. Usual working time is as follows :—7 a.m. to 12 noon ; 1 p.m. to 6 p.m.

There is an interval for rest from 12 noon to 1 p.m. The hours of attendance, rest, and closing are sometimes slightly changed owing to seasonal causes, but the hours of work and rest which are ten hours and one hour respectively, are never changed except to make up for the loss of time resulting from the stoppage of the engine.

In departments like winding, folding, and reeling where the amount of work is of a varying nature and the payment of wages on piecework basis, workers are allowed to go earlier or come late when there is not sufficient work.

56. The mills are working full time.

57. The workers have undoubtedly benefitted by the 60 hours a week limit. Their efficiency has increased and the output per hour per man has gone up, but it has not gone high enough to compensate for the loss to the owners due to the lesser

number of hours of work. The output per day per man would have been higher if he were working for 12 hours instead of 10 hours as at present. It is not suggested that the legal provision for the limitation should be repealed, but it is necessary to bear in mind that the output per day per man can be more if he does not absent himself from his machine as much as he does at present. The practical significance of this statement is evident from the effects of competition from countries where there are no similar restrictions or where they are placed only recently.

58. The introduction of the daily limit has undoubtedly benefited the worker as he gets more leisure than before. It is unfortunate, however, that this leisure is not used profitably on account of the bad housing conditions, absence of amenities, and the habit of drinking. This statement should not be considered as an argument against giving them more leisure but is only as a statement of facts.

59. The present condition of the Indian textile industry is such that no reduction in the maximum number of working hours is possible. Any reduction would mean a luxury which the industry cannot afford. Even at present, when the usual working hours are 10 per day, it may be safely estimated that on the average a worker does not put in more than seven to eight hours' work. Unless the workers develop a greater sense of duty, they have neither a right to expect, nor is it possible to grant, them a reduction in the number of working hours. Moreover, one country cannot reduce its hours while another country competing in its home and foreign markets does not do so, unless it has the independence to adjust its tariffs and pay bounties as may be necessary to make up for what may be lost by reduction in the hours of working and by improving generally the conditions of workers.

60. (i) The present interval for rest is from 12 noon to 1 p.m. for the workers on day-shifts. According to the Factory Act, at least an hour's interval has to be given for every six hours' work. The present interval has no connection with the workers' time for meals. They take their food any time after about 9 a.m. and in any place—in many cases near the machines on which they work. The objects, with which the interval is given, viz., to remove fatigue and to enable the workers to take meals, will be better served if it is given twice instead of once a day. But under the existing conditions it is neither desirable nor possible to make the change.

61. The rules regarding holidays require no change.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults, and Children.

82. Infants are not allowed in the factories.

83. In the interest of the welfare of their families and children, it is undesirable that married women should be employed in the spinning and frame departments. If other countries consent to prohibit their working in these departments, a similar restriction should be placed in India.

Assaults on women and children should be made cognizable and punishment should be very stringent as they have to come compulsorily into contact with men of bad character during the course of work.

84. Very few children (half-timers) are employed in mills under my management as we discourage their employment. Those employed at present are for a special reason, i.e., because their relatives who are working in the mills want them to work in the same mills.

86. Under the present conditions, it is not possible to give training or facilities for apprenticeship.

87. "Blind Alley" employment does not exist in cotton mills.

88. Adults under the age of 20 should be prohibited from serving on night-shifts. At present, men working in day-shifts are as a rule unwilling to work in night-shifts and the people recruited for night-shifts are generally those who are inefficient, and cannot get employment in day-shifts. In the interest of health, it is necessary that a mill working both shifts should change the men, i.e., men working on night-shifts should be obliged to work on the day-shifts, say, every fortnight, and vice-versa. To prevent double working, it should be made necessary to start the night-shift half an hour earlier than the closing time of the day-shift in the adjoining mills. No workers should be employed on the night-shifts after the starting time.

XII.—Wages.

96. A statement classifying the workers according to their incomes is enclosed. (Please see App. No. IX).

97. The last wage cut was made in 1923.

100. Payment to contractors is based either on the amount of actual work done, e.g., the number of bales pressed, boilers cleaned, or a fixed amount for the work to be done during certain periods as for carrying the beams or stitching the belts, etc. The total amounts paid in 1928 were about Rs. 38,000 in the Calico mills and Rs. 12,000 in the Jubilee mills.

101. It seems that the first mill started in the city must have fixed the spinners' wages a little higher than those prevalent for the unskilled workers in the same area, and the weavers' wages must have been fixed a little higher than what they could earn on handlooms. These must have been adjusted from time to time according to the changes in the supply and demand for labour. During the epidemic in 1918 or 1919 there was a shortage of labour, and as profits were good, special bonus was paid for regular attendance. As the total wages including the bonus had gone up very high, there was a combined action on the part of the employers to reduce them. It was at this time that the workers combined for the first time to oppose the reduction. Since then the employees have to take combined actions in deciding questions regarding the spinners' wages. All questions of wages are now settled by negotiations with the Labour Union. If the Millowners' Association and the Labour Union are unable to come to an agreement there will probably be a strike and the question will be settled by the arbitrators after some time. Since 1920, there has been no change of a general nature. The demand for increase in the spinners' wages has been referred to an Umpire, the arbitrators having failed to reach an agreement.

102. The rate of wages for workers engaged on overtime or holidays is 25 per cent. more than the ordinary rate. The rate for persons engaged on night-shifts is 20 per cent. higher than the rate for the day work.

103. There is no standardization. The Millowners' Association once made an attempt to introduce it, but without success.

104. Most of the mill-labour is really agricultural labour, and hence more or less men are attracted to the factories according as the wages go higher or lower.

105. The principle of minimum wages is applicable only to such industries in which sweating is common and the workers' Unions are either non-existent or else not strong enough to enforce a minimum wage from the employers. It cannot be said of the Indian cotton industry that the wages paid are starvation wages in any sense of the word; on the other hand they are higher than what are paid in other occupations which are open to the type of workers who generally work in the mills. The trade unions are also strong enough to press their claims for higher wages. Under these conditions Government intervention in the matter of wages is thoroughly uncalled for.

At the present rate of earnings, there is no shortage of labour. Until 1913-14 there used to be a shortage due to wages being not higher than the agricultural earnings in the same proportion, as they are now. Given requisite conditions, I am personally in favour of fixing a minimum wage but it will not be possible for many years to come.

106. (i) Fining is resorted to only in exceptional conditions when repeated warnings have no effect on a worker. Efforts to completely stop fines as a punishment or as a deterrent and to resort to dismissing the workers who persist in disobeying orders or in working badly did not meet with success as the workers as well as the Labour Union prefer fine to discharge as a punishment. Deductions are made from the weavers' wages as compensation for the damages sustained through their carelessness in weaving cloth.

(ii) The only other deduction about 1 per cent. of the wages is the contribution to the Servants' Self-helping Fund which partly pays for the various welfare activities in the mills. The contribution is paid by all including the managing agents.

107. (i) and (ii)

	Periods for which wages are paid.	Periods elapsing before payment
	Days.	Days.
(1) Weavers	14	6
(2) Winders and Reelers	15	8
(3) Ring Piecers	16	10
(4) Men paid on monthly basis	1 month	15

(iii) Wages claimed within a period of six months from the date on which they are due are paid out on proper identification. After that no payments are made, except in special cases. Wages which are forfeited are utilized for the benefit of the workers.

109. No scheme for bonus or profit-sharing based on separate profit of each Company will work well in the cotton industry. Moreover, the work of the machine-men or other workers is not the only factor in determining the profits of the year.

110. There are no fixed rules for giving leave to workers, but it is generally given whenever it is asked for, for reasons of health or social purposes, etc.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

112. The efficiency of the Indian worker has gone up in recent years, though it is not possible to say exactly how much.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. The Millowners' Association and the Labour Union are in a better position to supply this information. Mills under my management are not members of any Association.

118. (ii) The effect of the workers' organizations has been to improve the condition of their work. Owing to the existence of the Union the workers' status has improved. They get better treatment, their complaints are well attended to, and their comforts in the working places have increased.

The Labour Union tries to enforce discipline whenever it can do so and to the fullest extent possible.

122. (i) Relations between the employers and the employees are very cordial. Though the Union as a rule takes pro-labour views, it is generally sympathetic towards the employers and tries to be just. This is largely due to the present leaders of the Union and to Mahatma Gandhi. The present partial attitude of the Union against the employers will not continue if the two parties come to a settlement on all important questions likely to lead to disputes and if the employers agree not to engage any non-union men. In that case all workers will be union members; the Labour Union will not be afraid of a decrease in membership and will therefore be in a better position to take an impartial view.

In some departments the wages are low, in others very high. It is possible for the workers to do more work without undue fatigue and to earn more. The present wage in some departments is not adequate, but the remedy lies in doing more work and earning more wages. This will not create or increase unemployment for more workers will continue to be absorbed in new mills in night-shifts and in the extensions of mills. Moreover a certain number of workers leaves the mills every year. If the Labour Union and the Millowners' Association come to an understanding whereby the former would not increase its members until the present number is fully employed and the latter binds itself not to employ non-union men, the wages bill will not go up but individual wages will go higher through increased efficiency.

124. (i) The relations with the workers and the Labour Union are good. Points of difference are settled by mutual discussions.

(ii) Conciliation or arbitration through government machinery is not likely to be beneficial.

(iv) The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association and the Labour Union have appointed a Permanent Board of Arbitrators.

Certain conventions have been established in the western countries after a great deal of suffering on both sides. As the Trade Union movement is comparatively new to this country and if these sufferings are to be avoided, similar conventions between capital and labour must be established. It may be in the interest of both to adopt some of them as regulations. The machinery for adjusting differences between the Labour Union and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association has worked well which is due very largely to the goodwill and understanding prevailing between the two. The Labour Union is doing constructive work by running schools, hospitals, etc., and does not, except on rare occasions, tolerate indiscipline. During strikes or lock-outs, the Union did not in the past give strike-pay but provided some work for the men for which small payments were made. This action prevented the members from getting demoralized. One of the reasons why the Union is working so well in Ahmedabad is that the persons directing the Union activities work in honorary capacities and do not gain anything financially from the Union. Moreover, they do not exploit labour for their political and social ambitions or for personal gain.

(v) In the mills under my management, full opportunities are given to workmen for making representations in person or in writing. Complaints received by anonymous letters are also investigated. The complaints however contain so much misrepresentation of facts that in many cases it is difficult to get at the truth.

126. The attitude of Government is one of indifference. They try to intervene at a stage when either it is too late or when it does more harm than good.

Incitement to violence and intimidation should be made cognizable offences.

133. Under the present conditions the Legislature cannot do much.

134. Ratifications of the International Conventions have done good to the workers but not to the industry. This is to be expected when ratification in this country is pushed through as a matter of course without any reference to the actions of other countries.

139. Inspection of Factories is carried out in an efficient manner.

Conclusion.—On the one hand we have workers who are inefficient with a low standard of living, illiterate, and unwilling to earn more wages if it means more work. On the other hand, we have employers who do not take sufficient count of the existing conditions and have not begun to benefit by the experience of other countries secured at a great cost. Lastly there is the Government, some of whose acts of commission and omission have ruined the trade, industry, and agriculture of the country.

With such a combination of circumstances, it is difficult to secure the well-being of a very small class—that of the industrial workers—without an all-round improvement in all classes of people in the country.

APPENDICES.

THE AHMEDABAD JUBILEE SPINNING & MFG. CO., LTD.

APPENDICES No. I, II and III (abridged).

Classification of Workers according to Age and Married Condition.

Age.	Males.				Females.			
	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowers.	Total.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widows.	Total.
10 to 20	66	65	3	134	42	4	5	51
20 to 30	445	128	33	606	84	0	19	103
30 to 40	182	29	22	233	26	0	16	42
40 to 50	102	4	9	115	25	0	21	46
50 to 60	24	0	0	24	3	0	15	18
60 and over	3	0	2	5	1	0	2	3
	822	226	69	1,117	181	4	78	263

APPENDIX No. IV.

Duration of Service.

Years.	In Jubilee Mills.			In other Mills.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Up to 1	162	44	206	44	4	48
1 to 3	336	38	374	184	22	206
3 to 5	204	50	254	99	14	113
5 to 10	296	88	384	133	29	162
10 to 15	82	22	104	51	7	58
15 to 20	24	12	36	23	5	28
20 and over	15	7	22	16	3	19
	1,119	261	1,380	550	84	634

APPENDIX No. V.

Number of persons staying together.	Number of Workers.	Per cent.
Up to 2	521	38
3 to 5	608	44
6 to 8	196	14
9 to 11	52	3·8
12 and over	3	0·2
	<u>1,380</u>	<u>100</u>

APPENDIX No. VI.

Rent.

Monthly in Rupees.	Number of Workers.	Per cent.
Up to 2	65	5·5
2 to 4	250	21·2
4 to 6	626	53·2
6 to 8	196	16·6
8 to 10	27	2·2
10 and over	16	1·3
	<u>1,180</u>	<u>100</u>

APPENDIX No. VII.

Classification of Workers according to Residence.

	Males.	Per cent.	Females.	Per cent.
1. Permanent residents of Ahmedabad.	133	12	83	31.5
2. Outsiders	984	88	180	68.5
	1,117	100	263	100

APPENDIX No. VIII.

Statement showing the Extent to which the Workers go to their Villages.

In a year.	Months.				
	0- $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ -1	1-2	2-3	3 and over.
Once	85	18	8	1	2
Twice	22	6	2	1	0
Thrice	8	1	1	0	0
Four times	5	0	0	0	0
Five times	1	0	0	0	0

All the figures in the above appendices represent the information that has actually been received from the workmen. They have not been verified and hence must not be taken as quite reliable.

APPENDIX No. IX.

Monthly Earnings of Workers.

Earnings in Rupees.	Number of Workers.
Up to 20	332
20-30	765
30-40	262
40-50	42
50-60	555
60-70	334
70-80	36
80-90	10
90-100	14
100-125	7
125-150	35
150-250	2

Workers in the winding and reeling departments have not been included as the amount of daily work is of a varying nature.

CERTAIN WEAVERS IN AHMEDABAD.

We, the undersigned, weavers working in the local textile mills, many of us for more than 15 years, beg to lay before the Royal Commission some of our grievances and suggestions for consideration.

Firstly we would like to state that our object in tendering this memorandum is to bring to your notice certain hardships and evils that we experience in regard to our work, and to suggest a few remedies. Secondly, most of us are illiterate and therefore

we particularly expect, not only that our full rights should be assured to us, but, sympathetic co-operation afforded us in the matter of our amelioration, both from the mill agents and the Government.

Following are the points regarding our hardships and the suggested remedies :—

(1) On account of lower type of cotton, bad stores, bad yarn, badly sized, old machinery, insufficient air, light, and humidity, bad provision of steam, and humidifiers, etc., in weaving sheds, we naturally produce much damaged cloth, and our production must necessarily be low, which means less pay. We are heavily fined for faults, for which we are not responsible, the above matters not being within our control but in that of the proprietors. Under these circumstances there is little chance to improve our efficiency.

(2) The folding contractor generally finds out the damages for which the company pays him about 50 per cent. out of our fines. On account of this system some of our weavers, to escape the fine, please the folder by paying some hush-money, and thus get the fine reduced. This evil which has arisen out of indiscriminate fining should be radically remedied.

(3) The beam and cloth carriers are paid from the wages of weavers. This is quite improper.

(4) In some mills contributions are raised from the weavers to provide for water and smoking-fire (fire to fill the Hukka-chilam). In such mills arrangements for water and Hukka-fire should be immediately made.

(5) In some places there are no dining-sheds at all.

(6) Doctors should attend the mills for the whole time and their visits to the workers' homes should be free of charge.

(7) The companies should provide tea-shops and canteens without deriving any profit therefrom.

(8) At present the housing for labour is in an extremely bad state. Co-operative housing societies should be started and Government should provide free land and lend money without interest or nominal interest. This is clearly the duty of the Government. The chawls that exist to-day are in an insanitary condition and harmful to health. They are built by men who live on rents. The new co-operative societies' houses should be provided by municipality with water gutters, flush water latrines, and all other special facilities for cleanliness.

(9) The municipality should start night schools for labourers and also should keep the dispensaries open up to late hours at night.

(10) In the labour chawls, generally, the complaints such as thefts, adultery, gambling, abduction, etc., are too well-known, and many of these complaints go to courts. In such cases, many innocent people suffer on account of insufficient facilities for intelligent defence, and for these a permanent legal advisor should be appointed to give free legal facilities to these innocent and ignorant people.

(11) The Government should make proper provisions for old age pensions, sickness, and unemployment insurance. There is a great deal of unemployment as can be seen from the nature of the crowds seeking work at the mill gates.

(12) The mill-owners, the municipality, and the Government should make special efforts for the enlightenment of the workers, by cinema and magic lantern shows, on sanitation and general knowledge.

(13) The Government should legislate that a certain portion of the net profits of a company should be spent after the general welfare, including technical education of the labourers, and for welfare schemes.

(14) The mill-agents should charge their commission on net profit only. The aim of this suggestion is that the mill-agents will use the best raw materials and stores, supply the machinery with good parts and keep the working department in good state, and give every encouragement and facility to increase our efficiency so as to secure the largest output.

(15) Any advances made out of our deposit accounts of pay should not bear any kind of interest. This is money which we have earned.

(16) In the new mills, and even in old ones, the new machinery that is being installed is of very high speed in general. This high speed machinery, accompanied with the suggestions made in article 14, will increase production. But not only men will be thrown out of employment, but the nerves of the workers will not stand the high tension involved in working at top speed. A reduction of hours to 8 must be made compulsory by law, with no resultant decrease in wages in the transition period. Ultimately we believe that a reduction of hours with new machinery will mean more production than at present.

(17) The municipality has failed to make any arrangement for throwing away the dyeing and bleaching waste water from the mill compounds. This is very harmful to the health of the workers working in the mills and living in the chawls. Some special steps should be taken to remove this evil.

(18) Country and foreign liquor shops that are situated practically at all the gates of the city should be permanently closed by legislation and only those people should be supplied liquor who carry medical permission.

(19) Most of the labour in Ahmedabad is permanent.

(20) A great deal of seasonal malaria and hookworm and lung diseases prevail amongst the labouring population.

(21) We attach two family budgets which show that although a single man can live on a weaver's present earnings it is not possible for a man with a family to live in any sort of comfort or for him to be free from debt. There should be a system limiting the profits of the company and releasing the balance both for welfare work as well as for higher wages.

(22) Exhausted physically, living under dreadful insanitary conditions, ill-nourished, it is not possible to expect from us more than we do. Many of us are not capable of minding more than two looms, but some of us who are physically stronger would not mind this provided the spacing and the machinery, and the conditions in the machine rooms are adapted to the new methods, and on the condition that a substantial amount of the savings made are paid to us.

(23) The compensation for accidents now paid to us is not sufficient. The law should be revised in consultation with the unions.

(24) There should be a law for the payment of pensions for widows of workers and for orphans, who to-day can do nothing else but beg or else die of starvation.

(25) We are paid every twelve days, the spinners every fourteen days. Delay in paying us our due wages should be stopped by law.

Family Budget No. 1 of Purusothamdas Lakhmidas, of Nadiala, weaver in the Ahmedabad Ginning and Manufacturing Mills. Worked for 20 years, age 37 to 38. Wage earned on the average per month, Rs. 42. House rent, pays to landlord per month for a room and a small verandah, Rs. 7. Average cost of food for the month (for two principal meals for the family and himself, including some breakfast for him specially before coming to work), Rs. 30.

Regarding the other expenses he does not know, as his wife manages the ordinary other household duties.

Wife works for the neighbours and earns a couple of rupees per month, and gets odd pieces of clothes given to her.

A family of four, mother, the worker, his wife and a daughter of 8.

He is in debt of Rs. 50, which he has borrowed, half from certain relatives and half from a jobber, at an interest of 3 pies per rupee per month.

Budget No. 2.—Meran, weaver, age 40, from Gorakhpur, has been working for 21 years. Wage earned on the average per month, Rs. 40. Pays for his meals in a mess, for two meals a day, Re. 14. House rent, pays for his share in a room where six single workers stay, Rs. 1. Pays for the morning breakfast, a cup of milk and a loaf while coming to work, per month, Rs. 4. On pan beedi, etc., spends per month, Re. 1. Spends on four dhoties, four shirts, one topi, a pair of shoes per year, Rs. 20.

He is living here single, going home once in two years.

He had borrowed Rs. 250, owing to famine conditions in his country, to send to his family and has paid it back by borrowing Rs. 100 locally, and with the rest of his wage.

THE INDIAN SEAMEN'S UNION.

Recruitment—Origin of labour and contact with villages.—It is a matter of history that the Indian sailors date their origin in the dim past of the middle ages during which there was a brisk trade between the Arabian and the Indian shores. In the 12th century, when the Zamorin had complete sway over the south-eastern shores of India, the enterprising Arabian sailors contributed greatly in making Calicut a great port. It appears that the present Malabari seamen, who form the bulk of the sailors (deck crew), is the direct outcome of the close contact of the Arabic sailors and native coastal population of Malabar, and it is believed that they began to migrate to Bombay ever since it became a port of some importance. Later, seafaring men from Surat, Daman and Diu and the other part of the Bombay Presidency known as

Konkan, gradually migrated to Bombay as it increased in importance as an international port. Subsequently about 85 years ago the Punjabis, the Pathans and the Kutchi took to the seafaring life as the facilities to obtain sea service increased and the rigours of the sailor's life lessened. These men generally are found very efficient in the engine room, as they have a sturdy physique.

The saloon workers, who mostly hail from Goa and Mangalore, first appear to have taken to seafaring service about 125 years ago. But it is only when the steamships came into existence and the passenger trade increased that their usefulness was recognized as efficient butlers, cooks and waiters.

The seamen of all ranks and categories in Bombay at present number about 70,000. Although they do visit their places of origin during the time of unemployment, a majority of them have become a permanent part of the working-classes in Bombay, and are not prone to give up their vocation unless under the stress of adverse circumstances. In this connection it may be pointed out that even though during recent years there has been continuous unemployment amongst a considerable section of the men, it is ascertained that seamen scarcely migrate back to their villages and prefer to tide over their difficulties by taking some temporary work on shore, there are several instances of men who have not ceased to be seamen, even though they could not get a ship for five or six years at a stretch.

Recruitment of Seamen—The system of recruitment obtaining in Bombay leaves large room for improvement. The system till very recently was that seamen were selected by the ship authorities through the brokers, who had practically the largest say in the matter. This led to corruption and favouritism, as the brokers had to depend upon the Ghat Serangs and other intermediaries, who were very inadequately paid by them, but who fattened on the rewards practically extorted from the seamen. This state of affairs became so scandalous and intolerable that there was widespread discontent amongst the ranks of seamen and Government of India were prompted to appoint a committee to enquire into and report on the conditions of recruitment. A committee under the chairmanship of Mr. A. G. Clow, I.C.S., went into the whole question and made several valuable recommendations to Government.

We request the honourable members of the Commission to take note of those suggestions. Though seven years have elapsed, Government have not given effect to these recommendations, and the Report, like many other reports, has been shelved and almost consigned to oblivion.

This union felt so strongly on the evils of the broker system that its officers made several strong representations both to the local and central Governments, and, as a result of their persistent agitation, the Government of India have, in July last, appointed an officer as Assistant to the Shipping Master to look after the recruitment of the seamen. Though his appointment is an effective check on the adverse interference on the part of the broker in the selection of crews, still his powers and functions being limited in their character and scope, the advantages which have resulted hitherto are so meagre that they have not in any material way improved the conditions of recruitment. One of the chief defects of the reform introduced is that the officer has no power to stop direct recruitment by the ship authorities. From a superficial point of view it may be thought that the practice of direct recruitment without reference to any official authority would secure benefits to seamen, but on a closer examination of the question it would be found that, apart from the actual evils attending on a particular system, recruitment has a direct connection with the question of unemployment. The whole question of unemployment amongst seamen depends on the regulation of their engagements by their registered turns.

It is absolutely necessary, in order to minimise unemployment amongst seamen, that engagement of seamen should be controlled and regulated by an official agency. It is, therefore, urged that in order to suppress the evil practices which naturally obtain in the broker system of recruitment and to relieve unemployment as far as possible, a State Employment Bureau for seamen should be immediately established. The bureau should consist of an officer of the Government, with an adequate staff and two representatives of the organized and officially recognized body of seamen, and an equal number of representatives of the association of the shipping companies. The nature and the conditions of seamen's service are such, that an effective control by the State, assisted by the representatives of both the employers and the employed, is absolutely necessary. It is high time that intermediaries like the brokers, who exist solely for themselves and who are no better than parasites, were completely eliminated. It may be mentioned that our union feels very strongly on this point, and has repeatedly urged upon the Government to discontinue an archaic system of recruitment, which, whatever justification it may have had in the past, has certainly outlived its usefulness and is a drag on the amelioration of the conditions of seamen. Further, it is very important to restrict by legislation the recruitment of seamen to the local limits of the port of engagement. It would not be wise to encourage an unhealthy competition between the seamen of one port with those of

another, especially when the supply of seamen far exceeds the demand. Moreover, unfortunately the ratings of seamen in the different ports of India are not uniform and there is a great resentment amongst the ranks of seamen in Bombay at the attempts of shipping companies to import crews from Calcutta.

Unemployment.—We have already pointed out that the question of unemployment amongst the seamen has a direct relation to the method of recruitment and the terms of engagement. This is even partially true in the case of other industries, and the International Conventions have laid down the principle of giving shifts. Whatever may be the difficulties of applying the principle of shifts to other industries, the engagement of seamen affords ample scope to the adoption of these recommendations. Seamen themselves, after a strenuous voyage, desire a respite on the home shores to be once more in the midst of their families or relatives, and can very well afford a holiday, as they have some saving by that time. It is, therefore, urged that the guiding principle in the engagement of seamen should be that no agreement be allowed to spread over a period of more than twelve months. At the end of twelve months at least, seamen of inferior rating must be discharged and a fresh supply of men obtained. The supply should be regulated by the registered turns of the men. This alone will minimise the effects of unemployment.

Housing.—So far as seamen in Bombay are concerned there is no housing provided either by any of their employers or by Government. The seamen forming the deck and engine crews mostly live in boarding houses called "lathis," and those of the saloon in clubs called "koods." The accommodation each man gets in a lathu or a kood is so limited that it can hardly be considered comfortable. Each man has to use his box containing his belongings as his cot.

The housing accommodation in Bombay is so expensive that seamen who are not born and bred in Bombay very rarely live with their families. They generally keep their families in their native villages and pay them such visits as they can afford from time to time. This state of affairs brings out very prominently the question of adequate wages. Indian seamen are so poorly paid that they cannot afford to live with their families, and have to live under the most revolting conditions. It is hardly necessary to say that these conditions are not conducive to their moral or physical welfare.

Neither the shipowners nor the Government have so far provided any housing accommodation for Indian seamen in Bombay. By a Bombay Government Resolution in the Marine Department a committee for the establishment of an Indian sailors' home in Bombay was constituted in 1927. The committee, it is understood, is to submit its report, plans and estimates, and a statement of the finances so far secured, for the erection and maintenance of the home as a memorial to about 5,000 Indian seamen that died from enemy action during the last Great War. It is reliably learnt that the funds so far raised fall short of the estimates. The Government of India and the local Government, as well as the shipowners, who make huge profits from the sweated labour of the Indian sailors, ought to contribute liberally towards the erection, maintenance and development of the very first home to house the seamen in Bombay. Over a decade has elapsed since the termination of the war, and yet, it is painful to state, the home has not been erected.

Neither private landlords nor the Seamen's Union have been able to provide housing facilities for seamen so far.

Staff Organization.—Regarding facilities for training of seamen or men for sea service as officers and engineers in the Mercantile Marine service, it may be stated that some two years ago Government of India have started a training school on the I.M.T.S. "Dufferin." But the fact that only lads from the age of 13 to 16, with requisite standard of school education, and possessing the means to defray monthly expenses, amounting to Rs. 65 or thereabouts, are admitted as cadets, operates as a barrier for admission of poor seamen's sons to the training. Not a single seaman's son has so far been admitted. So, unless the stringent rules are relaxed in the case of seamen's sons the "Dufferin" training will ever remain an exclusive monopoly of the higher and middle classes who are traditionally strangers to life on the sea.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM.

The Executive Council of this union finds it necessary to submit further grievances of the Indian seamen with a view to getting them ventilated and for the solution of their difficulties and hardships experienced by them.

While inviting the attention of the Honourable Members of the Royal Commission towards the development of this union it is necessary to state that in the month of October, 1926, all the three sections now constituting this union (i.e., deck, engine

and saloon) have been formed into one body. Since then the grievances of the Indian seamen have continuously been represented to the shipowners and the Government for the purpose of getting them redressed, but it is a matter of extreme sorrow that these efforts have proved fruitless so far.

Rate of Wages.—It need not be reiterated here that during the last "Great War" a number of Indian seamen lost their lives. In the year 1919, when the war was brought to an end, the market for foodstuff and all other articles had gone very high and the poor Indian seamen had great difficulty in maintaining themselves and their families in an adequate manner due to excessive price. The seamen were compelled to go on a strike, which lasted for about four days. The employers, recognising the legitimacy of the seamen's demands, raised the rate of their wages from 30 to 35 per cent. This increased rate continued till the year 1923.

At a session of the Clow Committee held at Delhi in the year 1922, the machinations of the brokers in relieving the seamen of some part of their wages for acting as intermediaries for their recruitment and engagement were discussed, and the committee had made very valuable recommendations for removal of the brokers and other parasitical persons. The brokers on coming to know of the said recommendations, approached the shipowners, except the P. & O., to use their influence in pleading their usefulness in recruitment of seamen, thus counteracting and delaying the consummation of the committee's recommendations. The brokers thereafter, on false pretences of procuring better treatment and recognition, obtained signatures of seamen to a petition praying among other things for the retention of the brokers, thus misleading them and misrepresenting their cause. As recruitment entirely rested with the brokers the increased rate of wages from 30 to 35 per cent. was reduced to 10 and 15 per cent., and the poor seamen were obliged to accept the rates, as at that time there was not in existence any body or union to represent their grievances and expose the mischief. The union therefore requests the Honourable Members of the Royal Commission to take notice of the valuable recommendations of the Clow Committee and ask the Government to take steps for an early consummation of them.

This union felt so bitterly for the evils of the broker system that several strong representations were made to both the local and central Governments, the result of which was that in the month of July last an officer was appointed as an assistant to the Government Shipping Master to look after the recruitment and engagement of seamen.

No doubt his appointment was an effective check for the evils of broker system in selection of seamen, but the advantages which have resulted are so meagre that they have not in any material way improved the condition of engagement and recruitment, as his powers are limited in that respect. One of the chief points is that the said officer cannot stop direct recruitment by the authorities of the different shipping firms. The question of unemployment directly depends upon the regulation and system of engagement.

Unemployment.—It is already said above that the question of unemployment has a direct connection with the regulation and system of engagement and recruitment, but besides that, there are certain ranks of seamen who renew their agreement after every voyage and thus they continue their service for three to four years, whereas the P. & O.S.N. Co. does not allow any seaman of deck or engine to continue his service for more than one year, and one has to get himself discharged after his voyage of one year, thus creating a chance for another seaman. It is, therefore, urged that no agreement should be allowed to continue for more than one year by the different shipping firms, just as the said P. & O.S.N. Co. does, and at the end of one year's voyage the seamen should be discharged and fresh engagements should be effected. Such engagements should be regulated by seamen's registered turns. This system alone can mitigate unemployment.

The P. & O.S.N. Co. does not observe the same rule of recruitment of saloon workers as that observed in the case of the deck and engine departments. Some of the saloon workers are continuously engaged in preference to those that are waiting for employment, thereby increasing the misery of the unemployed. The P. & O. Co. have now started a scheme of engaging saloon seamen by turns according to a register kept by them in utter disregard of the time any particular saloon seaman has remained unemployed. Recruitment of the saloon seamen are at the will and pleasure of the authorities, in whose hands the recruitment is placed. Direct representations of such grievances are entirely ignored. Unless the authorities follow a scheme of recruitment of employing saloon workers who are kept unemployed for a long time in preference to those of lesser periods the unemployment question cannot be solved, but on the contrary will develop into a serious trouble.

The P. & O.S.N. Co. have arrogated to themselves the right of recruiting seamen directly in contravention of the existing rules that are followed by the other

shipping companies of engaging seamen from those that are mustered by the shipping master. The union fails to understand why the shipping master should be indifferent in exercising powers vested in him in the case of the P. & O. Co.

It is further noted with extreme sorrow that in case of demand of seamen in Bombay, the shipping companies, incharge serangs and butlers get crews from Calcutta which interferes with the employment of seamen at Bombay. Recently about three complaints were lodged with the acting general secretary of this union by different serangs and butlers of deck, engine and saloon departments as to the importation of seamen from Calcutta by the incharge serangs and butlers of the S.S. "City of London," the S.S. "City of Simla," and the S.S. "City of Paris," and accordingly strong representations were made to the Government Shipping Master, Assistant Shipping Master, and the Marine Superintendent of City and Hall Lines on 28th October, 1929. Also the matter was brought to the notice of the Commissioner of Police and Inspector of C.I.D. (Labour Branch) by a letter dated the 5th November, 1929, but the said authorities have not taken any steps for putting an end to this state of affairs as yet.

Thirdly, it is often noticed that when a vessel anchors at the port of Calcutta on her return from her voyage, the full complement of Bombay seamen on board are sent back to Bombay and fresh engagements are effected in their places, whereas when a vessel from Calcutta anchors in Bombay the Calcutta seamen are not discharged and sent to Calcutta. They are made to extend their period of their agreement for the next voyage, and in case of shortage either Bombay seamen are engaged or crews from Calcutta are sent for.

Under the above circumstances this union feels strongly for the difficulties of the poor seamen of Bombay in obtaining employment. They come down to Bombay from their distant villages for employment and remain hanging for months or rather years together waiting to be employed in a starving condition. This is due to unsatisfactory and irregular methods of recruitment.

Situation of Government Shipping Office.—The Government Shipping Office was till 1926 situated near the docks, between Wadi Bunder and Carnac Bunder, but unfortunately the said shipping office has been removed to Old Customs House at a distance of over a mile from the docks. The space is so inadequate that there is no accommodation for seamen to sit while they are waiting at the office for engagement. The union, therefore, would recommend that the shipping office should be shifted again to a better and spacious site near the docks, which will relieve seamen from the aforesaid inconveniences.

THE BOMBAY SEAMEN'S UNION.

The Bombay Seamen's Union is concerned with the seamen working in the saloon, pantry and galley departments of the mercantile marine. It has on its roll about 6,500 members. Most of them work on the P. & O. Company's ships. The union of the saloon crew has been in existence under one name or another for the last 35 years; but due to the intrigues of the shipping brokers, who seem to fear very much that with a strong union their existence will become impossible, there is, periodically, a split in the union.

The home of the seamen.—The seamen recruited for the above-mentioned service hail from Goa and are domiciled in Bombay. In Bombay they live in "Cudds" (residential clubs). Each village has its club in Bombay where not only the seamen but all other labourers, such as tailors, cooks and subaltern clerks reside in confraternity. These clubs are governed by rules which provide for contingencies for sickness, death and unemployment. Though every member is entitled to live in the club, only those who are out of employment are the actual inmates. A member whether living in the club or not, has to pay the contribution, so that the burden of rent and living is much relieved. The clubs are generally clean habitations; but owing to unemployment, too large a number has to live in houses disproportionately small. In some of these clubs within an area of 50 square yards not less than twenty men live.

Recruitment of the seamen.—Generally speaking, the recruitment of the seamen is carried on through the agency of shipping brokers. This has proved to be a great curse in so far as the crimps of the shipping brokers availing of the situation where the supply exceeds twice the demand have been able to dole out the luxury of employment to the candidate who gives them the highest commission. It often happens that the poor seaman has to pay the crimp the full salary of the month which he receives in advance. The P. & O. Company alone recruits men without the agency

of the broker. The experiment has been very successful in so far as the members of this union are concerned. It is, however, to be desired that the advances to be made to the seamen should be by their own associations. This will immediately bring to the association a handsome revenue which at present goes to increase the profits of the shipping brokers, who do nothing whatsoever for the seamen. Out of these advances it is expected to create funds to provide for the emergencies of illness, loss of service, etc., of the seamen. The brokers are thus useless parasites who live upon the hard-earned money of the seamen.

Relations with the employers.—The branch of the union that has concern with the P. & O. Company has nothing to complain of. The members are given reasonable work, reasonable wages and reasonable treatment. Their only grievance is that after the war there are so many members working in the line that the men can only be recruited in their turn for one year of service after a similar period of unemployment. At present the Company recruits the men who had been discharged in the month of July, 1928, i.e., after 13 months of unemployment a seaman becomes eligible for service. The Company has not definitely recognized the necessity of distribution according to turns, but thanks to the Superintendent Purser, Mr. W. Gordon, the union has been allowed to call the members of the service after a period of one year.

As regards the other companies there is neither system of recruitment or discharge nor is there any provision made by the Company to give any bonuses or remuneration at the end of service when a man retires for want of energy. The union is, however, not concerned with these unfortunates whose ingress in the union is discouraged as the management thinks that under the existing conditions they can do very little for them. It is, however, expected that the commissioners will insist on the recruitment being made directly through one respective union of the respective class of seamen. If this is achieved the union will be in a position to distribute the service according to the equitable basis of rotation after a definite period of service.

BOMBAY TEXTILE LABOUR UNION.

Introduction.

The textile industry in Bombay and other parts of India formed in 1926 a subject of investigation by the Indian (Textile) Tariff Board, which were asked, *inter alia*, to report whether the industry was in need of protection, demanded by the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations. During the course of that investigation the conditions of the textile workers received some attention at the hands of the Board; but owing to the emphasis of their terms of reference being more on the financial side of the industry than on labour conditions, the Board's consideration of the latter could not but be limited. However, the recommendations made by them to improve some of the labour conditions have their value and cannot be lost sight of in any future enquiry. Again, the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, presided over by the Honourable Sir Charles Fawcett, went deeper into some of the important questions, such as the Standardization of Wages, Standing Orders and "Seventeen Demands" of the workers and made recommendations, some of which if adopted and carried into effect, both in the letter and in the spirit by the Bombay millowners, are likely to change for the better some of the existing conditions. The Fawcett Committee were also bound down by their terms of reference and could not deal with many other equally important problems. The list of subjects prepared by the chairman of the Royal Commission, covers practically the whole field of labour conditions; and in dealing with it no apology from the Bombay Textile Labour Union is, it is hoped, necessary either for the somewhat exhaustive character of its memorandum or for its drawing upon, with the object of making the memorandum by itself as full as possible, the Tariff Board and Fawcett Committee reports and other important publications.

The memorandum follows very closely the arrangement in the schedule of subjects sent out to the union by the joint secretary to the commission. An attempt is made to confine the memorandum, as far as possible, to the subjects relating to the textile workers and to refrain from giving statistical information which can be obtained by reference to Government and semi-Government publications. A few tables have been given only for the purpose of emphasizing some of the points the memorandum tries to lay stress on. The union should have liked to deal in detail with some of the subjects which will be found to have been dealt with rather briefly and touch such other's as, though relating to the textile industry, are not touched at all; but it could not do so, not because it considered them of comparatively minor importance,

but either because the time at its disposal was too short to do adequate justice to them or because it had not the necessary material at its disposal. The union has not endeavoured to go into the financial aspects of the many remedial measures which it has either supported or proposed in its memorandum. The task it has assigned to itself is to present the workers' grievances, and suggest, as far as possible, suitable remedies.

PART I.

I.—Recruitment.

1. (i) Bombay was a comparatively small fishing village when the seeds of the textile industry were sown in her soil in 1854. Labour, therefore, had to be recruited from outside. In the earlier period of the growth of the industry, the workers came to Bombay according to the requirements of the industry, and from that point of view the extent of migration during that period could be said to be almost 100 per cent. It was in this period that a large number of Mussalmans came to Bombay from Upper India and took to the textile industry, mostly as weavers. Their number gradually increased and now stands at, it is calculated, roughly between 15,000 to 20,000. They are now settled down in Bombay and form her permanent population. In the case of the other workers, mostly Hindus, who came here from other parts of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Gujerat and Sind, in varying proportions, it can be said that a large number of them now form permanent population of this city, with periodical visits to their villages.

(ii) The obvious cause for the migration of the Mussalmans from Upper India seems to be that, in the textile industry of Bombay, they got a new field to continue their hereditary occupation. They were all born weavers working in the hand-loom industry. Either because of a setback which the hand-loom industry seemed to have received about the time the textile industry began to grow in Bombay and elsewhere, or because of its ceasing to continue to be sufficiently remunerative, the workers must have felt that, instead of exploring other avenues of employment in which they had never worked before, it would be profitable to migrate to Bombay and prefer the textile industry. So far as the workers migrated from other parts of this Presidency were concerned, the changing character of the village life seems to be the primary cause of their migration. In his book, "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village," Study No. 2, Dr. Harold H. Mann, late Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, emphasizes this point thus :—

"The precariousness of the agricultural returns as a result of the very variable character of the rainfall in this part of the Deccan is the primary feature that must be noticed. In a sense that hardly applies anywhere else in India, the life of the people here is 'a gamble in rain.' If a good season does come, in spite of everything the people do fairly well, from their own standard. But good seasons only occur about two to four times in ten years, or nine times out of the last twenty-four, and an average year seems (if our investigations and calculations give anything like a true picture of the village life), to leave the village under-fed, more in debt than ever, and apparently less capable than ever of obtaining, with the present population and the present methods of cultivation, a real economic independence. This state of things is emphasized by the recent increase in prices."

"As a result of this economic stress, there has here been a general exit to Bombay and other large centres for work, without those who go in any way severing their connection with the village" (pages 158 and 159).

At another place in the same book, Dr. Mann observes :—"The people of this village have been in the habit of going to Bombay for work for the last twenty or twenty-five years, from the accounts given to us by the villagers. At the time of our enquiry nine families (out of the total number of 147) belonging to the village were away in Bombay, and about eleven others whose families were not away, had gone to Bombay or Poona. . . . From the families recorded as belonging to the village, nearly 200 people (out of the total of 736)—men, women and children—were away in Bombay before 1916. Many of these used to go for part of the year—four to eight months—while a few settled in Bombay more or less permanently, only paying an occasional visit to their old home" (pages 110 and 111).

It will thus be seen that the changing economic character of the village was largely responsible for the migration of the villagers to the industrial towns like Bombay. It should not, however, be supposed that this migration relieved the workers of their economic distress to a great extent. "The actual advantage," says Dr. Mann in the book quoted above, "to the village (by migration) in reducing the pressure on the land is great, but there appears to be considerable doubt as to whether it receives very much actual direct financial advantage" (page 159). Added to this economic aspect of the question, there were the allurements and inducements held out before the village men by the recruiters sent out to the villages by

the pioneers of the Bombay mill industry. The cities always present some glittering features of life which the villages do not possess ; and when they are presented to the ignorant masses in a highly coloured fashion without their dark side, it is only natural that they should lure the economically affected people.

(iii) The only change in recent years is, as far as can be observed, towards the direction of settling down in Bombay. The economic condition of the villages continues to be as before and the Bombay mill industry has considerably developed during the last two decades. It is, therefore, natural that the workers should show a tendency to stick on, as far as possible, to the industry in which they are engaged. As far as could be ascertained from the individual complaints received by the Union, it can be said that a very large majority of the complainants had been and have been engaged in the textile industry for a period extending from 5 to 25 years.

2. (i) It is admitted that the workmen go to their villages periodically either to see their relatives, or to look after their land or to recoup their health. In this sense it may be said that they have maintained their contact with the villages just as the middle and higher classes have maintained their contact with their towns or villages by paying periodical visits to them or the members of the European community have done by going home at stated intervals. But a consistent and persistent endeavour has been made by the employers to spread an impression in the public that the Bombay labour is migratory and in support of this statement they point out to the frequency of the workers' visits to the villages. The Union has in the past challenged this statement and does so even to-day. If by occasional visits the Bombay labour becomes migratory, practically the whole of the population in this city will have to be brought under that category. Such visits take place, in the case of some, once a year, in the case of others, once in 2 or 3 years and in the case of some Mussalman weavers from Upper India, once in 5 or even more years. This is, of course, an inference drawn from such contact as the Union has had with the workers since the beginning of 1926. On the other hand, " there is very little possibility of contact between workers and millowners " (Report of the Court of Enquiry, 1929, Bombay, page 38, paragraph 86) ; and yet, without any such contact, the latter have been, in season and out of season, repeating their parrot cry that Bombay labour is migratory. What is still more unfortunate is that even Government join in this cry and mislead the public. If the frequency of the workers' visits to the villages had been so great as is alleged to be, the mills should have experienced some shortage of labour. But a reference to the files of the Bombay " Labour Gazette " since 1921 shows that there is no such shortage ever experienced in the Bombay mills even during the monsoon time when the exodus of the workers is supposed to be great. The Union, therefore, believes that a vast majority of the textile labour in Bombay is more or less permanent and cannot be called migratory.

3. *Methods of recruitment.*—(i) There is only one method of recruitment of labour in the Bombay textile industry and that is through the head-jobbers and jobbers. There are no special qualifications which entitle these men to do the work of recruitment except perhaps the fact that they save the trouble of the millowners of doing their legitimate work. Their educational or technical qualifications are just as good or just as bad as those of the workers who work under them. The length of their employment in the mills may be considered a factor in their favour ; but there are many workers whose length of employment can be compared very favourably with theirs. In the early stage of the growth of the industry when adequate labour force was not available, this agency of the head-jobbers and jobbers might have been helpful to the millowners in getting their labour. In those days it might have been perhaps necessary to invest these men with some authority so as to enable them to keep their men sufficiently long in Bombay. The people so recruited used to work as far as possible, under those who recruited them and live together in the same or neighbouring locality and in this way the village ties used to be maintained in a large measure. Almost every one of these facilities or advantages derived from the system of recruitment through head-jobbers and jobbers has now practically disappeared ; and yet the system continues merrily to the detriment not only of the operatives but of the industry as a whole.

The chief duty of the head-jobbers and jobbers under this system was to go to the villages and recruit labour. This they are not required to do now. Scarcity of labour there is none ; if anything, there is superfluity of it. None has heard in recent years of the head-jobbers and jobbers having gone out of Bombay in normal times for the purpose of bringing labour. In times of strikes these men are seen running about from locality to locality in the city to find out labour to break the strikes ; and on some occasions some of them or their agents are reported to have gone, or sent false telegrams, to the villages asking men to come back or trying to get new recruits. And yet, the strikes have taken place in the past, continued much longer than expected even by the workers and many times fought successfully. It will thus

be seen that (1) in normal times the head-jobbers and jobbers are not required to recruit labour by going to the villages; (2) in times of strikes they play the role of strike breakers by dividing the ranks of the workers; and (3) their influence has completely disappeared in so far it used occasionally to do some good to the workers. It may also be stated that the old days of the head-jobbers and jobbers employing their villagemen in the small mills and living together in the same locality have in a majority of cases, gone with the knowledge they have acquired of the industry and the wages, the workers go wherever they get suitable employment in the mill industry.

This system of recruitment through the head-jobbers and jobbers has introduced developed and perpetuated such evils in the industry that they have proved to be a menace of a very serious character. It has also contributed very materially to the growing discontent among the operative. It is notorious that several head-jobbers, jobbers and the women overseers called the "*naikins*," in the winding and reeling departments, receive bribes or *dasturi* from the operatives at the time of their employment and even during the continuance of their service. The rate of the *dasturi* varies generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 and sometimes the *dasturi* takes the form of providing wine or monetary assistance to the head-jobber and jobber. Mr. S. M. Rutnagar, in his book, "Bombay Industries: The Cotton Mills," published in 1927, says as follows on pages 319-322:—

"As a matter of fact some of the labour leaders have recently been openly pointing not only to their own difficulties with the workpeople but to the waning influence of the mill jobbers and *naikins* over the male and female workers who have learnt to protest against the blackmail and bribery levied by the former not only for securing a job but also for maintaining it. The earnings of the jobber and the *naikin* (female supervisor) may be three or four times in excess of the pay of the individual male or female workers and yet the latter have to submit more or less to the extortions of the former for fear of dismissal or fines. Thus the new arrival from up-country has by no means an easy entry in the mill as a paid hand. He has of course to learn and act as a *badli* or substitute or a mere helper to a friend or relation in the department. In the first place he will have to pay the jobber on admission and then the timekeeper or muster clerk who keeps him in suspense till he pays him for his "trouble" in entering his name on the *badli* or substitute register. The probationer will thus be in debt before he can be sure of regular employment and soon realizes the difficulty and time required in getting the big wage in the mill compared with his meagre earnings in the village."

These admissions are of special significance in view of the fact that they come from a gentleman who, in his book at any rate, has not shown himself to be a sympathiser of labour; if anything, he has shown a bias in favour of the employers.

The Commission may realize how difficult it is to detect and prove such cases of bribery and corruption. So long as the worker is in the employment of the mills, he dares not, for fear of losing his job, come forward and say openly that he has been paying bribes to a jobber. After dismissal, he finds himself unable to secure witnesses to prove his case as those witnesses still continue to work in the mills. In spite of these difficulties, the Union got a few cases of bribery and brought them to the notice of the management concerned; but the latter declined to do anything in the matter. The following extract from the first annual report of the Union for the year 1926, speaks for itself:—

"During the period under report the Union received a few complaints about the receipt of *dasturi* from the Jam mills. After making thorough enquiries into the matter, the Union was convinced that the complaints were genuine and placed all the information received by it before the manager and the agents of that mill. In the presence of the manager and the weaving master, the winders admitted that they were paying *dasturi* to their *naikin*. But the management of the Jam mills refused to take notice of the evidence placed before them and to set the matter right." (Page 16).

On the other hand, the agent told the Union quite bluntly that such practice taking bribes prevailed in all the mills and that, if he were to take notice of it and adopt measures to stop it, he would soon require to close down his mill! In 1927, the agents of another mill used to receive a number of anonymous letters from their workers about the practice of the jobbers and head-jobbers taking bribes from the workers. Here is an extract from the Union's report for that year:—

"They (the agents) took the help of the Union, asked it to make investigation and promised to deal with the corrupt people in a way which might lead to the discontinuance of this bad practice. The Union made very detailed and minute enquiries, engaged a special investigator for this work and placed before the agents the facts as

found out. The agents were satisfied with the investigation and immediately discharged a *naikin* (head woman), one or two jobbers and gave severe warnings to others against whom the Union had found some evidence." (Page 20).

In 1928, the Union received three complaints of bribery and corruption ; but it had to drop them as the complainants did not think it safe to proceed with them, as they had become very eager for work after six months' stoppage

This system of recruitment gives rise to favouritism and harrassment. The head-jobbers and jobbers being in sole charge of their departments, the distribution of piece work is entirely in their hands. To supply good and enough yarn to those who give illegal gratifications and to give them better machines to work upon, are a common feature in the working of the mills. The temporary vacancies in higher posts such as line or doffer jobbers are generally filled in by those who by illegal means swell the pockets of the head-jobbers and jobbers. Such grievances are always narrated in the mill and centre committee of the Union. As regards the harrassment, the following passage from Mr. Rutnagur's book, referred to above, illustrates the point without any further comment :—

" The Lancashire managers and their Parsee assistants found the jobbers useful in extracting the work from the millhands who would put up meekly with the threats and abuses of the jobber who was familiar with their vagaries and skulking habits. They would also submit to the corporal punishment which the jobbers had to resort to with the more troublesome of the workpeople who did not mind being useful to him by massaging his body and limbs in a corner of the factory and giving him other relief when he was indisposed. Thus the jobber proved useful to the millowner not only in keeping the machinery in working order but in extracting work from the operatives and in maintaining the production up to the required standard." (Page 326). It may be noted here that the wages of the head-jobbers and jobbers are, in a majority of cases, calculated on the amount of production in their departments ; and they have to, therefore, in their own self-interest, as they generally do, squeeze out as much work out of the operatives as they can, without any consideration to the quality of the material supplied to them. The Union has received innumerable complaints of bad raw material and harrassment of the head-jobbers and jobbers for obtaining the required production.

Coupled with this system of recruitment, are the powers of the head-jobbers and jobbers which still further reduce the operatives almost to the condition of the slaves. The powers of dismissals, fines, grant of leave, engagement of *badlis* or substitutes, though *now* supposed to be exercisable by departmental heads, are in practice exercised by the head-jobbers and jobbers and are, in many cases, abused by them with the result that inefficiency in the industry has increased, stability of employment, so essential even for the smooth working of the factories, is absent and the accumulation of discontent is a normal feature. An efficient worker is conscious of his ability and does not always countenance the frowns of the head-jobbers and jobbers and is more often than not reluctant to give illegal gratification ; while an inefficient worker cannot hope to get, and continue in, employment without keeping the head-jobbers and jobbers contented, which he can do only by means of satisfying their wants by illegal means. The former class of men are thus under a perpetual risk of receiving all sorts of punishments from the supply of inferior or inadequate raw material down to the dismissal while the latter class goes on merrily with the unhealthy support of its superiors, always adding to the general inefficiency of the industry. The experience of the Union is that among the workers there are often two camps—one pro-jobber and the other anti-jobber—fighting against each other and occasionally going to law courts and adding to the litigation.

It is pointed out above that in normal times the labour is plentiful and that the head-jobbers and jobbers are not required to do the work of recruitment which is supposed to be their main job. During abnormal times when a strike is threatened or has actually taken place, they are a source of mischief to the employers as well as to the workers. To the former they hold out false hopes that there would not be a strike and, if one had taken place, they mislead the owners by saying that it would end very soon. Among the latter they do the work of creating divisions and breaking up their solidarity. The following two cases are typical of the extent to which these people are capable of going in playing their mischievous game. In one of the mills where the Union had good membership, it declared a strike recently over the wrongful dismissal of a worker after going through all the stages of negotiations which lasted for full three months. This period of three months was utilized by a head-jobber and an assistant timekeeper in that mill with the help of a few of their men, not necessarily connected with the mill, in sowing the seeds of disunity among the ranks of the workers to such an extent that towards the end of that period the workers practically ceased to attend the Union's propaganda meetings. Between the 40 hours' period that passed between the time when the strike notice was given

to the mill and the time when the strike was actually declared, their propaganda with adequate financial backing became so oppressive to the workers that even those of the Union's committee members who had voted in favour of the strike, had to go to the mills in spite of the picketing by the Union officials. In another mill, the workers declared a strike on the summary dismissal of about half a dozen workers and discharging about 100 men on the ground that there was no work for them. The mill immediately declared a lock-out. During the few weeks that followed, the head-jobber of the mill worked his mischievous plans so well that he created a division in the ranks of the workers who were all on strike and most of whom were Union men and made them go back to the mills on reduced wages—the reduction being on an average above 10 per cent. After the mill restarted, the head-jobber took care not to re-engage those whom he considered to be prominent Union men in spite of the definite instructions of the agents that men should not be refused employment on the ground that they were Union men. He thus succeeded in shutting out most of the important Union men and filling the mill with his own "safe" men without any consideration to their efficiency or otherwise. One can easily realize the serious effects of such sinister propaganda of the head-jobbers and jobbers not only on the organization of the workers but on the industry as a whole.

In paragraph 63, pages 138–39, of their report, the Indian (Textile) Tariff Board have drawn the attention of the Government, the millowners and the public to the existing system of recruitment and its abuses and recommended that all labour should be engaged directly by the officer of the mill in charge of the department which required it or by a responsible officer. The Union also desires to draw the attention of the Commission to the oral evidence on this subject of recruitment of the representatives of the Bombay Millowners' Association which appears on pages 347–352 of Volume II of the Board's report and the Commission will come to know the warmth and vigour with which the representatives of the Association supported the existing system of recruitment. As against that oral evidence the Commission should, the Union further suggests, place paragraph 7 of the Millowners' Association's reply, dated 10th January, 1928, to the letter of the Collector of Bombay, dated 4th October, 1927, in which the latter had asked for a report of the action taken by the millowners in respect of the recommendations contained in paras. 59–71 of the report of the Indian Tariff Board, and then compare the statements contained in the two. This reply appears as Appendix Y to the statement submitted to the Strike Enquiry (Fawcett) Committee by the Bombay Millowners' Association, pages 65–74. Its paragraph 7 runs as follows :—

" 7. Para. 63 :—A special enquiry has been made by the Association since the publication of the Tariff Board report with a view to ascertaining the exact practice in regard to recruitment of labour and the results definitely prove that the practice of direct recruitment is making rapid strides throughout the Bombay mill industry and this movement is receiving every encouragement from the Association and from the management of individual mills. . . . The enquiry just completed has shown that so far as the daily replacement of absentees is concerned, operatives as a rule are not finally engaged by the jobber. They, may it be true, be brought to the mills by the jobbers, but even this practice is becoming more rare and it is now the more general rule for the jobber to obtain replacements for his absentees from the applicants for work who daily attend at the mills. Whatever the method adopted by the jobber to obtain the workpeople necessary for replacing absentees, the final selection and appointments are made by the heads of the departments concerned, and in many cases even the preliminary assembling of applicants for replacements for casual vacancies is conducted by the heads of departments and not by jobbers.

" There may in the future still be occasions when, owing to extraordinary shortage, jobbers will be still required to recruit labour, but these revivals of the powers of the jobbers are likely to be temporary and infrequent.

" The millowners have always strongly discountenanced the practice of extorting commission from workpeople by jobbers, and where charges of this nature are substantiated, the most severe disciplinary action is taken against the jobbers concerned."

In the opinion of the Union the above statement is inaccurate. In the first place, it is stated that the practice of direct recruitment is making rapid progress. When was this practice instituted? Were any written instructions issued by the Millowners' Association to the mills to stop the recruitment through the head-jobbers and jobbers and start direct recruitment? Were these instructions given before the Association held their special enquiry or after it? The wording in the statement gives one an impression that, if any instructions had been given at all, they had been given before the special enquiry. If this impression is correct, where was the necessity to hold a special enquiry for the purpose of "ascertaining the exact practice in regard to recruitment of labour" as those instructions implied that the Association knew what

the practice was and felt that it should change. If the instructions had been given after the special enquiry, the Association could not know its results as they said they did. In the second place, it is equally important to know whether the mills, in which "direct recruitment is making rapid strides," have any records to show that they have changed the system of recruitment and whether they have any register wherein the names of the operatives, seeking employment, with their past record are registered. Thirdly, it is interesting to know how many cases of extortion of commission by the jobbers had been dealt with by the mills and the Association and in how many cases "the most severe disciplinary action" had been taken against them. Fourthly, it is worth noticing that the Millowners' Association's statement does not at all refer to the powers of the head-jobbers and jobbers to which paragraph 63 of the Tariff Board report has drawn pointed attention. With the knowledge that the Union possesses about the existing practice of recruitment, it can assert that the practice is the same as it existed before the Tariff Board made their report. No change worthy of consideration has been effected and the workers' woes on this score have not been reduced by a jot or tittle. The Union has no hesitation in characterizing the Millowners' Association's statement as an eye-wash calculated to mislead the Government and the public.

(ii) The only way in which the system of recruitment can be mended is by ending it. There does not seem to be any half-way house between the present system and the public employment agencies. The Tariff Board had recommended recruitment through a departmental head of each mill. The Union in its representation to the Board had suggested that the mill agents should recruit their labour directly, that the head-jobbers and jobbers should no longer be invested with such powers as those of dismissals or fines and that they should be appointed on fixed wages irrespective of the production in their departments. While the Union stands by its other recommendations then made, it cannot but withdraw their former suggestion of recruitment in favour of the public employment agencies. The millowners were given full two years to carry out the recommendation of the Tariff Board and they wasted that precious time without doing anything. It is risky both from the point of view of the industry and the workers to allow them to make any further experiments. The present system must, therefore, be ended immediately.

(iii) The Union is strongly in favour of starting public employment agencies. The State is responsible for the well-being of every section of the population under its control and it is its duty to protect adequately the interests of the working class section which has been suffering from the harassment and tyranny of the employers and undergoing serious financial loss. It is, therefore, its duty to see that the grievances of this section of the population are redressed and its recruitment placed on a sound basis.

The Union realizes the difficulty of starting public employment agencies in towns and small cities where industrial population is comparatively small and where, therefore, the cost of starting and maintaining these agencies is likely to be heavy. The Union, therefore, suggests that the public employment agencies should be first started in large industrial cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Cawnpore, Nagpur, Kharagpur, and, with the experience that may be gained, similar agencies may be started at smaller industrial cities and towns.

After securing the evidence from all the industrial centres in India, it is for the Commission to think out a practical scheme and consider its possibility. The Union desires to emphasize that the Commission should not be deterred by the cost of the employment agencies because it considers that this cost is essential for the social and economic well-being of a very large section of the working class population. The Union takes its stand on the fact that the present system of recruitment is a thoroughly discredited and ruinous system and must be ended and that the industrially advanced country like England has by experience found that the public employment agencies are the only effective remedy to stop the abuses arising out of the bad systems of recruitment and have been successful. The disease being common in both the countries, there is no reason to suppose that the remedy which has proved to be efficacious in one country should not prove to be so even in India. The Union considers that the scheme of public employment agencies is perfectly possible and should be given effect to as soon as possible.

4. *Extent and Effects of Disturbance of Family Life.*—In the opinion of the Union, the family life of the operatives is disturbed a great deal owing to many causes. In the first place, not being sure of his employment, a worker does not generally bring with him his family to Bombay. In the second place, after he gets an employment, he does not get his wages for six weeks after commencing work. By this time he generally falls into some debts without repaying which he cannot possibly bring his family to Bombay. Thirdly, his wages are generally such as cannot afford him to maintain himself and his family and lead in Bombay even such a standard of life

as a textile worker generally leads. Fourthly, there being no security or permanency of employment, he cannot be sure whether he can stay sufficiently long in Bombay if he brings his family. Fifthly, his periodical illness adds to his indebtedness and further reduces the chances of staying with his family. It should be understood that the above remarks are of a general character which apply generally to the operatives in the preparatory departments whose wages are less than Rs. 30 per month and to the low paid weavers and other workers on the manufacturing side. No statistics on this as on many other points are available and the Union can express an opinion only on the knowledge and information secured by its contact with the workers through the committees and the meetings.

Such being the disturbance of the family life, it is conceivable that its effects can be unhealthy and, in some cases, even ruinous. The workers are exposed to the temptations of a city life and some may be falling victims to them. The Union has no information in its possession to express a definite opinion on this point.

7. *Unemployment.*—There are no statistics available in Bombay, and for that matter in the whole of India, to ascertain the extent of unemployment in the industrial population. Nor is there any agency, Government or otherwise, which is in a position to produce any statistics based on definite data. The *Bombay Labour Gazette*, which is the only agency which attempts to collect some statistics and publishes it periodically, has always to say, whenever the industry is in its normal state, that "in the textile industry, as a whole, the supply of labour was equal to the demand." But it has not, so far as the Union is aware, made any enquiry into the fluctuations of the demand and the extent of such fluctuations. The Union's remarks, therefore, on this subject are based mainly upon the experience and knowledge it has gained through its working and its contact with the workers.

(i) From its observation and experience, the Union is satisfied that there is considerable unemployment in the textile workers of Bombay. It is highly probable that a fraction of the unemployed may be constantly leaving for the villages after waiting for some time for jobs. So, the full extent of the unemployed people cannot be accurately ascertained, even if some attempts are made to do so. However, the average number of workers employed in the Bombay industry during the last 7 years may give some idea about the extent of unemployment. The following figures are taken from the reports of the Millowners' Association :—

Year.	Mills.	Spindles.	Looms.	Average No. of workers.
1922	82	3,117,284	65,521	149,224
1923	81	3,349,082	68,946	148,771
1924	82	3,427,621	71,133	148,414
1925	82	3,456,233	72,266	153,009
1926	83	3,472,642	73,701	149,069
1927	83	3,466,826	74,545	154,398
1928	82	3,451,176	74,825	129,275

In commenting upon the average number of workers employed in 1928, the Chief Factory Insp of the Presid made allowances mation for the month of December which month was comparatively free from strikes and calculated that the number of operatives employed in the cotton mills in the Presidency was 2,39,488 as compared with 2,45,509 for the previous year. December figures for the cotton textile industry in Bombay were 1,38,677, as compared with an average of 1,45,005 in 1927. Another set of figures may also be given. In the two abstract statements, submitted to the Fawcett Committee, for (1) the spinning and preparatory and (2) the weaving and manufacturing departments for the month of July, 1927, containing the actual number of men, wage bill, and the average pay for that month, and the number of men, wage bill, and the average pay under their standardization scheme, if it had been in operation in that month, the Millowners' Association gave the actual total number of workers working in July, 1927, at 1,14,005. It is thus clear from the above data, inadequate though it may be, that there is not only serious unemployment in the Bombay textile industry but that it fluctuates violently.

(ii) *Retrenchment*.—The Commission may be aware that the Millowners' Association has prepared a Standardization Scheme whose main object is to regularize the number of operatives per unit of work and also to regularize the wages, but whose main features turned out to be to retrench the operatives in the spinning and preparatory departments and to make a cut in the wages of the weavers. This scheme and its attendant unemployment were fully discussed before the Fawcett Committee. Mr. S. D. Saklatwala, speaking on behalf of the Millowners' Association, said before the Fawcett Committee :—

" I might just point out that, as regards the extent of retrenchment (in the spinning section), in the statement that we have submitted we have shown that about 8,000 men will be reduced : 58,000 will be brought down to 50,000. But I might point out that that statement of course refers to July, 1927, since when retrenchment has already taken place." (Page 1617 of the printed proceedings, Vol. IV).*

The statement in the last sentence of Mr. Saklatwala does not seem to have been borne out by the December (1928) figures quoted above, given by the Chief Factory Inspector in his report. In December the number of operatives had increased and the Standardization Scheme has not yet come into operation. It cannot also be said that in July, 1927, there was any shortage of labour as the *Labour Gazette* for August, 1927, had declared that in July the supply of labour was adequate to the demand. The Union is, therefore, inclined to take the view that while a small amount of retrenchment may have taken place in the past, it will come into full force as soon as the Standardization Scheme comes into operation. It was admitted in the Fawcett Committee that under the Scheme there would be a retrenchment in the spinning section to the extent of 13·8 per cent. and in the weaving section 3·5 per cent. These figures have got to be taken into consideration in dealing with the unemployment problem.

Rationalization.—The Fawcett Committee considered two more schemes—now known as the " efficiency schemes"—of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Company, and of Messrs. James Finlay & Company. Under the latter's scheme " roughly about 30 per cent. of the workers in the spinning department " have been reduced (*vide* page 925 of the printed proceedings of the Fawcett Committee, Vol. II), while under the former, the following estimate of reduction was given by Mr. F. Stones, Superintendent of the E. D. Sassoon & Company, before the Fawcett Committee :—

" We claim to have carried out this policy, but in the process of doing so, it is to be admitted that fully 2,000 men will be displaced over the millowners' standard (scheme) in our group alone, and this standard reduced a further 2,000 from the old list. In the weaving, slightly less than 1,000 are displaced—in all, a total of 5,100 men out of a former muster of roughly 27,000 men have become unemployed during the last three years." (Page 1612 of the printed proceedings of the Fawcett Committee, Vol. IV.)

While in no way questioning the *bona fides* of Mr. Stones who, it is admitted, is one of the powerful brains behind the Millowners' Association, and who is a master of the technique of the mill industry, the union is inclined to feel that the figure of the displaced workers should be higher than 2,000. It draws the attention of the Commission to the discussion that took place in the Fawcett Committee on the 4th December, 1928 (Pages 891 to 898 of the printed proceedings, Vol. II), in which Mr. R. R. Bakhale, spokesman of the Joint Strike Committee, discussed with Mr. Cottam, Deputy Superintendent, Spinning section, E. D. Sassoons' group of mills, a statement prepared by the former on the basis of the information supplied by Mr. Stones as to the effect that might be entailed upon the workers on account of the introduction of the new efficiency system. That statement is reproduced on pages 929-934 of the printed proceedings, Vol. II, and appended to this memorandum (Appendix A). It relates to only one mill of the Sassoons and shows that 223 out of 566 men would be retrenched in that one mill. Mr. Cottam admitted in his evidence (page 898 of the printed proceedings, Vol. II) that it was clear that between 40 per cent. to 45 per cent. of the workers in that particular mill would be retrenched. If similar statements are prepared for the other mills where this system is introduced, the union takes the view that the retrenchment would be more than that calculated by Mr. Stones.

Under-employment.—In addition to this kind of unemployment which is now more or less of a general character, there is some temporary unemployment caused by what is known as the " playing off " system of the millowners which adds to the floating population of the city. Occasions frequently arise in the case of almost each and every mill when there is no demand for a particular kind of goods, either cloth or yarn, and the mills generally stop a portion of their looms and spindles

* The day-to-day verbatim proceedings of the Fawcett Committee were printed by the Millowners' Association. Government have not published them.

for some time. This causes temporary unemployment which is repeated periodically. In the two silk mills of Bombay, the union understands that a large number of looms have been idle for two or three years in one, and for a few months in the other. This under-employment is particularly common in many mills in the reeling and winding departments.

Such is the position as it stands to-day. But with the introduction of the efficiency schemes in the two important groups of the Bombay mills—schemes which are only a part of what is now generally known as "rationalization," and with Sir Victor Sassoon having himself admitted (page 864 of the printed proceedings, Vol. II), that he was going part of the way towards the so called rationalization, there is every possibility of such schemes soon entering other mills in some form or other. This is inevitable. In fact this has been admitted at least partially before the Fawcett committee as will be seen from the following quotations:—

"Mr. Bakhale—you are going to increase the efficiency, increase the output and lower the cost of production by some method of organization in the industry. Suppose you succeed in increasing the efficiency, and in increasing the output and in reducing the cost of production. Having seen your results, don't you think that the other millowners will begin to think in the same direction and adopt the same methods?"

"Sir Victor Sassoon—I think unless they do that, under the stress of competition a large number of them will not be able to continue to exist." (Page 863 of the printed proceeding, Vol. II.)

At an earlier stage Mr. Stones said in reply to a question of the Hon. Sir Charles Fawcett: "The millowners have considered this (rational) scheme. . . They have gone into the scheme but they (the association) do not recommend this for adoption by all the mills until all the factors contributing to its success are there." (Page 859 of the printed proceedings, Vol. II.)

The moment these factors are there—and they must be there if the mills have to live under the stress of competition—the Millowners' Association will recommend the rational scheme to the other mills. It should further be remembered that such recommendation on the part of the association is not necessary. From the union's experience of the working of the mills in Bombay, it can be said that the other mills may soon direct their attention to retrench the men on the lines of the efficiency schemes of the Sassoons or the Finlays, and they can do it without the permission of the association. The point the union desires to emphasise is that with the introduction of the efficiency schemes by two of the important groups of mills and with the rapidly increasing Indian and foreign competition with Bombay, her mills have no alternative, under the existing capitalist system, but to adopt some remedy under which the workers are bound to be retrenched and unemployment considerably increased. This potential danger cannot be lost sight of in dealing with the problem of unemployment.

(iii) *Possible Methods of alleviating and remedying Distress.*—In considering the possible methods of alleviating and remedying the distress caused by unemployment the union thinks that this question should be looked at from two points of view: one, to bring the unemployment level as down as possible; and two, to provide for those who may yet remain unemployed. The union is aware that unemployment may not wholly disappear unless that problem and many other problems are tackled from all sides; but it feels that unemployment can be reduced under certain conditions. With competition as the basis and profits the object of the industry which is entirely in private hands, it cannot be expected that the workers will get a fair and square deal from the employers. In times of prosperity the bumper profits go to swell the pockets of the employers and the workers get very little, if any at all, without a struggle. In times of depression the workers are the first to suffer on the specious plea that the industry cannot afford to pay. The object of the industry should, therefore, be not profits but public service, and it cannot be achieved unless the industry is removed from private hands and put under public control. As has been already stated, such a change cannot remove unemployment all of a sudden or altogether, but surely it can be reduced by keeping a vigilant eye on all the factors that go to create unemployment. Even under the existing system of the industry, it is not difficult to reduce unemployment if the industry is properly organized under a strong central organization, and internal competition between mills and mills eliminated, or at least, reduced to the minimum. Specialization is one of the methods now adopted in Germany and even Lancashire, and may also help to reduce the ranks of the unemployed.

(iv) *Unemployment Insurance.*—In spite of all the measures suggested above, it is conceivable that unemployment on a limited scale may remain; and it is the duty of the State to provide for the maintenance of those who remain unemployed through no fault of theirs. "Work or maintenance" should be the guiding principle. It is the considered opinion of the union that every industrial worker who is willing to work but who does not get employment, should be provided with maintenance

by the State by some suitable method. To the worker, the loss of employment is a serious thing. The remarks of the Fawcett Committee on this point bear repetition here.*

The union has thus a very weighty support of the Fawcett Committee in its opinion that even for *general* unemployment caused by trade depression or by other causes over which the worker has no control, some suitable provision should be made for the maintenance of the unemployed. If, side by side with such provision, public employment agencies are started, they will endeavour to find employment for some of the unemployed and thereby the register of the unemployed and the maintenance charges will tend to remain on a low level.

As has been pointed out by the Fawcett Committee itself, the provision against unemployment is necessary, perhaps more so, when the efficiency or rationalization schemes are introduced in the industry. The textile industry being one of the most competitive industries in the world, such schemes are bound to come sooner or later, rather sooner than later, and with them a large scale retrenchment. Reference has been made above to the resolution on rationalization passed by the World Economic Conference held at Geneva, in May, 1927, and produced in this memorandum as Appendix B§. This resolution lays down certain principles and precautions for the introduction of rational schemes and for them to become successful. From its knowledge of the methods of the Bombay millowners in working their mills and with their loose central organization at the top, the union is doubtful whether those principles and precautions would be carried out before introducing rational schemes; but under stress of competition, they will have no alternative but to introduce those schemes, thereby reducing a large number of operatives. Whatever that may be, it is, in the opinion of the union, highly essential that some steps should be taken to institute a scheme under which the workers will begin to get some maintenance allowance. In fact the Fawcett Committee have themselves said (page 159, para. 291) that "there is some obligation on the millowners to try and take some steps towards mitigating hardship due to loss of employment caused by the introduction of the "efficiency" scheme." The committee then proceed in paragraph 292 (pages 159-161) to describe their scheme of "Out-of-work Donation Fund" on a voluntary basis, which, they say, they recommend as a tentative measure "for the consideration of the millowners and the trade union leaders" and "with a view to avoid delay in the settlement of this question (of introduction of efficiency schemes) pending the report of the forthcoming Royal Commission on Labour and any action thereon by the State." It is thus clear that the Fawcett Committee have definitely accepted the principle of providing the workers with some maintenance during their unemployment caused either by trade depression or similar circumstances or by the introduction of the efficiency or rational schemes.

While appreciating the acceptance by the Fawcett Committee of the principle of unemployment benefits and their scheme of out-of-work donation fund, the union is strongly of the opinion that the scheme to be adopted for unemployment benefits should be based on a more sound and permanent basis and administered by the State. A statutory unemployment insurance scheme is what is desirable and necessary. It should be applied to all the important industries and the important industrial towns so as to avoid competition and inequality or unfairness in the financial burden. Owing to the present low level of wages of the majority of the textile operatives, it is doubtful whether the workers will be in a position to pay their share of the contribution if the scheme is based on a contributory basis. The union is of the opinion that financial burden of the scheme should be borne by the State and the employers until the wage level is sufficiently increased.

(v) *International Unemployment Conventions.*—The only convention and recommendation which is of a general character and applicable to all kinds of workers and in which the textile workers are interested, are those passed at the Washington International Labour Conference in 1919. In 1921, the Government of India ratified the draft convention and decided to examine the recommendation in order to determine to what extent it was desirable to give effect thereto. Speaking on this resolution the Hon. Sir Thomas Holland, the spokesman of the Government of India, referred to the despatch of the Secretary of State for India on unemployment with which the Government of India seemed to agree. It is stated that "we are strongly of opinion, and all local Governments who have stated their views are in agreement with us, that no system of unemployment insurance is practicable in India at present." (Legislative Assembly Debates, 19th February, 1921, page 263)—a statement which shows the mind of Government on this vital question. The union is not aware of the steps, if any, the Government of India have so far

* *vide* Fawcett Report, paras. 202-3.

§ Not printed.

taken in giving effect to Articles 1, 2, and 5 of the convention and whether they have supplied any unemployment figures to the International Labour Office. A statement, however, in the green book of the I.L.O., Studies and Reports, Series C, No. 13, on Unemployment, submitted to the last session of the International Labour Conference, that "no statistics are available to show the extent of unemployment among Indian cotton workers" (page 96), shows that the convention has more or less become a dead letter. In the case of the recommendation, the union does not know whether the promised examination of the recommendation has taken place and, if so, what its results are. Nearly nine years have passed since the recommendation came before the Indian legislature, and it can safely be said that so far as the textile workers are concerned, they have not received any advantage from it. The wheels of Government machinery in matters which vitally affect the interests of the poor, move so slowly that the workers along with others have begun to lose their faith in the *bona fides* of Government and are being drawn to the more glittering and attractive, though unrealisable, ideals and methods.

The general opinion of the union is that the conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Conference, being the greatest common measure of agreement between the governments, the employers and the workers, should be promptly given effect to, if the authorities do not want the workers' discontent to grow and their agitation shifted to non-constitutional lines.

8. *Labour "turnover"*.—(i) There are no statistics or reliable information collected by any agency which may give an idea as to the average duration of employment in the textile industry. The union understands that the Bombay labour office endeavoured to collect some information on this subject; but unless the union knows the method on which their enquiry was conducted, it is not in a position to express an opinion on the results of that enquiry. The union's views are based upon the complaints received during the last four years and upon the knowledge it has gained by its coming in contact with the operatives; and it is in a position to say that there is not much "turnover" in the textile industry. Workers generally like to stick to the mills in which they are first employed. Wrongful dismissals which are common and other unjust punishments inflicted upon the workers by the head-jobbers and jobbers compel workers to leave one mill and join another; but on the whole their employment in the industry generally continues with short occasional breaks. In the case of the Mussalman workers, the average period of employment may be taken at between 20 and 30 years and in the case of others 15 to 25 years. The employment may not be in the same mill but in more than one mill; but that hardly affects the estimate or reduces the utility or value of work in the same industry.

(ii) Casual employment is caused generally by the permanent men going to their villages once a year or once in two or more years, owing to sickness of the workers and their families and by the fatigue caused by continually working ten hours a day, 26 days a month, and 12 months a year. The Bombay climate adds to the fatigue and sickness of the workers. The union is inclined to feel that casual employment in Bombay may be on a larger scale than at some up-country textile centres where climatic conditions are better; but it is unable to say definitely the extent of casual employment. Casual work is generally given to the workers who are textile operatives but who are unemployed.

(iii) The employers have in the past waxed considerable eloquence over the absenteeism in their industry and painted a very dark picture of the operatives, their habits and their irregularity. One of the pet arguments advanced against an increase in wages was and is even today that with the rise in wages, the absenteeism is increased and that the higher paid worker absents himself more than the low paid worker. The bottom of this argument was completely knocked out by the results of the enquiry of the labour office into the wages and absenteeism of cotton mill operatives in the 19 so-called representative mills in Bombay City in 1926. These results are published in tables 2 (for males), 3 (for females), and 4 (for males and females), pages 12-21, of Part I of the provisional confidential report supplied to the Fawcett Committee, and the representatives of the millowners' association and the joint strike committee. It is seen therefrom that average percentage of absenteeism for men is 7.13, for women 11.86, and for men and women together 8.26. Barring a few unimportant departments where the number of operatives is comparatively small, the highest average percentage of absenteeism in the case of male operatives is to be found in the ring spinning department and is 10.48 and the lowest is 4.35 among the weavers. In the case of female operatives, the highest percentage of absenteeism is 18.18 in the reeling, and the lowest, barring unimportant departments, is 6.41 in the ring spinning. The winding department which is exclusively of female labour, has 15.47 per cent. absenteeism. The average percentages of absenteeism for both male and female labour, in some of the important departments are 6.16 in the carding, 9.42 in the ring spinning, 15.29 in the winding.

17·80 in the reeling, 7·25 in the sizing, and 4·35 among the weavers. These figures conclusively prove that the weavers who are probably the highest paid workers, have practically the lowest proportion of absenteeism and the women, possibly the lowest paid operatives, have the highest proportion of absenteeism. In the spinning which is a lower paid section, absenteeism is rather higher than in the weaving section. Considering the totality of circumstances in respect of conditions of work, both in the factories and at home, the climate and the housing, the union does not think that average absenteeism is such as can cause alarm to the employers, or be considered as adding to the inefficiency of the industry. The union is no doubt anxious that the existing percentage should go down; but it does not seem possible unless the conditions of work are changed and a system of leave with pay instituted. The clerical section of the population, working in Government and private concerns, has its casual sick and privilege leave while in the case of the workers there is no such thing. Every kind of their absence is considered as absenteeism and the result is that its percentage looks high. If similar percentage figures are calculated for the clerical and higher class of workers, the result may be somewhat similar to what is found in the case of the textile workers.

The causes for absenteeism seem to be the environments in which the workers work and live. Their sickness, or that in their families, causes a good deal of absenteeism. During illness they cannot go to work, and after illness, if it was serious, they feel the necessity of going out of Bombay for some time to recoup their health. Secondly, the fatigue caused by day to day work in the Bombay climate necessarily compels an operative, at least in the earlier stages of his employment, to take a rest for a day or two even though he may not be actually ill and that he generally does so immediately after he gets his wages so as to enable him to break the monotony of his routine work by some sight-seeing or going to a theatre. There is some seasonal absenteeism as well, but it should be comparatively small; at any rate it is not such as to cause any dislocation in the industry or a shortage of labour. Some men go to their villages in the autumn to do some agricultural work. They return as soon as their work is over.

II.—Staff Organisation.

10. *Managing Agency System.*—In order to understand fully the staff organization and other subjects connected therewith, which are mentioned in the questionnaire, it is, in the opinion of the union, necessary to understand the organization of the Bombay cotton industry. As is now well known, the industry is organized on the basis of what is known as the managing agency system. The union does not propose to go into the details of that system as it was fully discussed before the Textile Tariff Board in 1926. The union had then given a description of the managing agency system which appears on pages 479-480, Vol III, of the Board's report. The Board had to say something on that system in paragraph 41 (pages 85-90) of their report to which the union desires to draw the attention of the Commission. It must be remembered, however, that the Board looked at the system from the point of view of ascertaining the degree or the extent of the depression in the industry for which that system was responsible; they did not consider it in any other light. The union also desires to draw the attention of the Commission to pages 49-52 of Mr. Rutnagur's "Bombay Industries: The Cotton Mills," containing the description of the managing agency system and its evil effects on the industry. Mr. Rutnagur holds the following view on the system:—

"It cannot, however, be said that the industry is yet free from the evils of the Agency system. Instances of malpractices which have been cited above would still be found in certain of the Bombay mills whose agents think more of their own gain than the rights of the share-holders and the welfare of the work-people. The powers of the agents have been misused even in recent times, and costly and up-to-date machinery has brought early ruin to investors on account of the collapse that was bound to follow in the wake of greed and corruption." (Page 52).

It is the considered opinion of the union that the managing agency system is now obsolete, has outlived its existence and ought to be changed if the Bombay industry is to hold its own in the outside competition with which it is threatened.

11. The selection of the managing staff is entirely in the hands of the managing agents. Favouritism plays its part in these selections and the tendency is to bring in men who are the relatives or friends of the agents without much regard to their ability or knowledge. The union is not aware of any high posts such as those of the managers, superintendents, or even departmental heads being filled in by inviting applications through advertisements. In so far as the Lancashire men in the industry are concerned, it can be said that they are technical men and know their job. The union wishes it were true in the case of all other mill officials as well.

12. (i) The recruitment of supervising staff, such as departmental heads, is done by the mill management and that of the subordinate staff, such as head-jobbers and jobbers, is made by the managers or the departmental heads. There may be only a few instances, in the history of the Bombay mill industry, of the head-jobbers being raised to the position of the departmental heads. It may be due to the inadequate and imperfect technical knowledge of the head-jobbers. Jobbers are sometimes made head-jobbers; but even here instances are not lacking of the head-jobbers being brought in from outside over the heads of the jobbers who, on account of their length of service, might have been as competent or efficient as the new recruits. There may be instances of the workmen being raised to the position of head-jobbers and jobbers. But on the whole the union feels that there is no method as such in the matter of recruitment; much depends upon the management and the managers.

(ii) As regards the training facilities in the mills for the superior or subordinate staff, the union is afraid there are practically none. The same could be said to be true in the case of the ordinary workmen. There is the V. J. Technical School which has regular and weekly courses for the training of the supervising staff and the union understands that some of the apprentices in the mills take advantage of such classes. The Bombay Social Service League has been conducting a technical school which has been taken advantage of by about thirty workers on an average. The League is in a better position, than the union is, to speak on the success or otherwise of this school and on the causes, if any, that may be impeding its progress. It seems to the union that with a ten hours working day in the mills and the existing working conditions there is little physical or mental energy left for further and continuous training. It is also a matter of enquiry as to the number of workers who, after finishing the course of this school, have been promoted to higher positions. The union feels that there is little encouragement to the League's laudable efforts in the direction of increasing the efficiency of the operatives. The union is also not aware of any systematic efforts on a large scale being made by the employers to promote workers from lower grades to higher grades, or from the positions of low wages to those of higher wages. If there is any such policy, it would be interesting to know, as a result of that policy, how many fly gatherers and lap carriers, for example, are made grinders and strippers in the carding departments, or the doffer boys or *tarwalas* are made siders in the ring frame department, or a plain loom weaver is made a fancy or jacquard weaver. It may be that these higher positions may have been secured by the workers; but that may have been due to the good offices of the jobbers or to their long experience in the mills. But that is not the point; the point is that, so far as the Union is aware, there is no systematic, deliberate and sustained effort made by the millowners in this direction.

13. (i) The relations between the staff or the management and the rank and file are anything but cordial or pleasant; one might almost say, they are bitter. In spite of any professions to the contrary, the working class is still looked upon and treated as a commodity, and not as human beings having the same human feelings as those of the employers. The touch of human sympathy with the workers and their legitimate aspirations is sadly lacking. There is generally a tendency to browbeat the workers, assault them, and treat them as people below contempt. In carrying on negotiations with the smaller officers of the mills, including some managers, regarding the workers' grievances, the union has found that it is their tendency to disbelieve the workers' versions and to accept as truth what their head-jobbers and jobbers would say. The officers' refusal to remove even the minor complaints of the operatives creates discontent among the operatives which, when allowed to accumulate, develops into bitterness. The treatment meted out to them from day to day is of a character which leaves no room for establishing healthy relations. Foul and insulting language is used, which only adds fuel to the fire. It may be said, however, in the case of a few of the agents, who pay periodical visits to the mills, and some managers, that they have in recent years changed their attitude for the better towards the workers and talk to them in a conciliatory tone. But their number is, in the first place, too small and secondly, as they too generally rely on the versions of their subordinate officials, the workers' grievances many times remain unredressed and the bitterness continues, in spite of the change in the attitude of their masters. Moreover, there is no standing machinery under which the mill officials and the workers can come together to consider the latter's grievances or common questions or at least for the purpose of a friendly chat. The union desires to draw the attention of the Commission to the discussion that took place in the Fawcett Committee over Mr. Bakhale's proposal to set up joint committees in the mills in order to enable both sides to come together periodically and deal with and redress genuine complaints, the accumulation of which generally leads to friction, irritation, and bitterness. The discussion appears on pages 1561-64, Vol. IV, of the printed proceedings of the Fawcett Committee and it will be seen therefrom that the representatives of the Millowners' Association opposed Mr. Bakhale's suggestion in a manner which proved conclusively that they failed to take a long view and succumbed to the abnormal

conditions then existing. The Fawcett Committee referred in paragraph 283 of their report to this suggestion, but refrained from expressing an opinion. Even the Court of Enquiry of this year, presided over by the Hon. Mr. Justice H. G. Pearson, were compelled to admit in the report (paragraph 89, page 38) that "some of the other difficulties in the way of a settlement (of the general strike) are the absence of contact between the millowners and the workers and the absence of any machinery such as an arbitration board to settle disputes as they arise."

(ii) The only value, if it can be so called, of employing jobbers lies in their being used by the management as intermediaries between the mills and the workers for the purposes of communication. The union has found by experience that this work too is done by them in a very objectionable way which frequently only helps the workers' bitterness to increase. The language of persuasion which might have been used by the management in inducing the workers to accept any new conditions of service or any change in production, is very often converted into cold language and a threat without an element of human sympathy or touch, and it is found that the management's difficulties, instead of decreasing, actually increase. What part the jobber plays in other respects in the mills is dealt with in the first chapter and need not be repeated here.

(iii) There are at present no works committees in the Bombay textile industry. The union understands that in some of the mills of the Tata and Currimbhoy groups, attempts were made in the past to organize joint committees when the Bombay Social Service League was doing welfare work in those groups; but those committees had short existence. Several causes might have been responsible for the failure of those committees; but the most important seems to be the lack of organization of the textile workers. Mr. R. M. Daruwala, Manager of the Tata Mills, who was connected with the working of the works committee in his mills, stated, in his paper on "Works Committee and Settlement of Disputes," read before the Industrial Welfare Conference held in 1922 under the auspices of the Bombay Social Service League, that "all this (failure of the committee) is due to their (workers) having no organization, no common platform where they can congregate, deliberate, and discuss; having no one who can inspire confidence in himself and explain, in their own tongue, both sides of the question and teach them to reason between right and wrong," and that "the common motive of mutual advantage is lost sight of"—perhaps by both sides. He also opined that "the disabilities noticeable in the conduct of business (of the committee) generally are likely to remain for ever unless efforts are made to reorganize the committees from their present constitution, so as to make them more popular and invest the decision of the committee with an authority and status worthy of the respect of the workmen." Since the failure of those committees, no attempt to revive them seems to have been made except the one of Mr. Bakhale during the discussions before the Fawcett Committee, to which reference has already been made. This union has its mill committees for every mill where there is union membership, on which the workers' representatives are elected by the workers in proportion of representative for every fifty members. Their functions are of an advisory character and they discuss matters such as union collections and individual grievances. The millowners have not got similar committees on their side and the two sides have never met, except on one occasion, in a joint meeting.

(iv) There is no doubt that, in the interest of harmonious relations between the employers and employees, it is desirable to have a joint machinery representative of the two sides and that a beginning should be made in the direction of evolving a plan to secure such machinery suitable to the existing conditions in Bombay. There has never been a time in the history of the local mill industry when the relations between the millowners and the workers had been so stained and so bitter as they are to-day, and when the workers' suspicion and distrust of their employers had been so deep-rooted as now. If the situation is allowed to drift any more, a deadlock is not an impossibility and the fate of the industry can be said to be doomed for ever. What the basis, the structure, and the functions of such machinery should be, is a question which requires serious thought and mature consideration. One thing, however, is clear to the union and that is that whatever the machinery may be, it must have the statutory sanction behind it; i.e., it must be based on a statute and not on voluntary consent of the parties. The millowners' credit with the workers is so low to-day that their every action is, for some time to come, likely to be looked upon with suspicion. Moreover, past experience shows that they do not want to have such machinery and talk to the workers on equal terms. The machinery established by statute may remove to some extent the suspicion and a start can be given under congenial atmosphere. There are at present two plans in the field of industrial relations between the employers and the employees, viz., the Whitley plan in England and the Works Councils plan in Germany. Both of them deserve careful consideration and it may be found that, under the existing conditions of Bombay, the combination of the two, containing good and suitable points from both, may prove to be of advantage.

The Whitley Scheme of Joint Councils is based upon voluntary basis, starts with a National Joint Industrial Council and ends with a Works Committee in individual factories of the same trade or industry, and postulates, for the successful working of these councils, the existence of strong organizations of both the employers and workers. In their first of the five reports, the Whitley Committee recommended, *inter alia*, the establishment in industries where organizations representative of both sides are in existence, "of an organization representative of employers and workpeople to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the community." The Committee suggested, as a means to this end, the formation of Joint Industrial Councils in the several industries but hastened to point out that :—

"It is not enough to secure co-operation at the centre between the national organizations : it is equally necessary to enlist the activity and support of employers and employed in the districts and in individual establishments. The National Industrial Council should not be regarded as complete in itself : what is needed is a triple organization in the workshops, the districts, and nationally."

and that :—

"We think the aim should be the complete and coherent organization of the trade on both sides and Works Committees will be of value in so far as they contribute to such a result. We are of opinion that the complete success of the works committees necessarily depends largely upon the degree and efficiency of organization in the trade and upon the extent to which the committees can be linked up, through organizations that we have in mind, with the remainder of the scheme which we are proposing, viz., the District and National Councils."

and further that :—

"It is strongly felt that the setting up of works committees without the co-operation of the Trade Unions and the Employers' Associations in the trade or branch of trade concerned would stand in the way of the improved industrial relations which in these reports we are endeavouring to further."

These extracts make it abundantly clear that the Whitley Scheme to be successful must be adopted in its entirety, that it not only postulates the existence of strong trade unions, but it requires the co-operation of the unions and the employers' organizations as an essential condition. The adoption of any one or more isolated items to the exclusion of the others is not only to court failure but to discredit the whole scheme which, in the opinion of the union, is otherwise sound. It also seems to the union that the Whitley Scheme cannot be started from the bottom, i.e., by the organization of the works committees and then gradually by organising the District and National Councils, because of some of the most important functions under the scheme, such as questions of wages and hours, being assigned to the National councils. The works committee by itself may not achieve anything and interest therein may not be maintained unless it has a clearly defined field of work and unless action follows decisions which may be reached. It is also recognized that the Whitley Scheme has widened the basis of collective bargaining and has instituted permanent and systematic means for the review of wages and working conditions ; but it cannot be forgotten that this result is possible only if there are National Councils whose functions, *inter alia*, are :—

(a) The better utilization of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople.

(b) Means for securing to the workpeople a greater share in, and responsibility for, the determination and observance of the conditions under which their work is carried on.

(c) The settlement of the general principles governing the conditions of employment, including the methods of fixing, paying, and readjusting wages, having regard to the need for securing to the workpeople a share in the increased prosperity of the industry.

(d) The establishment of regular methods of negotiation for issues arising between employers and workpeople, with a view both to the prevention of differences and to their better adjustment when they appear.

(e) Means of ensuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings and employment, without undue restriction upon change of occupation or employer.

* These and other extracts in this paragraph are taken from the "Survey of Industrial Relations"—a report of a Committee on Industry and Trade with Sir Arthur Balfour as Chairman, appointed by the first Labour Government, in England in 1924. The report was published in 1926.

(f) Methods of fixing and adjusting earnings, piece-work prices, etc., and of dealing with the many difficulties which arise with regard to the method and amount of payment apart from the fixing of general standard rates which are already covered by paragraph (c).

(g) Technical education and training.

(h) Industrial research and the full utilization of its results.

(i) Provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilization of inventions and improvements designed by workpeople, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.

(j) Improvements of processes, machinery, and organization and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments, with special reference to co-operation in carrying new ideas into effect and full consideration of the workpeople's point of view in relation to them.

(k) Proposed legislation affecting the industry." (Survey of Industrial Relations, page 294-95).

In spite of the adoption of the Whitley Scheme in its entirety and with most of the conditions being fulfilled, 45 per cent. of the National Councils ceased to function in Great Britain in 1925. A memorandum from the Ministry of Labour on the Whitley Scheme, which was submitted to the Balfour Committee, and is included in the "Survey of Industrial Relations," contains the following remarks on this point on page 299:—

"Various causes have operated to produce this result (viz., the National Councils ceasing to function), the most important of which have been ineffective organization, the difficulties of wages adjustments and the divergence of sectional and district interests. With regard to the latter, the adoption of a scheme based on a triple organization of a National Council, District Councils, and Works Committees necessarily involved problems as to the relationship between the national, district, and local organizations. In some industries, in which the organization was comparatively new and unstable, the adjustment of the various interests proved to be impracticable. In such cases the central authority probably attempted to exercise too great a control over local conditions. In the case of certain Councils which are still functioning, a similar breakdown has been avoided by the relegation of wage questions to local negotiations or other machinery.

"In other cases the breakdown was due to the unduly wide area of industry which Councils attempted to cover, the result being that there was a lack of common interest among the constituent bodies."

Bombay Conditions Examined.—When such are the difficulties the Whitley Scheme has had to meet with in Great Britain, one can easily imagine the magnitude of the task in introducing the scheme in India. In the first place, whether the National Joint Council for the textile industry can be organized in India or not, is highly problematical. The industry is not centralized in any particular province as it is in Lancashire; it is both at large industrial towns such as Bombay, Nagpur, Sawnpore, Ahmedabad, and Madras, and at small cotton growing centres such as Sholapur, Jalgaon, and Pulgaon; and the recent tendency is towards either shifting or building up the industry in the cotton growing districts which are not close to one another. The union is not sure whether even the textile employers have a strong central organization which will be in a position to elect its representatives on the National Council. In the case of the workers, the organizations, however inadequate they may be, exist only at some large centres and the rest are without any organization; and, therefore, the difficulties in electing representatives on the National Council are great. In the second place, owing to the vastness of area over which the industry is spread, it will be found very difficult to sustain the interest of the members of the National Council in its work. Thirdly, the wages and the cost of living at different textile centres vary so much that the task of the National Council in arriving at decisions on those questions cannot be easy. Fourthly, the problem of the Indian States where the textile industry is making rapid progress and where the factory legislation is not so advanced as it is in British India, cannot be ignored in considering the organization of the National Council. These remarks are offered, not by way of criticism of the Whitley Scheme with which the union has considerable sympathy, but with the object of drawing the attention of the Commission to the difficulties that exist.

The formation of the District Councils may be comparatively easy, and of the works committees easier still, provided, of course, there are workers' organizations in the districts or factories where they are to be formed. But these committees would not be allowed to do much until they have at the top the National Council. In fact the Ministry of Labour in England, in their memorandum to the Balfour Committee stated that "no action was taken by the Ministry to set up works committees at individual works without the concurrence of the Joint Industrial

Council concerned which carried with it the concurrence of the constituent Employers' Associations and Trade Unions." Even supposing, however, that the works committees could be organized in Bombay, they would not be a success without the backing of the trade unions and without giving them power, in the absence of the National Council, to deal with wages, hours of work and other similar questions affecting the Bombay industry. What may seem possible is to consider Bombay as a unit by itself and organize the works committees and a district committee at the top and invest them with powers possessed by the triple organizations under the Whitley scheme. This must also, in the opinion of the union, be done under a statute and not on a voluntary basis. The only danger underlying this proposal is that, in the absence of strong trade union organization, the employers may take upon themselves the responsibility, which is not theirs, of securing workers' representatives on the works committees and thereby weaken even the existing strength of the trade unions. In Germany, for example, after the passing of the Works Councils Act, there was a long drawn out fight between the unions and the councils which ultimately resulted in the success of the unions. It is necessary to avoid such a fight in India.

Trade Boards.—The question of Trade Boards is treated in a subsequent paragraph. It is touched here only in so far as the Whitley scheme is concerned. The Whitley Committee found out even England that all the trades and industries were not mature for the adoption of their scheme owing to the imperfect or inadequate organization of the employers and employed. For such industries and trades, the Whitley Committee recommended that the Trade Boards "in addition to their original purpose of securing the establishment of a minimum standard of wages in certain organized industries should be regarded as a means of supplying a regular machinery in those industries for negotiation and decision on certain groups of questions dealt with in other circumstances by collective bargaining between employers' organizations and trade unions." The committee also advised that the functions of the Trade Boards should be enlarged so as "to deal not only with minimum rates of wages but with hours of labour and questions cognate to wages and hours," and "to initiate and conduct enquiries on all matters affecting the industry." The union recommends this suggestion of the Whitley Committee for the consideration of the Commission.

German Works Councils.—Another plan, diametrically opposed to that of the Whitley Committee, is what is known as the organization of the Works Councils in individual factories in Germany. Owing to their past history extending over several years and their complex machinery, it is difficult to describe even their main features in this memorandum. The union, however, takes the liberty of drawing the attention of the Commission to a recent publication—"The Works Council, a German Experiment in Industrial Democracy," by C. W. Guillebaud (Cambridge University Press, 1928)—which describes the origin and the present machinery of the Works Councils Act, the relation between works councils and the trade union movement, the effects of the works councils on industrial relations and the works councils and industrial self-government. For the purposes of this memorandum, it is enough to jot down the following few points from that book :—

- (1) The German works councils are not joint bodies holding their meetings in association with the employer. They are composed of employees only and the employer has no right to attend those meetings unless he is invited or has called a meeting in order to discuss a particular matter with the council.
- (2) The works councils are constituted under a legislative Act. The membership ranges from three to 30 according to the number of the employed.
- (3) The election of the works council is managed by an election committee of three appointed by the retiring council. The election is by the direct votes of the workers and by secret ballot.
- (4) The office of the works councillor is honorary, all necessary expenses incurred being paid by the employer. For any working time lost during the exercise of his official duties, the councillor is paid the full remuneration (including the allowance for overtime, if any).
- (5) Meetings of the council are private but may be attended by one representative of each of the trade unions to which its members belong.
- (6) The works council as a whole is required (i) to co-operate (in an advisory capacity) with the employer in promoting efficiency of production ; (ii) to co-operate in the introduction of new labour methods ; (iii) to promote peace within the establishment, and, in case of a dispute with the employer, to appeal to the Conciliation Board if a settlement cannot be reached by negotiation ; (iv) to supervise the execution of awards affecting the employees as a whole ; (v) to come to an agreement with an employer in regard to works rules applicable to all employees and, in case of disagreement, to appeal to the Conciliation Board whose decision is final in respect

of all rules other than those relating to working hours ; (vi) to defend the workers' right of association ; (vii) to reconcile grievances received from the sectional councils of wage-earning and salaried employees ; (viii) to take steps to prevent accidents and injury to health and to co-operate with the factory inspectors ; (ix) to participate in the administration of works welfare schemes.

(7) In order to facilitate the execution by the works council of its official duties, the council as a unit is given new and far reaching powers. The council is entitled (a) to elect one or two of its members to sit on the control boards of all joint stock companies or private undertakings which have a control board, with full voting rights ; (b) to demand access to information on all proceedings of the business affecting the contract of service or the activities of the employees, including the wages books and any other information required for checking the execution of existing collective agreements ; (c) to require an employer to make a quarterly report regarding the position and progress of the enterprise and the industry generally and, in particular, with the output of the undertaking and the anticipated demand for labour ; (d) to be informed by the employer, as long as possible in advance, of his intention to engage or dismiss a large number of employees ; in the event of projected dismissals on a large scale, the employer must discuss with the council any means that can be taken to avoid hardship ; (e) to require the presentation of an establishment balance sheet and profit and loss account.

(8) Finally, special protection is given to works councillors against victimization. With certain specified exceptions a works councillor may not be dismissed without the concurrence of the council of which he is a member, but where the council refuses its consent, the employer is entitled to appeal to the Labour Court whose decision is final and binding on both sides. If the court decides in favour of the employee, the employer is required unconditionally to cancel the notice of dismissal. The employer must continue to keep the employee concerned in his employment until the Labour Court has given its decision.

Provision against Dismissals.—The question of dismissals has been playing such a havoc among the mill workers and so vitally affects their interests that the union takes the liberty to quote a few passages from Mr. Guillebaud's book which refer to the provisions against dismissals in the German Works Councils Act.*

Similar elaborate provisions have been made in the Works Councils Act against the dismissals of the works councillors and are dealt with on pages 169-176 of Mr. Guillebaud's book. The union insists that in any machinery that may be devised for joint meetings, similar provisions against dismissals should be made.

German Councils and Trade Unions.—After the passage of the Works Councils Act, the radical element in the German labour movement made serious endeavours to capture the machinery of the works councils and thereby cripple the powers of the trade unions. The Socialist trade unions, however, held in 1920 a National Congress of the Works Councils and arrived at the following conclusion :—

"The works councils must base themselves on the trade unions because they can only accomplish their tasks if they are certain of the support of the trade unions The works councils are to be organized within the trade unions. A separate organization of the works councils, whether local or central, is undesirable ; apart from its effect in hindering the activity of the trade unions, it would nullify the effective representation of the interests of the workers by the works councils." (Page 44).

The Socialist unions ultimately carried into effect the above decisions and now the works councils form part of their organization. It has been found out that the successful functioning of the works councils is dependent primarily on the backing they receive from the unions. "Except in the very large concerns, the employer is rarely inclined to pay much attention to the representation of the works council unless he knows that it has a powerful union at its back. On countless occasions it has been the presence of trade union officials at meetings of the council, or their advice and assistance in the background, which has prevented the employer from taking advantage of the ignorance and lack of experience of the members of the council. It is not too much to say that, despite all its statutory powers, the works council as an institution is impotent unless it is based upon the organized strength and financial resources of the unions." (Page 51). This explains why the Works Councils Act itself has made clear in Sections 8, 20, 31, 37, 47, 66 (3), and 78 (1, 2, 3) that "the intention of the framers of the Act was that the works councils should act as subsidiary and subordinate organs of the trade unions, with distinct if complementary functions." (Page 41). It is equally important to bear in mind that

* Vide Guillebaud, pages 161, 162, 163, 165 and 167.

"the works councils are expressly excluded by the Act from any right to co-operate in the determination of wage rates, wherever such rates are the subject of negotiation between trade unions and the employer or association of employers, i.e., wherever there is a collective agreement." (Page 149). Bombay to-day is in a position similar to that of Germany nine years ago. The legitimate trade union movement is being attacked on all sides and being weakened; and unless provisions similar to those in the German Act are made in any joint machinery that may be set up, the remedy might prove to be worse than the disease.

To sum up, the union's position in respect of the joint machinery is this :—
 (a) The union is inclined to favour the setting up of a joint machinery between the representatives of the employers and employed with the object of creating and maintaining harmonious relations between the two. (b) Such a joint machinery should be based on a statute. (c) Without the backing and active support of the trade unions the joint machinery will not work; in fact the unions must form a component part of that machinery. (d) Provisions against any attempt that may be made to deprive the trade unions of their legitimate part in the machinery and to make it independent of them, should be incorporated. (e) The powers of the joint machinery should be adequate and such as will maintain the workers' interest in the work. Action should follow decisions that may be taken. (f) Provisions against dismissals should be incorporated in the joint machinery.

To make the machinery work smoothly, the attitude of the employers, particularly the subordinate officers, must be changed almost out of recognition. There must be a complete change of heart.

III.—Housing.

16. (i) The Millowners' Association submitted to the Textile Tariff Board a statement on the housing provided by the millowners and it appears on page 151, Vol. II, of the Board's report. It will be seen therefrom that only 17 out of 80 mills in Bombay have provided housing for only a few of their workmen. These 17 mills engage over 52,000 workers, and there are only about 4,500 one-room and 110 two-room tenements. The percentage of housing provided to the total number of workers is thus not more than 8.61. The union is not sure that even this small accommodation is occupied exclusively by the textile workers for whom it is primarily meant. There is no reason to believe that, after the Millowners' Association's statement was prepared in 1926, any change for the better has taken place in respect of the housing accommodation by the millowners.

(ii) Towards the end of 1919 or the beginning of 1920, the Government of Bombay announced an ambitious programme of building 50,000 tenements for the working class in order to reduce the then existing congestion. This is neither the place nor the occasion to go into the ruinous working of the development department to which the housing scheme along with other schemes were assigned for execution. Suffice it to say, like the other schemes committed to its care, the programme of the housing scheme was never fully carried out and, instead of building 50,000 tenements, the City got only 16,244 tenements, mostly one-roomed, at enormous costs. And out of these 16,244 tenements only between 6,000 to 7,000 have been recently occupied, and the rest are still vacant. There is no basis to suppose that these 7,000 tenements have been occupied by the textile workers only—a good many may have been occupied by other class of workers engaged in other industries. The only other public agency which provides housing on a large scale is the Bombay Improvement Trust. The union understands that it has so far built about 9,000 tenements some of which may have been occupied by the textile workers.

(iii) From the above figures it can be calculated that, between the millowners, the Government and the Improvement Trust, the housing provision is made only for about 12 per cent. of the textile workers. The union considers it as a fairly liberal calculation. The rest of the accommodation the private landlord provides.

(iv) The union is not aware of any case of a textile worker having a hut of his own in Bombay.

18. *Nature of Accommodation.*—From the knowledge of the housing conditions in Bombay, the union can safely say that in providing accommodation to the workers, neither their needs nor demands nor the health point of view has been taken into consideration by any of the agencies which provide accommodation. With the private landlord, the dominant idea in providing accommodation is, of course, profit and he utilizes every inch of the available space in order to get rent, and, therefore, a permanent source of income. In the case of only a very few employers some consideration seems to have been given to the habits of the people by providing pegs and some other requirements in Indian style. It is difficult to say anything about the development chawls, because to say it implies some consideration on the part

of the writer which the chawls hardly deserve. The Government announced a programme of 50,000 tenements, and 16,000 and odd rooms came to be built by putting some building materials together. This is all that can be said without transgressing the limits of decency and propriety. To express an opinion on the housing conditions in Bombay, the union cannot do better than quote what it wrote in 1926 in its statement to the Textile Tariff Board. The union also desires to draw the attention of the Commission to Prof. A. R. Burnett-Hurst's book on "Labour and Housing in Bombay," which gives graphic descriptions of the housing condition in this premier city of India.

The memorandum quotes the following published works :—Cotton Textile Tariff Board Report, 1927, Vol. III, pages 447-450. Shaw Report, pages 6 and 7. Purcell Hallsworth Report, pages 8 and 9.

(iii) The union does not think that any of the agencies which have provided industrial housing has made any provision for electric or gas lighting. The Bombay Electric Supply and Tramway Company has, it is learnt, fitted their chawls with electricity and a similar provision should be made in other chawls as well. The workers generally use kerosine lamps of the crude type. Conservancy arrangements and water supply is common to all the residents on one floor, and in times of scarcity of water the upper floors do not get sufficient water. There is now a tendency to replace the basket privies by flushing system, but the latter is not kept clean and insanitary conditions generally prevail. There may still be some chawls where basket privies still continue to exist and the insanitary atmosphere prevailing in and around those chawls can be better imagined than described.

20. From such information as the union possesses, it can be said that the rent generally charged for private and employers' chawls varies between Rs. 5 and 10. There may be a few old chawls where the rent may be less than Rs. 5. Reference has already been made in an earlier paragraph to the rents of the Development Department chawls. The union understands that since that paragraph was written the rents of the Development Department chawls have been lowered. Even then they are higher than those for private and employers' chawls. At one time the rents of these chawls were as high as Rs. 15 and more and by several instalments they have now been brought down to the present level. It may be well if the Commission will endeavour to secure from the Director of Information a statement containing the original rents charged when the Department Development chawls were built and the stages by which they were reduced and the amounts of such reductions. The original rent level of these chawls is greatly responsible for the fact that they have not yet been fully occupied. On the whole, the union's opinion is that with the present wage level and the cost of living in Bombay, the rents charged are high and must be reduced in the interest of the workers.

21. *Special Housing Problems—Sub-letting.*—The union has no information about the extent, if any, to which the workers sub-let their rooms. It is many times stated that there is a practice of sub-letting among the workers, and the union is not surprised at the statement if it is true. The low wage level coupled with the cost of living and the heavy indebtedness, some workers may be feeling the necessity of getting some relief by sub-letting their tenements. There is also a tendency to keep boarders with the object of securing some further relief. The object underlying both these tendencies is not to make money at the cost of the worker's health but to endeavour to live within their means by trying to get some addition to the wages.

Occupation of Employers' Houses by Non-textile Tenants and Evictions.—It is already stated in an earlier paragraph that the union is not sure whether the employers' tenements have all been occupied by the textile workers. It is highly probable that there may be some non-textile tenants in those tenements. Had it not been so, the evictions during strikes should have been on a very large scale. The union is not inclined to believe that during prolonged strikes when it is difficult to receive rents, the employers are so charitable or sympathetic, in the case of labour, as to allow the workers to live on in their chawls without any guarantee to receive rents. In the last strike in the Wadia group of mills, the union understands that ejection notices had been given to the workers. This is one of the weapons in the hands of the employers to break the solidarity of the employees in strikes.

Necessity of Housing under Public Control.—It is the considered opinion of the union that the textile workers will not be able to attain the highest degree of efficiency until the existing housing conditions are altered out of recognition and overcrowding completely removed. To keep his body and mind in perfect and healthy condition every worker should have decent housing accommodation fitted up with the necessary requirements. The first requisite in the direction of achieving this object is a scheme for the rapid demolition of the slum area. Unless slums are destroyed, the prospects

of the better class of houses that may be provided being occupied may not be encouraging. The second requisite is that simultaneous efforts should be made to remodel the existing better types of chawls to suit the standard that may be fixed. The third requisite is that a programme of industrial housing spread over a stated period should be immediately prepared and the necessary steps, financial and otherwise, taken to carry it out. The fourth and the most important requisite is that industrial housing should be under public control, such as the Municipality or Government. Neither the employers nor the private landlords should have anything to do with it. The union also suggests that in any new area where factories may be allowed to be built, a town planning Act should be immediately brought into operation.

IV.—Health.

23. The general health conditions of the workers are very miserable, and they cannot be anything else when the housing conditions, wages, hours of work, diet, facilities for recreation and sports and other amenities of life continue to be what they have been all these years. The Bombay climate also adds its quota to increase the misery arising out of these conditions. In spite of all the improvements made in the general sanitation of the City, epidemics come in at frequent intervals and take a heavy toll from the poorer sections of the population. Malaria is a standing menace to the working class population in Bombay. The union desires to draw the attention of the Commission to a report, published last year, of Major Covell, who was specially appointed by the Bombay Government to enquire into the malarial conditions in this City. He pointed out therein that the most intense malaria at the present time exists in the vicinity of the mills. This and other diseases and the surrounding working and housing conditions produce the most disastrous effect upon the general health of the workers.

(i) The mortality figures may be obtained from the census reports and the annual reports of the Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay. It may only be pointed out here that the percentage of the death rate to the total mortality by age period in 1927 was 24·8 under 1 year, 15·5 under 1 to 5 years, 12·4 under 20 to 30 years and 11·2 under 30 to 40 years. The death rate per 1,000 of the population is 1·2 in the case of ague and remittent fever, 0·6 for small-pox, 1·3 for tuberculosis, and 7·6 for diseases of the respiratory system. If the death rate is considered by localities, it is seen that it is much higher in those which are mostly inhabited by the working class population than in those inhabited by the rich and middle classes. The Standing Committee of Bombay Municipal Corporation, in reviewing the Municipal Commissioner's Administration Report for 1927-28, have stated that the death rate (like the birth rate) is invariably high among the poorer classes and that deaths among the females are more than those among the men by at least 50 per cent. The sections of the City that are hard hit by mortality are those which are the most thickly populated.

(ii) The birth rate may be obtained from the census reports and the administration report of the Municipal Commissioner. The following tables in respect of infant mortality are taken from the latter report :—

Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 Birth.

1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
555·60	672·12	405·16	413·91	423·17	359·05	393·79	319·12

Deaths of Infants by Age Periods in 1927.

Age Period.	Deaths.	Percentage of deaths to total deaths under 1 year of age.
Under 1 week	1,590	23·1
1 to 4 weeks	962	14·1
1 to 6 months	1,949	28·4
6 to 12 months	2,356	34·4
Total	6,857	100·0

Infant Mortality by the Number of Rooms occupied in 1927.

	One room and under.	Two rooms.	Three rooms.	Four rooms.	Total, including deaths in hospitals, etc.
Deaths ..	5,688	352	87	34	6,857
Percentage ..	83.0	5.1	1.3	0.5	100.0

Infant Mortality per 1,000 Births, registered by Number of Rooms occupied.

Year.	One room and under.	Two rooms.	Three rooms.	Four rooms.
1921	828.5	321.9	191.4	133.3
1922	470.9	435.7	421.6	300.3
1923	524.4	394.5	255.4	246.5
1924	557	313.3	271.2	125
1925	503	242	236	157
1926	577	254	215	163
1927	490	203	222	195

These figures are so eloquent that the union does not propose to make any comment thereon and thereby mar their effect.

(iii) (a) It is not possible for the union to say much about the working conditions in factories as the union officials have not visited many mills. Speaking generally it can be said that from the point of view of the machinery, the working conditions in some mills are fair while in others they are not satisfactory. The union knows that the employers take more care of their machinery than of their workers. Complaints from the workers about the quality of the material supplied are many and come frequently. The workers also complain about the speeding up of the machinery, which not infrequently means excessive work, due to more than usual breakages in yarn and similar disturbances in the weaving of cloth. During cold weather, more steam is circulated in the sheds which causes uneasiness to the workers; and in hot weather, cases of the workers having fainted occurred in the past. It also complained that in such mills as are old and not built on new and up-to-date model, there is no access for fresh air to come in. In respect of the amenities provided for the workers, it must be said that there are practically none. There are no dining sheds where the operatives can go and take their food. Workers taking their food near the machines or in some dirty corners in a compound, is a usual feature that a visitor to a mill comes across. No smoke rooms or covered places where workers can go and have a smoke are provided. If they want to smoke they must go near the privies or some other open spaces if the mill compound is large. There is also no provision made for the workers to take rest during recess hours. Provisions as regards latrines, drinking water, etc., are dealt with in a subsequent paragraph.

(iii) (b) The references to the housing conditions in earlier paragraphs will, it is hoped, give the Commission an idea about the home life of the operatives, and it does not seem to be necessary to add anything here.

(iv) The "Working Class Budgets—Bombay," published by the Labour Office in 1923, gives some account of the kind of food the workers generally take and the expenditure they spend over it. Nearly 50 per cent. of the family budgets collected by the Labour Office for their enquiry were the budgets of the textile workers and the conclusions reached by them can be said to apply fairly accurately to these workers. The following extract is taken from that book:—

"The consumption in all budgets varies between .91 lb. (412.77 grams) per adult male of cereals per diem in the lowest class, and 1.53 lb. (693.99 grams) in the highest class. The (weighted) average is 1.29 lb. (585.13 grams). The corresponding figures for the budgets, exclusive of scavengers, are 1.06 lb. (480.81 grams) for the lowest class, 1.55 lb. (703.06 grams) for the highest class, and 1.37 lb. (621.42 grams) the weighted average for all the classes.

"It is interesting to compare these results with the scales laid down in the Bombay Famine Relief Code, 1912, and those for jail diets in Bombay. The family budgets contain more varied diets than do the jail diets and 'other food' in the table, excludes

sweetmeats, fish, condiments and spices, vegetables, fruit refreshments and other food for which no estimates of quantity are available. The minimum and maximum amounts of cereals in the Famine Code are approximately .86 lb. (390.09 grams) and 1.29 lb. (585.13 grams) and in the Bombay jail diets, 1.38 lb. (625.95 grams) and 1.50 lb. (680.39 grams). Lt.-Col. D. McCay (then Capt. McCay), I.M.S., in his "Investigations on Bengal Jail Dietsaries," is of opinion that 1.38 lb. (625.95 grams) of cereals per diem is the most suitable amount required per man which will ensure the maximum absorption of protein, etc., from the diet.

"The general conclusion is that industrial workers consume the maximum of cereals allowed by the Famine Code but less than the diet prescribed in the Bombay Jail Manual." (Pages 20-21.)

The report further says that expenditure on milk and ghee is negligible in the lowest income classes and that expenditure on grains occupy a major portion of the total expenditure. With such equipment in respect of food, the textile operative starts on his work to serve his master.

(v) They physique of the textile workers is extremely poor. They have no stamina which will stand them in good stead against malaria and other diseases and epidemics. Mr. Tom Shaw in his report says :—

"To a European eye, the first sight of the textile workers of Bombay or Madras is extremely depressing. Owing to the Indian dress, a great deal of the body, of course, is to be seen. In Bombay, as a rule, the workers seem to be underfed, their bodies seem to be emaciated and their legs are like spindles." (Page 20.)

The union desires to draw the attention of the commission to section 21 (pages 47-50)—"Physique of Mill Workers"—of "Humidification in Indian Cotton Mills," by T. Maloney, the present secretary of the Bombay Millowners' Association, and to table No. 51 (pages 127-128) of the same book, containing the average weights of the workers. The following extracts are taken from the said section :—

(1) "The low average weight as compared with other classes of labour is very noticeable. The average of 99 lb. for all mill operatives is below the minimum weight for police recruits of the same average height." (Page 48.)

(2) "The weight records of 63 mill hands in Bombay showed that after an average of eight months' continuous work in the mills there was an average decrease of .36 lb. in weight in the second half of service as compared with the first." (Page 49.)

(3) "The very general practice of Bombay mill hands of returning to their up-country homes has a beneficial effect upon their general health as reflected by weight ; and counteracts to a very large extent the effects of working and living conditions in Bombay." (Page 50.)

(vi) In Bombay City the ratio of females to males is, the union understands, 525 to 1,000. This is indeed highly unsatisfactory. The proportion of females to males would, the union believes, still be lower if the ratio is calculated on the industrial population only. The effects of such disproportion cannot but be unhealthy. The workers are easily exposed to all kinds of temptations of city life.

(vii) The relation between housing and mortality can be easily understood by referring to the table of infant mortality according to the rooms occupied, which is given in paragraph 61.

24. (i) to (iii) In several of the Bombay mills medical facilities are reported to have been provided ; but the union understands they are, in a majority of cases, in the nature of first-aid appliances and not in the nature of dispensaries. The medical men who are engaged are, barring a few exceptions, part-timers and have generally their own private practice in the mill area. How far these so-called dispensaries are properly equipped can be ascertained by the expenditure each mill incurs on the purchase of medicines ; and it would be worth while to secure this information. The union is also informed that some mills charge the operatives at some flat rate for the medical facilities provided, irrespective of whether or not the operatives so charged take advantage of those facilities. There are five large hospitals in Bombay with over 800 beds and outpatient departments and other small hospitals aided by Government and Municipality, of which some workers take advantage from time to time. The Bombay Municipality is conducting three dispensaries where, it is understood, free medical aid is given to the poor. Private agencies such as the Social Service League, Y.W.C.A., the Blind Relief Association endeavour to give free medical facilities to the workers. The League is very successfully conducting a charitable dispensary for women and children and it is taken advantage of on a very large scale.

(iv) According to the Administration Report of the Municipal Commissioner for 1927-28, there are only ten nurses who are qualified midwives. They do some work of visiting the chawls and helping the women and children in their illness. This provision is merely a drop in the ocean and must be increased in proportion to the female labour population in this city.

25. The workers do not, generally, for many reasons, take advantage of the medical facilities provided by the millowners to the extent to which they should. In the first place, the medical facilities are reported to be too inadequate and unsatisfactory. There are a set number of stock mixtures kept ready, the workers further say, and they are given one or more of the mixtures, whatever the nature of the disease may be. Secondly, it is complained that the patients' examination by the mill doctors is not always thorough. What is generally done is, it is further stated, that the doctors generally depend for their diagnosis upon the versions of the patients and at times only touch their pulse or lever. Thirdly, many of the mill doctors being only part timers, are not available to the workers even during working periods. This naturally reduces the utility of the medical facilities provided. Lastly, from the nature of the complaints received from the work people, the union guesses that the touch of human sympathy is lacking in dealing with the mill patients. It is not realized that the illness of an operative reacts on the mill efficiency and it is in the interest of the mills that the worker is treated sympathetically and with all the care that is necessary. All these causes have prejudiced the workers' minds against the medical facilities provided by the mills and are as far as possible very reluctant to take their advantage. A well-paid worker generally prefers to go to a private practitioner where he is better examined and treated. A low-paid worker has no alternative but either to take advantage of the mill facilities or suffer in silence.

26. (i) In the mills, latrines are provided in accordance with the provisions made in the rules under the Indian Factories Act. It has already been pointed out that in some mills the basket privies still continue to exist and the sanitary conditions are abominable. Where flushing system exists, the sanitary conditions are not generally good perhaps occasionally due to shortage of water. At times the flushes do not work properly, which helps to create insanitary conditions. One may compare the privies provided for the superior staff with the privies for the operatives and one will immediately detect the difference in the sanitary conditions. This memorandum has, in earlier paragraphs, dealt with the kind of latrines provided in the chawls. Not only are they most insanitary but their number is quite inadequate with the requirements of the people who stay there. There must be some statutory provision compelling the owners of the chawls to provide a definite number of latrines according to the number of people residing and to keep them in complete sanitary conditions. It should also be provided that the latrines should be separated from the rows of tenements and should be at some distance from them.

(ii) The problem of drinking water in Bombay mills is not so much the provision of its adequate supply as the provision of its cool supply. The mills have no doubt provided water, but the taps are generally in open spaces and water becomes hot immediately. The thirst of the people cannot be quenched by drinking hot water; on the contrary, it is increased. What is necessary is that drinking water should be provided in well protected rooms and suitable precautions taken to keep it very cool. In the chawls, water taps from which drinking water is taken for storage are very close to the latrines. Such a provision is highly objectionable from the sanitary point of view and must be stopped. For the purposes of storing drinking water, each tenement, or the tenement where cooking is done, should be provided with a water tap.

(iii) So far as the union is aware, bathing and washing arrangements are not provided for in a majority of mills. The workers go to the mills at 7 a.m., and come back at 6 p.m. It is not always possible that all of them can take their bath before going to the mill owing largely to the inadequacy of the provision in the chawls. The Bombay climate being what it is, it is necessary for the workers who have to work in the sheds for full ten hours under atmospheric conditions which are not always cool, to have a bath every day. A bath is highly refreshing and may add to the energy and perhaps efficiency of the workers. It is thus in the interest of the employers and as well as of the workers to have suitable bathing facilities provided in the mills. In the chawls there are generally two common taps provided for each floor and they are used for baths, washing clothes and utensils and storing drinking water. The space where these taps are given, is generally open from all sides although it is protected from above. There is no privacy and even women have to take their bath in the presence of many others. The union feels that the chawls should be provided with suitable and adequate bath rooms.

27. According to the latest report of the chief factory inspector, there are only four full time inspectors, including one lady, and three assistant inspectors in addition to the chief inspector. Considering the increasing number of factories and the area of the Presidency, the union is of the opinion that the present staff is inadequate and should be increased. The number of women inspectors also should be increased.

28. The union has not so far studied the question of temperature and humidification in the cotton mills and is not, therefore, in a position to express an opinion on the improvements necessary from the point of view of the workers. It only draws the

attention of the commission to Mr. Maloney's report on "Humidification in Indian Cotton Mills," the recommendations he has made and to the remarks of the chief factory inspector in his 1928 report (pages 7-8) about the sanitation and ventilation.

29. (i) So far as the textile industry is concerned no systematic effort seems to have been made either by the employers or Government to find out the extent of industrial diseases and to adopt remedies. Looking to the nature of the work that some of the workers have to do, it can be said that the industrial diseases must be prevailing and attempts should be made to combat them.

(ii) Owing to the bad housing and working conditions and their low stamina, the workers become easy victims to diseases like malaria, small-pox or hook-worm and epidemics like cholera. The Municipality is making efforts to check these diseases but more efforts are necessary.

30. *Sickness Insurance.*—The Union proposes to deal only with the draft convention on sickness insurance for workers in industry, commerce and domestic servants and the recommendation passed by the tenth session of the International Labour Conference; it is not in a position to say anything on the draft convention which deals with agricultural workers. While recognizing that the draft convention dealing with industrial and domestic workers, contains a few items which may be rather difficult of being carried out to the full in the beginning, the union is clearly of the opinion that it should be given effect to to the utmost possible extent. The union realizes that the adoption of the draft convention means the fulfilment of its minimum conditions. But having allowed the workers to suffer all these years and exposed them to the risks of industrialization it is no argument to say that it is difficult to fulfil even the minimum demands of the draft convention. Serious and prolonged disease requires a most drastic remedy and the draft convention which is the greatest common measure of agreement between the governments, employers and workers assembled in an international gathering, provides that remedy and no Government which is solicitous of the welfare of the masses, can possibly reject it without grave risk to the workers and thereby to the development of the industries. Instead of harping upon the difficulties of carrying out the terms of the draft convention, Government would have been better advised to use their powers and resources to face those difficulties and adopt a suitable machinery for sickness insurance. Mr. N. M. Joshi offered them a compromise when he moved his amendment* to the resolution* of the Hon. Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra rejecting the draft convention on sickness insurance. It would have been graceful and proved the sincerity of the Government of India to do something by the working classes in this country, if they had seen their way to accept Mr. Joshi's amendment. But they not only opposed it but even challenged its admissibility. The President of the Assembly, however, overruled the objection and allowed the motion. But Government remained adamant and defeated Mr. Joshi's amendment. It should also be borne in mind that they brought in their resolution on the last day of the Assembly Session, when some non-official members had already left Delhi and Government had an easy time. Surely this is not a fair way of dealing with the working classes. The Hon. Sir Bhupendra Nath brought forth laboured arguments and difficulties which were effectively dealt with by Messrs. Joshi and Chaman Lall and need not be repeated here. It is indeed surprising that Government did not see their way to accept even the recommendation on sickness insurance which simple defined the general principles on which sickness insurance scheme should be organized and administered. The acceptance of that recommendation would have at least meant that Government accepted the principle of sickness insurance. Their rejection only showed them up and proved that they were not willing to do anything. Their promise of consulting the Local Governments who are often more conservative than the Central Government, and sometimes hostile to the legitimate demands of the workers, is a piece of dilatory tactics. The union is of the opinion that in spite of the difficulties that may exist, every endeavour should be made to give effect to the draft convention and the recommendation as fully as possible; and in case that may not be possible, the union agrees to the modified proposal of Mr. Joshi.

The union desires it to be understood that in stating its views on other systems, it sticks to the principles laid down in the Geneva Convention and Recommendation. If it is found on careful investigation that there are practical difficulties in giving effect to the convention as modified by Mr. Joshi, and the recommendation, then only, the union suggests that other methods of sickness insurance which may fall short of the convention and the recommendation, should be considered. As the Commission is fully aware, there are two recognized ways of instituting the system of sickness insurance, one voluntary and the other compulsory. Before expressing an opinion in favour of one of the two systems, it is necessary to define the scope of sickness insurance. In the general introduction to the "Compulsory Sickness Insurance,"

* Assembly debates, 27th March, 1928.

containing comparative analysis of national laws and statistics, published by the International Labour Office in 1927 (Studies and Reports, Series M., No 6) contains the following observations on the scope of sickness insurance system —

“ Insurance should no longer confine its efforts to meeting the needs which arise from the weakness of the human constitution ; it must pursue the evil to its origin and no longer accept sickness as a risk which cannot be averted. Insurance benefits must look to the source of disease and not merely to its consequences. Their final object is not assistance but the creation of new productive capacity.

“ Compensation for economic loss is henceforth only one of the functions of an insurance system designed to economise human energy. The principle object is to reduce as far as possible the damage resulting from avoidable disease and to provide healthy living conditions for the workers. Insurance would combat disease in its cause. If, however, an illness cannot be prevented, then the business of insurance is to compensate and restore to health. It can never indeed give up its original function of providing the sick with the means of subsistence to replace the earnings which cease with sickness ; nevertheless, in order to eliminate the cause of such loss of earnings, it is the endeavour of insurance to cure the sick person and restore him to active life as soon as possible.” (Page 14.)

“ Restoration rather than compensation is, however, the principle function of insurance. In its origin insurance aimed at providing the sick with benefits in kind to replace the wages which they were unable to earn. Little by little this idea has yielded to a wider and more genuinely social conception which makes the restoration of the patient the first consideration. Benefits in kind intended to restore the health of the patient begin to overtake the cash benefits.” (Page 16)

“ Sickness insurance is taking on a family character ; it protects the worker's family and no longer the insured person alone.” (Page 17)

“ Sickness insurance has become the guardian of the health of the worker's family. In virtue of this task, which it has taken up widely of late years, sickness insurance has become the principle instrument of a health policy for the masses of the population.” (Page 18.)

“ Sickness insurance is endeavouring to fulfil ever more completely its task of protecting the health of the working-class family and maintaining the worker's capacity to produce by widening the circle of insured persons, perfecting the system of benefits which perform the three-fold function of relief, cure and prevention, concentrating the means of action, and systematically organizing autonomous institutions under the control of the parties concerned.

“ Thus, compulsory sickness insurance, as creator of security, health, well-being and productive capacity, and as instrument of education, is an element both important and necessary in the proper economic and social organization of communities.” (Page 26.)

This scope of sickness insurance has been accepted as desirable and necessary after considerable experience of over a century, and there is no reason why India should not accept it. To begin from the beginning and then make changes after gaining experience is a proposition which the union, in this case at any rate, does not accept. One should profit by others' experience and get wiser.

Voluntary and Compulsory Insurance.—Having thus accepted, as the union does accept, this broad scope of sickness insurance, it is necessary to see, from the experience of other countries, whether voluntary system of sickness insurance has achieved results commensurate with this scope. The “ Voluntary Sickness Insurance ” (I.L.O., Studies and Reports, Series M., No. 7), has the following observations to make on this point :—

“ The scope of voluntary insurance remains too narrow ; a large section of the wage-earners and the poorer population generally have failed to join provident institutions. This failure is especially marked in the case of persons whose earnings are low, and who, by reason of their precarious livelihood, are more subject to disease, and whose need of insurance against the risk is therefore more pressing. Moreover, membership of mutual benefit societies is not constant, but diminishes appreciably whenever an economic crisis occurs which causes unemployment and reduces wages.

“ In spite of the financial aid of the State, the resources of voluntary insurance funds are generally very limited. A general meeting does not willingly consent to the raising of the contribution. The inevitable result is that benefits are inadequate and the insured have to bear the greater part of the income loss and medical expenses.” (Page 46.)

“ With a view to avoiding bad risks, voluntary insurance institutions systematically exclude persons who do not satisfy the conditions of health required. In practice, voluntary insurance is not open to persons who most need medical protection, and this is a serious disadvantage of the voluntary system.” (Pages 29-30.)

" To what should this small membership of the (voluntary) funds be attributed ? To the natural improvidence of man and the preference for individual thrift among the more well-to-do workers, but also, and above all, to the insufficiency and precariousness of the resources of the low wage workers, who often suffer from unemployment. It is a fact that at the present time a large number of workers, chiefly among those who have family responsibilities, do not earn enough to pay insurance contributions, although it is among them that disease and infant mortality are most serious. This situation is undoubtedly the weightiest objection that can be raised to voluntary insurance.

" To sum up, it must be stated that voluntary insurance, in spite of the tenacious and remarkable efforts that have been made and in spite of its continuous development, is making only slow progress and, except in two countries, has failed to cover more than a small proportion of the total population or the working population, and that in particular its benefits do not apply to many poorly paid persons, precisely those who have the most need of mutual aid." (Pages 34-35.)

With this experience of other countries before it, the union does not think it advisable to support the voluntary basis of sickness insurance. It unhesitatingly supports the compulsory basis which perhaps may be started, in the beginning, on a restricted scale. The State, as guardian of public health and national prosperity, should consider, as many States in Europe do consider, it both a right and a duty to impose compulsion in this matter. Insurance is a social duty the performance of which the State may, in the general interest, enforce.

Contributory or Non-contributory Basis.—In European and other industrially advanced countries the question whether insurance should be contributory or non-contributory has almost ceased to be discussed, at least so far as sickness insurance is concerned. Contributory basis has generally been accepted as the right basis of sickness insurance. The persons insured, the employer and the State are the parties to the scheme and they contribute to the insurance fund in certain proportion which varies according to national conditions. It is recognized that the "contribution is the feature which distinguishes insurance from relief, creates a right to benefits and justifies the participation of insured person in the management of insured institutions." (Compulsory Sickness Insurance, pages 20-21.) The fact, however, is that "the basis for the sharing of cost is the result of a complex of conditions which varies from country to country, and even in the same country at different periods: the level of wages in relation to the cost of living (i.e., the ability of insured persons to contribute), the prosperity of production (i.e., the ability of undertakings to bear social charges), the state of public finances (i.e., the possibility of obtaining from the taxpayer money to subsidise insurance), the power of trade unions of employers and workers, the composition, tendencies and attitude on social questions of Governments and parliamentary majorities. The solution adopted in each country is a compromise between the various conceptions and opposing interests and forces in which the present considerations of expediency play a more important part than theories" (*ibid.*, page 22). It has also been recognised that "in whatever way workers' participation (in the insurance scheme) is justified it must always be subordinate to the examination of a preliminary question relating to the theory of wages. If it is proved that wages normally contain a surplus intended for provident purposes, the sickness insurance fund has obviously the right to claim its share, but in no other case" (*ibid.*, page 407). In the opinion of the union the question of instituting sickness insurance in India should be considered from the point of view of the sound principle just enunciated. It will be shown in a subsequent chapter that the wages that a majority of the Bombay workers get leave no surplus, and in many cases they leave the workers in indebtedness. Surely then the workers, or at any rate those who come under this category, must be exempted from their contributions. The union, therefore, feels that for some time to come the basis of compulsory sickness insurance should be non-contributory and *not* contributory. This suggestion is made, not with the object of allowing the workers to shirk their share of contributions and increasing the burden on the employers and the State but with the sole idea of not putting on the workers financial responsibility which they cannot truly undertake and which may drive them into further indebtedness. The union is not alone in making this suggestion; it has the backing of a few countries where low-paid workers are exempted from any contributions. In Great Britain, for example, "the Act classifies as insured persons with low wages those who are 18 or more years of age and who earn less than 4s. a day and whose remuneration does not include board and lodging. The total contribution is fixed as for other insured persons, but it is paid by the employer alone if the wages are less than 3s. In Esthonia and Latvia the contribution for persons whose money wage is less than two-thirds of the average wage of an unskilled worker must be paid by the employer. In Japan, for persons who earn less than 55 sen a day the contribution is payable by the employer alone. A similar provision is in force in the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom for persons whose remuneration in cash is less than the basic wage in the lowest wage class (or 2 dinars a day).

In Norway no contribution is paid by persons in the lowest wage class." (Compulsory Sickness Insurance, pages 426-27.) In the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland the employers pay the whole contribution for persons in the lower group of wages. The point the union wants to emphasize is that the basis of contributions is being steadily shifted from the contract of employment to the economic capacity of the workers and the union is suggesting the non-contributory basis as being more conformable to Indian conditions.

If, however, it is insisted that the compulsory insurance system should be based on a contributory basis the union suggests that the low-paid workers' wages should be increased to the extent of their contribution to the insurance fund, or in the alternative, their share of the contribution should be paid by the employers. In the case of the other workers whose wages are above the minimum that may be fixed for this purpose a graded system of insurance rates should be introduced. In Great Britain, again, the practice according to law is that "if the wages are over 3s. but less than 4s., the normal rate of 4½d. for men and 4d. for women is changed to 3½d. and 3d. respectively, the employers' share being in both cases 5¼d. (i.e., eleven-eightieths or 61 per cent. for men and eleven-seventieths, or 65 per cent. for women, of the total contribution)." There can possibly be no doubt that for some years at least the State in India will have to contribute a very decent share to the insurance funds.

Benefits.—As has already been pointed out, the modern tendency in sickness insurance is to provide greater medical facilities, both preventive and curative, in addition to the benefits in cash for the maintenance of the insured person and his family. The principle business of sickness insurance is to put at the service of every insured person a proper provision of medical aid as sickness insurance, better than any other instruments of social welfare, is fitted to assist, by organizing medical treatment, in improving the health of the population. In a number of countries it is also the business of sickness insurance to cover the funeral expenses of the insured and his dependants. The insured person should have at his disposal medical attendance, drugs and other medicines, hospitals, and the assistance of specialists, surgeons, physicians. This can be achieved only by the co-ordination, on a territorial basis, of all the medical facilities and assistance that may be available. The insured person should have an additional or alternative benefit in cash, according to the needs, for himself and his family. The union does not believe that it is called upon to go into the details of these and other cognate matters. Once the fundamentals are decided upon the details can be worked out comparatively easily, and those responsible for this work have the benefit of the I.L.O. and other publications on this subject.

How to Meet Difficulties—The union fully realizes the difficulties that stand in the way of introducing sickness insurance system, and of all the difficulties, the financial difficulty is the greatest. But it, along with others, must be faced and solved. In the matter of financial difficulty, India is not the only country that has got it. Every other country must have got it in the initial stages, and it has by investigations and experience solved it. India must do the same if she wants to rescue her population from the horrible position it is in to-day. It is not the work of a trade union like this to show how to get over the financial difficulty. Its business is to prove the necessity of adopting schemes for the amelioration of the workers' condition. It is the Government who must tackle the problem of finance. If they have the will they can solve it. By cutting down the present huge military expenditure, by judicious economy of the present expenditure particularly in respect of the Services and by suitable adjustment of the present system of taxation, Government may be able to finance the scheme not only of sickness insurance but of social insurance as well. In the case of the low-paid workers the union only desires to draw the attention of the Commission to a law in Portugal the provisions of which are to the following effect :—

"(i) Persons of both sexes between the ages of 15 and 75 who do not possess an annual income or wage higher than 900 escudos are actually insured; they pay contributions and are entitled to benefits in case of sickness. (Section 3.)

(ii) Landlords, military, civil and administrative officials, merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers and persons who live upon dividends, if they enjoy an annual income higher than 900 escudos, constitute the group "born" insured; they pay contributions, but have no right to benefit in case of sickness. (Section 4.)

Persons belonging to the first group alone can be regarded as genuinely insured, so that the Portuguese scheme is an example of the insurance of workers on small means, whether dependent or independent." (Compulsory Sickness Insurance, page 127.)

The workers are slowly getting accustomed to western medicine and there is no difficulty on that score. Moreover, in the organization and co-ordination of

medical treatment and facilities, the two Indian systems—*Ayurvedic* and *Unani*—should find adequate place so that the objections, if any, of the orthodox section of the workers can be met. In the application of the scheme on a limited scale to start with, the question of paucity of medical men does not, in the opinion of the union, arise. There is a fair number of medical men in cities and towns whose practice is not always remunerative, and their services can be utilized for the insurance work. The union has already stated that Bombay labour is not migratory, and from its point of view it presents no difficulty on the score of its migratory habits which do not exist.

31. (i) There are no schemes as such for maternity benefits in most of the Bombay mills. The Bombay Labour Office may be in a position to supply the Commission with information regarding the practice existing in a few mills under which some payment is made to a few women at the time of confinement. The union's information is that in about thirteen mills there is a provision for paying one to two months' wages during confinement, and, in a few mills, granting leave for six weeks. Whether this leave is on full pay, which is an addition to the benefits that are paid, is a point on which the union has no information, but it is inclined to think that the leave is without pay. Apart from that, such a provision exists in only a handful of mills and advantage is taken of it on a limited scale. The Commission may perhaps be in a position to get information about the total amount spent by these mills on maternity benefits during the last five years, and the total number of women employed by them. The union's feeling is that the women workers do not get adequate advantage of the provisions that may exist, that the provisions themselves are confined to only a few mills, and that they are not adequate.

(ii) Some four years ago Mr. N. M. Joshi introduced in the Legislative Assembly a Maternity Benefit Bill, the scope of which was confined to the factories and mines governed by the Indian Factories and Mines Acts and to large-scaled plantations. The Bill only enunciated the general principles of maternity benefits and left the details to be worked out under the Rules. The Bill was opposed by Government and capitalist element in the Assembly, and the result was that it was defeated by only four votes. In the Bombay Legislative Council Mr. R. S. Asavale introduced last year a Maternity Bill, and it was passed, with considerable modifications, into law in March of this year. Under this Act a woman expecting confinement gets leave of absence for a month prior to delivery, is prohibited from work for four weeks after delivery, and gets eight annas a day for a maximum period of seven weeks and is protected from dismissal during that period.

(iii) The union is firmly of the opinion that an all-India maternity legislation embodying the recognized principles of such legislation is what is essential. Provincial legislation is objectionable on the ground that the province having such legislation entails some financial burden on its employers thereby increasing their costs and the latter are put in a disadvantageous position in respect of the employers in other provinces where no such legislation exists. Further, the employer alone should not be asked to bear the financial burden; it is the State, which is the guardian of public health and child welfare which must contribute substantially to the maternity benefits scheme. As in the sickness insurance scheme, so in this scheme as well, the cash benefits only do not satisfy the requirements; benefits in kind or medical facilities are the most important consideration. It is recognized that "rest is indispensable to expectant mothers, and pregnancy can only follow its normal course and be attended with satisfactory results if proper pre-natal care is ensured, and this obviously implies abstention from work before confinement. A normal confinement will be facilitated by proper medical attention and care during pregnancy; while it is essential that mothers should be assisted by a doctor or midwife during and immediately after confinement. The mother after her confinement obviously needs rest and care, and is consequently unfit for work for some time after that event, while the new-born infant also requires the care and the presence of its mother, who should be able to feed and nurse it. The conditions under which newly-born infants are fed, and an opportunity for their mothers to submit them to periodical medical examination are essential features of any system of child welfare. Both in the interests of the mother and of the child all these requirements must be fulfilled." (Compulsory Sickness Insurance, page 341-42.) In most of the modern states with a properly organized system of compulsory sickness insurance, the benefits, which include in many countries nursing bonus as well, connected with motherhood, are granted under that system. The union prefers this method to the one leaving the payment of the benefits to the employer.

V.—Welfare.

32. *Utilisation of Workers' Spare Time.*—The Labour Office collected some material in 1926 on the utilization of workers' spare time, and their report was published in the *Labour Gazette* in 1927. It showed that the problem had received

very little consideration at the hands of the employers in the textile industry. What a few of the employers have been doing, or rather were doing for a few years when the industry was yielding bumper profits is, or rather was, in the nature of providing some facilities in respect of small medical aid, minor educational facilities, a few co-operative societies, etc. The larger problem of the development of the workers' physical, intellectual, material and moral qualities has never been tackled. Information about the actual welfare work being done by the employers may be obtained from the Millowners' Association and the Labour Office. It would be interesting to know the expenditure they are spending on welfare work and the amount from it which is spent on salaries of the staff, rent, etc., so that one may get an idea of the actual amount spent on welfare work as such and the benefits accrued to the worker. There are only a few non-official public bodies, such as the Social Service League, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A., which are carrying on some useful activities; but owing to financial stringency their work is considerably handicapped. The union does not think that there are any welfare officers in the Bombay mills.

34. (i) There are, generally speaking, no refreshment rooms conducted by the mills for their workers. An adjoining shopkeeper takes his tea and some refreshments inside the mills and sells them to the workers. There is no supervision or control over the quality of the refreshments supplied. Shelters there are practically none. The workers pass their recess period either by going to their homes or by lying down near their machines or in some dirty corner of the mill premises. Some mills have got creches.

35. The results achieved by the employers welfare work are, in the opinion of the union, almost negligible by looking to the total number of workers and the magnitude of the task. The workers, too, have begun to look upon the employers' work in this direction with suspicion. They feel that the welfare work is designed to tighten the grip of the employers upon their employees. This feeling is not peculiar to India or Bombay alone; it existed in the minds of the European workers as well, as will be seen from the following quotation from the Voluntary Sickness Insurance :—

"What is worse, they (the employers' schemes of welfare works) excited the distrust of the masses and the opposition of the Socialist parties, which were rapidly growing up. The worker and his trade union saw in the employers' generosity a means of restricting the worker's freedom of movement and binding him by the ties of material interest, apparent rather than real however, to the undertaking which employs him. The Socialist parties objected to the employers' schemes on the ground that their one-sided management excluded the workmen, that they offered none of the educative opportunities which are necessary in a democratic State, that it weakened the will of the working class to emancipate itself, and that, after all, the benefits offered were fragmentary and of little value." (Page 22.) The employers on their side also seem to think that the workers, by resorting to strikes, do not appreciate the value of welfare work. There is also a feeling which occasionally finds expression in private talks that welfare work may be considered as a substitute for trade union work and that workers should not agitate and cause embarrassment to their employers. While in no way depreciating the value of genuine welfare work, the union feels that it is being done under an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust on either side, and that may perhaps be the reason why the British T.U.C. Delegation characterised the welfare work as a "delusion and a snare."

36. So far as the union is aware, the employers have not made any provision for the education of adult workers for their children. Half-timers there are practically none in Bombay.

37. There are a few mills which give some gratuity to some workers who have put in long service or which give provident fund where the system of provident fund exists. But these systems are objectionable on the ground that they are more or less based on the goodwill of the employers and controlled by them. Secondly, it is not always that each and every worker who has put in a prescribed period of service invariably gets gratuity. The tendency to select such men for gratuity as were in the good books of the superior staff or the head-jobbers, is inevitable when the grant of gratuity has not got the sanction of any rules behind it. In the case of the provident fund system, the workers do not get its full advantage as they are liable to be dismissed any moment and when they are so dismissed, they forfeit the employers' share of the fund. They do not, therefore, join the fund, where it exists in large numbers. With the insecurity of employment and low wages, the workers have no possibility of saving much for their old age. There is a clear necessity for the provision of old age pensions and for premature retirement. If there is to be any provident fund scheme, it should be statutory and on a more satisfactory basis. The practice of paying gratuity, where it is to exist, should also be statutory and

compulsory. The financial side of the old age pensions scheme the union has not considered for want of time, and it is, it thinks, mainly the work of Government to find ways and means.

38. The union has not studied the question of co-operation or taken part in the co-operative movement as its attention was almost always concentrated on more pressing problems of the day. It has considerable faith in the movement which is expected to do much good to the workers. It suggests that the industrial workers' co-operative credit societies should be subsidized by Government in the same way in which the agriculturists' societies are subsidized. The union considers that a statutory welfare fund should be started not only for miners but also for other industrial workers as well.

VI.—Education.

40. (i) In the F and G wards of the city, which are mostly located by the working class families, the Bombay municipality has made primary education free and compulsory for children between 7 and 11. The latest report of the schools committee shows that the number of children of compulsory age before the introduction of compulsion, and on 31st March, 1926, 1927 and 1928 was 17,200, 17,613, 18,698 and 17,554 respectively; and the number of children attending schools for the same periods and dates was respectively 5,663, 12,001, 13,371 and 13,005. The percentage of literacy in those wards thus was 32 before the introduction of compulsion, 68, 71 and 74 on 31st March, 1926, 1927 and 1928 respectively. The progress thus far made may be said to be fair and encouraging. But the trouble is that as there is no provision for further education when the boys begin to go to the factories, they again lapse into illiteracy, and whatever knowledge they may have acquired in four years of compulsion, practically disappears in subsequent years.

(ii) The number of children employed in factories is very small and the union is not aware of any provision being made for their education. As the minimum age of entering the factories is now 12, it will be well if the age of compulsion is also raised from 11 to 12.

(iii) The report of the schools committee does not say a word about the provision of the education of adults, which only shows that there is no provision made by the municipality. There may be a few night schools where some adult workers may be going for receiving education; but their number is very small. The union tried to open an adult class at Kurla, but it did not last long. It was found that after working in the mills for ten hours a day the worker has not got the physical and mental energy to learn. While appreciating the efforts of introducing compulsory education for children, the union is of the opinion that the crying need of the hour is the provision for adult education. The fruits of the present compulsion can be seen only after some years; but the industry and the welfare of labour cannot afford to wait any longer. A well-knit scheme of adult education must be introduced immediately not only in Bombay but in other parts of the Presidency wherefrom the textile labour is drawn.

Illiteracy a Menace.—Illiteracy is a most dangerous menace to progress. It is impeding the national growth in every direction. The work of organization of labour is considerably handicapped by the illiteracy of the workers. They do not realise wherein their true and permanent interests lie. They, therefore, fall a victim either to extreme conservatism and exploitation of the millowners or to the extreme programme of the labour movement. The middle path which is always a sure, though difficult path to follow, the workers decline to follow after bitter experiences and disappointments. The result is either the sullenness bordering on aversion to organization on the part of the workers or the serious industrial unrest, strikes and lockouts. Both these tendencies are ruinous to the industrial progress and permanent well-being of the community. It is necessary from every point of view that illiteracy must be wiped out from India without any further loss of time and a bold and elaborate programme must be chalked out and carried into effect. No price is too high for the removal of illiteracy. Free and compulsory primary education must be introduced in every part of the Presidency so that the fresh recruits to the textile industry will be literate men. To select only Bombay for compulsion may not solve the problem.

42. The union does not think that the small efforts that are now being made in the direction of compulsory education have made any appreciable effect on the standard of living of the workers. The standard has practically been what it was years ago. For it to change for the better, there are factors, other than education, equally important, which must also undergo a healthy change.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

The union has recently addressed a letter on the subject of the amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act and it would be well if that letter which covers some of the points raised in the questionnaire is reproduced below. On the other

points in the questionnaire, the union thinks the commission will be able to get the necessary information from other sources. The letter of the general secretary runs as follows :—

" I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 137, dated 22nd January, 1929, asking me to communicate to you the views of the Bombay Textile Labour Union on the above subject. Your letter together with the accompaniments was placed before the managing committee of the union who considered all the points raised by the letter of the Government of India in para. No. 18, and some other important points in connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act and I am authorized to express the following views on its behalf.

" Before dealing with the specific points raised in para. 18 of the Government of India's letter, my union would like to draw your attention to one or two serious defects which have crept into the Workmen's Compensation Act as it stands to-day and which affect the interests of the workers very adversely. And now that the Government of India propose to amend the Act, my union would like to urge that it would be fair and just to remove those defects in the Act in the interest of the workers.

" *Compensation under Common Law.*—Ordinarily under the common law the employer is liable to pay damages for injuries inflicted on another through his own negligence; but the claim of the employee for damages for any bodily injury which he might have suffered during the course of his employment can only stand under the common law if it can be proved that the personal injury complained of arose from the employer's personal negligence or because he knowingly employed an incompetent servant. The defendant can also shirk the responsibility of paying any damages for injury either if he can prove a counter charge of contributory negligence against the injured employee or on the strength of a doctrine which deprives an employee of the right to recover damages for personal injury if he, knowing the risk he is running, agrees expressly or by implication to run the risk.

" But even if the injured employee successfully surmounts these defences, there remains, however, the even more serious obstacle of the doctrine of common employment which excludes liability for damages when the injury is caused by reason of the negligence of a fellow workman in the employment of the same master for the purpose of the same business, irrespective of the consideration that the injured workman was bound to obey the orders of the fellow servant whose negligence was responsible for the injury. It will not, therefore be an exaggeration to say that the doctrine of common employment grants the employer an immunity from paying any penalty—though, having failed to make proper provision for the safety of the workmen, he is guilty of indirect negligence—by shifting the responsibility of the accident, for which, for all practical purposes and from the commonsense point of view, the employer alone is morally responsible, to one from whom damages cannot be recovered. The cases, therefore, where an injured workman can hope to be benefited by common law action for the latter's negligence are naturally very rare.

" *Employers' Liability Act.*—It, therefore, appears to my union as reasonable that where personal injury is caused by reason of the negligence of the employer or his agent or any person in the service of the employer, the workman shall have the same right of compensation and remedies as if the workman had not been a workman in the service of the employer or engaged in his work. My union thinks it absolutely necessary and essential that some provisions on the lines of the Employers' Liability Act which were inserted in the draft bill of the Workmen's Compensation Act by the Government of India but which were subsequently deleted by the select committee, ought now to find a place in the Workmen's Compensation Act. The Employer's Liability Act imposes on the masters liability for accidents causing injury or death brought about by defects in the works, plant or machinery due to the masters' negligence and for similar accidents caused by the negligence of the fellow servants entrusted by the employer with the duties of superintendence. The Act, while not depriving the employer of the defence of contributory negligence, only aims at doing justice to the employees by allowing them the liberty to take action against the employer under the common law when the injury can be conclusively proved to be the result of the negligence of the employer or his servant, after taking away his privilege of taking shelter under the doctrine of common employment. If the Workmen's Compensation Act is to be perfect, just, and impartial to the employees, it ought necessarily to cover the following two essential points. The first is that it ought to abolish the doctrine of common employment; and secondly, it ought to prohibit contracts by workmen renouncing their statutory right. And any number of amendments of the Act relating to the workmen's compensation will fail to make it satisfactory and free from defects so long as it makes no provision for claiming compensation on the lines of the Employers' Liability Act. For the provision of an Act based on the principle which allows the employees, whose necessities compel them to seek employment in certain dangerous occupations, in the course of which accidents not always possible to be guarded against, are of

frequent occurrence, a right to claim compensation to a moderate and limited amount in respect of the loss of wages, cannot serve the purpose of the Employers' Liability Act which is based on the principle that justly and appropriately imposes on the masters a liability for accidents due to their negligence or to the negligence of their servant, as the basic and fundamental principles of the two Acts are quite different in character. Whereas the principle underlying the Workmen's Compensation Act is that the employer is liable for those accidents which are incidental to the industries he runs, irrespective of any consideration of negligence or fault either of the employers or the employees; the Employers' Liability Act has for its basic principle that the employer is liable for damages when he or his servant is negligent. My union, therefore, thinks that no valid or reasonable objection can be raised against the inclusion of the Employers' Liability Act, as all that it aims to perform is to remove the shortcomings of the common law which works to the great disadvantage of the workers. The demand of workmen that they should have the liberty to take action under the Employers' Liability Act which entitles them to a larger amount of compensation than what can be allowed under the Workmen's Compensation Act is, in the opinion of my union, just and reasonable. For, every reasonable man must concede that the amount of compensation in cases of injuries due to employers' negligence must be considerably larger than the amount in those cases of injuries which are incidental to the industry itself.

"The one-sided provision of the Workmen's Compensation Act as it stands to-day which deprives the workmen of any compensation if he is guilty of serious and wilful misconduct, establishes the necessity of the Employers' Liability Act beyond the pale of doubt. If it is found that the injury was due to the negligence of the employer or his agents or servants, then equity and justice would require that the workman should be entitled to have the right of getting more compensation than what he is ordinarily entitled to get under the Compensation Act, which affords compensation independent of the negligence of the employer. If an employee is deprived of his claim for compensation if he is guilty of wilful misconduct or under the influence of drink, it stands to reason that a sober employee ought to have full liberty to sue his employer for damages if he has to suffer an injury because of the negligence or drunkenness of his employer or other fellow servant with whom he may be working. The necessity of enacting the provisions on the lines of the Employers' Liability Act is further proved from the fact that even the Government of India had thought it desirable to include them in the draft of the Workmen's Compensation Bill which was first introduced in the Legislative Assembly in 1922. My union is of opinion, therefore, that the Government of India should either include the Employers' Liability Act in the Workmen's Compensation Act or a separate bill be introduced in the assembly.

"*Accidents due to alleged Workers' Negligence.*—In the opinion of my union, another serious defect in the Workmen's Compensation Act as it stands to-day is that the workman has to lose his claim for compensation that might help his helpless wife, children and other dependents in case the injury results in his death, if the accident is proved to be due to his wilful misconduct. The workman has no right to claim compensation for an injury which might arise out of and in the course of employment if he goes to work under the influence of drink, or if the accident is due to the fact that the worker has wilfully disobeyed any rule or if it is due to the fact that he has removed a safety guard, under the existing provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The provisions of the Act which deprive the worker of his claim to compensation if it is proved that the accident was due to his wilful and serious misconduct may appear to be reasonable and just. On careful consideration of the question, however, it becomes clear that these provisions are in direct contravention with the spirit and the principle underlying the Workmen's Compensation Act which may be defined as that the industry which creates risks for workmen should bear the civil liability for the accident for which it alone is responsible. The Act recognises as its basic principle that it is just and right to confer compensation on workers for accidents which are incidental to the industries upon the mere proof of the accident and its resulting loss to the employee, irrespective of its causes and quite independently of the question whether or not there had been negligence on the part of the employee or the employer. If, however, in case of an accident due to wilful misconduct of the employee he loses all his claim to compensation, considerations of equity demand that the employee rightly and justly deserves more compensation in those cases of injuries which may be proved to be due to the negligence of the employer than the amount of compensation in these cases where the injuries may be due to the negligence of neither party. And in so far as the Act remains unmodified in this respect, it cannot but be regarded as a defective piece of legislation. The assumption on which such provision can have any justification might after careful analysis and scrutiny be found to be most erroneous and inconsistent with human nature and insulting to human instincts. It is inconceivable that any workman, unless he is a lunatic, will

try to do something that will cause his death or disablement. To assume and start with such assumptions is to do gross injustice and offer insult to human nature. And any piece of legislation based on such erroneous assumption and misrepresentation of human nature is bound to be necessarily unjust and defective. For all practical purposes, these provisions in the Act serve only to supply the employer with a loophole and to furnish him with an opportunity to find an excuse, if he can conveniently do so, for refusing to pay any compensation for the accident. My union cannot conceive any other useful purpose which these provisions might serve. The absurdity and unreasonableness of these provisions will be still more evident in those cases of accidents where an injury results in the immediate death of the workman. For it will be extremely difficult for the dependants to dislodge the employer if he chooses to take shelter behind these provisions of the Act by attributing the accident to the wilful misconduct of the worker, in the absence of any evidence to refute the charges levelled against him which the dead man alone could have been able to produce. My union, therefore, suggests that the Government of India should so modify the Act that the defence of serious and wilful misconduct should not be open to the employer where the injury results in death or serious permanent disablement.

"Extension of the Act.—The present Workmen's Compensation Act lays down the general principle that persons who are employed in industries which are both organized and hazardous are alone entitled to receive compensation. The same motives and considerations which inspired the Government to enact a piece of legislation of the nature of the Workmen's Compensation Act in 1923, ought now to convince them of the necessity of departing from the narrow limits of the Act which have failed to make provision for the benefit of all wage earners by restricting the benefits to be derived under the Act only to workers in the hazardous and organized industries. Neither the fact that the industry is not hazardous and the accidents are not very frequent nor the fact that the industry is not organized, can justify us from excluding any class of employees from the benefits of the Act, as the resulting hardships of an accident which the workman and his dependents have to suffer can in no way be minimised by the fact that the industry not being hazardous, the injury was a rare accident or that the industry is not in an organized condition. My union is of opinion that it is unjust and unreasonable to distinguish different branches of the industrial population and to set limits to the scope of the Act by including employees engaged in hazardous and organized industries after having agreed upon the basic principle of the Act. My union is of opinion that the scope of the Act ought to be extended to all classes of workers, it ought to embrace all industries and occupations and the principle of the Act ought to be applied in other directions so that the whole of the working classes and the wage earning population may be included in the scope of the Act. The facts of the injury by accident ought to be a sufficient justification for compensation. The general principle which ought to be rigidly followed as far as possible should be that where there is an injury there ought to be a relief. My union is, therefore, of opinion that the scope of the Act should be extended on the basis of the English law, excluding only that class of employees who are non-manual workers and whose income exceeds Rs. 400 a month.

"An Alternative.—If, however, the Government is not prepared, at the present stage to apply the Act universally by removing the unjust, unreasonable and unnatural limitations of the scope of the Act, my Union would like to suggest an alternative that the scope of the Act should at least be extended by removing the limit of the hazardous nature of the work, so that the workmen employed in many well organized industries such as tea, coffee and other plantations may be entitled to the benefit under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

"Hazardous Industries.—My Union also desires to invite the attention of the Government of India to the fact that workmen employed in many industries which are both organized and hazardous are not included in the present Compensation Act. A list of workmen to whom, my Union is of opinion, the Act should be made applicable, is given in an appendix.

"Case of Seamen.—As regards the seamen, my Union thinks that the definition of the "Registered Ship" in sub-section J of Section 2 of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 is unjustly restrictive as it deprives a number of seamen engaged on ships which are not registered under any one of the Acts stated in that sub-section but are registered under the British Merchants' Shipping Act. It is, however, true that such seamen can claim compensation under the English law even though their direct employers happen to be in British India and the ships are plying in British Indian waters; but they have to go to the English Courts for getting compensation. My Union also thinks it absolutely necessary and reasonable that the restriction about the tonnage be removed and the Act should be made applicable to all ships running by power.

The benefit of the Act should also be extended to the workshops of the Royal Indian Marine who are excluded under Section 2 (1) (N) of the Act. The exemption

might be confined to those who are actually engaged in H.M. Naval, Military or Air services. But it appears unintelligible, however, why those who are working in the Dock Yard Workshops of the R.I.M. or who are incidentally connected with such services should be excluded from the benefit of the Act.

"Compulsory Insurance.—My union is of opinion that some provision for protecting workmen against possible loss by reason of the inability of their employer to pay any compensation that may be due, is necessary and is further inclined to suggest that the most effective step in this direction would be to introduce some scheme of compulsory insurance.

"Commissioner's Discretion.—The present system of payments should continue as it has, in the opinion of my union, worked quite satisfactorily; and the Commissioner should have full discretion to sanction recurring payments instead of lump sums in special circumstances.

"Scales of compensation.—The question of the amount of compensation is the most important part of the Act and can be broadly divided into two parts:—(1) Benefits accruing to dependents in fatal cases. (2) Compensation payable to an injured workman during his incapacity.

"The amount of compensation allowed by the Workmen's Compensation Act in either of the above circumstances is, in the opinion of my union, absolutely meagre and inadequate and, in fairness to workmen, it ought to be substantially increased. My union thinks that the pressing need at the present time is that adequate provision ought to be made to secure that the children of a fatally injured worker should have a reasonable chance of developing into healthy members of the society. With this end in view it would be absolutely necessary that the minimum limit of Rs. 3,000 should be fixed in case of an accident which results in death.

"Fatal Accidents.—The amount of compensation payable to the employee by the employer in case of an accident which results in a fatal injury, is at present calculated on the basis of the workmen's earnings. My union, however, is of opinion that it is not advisable to maintain this principle as it is extremely unjust and unsatisfactory to calculate the compensation on the basis of the average earnings of the workmen. It is a vicious principle that a better paid workman should be in a better position to make provision for his dependents than a low paid workman. The Workmen's Compensation Act ought to make no distinction among the workers in connection with their claim to compensation.

"Alternative Proposals.—If, however, the Government is not prepared to depart from the system which is followed at present, my union would like to suggest the following alterations in the scale of compensation to meet half way the ends of justice. The scales of compensation ought to be substantially increased. Where the injury results in partial disablement, the amount of compensation should be raised to this from one-half. In cases where the injury results in permanent total disablement, the amount of compensation to be paid to the workman should be equal to the wages for a period of five years instead of 42 months' wages which are due to him under the provisions of the present Act, with a maximum of Rs. 6,000 instead of Rs. 3,500. The amount of compensation to be paid in cases of fatal accidents should be five years' wages instead of 30 months and with a maximum of Rs. 5,000 instead of Rs. 2,500. All these scales should apply to the minors as well as to the other workers.

"Waiting Period.—My union is of opinion that there should be no waiting period as it is directly opposed to the underlying basic principle of the Workmen's Compensation Act. In enacting any piece of legislation the principle which ought to guide us and from which we ought not to deviate if the legislation is meant to be just, reasonable and perfect, is that, having agreed upon the basic and fundamental principle of the legislation, we should be careful to see that no clause in the Act is directly contrary to or inconsistent with the principle and the spirit of the Act. We concede that it may be necessary to put safeguards against the probable misuse and the abuse of the privileges which are conferred by the Act and see that no scope for, or any opportunity to, an undue advantage is left open to the workers. But in no case should the limitation or modification be of such a nature that it might directly contravene its basic principle and its spirit. When the question of the waiting period is studied, its propriety analyzed, its claim for justification scrutinized from this point of view, it will become abundantly clear that it directly contradicts the fundamental principle of the Workmen's Compensation Act which recognizes the right of the workmen to receive compensation for injury which is incidental to the industry. If an injury entitles the workman to compensation, it is absurd and arbitrary to put down a condition that will deprive him of his right to receive it during the waiting period. To take a concrete illustration of permanent disablement, one can understand the reason for limiting the period during which a workman is entitled to compensation. But any limitation in the Act which does not allow any compensation for some days following injury is hardly reasonable or intelligible. Neither logic can justify it, nor reason can approve of it. The acceptance of the principle of the waiting period is prejudicial to the basic principle underlying the Workmen's

Compensation Act. It seems that prudential considerations of not encouraging or providing the workers with an opportunity for malingering, and of taking away all possible temptation to pretend to be incapacitated for work by the injury while they may be quite fit for work, might have prompted the Government to include the waiting period in the Act in the past. My union feels that these prudential considerations have clouded the main issue and have led the Government to do injustice to the workers. My union thinks that it would be thoroughly reasonable if some other provisions are inserted by which the worker would be required to satisfy medical authorities as to his physical unfitness for work during the period.

"Another argument which requires some consideration and refutation in this connection is that practically every Compensation Act makes provision for the waiting period, that is the period for which the disability must last before compensation is due to the injured workman. But this argument alone, without the support of other weighty arguments cannot justify the inclusion of the waiting period in the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act. For my union makes bold to submit that the justification of any provision should not be based merely on the parallel of other international Acts. Even the then Industries Member, the Honorable Sir Charles Innes, said during the debate in the Assembly that the Bill was not intended to be a slavish imitation of Acts of other countries. If we are to profit by experience of other countries and by comparative study, we can only hope to benefit not by slavish imitation but by selective process of assimilation of the good points and rejection of the bad ones.

"It is also urged that the amount of compensation for temporary disablement due to a workman who is disabled for a period less than ten days will seldom exceed Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 and it will not, therefore, be worth while for the workman to ask for it. But this argument instead of supporting the waiting period favours the contention of my union that there should be no waiting period at all. It is just because the amount of compensation which a workman can claim during the waiting period is trivial, that my Union thinks that the waiting period is superfluous, and while its deleting will not lay a great burden on the employer, it will be doing justice to the worker to whom the loss of even the trivial amount of Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 means hardship for a couple of days.

"If, however, the arguments stated above fail to convince the Government of India of the necessity of doing away with the waiting period, my union would like to suggest that it should be reduced to three days as it hopes that there will be no two opinions with regard to the fact that the waiting period of ten days is too long and results in great hardships to the workers. It may also be pointed out that the waiting period in India is longer than that prescribed by almost all other countries.

"*Dependents.*—In the opinion of my union the present list of the dependents is almost exhaustive. But widowed daughters and daughters-in-law who are practically actual dependents on the deceased workman should be included in the list of dependents. And owing to peculiar conditions of the Indian workers, no proof of dependence should be regarded as necessary in order to enable a relative to claim compensation. My union for the present cannot agree to the principle that the amount of compensation should vary with the number of dependents and to the extent to which they are actually dependent on the deceased as it would create administrative difficulties, increase litigation, and likely to defeat the object of the Act.

"*Contractors' Responsibility.*—My union is of opinion that the Act should be so amended as to place the liability for compensation on a person directly employing the workmen though it might sometimes happen that the employer of labour might have no control over the working conditions. It would therefore be necessary to make provision in the Act that in case the contractor or the sub-employer is ordered to pay compensation, he shall have the right to be indemnified and vice versa. But my union, however, is of opinion that the workman should have liberty to sue any one of them for compensation.

"*Penalty for Failure to Submit Returns.*—My union also thinks that it is desirable and absolutely necessary to provide for some penalty in the Act for failure to comply with the provisions of section 16. Although it agrees with the view of the Government of India that the fact that several reminders asking for returns had been issued without the proper response from the employer is sufficient to establish beyond doubt an intentional default on the part of the employer, it thinks that it is advisable to introduce a penal clause in the Act making it possible to impose fine on the employers who fail to submit returns. It is also the opinion of my union that the scope of section 16 should be extended with a view to secure all the details of all the accidents irrespective of the consideration whether the employer was liable to pay compensation for the accident or not. In the returns the employer should be required to record the reasons for not paying the compensation in those cases where the employee was not entitled for compensation for the injury.

"*Dependents' Right to Approach Commissioner.*—My union entirely agrees with the view of the Government of India that section 22 of the Act should be amended in such a way that the dependent may have the right to approach the Commissioner

without first approaching the employer for compensation. It is also of opinion that the Commissioner should be empowered to initiate proceedings to secure the payment of compensation in cases, where owing to ignorance, no claim has been made. In order that the dependents may not lose their rights to receive compensation through ignorance of their rights, it is also absolutely necessary that the employers should be compelled to register the names and the addresses of the nearest relatives of each of their employees.

"My union is of opinion that the Commissioner should be empowered to call employers depositing inadequate compensation for fatal accidents to make good the claims of compensation.

"*Period of Appeal.*—My union thinks it necessary that for expediting the disposal of the appeals, the period of limitation should also be reduced to 20 days for an appeal, to be preferred by an employer against the decision of the Commissioner. Section 5 of the Limitation Act should not be made applicable to the appeals by the employer and the High Court should be requested to expedite the disposal of appeals.

"My union has also to make a few more following suggestions in connection with this Act.

(a) In case of fatal accidents which take place in work places it becomes very difficult for dependents to get evidence to prove the same. And it is, therefore, natural to presume that the accident took place in the course of and out of employment unless the contrary is proved by the employer. The rule of English Law as stated in sub-section 2 of section 1 of the Insurance Act throws the burden of proof on the employers. A similar provision should be made in the Act.

(b) Section 10 of the Act which requires that the notice of the accident must be given, works to the great disadvantage of the dependents and entail much hardship on them. A provision on the lines of section 14 (1) of the English Act, therefore, should be introduced in the Indian Act.

(c) By reason of the provision of section 21 the workmen who are entitled to get compensation under the Act are denied the benefit on the ground that the accident takes place in a place outside British India. Thus, for example, where a servant of the G.I.P. Railway who suffers an injury in a train passing through the territory of H.H. the Nizam, may not be entitled to compensation. It is, therefore, necessary to remove this anomaly and to extend the benefit of the Act to all workmen employed by employers in India irrespective of the place of accident."

APPENDIX.

1. "Undertakings or parts of undertakings engaged in the production or manufacture of explosives, inflammable, poisonous, unhealthy.
2. All undertakings for loading or unloading.
3. Construction, repair, and maintenance of P.W.D., railway, ports, roads, canals, embankments, dykes, harbours, aqueducts, drains, bridges, tunnels and similar works.
4. All undertakings for transport on land, sea, river, lake, and navigation canals.
5. All factories and workshops using power, irrespective of the number of men employed.
6. Undertakings for the erection, maintenance, demolition of all classes of buildings, for the loading, transport, and unloading of materials for such erection and maintenance arising out of such demolition.
7. Works necessary for preventing land slips.
8. Undertakings for the production and distribution of gas and electric energy, telephone undertakings, and works necessary for the placing, repair, and removal of pipes and other conduits for gas, electricity, and water or of lightning conductors.
9. Lime, tiles and brick kilns.
10. Undertakings for cutting or trimming of trees in forests and transport of the same to the ordinary places of deposit or the banks of rivers, seas or ports, neighbourhood or roads.
11. Employees in transportation services inclusive of tramways, steam road rollers and motor buses.
12. Seamen employed on board of all kinds of vessels except sailing vessels of less than 100 tonnage.
13. Toddy drawers and fruit fallers for trees for the purpose of trade or business.
14. Employees in warehouses and godowns.
15. Employees in the manufacture of gas, produce, and fire works.
16. Well sinkers.
17. Factory workers concerned for both under clauses *a* and *b* of sub-clause 3 of section 2 of the Factories Act.
18. Employees in dockyards.
19. Postal runners, mail guards, overseers, village postmen, and others whose duties require constant travelling, injuries or diseases contracted in salt works."

APPENDIX A.

Exhibit No. 3.

Reduction in the number of workers in a mill under the Efficiency Scheme.

MILL No. I.

A Consolidated Statement of Gains or Losses to the Mill and the Workers.

Department.	No. of Men retrenched.	Percentage of Gains or Losses to	
		The Mill.	The Workers.
1. Blow Room	9 out of 46	55	45
2. Card Room	14 " " 40	42.5	57.5
3. Drawing Frame	14 " " 42	28.5	71.5
4. Ring Frame	160 " " 386	64	36
5. Roving	26 " " 52	51.6	48.4

Saving to Millowners :—	Total.		Average Percentage.		Average Percentage.	
	Rs.	a. P.	223 out of 566	48.3	51.7 to 343 men.	
Blow	72	0 0	Blow	..	..	Rs. a. P.
Card	84	0 0	Card	..	..	130 8 0
Ring	1,511	0 0	Ring	..	..	128 0 0
Roving	429	0 0	Roving	..	..	764 0 0
Drawing—56 pies on 343	2,096	0 0		..	..	403 0 0
Drawing—70 pies on 223	1,426	0 0		..	..	1,426 0 0
	3,522	0 0				

Loss to 223 men :—
 Total. 223 out of 566
 Average Percentage. 48.3
 Drawing—70 pies per bank for 14 men.

MILL No. 1.

A Comparative Statement of Gains or Losses to the Mill and the Workers under the New System.

BLOW ROOM.

System.	No. of Men.	No. of Men Retrenched.	Pay per Worker.	Gain or Loss per Worker.	Total Wages.	Gain or Loss to Mill.	Gain or Loss to Workers.	Total Gain or Loss.	Percentage Gain or Loss	
									To Mill.	To Workers.
<i>Old System.</i>										
One man one Machine	46	—	Rs. a. p. 14 8 0	—	Rs. a. p. 667 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —
<i>New System.</i>										
One man one machine	28	—	14 8 0	—	406 8 0	—	—	—	—	—
One man two machines	9	—	21 0 0	6 8 0	189 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
	37	9	—	—	595 0 0	+72 0 0	+58 0 0	+130 8 0	+55	+45

MILL No. I.

A Comparative Statement of Gains or Losses to the Mill and the Workers under the New System.

CARD ROOM.

System.	No. of Men.	No. of Men re-trenched	Pay per Worker.	Gain or Loss per Worker.	Total Wages.	Gain or Loss to Mill.	Gain or Loss to Workers.	Total Gain or Loss.	Percentage of Gain or Loss	
									To Mill.	To Workers.
<i>Old System.</i>										
Strippers	12	—	Rs. a. p. 15 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. 180 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —
Grinders	7	—	15 0 0	—	105 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
Fly Gatherers	4	—	13 8 0	—	54 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
Lap Carriers	5	—	13 8 0	—	67 8 0	—	—	—	—	—
Can Minders	12	—	12 8 0	—	150 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
	40	—	—	—	556 8 0	—	—	—	—	—
<i>New System.</i>										
Front Jobbers	4	8	26 0 0	+11 0 0	104 0 0	+76 0 0	+44 0 0	—	—	—
Back Jobbers	4	3	26 0 0	+11 0 0	104 0 0	+1 0 0	+44 0 0	—	—	—
Lap Carriers	6	3	16 0 0	+2 8 0	96 0 0	+25 0 0	+15 0 0	—	—	—
Can Minders	12	—	14 0 0	+1 8 0	168 0 0	+18 0 0	+18 0 0	—	—	—
	26	14	—	—	472 0 0	+84 8 0	+121 0 0	+205 0 0	+42.5	+57.5

MILL No. I.

A Comparative Statement of Gains or Losses to the Mill and the Workers under the New System.

DRAWING FRAMES (14 Machines).

System.	No. of Men.	No. of Men re-trenched.	Pay per Worker.	Gain or Loss per Worker.	Total Wages.	Gain or Loss to Mill.	Gain or Loss to Workers.	Total Gain.	Percentage of Gain or Loss	
									To Mill.	To Workers.
<i>Old System.</i>										
One man, one head or three men for each machine.	42	—	14 pies per hank or 42 pies per machine.	—	558 pies.	—	—	—	—	—
<i>New System.</i>										
Two men, three heads or two men for each machine.	28	14	19 pies per hank or 38 pies per machine.	+ 5 pies	532 pies.	+ 56 pies.	+ 140 pies.	+ 196 pies.	+ 28.5	+ 71.5

MILL No. I.

A Comparative Statement of Gains or Losses to the Mill and the Workers under the New System.

RING FRAMES.

System.	No. of Men.	No. of Men re-trenched	Pay per Worker.	Gain or Loss per Worker.	Total Wages.	Gain or Loss to Mill.	Gain or Loss to Workers.	Total Gain or Loss.	Percentage of Gain or Loss	
									To Mill.	To Workers.
<i>Old System.</i>										
Side boys (one man one frame)	216	—	Rs. a. p. 15 8 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. 3,348 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	—	—
Tarwalas	62	—	Rs. a. p. 15 8 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. 961 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	—	—
Doffer boys	108	—	Rs. a. p. 11 8 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. 1,242 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	Rs. a. p. —	—	—
	386				Rs. a. p. 5,551 0 0					
<i>New System.</i>										
Side boys (one man two frames)	108	108	Rs. a. p. 22 0 0	Rs. a. p. +6 8 0	Rs. a. p. 2,376 0 0	Rs. a. p. +972 0 0	Rs. a. p. +702 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	—	—
Tarwalas	42	20	Rs. a. p. 17 0 0	Rs. a. p. +1 8 0	Rs. a. p. 714 0 0	Rs. a. p. +247 0 0	Rs. a. p. +63 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	—	—
Doffer boys	76	32	Rs. a. p. 12 8 0	Rs. a. p. +1 0 0	Rs. a. p. 950 0 0	Rs. a. p. +292 0 0	Rs. a. p. +76 0 0	Rs. a. p. —	—	—
	226	160			Rs. a. p. 4,040 0 0	Rs. a. p. +1,511 0 0	Rs. a. p. +841 0 0	Rs. a. p. +2,352 0 0	+64	+36

MILL No. I.

A Comparative Statement of Gains or Losses to the Mill and the Workers under the New System.

ROVING.

System.	No. of Men.	No. of Men Retrenched	Pay per Worker.	Gain or Loss per Worker.	Total Wages.	Gain or Loss to Mill.	Gain or Loss to Workers.	Total Gain or Loss.	Percentage of Gain or Loss	
									To Mill.	To Workers.
<i>Old System.</i>										
One man and one machine ..	52	—	Rs. a p. 32 0 0	—	Rs. a p. 1,164 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
<i>New System.</i>										
One man and two machines ..	26	26	Rs. a p. 47 8 0	+15 8 0	Rs. a p. 1,235 0 0	+429 0 0	+403 0 0	+832 0 0	+51.6	+48.4

PART II.

IX.—Hours.

55. *Hours Worked per Week and per Day.*—In the textile industry in Bombay, the mills are worked 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week. This limitation in the working period has been secured by the operatives as a result of the general strike of 1920, and came into operation before the India Factories Act was amended in 1922. The limitation is thus in the nature of a contract between the Bombay mill-owners and workers, which was wrung out from the former by a resort to direct action and is not secured under the provisions of the Factories Act so far as the maximum daily working hours are concerned. In respect of the weekly period, the contract and the provisions in the Act tally.

There are a few exceptions, based on practice, to the maximum daily and weekly period of work in the Bombay mills. The female workers generally work between eight to nine hours a day. They go to the mills an hour or so later and return an hour or so earlier than the male workers do. Some of the latter, such as: (1) fitters and other employees in the mechanics' shops (in the mills), (2) some operatives in the warping, sizing, and warehouse departments, and (3) some departmental fitters, carpenters and line levellers" (Fawcett Committee's Report, paragraph 144, page 66), generally work between 8 to 9½ hours a day. This practice has been in existence from the period earlier than that which brought down the general working hours from 12 to 10 in 1920. The exact daily working period in the case of these operatives varies from mill to mill, but the fact remains that most of them work less than ten hours. Before the 1928 general strike, some millowners tried to increase the working period of these men to 10, and a few succeeded in their attempt. The Swan and Finlay Mills, in 1924, and the Gold Mohur Mills, in 1925, changed the hours of the mechanics from 8½ to 10, but gave increases in pay for the extra hours; "similarly the E. D. Sassoon group gave proportionate increase when they did the same in March, 1928, though they no doubt notified that those increases would be done away with from the 1st May, 1928" (Fawcett Committee Report, paragraph 148, page 68). The Kohinoor Mills increased the hours of their mechanics from 8½ to 9½ in February, 1928, without any corresponding increase in pay. The discontent caused by this change in the working conditions in a number of mills added to the general discontent amongst the workers and formed one of the causes of the 1928 general strike. A demand was formulated for the reduction of this increased period and was included in the now famous "Seventeen Demands" of the Joint Strike Committee. The Fawcett Committee have discussed this demand in paragraphs 144-152 (pages 65-70) of their report and their finding is that the "demand for extra pay" is "fair and reasonable so far as it concerns employees in the mechanics' shops but not as regards the other operatives mentioned above" (paragraph 151, page 70). The point the Union wants to make is that the 10 hours' daily working period has been arrived at by an agreement between the millowners and the workers as a result of the 1920 general strike and that there are exceptions to this period in the case of women workers and some male operatives.

56. The mills work generally six days a week, from Monday to Saturday, and are closed on Sunday. If there is a holiday on any day other than a Sunday, and if it is permissible under Section 22 of the Factories Act, the mills work on a Sunday in lieu of the day on which they are closed.

57. *Effect of Daily and Weekly Hours' Restriction.*—(i) While the workers have reason to congratulate themselves on the daily and weekly working hours being brought down to 10 and 60 respectively, it cannot be said that the restriction on the hours has appreciably improved their health or the standard of life or their general condition. It is no doubt true that the restriction is an improvement upon the past practice; but the Union does not think that the fatigue and exhaustion caused by being inside the factories for 10 hours a day or 60 hours a week, are less than the fatigue and exhaustion caused by 12 or 72 hours working to such an extent that the improvement should be marked and sustained. It can be said, however, that sweating that existed before is considerably reduced. But that is a position which can hardly satisfy anybody when it is realized what sweating means and how the workers were exploited in the past.

(ii) In their replies to the questionnaire of the Textile Tariff Board, the Millowners' Association stated that, "by reducing the working hours from 12 to 10 per day, the production of spinning mills has gone down by about 16 per cent. and weaving mills by about 10-12 per cent," and that, again, "the reduction in hours from 12 to 10 has resulted on the average in 13 per cent. less production over all departments" (Tariff Board Report, Vol. II, pages 138 and 140). Apparently, not being satisfied with these statements, the Board in the oral examination of the representatives of the Association put some searching questions on this point, which, together with

their replies, appear on page 221, Vol. II, of the Board's Report. The chairman of the Board pointed out that though the hours were changed in January, 1920, the production of pounds of yarn produced per spindle actually showed an increase on that of the previous year 1919." This was explained by Mr. Geddis by saying that there were two strikes in 1919, but Mr. H. P. Mody supplemented this information by admitting that there was a strike in the first week of January, 1920, as well that lasted for two months. The implication is clear, viz., both years were strike years with only a difference in duration. Sir Ness Wadia then came to the rescue of the association and opined that yearly figures could not be taken as correct, with strikes and holidays, and offered the averages of his mill for 1919 and 1926, as if his mill was a most representative one and as if no change had occurred in the quality of yarn in those two years. The chairman not being satisfied with this explanation remarked that they could not deduce from those figures (of Sir Ness Wadia) anything like a 16½ per cent. reduction. In the weaving the drop in production was stated to be 10·12 per cent., but the following question and answer are worth noting :—

"As regards weaving the result appears to be that the reduction in working hours has resulted in a slight increase in the efficiency of the individual weaver? That is what we find, yes. That is quite correct, Sir.

"Has it been your experience that there has been no increase in the efficiency of the individual spinner, for instance, less breakages, etc., than there used to be? It all depends upon the cotton you use. The spinner does not want breakages. If you give him good cotton he will prefer to sit down himself and let the spinning do itself.

"My point is that if his hours of labour are reduced he might be more alert in mending the breakages when they do occur. Mr. C. N. Wadia: The efficiency of the spinning machinery is over 90 per cent. either for 12 or 10 hours, because there is no room for any great improvement. On the other hand, when the weavers work 12 hours, their efficiency is only about 70 per cent. or a little over it. By working 10 hours and their pay being entirely dependent on the work they turn out, they gradually manage to improve that efficiency from 75 to 85 per cent. and that is why there was considerable room in the weavers' work for improvement. There was no room in the spinner's work for improvement. That is why the spinner has not improved while the weaver has. Perhaps that is clear to you." (Page 221, Vol. II. Tariff Board Report).

These admissions on the part of the representatives of the Millowners' Association show that the position in the spinning has remained more or less the same and that in the weaving the efficiency of the weavers has materially improved. Further, the Tariff Board have themselves pointed out in paragraph 59 (page 134) of their report that "the experience of some mills in up-country centres has been that, owing to increased labour efficiency and improved conditions, such as the installation of humidifiers, the drop in the production (caused by the reduction in working hours) in the spinning department has been reduced to 10 per cent., while there has actually been increased production in the weaving department." The union thus is of the opinion that the reduction in working hours from 12 to 10 has a very wholesome effect on the industry.

59. *Possibility of Reduction in Maxima.*—The union looks at the question of further reducing the working hours more from the point of view of desirability and necessity than from that of a possibility, although it fully realizes the importance of the latter consideration. The cut-throat competition in the textile industry and the depression in the Bombay industry, have forced the millowners to think of re-organizing the industry and some of them have already brought into operation their schemes of rationalization or efficiency. If the diagnosis of Sir Victor Sassoon is correct other millowners will have to adopt similar schemes if they want to exist. The rationalization or efficiency schemes will thus at no distant date become a feature in the Bombay mill industry. Experience has shown that rationalization entails more work and more attention on the part of the operatives. Have the workers, under the existing conditions in respect of their housing, food and wages, the required stamina to do more work and mind more looms and spindles? The union's answer is an emphatic "no." In its opinion the intensive and extensive work resulting from rationalization and the present long hours, will only bring about the worker's breakdown which is detrimental not only to himself but to the industry as well. The reduction in working hours may remove one at least of the causes which are responsible for the present deplorable state of the worker. It may also be pointed out that the schemes of rationalization have been and are being pushed forth in Europe on the basis of working hours which are much less than 60 hours a week or 11 a day. The general basis is 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week, with only a slight variation in some cases. In almost all the countries in Europe the daily and weekly maxima are 8 and 48 hours and in some of them the maxima are still less. Even in Japan which is so much on the brains of the Bombay

millowners, the present working hours are only 8½. The general tendency thus is to reduce the working hours in the textile as in other industries, in spite of its competitive character and India can hardly afford to lag behind. It is, therefore, the considered opinion of the union that not only in the interest of the workers, their efficiency and health, but also in the interest of the industry, it has become highly desirable and necessary to reduce the present daily and weekly hours.

In the opinion of the union the reduction in working hours is also a possibility. The employers all over the world have always resisted the claims of labour for reducing the hours and they have also on many occasions admitted, after the reduction has taken place, that it has on the whole yielded good results. The Labour Research Department, London, conducted some years ago a scientific enquiry into the cotton industry, and the report was published by the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, which is the central organization of the British cotton textile workers. The report went very thoroughly, with the aid of a mass of figures the Department secured and their careful compilations, into the question of the hours of work, the effect of their reduction on output and cotton industry generally, workers' standard of life and on accidents, spoilt work, lost time and factory organization. After giving a short history of the movement of short hours in different parts of the world, particularly in Europe, the report points out that "the demand for a further reduction of hours is part of a general movement towards the realization of two principles which are becoming more and more widely admitted: (1) That industries which work the longest hours are not the most productive, and (2) that the workers in all industries must have more leisure." (Page 56.) The following quotation from the same report throws further light on the effect on output of the 1919 reduction from 55½ to 48 hours in Great Britain:—

"*Output not Affected.*—A comparison of the amount of earnings per worker in May—before the reduction from 55½ to 48 hours and 30 per cent. increase on list prices—with the amount per worker in August and September shows that earnings increased after the change.

"During both periods employment was fairly good. The figures for the three months were as follows:—

TABLE X.

Month.	Number of workers.	Total wages paid.	Average earnings per worker.	Percentage increase since May.
May	114,962	£ 249,244	s. d. 43 4	—
August	108,982	248,533	45 7	5
September	107,334	248,527	46 3	6·7

"The 30 per cent. increase on list prices was not quite equivalent to the reduction of 7½ hours per week, so that if the rate of output had remained the same there would have been a slight fall in average earnings. But in fact earnings went up from 43s. 4d. in May to 45s. 7d. in August, an increase of 5 per cent., and to 46s. 3d. in September, an increase of 6·7 per cent. as compared with May. Even allowing for the fact that the amount of short time had slightly decreased, the increase in average earnings show that the rate of output per hour was greater after the reduction of working hours.

"Professor Bowley, after a comparison of the increase in actual earnings in the cotton trade, as shown by the employers' returns, with the increase in wage rates, comes to the conclusion that the rate of output did not fall after the 1919 reduction of hours (see A. L. Bowley—Prices and Wages, 1914–1921, page 180.) The evidence quoted above, taken as a whole, shows that a reduction of hours in the cotton trade is followed by an increase of hourly output in those processes where speed is determined chiefly by the individual worker, and by a decrease in total output which is *rather less than proportionate to the reduction of hours* in processes where speed is determined by the machine.

"In other words, taking the industry as a whole, *rate of output rises with a reduction of hours.*" (Page 65–66.)

The report further adds that "the 1919 advance of 30 per cent. on list was agreed upon as compensating for the reduction of earnings, which was expected to follow the reduction of hours from 55½ to 48; and by this agreement the principle was definitely established in the cotton trade that shorter hours must be combined with higher price rates." (Page 80.) The union wholeheartedly accepts this sound principle.

Before leaving this part of the subject the union desires to state that, so far as it is aware, there is no material in India which will give accurate data to ascertain the effects of shorter hours on output and the industry as a whole; and that is why it has to extract copiously from the report of the Labour Research Department, which gives some information on this subject. Everything stated in that report, the figures given therein, and the relation it has shown to exist between output, wages, prices, etc., and the comparison of figures, may not be fully applicable to Bombay conditions. But the union believes that the line of argument taken in the report is worthy of serious consideration, and if a similar scientific enquiry is held here, results similar to those adduced in the report may be obtained. The fact that there is a general tendency in the world to reduce hours in textile and other industries, shows that the reduction in hours is not taking place with detriment to the industries and leads the union to believe that it is a step in the right direction. The union is, therefore, of considered opinion that the present working hours must be reduced in the interest of the workers, the employers, and the industry as a whole.

61. *Intervals.*—The Bombay cotton industry, though sufficiently old to understand the effects of long hours on the output and the workers' health, has not yet instituted any enquiry into the question of intervals in relation to fatigue; nor has any attempt been made by the Bombay Government in that direction. The union can therefore deal with this question only in relation to the workers' meal times. The existing practice is that there is only one mid-day recess of one hour and five hours' working on both sides of the recess. It was the Textile Tariff Board which first proposed to provide for a morning recess for half an hour by putting back the commencement of work from 7 a.m. to 6.30 a.m. In framing their Standing Orders during the 1928 strike, the Millowners' Association proposed a morning recess of half an hour by cutting down the mid-day recess of one hour by a quarter of an hour and prolonging the closing period by fifteen minutes. In providing for this new recess they thus maintained a 10-hour working day. The Joint Strike Committee of the workers, while approving of the proposal to provide an additional recess, opposed the millowners' proposal. They were opposed to any reduction in the period of mid-day recess and to prolongation of closing hour. They maintained that if the morning recess is to be given at all, it should be given only by reducing the present working hours. They further suggested that a fifteen minutes' afternoon recess should also be given to the workers. The net result of the proposal of the Joint Strike Committee was that a morning recess of half an hour and an afternoon recess of a quarter of an hour should be provided, that the mid-day recess should be maintained as it is to-day, and that the working hours should be brought down to 9½.

Fawcett Committee's View—The Fawcett Committee, in not supporting the arguments of the Joint Strike Committee in favour of reduction of working hours in order to enable the millowners to give their workers an extra recess or two "so long as there is no general reduction of that kind made for all factories by legislation or otherwise", stated that "nor, on the other hand, do we think that the millowners can reasonably insist on the operatives reducing the mid-day hour recess and staying one quarter of an hour longer in the mill, in order to enable the half-hourly morning recess to be given" (page 22). The Committee then emphatically stated that "in any case, having regard to the extreme desirability of this extra recess, we think the Millowners' Association might well try the experiment in some mills of giving it and reducing the working hours to 9½" (page 22). This opinion is definite and only supports the workers' demand for more than one recess.

Three Recesses Necessary—The Fawcett Committee could not be more definite than they were, as they had to confine themselves to their terms of reference and had not before them the question of general reduction in working hours. This Commission has that question before them and the union has pleaded for a general reduction of hours. What indefiniteness, therefore, there was in the views of the Fawcett Committee is now removed, so far as this Commission is concerned; and their view can be taken to support the union's demand of more than one recess. The enquiries that have taken place in England and Germany on the hours of work and their relation to output, have shown that long stretches of work have the effect of reducing output towards their end and that output has always shown a tendency to increase immediately after a recess. In some parts of Lancashire there exists a two-break system and it is reported to be working better than a one-break system. In Germany, there are, it is understood, some factories which provide for a short recess for afternoon tea. In Bombay the workers do spend some time in taking afternoon tea; but as they have to do it in an unauthorised manner and with their eye on the machine, an improved effect on output may not be possible. But if they get fifteen minutes' recess for this purpose, their mind will be at ease and it will, the union thinks, have a wholesome effect on output. The same argument holds good in the case of morning recess. The union, therefore, feels

that nothing will be lost and something will be gained by providing a morning recess of half an hour, a mid-day recess of full one hour and an afternoon recess of a quarter-hour and, therefore, it strongly recommends that its suggestions should be accepted.

Holidays.—There are generally no holidays given to the textile workers in Bombay except the Sundays. The average number of holidays given during a year is between 54 and 56. The reason for an increase of 2 to 4 holidays over the average prescribed under the Factories Act is that two or three successive holidays given in the *Diwali* and *Shimga* cannot be all replaced, under the Act, by substitute Sundays. It is therefore clear that the textile worker does not get more than 2 to 4 holidays over the weekly rest days prescribed under the Act. This must be having an adverse effect upon his health and his efficiency. In Lancashire special holidays are given under an agreement, and in Germany they are given with pay. The union considers this system of providing holidays as a very necessary one from the point of view of not only the worker but of the industry, and is of opinion that a similar system should be established in the Bombay industry. The holidays should be with pay.

61. In the Bombay textile industry, Sunday is generally the day of weekly rest. Sometimes other days are substituted for Sundays when these are Hindu or Mussalman holidays.

X.—Women and Children.

83. *Women—Working period.*—It has been pointed out in an earlier paragraph that women work between 8 and 9 hours a day although the working period is 10 hours a day. They generally go to the mills at about eight in the morning and return home by five in the evening. Owing to their domestic responsibilities this is the utmost period which they can possibly spend in factories. But the present Factories Act allow women to work from 5.30 a.m. to 7 p.m., with a maximum period of 11 hours. This legal limit is not in conformity with the existing practice and is not enough for a double shift of eight hours each, if it is introduced. It is therefore the considered opinion of the union that this limit should be changed, and no woman should be allowed to work before eight in the morning and after five in the evening. It is opposed to any system in which women will be asked to work before 8 a.m. and after 5 p.m.

Maternity leave.—The present Maternity Benefit Act provides for only four weeks' leave before confinement and four weeks' leave after confinement, and eight annas a day for a maximum period of seven weeks. The union is of opinion that the maternity leave should be increased to six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, and that the maternity benefit should be extended for this whole period. The union draws the attention of the Commission to paragraph 31 of this memorandum which deals with the question of maternity in greater detail.

Creche.—The union is of opinion that the provision of creche should be compulsory, and, that too, by legislation. It is highly undesirable to take babies inside the factories and it is equally difficult to keep them home when their mothers are working in factories. The provision of creche is therefore the only solution.

84. *Children—Working and rest periods.*—In the opinion of the union, the provisions of the Factories Act in respect of the employment of children require amendment. The minimum age limit for the employment of children should be raised from 12 to 14, and the law should be brought in conformity with the Washington Convention. The union also considers that the maximum age limit of a child should be raised from 15 to 18. This change may have an effect in reducing, to some extent the ranks of unemployed persons in the industry. Section 23 (b) of the Act should be so amended as to prohibit the employment of children before 8 in the morning and after 5 in the evening. With the general reduction in working hours that the union has strongly recommended, it is desirable that the hours of work of children also should be reduced from six to at least five and that their recesses should be in conformity with those recommended by the union for adults.

86. *Training of Young Adults.*—In the Bombay mills there are no facilities, so far as the union is aware, for the young adults and new recruits to receive regular training in their work. Paragraph 12 (ii) of this memorandum has already dealt with this question and there is no need of repetition of the same arguments. In some of the Lancashire mills, some machinery is set apart for the adult workers and new recruits to learn their jobs and a similar system should be established here. The millowners always complain of the inefficiency of the workers; but they have done very little to remove that inefficiency. The wonder really is that with their illiteracy and lack of practical and technical training facilities, they have been able to show the efficiency they have actually done. The union strongly recommends that each mill should make adequate provision for the training of its men, particularly the adults.

88. *Single and Double Shifts.*—The union is opposed to the introduction of a double shift system, not only for women or children, but for male operatives as well. In support of this statement, the union cannot do better than quote a paragraph from the report of the Labour Research Department.*

The further point to be taken into account in considering the question of double shift in respect of women, is, that they have to do all the domestic work and look after the children. It is, therefore, impossible for them to go to the mills at odd hours. In the case of young adults, the double shift is very likely to have an adverse effect on their health. The union is not, therefore, in favour of double shifts.

89. *Work in Factories not subject to the Act.*—It is highly desirable that the definition of factory should be so changed as to bring under the operation of the Act each and every factory which employs not less than ten persons irrespective of any consideration as to the use of steam, water, or other mechanical or electrical power. This amendment will bring small factories under supervision and restrict the abuses that are at present reported to exist there.

XII.—Wages.

Labour Office Enquiries—Defects in previous enquiries.—The Bombay Labour Office have so far conducted three enquiries into the wages of the Bombay textile workers. The first enquiry was held in 1921, and its report published in 1923; the second enquiry was held in 1923 and its report published in 1925; and its third enquiry was held in 1926, but its full report is yet to be published, although some statistical tables as regards earnings and absenteeism were supplied to the Fawcett Committee and the parties concerned in 1929. The procedure and the methods adopted in these enquiries were so different that it was almost impossible to compare their results on a common basis. The first two enquiries were conducted on the basis of the specially designed forms which were filled in by the mills and tabulated by the Labour Office and the 1926 enquiry was held on the basis of the actual muster rolls and was confined to the nineteen so-called "representative" mills. The union desires to draw the attention of the Commission to paragraphs 15 to 21 of its representation to the Textile Tariff Board which appears on pages 437–480, Vol. XX, of the Board's report. It is pointed out therein by quoting the report of the 1923 enquiry why "the 1914 figures," given in the 1921 report, "must, therefore, be accepted with considerable caution and treated only approximates," how, "with the date before us, it will never be possible for us to use either 1914 or 1921 as a base for Real Wage Index Numbers," how the Director of Labour Office was "not wholly satisfied that the Bombay Cost of Living Index Number is in itself satisfactory," how in a study of this kind the "arithmetic mean," adopted in these enquiries, "is a less satisfactory average than the mode, i.e., the earnings which are most prevalent in the group," and how "the average, in the usual sense of the arithmetic mean, is, in a study of this kind, necessarily higher than the "mode," or most frequently occurring value." The report of the 1923 enquiry has practically condemned the 1921 report and the 1914 figures given in it and the fact that the Labour Office has to adopt an altogether new method in its third enquiry shows that even the 1923 enquiry was not satisfactory. The union has also shown in the paragraphs of its statement to the Tariff Board mentioned above that the figure of Rs. 30-10-1 given in the 1923 report as being the average earnings of the Bombay textile workers is faulty and must be, in view of the unsatisfactory method of the enquiry, appreciably less than that figure.

154. *1926 Enquiry.*—A radical departure was made in the method of the 1926 enquiry which was based on the sample system and the muster rolls of the mills. But how were the samples selected? How was the representative character of the 19 mills out of over 75 mills ascertained? The Labour Office had no reliable and accurate material before it to determine that those mills were representative. The previous enquiries gave the office no guidance in this matter. It had, therefore, to rely mostly on the advice of the Millowners' Association. In the memorandum of the Bombay Government submitted to this commission, it is stated that these 19 mills were selected in consultation with the Bombay Textile Labour Union and the Millowners' Association. In so far as the Bombay Textile Labour Union is concerned, the statement is not wholly correct and does not represent the true facts as they happened. No correspondence ever took place between the Labour Office and the union about the selection of mills. The general secretary of the union and, again, the president and the general secretary were asked to see the Director of Labour Office and in the two interviews that took place the latter informed them of the new method he had decided to adopt in the new enquiry and showed them the names

* Report of Labour Research Department, pages 99–100.

of the mills and the printed forms which were ready for being sent to them. The union representatives while showing their preference of the new system to the old one, questioned the representative character of the mills and asked for any material the director might have to prove it. They were told that the office had no such material except its experience and the advice given by the Millowners' Association, and if the union representatives did not approve of these mills, they were asked to give an alternative list. Messrs. N. M. Joshi and Bakhale pointed out that owing to their union being less than one year old and in the absence of adequate knowledge of the rates and wages obtaining in the mills, they were not in a position to give an alternative list but suggested that, if the Labour Office enquiry was to command the public confidence, it should extend its enquiry on the new basis to all the mills so that for future enquiries it might have adequate material to determine and select the sample mills. This proposal was turned down on the ground of inadequate staff and expense. Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale then made it clear that they had no responsibility in the selection of the mills, that they were free to question their representative character, and that they would deal with the report of the enquiry on its merits. This union had thus no hand in the selection and never agreed to it. It is indeed a matter of great regret that the Bombay Government should make such a misleading statement before a responsible body like this commission and create, perhaps unconsciously, a wrong impression about the attitude of this union. The sample system has no doubt its advantages and may be superior to the one previously adopted; but the samples selected must be fully representative. From this point of view, the 1926 enquiry may not be considered as very satisfactory.

In showing these defects of the Labour Office enquiries, the union has no desire to minimise their importance or underestimate the value of their results. It fully recognizes the good work it has been doing since it was organized and the value of its enquiries which are the first of their kind in India. In the absence of any other statistics, official or otherwise, the enquiries of the Labour Office have special importance and the union has always treated them and their results with the respect they deserve. But this should not blind it to some of the defects of those enquiries when this commission is engaged in investigating the labour conditions.

96. *Rates of Wages.*—In the absence of any standardization scheme of wages on the lines of the price lists in Lancashire, the rates and wages differ from mill to mill, and it is almost impossible to say anything about them which would enable the commission to draw a general inference. Appendix IX to the memorandum of the Government of Bombay containing the daily average earnings of the textile workers in accordance with the Labour Office enquiries of 1921, 1923 and 1926, gives an interesting comparison of the earnings for five years, but owing to the different procedures and methods adopted in each enquiry, the comparison cannot give a correct idea of the increase or decrease in wages. From the workers' standard of living and their other conditions, the union can say that there has taken place practically no change for the better in respect of their wages. If there be any increase at all in any class of workers, it is, the union thinks, offset by under-employment or unemployment, which is nowadays a feature of the Bombay mill industry. In the 1928 strike, the joint strike committee had made a demand for the standardization of wages and in complying with it the Millowners' Association prepared a standardization scheme, but it contained a very heavy cut. The scheme was therefore rejected by the Joint Strike Committee. The Fawcett Committee has dealt with this Scheme in an exhaustive manner and recommended, in the interest of harmony between labour and capital, to remove the cut which the Millowners' Association maintained was only 7.5 per cent. The Union understands that the scheme has now been revised and the cut is removed. But it has not yet come into operation and the Union has not yet examined it.

98. *Remittances to Villages.*—The remittances to the villages are many times pointed out, by interested parties, to be the index of the prosperous condition of the textile workers and a proof of the adequate wages they get. A refusal to take other considerations into account at once vitiates the bearing of remittances on wages. In the first place, there is no data to show the amount of remittances which may be considered as reliable. Secondly, in building up an inference on the remittances, the workers' financial commitments in Bombay must be taken into account. But that is not done. The Labour Office report on the Family Budgets of the working classes has shown that, in the case of families the average monthly amount remitted comes to Rs. 1-11-1 which forms 3.2 per cent. of the total family earnings of Rs. 52-4-6 and that, in the case of the worker living singly in Bombay, the same amount comes to Rs. 11-7-1, i.e., 26.2 per cent. of the monthly income which is stated to be Rs. 43-10-3. These figures require very careful analysis before they are accepted or rejected. The Labour Office wages enquiries have shown the average earnings of a textile worker at Rs. 30 and the union has pointed out in its statement to the Tariff Board that they are appreciably less than Rs. 30.

This shows that a vast majority of the workers get less than Rs. 30 per month. In the Family Budget report, the average earnings of a worker are shown at Rs. 43-10-3 which proves that the family budgets collected for the purpose of this enquiry were not representative. In fact, the budgets of single men earning below Rs. 30 formed only 11.4 per cent. of the total budgets, those of men earning between Rs. 30 and 40 formed 27.7 per cent., and those of men earning between Rs. 40 and 50 were so much as 34.3 per cent. (page 35 of the Family Budgets report). In the same way, out of the total of 2,473 of the family budgets included in the Labour Office report, only 68 were those of families earning below Rs. 30, 272 of those earning between Rs. 30 and 40, and 834 of those earning between Rs. 40 and 50, 539 of those earning between Rs. 50 and 60 and 484 of those earning between Rs. 60 and 70. Such figures are bound to give a misleading impression of the average earnings of single workers and families—figures on which the percentages of the remittances are calculated. Further it must be pointed out that remittances are sent in spite of the excess of expenditure over income. For example, the families earning less than Rs. 30 incur a monthly debt of Rs. 2-12-3 and yet send Rs. 0-1-4 to the villages and single men earning between Rs. 30 and 40 have a balance of Rs. 7-5-6 and yet send Rs. 7-12-4 to the villages. (*Vide* pages 50 and 124 of the Family Budget reports.) Add to this the statement in the same report (page 33) that "interest on debts shows an average expenditure of nearly 3 per cent. of the total monthly expenditure. No less than 47 per cent. of the families were in debt," and that the rate of interest varies from 75 to 150 per cent. These facts clearly indicate that the average incomes of families and single men shown in the Family Budget report are not representative and that both the families and single men send out remittances to the villages even by incurring debts. The remittances are therefore no index of the economic position of the workers and the calculations of the Labour Office in that behalf are not acceptable to the Union.

Dr. Harold H. Mann, late Director of Agriculture for this Presidency, has some pertinent remarks to make in his book on "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village" to which reference has been made in the earlier part of this Memorandum. He says :—

" We have been interested to see how far the village derives financial advantage from their (the worker's) work in Bombay or elsewhere. As to the amount of money actually brought back, we have of course no information, but the postal authorities have been kind enough to furnish us with the amount remitted to the village by money orders during a period of two years. This amounted to only Rs. 900 or at the rate of Rs. 450 per annum. Counting the nett amount actually brought home by returning workers from the towns as reaching an equal amount it means the village benefited to the extent of Rs. 900 per annum from its members who are away. This total is very much guess work, though we fancy it is not far from the truth—and, if true, it indicates that the amount of money brought or sent to Deccan villages is very much smaller than is often supposed " (page 111).

At another place in the same book Dr. Mann says :—

" The actual advantage of the village (by the migration of the workers) in reducing the pressure on the land is great, but there appears to be considerable doubt as to whether it receives very much actual direct financial advantage. The amount of money sent by post is small (Rs. 450 per annum) and the people who had returned from Bombay were inclined to doubt whether they had benefited permanently very much—though, of course it permitted them to enjoy luxuries for the time being which were pleasant. Only one such returned worker has bought land " (page 159).

101. *Method of Fixing Wages.*—The power of fixing the rates and wages is entirely in the hands of the mill management and the workers have simply to accept them. There is no such thing as negotiated agreements between the employers and workers. The rates fixed are not even communicated to the workers. When the latter find on the pay day that their wages have gone down and when they make a complaint, they are informed that new varieties with different rates had been put on the looms and were responsible for slight decrease in wages. The workers do not always understand the slight changes made in the warp or weft or the speed of a certain variety and generally calculate their earnings on the old rates; but they are subsequently informed that the changes in the warp, weft or speed had necessitated a slight modification in rates. There are a number of mills in Bombay which do not exhibit in the sheds a board containing rates. The " Particulars Clause " such as is known in Lancashire is unknown in Bombay. The following extracts from a statement issued by Messrs. N. M. Joshi, F. J. Ginwala and R. R. Bakhale, will give a further insight into the methods of wage fixing and wages reductions :—

" The Khatav Makanji Mills, the Spring Mills, the Madhavji Dharamsey Mills and the Kastoorchand Mills have openly reduced the rates on some varieties on the ground that either they are unable to pay them owing to depressed state of the

industry or their rates were higher than those obtaining in other mills. One of these mills was bold enough to say that the blanket rates which were fixed in 1911 when the waste plant was newly instituted, had to be revised in the year 1928 as the original rates were only experimental and continued to this day by oversight. Surely this does not speak highly of the degree of the efficiency of the management ! In the Simplex and Kohinoor Mills, the workers alleged and the owners denied the reduction in rates ; but we are satisfied that the aggregate awges of many have gone down recently. We have also known a few mills, Moon Mill for example, in which the average wages of the weavers were brought down on the plea that they were higher than those in other mills for the same kind of work. Wages are fixed in relation to the efficiency which is generally calculated at between 70 and 80. If the workers give more efficiency, their production and consequently their wages, rise ; but the millowners, at least some of them, who harp upon the plea of increased efficiency, stagger at the figure of the increased wages and bring it down. Thus the increased efficiency becomes a penalty to the workers who give it.

" Where there has been no direct reduction in rates or wages, indirect methods have been resorted to. Many mills have begun to go from coarser to higher counts and with the rates remaining the same, aggregate wages have gone down owing to the drop in weight on which wages are calculated. In several mills, new varieties have been put up with a change here or a change there but their outward appearance remaining the same ; and the fresh rates are fixed for them. Seeing no apparent difference between the old and the new varieties, the workers calculate their wages on the old rates and when they find their calculations at variance with the Mill calculations, they resort to direct action. This misunderstanding has led to many a recent strike ; but the management do not consider it their business to explain to the workers the changes made in the varieties. This is the experience that the Bombay Textile Labour Union got in dealing with the Simplex and Kohinoor mill strikes. The fact, however, remains that owing to the introduction of new varieties, many workers have begun to get lower wages. In some cases, the average production has gone down not because of the decreased efficiency of the workers, but because of the introduction of silk and inferior raw material. In one mill, we know, where both the cotton yarn and silk yarn work, the artificial humid air has a salubrious effect on the former while it reduces the strength of the latter. The result is that breakages come too often in the silk varieties and production suffers. Those, therefore, who work on silk get less wages ; and their number is not negligible. There is another method of wage reduction which is becoming almost universal. The weavers used to get hitherto their wages on the basis of the actual production ; but now they are paid on the basis of the production as it goes to the merchant. For instance, a worker produced a piece weighing 4 lb. ; by the time it reaches the hands of the merchants, it shrinks, say, by a quarter pound in the further processes in the mills. The worker used to get hitherto his wages for 4 lb. ; but now he gets them for 3½ lb. ; in other words, for every piece woven he loses wages for one quarter pound for nothing. The argument advanced by the millowners is that they cannot pay the employees what they do not get themselves from the merchants. But they have no answer to give when they are questioned as to what they were doing all these 75 years, except that they did not mind paying more when they could afford to do so. In one mill we found still another method of wage reduction and it is this. If the basic wages of a worker come to Rs 30-15-9 pies, his 1 anna and 9 pies are cut off immediately. Then there remain Rs. 30-14 annas ; but the high prices allowance is calculated not on Rs. 30-14 annas but on Rs. 30 only. Thus the worker loses Re. 0-1-3 pies and 80 per cent. allowance on Re. 0-15-9 pies. In our opinion this method of calculating wages is nothing short of a fraud upon the employees."

The union gives below from the same statement one more interesting case of wage fixing :—

" We give below one more typical case of how the workers' wages are tampered with. We have a case of a jobber—and this case is applicable to most of the weaving jobbers of that mill—who used to get 8 annas per 100 lb. of cloth produced by his workers. His wages including the allowance amounted to Rs. 140, but he was first offered Rs. 90-4 annas only and then Rs. 100. He thus lost Rs. 40. The case was represented to the manager and the agents replied on his behalf. After pointing out that the looms in those jobbers' department were entirely on Khadi and other grey cloth, the agents said that " it would be manifestly unfair to pay these men at the same rate per hundred pounds as is paid to the line jobbers in the large shed who are mostly on fancy cloths." In such a case the different rates should have been fixed for fancy and other jobbers ; but ' one cannot,' say the agents, ' equally assort the cloth among each jobber as the looms are an odd lot of varying widths.' In other words, the agents do not mind the workers suffering even though they cannot

be held responsible for the layout of the mill machinery. But the sting is in the tail. "It appears," conclude the agents, "that the manager has been in the habit of equalising and averaging the jobbers' pay. Some jobbers have received less than their calculated pay, while on the other hand *more* jobbers have had their calculated pay increased. It seems a very unconventional way of doing things, I must admit; but apparently it has worked out justly, otherwise other of the jobbers would have complained." The enquiries made by the Bombay Textile Labour Union did not bear out the agents' statement that "more jobbers have had their calculated pay increased," a statement based on the information of the manager; and the union knows it as a matter of fact that the other jobbers did complain but did not carry the matter to a breaking point for fear of victimization. This arbitrary method of calculating wages is not confined to the jobbers alone; it is freely used in fixing the rates of the weavers in that mill. There is absolutely no method for fixing the wages and there is ample room for favouritism. The managers of this type are to a great extent responsible for increasing the workers' bitterness against the millowners and are a menace to the industry and the workers."

103. *Standardization*.—The 1928 Joint Strike Committee demanded a standardization scheme of wages and mostly in pursuance of that demand the Millowners' Association were compelled to hasten the preparation of a scheme which they had been considering for years past. At last the scheme was prepared during the 1928 strike; but it contained two dangerous items, viz., a heavy cut in wages and a reduction in the number of workers. The Joint Strike Committee prepared, under the guidance of Mr. Mohamad Umar Rajab, vice-president of this union, its own standardization scheme which had a wholesome effect on the millowners, in that, they levelled up their scheme in some respects. The revised scheme was fully discussed before the Fawcett Committee and the latter has dealt with it very exhaustively. The scheme has not yet come into operation, and it may not be worth while to go into it again. Suffice it to say, that, subject to such agreements that have been reached between the Joint Strike Committee and the Millowners' Association, the union is not prepared to accept a scheme which contains a cut and a reduction in the number of workers.

105. *Minimum Wages*.—Any scheme for the improvement of the lot of working classes will not be complete or of much practical utility if it does not include any proposals to secure to workers the payment of a wage "adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country." Great emphasis was laid on "the provision of an adequate living wage" by the signatories to the Treaty of Peace, and this question was mentioned in the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty as one of the problems of urgent importance which require solution if social unrest is to be avoided. In view of the importance of this problem the International Labour Conference at its eleventh session held in 1928, adopted a draft convention and a recommendation concerning the creation of minimum wage fixing machinery. The convention contemplated the creation of such machinery in the case of trades or parts of trades (and in particular home working trades) in which no arrangement exist for effective regulation of wages by collective agreements or otherwise and in which wages are exceptionally low. A State Member ratifying this convention is placed under an obligation to create such machinery but the nature and form of the machinery and trades to which it should apply are questions which are left to the discretion of the States concerned.

Alleged Difficulties in Adopting the Convention.—In India, the system of regulation of wages by collective agreements is conspicuous by its absence. Labour in this country cannot be said to be much well organised yet, and this is the main cause why labour in India is weak in its bargaining power. In view of these facts one would expect India to be one of the earliest State Members to ratify this convention. But, on the contrary, the Government of India have not even ratified the convention owing to alleged practical difficulties. It is stated that the difficulties in the way of the introduction of the minimum wage principle in India are:—firstly, this question is quite new to India and has not been thoroughly considered in any Province. Besides, the question of the practicability and advisability of establishing wage boards in India has not been thoroughly investigated. Secondly, there is no standardization of wages in any industry and the wages for similar or same occupations differ from establishment to establishment. Thirdly, the cost of living index numbers are not available for different industrial centres in India. Cost of such index numbers have a very important bearing on the question of fixation or regulation of a minimum wage.

Difficulties not insuperable.—The difficulties mentioned above do not appear to be such as to necessitate the abandonment of the proposal altogether. The problem of fixing minimum wages may be new to India, but it will continue to be "new" until an effort is made to tackle it. The union fails to understand why it is so very

essential that the standardization of wage in a particular industry should necessarily precede the application of the minimum wage principle. The object of standardization of wages is to secure to the workers in different establishments in one industry equal pay for the similar type and equal quality of work done. But the aim of the fixation of minimum rates of wages is to ensure that a worker in the lowest paid occupation does not get a wage lower than a rate fixed by law. The absence of cost of living index numbers in different industrial centres or in various provinces appears to be a real difficulty in this connection. There is much truth in the statement that the cost of suitable standard of living differs considerably from province to province, and also between different parts of a province, and this appears to be an obstacle in the way of fixing a national living wage for India as a whole—but this is a question which must be tackled sooner or later. This difficulty is absent, for example, in Bombay City—as the Labour Office compiles and publishes a working class cost of living index number every month. Recently similar index numbers for Ahmedabad are also worked out by the Labour Office. It is, therefore, the considered opinion of the union that time has now come when the application of the minimum wage principle should not be delayed any longer and that a beginning should be made at least in industries or industrial centres where the difficulties discussed above do not exist to any great extent, such as the cotton mill industry in Bombay City.

Basis for a Minimum Wage.—The main objects of minimum wage legislation may be briefly stated as (1) the prevention of the payment of unduly low wages or exploitation of labour, and (2) the elimination of unfair competition between the employers as regards wages. It is also claimed, that minimum wages laws, by establishing greater equality of bargaining power, indirectly help to develop organization amongst the workers. No definite formula or principle as regards what should constitute a minimum wage has been laid down in any of the minimum wages laws adopted in various foreign countries such as New Zealand, Australia, U.S.A., Great Britain, etc. These laws generally relate to both male and female workers in specified industries and contain a general definition pertaining to what may be considered as a "minimum wage." It is significant to note that some of these laws take into consideration the necessary cost of living of the workers and his family. For instance, basis for fixing minimum rates as stated in the Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act, 1924, of Great Britain, is as far as possible a wage for able-bodied men adequate to enable a worker in ordinary case to maintain himself and family in accordance with reasonable standard of comfort in relation to nature of his occupation. But the most common basis for fixation of minimum wages as contemplated in the various laws appears to be the cost of living and the financial condition of the industry.

Condition of the Industry.—It has been the experience of industrially advanced countries such as England and U.S.A., that it has always been extremely difficult to prove whether a given industry is able or not to pay the minimum wages fixed by law. In view of this, in certain cases in U.S.A. the regulation of changes in the minimum wages is mainly governed by the cost of living, the other factor regarding the economic position of the industry being very difficult to prove. It should not, however, be supposed that the union is not prepared to consider the financial condition of the cotton mill industry in Bombay City while putting forward a demand for fixation of a minimum rate of wages for the cotton mill operatives. On the other hand, it may be made clear, that the Union is ready to reconsider its demand for fixation of a minimum wage at the rate indicated below, if the union is satisfied that the millowners have explored all the available sources of effecting economies in the cost of production and that the only item then left is "wages."

Rs. 30—a Minimum Wage.—One of the seventeen demands put forward by the Joint Strike Committee before the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee was that "the wages of those workers whose average monthly wage is less than Rs. 30 shall be raised substantially." The union considers and reaffirms that the above demand is just and reasonable. The experience of the members of the Union goes to show that Rs. 30 per month for an average family is, with great difficulty, just sufficient to maintain a family almost on the "subsistence level." In view of this, the union should like to make an emphatic demand that Rs. 30 should be fixed as the minimum rate of wages for adult male operatives below which no worker who has put in normal hours on each of the working days in a month should be paid. The reiteration of this demand may be considered as preposterous by some but the following few considerations would show that what after all the union asks for, is nothing more than a bare living wage.

Basis for Rs. 30.—It is now proposed to indicate the lines on which the union has based its demand for Rs. 30. The basis is put at the lowest by comparing the quantities of some of the main food articles consumed by a cotton mill operative in Bombay City with those consumed by prisoners in jail, in order to show that the union's demand for Rs. 30 as being the minimum wage is not extravagant. A

reference to the Bombay Jail Manual (Part I, revised edition, 1927, page 40); will show that the following is the scale of the diet given to male convicts including juveniles confined in prisons and employed on *bona fide* hard labour :

Article.	Daily Quantity.
(1) Wheat, jowari or bajri or rice	24 oz.
(2) Dall	5 oz.
(3) Salt	8 drams.
(4) Onions	4 drams.
(5) Vegetables	8 oz.
(6) Oil (average)	8 drams.
(7) Condiments	4 drams.
(8) Tamarind (average)	3 drams.
(9) Fuel	1 lb.

Thirty times the first six of the above quantities multiplied by the average retail prices of the respective articles for the month of December, 1929 in Bombay City (vide p. 426 of the Bombay Labour Gazette for January, 1930) will show that the average monthly expenditure on food articles alone amounts to Rs. 5-4-2 pies for a single worker. A reference to the Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay City published by the Labour Office in 1923 (pages 65-66) shows that the average number of persons living in the family is 4.2; and the equivalent in adults per family = 3.4. The total cost of the food articles consumed by the average family will thus be 3.4 by Rs. 5-4-2 pies. The average expenditure on "food" amounts to 56.8 per cent. of the total expenditure of the working class family. If all the items included in the "food group" in Table VI referred to above are scanned, it will be seen that the expenditure on the food grains alone (according to jail diet) comes to only about 37.1 per cent. of the total expenditure of the family. On this basis the cost of maintaining an average family comes to (Rs. $\frac{100}{37.1}$ by 3.4 by Rs. 5-4-2 pies).

According to the family budgets report referred to above, there are 1.5 earners in the average family. The 1.5 adult breadwinners should earn this sum of Rs. 48-3-4 pies in order that their families may be fed, clothed, and sheltered according to the lowest of minimum standard of life. This clearly means that each adult must get at least Rs. 32-2-3 pies as wages per month (i.e. Rs. 48-3-4 pies divided by 1.5).

The minimum wage arrived at is based on the retail prices ruling in December, 1929. Any rise in the prices or in the cost of living index number for Bombay City should have a corresponding effect on this minimum wage. The union is of opinion that the minimum should be varied with definitely marked changes in the cost of living index, say, by 5 points.

Machinery.—The best machinery to secure the minimum wage is, of course, the collective agreement; but it can be successfully effected in those trades where the employers and workers are sufficiently organized. Where this essential condition does not exist and where the workers are not organized to an extent which will enable them to negotiate a collective agreement on a footing of equality with their employers, a suitable machinery on a statutory basis should be devised. The union does not support any machinery which has not the backing of law behind it. The joint industrial councils under the Whitley scheme cannot function effectively where the workers' organization is not strong. The German works councils have the same difficulty if they are organized independently of the trade unions or if the workers are not properly organized. In Germany the works councils are deliberately excluded from negotiating the wage rates, which function is allocated to the trade unions and the employers' associations. Where these do not exist or are weak, the works councils are allowed to intervene. The Union, however, is inclined to take the view that, where the workers' organizations do not exist or are weak, the wage fixing machinery should be, as far as possible, independent of any other machinery that may be devised for the purpose of improving the industrial relations between the employers and employees. Out of the three systems of wage regulations that are prevalent in different parts of the world, viz., the fixed minimum wage method, the board system and the arbitration system, the union prefers the board system as being more suitable to Indian conditions. The fixed minimum wage method is inflexible and the wage amounts are stated in the Act itself with greater or less precision. The size of the country and the vast difference in the economic conditions prevailing in different provinces may make this system inapplicable to India. The union is equally opposed to the arbitration system inasmuch as it hardly tends to improve the relations between the employers and employees. The union, therefore, supports the board system in which an independent chairman, unlike under the arbitration system, has to give a decision with which at least one side must agree and in which also, owing to the fear that the chairman may vote on the other side,

the two sides are checked from taking an uncompromising attitude. The union recommends the formation of trade boards on the lines of the British Trade Boards with powers which the Whitley Committee have recommended for the English Boards.

106. *Deductions.*—The union submitted to the Bombay Government in 1927 an exhaustive representation on the "deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines" and a printed copy of the same is enclosed to this memorandum as Appendix C.* Suffice it to say that the union stands by the views expressed in that representation and has no further remarks to offer on the subject of deductions. It only draws the attention of the Commission to paras. 109 to 120 of the Fawcett Committee's report in which the committee discusses Standing Order 18 relating to offences for which the workers are liable to be fined.

107. *Periods of Wage Payments.*—The managing committee of the union considered this question so early as in 1926 and addressed a letter to the Director of Labour, expressing its views on the prompt payment of wages. The important parts of that letter are reproduced below :—

"The Committee desires to express its appreciation of the move made by the Government of India in the direction of securing by legislation the prompt payment of the workers. The move was overdue; and had it been made earlier, some of the hardships from which the workers suffer, may have disappeared long ago. However, the Committee is glad to find that the Government of India propose, though a little late, to legislate on a matter with which the financial interests of the working classes are vitally connected.

"The Committee agrees with the Government of India that the state of affairs in respect of the periods by which wages are paid in organized industries and in respect of the delays which are associated with their payment, cannot be regarded as other than satisfactory, that these delays are, in a number of cases, so great as to add appreciably to the economic difficulties of the workmen and give rise to several abuses and that if these abuses can be checked or eliminated by legislation, it is the duty of Government to introduce such legislation. It is the opinion of the Committee that the real remedy for checking the abuses lies in enacting a legislation making payments of wages fortnightly or weekly and the Committee would have accorded its hearty support to such legislation. The Committee is aware of the opposition to the Weekly Payments Bill of Mr. Chaman Lall, a part of which had come from some workers. But it feels confident that if the system of weekly payments, the advantage accruing therefrom and the disadvantages of the system of monthly payments had been fully explained to the workers, they would have withdrawn their opposition and agreed to the system of payments for shorter periods. But as Mr. Chaman Lall's Bill had unfortunately to be withdrawn on account of the joint opposition of the Government and the interested parties, the Committee has to be content with the alternative now proposed by the Government of India, as being the next best.

"The Committee generally agrees with what the Government have said in paragraph 6 of their letter of July 28 regarding the setting of the statutory limit to the time within which wages must be paid. It, however, desires to emphasize that such limit should be placed not only in the case of monthly wages but also in the case of fortnightly, weekly and daily wages. The limit to be placed on the delays should be, in the opinion of the Committee, at the most, a week in the case of monthly wages, four days in the case of fortnightly wages, two days in the case of weekly wages and the daily wages should be paid on the same day. There does not seem to be any necessity to delay the daily wages by a day as seems to have been suggested in paragraph 6 of the letter. In fact these wages are in most cases paid on the days for which they are earned.

"As regards the enforcement of such law, the Committee is in entire accord with the view of the Government of India stated in paragraph 7 of their letter that "if the enforcement of the law is to depend upon the initiative of the workmen themselves the Act will fail to achieve its object" and that, therefore, 'it is essential that the power to prosecute should be granted to some external authority, such as an inspecting staff.' The dangers pointed out in the paragraph such as dismissals, if the responsibility of recovering the wages in a court of law is thrown on the workmen, and the difficulties of the workers in the same establishment joining together in prosecuting the employer are real, cannot but prevent action. Moreover, the amount of inconvenience that may be caused to the workers is disproportionate to the amount that they may get. If, therefore, the Act is to function efficiently and is not desired to remain a dead letter, it is essential that the Act should set up an independent machinery to enforce it.

* Not printed in this memorandum.

" The scope of the measure to be enacted should be, the Committee is of opinion, as wide as possible and should cover all the establishments, large or small, Government semi-Government or private, such as railways, tramways, docks, plantations, municipalities, local boards, Government services in addition to the establishments covered by the Indian Factories and Mines Acts. The Committee does not agree with the Government of India that the Act should be confined, in its operation, to those establishments which are subject to the operation of the Factories Act and the Mines Act. Such restrictions in the operation of the measure will surely defeat to a great extent the object for which it is intended. It is true that an additional staff will have to be employed ; but it is worth while doing so, even at the cost of some extra expenditure. Otherwise the measure will lose much of its utility and the abuses which it seeks to check or eliminate will remain where they are. It is therefore the considered opinion of the Committee that for the measure to be both useful and effective, its scope should be wide enough and its enforcement should be in the hands of an outside and independent agency. The Committee requests the Government of India to consider this point seriously and hope that they will accept it.

" There are one or two other points in connection with this subject which the Committee desires to bring to the notice of the Government of India for their consideration. One is that in some cotton textile mills in Bombay the workers who are discharged or leave the service in the middle of the month, are not paid immediately for the days for which they have worked in the mills but are asked to come on the next pay day, which means a good deal of delay. The Committee thinks that such delays should also be covered by the proposed legislation. Another point is that there is a practice prevailing in many cotton textile mills in Bombay that the wages claimed after a certain period which varies from three to six or even more months, are forfeited. There are occasions such as continued illness or other domestic difficulties on account of which the workers cannot claim their wages earlier ; but it is only fair that they should get them as soon as they are in a position to claim them. It will be well if such forfeiture of wages which is more serious than the delays in getting the wages, is prohibited under the new measure."

108. *Indebtedness*.—The following paragraph from the Family Budgets report of the Labour office will give the Commission some idea about the extent of indebtedness of the workers :—

" Interest on debts shows an average expenditure of nearly 3 per cent of the total monthly expenditure. No less than 47 per cent. of the families were in debt. . . . The usual rate of interest is one anna per rupee per mensem or 75 per cent. per annum, and in a few cases 2 annas per rupee per mensem or 150 per cent. per annum . . . The indebtedness of the family in debt extends ordinarily to the equivalent of two and a half months' earnings. The extremes are equivalent to 14 months' and one third of a months' earnings. Some money lenders obtain in effect even a higher rate than 150 per cent. by taking promissory notes of higher value than the loan actually given." (pp. 33).

110. *Leave*.—The system of leave both with and without payment is absent in Bombay mills. Whenever urgent work or illness makes it impossible for a worker to go to work, he either sends word to his jobber or explains his absence the next day when he goes to the mills. If the jobber is well disposed towards the worker, the latter gets back his machine ; otherwise he gets a sack on the ground that he was absent without leave. There may be exceptions to this method and it may be that the workers have got leave of absence ; but the point the Union wants to emphasize is that in the absence of any system, the jobbers possess a very considerable power of mischief and the Union has on its record a number of complaints of this character. The question of leave was fully dealt with before the Fawcett Committee and the Millowners' Association have now agreed to grant 2 months' leave to the workers on an application and to keep the record of such leave. The rule has not yet come into operation and it is to be seen how far it works in actual practice.

The Union strongly suggests for the sympathetic consideration of the Commission that the workers should get some leave on pay. In its opinion such leave will have a good effect not only on the worker's health but on their efficiency as well. After their return from the villages, they have always shown better efficiency. In Germany, such leave on pay has been secured by the workers and in England the agitation to get it is going on and it is probable that it may succeed.

111. *Fair Wages Clause*.—The Union is in favour of the Fair Wages Clause in public contracts. It will have a healthy effect on the general wage level in the City.

XIII.—Workers' Efficiency.

112. The fact that the Bombay mills are gradually going from coarse to medium and from medium to fine counts and are producing better kind of cloth than before, shows that the workers' efficiency has not remained stationary but has improved.

The reduction of working hours from 12 to 10 has also shown an improvement in the efficiency of the weavers. In view of the fact that the millowners have made no efforts to improve the efficiency of the operatives, the improvements they have shown in their work are indeed highly creditable.

113. A comparison is sometimes made between the number of looms and spindles that the workers in India and the workers in other countries mind, in order to show that the Indian workers are less efficient than the other workers. It is mischievous to make such a comparison without taking into account other factors of great importance. The Bombay millowners conveniently forget the climatic conditions obtaining in different countries, the stamina of the operatives, their conditions of service, their housing, their education, the quality of raw material supplied, the differences in machinery, the labour-saving appliances, etc., and without any justification they condemn their own operatives. Mr. Arnos S. Pearse, General Secretary of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association, has recently stated that the average number of looms per operative in Japan is 5.5 as against 4 in England; but he has not declared that the English worker is less efficient than Japanese worker. Mr. N. M. Joshi had suggested before the Tariff Board that if a scientific comparison between the efficiency of the Indian and the British worker was to be made, about a half-dozen Indian workers should be sent to Lancashire and asked to work there under conditions in which the British workers worked, and that if the results showed that the Indian workers were less efficient than the English workers, then only he would admit the truth of the allegation of the Bombay millowners; but not till then. The union supports Mr. Joshi's stand and declines to believe that the Bombay worker is less efficient than any other worker of other countries. The union desires also to point out that Dr. Rajani Kant Das in his book on the "Hindustani workers on the Pacific Coast" has proved that the Hindustani workers working in America have proved themselves as efficient as the workers of other nationalities, including the Americans.

Efficiency of Management.—In sharp contrast to the improvement that the workers have effected in their efficiency, howsoever small it may be, the union regrets to say that the efficiency of the mill officers, including jobbers and head jobbers, is not as it should be. There is, the union knows, a fair sprinkling of superior officers, both Indian and British, whose technical knowledge is of a high order and it is perhaps due to their presence that the Bombay industry has maintained its existence such as it is to-day. The union, however, knows by experience that there are some mill officials whose knowledge of the technique of the industry and whose organizational capacity is no better than that of the outsiders in the trade unions who are attacked so mercilessly by the millowners. If an examination is held and these officials are put to the test, the union has no doubt that many of them will fail. Many of the ills of the industry can be traced to the incompetency of these men. But it is human nature to see a mole in others' eyes, forgetting the mountain in their own.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. (ii) The extent of the trade union organization in the Bombay textile industry may be obtained from the Bombay Labour Office. Suffice it to say that the trade union movement took an organized form only after the 1925 general strike and with the formation of this union in January, 1926. Writing about this union in his report of the investigations into the conditions of the Indian textile workers, the Rt. Hon. T. Shaw, M.P., has the following remarks to make :—

"In Bombay is to be found perhaps the nearest approach to what, for want of a better name, I will call the European model. The union takes all textile workers as members in whatever branch they work, and its business is done from five different centres. The membership cards are printed in Urdu and Marathi, and give details which are quite customary in Europe. There is also an active propaganda by means of big posters in prominent places in the mill areas. These posters give summaries of the work of the union, and invite all textile workers to join it. . . . There is a central managing committee which is really the authoritative managing body for the union. It consists of the principal officers and representatives of the workers in the proportion of one for each 200 members in any given mill. There are also committees in each centre or district, but the functions of these committees are purely advisory. There are also mill committees, and the central committee's idea is to give the actual workers themselves the greatest possible share in the management of the union." (Pages 42-43.)

With its propaganda the union could succeed within a period of two years to secure a paying membership of between 8,000 to 10,000. Then came the 1928 strike in which the Girmi Kamgar Union came into existence. Taking advantage

of such success of the strike as was obtained and by its unrealizable promises and hopes to the workers, the G.K. union could increase its membership to, according to the Labour Office figures, over 40,000. It can be said that after the 1928 strike the union mentality had been created among the workers, and if the 1929 strike had not intervened and things would have gone on smoothly, the trade union membership might have increased very considerably. But the last year's strike destroyed not only the future hope but killed the strength that had been built up, and to-day it must be said with great regret and pain that the trade union movement in the textile industry is on its last legs !

118. So far as this Union is concerned, it can be said that it has been able to redress a number of workers' grievances. The three annual reports of the Union that are enclosed to this Memorandum will show that in such cases as dismissals, re-employment, rates and wages, fines, strikes, assaults, etc., the Union had been a real help to the workers. Had the millowners been a little sympathetic towards the Union, the success it had achieved would have been more substantial and the Union would not have required to go through the agonies it went through after the 1928 strike. It was a healthy check on those mills where it had good membership and some of the mill managers and other officers had admitted the usefulness and the utility of this Union. Although it cannot be said that the Union has been able to leave a permanent mark of its work on the general conditions of the operatives by securing to them higher wages, reduced hours, better housing or stability of employment, it is true to say that it had stopped very considerably the tyrannies of the mill officials practised on individual workers and created in them a kind of awe about Trade Unions. Thanks to the short sighted policy of a majority of the millowners and their born hatred of trade unions, the activities of this Union had to be curtailed for the present and it could not continue in the manner in which it did function before the 1928 strike ! !

119. The Union has not been able to organize schemes for giving benefits to its members, such as unemployment, sickness, or old age benefits. The Union officials had to concentrate their energies and attention all these years on organization and the workers' complaints and deal with the strikes as they took place ; and there was also the difficulty of finance. However, it has given special financial help to some of its members who were in distress and spent about Rs.6,000 in distributing relief to its members and other workers during the 1928 strike. It had also collected special funds for the same purpose in the sectional strikes in a few mills. It may further be stated here that owing mostly to the influence of its President, Mr. N. M. Joshi, in the international labour movement, the Union could secure about Rs. 40,000 for distributing relief during the 1928 strike.

120. (i) The constitution and the three annual reports of this union will give the commission some idea about the history and the activities of this union ; and it is not necessary to repeat them here.

(iii) In spite of the fact that the relations of some of the officers of this union are more or less cordial with some of the millowners in Bombay, it must be stated quite frankly that the general attitude of the employers as a class is one of hostility towards the trade unions and the trade union movement. It is only recently when an undesirable element entered the trade union field that the employers have begun to talk in terms of sympathy towards the unions ; but their talks have not yet been translated into action. If anything, their association in its memorandum to this commission has boldly advocated amendments to the Indian Trade Unions Act, most of which, if carried into effect, are calculated to make the independent trade union movement impossible in this country and convert the trade unions into departments of Government. The association may say that it was compelled to make these suggestions owing to the activities of the Girmi Kamgar Union. But it fails to realize that for the action of one or two unions like the Girmi Kamgar Union, the association wants to penalize all the trade unions which have been carrying on its activities in a legitimate and constitutional manner. It is also significant to remember that when the Girmi Kamgar Union did not exist and when other unions were functioning on trade unions lines, it never occurred to the Millowners' Association to look at them with a sympathetic eye or grant them recognition. On the contrary the negotiations by this union in one of the strikes of its own members with the association were characterized by it as " officious " in one of its Annual Reports. If this case is considered as rather old as it happened in 1926, the union can cite another to prove the hostile mentality of the millowners. It took place only last September. The union held a joint enquiry over the dismissal of one worker in a mill where it had very strong membership. The enquiry lasted for about three months but the parties could not come to any agreement. The matter was taken up to the Millowners' Association which appointed a sub-committee to negotiate with the parties. The negotiations failed to reach a settlement and, as a last alternative, the sub-committee of the Association asked the parties to refer the dispute to arbitration and this suggestion was sent to the

association. It was accepted by the union but rejected by the mill. In its anxiety not to displease the powerful mill, the association turned down the suggestion made by its own sub-committee. This clearly proves that when the interests of a mill clash with those of the union, the association does not hesitate to throw overboard not only the union but its own representatives who, not being directly involved in the dispute, can sometimes take a detached view.

The union can also give another illustration of the millowners' dislike of the trade unions. The chairman of the commission put it to the representatives of this union in their oral evidence whether they would meet the millowners to discuss the problems of industry and they replied that they would. The millowners have not done anything yet in the direction of calling the quarterly general meetings contemplated by the chairman owing perhaps to the present weak position of the union. The union understands this position and does not complain. But it does complain about the way in which the Millowners' Association has started its work of coming in contact with the workers and dealing with their complaints. It has recommended to the management to keep complaints boxes in the mills and ask the workers to take the complaints to the officers or put them in the boxes. In the case of collective grievances, the association says that the mill agents will make enquiries and, if necessary, take them to the association. If such methods had solved the workers' grievances, the world would have heaved a sigh of relief at the solution of one of the most difficult industrial problems. But the union may not complain about the procedure laid down by the association although it feels that it will not improve matters. What it takes serious objection to is the complete disregard shown by the association towards the trade unions. It knows that they do exist, though in a feeble condition and it should have informed the workers that if they could not get redress by the procedure laid down by the mills, it would sympathetically consider their grievances if sent through their unions. If the association had expressed itself in its instructions to the mills and the workers in these or similar terms so as to convey to the operatives its willingness to deal with the unions, it would have proved its *bona fides* about its attitude towards the trade union organization. In times of difficulties and owing to public pressure, it shows some lip sympathies towards that union which it considers to be less harmful than the others.

Another illustration of the attitude of the millowners towards the trade unions can be given and it is the organization, by an important mill group in Bombay, of what can be called company unions organized through its jobbers and head jobbers. In paragraph 182 of the memorandum of the Bombay Government will be found the names of these unions with a membership of 29 only which were organized during the period of the last year's strike. This union has reason to believe that all the three unions were started under the instigation of a mill group and one of them is already registered. In spite of the fact that the unions at the time of their registration had to give their official addresses to the registrar, some of the letters addressed to the registered union in the list given in the Bombay Government's memorandum had come to the address of this union as the postal authorities could not trace the existence of that union. This shows clearly how company unions are functioning. An attempt was also made to encourage the formation of what is called the "Amalgamated Millowners' Self-help Union," one of the objects of which was to so inculcate the habit of thrift among the workers as to enable them to purchase one or more mills and run them on model lines. The promoters of this so-called union were to be the representatives of one Bombay Ownership Housing and Tenants' Welfare Institute (it is not traceable) and of the existing trade unions in the mill industry. It was to have mill committees, a "general administrative committee," and a "board of control" whose functions though defined could not be understood. One of the promoters of this so-called union was a Government pensioner, another a municipal retired officer, and a third a landlord, besides one or two others. This union has not heard of the activities of that union; but the facts stated above are sufficiently indicative of the mentality of the millowners and their organization.

Attitude towards Labour Legislation.—The attitude of the millowners and their association towards labour legislation of ameliorative character introduced by the Government of India since 1921 has been mostly one of opposition. The following summary of their views, prepared from the annual reports of the association is enough to substantiate the above statement:—

- (1) Legislation for the registration and protection of trade unions was at that juncture (1921) premature.
- (2) The association was opposed to the voluntary registration; it demanded compulsory registration which implies, it may be stated parenthetically, the suppression by law of unregistered trade unions.
- (3) It deprecated the policy of "slavish adherence" to the provisions of the British trade union legislation.

(4) It was "opposed to the introduction in the Indian law of any provisions that might tend to countenance the practice of picketing in any shape or form."

(5) The Association was not in favour of having legislation prohibiting the employment of women before and after childbirth (1921 report) and opposed Mr. N. M. Joshi's Maternity Bill (1923 report).

(6) The Association declined to express an opinion on the proposal to repeal the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, 1859.

(7) It opposed Mr. Chaman Lall's Weekly Wages Bill.

(8) It "lodged an emphatic protest" against the Government of India's proposed legislation on prompt payment of wages.

(9) It opposed Mr. N. M. Joshi's Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code so as to give immunity from legal proceedings to unregistered trade unions.

It may also be stated that the Association supported the Intimidation and *Goonda* Acts passed by the Bombay Government last year. On the top of all this, the Association has now suggested in its memorandum to this Commission, amendments in the Indian Trade Unions Act, the effect of which, if carried out, is calculated, in the opinion of the Union, to paralyse the growth of independent trade union movement.

121. The union is not in favour of amending the Trade Unions Act in such a way as to curtail the liberties of the unions or increase the restrictions and limitations already imposed on them. It, therefore, does not support the amendments of the Millowners' Association suggested in its memorandum to this Commission; nor can it support the proposals of the Bombay Government made in their "Note on Labour Position in Bombay"—proposals which are intended to increase the power of the Registrar of Trade Unions in respect of supervision and intervention, and vest him with more power of cancelling the registration of trade unions and ascertaining their membership. In the opinion of the union these proposals will only impose additional restrictions on trade unions without achieving the object of putting them on sound lines. The union is rather inclined to suggest that the Act should be so amended as to give the benefit of immunity from civil and criminal liability even to unregistered trade unions and that it should be brought in conformity with the British Trade Union Law *minus* the 1927 Act.

122. *Methods of Negotiations.*—Hitherto there was no conciliation machinery between the millowners and the trade unions for the purposes of negotiations. During the discussions between the Fawcett Committee, the Mediation Rules were framed and accepted by the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee. The union gave a trial to these rules in one of the disputes referred to above, and it found that during the very first stage the joint meeting had to be held no less than ten times over the dismissal of one worker. By mutual agreement the dispute was referred to a sub-committee of the Millowners' Association and the Union Committee, instead of going through the other two stages of the rules. The result was that the worker was sacked on 4th June, the joint meetings commenced on 1st July and continued to the end of the month, further negotiations took a month, and the strike was declared only on 18th September. It can easily be realized what the fate of such a strike can possibly be. If the mediation rules are to be used for the purpose of marking time, creating divisions in the trade union rank and file and damping the resentment of the workers over unjust actions of the employers, then clearly the union has no use for such mediation machinery; it prefers to go without it. In the light of the experience gained in the dispute referred to above, the union now insists upon a radical change in the mediation rules. It wants a deletion of the second part of the negotiation machinery in which the dispute has got to go before a joint meeting of the representatives from the mediation panels on either side. This second stage is absolutely unnecessary and seems to have been devised simply to prolong the negotiations. It also insists that a time limit should be laid down for the completion of the negotiations under the mediation rules. The union suggests that a maximum period of a week should be fixed subject to it being increased with the consent of both the parties.

The mediation rules are applicable only to the trade disputes, but there is no joint machinery which deals with the workers' grievances, all of which may not develop into serious trade disputes. Speaking before the Fawcett Committee, Mr. Bakhale had suggested, on behalf of the Joint Strike Committee, that joint committees should be set up in each mill to deal with the day-to-day grievances so as to check the growth of discontent among the workers. The representatives of the Millowners' Association vehemently opposed the proposal. The Fawcett Committee refrained from expressing an opinion on it on the ground that it did not come within their terms of reference.

Results of Non-co-operation.—So far as the union is aware no attempts have been made to secure the co-operation of labour in the attempts to increase its efficiency. Schemes were prepared, the jobbers were informed and the schemes were brought into operation. Such is the method generally employed in Bombay mills. Irritation and discontent are the results of such non-co-operation.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.—

123. The statistical information about the several strikes in the textile industry, their causes, methods of settlement, and loss to the industry and workers, may be available to the Commission from the Memorandum of the Bombay Government and Labour Office. The union desires to point out here that a good many strikes could have been avoided if only the attitude of the millowners had been a little sympathetic and if they had taken the necessary precaution to deal with the workers' grievances before allowing them and the resulting discontent to accumulate. It is painful to record that no heed is taken of the workers' difficulties and grievances and the blame for the strikes is generally laid at their door. The employers' attitude is mostly responsible for the strike mentality of the operatives. They by their indifference and disregard for their workers create that mentality in the latter, and they must, therefore, face the consequences.

125. The union is opposed to those sections in the Trade Disputes Act which have put additional restrictions on the workers working in public utility services. Those sections should either be repealed or, in the alternative, if retained, special privileges should be conferred on those on whom they are imposed.

126. The Government are themselves a great employer of labour and their attitude towards it and labour legislation cannot be sufficiently sympathetic. The union fully recognizes that during the last few years they passed some labour legislation for which they deserve credit. But it feels that they should have done more. There are a number of Geneva conventions and recommendations which the Government of India have either not carried out or postponed. There are certain departments of Government such as postal department, which have shown greater sympathy towards labour unions than some other departments, such as railways. There are railway unions in India which, though registered, have been declined recognition. The late agent of the G.I.P. Railway had, it is understood, refused to see Mr. N. M. Joshi in connection with a dispute. Enormous delay, which has driven men to desperation, in dealing with labour matters is indicative of the mentality of Government. Circumstances and pressure of public opinion may have compelled them to show greater sympathy towards labour; but the mentality has not yet undergone a full change.

During industrial disputes, the attitude of Government officers is many times hostile towards labour. The Union can cite a few instances in support of this statement. In 1928 Mr. Joshi had gone to the Madras Presidency to try to settle the S. I. Railway strike. While he was going from place to place to see the situation for himself with a view to sound the strikers' opinions and arrive at some settlement, a magistrate served him, Mr. Giri and one or two others with a notice restraining them from making speeches and ordering them to leave the district immediately! In the 1928 textile workers' strike at Sholapur where this Union has a branch, the police unnecessarily interfered with peaceful picketing to which the strikers are entitled to resort, and made it almost impossible. Prosecutions were launched against some volunteers and a large number of them were fined. It was also stated that in the conduct of these cases, the magistrate was reported to have remarked that he would like to see what resources the Union had for the payment of fines for cases already decided and for cases that might come up later on. It could be gathered from this remark that the magistracy and the police at Sholapur wanted not only to stop peaceful picketing, but also to break the financial backbone of the Union itself! In a courteous letter to the Collector of Sholapur, Mr. Joshi brought this matter to his notice and requested him to stop the illegitimate interference of the police and allow the strikers to picket in a peaceful manner. The Collector in a curt reply informed Mr. Joshi that "I regret I cannot discuss the Sholapur Mill strike with the Bombay Textile Labour Union, Bombay, or its President who have no title to be heard in Sholapur affairs." Mr. Joshi again sent another letter but no reply was received. The *Labour Gazette*, the official publication of the Bombay Government, gives periodically a list of the trade unions in the Presidency; and in that list the Sholapur Union was first shown to be a branch of this union. Subsequently when that strike took a more serious turn the Labour Office omitted to mention the Sholapur Union as a branch of this union; it was shown as if it was an independent union. Why this was done can be easily inferred. After Mr. Joshi's protests, the Sholapur Union was again shown as a branch of this union. Again, the union declared a strike at the Kurla Swadeshi Mills in September last. The union men, including the general and assistant secretaries of the union, were picketing the mill

gates in a perfectly peaceful manner. The mill officials whose number was larger than that of the union, were also counter-picketing. The sub-inspector of police and the constables were on the spot. If they had confined themselves to their duty of maintaining law and order, no objection could have been taken. But the sub-inspector and a few constables warned the union pickets not to stand on a public road (but they had allowed the mills' officials to do the same) and to withdraw; they asked some workers to go inside the mills; the sub-inspector asked the union pickets not to shout "Comrades, don't go to work," but he said not a word to the mill officials who were goading the men in; and a few constables warned some men inside the tea shops which were opposite the mills not to wait there but to go to the mills. The police were clearly helping the mill authorities and putting every obstacle in the way of the union. On the 22nd September, the union made a complaint to the District Superintendent of Police, Bandra, and copies of the letter were sent to the General and Home Departments of the Bombay Government. The General Department directed the union to the Home Department, which merely acknowledged the complaint and did nothing more. The District Superintendent of Police never cared to send a reply. Such instances are enough to create a suspicion in the mind of the workers about the *bona fides* of Government, and there should be no surprise if they feel that Government side more with employers than with labour.

XVI.—Master and Servant.

130. The union is of opinion that the Madras Planters' Act, which is more or less on the lines of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, should be repealed.

XVII.—Administration.

133. The attitude of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, like that of the Central and Provincial Governments, is not sufficiently sympathetic. A majority in these legislatures consist of capitalists, pro-capitalists, or of men with capitalist inclinations, and it is not expected that they would show adequate sympathies with labour. A fairly large element of nominated officials in these bodies add to the difficulties of labour getting a square deal. The representation of labour on the legislatures, which is only by nomination, is so poor as to be almost ineffective. A scheme of Labour Representation on the Central and Provincial Legislatures (copies of which are enclosed to this memorandum),* a part of which was adopted by the All Indian Trade Union Congress some four years ago, will show the comparative strength of labour and capital on these bodies. Such being their constitution, labour legislation has not advanced as rapidly as it should and in some cases anti-labour legislation has been put on the statute book. Mr. Joshi's Maternity Benefit Bill was defeated; Mr. Chaman Lall had to withdraw his Weekly Payments Bill; the provisions in respect of the public utility services in the Trades Disputes Act were passed; the Intimidation and *Goonda* Bills were passed in the Bombay Council; in the same legislature a Bill to lower the municipal franchise from Rs. 10 to Rs. 5 or Rs. 3 was defeated; and some of the important Geneva Conventions were either not passed or shelved. This record is enough to indicate the attitude of the present legislatures towards labour.

135. The union is of the considered opinion that labour legislation should be a central subject so that it would be common to the whole of India. If provincial governments are empowered to enact labour legislation, it may have a serious effect on labour conditions in India. Uniformity of labour legislation, which is very essential in a country like India, will be disturbed and some provinces may be placed at a disadvantage over others. In special conditions which may be peculiar to a particular province, a provincial government may be allowed to have legislation of its own, subject always to the sanction of the Central Government. But in matters such as hours, workmen's compensation, wage-fixing machinery, social insurance and the like, the union is clear that there must be all-India legislation.

137. As compared with British India, the India States are very backward in labour legislation. Many States have not got the Factories Act, and in some where it exists, its administration is reported to be slack. There is thus a natural tendency on the part of the capitalists to remove their factories to the Indian States where there are fewer restrictions, if any, on hours, wages, employment of women and children, compensation for accidents, and where labour is comparatively cheap. It is very essential that the Indian States should be brought in line with British India in respect of labour legislation, so as to equalize, as far as possible, labour conditions and remove whatever exploitation exists in the Indian States.

XVIII.—Intelligence.

143. The labour statistics in India are very inadequate and, where they exist, are not always accurate. The union is of opinion that some machinery should be devised to compile adequate and reliable industrial statistics.

* Not printed.

THE MATERNITY CONDITIONS OF WOMEN MILLWORKERS, BY
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There is little real information in India about the maternity conditions of women millworkers. It is generally believed they are bad and that special action is needed, but unless we get more definite knowledge of the effect of maternity on women workers, there is danger that the remedies may prove wide of the mark, and unsuited to the needs of the women.

Amelioration of the conditions of women millworkers is not of importance for sentimental reasons only. One of the difficulties connected with labour in India is the shifting nature of the industrial population. Men come from their villages leaving their wives behind, and as soon as they have saved a little money they are eager to go back to enjoy the amenities of home life. They are the more ready to strike because they have a village home to return to. When the worker brings his wife to the city and perhaps his children too, his work and its steady continuance becomes of much greater importance to him. If his wife also works in the mill, he has a larger stake in its prosperity. Hence thought and organization regarding the employment of women will do much, not only to improve their own work, but to render the employment of men more dependable and stable.

The special disability under which women suffer with regard to work is maternity. How is that affected by work? Is the mother adversely affected, and is the child adversely affected? And if so, can anything be done to remedy matters without shutting the woman off from a source of livelihood which is well within her powers at ordinary times?

Interest in this question was roused in India after the first International Labour Conference held in Washington in 1919, (1) where articles were passed in the Draft Convention providing for the safeguarding of maternity among women workers. It was required that each expectant mother should have six weeks' rest before and six weeks' rest after confinement, and that she should be paid benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child. At this Conference the special circumstances of India were recognized and it was not expected that she should adopt these articles at once. But she was asked to look specially into the matter and find out what could be done to put the maternity conditions of women workers on a proper footing. The Government of India thereafter addressed local governments asking how far it would be possible to introduce maternity benefits or at least to carry out an enquiry as to the need of them. The replies from local governments were not encouraging. The situation was the same then as now. The local governments did not wish to undertake the expense either of an industrial maternity scheme or of an enquiry. The employers of labour were in the same position, while it was felt that the workers were at once too poorly paid, and too ignorant regarding their own welfare, to be willing to contribute the small sum necessary for an insurance scheme. In the year 1921, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Industries and Labour, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, called a meeting at Simla of various persons, representing chiefly medical and social organizations to discuss the question and to ask for suggestions. As a result of that meeting an offer was made by the Countess of Dufferin's Fund to give the services of two medical women for an enquiry on the maternity conditions of women industrial workers in two different parts of India. This offer was accepted by the Government of India and by the two local governments concerned, Bengal and Bombay, and in the year 1921-22, enquiries were carried out in Bengal by Dr. Dagmar Curjel and in Bombay City by Dr. Florence Barnes.

These medical women were lent from the Women's Medical Service for one year only. The object was "to determine the influence which industrial work might exert on the Indian woman worker especially during the childbearing age and on the well-being of her child". (2) The enquiry in Bengal included the jute, cotton, tea and coal industries, and in Bombay the cotton industry.

Both reports (2) and (3) give a great deal of valuable information as to the conditions under which women work in India and as to their domestic and social relations. They make it plain that childbirth is looked upon as something quite outside the province of the employers. Medical relief for ordinary ailment may be provided by means of mill doctors and mill dispensaries, but no arrangements are made for childbirth. An expectant mother disappears when her time is near and reappears when she wishes. She may, or may not, be taken on again. The factory has no information to give regarding her confinement, her child, or the frequency of her pregnancies. Hence these medical women's reports could only give general

information such as the facts that many women were confined in their own chawls by dais, while others returned to their village homes for the occasion. They had no time, nor had they any opportunity to follow the women through their confinements and to note the immediate results to mother and child.

Following the issue of these reports and in consequence of them, welfare centres were started in certain mills in Bengal, while in Bombay a medical woman was appointed with the status of factory inspector with the special task of organizing welfare work among women. There are now creches in connection with thirteen mills, while maternity benefits have been given for some years by two groups of mills in Bombay City.

In the year 1925, having received a grant from the Indian Research Fund Association, Simla, for the investigation of the causes of maternal mortality in childbirth in India, we began work in Bombay and included the maternity conditions of millworkers with those of other classes. Our intention in doing so was to supply what we felt was a lack in the earlier reports, and to collect evidence as to the actual effect of work on pregnancy as it occurs in women living under the conditions of the Bombay millworkers. For this purpose it was necessary to keep records of the deliveries of a number of women workers, of a control series which was best found in women of the millworking community living under the same social conditions, but not employed in the mills, and a second series of controls, women of a rather better social position delivered in other hospitals in Bombay.

The facilities for such an investigation, which did not exist before, had been provided by the opening in 1923, by Sir Ness Wadia, of a maternity home in the mill area, specially intended for mill workers. In 1927, this home was moved to the fine new building of the Nowrasjee Wadia Hospital at Parel, built and partly endowed by Sir Ness Wadia and his brother Mr. C. N. Wadia. By the kind permission of Dr. M. V. Mehta, the principal medical officer, we have been permitted to attend the hospital and note the condition of the mill workers confined there. The numbers of the mill-working class who attend hospital are even now small, as they still prefer delivery in their chawls or villages, and for this reason we have kept the enquiry open until May, 1929, during which time we investigated 571 cases of labour among women of the mill-working class. Of these 283 were women actually working in the mills, whom we shall refer to hereafter as Class A, and 287 were the wives of male mill workers living under the same social conditions as the first, but not employed in the mills, whom we shall hereafter refer to as Class B.

With the kind permission of the Millowners Association and of the managers concerned, we visited a number of mills and saw the conditions under which the women worked. We were accompanied by Dr. T. J. Cama, who, as already stated, holds a special post as Factory Inspector under the Government of Bombay, and who showed us several of the mill creches and of the dispensaries officered by medical women (4 in number). She also took us to see several of the most insanitary chawls available, for which we were duly grateful.

During the same period we have been watching the maternity conditions of women of other classes in the city, especially in the Cama and Allibless hospital, to the successive superintendents of which we are grateful for the facilities so kindly given. In many cases we watched the after progress of our patients by visiting them in their homes, either chawls or better class houses, and so gained much knowledge of the conditions under which the different communities live. We have also carried out some observations on the diet of the people.

Before entering on the special question of maternity conditions it would be well to make some remarks on the habits and ways of living of the women of the mill-working class.

(1) The *housing* is poor. The people live in chawls or large tenement houses, which are usually built with a long central passage, from which rooms, about 12 feet by 15 feet in area, open on each side. The room may be occupied by one family, or, in order to save money on the rent, several families may share it. A case is described by Barnes (3) where 36 persons inhabited a room 12 feet by 15 feet. This is an extreme instance of overcrowding, but it is common to find six or ten people inhabiting such a room, in which the women will also have their deliveries. The rooms usually have a window opening on the street, but the only other air space, the door, opens into the passage, not into the outer air. The one window may not open directly to the air, but into a verandah where the family cooking is done, so that the air which enters is contaminated with smoke. The window may be blocked by neighbouring buildings, so making the room close and dark. The housing question is improving, and many new chawls are being built in the open areas to the north of the city. These are not yet fully occupied, but as they become more popular they should do good, especially if overcrowding within them can be prevented.

(2) *Sanitation* is water-borne, and there is a good drinking supply. In the newer chawls there is a tap in each passage and a room for bathing. Each chawl has a superintendent responsible to the owner for general order and cleanliness. In spite

of this most chawls are dirty, the passages littered with rubbish and swarming with unwashed children. The rooms are often dirty and disorderly, but here and there in the midst of disorderly neighbours a clean and tidy room is found.

(3) *Disease*.—Hookworm is rare owing to the water sanitation. Malaria is common, on account of carelessness in leaving water vessels and even cisterns uncovered and allowing pools to collect near the water taps. Dysentery and diarrhoea are common, especially in the autumn and winter. We did not hear much of gynaecological disease, and the women doctors in the special dispensaries said they got few such cases.

(4) *Wages*.—In 1923 the average monthly wage of men employed in Bombay cotton mills was Rs. 35–10 annas 7 pias, and of women Rs. 17–5 annas. The wages of course vary with the kind of work done. Many of the women of Class B, when questioned, gave their husband's wages as low as Rs. 20, Rs. 25 or Rs. 27 per month. Of 132 women questioned the husband's wages were below Rs. 40 p.m., in 75 cases, and above Rs. 40 p.m. in 57 cases. The majority of the women workers were doing piece-work; 151 were asked regarding their wages. In 38 cases the wages were under Rs. 20 p.m., in 107 cases between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30 p.m., and in 6 cases over Rs. 30. In 20 cases the wages of both husband and wife were asked and the joint average was Rs. 54 p.m.

(5) *Food*.—The results of an enquiry into the budgets of the working classes, carried out by the Bombay Labour Office was published in 1923. The following shows the constituents of the diet of a working-class woman, calculated from the figures given in that report, and compares it with the minimum of what is supposed to be required for a healthy woman not doing heavy work:—

	Protein in grms.	Fat in grms.	Carbo hydrates in grms.	Calories per oz.
Healthy woman ..	72	64	288	2,016
Mill worker ..	35·28	10·03	369·10	1,708

It will be noticed there is a great deficiency of protein and fat, and that the calories are nearly made up by an excess of carbo hydrates. It must be remembered the enquiry was made on what is called the extensive system, that is, the families were visited once, and the amount of foodstuffs ordered each month ascertained. This was divided by the days of the month and the members of the family, Lusk's co-efficients being used to determine the amount for each person. Such articles as green vegetables and fresh fish which are bought in varying quantities daily were left out. Had these been entered they would have somewhat improved the diet shown. But the enquiries we made personally from the women confirmed the fact that their diet is very lacking in proteins and fats. Milk is taken not at all, or in such small quantity (in tea) as to be negligible. Ghee is not used, because it is more expensive than vegetable oil. Meat is too expensive for general use and is taken perhaps once a fortnight. Fruit is a very rare luxury, except at certain seasons as when mangoes are ripe. The staple diet of the "Konknis" (who form a large part of the mill-working population) is polished rice. The staple diet of the Bhatnis (also largely represented) is juari and bajra grains. With this is taken by the Konknis a little fish or the cheaper vegetables, chiefly potatoes, onions and spinach. The Bhatnis do not eat fish. Dal or gram is taken in small quantity. When times are bad, the women at least, will make their meal on rice or a piece of bajra bread and a little chutni. In all this question of diet the tendency of the mother of the family to give to her husband and children and do without herself (even if she knows she is with child) must be remembered. The diet is not only very deficient in proteins and fats but also in vitamins. Milk, ghee and eggs are the chief vehicles by which vitamin A enters the body. Some is contained in bajra and juari, therefore those who feed on these grains are better off than those whose staple food is rice. Dals and grams are good, but they are taken in very small quantity. Dal as cooked by these women is like soup, as cooked by peasants in the north of India it is like porridge. Spinach is excellent and contains a good supply of vitamins A, B and C, but it is less filling to the stomach and probably less popular than potatoes, which contain far less vitamin. In fact, the vitamins are chiefly contained in the more expensive foods and these are impossible for mill-workers at the present rate of wages. The labour office reports show that about half the family income is spent on food. If the wage is Rs. 30, this allows Rs. 15 p.m. for food. The average family is just under four persons. This gives 2 annas per day per head for food, which might make it possible to fill the stomach with edible substances, but not to pay any attention to such necessaries as vitamins and the proper balancing of the dietary constituents.

6. *Habits and Work*.—Women of the industrial classes do not observe purdah. The women of Class B rise early, as the men have to be at the mill by 7 a.m. They cook the food, then clean the cooking and eating vessels, do the family marketing and the family washing. Many carry their husband's dinner to the mill daily.

Many take in boarders from among the single men working, and cook their food and carry it to the mill. They have, of course, no servants, so they are forced into the open air each day and have fairly active lives.

Women of Class A work in the mills from 8 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. (sometimes longer) with an hour's interval at mid-day for food. They have the advantage of a walk to and from the mill and sometimes a second walk at mid-day if they come home for their food. They spend their days in the big factory rooms, which are on the whole clean, light and airy, at least as compared with most of the chawls. The joint income earned by themselves and their husbands should make better living possible, and in some cases no doubt it does so, but the tendency of the men to gamble and drink too often leaves the family with nothing but the mother's wages for support. It is generally agreed that the women themselves never drink.

The women are employed chiefly in the winding and reeling departments. This is not heavy work. It entails standing before a frame, watching the yarn wind and removing and replacing it when finished. The attention must remain fixed on the bobbin throughout, as broken threads unnoticed spoil the yarn when it comes to weaving.

In some cases there is a mother-in-law or other female relative living with the family who does the home cooking and housekeeping. In other cases the woman herself has to do it. This entails getting up at 5 or 5.30 a.m. to kindle the fire and cook the mid-day meal. At the mid-day interval she may come home to serve the food to husband and children. When work is finished in the evening she does her marketing and goes home to cook the evening meal. After it is eaten she has to do the cleaning up and various odd jobs about the house. Some women said they got up at 5.30 a.m. and did not get to bed till 10.30 p.m., working all the time. If there is a young baby and no one to leave it with, save perhaps a little sister or a neighbour, it can be imagined how this must add to the woman's tasks and anxieties, and one cannot wonder that, not realizing the danger, she is so liable to dose it with opium. Out of 83 mills in Bombay City only 13 have creches attached.

7. *Age and Caste.*—Of the mothers of Class A, 11 per cent. were below 20 years, 62 per cent. between 20 and 30 years, and 25 per cent. over 30 years. Only 2 were 15 or younger, the youngest being 14. Of the mothers of Class B, 20 per cent. were below 20 years, 59 per cent. between 20 and 30 years, and 20 per cent. over 30 years; 4 were 15 or younger, the youngest being 14. In fact there were fewer very young mothers in Class A.

The great majority were Hindus, in Class A all, except for 3 Christians and 3 Mahomedans, and in Class B all except 7 Christians and 12 Mahomedans. This does not probably show the real proportions of these communities among the industrial classes, for Mahomedan women have a great objection to attending hospitals staffed by men (as is the case in the Nowrasjee Wadia Hospital), and as a matter of fact they went in small numbers to the Cama Hospital (staffed by women) and were not included in these figures.

We now come to this important question: *Is the effect of the work done in the mills injurious to the expectant mother and her unborn child?*

TABLE I.—Labour Cases among Industrial Mothers.

Period.	Class A.				Class B.			
	Number of cases.	Still and premature birth-rate per 1,000 live births.	Maternal complications per 1,000 live births.	Average infant birth weight (full-time).	Number of cases.	Still and premature birth-rate per 1,000 live births.	Maternal complications per 1,000 live births.	Average infant birth weight (full-time).
1925-1927 ..	75	300	14.6	5.14		No re	turn.	
1927-1928 ..	99	320	8.0	5.60	100	149	3.0	5.88
1928-1929 ..	112	217	3.5	5.66	185	241	9.7	5.71

Table I shows (1) the still and premature birth-rate, (2) the rate of maternal complications during pregnancy and labour, (3) the average infant birth weight in Classes A and B during the periods October, 1925, to April, 1927, May, 1927, to April, 1928, and May, 1928, to April, 1929. These periods are shown separately because the records for Class B were only begun in 1927, hence the earlier figures, though worth showing, cannot be compared in the two classes. The year 1927-28

was an ordinary typical year in the mill industry ; 1928-29 was the year of the strike, when the cotton mills were closed for six months. The comparison of the two classes in these two years, therefore, offers evidence as to the effect of work on pregnancy.

In this table the still and premature birth-rate has been entered together for the sake of simplicity. Few premature babies survive in the millworking class, and it is not of importance to our present subject if death takes place before or shortly after birth.

In the year 1927-28 the still and premature rate of Class A was more than double that of Class B. In the following year (of the strike) it fell by one-third, although that of Class B was higher. There was no marked variation in the still and premature birth-rate in the Cama Hospital (non-industrial class) during the two years.

Enquiry was made from the women as to the length of time they continued their work during pregnancy. Up to the time the strike began 119 women had been so questioned. Of these 57 had ceased work before the completion of the seventh month of pregnancy and 62 had continued work beyond seven months. (The figures very closely correspond with those obtained by the Bombay Labour Office when this point was investigated in 1924 (6)). Those who ceased before seven months had a still and premature rate of 115 per 1,000, as compared with 194 per 1,000 for those who continued work beyond seven months. The questioning was resumed six weeks after the strike had ended. It was found that whereas the proportion leaving off work before the seventh month was formerly 47 per cent., it was now only 26 per cent. The 74 per cent. who continued to work after seven months had now a still and premature birth-rate of only 81 per 1,000, as compared with 194 per 1,000 before the strike. It looked as if the women were stronger after the prolonged rest and more able to carry on till near the end of pregnancy without ill effects to the child.

Infant birth weight.—There was not much difference in this in the two classes but what difference there was, was unfavourable to Class A. Only full-time babies were taken. The most marked difference was, that few really fine babies were found in Class A. The average weight of a full-time Indian baby is considered a little over 6 lbs. Among the non-industrial classes 26 per cent. of the babies observed weighed over 7 lbs. In Class B 16 per cent. and in Class A only 8 per cent. weighed over 7 lbs. During the 6 months following the end of the strike this was nearly reversed. Seventeen per cent. of the babies of Class A weighed over 7 lbs. and only 11 per cent. of those of Class B. The average birth weight of the pre-strike babies whose mothers ceased work before 7 months was 5.60 lbs. as compared with 5.31 lbs. for those whose mothers continued work after 7 months. The average birth weight of all the babies of Class A in the 6 months following the strike was 5.71 lbs.

Maternal complications.—This does not include general diseases such as malaria or diarrhoea, but complications of troubles specially connected with pregnancy or labour. The table shows that there were fewer of these in Class A during the year of the strike. The complications included few cases of toxæmia or of anaemia—which are the causes of greatest danger in childbirth in India. Only one death occurred in the two classes—due to eclampsia and in a woman of Class A. This represents a very low rate of maternal mortality as will be emphasised later. The number of women giving birth to the first child was almost the same in the 2 classes—87 in Class A and 94 in Class B.

The above facts seem to indicate that the effect of the work is injurious, not so much to the mother, but to the unborn child. They gather weight from the fact that the women of Class A are under better conditions financially and hygienically than those of Class B, and yet there are worse results for the child. The work is not heavy and the woman appear to be treated with all consideration by their employers. But they have to stand all the time they are at work and have to keep their minds fixed in one direction for hours. The woman who is doing her own housework may at times have heavier work, but she can sit down and rest when she is tired and can arrange the order of her work to suit her convenience. In the mills she is paid by the piece so any resting means loss of wage. It was one of the marked features of this enquiry that so many women stated they had ceased work before full-time because they felt so exhausted, and this is the more noticeable because it meant losing nearly half the family income at the very time when it was most needed.

It appears however, that the women who do housework as well as mill work suffer most. Ninety-three women were asked consecutively if they were obliged to do their own housework or not. Fifty-nine replied that they had to do so and 34 replied that they had not, or at least that they had help with it. Among those who did the housework the incidence of still and premature birth was 312 per 1,000 and among those who did not it was only 125 per 1,000.

Of course very much depends on the individual. S, aged 35, worked as a winder until a day or two of delivery. Her hours were 8 to 5.30 and she did the cooking for herself, her husband and son. She was well and cheerful, had a healthy baby of 6½ lbs. and made a good recovery.

M, aged 32, worked as a winder and also did sweeping work. Her hours were 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and she did cooking, etc., for herself and her husband after hours. She felt very weak during her pregnancy and left off work at 6 months. The baby was stillborn and she felt too weak to return to her work.

It is probable that a strong healthy woman can carry on without injury. But the women of Class A and B have a very small reserve of strength, partly, no doubt, owing to their poor diet.

How did the strike of 1928 affect the maternity conditions of the women of the mill-working class?—This question has already been answered as far as Class A is concerned.

The strike began in the last week of April and ended in the first week of November. Wages were paid for most of April, therefore it was probably not till June that the full inconvenience was felt. Many of the people went to their villages and returned when the strike was over, but probably these too felt the pinch of want. Many remained in Bombay and lived as they could. Interrogated, some said their husbands got other work, but mostly in the nature of temporary jobs. Some sold their bits of furniture and cooking utensils and lived on the proceeds. Some got credit for foodstuffs from the shopkeepers which they had to repay after the strike was over. Some had relatives who helped. Some got a meal a day from charitable funds. One woman had a blind stepson, who went out and begged and brought home 12 annas to Re. 1 per day. She said "we managed on this, but with difficulty." That was the general trend of reply "we got through, but with difficulty. We were sometimes hungry." And it may be taken for granted that it was the mother of the family who suffered most. While there was anything, the husband and children got it, and in addition to the scanty feeding she had the strain of constant anxiety.

See Table I and note that the incidence of still and premature birth in Class B was much higher the year of the strike than in the former year. This was not due to any cause connected with season or epidemics, because in the Cama Hospital (non-industrial class) the incidence was practically the same both years, and in Class A it was much lower than in 1927-28.

The number of complications of pregnancy and labour in Class B were higher in the strike year than in the preceding year.

It thus appears that the strike affected the women of Classes A and B differently. All suffered equally from anxiety and scanty nutrition, which caused in Class B more trouble in pregnancy and labour, and less vitality in the infant. But in Class A the unfavourable conditions were more than nullified by the relief from excessive fatigue.

An enquiry carried out in England under the Medical Research Council (6) concludes that the infant birth weight is not affected by the nutrition of the mother during pregnancy; that the infant has the power of taking what it needs from the mother before birth and if her nutrition is low she suffers, not the child. These observations, however, were made in England on collections of individuals recently married, and whose scanty incomes presumably dated from that period. They no doubt had a reserve of strength. The millworkers had been living for many years in poverty and on a scanty and insufficient diet. The loss of pay was sudden and absolute. They had no reserve of strength to fall back on and the cutting down of the already scanty supply of nutrition meant that the foetus could no longer take what it needed for it was no longer there.

Do the maternity conditions of the mill-working classes differ from those of other classes in Bombay?

TABLE II.
Labour cases seen in Bombay Hospitals (1925-27).

Community.	Osteomalacia.		Eclampsia.		Anaemia.		Still-birth.	Average infant birth weight.
	No.	Rate per 1,000	No.	Rate per 1,000	No.	Rate per 1,000	Rate per 1,000 live births.	Full-time.
Hindu—2,066 cases ..	6	2.9	8	3.8	83	40.1	108	6.1 lbs.
Mahomedan—842 cases ..	32	38	14	16.6	79	93.8	154	6.3 lbs.
Christian—801 cases ..	nil.	nil.	3	3.7	39	48.6	78	6.4 lbs.
Millworkers—571 cases (1925-1929)	1	1.7	1	1.7	6	10.5	115	5.65 lbs.

The women shown under the headings Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian vary in the social scale from the servant and coolie class to the shopkeeper, clerk and even professional class. Some are in very poor circumstances, as much so as the millworker. Others are comparatively well to do. But even those who are well off do not always live hygienically and all are dependent on the foodstuffs sold in the bazaar, some of which are doubtful as regards nutritive value and vitamin content.

Osteomalacia, eclampsia and anaemia are the causes which lead to the greater number of the deaths in child birth in India. The small incidence of these among the millworking class is striking and no doubt accounts for the low maternal deathrate, 1·7 per 1,000 births; the maternal deathrate in the Cama hospital during 1928 was 16 per 1,000 births. It must be remembered that these classes which we are comparing are all hospital cases, so the comparison is a *fair* one.

When we turn to the foetus it is a different story. The still-birth rate is higher in the industrial class than in any other except the Mahomedan. If we divide the industrial class into A and B we find the still-birth rate for Class A is 156 per 1,000 for the whole period of 3½ years, and for Class B 108 per 1,000. That is Class B approximates to the ordinary hospital rate in Hindus, while Class A approximates to the ordinary hospital rate among Mahomedans. These two classes, Mahomedans and millworkers so far as habits and customs go, stand at the very opposite poles of Indian womanhood. The Mahomedan woman usually lives in purdah. This is not observed so strictly in Bombay as in other parts of India, but it is strict enough to ensure that women of the childbearing age seldom leave the house and then are enveloped in burkas; such a woman lives, perhaps 1 in a single room with her husband, or perhaps there are 3 or 4 rooms, shared by her husband's parents and brothers and their families. The rooms are often small and airless and sometimes quite devoid of sun or may get the sun for a short period in the day only. The cooking and house work which in a joint family is shared by the women does not give much scope for exercise. The husband or some elderly woman does the outside catering. The diet includes more meat than that of meat eating Hindus and is cooked with ghee. Hence the diet contains more protein and fat than is the case with most Hindus and especially millworkers. In pregnancy, above all conditions, it is important that metabolism should be active and the excretory channels open. But the close confined life of Mahomedan women, the comparatively rich diet and the lack of exercise favours a sluggish metabolism, hence the tendency to toxæmia is greater in the Mahomedan community. The lack of sunlight favours the onset of osteomalacia, which, as well as anaemia, is more common than in the other communities.

Class A millworker, on the other hand, leads a very active life, has plenty of open air and sunlight and no excess of food. Still-birth is highest in these two communities, but for different reasons. In Mahomedans, owing to toxæmia of the mother, or severe anaemia, or osteomalacia causing difficulty in delivery. In the millworker Class A it is not due to these causes, but to fatigue, acting on a maternal organism exhausted by excessive work and poor diet. The infant birth weight is higher in Mahomedans.

An endeavour was made to contrast infant and child mortality in the industrial and non-industrial classes by asking each woman the number of her past confinements and the number of her surviving children. 500 consecutive women delivered in the Cama Hospital were so questioned and their replies were compared with those received from the 571 women of the industrial class delivered in the Nowrasjee Wadia's Hospital. 62 per cent. of the non-industrial children survived as compared with 43 per cent. of the industrial children.*

How can the conditions of Women Millworkers be remedied in order to produce better conditions for the Child?—In considering this question we should try and dissociate our minds as far as possible from the conclusions already reached in Europe on this question. Conditions in Europe and India are very different. Women workers in India have special difficulties to contend with which should not be forgotten in endeavours made to ameliorate their circumstances.

1. There is greater poverty and a diet lacking in nutritive power. Hence the people have little reserve of strength. Many of the women workers begin to feel exhausted before pregnancy is far advanced, and give up work on this account, at the 5th, 6th or 7th month. If the maternity benefit is given on condition that the woman remains at work until the end of the 8th month, many will continue working when physically unable and the result will be worse than before.

* The facts given in the preceding pages must not necessarily be taken as giving an exact picture of the maternity conditions of women millworkers generally, for it is possible the more serious cases gravitate to hospital. But as all the three classes dealt with are equally hospital cases the comparison is fair and the conclusions, so far as they go, are correct. We believe that a larger investigation, including other places besides Bombay, is needed.

2. The principles of maternity and child welfare are not understood among the people. Fathers do not realise their responsibility to the unborn child, nor perhaps does the mother herself. Hence if two months salary were given to her, it would too often be used for the benefit of the family and especially of the husband. Even in England this is sometimes the case. How much more likely to be so in India, where the mother not only occupies a lower position in the household, but has not the knowledge which would enable her to spend a maternity benefit wisely.

The following are suggestions as to how employers could mitigate the conditions of expectant mothers :—

(1) By providing light work during the later months of pregnancy, which the woman could do without standing.

(2) By providing one free meal a day to expectant mothers during the last two months.

(3) By having a simple maternity home attached to the mill premises. Each mill should have a creche for receiving young children while their mothers are at work. Even now creches are attached to 13 of the Bombay mills. It would cost little to have one or two airy rooms attached to the creche and either keep a midwife to attend to the women or allow their own dai to come and attend them. As compared with confinement in the chawis they would have space, fresh air, good food and rest from home duties ; as compared with hospital, it would at least be adequate for normal labour and would probably be taken better advantage of than the hospitals, where comparatively few millworkers go for delivery.

(4) As regards maternity benefits, these would be probably best given in kind, as indicated above—free meals, accommodation for confinement, food during the period of confinement, and a money present when returning home, sufficient to allow the mother a month's rest after delivery.

But if a maternity benefit of 2 or 3 months' wages is to be given, let it not be dependent on the woman remaining at work until the end of the 8th month and returning one month after delivery. If she has worked in the mill a full year, why should the benefit not be given her at any time of her pregnancy when she wishes to leave off work and without securing any promise for the resumption of work ? It would thus be in the nature of a bonus for work done. Half would be given when she left off work and half when the child was born. If she is required to remain until the end of the 8th month, harm will ensue in many cases, while the condition that she must resume work a month after delivery will assuredly mean neglect of the baby unless she has a female relation at home to take charge of it or unless there is a mill creche.

The benefit, in whatever shape, should be strictly dependent on the mother having a full examination by a woman doctor, not only in order that her pregnancy may be certified but in order that any danger or abnormality may be seen and provided for.

A bill has recently been passed by the Bombay legislature requiring that maternity benefits should be paid to all women millworkers at confinement, the benefit to consist of 2 months' wages, that is leave on full pay for a month before and a month after confinement. While welcoming the action, one cannot help regretting the form in which the benefit is given for the reasons already declared. It is not impossible, even yet, to modify the proposals of the bill by allowing the women who have completed a year's service to avail themselves of the benefit at any time during pregnancy and without any compulsion to return.

During the debate in the council it was stated the benefit per head would be Rs. 21. There are about 30,000 women millworkers in Bombay, of whom it is estimated about 10 per cent. bear children annually (3). Thus the amount to be given by the mill industry towards the benefits (if all women eligible come forward, which is unlikely) would be about Rs. 60,000 annually. A proportion of this sum would be sufficient to finance a large enquiry on the lines given above and to obtain ample evidence as to the best method of giving maternity benefits in India. Surely such an enquiry would be a wise preliminary of any widespread scheme for maternity benefits.

In the course of our investigation we were impressed by the fact that improvement in the conditions of the male workers would in itself assist the maternity troubles of the woman. The lack of proper nourishment in pregnancy and the need for continuing work when physically unable is often due to the habits of the men, who spend their own wages on drink and gambling, so that the wife practically supports the household. The provision of cinemas or other amusements for Sundays and holidays, the starting of welfare organizations, propoganda to inculcate a sense of responsibility towards the wives and children would all be means to this end. Work of this kind is already being carried out by the Y.W.C.A. in Bombay, but our point

is that it should be done by the employer for the benefit of the worker. Grain shops in the mills would ensure the workers getting a good return for their money, and schools for the workers' children would be specially useful as inculcating on impressionable minds a sense of greater responsibility both in regard to work and social relations.

Dr. (Miss) M. I. BALFOUR, C.B.E., M.B., C.M.

IV.—Health.

31. *Maternity Benefits*.—During the past four years I have been engaged in research on the causes of maternal mortality in child-birth and have included observations on the maternity conditions of women millworkers.

The details of this enquiry are embodied in a paper entitled "The Maternity Conditions of Women Millworkers" written in July, last.

I recently visited the Sholapur spinning and weaving mills and found there was already a system of maternity benefits in force. The women, during the last month or two of pregnancy, were passed into the pre-maternity ward, where they were given light work and were not required to work longer each day than they felt able to. They were free to enter the maternity home for confinement, got free food for 10 days, and after discharge from the home, 3 weeks' half pay.

The statistics given in the report of the Maternity home show a much smaller still birth-rate than in Bombay and the children in the creches looked healthier than the children in similar institutions in Bombay. Of course there are reasons other than the system of maternity benefits, which might account for this.

This system of maternity benefits given during the past 8 years at the Sholapur mills automatically ceased when the new Maternity Benefits Act came into force in July last. Now, millowners are required to give a maternity benefit of 8 annas per day for 4 weeks before and 3 weeks after delivery, that is a sum of Rs. 24-8 annas.

It must be remembered that both men and women workers are illiterate and have no idea what is required in pregnancy to produce healthy children. The Act requires the benefit to be paid after delivery so it is not available for extra comforts in the critical last months of pregnancy. It may be paid to the husband, so the wife may never see it. I heard of one man who drew the benefit and was going to use it to pay off his marriage debt. In another case I asked a woman who had just received it what she would do with it and she promptly replied she would buy an ornament for the baby. It is very necessary that the Act should be amended to render it of real use to mothers and babies.

23. *General Health Conditions of Workers*.—(i) and (ii) No figures are available showing mortality, birthrate and infant mortality. It would not be impossible to get them in Bombay as births and deaths are registered by the municipality and the occupation of the dead person, or of the parent in case of a birth, is required.

I made an effort to contrast infant and child mortality in the industrial and non-industrial classes by ascertaining the number of past confinements and surviving children in 500 consecutive women (non-industrial) and 571 women (industrial). Of the first class 62 per cent. survived as compared with 43 per cent. of the latter class.

(iii) The conditions of employment in the cotton factories seemed good. The work, chiefly winding, was not heavy. It required the women to stand all day, and it is probably this which adversely affects them towards the end of pregnancy, their general physique being poor. It would probably not hurt women to work up to the end of pregnancy if they could have light work, sitting.

(iv) It is found that the workers spend about half their income on food. If the family income is Rs. 30 per mensem and there are four in the family, this means that only 2 annas per head per day is available. It is impossible to provide a well-balanced diet on this. Some live chiefly on rice with a little vegetable or gram, some have bread made from the cheaper grains with vegetable or *dal*. Meat is rarely taken, milk and *ghi* almost never, fruit rarely. The diet is hence very wanting in protein and fat and has an excess of carbohydrates. There is also a great lack of vitamins, especially A, C and D. If any arrangement could be made whereby pregnant women could be given a nutritious meal a day towards the end of pregnancy it would probably greatly improve their offspring.

24. *Medical Facilities.*—Most of the mills have dispensaries and mill doctors. A few also retain women doctors, who hold separate clinics for women workers. I believe the women do not go to these clinics for childbirth or for troubles in pregnancy. They would rather consult the ignorant *dai*. To my mind it would be a better plan if these general dispensaries under women doctors in the mill premises were given up and if all the mills combined to support 2 or 3 dispensaries in convenient places for diseases of pregnancy and labour, and troubles following delivery, officered by women doctors, or even by one woman doctor, for each centre might be open twice a week. A health visitor should be attached to each centre who would visit the women, find out those in need of advice and bring them to the doctor. Talks on the care necessary during pregnancy and for young infants should be a feature of these centres. It might be arranged that the women should report themselves at these centres for securing the maternity benefits. This would make it possible to collect a great deal of valuable information regarding the working of the Act.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM.

The Maternity Benefits Act came into operation on 1st July, 1929.

Under this Act, women workers in the factories of Bombay and of certain other cities in the Presidency, are entitled to maternity leave and benefit for seven weeks, at the rate of 8 annas per day, three weeks before and four weeks after confinement. The whole cost of this is to be met by the employers.

There are about 29,000 women employed in factories in Bombay City and it is estimated about 10 per cent. of these bear children annually. If full advantage is taken by these of the benefit, a sum of about Rs. 70,000 will be expended annually by the industry. This will be well spent if it helps to secure stronger children and healthier mothers, but as the scheme is being carried out at present, no such results seem likely to ensue.

(1) A serious drawback is that there is no provision for medical examination, so no part of the benefit can be given until the woman shows a copy of the birth registration certificate. The millworkers have a very poor diet and the time when the benefit would be most useful would be during the last two months of pregnancy to enable the mother to have more nourishing food.

(2) The Act requires the mother to work up to the beginning of the ninth month of pregnancy. Experience shows that many of the women give up work long before this and give, as a reason, fatigue. The condition of the infant appears to be poorer when the mother works beyond the seventh month. The endeavour to remain on to secure the benefit may do harm, not good.

(3) The millworkers, men and women, are very ignorant and have no idea how to use the cash benefit for the advantage of mother and child. The ideal would be that the mother should have some extra diet during the last months of pregnancy, that she should be seen by a doctor and provision made for any likely trouble at the time of delivery, that she should have proper attendance by a trained nurse during the confinement, in hygienic surroundings, if possible; and that she should have some cash to get essential clothing, etc., if she elects to be confined at home, to provide herself with milk or other special food, to supply anything which may be necessary for the baby and to take a month's rest after confinement.

But as these details are not recognized by the people, it is likely the benefit will be spent in paying debts, in buying ornaments or even by husbands in gambling or drinking. If extra food is bought it will go to the husband and children rather than to the mother.

As the benefit is being provided by the employers it is worth their while to take some trouble in organizing the scheme so that real good will be secured. The first essential is to get information, and the existence of the Act makes it possible to get this, since the women now have to report their pregnancy. How many women give up work early, how many are in an unhealthy condition, how many go to their village homes for confinement? What are the conditions at the time of delivery and what is the result for the child? How do the conditions compare with those of women of the same class, not working in the mills? How is the benefit being utilized? When such information has been acquired it will be for consideration whether amendments could be made to the Act to ensure the better fulfilling of its purpose. It may be noted that information of this kind is not being gained from the muster roll at present kept under the Maternity Benefits Act.

The information could best be obtained by appointing a medical woman to whom the women claiming maternity leave would be sent for enquiry into this condition. She would attend daily at convenient centres in the mill area. She would be assisted by three health visitors who would visit in the mills and chawls and would collect

information regarding the confinements of women who leave off work too early to be entitled to the benefit, also regarding the confinements of women of the millworking class who do not work in the mills. They would so far as possible instruct the women and would also supply at cost price the most simple necessaries for confinement.

The cost of this scheme would be Rs. 11,000 p. a. as shown below.

Cost of scheme :—

	p.m. Rs.	p.a. Rs.
(1) Salary of medical woman ..	400	4,800
(2) Salaries of three health visitors at Rs. 125 p. m.	375	4,500
(3) Salary of peon	30	360
(4) Motor allowance for seven months	150	1,050
(5) Contingencies	—	290
Total		Rs. 11,000

It is supposed that a room would be provided in different mills where the doctor could attend, so rent has not been included in the estimate.

THE BOMBAY COUNCIL OF SOCIAL WORKERS.

Industrial Housing in Bombay City (Section I I I).

INTRODUCTION.

The growth of Bombay from a small fishing village to the first city of India is a most romantic story, but the problems occasioned by this growth are quite devoid of romance. It was in the sixties of the last century that the need for additional building sites led to the formation of a company to undertake the reclamation of 350 acres of land from the sea. The original project was followed by other projects—some financially successful and some financial failures.

Like most other great cities, Bombay just grew, its development not following any pre-conceived plan. Buildings rose here and buildings rose there. People crowded in here and people crowded in there. Before the city knew what was happening it found itself confronted with unsanitary and overcrowded slums. For fifty years successive health officers protested the evil, but far too long without results.

I.—The Improvement Trust.

It was not until a severe outbreak of bubonic plague in 1896 that the city really aroused itself and endeavoured to cope with the situation. In 1898 the Bombay City Improvement Trust was organized to undertake the work of "making new streets, opening out crowded localities, reclaiming lands from the sea to provide room for the expansion of the city, and constructing sanitary dwellings for the poor and the police." The policy of the Trust was one of (a) indirect attack on slum areas by the development of residential estates and the construction of main arterial roads with a view to attracting people from the congested areas, (b) the erection of sanitary chawls for the working classes, and (c) direct attack on a few of the worst slum areas in the city. (Durnett-Hurst, A. R., *Labour and Housing in Bombay*, page 31)

Circumstances combined to prevent the Trust from carrying out a balanced programme, and the people dishoused by the demolition of their old dwellings were too often either unable or unwilling to find new locations in less crowded areas, moved into other crowded dwellings in the same locality, thus forming new slums. Rents began to rise, and there was considerable friction between the Improvement Trust and the Municipality. The Trust was severely attacked and the benefit of its work seriously questioned. Without entering into the controversy it is sufficient to say that by the year 1920 the Trust had demolished 24,426 tenements, provided 21,387 new tenements, and had opened up new and important avenues of communication. Neither the Trust nor the Municipality, however, succeeded in meeting the growing demands of the city, the population of Bombay having increased from 776,000 to 1,176,000 in the 20 years between 1901 and 1921.

II.—The Development Directorate.

His Excellency, Sir George Lloyd, upon assuming office late in 1918, immediately began to interest himself in the housing situation. In 1920 a Development loan was authorised, and the Government, the Municipal Corporation, the Improvement Trust and the Port Trust began a concerted attack upon the problem. A development directorate was created to co-ordinate the activities of the various bodies, which included an attempt to provide 50,000 one-roomed tenements, the reclamation of a part of the Back Bay, and the development of the north of the island and Sabette. The work was taken in hand at once and has continued through the years.

III.—Housing Facilities provided by the Development Directorate.

The most recent report of the Development Department (for the year ending 31st March, 1928) shows that the Industrial Housing Scheme now "comprises 207 chawls of 80 rooms each (with one exception of 64 rooms) in four different areas." The chawl areas are De Lisle Road with 32 chawls and 2,560 rooms; Naigaum with 42 chawls and 3,344 rooms; Worli with 121 chawls and 9,660 rooms; and Sowri with 12 chawls and 960 rooms—a total of 16,524 rooms. In March, 1928, 28 of the De Lisle Road chawls were occupied, 37 of the Naigaum chawls, 46 of the Worli chawls, and 12 of the Sowri chawls. The scale of rents in effect at the same time was Rs. 9-8 annas for ground floor, first floor and second floor rooms, and Rs. 9 for top floor rooms at De Lisle Road; Rs. 7 for all rooms at Naigaum and Sowri; and Rs. 5 for all rooms at Worli. The number of rooms actually occupied in all areas in March, 1928, was 7,678—an increase of 1,713 during the year.

IV.—Housing Facilities provided by the Improvement Trust.

The Improvement Trust maintains 105 chawls, consisting of 9,424 rooms. The largest chawl areas of the Improvement Trust are Agripada with 22 blocks and 1,665 rooms; Foras Road with 19 blocks and 1,504 rooms; and Mazagaon with 16 blocks and 1,280 rooms. The remaining chawls range from seven blocks to one block in scattered sections of the city. The rents in the Improvement Trust Chawls range from Rs. 4-15 annas per room to Rs. 14. All of the chawls of the Board are in use, and in April, 1929, 8,559 of the 9,424 rooms were reported occupied.

Note.—In addition to the facilities provided by the Improvement Trust and the Development Directorate, certain large employers of labour, such as Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., Madhavji Dharamsi Mills, The Kohinoor Mills, and others, have erected chawls, which have been of real aid in meeting the problem of industrial housing.

V.—Density of Population in Bombay.

The test of the success of a housing scheme is not only the provision of new quarters, but also the way in which it succeeds in reducing the density of population in the most congested areas. In a lecture delivered before the Bombay Co-operative Housing Association in 1914, the Hon. Mr. J. P. Orr, the Chairman of the Bombay City Improvement Trust, presented certain illuminating facts regarding density of population. He called attention to the fact that the average density of Bombay was about 57 to the acre. This figure in itself would be no occasion for alarm, but as the city is examined by districts it is found that the population in certain areas is most appalling. The following table shows the Bombay census statistics from 1864 to 1911:—

Ward.	Population. Density per acre.	1864.	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
A		73	62	53	49	49	49
B		773	526	279	251	214	215
C		449	467	454	433	388	388
D		21	47	64	75	48	70
E		39	89	62	77	92	109
F		7	6	7	9	13	18
G		0	9	13	18	24	39

The astounding density of B ward in 1864 is explained by the temporary influx of workers to share in the prosperity resulting from the certain trade during the American civil war. It will be seen that B ward and C ward have always been the most densely populated, and that during the period under review the density has shown a general decrease in contrast with the increase in density shown by the less

congested northern wards. This tendency is quite as it should be. It must be added, however, that before 1881 the ward limits were different from the present limits, and hence any comparison is not strictly accurate.

The figure from 1921 census and the estimate for the year 1927 contained in the report of the municipal commissioner add the following information :—

Ward.	Population. Density per acre.	1921.	1927.
A ..		51	53
B ..		203	208
C ..		431	450
D ..		89	102
E ..		110	126
F ..		28	34
G ..		44	52

These figures show an increasing density in both the more congested and less congested areas, with less migration towards the northern wards than we might have hoped for.

The most congested areas in the city are the following :—

Area.	Density of population per acre.	1921.	1927.
Khumbharwada .		736·86	799·57
Kamatipura ..		714·05	786·21
Second Nagpada		699·03	719·48
Khara Talao ..		581·55	592·87
Chukla		489·07	484·97
Bhuloswar ..		471·30	470·09
Umarmkhadi ..		469·18	477·68
Market		411·69	445·20

VI.—Why do People continue to live in the Congested Areas ?

The question that naturally arises is, why do so many people continue to live in the extremely congested areas, with the attendant sickness, discomfort, etc., instead of the empty chawls in the better air of sections like Worli or Naigaum ? Take, for example, Second Nagpada, with a population density of 719·48 to the acre, and the highest death rate, and the highest child death rate in the city of Bombay. Why does the population of a section like this continue to increase ? Why do the people continue to occupy dark, crowded, private tenements instead of the lighter and more airy development department chawls ? Several factors enter into the situation. There are various reasons why the people prefer to remain where they are, and there are various reasons why they are unwilling to move to the less crowded areas.

(1) There is the pull of custom. An occupation group, such as a group of mechis, may have lived in an area for years, and hence they are reluctant to leave the area. One family does not care to leave the group and unless facilities can be offered to move the entire group there is little hope of removal. In the meantime the situation gets worse because of the arrival of friends and relatives from up country who move into the already overcrowded quarters in order to be near to their own kinsmen.

(2) There is the religious reason. A devout Muslim, for example, hesitates to leave a large Mohamedan population area to take up residence in a mixed or perhaps predominantly Hindu section. This factor enters into practically all of the excessively crowded sections of Bombay.

(3) The workman desires to live near to his work. He is employed somewhere in the vicinity of his home in the crowded section, and does not care to seek work in some distant area of the city.

(4) Closely related to this is the uncertainty of securing satisfactory work in the less congested area of the city. A job secure is worth two jobs in prospect.

(5) In every crowded locality there are hosts of small shopkeepers and small factories. The owners of these hesitate to give up a more or less assured income in exchange for the unknown.

(6) The natural laziness of man keeps him from doing any more than he absolutely has to do. Moving is one thing more.

(7) There is the ignorance and indifference of the people which causes them to be content with filth, disease and overcrowding, instead of seeking out something better.

VII.—Why do the people not move into less crowded Quarters, such as the Chawls available at Worli and Naigaum ?

We have listed a few of the reasons why people continue to reside in the crowded sections. Now let us note the objections to the less crowded quarters now available.

(1) Lack of transportation. To be of use to the working people a housing scheme must either be near to the people's work or near to some convenient means of transportation. The Worli chawls are twenty minutes remote from the nearest cheap transportation.

(2) Lack of privacy. Although the private chawls are by no means private, the people regard them as much more private than the great chawl buildings housing hundreds of people whom they do not know. In order to attain a degree of privacy in the chawls, doors and windows are closed thus cutting off the necessary ventilation.

(3) Lack of sanitation. In practically all of the improved chawls the privies and baths are not only inadequate in number, but in an insanitary condition. The demand upon the limited services leads to many quarrels, creates difficulties about getting to work on time, and often leads to urination and defæcation at the sides of the buildings, thus endangering the public health.

(4) Lack of adequate market and shop facilities. The market and shop facilities of Worli and Naigaum areas provide the bare necessities, but they cannot yet compare in choice and in variety with the shops in the older sections of the city.

(5) Lack of recreation facilities. There are open spaces between the chawls where games can be played, and the Y.M.C.A. is heading up good work in this direction. There is still need for cinema shows, entertainments, etc., to compensate for the isolation of a section like Worli.

(6) Lack of medical and maternity facilities. Worli is again most deficient in this respect. There is a station of the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society as well as Municipal dispensary, but those are inadequate to cope with the situation. Additional maternity facilities are particularly needed in Worli.

(7) Lack of police protection. This again is a criticism primarily of Worli. The great unoccupied chawls are most forbidding at night-time. Recently there have been additional police added, but the removal of the badmashis and hooligans of Bombay to the temporary prison in the Worli Chawls has not added to the peace of mind of the people, nor is it a drawing card for future residents.

(8) Ignorance of the health benefits of the more airy chawls as compared with the closely crowded chawls in the congested area.

(9) The aversion on the part of many people to moving into large concrete buildings on the ground that they are cold, damp and unhealthful.

(10) Lack of drive, and lack of encouragement to make a change.

VIII.—How can Increased Tenancies be encouraged ?

To encourage increased tenancies, the Development Department as an experimental measure has converted 1 chawl at Naigaum and 1 chawl at De Lisle Road into two and three roomed tenements. The chawl at Naigaum is fully let as two-roomed tenements and odd single rooms, but the chawl at De Lisle Road is mostly vacant. Four chawls at Warli have been fitted with electric lights in the passages, and 2 police chowkies have been established, which gives the residents an additional sense of security. Steps have also been taken to provide better medical facilities, but the transportation problem still remains as an effective barrier to any large-scale influx of workers.

Putting aside for the moment the various indictments that can be made against the improved chawls, the fact still remains that they provide better housing than the houses now occupied by the workers in the congested areas. Several steps might be taken to encourage tenancies :—

(1) A campaign of education (largely pictorial) showing the benefits of the new chawls over the insanitary ones now occupied by many workers.

(2) Pressure should be brought to bear upon the proper authorities to supply Worli with cheap and rapid transportation.

(3) More experiments should be made with electric lighting in the chawl passages.

(4) More adequate water facilities should be provided.

(5) Instruction in house-keeping might be given with profit. The difference between the well-kept and filthy rooms in the same building is so great as to give the impression that one is in an entirely different building. A group of attracting rooms is a far better advertisement than a display of the same filth of the old surroundings.

(6) The strict enforcement of the rule against sub-letting (which is now being violated) would minimize the present overcrowding in the rooms, and would tend to raise the general standard of health.

(7) More wholesome recreational opportunities should be provided for the leisure time of the workers and their families, and such other facilities as make for a well balanced life. The housing problem does not stop with providing houses, the houses must be placed in an attractive and well balanced environment.

IX.—What is to be done with the Crowded Areas ?.

We must frankly recognise that many people will not leave their old houses. To meet this situation we shall probably have to resort to demolition and to continue slum patching to make those places as liveable as possible. We shall also have to carry on continuous public health education to fight the sickness and death rate. The experience of Miss Octavia Hill, in constructive rent collecting, furnish a good example of what might be done in the city of Bombay.

X.—What of the future.

Looking into the future we would hope that a new type of workman's dwelling might evolve. The model village of the Bombay Port Trust at Antop Hill, and the one-story houses of the Bombay municipality at Love Grove are a vast improvement over the great chawls, and with past experience to guide we must look forward not only to the development of workman's colonies in Bombay proper, but also to the decentralization of industry into the suburbs. Adequate electrical power seems to be available for such expansion. Certain factories have opened along the C.I.P.R.R., and there is still hope that model villages can be developed in the less crowded suburban areas.

The industrial region, which will almost certainly grow up around Bombay, must not simply be allowed to grow. It must be planned. Every resource of the area must be carefully surveyed and developed. Land, people, and industry must be thought of as a whole. Buildings and grounds must be so arranged as to give plenty of light and air. Industry must be within economical transportation distance of the homes. Ample space must be provided for schools, play-grounds, religious buildings, shops, theatres, etc. The region must be considered as a unit, and be developed for the good of all the people.

The congested area has had its day. Our best thoughts must now be centred on creating fulness of life in new and undeveloped areas. Regional planning is the only sound programme for the future.

MATERNITY BENEFITS.

Infant Mortality.—The causes can be divided into three main heads.

(1) Anti-natal causes may be sub-divided into (a) maternal and (b) foetal.

The physique of the child depends on that of the parents. But the influence of the condition of the mother is so overwhelmingly greater than that of the father, though not a negligible quantity recedes into the background. A healthy well-formed mother gives birth generally to a healthy child. She can nurse it and so give it a good chance of thriving. But on the other hand the mother may be debilitated deformed or be suffering from disease more or less serious, her child cannot be healthy and it is just in this condition that it most wants the mother's milk, and cannot get it, hence its premature death. Again such a condition of the mother brings on premature delivery or it has to be induced to save the mother's life, naturally such a child stands no chances of survival. Then there is ignorance and superstition and more stringent poverty. Besides their labours are conducted in the most insanitary environments by the most ignorant and uncleaned midwives. Is it any wonder if they come out of their confinements full of illness and with almost expiring children ?

Now let us examine some other causes of this terrific abnormal and very sad infant mortality prevailing in India.

1. Natal causes, *i.e.*, during delivery. They too are divisible into (a) maternal and (b) foetal.

(a) The maternal causes are the same as mentioned above with debility, deformity diseases, with infection and bad midwifery super-added.

(b) Foetal causes are diseases of the Foetus. Such as Hydrocephalus, etc., unnatural positions and presentations. In almost all the towns, and even in some big villages, a small percentage of labours now-a-days are conducted in maternity hospitals which did not exist some years ago. The number of still births and abortions are high on account of the lack of ante-natal clinics where women may be examined during pregnancy and from where arrangements with hospitals or anti-veneral clinics, for her treatment and yet the number of still births are atrociously high because on close examination we find that in many cases the child is already

dead or is dying and the set of putrification finishes it. Still-birth, abortions and miscarriages are said to be chiefly due to venereal diseases. To avoid all this human waste we submit that with proper ante-natal care and clever midwifery, many a mother's and child's life could be saved.

Post-natal causes are bad handling, bad feeding, indifferent treatment of the child ailments, etc., all of which could be put down to poverty and ignorance, and the lack of pure milk supply.

Suggested Remedies.—(a) Prevention is better than cure; (b) Intensive propaganda to bring home to the labouring classes their present parlous state and to awake them to their sense of duty to the race and save it from extinction; (c) Series of lectures and exhibitions to teach the labouring classes personal and sex hygiene and the way to take care of and bring up children; (d) Maternity hospitals, up to date and well-manned and well-equipped, founded in the midst of labouring population within easy reach where labours could be conducted "secundum artem" and correct registers kept. They should work hand in hand with the ante-natal and post-natal clinics; (e) establishment of centres for the supply of pure sterile milk to be given on production of tickets issued by different hospitals and clinics; (f) Committees of sympathetic ladies to pay house to house visits in their respective wards assigned to them and bring to light cases which require personal attendance of doctors at the patient's home or removal to ante-natal or post-natal clinics or hospitals; (g) registration bureau for the inspection of all births and death certificates and compiling initial statistics; (h) creches attached to all mills and big factories; (i) periodical school medical examination of students; (j) opening of classes in girls' schools to teach personal and sex hygiene, domestic economy, care and management of babies, etc.; (k) Maternity Benefit Act which is applicable only to some parts of the Bombay Presidency should be made applicable to the whole of British India; (l) social insurance as treated hereafter; (m) increase in the number of inspeccresses of factories; (n) absolute prohibition by means of legislature, if necessary, of employment of female labour in mines.

These recommendations may savour of socialism but the new council is of the opinion that in the introduction of such a socialism, if it be a socialism, into a decaying nation like ours, lies its salvation.

Social Insurance.—The sub-committee is of the opinion that a certain amount of life insurance is necessary for the earning members of the family, be they rich or poor. The advantage thereof to the ignorant and backward working-classes is immense because in case of death or old age the family naturally needs money which, if not available from any other source, is perforce required to be borrowed at a very very high rate, almost usurious rate of interest, for funeral rites and maintenance of the family rendered destitute by the death or incapacity to work of the only wage-earner in the family. At least in such a predicament the education of the young is seriously disturbed and the social and economic level of the family is definitely lowered.

An experiment was made some years ago to insure industrial workers, but it failed because of certain initial mistakes. However, if we avoid the mistakes committed in the previous experiment we are bound to succeed. We need not here enumerate all these mistakes but cite a few samples thereof. The greatest mistake that was committed was that the experiment was extended to the lowest grade of wage-earners who could barely eke out their family maintenance from their very limited earnings, too limited to enable them to save even a pie of such earnings. We should, however, leave alone such lowest grade of workers and begin with the middle and higher grades of working-classes and take full advantage of other facilities mentioned in this scheme to improve the condition of the wage-earner. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York, took on itself twenty years ago the task of carrying out welfare work among the wage-earners who could be persuaded to become its policy holders. An extract from the pamphlet issued by the Company on "Educating for Longer Life" sets out some of the benefits of health propaganda among the policy holders. At least some life insurance companies in the different districts and towns of India should be persuaded to follow in the footsteps of the above American insurance company and do what they can in the case of our Indian wage-earners, adapting themselves to the conditions prevailing in India, which are, of course, different from those prevalent in New York or America.

This sub-committee is alive to the fact that the earning of money of these bread-winners is below what we call a living wage, and practical difficulties are bound to arise in the initial stages for getting the premium paid regularly, even on a monthly basis. But it can, on the other hand, safely be argued that if after all money has to be found by those families for being spent profusely after marriage, sickness, death and other social functions why not by means of propaganda education and such other

means, these very families should not be made to realize that it is better for them to build it up little by little by effecting a compulsory but small saving every month, and that if the policy holder dies early his relatives get the face value of the policy, and if he lives till the policy matures the saving is returned to him with at least 2 to 3 per cent. (and in some cases more than that) compound interest. In case he needs a small loan before his policy matures for realization he can get it from the insurance company at a very moderate rate of interest, say, 5 to 6 per cent., which is far far better than getting it at 100 per cent. from Pathan or Marwari moneylenders, who actually suck out his life blood from pay-day to pay-day and then even do not leave him in peace but keep him in constant danger of life and anxiety of frequent molestation.

Having advanced so far, let us now consider whether it is possible for these bread-winners to effect a monthly saving without in the least pinching their bellies or interfering with the education, etc., of their children. This question can be answered by finding out whether these bread-winner are wasting any money. If it found that out of ignorance and sloth money is being unnecessarily but definitely wasted, then it stands to reason that some of this waste can be stopped and saving effected. The reports on inquiries held into the wages and expenditure of working-class families published by the Labour Office of the Bombay Government show that on an average 3 to 4 per cent. of their monthly income is absorbed in the redemption of debt and from 6 to 10 per cent. is wasted in drinking and other luxuries which breed dissipation and disease. It will thus be seen that at least 5 per cent. of this 10 per cent. avoidable waste may be redeemed and this means Rs. 2-8 annas a month for a worker earning Rs. 50 a month. This position is more encouraging in the case of those who earn more. It is, therefore, possible for such a worker to insure his life for Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. In this connection we may mention some of the facilities which an average worker gets in Bombay and which if availed of fully are sure to tend to increased savings in the case of such workers. By these facilities we mean (1) cheap grain and clothing shops, (2) free medicines at municipal and other charitable dispensaries, (3) free hospital accommodation for maternity and sick nursing, (4) cow's milk to the babies at the rate of one anna a seer through the Infant Welfare Society of Bombay, (5) day nurseries or creches for their children, (6) free treatment of venereal diseases, etc. As we have stated above, if these facilities are taken full advantage of it means in money value as much increase in wages. The trouble, however, is that through ignorance, prejudice, or want of sympathetic treatment the wage-earner is not taking full advantage of these facilities that are meant for him, and here welfare organizations such as the Council of Social Workers, the Social Service League and such other like organizations can do a lot to educate the workers to avail themselves fully of those facilities provided for them by philanthropic citizens of diverse communities.

But such welfare organizations have not, unfortunately, at present adequate funds to carry on this sort of propaganda and educative work among the workers, and attention of some of our charitably minded citizens should be directed to this sort of charities which are most deserving of their support.

At present these workers prefer to live in cheap but very insanitary chawls. It is well known that people living under such conditions become not only physical but mental and moral wrecks, and this leads to drinking and dissipation. But his housing problem having been assigned to another sub-committee, which has made its very valuable report already adopted by our managing committee, we need not traverse over the same ground in this report.

If the insurance work amongst the wage-earners by means of small policies is started on the basis above indicated, it is bound to benefit both the insurance company undertaking the work, as in the case of the above-mentioned American company, on the one hand, and on the other hand the policy holders, who being ignorant and backward, should be taught by such agencies as the Council of Social Workers and Social Service League, to contribute to their own benefit by their own money and efforts, by means of life insurance policies taken out by each according to his own means and circumstances.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM.

Maternity Benefits.

In our statement emphasis has been laid on the need for (a) opening more small but well-equipped, well-staffed, and up-to-date maternity homes and (b) ante-natal and post-natal clinics, but in the short time at our disposal for sending in the papers some of the important facts have escaped our attention :—

1. If the Maternity Benefits Act is to benefit both the mothers and the employers, it should be so amended as (1) not to make it obligatory upon women to work up to the beginning of the 9th month of pregnancy in order to secure the maternity benefits

but let them give it up earlier if they do not feel fit, (2) to enable the women to get a part of the payment before and a part after the delivery and not a lump sum, and (3) to make it compulsory on women to secure proper conditions during child-birth.

The first and third would ensure better output and the second by a fortnightly instalment enable the women to buy the extra food required by them. Most women are confined by country midwives " Dais " and as the result of their unskilled methods they are invalids or semi-invalids for life-time.

When the employers bear the cost of maternity benefits it would be worth their while to spend a little more and organize a scheme of medical inspection and proper supervision. This would secure good health to the women and as the result their output would increase.

2. The enforcement at as early a date as possible of the already overdue Midwives Act at present under consideration. The All India Social Service Conference passed a resolution urging the necessity of such a measure in 1924 and since then medical women have been constantly doing the same.

The supervisor should be an experienced Indian woman doctor familiar with the language, customs, habits and prejudices of the people among whom the work is to be carried on, and not the Health Officer as recommended in the Draft Bill. Unless there is a woman Assistant Health Officer with the necessary staff under her, the work cannot be done satisfactorily. It is to be hoped that when it comes in force it will not be on paper only.

3. (a) Co-ordination of all maternity and infant welfare work that is being done at present in the city in order to prevent overlapping, secure economy and uniformity of work, increase the efficiency.

This is most necessary and should be first undertaken.

At present there are 10 Municipal and 20 Infant Welfare Society's midwives doing midwifery work among women at their homes.

(b) Infant welfare work should be organized on the same basis as in England, viz., secure trained workers and most important of all proper supervision of the work done by them.

At present in our city there is no recognized institution for training health visitors. Until it is in a position to do so those who carry on infant welfare work must engage women trained in the Delhi Health Visitors Training School.

Majority of the nurses have no experience of training in the subject as it is not included in their training and naturally the work done by them cannot be very satisfactory.

Miss I. WINGATE, INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY, YOUNG WOMEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY.

Report on Economic Status of Women Workers in Sholapur Mills.

During the month of August, 1928, an intensive inquiry was conducted into the economic condition of women workers in the mills of Sholapur, Bombay Presidency.

This is an important cotton manufacturing centre. Sholapur is a city of 119,500 inhabitants according to the last census. It is an old centre of the hand-loom industry and this is still the major occupation of the town outside the cotton mills. According to the recently issued report on Family Budgets of the Bombay Labour Office, out of 62,000 persons engaged in industry, 50,000 were employed in the textile industry.

There are five cotton mills employing 16,975 persons of whom 4,335 were women. The number of cases investigated in the present inquiry was 482 or just over 10 per cent., belonging to all the various castes employed.

This inquiry was conducted with the object of discovering the salient facts concerning the economic status of women workers in the textile industry. Sholapur was chosen, primarily because a suggestion had been made that a somewhat similar inquiry be held there on behalf of the Bombay Representative Christian Council. It was in the hope that the N.C.C. inquiry might serve both purposes that this place was selected.

Method of inquiry.—A questionnaire was drawn up covering the points required and the answers were obtained personally from the women in their own homes and in one case at a mill-creche ; partly by myself and partly by a schoolmaster whose full-time services were obtained. The managers of the mills were asked to supply the following information :—The number of women employed ; their caste ; minimum, average and maximum wages for a given month, July, 1928.

Two mills supplied this information in full. One supplied all but the wages particulars and for these referred to the *Labour Gazette* for May, 1925, which gives figures for August, 1923, five years previously, stating the wages had not changed since then.

No serious attempt was made to collect family budgets as there had been a Government inquiry into this in 1925, the report of which had just been published in time for reference to be made to it in this report. About a dozen typical budgets were collected and the results obtained will be found.

Every effort was made to insure accuracy and to verify statements. On the whole it may be said with confidence that the information given was correct, but it is probable that implicit faith cannot be placed in every return made. Where there seems to be a doubt as to accuracy reference is made to the fact. Completely true answers to questions are not easy to obtain from ignorant people. Yet it is only fair to record that when the purpose of the inquiry was explained, information was freely supplied by both workers and most millowners.

Classification.—The 482 cases studied were divided as to caste, as follows:—

	Per cent.	Per cent.
Hindus	178 .. 37	} 330 .. 69
Outcasts	152 .. 32	
Musslemans	54 .. 11	
Criminal Tribes ..	52 .. 11	
Christians	24 .. 5	
Caste unknown ..	22 ..	

Percentages in all cases to the nearest unit. While these figures do not correspond exactly with the total numbers of these castes employed in the mills, as to proportion they are a fair indication as may be seen from the following two typical mills which made returns as follows:—

	Mill 1.	Per cent.	Mill 2.	Per cent.
Hindus*	1,846...	82 ..	586 ..	80
Musslemans	252 ..	11 ..	51 ..	7
Criminal Tribes ..	151 ..	7 ..	92 ..	13

The total number of Christians working in the mills are included in this report. One curious discrepancy discovered was that the mills, in the returns supplied by them gave the number of Christian women in these mills as stated.

Of the 482 women covered by the inquiry—396 were married women with husbands, 81 widows, 2 unmarried, 3 deserted wives.

The husbands of 333 women also worked in the mill, 63 others did other work while their wives worked in the mill. The total numbers in the families concerned were:—Adults, 1,235; workers, 1,065; children under 12, 864.

The average family contained five persons, 3 adults, 2 children under 12 years of age. Of this number 2.2 were workers.

The numbers of children in each family was as follows:—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Nil.
Number of children in family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Nil.
Number of families	106	153	111	47	8	6	1	50

Housework.—Besides working 10 hours a day in the mill, 446 women, that is 92 per cent., did all their own housework.

Welfare Work.—Sholapur mills are conspicuous for the effort made to improve conditions by the establishment of welfare work.

Creches are provided by all the mills and vary very much in quality. A badly run creche with inadequate attention to health is a worse danger than home conditions. It was proved by Dr. Barnado's Homes in England that infection spreads extremely rapidly when a large number of infants are bought together, and this will be even more marked if those in charge are careless about proper precautions.

The creches in Sholapur are well patronised which makes the responsibility for proper management all the greater. A kindergarten school for those of toddler age fills a very real need as so often children up to 6 or 7 or even more years are not taken in a creche spending their day in idleness as the creche is only equipped for infants.

Inquiries regarding the care of children of those mothers who worked yielded the following results:—

Per cent.

50	Had no children.
14	No children under 14 years of age.
1	64 Sent the older ones to school, took babies to creche.
1	6 Took youngest to creche, left older ones at home with a relative.
4	15 Had all the children in school.
9	36 Took babies to creche, left older ones at home uncared for.
11	46 Left all children at home in care of relative.
12	50 Had only young children, took them to creche.
61	256 Left all children at home uncared for.
	Regarding three, no returns were made.

* Including outcasts.

In all cases where relatives are referred to they include any adult over 14 years of age, not going to work. Where, as often, it simply means that the oldest child is over 14 years, the attention given to young children cannot be considered adequate, but in view of the fact that girls marry at that age or soon after, 14 was taken as the minimum age for an adult in this connection. All those who sent any of their children to school were either members of the Criminal Tribes, for whom it is compulsory, or Christians. The general mill population had not yet awakened to the need for education. They consider themselves able to do their daily work without it and expect their children to do the same. Their chief anxiety is that the boys should begin to earn as soon as possible. It will be seen that the great majority of the working mothers make no provision for their children during their working hours and that there is great need for some provision, either by the mills or, more probably by some voluntary organization, for these children; that they may not continue to run wild as is the case so largely at present. In a village most of the children are given jobs such as herding cattle, etc., which keeps them out in the fields. In a city they run the streets with all the depraving results that this leads to in any country.

Some attempt was made to find out if the women worked willingly or if they were only driven to it by economic necessity. Of the total 482 questioned, 388 only worked from necessity and would remain at home if not driven to the mills by economic pressure. 92 worked from choice as well as necessity. As this number included mothers of large families as well as those who had no home ties, it was possibly because they had always lived a life of ceaseless toil and had never been accustomed to give their children proper care, also because of their extremely low standard of life in some cases, that these women could not visualize what real domestic life might be.

Housing.—The Sholapur millworkers live in several different types of housing vary considerably in quality. The Criminal Tribes are in a special settlement under the care of the American Marathi Mission. These people are all exceedingly primitive and nearly all build the houses themselves in the style they prefer, and pay nominal rent for the land. All attempts on the part of the mission to build better houses have so far met with almost complete failure as the people refuse to occupy them. These huts may be of mud and thatch or merely shelters of grass and leaves, not more than three or four feet high and primitive in the extreme. It would be interesting to study the mentality of these people, living in such a way and working all day with highly complicated machinery on a huge scale. Other workers live in mud huts also built by themselves. Some of these are on waste land and rent free; others pay a small ground rent. Very few live in "pucca" houses, except those who live in the mill-lines. All the mills house a proportion of their people. The majority of the mill-housing is a considerable improvement on the private types. One mill has a large settlement comprising houses of different kinds, and here the standard has steadily advanced with each new type constructed. For these mill-chawls it seems the practice to charge a rent somewhat lower than the economic rent.

Of the families studied the rents paid worked out as follows :—

Rent per month	12 annas	Re. 1 to	Rs. 2 to	Rs. 4	Rs. 5	Nil.
		or less	Rs. 1-8	Rs. 3	and over	and over
Number of families ..	149	203	80	9	3	35
						Unrecorded 3.

The total average rent is Re. 1-3 annas a month. According to the Government Enquiry, rent for millworkers, other than Criminal Tribes was Rs. 2-8 annas per month and for Criminal Tribes 6 annas a month. As nearly all the Criminal Tribes pay only a nominal ground rent, their general average is very low but many people were met with among the ordinary mill population who were also paying nothing or merely a small ground rent. It will be seen from this that village conditions still obtain to a certain extent. The reason for this is that the millworkers do not live in the city itself but on the outskirts and even in the surrounding villages, some coming as much as two and three miles to work each day.

Wages.—The standard of wages in Sholapur is considerably lower than in either Bombay or Ahmedabad. Spinners get an average of Rs. 27-8 annas in Bombay, Rs. 26-8 annas in Ahmedabad and Rs. 18 in Sholapur. All the mills in the latter places give a grain allowance which seems greatly appreciated. This district suffers from frequent scarcity and general shortage of rainfall, so that the prices of the staple foods vary considerably from year to year. All workers who have not missed more than four working days out of the month are entitled to this allowance, which is 18 seers of jowari grain and 2 seers of dhal to each adult worker, and half rations to child workers. A fixed amount Rs. 2 is deducted from the wages irrespective of the market price which was Rs. 3 in August, 1928, but would be much more in a bad year.

Enquiry revealed that this grain allowance was highly valued, and was sometimes the main inducement to take up factory work. The women, when questioned seemed to receive this allowance regularly and indeed, implied that they could not

live without it on account of the smallness of their wages. This conflicted somewhat with the statements of two mill managers that the labour was very irregular in its attendance. According to the mill registers of two mills, the number of women attending the full working month was only 55 per cent. and 53 per cent. respectively. The truth seems to be that while over 40 per cent. fail to put in a full month's attendance, very few are absent more than four days in the month, in order to get their grain allowance.

A few mukkadams or forewomen earn from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 a month, and up to Rs. 20. The average wage, including all classes, as shown by the women's own statement was Rs. 8-6 annas a month; according to the returns furnished by the mills it was Rs. 8-8 annas, including grain allowance in both cases, so the agreement is very close and evidently the women's statements are to be relied upon. The average minimum wage for all departments employing women in the mills referred to, was Rs. 4-14 annas per month and Rs. 6 a month respectively. According to the statements of the women of their average earnings, they are as follows :—

	Rs. 7 and under.	Rs. 8 to Rs. 9.	Rs. 10 to Rs. 11.	Rs. 12 to Rs. 15.	Over Rs. 15.
Wages earned,					
No. of women.	194	164	86	31	6

One woman had newly joined and had not received wages. It is worthy of notice that she did not seem to have any idea of how much she would be entitled to receive.

From the above figures it will be seen that 92 per cent. earn less than Rs. 12 a month, 74 per cent. earn less than Rs. 10 and 40 per cent. less than Rs. 8 a month, that is Rs. 6 in cash wages plus grain allowance. This result may be compared with the report of the Government Family Budget Enquiry which gives 95 per cent. as earnings less than Rs. 12. According to the report on wages and hours in the cotton mill industry August, 1923, published in the *Labour Gazette* of May, 1925, to which we were referred for particulars by one mill, the average of wages actually earned was Rs. 8-9 annas per month. These figures, it is stated, do not include the grain allowance, therefore another Rs. 2 a month must be added to the above figures making Rs. 10-9 annas and Rs. 12-11 annas respectively. These figures are considerably higher than those given for July, 1928. Whatever the cause, it is evident that the wages to-day are considerably lower than those given for 1923.

Sufficient information is not yet available to enable one to make a true estimate of the comparative costs of living in these three cities, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur. The retail food prices published in the *Labour Gazette* cannot be taken as an accurate basis for comparison. Taking rents as an indication, the average rents for working-class families are given in the Government Enquiries in Ahmedabad and Sholapur as Rs. 4-8 annas and Rs. 2-8 annas respectively. In the Sholapur enquiry, the Bombay average rent is quoted as Rs. 5, but reference to the *Labour Gazette* for October, 1924, from which this figure is taken, shows that it refers to old buildings only. Including new buildings the figure would be about Rs. 8-12 annas. From this it would appear that though the millworker in Bombay and Ahmedabad receives a larger cash wage, he is not as actually better off than those in Sholapur. Housing in Shopapur also, though in some cases very primitive, allows more square feet of space per individual if we exclude the Criminal Tribes. There is also a greater proportion of families owning two rooms or a closed-in verandah which is used as a room. The floor space per person is as follows :—Bombay, 24·7 sq. ft., Ahmedabad, 47·3 sq. ft., Sholapur, 36 sq. ft.

While it is possible that the difference in men's wages may not be greater than the difference in cost of living, the discrepancy between men's and women's wages is greater in Sholapur than elsewhere.

	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Sholapur.
Av. wage Spinner	Rs. 27 8 annas	Rs. 26 8 annas	Rs. 18.
„ „ Women	Rs. 22 8 annas	Rs. 25	Rs. 8 8 annas

Even by Sholapur standard women's wages cannot be considered adequate.

Economic Independence.—Where the women were married they, without exception, handed over their earnings to their husbands. If widows, the pay was handed to the male head of the house if such existed. Of the 86 women, not living with a husband, 80 retained their wages in their own hands, 6 handed them over to a male relative. The 80 who handled their own pay were all supporting children with the exception of 12.

No. of persons supported,	1	2	3	4	5
No. of cases	12	28	30	8	2

On an average each woman supports 2·4 persons. While in the case of wives, their wages may be held to be supplementary to their husbands earnings, the figures quoted above refer also to all those women upon whom falls the burden of supporting

the home. They cannot possibly be made adequate to supporting an adult and two or three children. That this is the cause of direct and very severe temptation was discovered in a very definite way during the enquiry.

Debt.—31 of the women questioned did not admit to being in debt, but the unanimous opinion of these who know the local situation seemed to be that debt is universal. Besides those incurred for marriage, religious ceremonies, etc., including old debts incurred before joining the mill, purchase on the instalment plan seems very common and most clothing is bought in this way.

Family Budgets.—As previously stated, no attempt was made to go thoroughly into this subject as it was too complicated a one to be handled in the time available and also the Government Report gives detailed information. 20 typical budgets were collected by way of comparison, 4 of these were rejected as incorrect and 16 were tabulated. They are as follows :—

Incomes.	No. of budgets.	Average number in family.	
		Adults.	Children.
Below Rs. 10	2	1.5	2
„ Rs. 20	10	1.9	1.6
„ Rs. 30	3	3.3	2
„ Rs. 40	1	3	3

Percentage expenditure by income groups.

Incomes.	Below Rs. 10	Below Rs. 20	Below Rs. 30	Below Rs. 40
No. of budgets.	2	10	3	1
Food	50 per cent.	47 per cent.	43 per cent.	55 per cent.
Fuel and light	14 per cent.	16 per cent.	13 per cent.	10 per cent.
Clothing	17 per cent.	15 per cent.	15 per cent.	10 per cent.
Rent	17 per cent.	6 per cent.	11 per cent.	11 per cent.
Drink and tobacco, misc. ..	2 per cent.	12 per cent.	7 per cent.	4 per cent.
Total ..	100 per cent.	100 per cent.	100 per cent.	100 per cent.

Conclusion.—This enquiry related to the economic status of women workers only.

Their economic status is largely dependent on the general wage level, and living conditions. Yet, as has been pointed out about the discrepancy between men's and women's wages is greater in Sholapur than elsewhere.

As long as the grain allowance is given the women consider it worth their while to go to the mills, though there were many complaints at the smallness of the wage. But their wages have evidently been considered too much in the life of a supplement to their husbands earnings not as a living wage. A minimum living wage is the least that should be given for a full day's work, until that is reached the position of the women workers cannot be considered satisfactory.

The other matter which stands out very clearly as a result of the enquiry is the need for more adequate provision for the children of working women, either by the mills, local authority or voluntary agency.

Compulsory education and nursery schools would help to meet this need.

Hand-loom Industry, Sholapur.

According to the Government Report of Family Budgets in 1928, "there is no other important occupation for the working-classes in Sholapur except cotton spinning and weaving."

In different parts of the City colonies of hand-loom weavers are to be found. Speaking generally, the men do the weaving and the women and children do all the auxiliary processes. The bulk of the weavers are Sadis, or Hindu weaver caste, but a certain number of Mohammedan weavers from the adjoining State of Hyderabad have also settled in Sholapur and there they ply their trade. These are newcomers, but the Hindu weavers have been there for many generations. As a rule the weaving is done in workrooms varying in size from the largest, which employs 300 hands, to numerous small workshops where two or three men are employed. The former having 50 looms, the latter usually 4. All are pit looms, even those up on the

first floor. The entire production is confined to women's saris and bodice pieces. All the yarn is got either from the local mills or in the bazaar, in which case it may come from Bombay, Japan or in the case of artificial silk (much used) or gold thread, from England or France. All the dyes come from Germany.

As no power is used none of these workshops come under the Factories Act, and hours worked depend on trade, usually from about 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., with a more or less regular stop at noon and irregular rests in between. In many cases the primitive method of throwing the shuttle backwards and forwards by hand is still in use. In other instances an improved loom is used which about trebles the output.

One workroom is run by a relative of Kiloslar of Kiloskarwadi, Tikekar, and displays the same ingenuity. All the machinery is modelled on modern textile machinery, but made locally of wood, tin and nails. He used to employ power but has discontinued it and uses hand power only, thus avoiding the Factories Act. He has another similar establishment outside the City which has a "model village" attached. The women do reeling and pirn winding by the same method as in the factory, only the machine is turned by a man instead of power. They weave up to 40 and 60 counts. The place is a curious cross between the old hand-loom industry and a modern mill. The wages were stated to be Re. 1 a day to Rs. 1-8 annas for weavers; it is all piece-work. The women earn 4 to 6 annas a day. All the dyeing is done in a village nearby, where most of this work is done for the whole of Sholapur. The workshop has its own shop in the town for selling its goods. In the largest workshop already referred to, the auxiliary processes are all done in the old primitive way, the warp is set up in the open street, every bobbin is wound separately by a woman, and it is the same organization precisely as the little four-loom cottages, except in the number of people employed. The earnings were stated to be 14 annas to Re. 1 a sari, and it was possible to make a sari in a day. Women got 6 to 8 annas a day. Work hours were from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Workers seemed to come and go as they liked, there were no regular shifts. A Bombay firm took the whole output. The light in the rooms was good, a contrast to many smaller homes, where the people work in such darkness it is hard to see how they can turn out good work. The women worked on the verandahs and in the open courtyard, and they had their children with them. Some of the people were from Hyderabad State. Each had to pay a deposit of Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 before being allowed to start work.

The four-loomed hut.—This was the smallest number found, and usually one or two outsiders are employed for the looms, the family doing the supplementary work if there were enough of them. Wages were about Re. 1 a sari. Women get 2 annas for sizing if they are employed, and they can do two or three a day, making 4 to 6 annas. This sizing is done with a large and heavy brush and is hard work. They work from about 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., with pauses for rest and food. One of the poorest weavers found had four looms which he worked himself with two hired men; one loom was idle. He supported 13 persons, himself, two women, two men, and the rest children. The yarn was obtained from the moneylender, who also took all the cloth made. They were weaving women's and small girls' saris. The man received 6 to 14 annas a sari according to the size.

The Tikekar type of reeling machine was met with occasionally in other workrooms. In one case about 30 women were working in a small room that was entirely filled with machinery and the women. There were only very inadequate means of exit, the air was absolutely full of fluff, which made us all cough violently on entering.

In another case of a large workroom, wages were stated to be Re. 1 to Re. 1-2 annas a sari, and a sari took one to one and a half days to finish.

There were stated to be 20,000 looms in Sholapur, though this may be an exaggeration. Very few are purely family concerns. Women weavers are occasionally met with, but not often. Weavers all require additional help, and it is customary to have young boys either one to each man or one between four or five looms to assist the weaver.

The whole industry struck one as prosperous and very well organized. Wages compare very favourably with the mills, but light, ventilation, and sanitary conditions were decidedly poorer than the standard required in the latter.

Mohammedan weavers.—These, as already stated, are immigrants. They were driven by poverty from their State and are settled on the outskirts of Sholapur. They are altogether poorer and their work more primitive than that of their Hindu neighbours. They hang on the outskirts of a closely organized guild and find competition severe.

One house had six looms and another 16, in rooms surrounding a courtyard. The looms in the former were the old type with the shuttle thrown by hand thus taking four days or so to finish. In the large establishment both varieties of loom were found. Real and artificial silk were both found in use. The yarn was Japanese, which was stated to be stronger than the local product.

Both men and women worked at the looms and were paid Re. 1-8 annas per sari on the old type, and 14 annas on the new. The men made about eight in a month on the former, the women four to six. Women on other work got 2 to 3 annas a day. Hours were more or less from dawn to dusk. Some of the women employed in the larger establishment were Hindu weaver caste.

One house was found where the looms were standing idle because the people could not afford to work them. Two men in the family had gone to the mill, though so far only as extra hands.

There were six adults and some children in the family. The women are all purdah, so none of the Mohammedan women can get any work outside their own home.

Both Hindu and Mohammedan complained that the price of saris had dropped from Rs. 13 a sari some years ago to Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 now, so that the work was not nearly so paying as it used to be. No definite reason could be found for this drop. If it is due to competition with the mills it is indirect and not direct, as the mills do not manufacture saris on account of the demand for variety in the borders, and their comparative complexity in design and it does not pay so well as to make white cloth.

Conclusion.—It seems likely, from the condition in Sholapur, and other places also, that it is quite possible for hand-weaving to continue side by side with the mills and that there is no immediate danger of extinction. The rate earned in Sholapur also compares quite favourably with the mills. It has to be remembered of course that as far as the Hindu weavers are concerned the hand-loom industry is confined to a special caste, and does not offer a means of livelihood to any other.

Conditions of overcrowding, bad lighting, ventilation, and sanitary provisions and long hours, all are matters which show clearly the need for bringing workshops under some sort of control.

THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF INDIA, POONA.

The growth of modern industries in a country like India, where the rural masses are both illiterate and extremely poor, is bound to be attended by serious evils. The steady wages available in factories all through the year as against the meagre and uncertain income they are able to get by working on their lands or as agricultural labourers, induce workmen to migrate to industrial centres. Here they have to live under conditions which make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to maintain the order of life based on the religious, social and moral values to which they have been accustomed for generations in the villages. Being illiterate they are incapable of organizing themselves or looking after their interests or increasing their efficiency as workmen. They easily come under the influence of self-interested persons who persuade them to take up attitudes or resort to action which ultimately result in serious loss both to the labourers and their employers, and consequently to the general industrial progress of the land.

Nevertheless, we believe that progress in large scale organizations in industry is needed in India in the present stage of her development. At the same time we are convinced that we should do everything possible to prevent this new economic civilization that has come to India from becoming the master, instead of the servant, of the human spirit. We believe that human life is the most important form of wealth and for this reason we stand committed to the removal of all those conditions we find in the organization of industries which tend to violate the essential dignity of human personality and deny facilities to reach its full development.

We affirm that service of the community, and not merely profit for employers or workmen, should be the primary motive for industrial development, and we believe that if this is kept in view a policy of prices, profits, wages and production can be worked out which will serve the common interests of employers, workers and the community as a whole.

With a view to facilitate the application of the principles stated above to the conditions we find to-day in Indian industries, we offer some practical suggestions.

I.—Legislation.

1. There is need of amending the present Factory Act in the following aspects :—
 (a) There should be reduction of hours of work to a normal 55-hour week and 10-hour day, seasonal industries being considered an exception ; (b) no spell of work without a pause should be longer than five hours ; (c) the multiple shifts should be abolished ;
 (d) workplaces using power and employing ten or more persons on any day in the year should be brought under the Factory Act.

2. *Fines*.—At present there is very little control over fines and deductions in industrial undertakings. There should be legislation based on the principle that fines and deductions should be fair and reasonable and not a source of profit to the employer, and that they should be recorded in a register which the factory inspector should have the right to inspect.

3. *Minimum Wage*.—The Government of India should ratify the Minimum Wage Convention and legislation along the lines suggested by the Convention should be introduced without stressing the need of applying it to home trades.

4. *Sick Leave*.—There is need for legislation by which workmen could get at least 20 days' sick leave in a year on doctor's certificate on full or half-pay.

II.—Increase of Inspectorate.

If the proposals made above are to be carried out, it would be necessary to increase the number of factory inspectors. There should be at least one woman inspector in each of the large industrial centres. The clause in the present Act by which "public officers" are empowered to inspect factories should be used more fully than is done now.

III.—Welfare or Labour Supervisors.

We recommend the appointment of welfare or labour supervisors to undertake among other things :—(a) Direct engagement of labour ; (b) property management of lines or *chawls* ; (c) health educational and recreational work, always safe-guarding the direct access of labourer to management as it exists in many places at present ; (d) handling advances to workmen now given through jobbers ; (e) developing the committee or *panchayat* system among labourers.

We are of opinion that voluntary agencies be encouraged to develop welfare work such as that indicated above in co-operation with employers. In the carrying on of welfare work, the labourers should be given as much share in it as is possible, and care should be taken that welfare work is not used in any way as a rival to trade union.

IV.—The Training of Welfare Work Supervisors.

We believe that efforts should be made to train suitable persons, Indian and European, as welfare work supervisors. The outline of a scheme for this purpose, contemplates co-operation between the economic departments of some of the Indian Universities with some of the British Universities, is sent herewith (see Appendix).*

V.—An Industrial Welfare Society.

There is not in India at present any kind of co-ordination in welfare work. A voluntary organization on the lines of the Industrial Welfare Society of England should be started in India, mainly for the purpose of collecting information about progress in welfare work and to give advice in welfare matters. This organization should be worked with the help and co-operation of employers, workmen and the general public. While it should be an unofficial body, Government may help it with grants of money.

THE BOMBAY REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL.

The fact that industrialism is in its infancy in India presents many difficult problems of management, but we believe that much of the industrial unrest in this Presidency is due to an inadequate application of the principles of brotherhood, respect for personality, and mutual service.

The Bombay Representative Christian Council therefore adopts and commends to the careful consideration of all concerned, the following statement :—

(1) Ownership is a trust which carries with it a responsibility towards the labourer as a human being, and the interests of personality should not be subordinated to consideration of profits. We would affirm our belief that service should be the primary motive of industry.

(2) The interests of neither capital nor labour can take precedence of the welfare of society as a whole. Society on its part has an obligation to secure the just interest of both capital and labour.

* Not printed.

(3) The happiness and efficiency of labour is dependent in a large measure on the conditions under which the labourer lives. We realize that the domestic habits of the labourer are open to improvement, but we believe consideration should be given to improving the existing housing conditions under which many of them live.

(4) A first charge upon industry is a living wage for the workman ; and every workman should give an honest day's work in return for his wage.

(5) Labour should have the right to organize and have every reasonable opportunity to give full and adequate expression to its desires and to negotiate with the management through the representatives of its properly constituted organizations.

(6) Labour should be free to seek ways and means whereby its legitimate ends may be obtained, it being understood that the methods employed will be along constitutional lines.

(7) Proper provision should be made for the education and recreation of the workers, preferably through the appointment of trained welfare workers, both inside and outside the mills, in each industrial area.

(8) The establishing of labour exchanges is a much needed agency to deal with unemployment ; and for relieving exceptional unemployment, well-conceived schemes of public works should be given consideration.

LEGISLATION.

Towards the practical working out of the above principles certain matters seem to us to call for legislation. In the following respects we would endorse the proposals made by the National Christian Council *Industrial Survey* :—

(1) There should be a normal 55-hour week and a 10-hour day.

(2) No spell of work should be longer than five hours.

(3) Workplaces employing more than 10 persons should be brought under the Factory Act.

(4) Fines and deductions should be fair and reasonable and not a source of profit to the employer. They should be recorded in a register and the Factory Inspector should have the right to inspect this register.*

(5) In view of the above proposals Government should increase the inspectorate and a woman inspector should be appointed in each large industrial area.

(6) The Government of India should be urged to ratify the Minimum Wage Convention and to initiate legislation along these lines but without stressing the need for applying it to home industries.

Further, we would urge the following four points in regard to Bombay Presidency in particular :—

(1) The right of peaceful picketing at the time of strikes must be affirmed.

(2) Facilities for impartial investigation and conciliation such as those provided for in the Trade Dispute Act, should be established on a permanent basis.

(3) The law with regard to child labour should be rigidly enforced and minors in industry should be safeguarded so as to protect their future health and well-being.

(4) We welcome the fact that the Bombay Government has initiated maternity benefit legislation, and we are convinced of the value of such an Act. There are, however, one or two particulars in which the present Act may, unless suitably amended, militate against the interests of those women it is intended to serve. As two instances of this which have already come to our notice we might mention (1) the fixing of a definite amount to be paid as benefit, instead of a fixed proportion of the average wages. In at least one large industrial town this figure is so much higher than a woman earns as a normal wage, that there is danger of such women as would become eligible for the benefit, losing their employment. (2) A recent investigation goes to show that in Bombay pregnant women tend to leave their work earlier than the time provided for in the Act, alleging as a reason physical inability to continue. The necessity of remaining at work until one month before confinement is expected, in order to get the benefit which is likely to have a deleterious effect on such women.

PROBLEMS AFFECTING LABOUR IN THIS PRESIDENCY.

The following are some conditions, which, in the actual experience of our members, militate against a contented industrial population.

* We further believe that all fines should be credited to a fund for the benefit of the labourer.

Wages.—The wages of a large proportion of the mill workers are admittedly low. This is true, not only of unskilled workers, but of skilled workers, such as spinners, winders (women), and reelers (women).

For example :—Average wage per month.

	Bombay.			Ahmedabad.			Sholapur.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Spinners (piecers)	..	23	1 0*	23	4	0†	15	3	0‡
Winders	..	16	8 0†	16	10	6§	7	5	0¶
Reelers	..	17	5 6†	19	4	6§	7	14	6¶

Those living on the bare subsistence level show results in under-nourishment, poor physique and continuous ill-health. This must be a potent factor in the inefficiency so often deplored of the Indian labourer.

Housing.—While we realize that the Hindu joint family system tends to overcrowding in some cases, we believe that numbers of working class families are unable to pay the rent of even one room at the present rates of rents and wages, necessitating more than one family sharing one room, each family having a separate cooking place.

Other families take in boarders. These are usually men without their families who have no sleeping place provided but are allowed to keep their possessions in the room and the housewife cooks for them.

We recognize that Government have made a remarkable effort to deal with the housing question in the City of Bombay, and we share the concern of all that the facilities provided have not been made use of more fully. Certain parts of the city are very congested while others lie vacant in the northern end of the city. The improvement of transport facilities would, we believe, be one of the ways to relieve this congestion and distribute the population better in regard to housing facilities; another would be a scheme of welfare service conducted by voluntary agencies to ensure a wise utilization of the leisure hours of the workers.

Education.—The majority of mill hands are illiterate, including numbers of those who hold positions of responsibility over other men. This imposes an unfair disability in matters concerned with their engagement, the payment of wages, and in a knowledge of and understanding of rules and regulations governing their employment. It is also a potent factor in the rapid spread of false rumours and a state of panic.

We acknowledge the effort made by the Municipality to overcome this by the establishment of compulsory education in wards F and G, which are largely occupied by a labouring population. But since the Act is not enforced, large numbers of children do not attend school, neither is there sufficient accommodation should all desire to do so.

An adult school movement, particularly for youths between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, would prove extremely valuable. This would be most profitably conducted by voluntary agencies, liberally assisted by Government, which should allow full scope for experiment in matters of curriculum.

Believing physical training to be a great asset in the education of the child, we would stress the importance of spacious school playgrounds, and also of finding a place in the primary schools curricula for physical culture and a programme of directed play for all, on well ordered lines. Adequately qualified teachers should be employed and placed in charge of this important branch of education.

Recruitment of Labour.—The present system of engagement of labour through jobbers, themselves usually men but little, if at all, above the men they engage, opens the way for much petty injustice, bribery and oppression. We are aware that employers are usually alive to the difficulties of this system, and that up to the present no way has been found to abolish it; but we would urge that the matter be re-examined in connection with the question of establishing labour exchanges.

Welfare Work.

We would endorse the findings of the National Christian Council Survey in the following matter.

Welfare of Labour Supervisor.—A considerable amount of excellent welfare work has been undertaken at different times by millowners in this Presidency. But anyone familiar with similar work in England must be struck with one difference. It is becoming increasingly the practice in England, even where it is not legally obligatory, to appoint a well-educated and trained man or woman to be in charge of all the personnel side of the work. This has not hitherto been the practice here.

* See enquiry into Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry, Government of Bombay, Table I. † *Ibid.*, Table II. ‡ *Ibid.*, Table IV. § *Ibid.*, Table V. ¶ *Ibid.*, Table VII. ¶ *Ibid.*, Table VIII. No material change since 1923.

Since the relationship between capital and labour is one of the most disturbing factors in the present situation, we would urge that the appointment of trained supervisors to deal, among other things, with the following matters should be urged upon all large employers of labour :—(1) To use his influence to facilitate the settlement of disputes as and when they arise. Probably it would be found helpful if committees of workmen were set up in the mill to assist in this matter. (2) to have supervision of the working conditions in so far as they affect the health of the workers, especially as regards women and young workers. (3) to have general supervision of all welfare work carried on. (4) To supervise all lines or chawls belonging to the firm and to help to improve the home conditions of those living in them.

There is a large field for voluntary effort outside the factory walls which would provide for the needs of the labourers in their leisure hours and for their general uplift. Such voluntary efforts exist, but are usually hampered for lack of funds, and are thus prevented from undertaking work on the scale required.

Examples of Over-crowding due to " Boarders " in Naigaum District.

Room.	Family.	Boarders.
Chawl 13.—		
Room 47	3 families—8 people :— (1) Of 4—husband, wife and 2 children. (2) Of 2—husband and wife. (3) Of 2—husband and wife.	
Room 14.	1 family—9 people :— Husband, wife and 1 child, 4 relatives..	.. .. 2 men
Room 54	2 families—5 people :— (1) Of 2—husband and wife. (2) Of 3—husband and wife and 1 child.	
Room 53	3 families of 8 people :— (1) Of 2—husband and wife. (2) Of 2—husband and wife. (3) Of 4—husband, wife and 2 boys.	
Room 55	3 families—7 people :— (1) Of 2—husband and wife. (2) Of 2—husband and wife. (3) Of 3—husband, wife and 1 child.	
Room 58	2 families—9 people :— (1) Of 5—husband, wife and 3 children. (2) Of 4—husband, wife and 2 dependents.	
Bogada chawl*—		
No. 1	1 family—19 people :— Husband, wife and 5 children .. ..	.. .. 12 men
Present condition ..	1 family—7 people .. ..	.. .. 4 men
No. 4	2 families—10 people :— husband, wife and 3 children each	
Tin shed	1 family—4 people :— husband, wife, and 2 children. Dependents, 1 woman, 2 children. Hens, cattle, etc.	
No. 13 room	1 family—8 people :— husband, wife, and 6 children	2 men

Note.—Average size of rooms, 8 × 16, including washing and cooking places.

THE BOMBAY MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

I.—Recruitment.

1. Labour in Bombay mills is composed of about 30 per cent. of local labour, of which about two-fifths are Mahomedans and three-fifths Hindus. The Mahomedans are chiefly employed as weavers, and the local Hindus are employed in the spinning department. The local female labour employed consists of depressed classes who are usually employed as sweepers, and Ghati women who are mostly employed as reelers and winders.

Out of the remaining 70 per cent. four-fifths come to Bombay from the outlying Konkan districts of the Presidency—Ratnagiri and Kolaba—and are mostly Mahratas. They are very largely employed in the weaving department, and to a lesser

* *Note.*—Tin roof, small window, very insanitary. The 12 men had two rooms for sleeping.

extent in the roving and frame departments. The remaining 14 per cent. of Bombay's labour are Bhayyas and Pardeshis from the united provinces and the central provinces who are chiefly employed in the frame department and in the blow room.

(2) A large number of the Konkani operatives in Bombay mills go away to their native villages shortly before the monsoon and return to Bombay at the end of the rains. During the marriage season, which recurs periodically, there is also some exodus to villages. During the temporary absence of these workpeople, *budlis* or substitutes are employed who usually leave when the regular workers return. Speaking generally, the labour force may be said to be more or less permanent, allowing, of course, for *budlis*.

Bhayya and Pardeshi operatives do not go back to their villages so frequently as their Mahratta confrères, probably because of the remoteness of their villages from Bombay and the consequent high railway fares. They go once in three or four years, and stay away for about three or four months.

3. The high wages paid in Bombay mills attract a sufficient labour force from the surrounding districts to meet all ordinary requirements, and no special recruitment is necessary at present. In this connection, the following paragraph from the Association's letter dated 10th January, 1928, to the Collector of Bombay in respect of the action taken by the millowners on some of the recommendations of the Tariff Board will be found interesting :—

"7. Paragraph 63.—A special enquiry has been made by the Association since the publication of the Tariff Board report with a view to ascertaining the exact practice in regard to recruitment of labour, and the results definitely prove that the practice of direct recruitment is making rapid strides throughout the Bombay mill industry and this movement is receiving every encouragement from the Association and from the management of individual mills. The days when the jobber had almost complete power over the labour force working under him in the mills and the management had perforce to accept whatever labour the jobber thought fit to bring, are fast coming to a close owing to the growth of a more independent spirit among the workers. The enquiry just completed has shown that so far as the daily replacement of absentees is concerned, operatives as a rule are not finally engaged by the jobber. They may, it is true, be brought to the mills by the jobbers, but even this practice is becoming more and more rare and it is now the more general rule for the jobber to obtain replacements for his absentees from the applicants for work who daily attend at the mills. Whatever the method adopted by the jobber to obtain the workpeople necessary for replacing absentees, the final selection and appointments are made by the heads of the departments concerned, and in many mills even the preliminary assembling of applicants for replacements of casual vacancies is conducted by the heads of departments and not by jobbers.

"There may in the future still be occasions when, owing to an extraordinary shortage, jobbers will be still required to recruit labour, but these revivals of the power of the jobbers are likely to be temporary and infrequent.

"The millowners have always strongly discountenanced the practice of extorting commission from workpeople by jobbers, and where charges of this nature are substantiated, the most severe disciplinary action is taken against the jobbers concerned."

7. The amount of unemployment amongst textile operatives in Bombay has increased during the last four or five years, and at the present time, there are probably 10,000 less workers in the industry than there were five years ago. This number is not necessarily entirely unemployed. Unemployment among weavers is not in the same proportion for, the reason that the number of looms has increased considerably.

The number absolutely unemployed varies during the different seasons of the year.

The unemployment is chiefly due to a number of mills having gone into liquidation and many others having worked at below full capacity. Some increase in the amount of unemployment has also been brought about by the increase in the amount of finer cloth woven, which necessitates less preparatory machinery. The retrenchment of superfluous labour and the introduction of the efficiency system in a few mills have also caused a reduction in the labour force. The extent of these reductions is probably between three and four thousand, and has chiefly affected the spinning department.

Labour troubles have also added their quota to the amount of temporary unemployment.

8. (i) *Average duration of employment.*—The Association has no definite information on this subject.

(ii) It is difficult to estimate the extent of casual employment because the workpeople in Bombay do not remain in one mill for any length of time, but seek employment in different mills from time to time.

Casual employment is increased during those periods when a large number of Konkani workmen leave for their homes or remain absent owing to the marriage season, etc.

Where a large proportion of Bhayya, Pardeshi or up-country workpeople are employed in Bombay mills, it is not necessary frequently to employ *budhis*, because they do not go away so often as the Mahratta workpeople.

9. *Apprentices Act, 1850—Value of.*—As far as the Indian textile industry is concerned, the Act has little, if any, value.

II.—Staff Organization.

10. The system under which the mills in Bombay are managed has been dealt with at some length by the Tariff Board. The managing agents largely control the buying and selling policy of the mill, and are responsible solely for financing the concerns.

The immediate management and control of mills is vested in the hands of a manager with wide practical experience, with technical assistants under him who are responsible for the working of the various departments.

11. The selection of the managing staff is usually in the hands of the mill manager or mill superintendent, but in the case of most appointments they have to be sanctioned by the agents.

In certain mills, there is a system of training apprentices for managerial and supervising positions.

12. (i) The procedure with regard to the recruitment of the supervising staff is more or less the same as for the managing staff. The methods of recruiting ordinary workers are dealt with in answer to question 3.

(ii) There are hardly any vocational facilities provided at present for the operatives in general. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible in the near future to improve the facilities available to workmen for obtaining technical knowledge of the machine and process with which they are connected. In this matter the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, the Government of Bombay and the Association are collaborating.

The provision of vocational training for those who desire to enter the textile industry will, however, still remain inadequate, and is a matter to which the Government of Bombay might be invited to get detailed consideration. In the opinion of the Association, satisfactory facilities cannot be made available to all workmen unless and until all operatives receive a more adequate primary education.

Although in the mill area of Bombay primary education is free and compulsory, a very large proportion of children of millhands who may be expected to form the working force in the mills in the next decade or so, do not receive any primary education whatsoever owing either to the fact that they are living outside Bombay or are kept away from school by their parents, and until the situation is altered, it will be difficult to introduce a satisfactory scheme of vocational training.

In spite of this lack of vocational training, the conscientious workman, at the present time, has fairly good chances of improving his prospects. The posts of the subordinate supervising staff, such as muccadums, jobbers and foremen, are filled from the ranks, and it is only on rare occasions that these posts are filled up by men recruited from outside owing to the lack of suitable men in the department.

13. (i) The relations between the staff and rank and file were quite harmonious until recently. But the attitude of a certain section of the labour force has entirely changed owing to the teachings of certain labour leaders. (See also answer to question 122 later).

(ii) *Value and defects of system of employing jobbers.*—A reference is invited to the answer to question 3 above.

(iii) The constitution of Works Committees, as understood in the more advanced industrial countries in the West, has not been generally attempted. One important reason for this is the illiteracy of the major portion of the industrial population in India which prevents them from fully appreciating and utilizing the advantages that accrue from such committees.

The experience of two important groups of mills in Bombay show the difficulties in the way of organizing Works Committees, and the attempt had to be given up in one group, and in the other, their activities came to be confined to welfare work. Whether circumstances have altered sufficiently to admit of further experiments in this direction is a matter which is engaging the attention of the Association.

A copy of the "brochure" issued by Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Sons, giving detailed information of the work done by Works Committees in their group of mills, is submitted as an enclosure for the information of the Commission.

14. (i) Each mill maintains a timekeeper's department with a special clerical staff who are responsible for attendance registers. They calculate and check wages, and in the piecework calculations, departmental clerks also render assistance. The great majority of mills issue tickets to their workers on the day before pay-day showing the amount of wages due.

The methods of checking timekeeping, piecework, contract and attendance registers, adopted by two representative groups of mills, are given below, and it may be assumed that the details outlined therein obtain more or less in almost all the mills in Bombay :—

" *Group A* :—All operatives except weavers are provided with tickets showing their departments and departmental numbers, which they drop at the timekeeper's office while entering the mill in the morning. The ticket boys arrange these tickets in order, and draws up a list of absentees. The head of each department also sends a list of absentees which is checked with the ticket boys' list. The tickets collected at the time office are redistributed among the operatives after the recess hour, and this provides a check. From the ticket boys' report, the timekeepers enter the attendance in the attendance registers or musters.

" In an average mill employing about 2,000 hands there are generally 3 timekeepers and 4 ticket boys under one head timekeeper.

" *Piecework books* showing the amount of work turned out by pieceworkers, are maintained by the departmental clerks, and are checked by the timekeepers.

" The musters are checked by the timekeepers of each mill by an interchange of musters. The pay scrutinizing staff attached to the head office maintains a general supervision on the musters of all mills.

" There is no work done on contract."

" *Group B* :—Timekeeping and attendance registers are kept and checked by the timekeepers' staff.

" Every employee except in certain cases, is supplied with a metal ticket bearing his register number. On entering the mill the employee deposits his ticket in a box placed outside the timekeeper's office. The timekeeper then gets the tickets sorted out by the ticket boy who then consecutively places them on the board on which the numbers of employees with their respective departments are written in order. Those whose tickets are placed on the board are considered to be present, and those whose tickets are not found, to be taken as absent. The absent numbers are then noted down in a separate book and the assistant timekeeper goes into the departments with it to get the absent numbers verified by the head of the department, and after they are verified, they are marked in the muster-rolls.

" Piecework books are kept by the departmental clerks concerned and after the end of the month when they are completed, are sent to the timekeepers who check them and enter into the muster-rolls."

(ii) Wages are almost invariably paid to the actual workpeople by paymasters or cashiers sent specially to mills on pay-day for that purpose by the agents' office. The payment is made in the presence of a timekeeper who attends with the muster-roll and checks the payments; the head of the department concerned is also present. It is a custom to pay wages during working hours in the departments one after the other. The workpeople present themselves in batches according to their order in the muster.

15. The system of giving out work on contract does not exist in Bombay mills.

III.—Housing.

16. (i) The information at the disposal of the Association shows that up to date, nearly 6,000 rooms have been constructed by Bombay mills at a cost of something like Rs. 75 lakhs. The activities of the Association in this direction had to be curtailed, however, when the Bombay Government undertook the provision of housing accommodation for the working classes, for which purpose a duty of Re. 1 per bale was imposed on all cotton brought into Bombay. This duty during the last 8 years has cost the mill industry of Bombay approximately Rs. 80 lakhs.

The chawls erected by employers provide suitable one and two-room tenements for the housing of labour. One or more *nahnis* (bath-rooms) are built to serve the needs of the tenants on each floor. Most chawls are built with verandahs or corridors which run the length of each floor and adequate precautions are taken to ensure proper ventilation and light.

The average dimensions of each room are 10 ft. to 12 ft. wide by 10 ft. to 12 ft. long. In some cases, electric lights have been installed and in all cases the supply of fresh water is ample for all purposes. The provision of sanitary arrangements in the chawls is adequate, and a menial staff is maintained for the purpose of keeping the latrines, passages and the precincts of chawls generally clean.

It has been the experience not only of mills but of other large employers of labour that in spite of their attempts to maintain a reasonable standard of sanitation in the chawls built by them for their workpeople, their habits and way of living prevent them, to a considerable extent, from deriving all the benefits of the improved housing provided for them. One reason why the provision of cheap and improved housing does not result in better conditions of health of the workpeople is the ingrained tendency to overcrowd by taking in lodgers or allowing their friends or relations, employed elsewhere, to stay with them. In some cases it has been found that chawls built by the employers of labour in Bombay for their workpeople are inhabited more by outsiders than the workpeople themselves.

The average rent charged is between Rs. 3 and Rs. 5 for single rooms, and the normal yield on capital invested is between 2½ per cent. and 3½ per cent.

(ii) In 1920 the Government of Bombay levied the town duty on cotton on the understanding that a portion of the proceeds of the duty would be utilized for the payment of interest and sinking fund charges on the capital required for the construction of 50,000 tenements for the industrial population of Bombay, which it was proposed to let to workers at very low rents. The scheme was never completed—only 16,500 tenements were built—nor was it practicable to let the tenements at anything like the rent originally intended. The constructional costs of the chawls far exceeded the original estimates, and to make matters worse the operatives showed a disinclination to take advantage of them, with the result that a large number of rooms are now lying vacant in spite of the concessions in rent made by Government from time to time.

Thus, while Government's efforts have substantially failed to relieve the housing situation, the industry continues to pay the tax in spite of the fact that the Tariff Board recommended that it should be reduced.

The following statement shows the scale of rents collected by the Development Department on these chawls :—

Rates in March, 1929.

Floor.	Delisle Road.	Naigaum.	Sewri.	Worli.
Ground, first and second	Rs. 9-8-0	Rs. 7-0-0	Rs. 7-0-0	Rs. 5-0-0
Top floor	9-0-0	7-0-0	7-0-0	5-0-0

Note.—It was decided to reduce the rate of rents for rooms on all floors of Delisle Road chawls to Rs. 8 per mensem with effect from 1st April, 1929.

18. In regard to chawls provided by Government and employers, the provisions which have been made constitute an advance on the provisions made by private landlords in regard to sanitation, water supply and lighting arrangements.

19. At the present time the accommodation provided by employers is being more readily taken up than previously, but in a fair number of cases the accommodation intended for the benefit of their own operatives has had to be let out to outsiders.

In the case of Government chawls, although rents have been reduced to a comparatively low level, the accommodation is not availed of to the extent to which it should be. This remark specially applies to chawls at Worli. The reasons for this are explained in the following paragraph extracted from a letter addressed by the Association to the Secretary, Development Department, Bombay, in 1927 :—

“ There is little doubt that one of the reasons for the lack of tenants in the development chawls is that a very large number of workers persist in remaining in infinitely worse accommodation belonging to private landlords. Many of these chawls are really unfit for human habitation as judged by present-day standards, and should be condemned as ‘ U.H.H.’ by the Sanitary Department of the Municipality. My committee consider that the authorities in charge of the housing scheme should approach the Municipality with a request that the sanitary rules should be more rigidly enforced henceforward both in the interests of the health of the city and the finances of the housing scheme. Bustees and temporary sheds should, in no cases, be allowed as human habitations. It has been said that the Municipality themselves own certain properties which ought to be condemned as insanitary, and are therefore loath to put the screw upon private landlords. If this is true it is scarcely to be wondered that the development chawls do not contain as many tenants as they might otherwise have.”

Further progress towards the provision of accommodation by employers in Bombay is unlikely in the future, for the reason that the funds which might have been available for this purpose have been diverted towards bearing the cost of erecting and maintaining the houses built by Government.

21. (i) Although sub-letting in its strict sense is not common in the chawls erected by employers, the greatest difficulty is experienced in preventing overcrowding resulting from the system of "paying guests."

Another problem which confronts employers is that they have difficulty in preventing their chawls being taken up by workpeople from other mills. After the last six months' strike it was often found that in order to evade payment of arrears of rent, workers did not return to the mill in which they were originally employed, nor to the chawls in which they had previously rented rooms.

(ii) The greatest latitude has always been allowed by employers before eviction, and after the six months' strike in 1928 many employers gave up their claims for the greater portion of the arrears of rent; and in all cases in which a portion of the arrears was collected very easy terms were arranged for tenants. This generous policy did not meet with an adequate response from operatives, and stricter methods were adopted during this year's strike though the number of evictions was small.

22. Modern industrial housing tends to raise the standard of living of millhands, as it is meant to prevent overcrowding and leads to better health, owing to more ventilation and the use of more up-to-date sanitary appliances. Conservative habits and the disinclination of workers to adapt themselves to improved conditions often serve as barriers to their reaping the full advantage from improved housing.

IV.—Health.

23. (i) The reports of the Health Department of the Bombay Municipality would seem to indicate a very high mortality amongst children at birth and during the first twelve months. These, however, must be discounted to a very great extent. While the association recognizes that the death-rate amongst children is unduly high, it must be remembered that there is a practice amongst millhands to send their womenfolk to their villages shortly before confinement. They remain away for perhaps a month and then return to Bombay with their children. If such children die, their deaths are registered in Bombay, and thus go to swell the death-rate per 1,000 amongst children under one year since their births have not been registered in Bombay. Not only this, but even when children are born in Bombay their births are often not registered. All deaths are, however, registered before burial or cremation can take place.

That registration of births leaves much to be desired may be readily deduced from a study of the annual figures published for different localities.

(iii) The following extract from the Report of the Delegation of the International Federation of Textile Workers, under the leadership of the Rt. Hon. Tom Shaw, M.P., which visited India in 1927, gives some idea of the conditions which obtain in Indian mills:—

"Taking the factories from the point of view of height of the rooms, space and ventilation, they are at least equal to the factories of Europe. The machinery is, with very few exceptions, of the latest and most up-to-date type, and whilst there was abundant evidence that—taken generally—European conditions were not being reached, we saw many concerns, where, in every respect, the conditions were equal to the best European mills."

(v) The physique of workers is notably poor in Indian industries generally, one reason being their puny build and poor constitution from birth; another reason being the absence of proteins and other necessary vitamins from their normal dietary which has an adverse effect on building up a robust physique during the period of growth. Early marriage with its attendant evils saps the vitality of the workers to a considerable extent. Another contributory factor which is a hindrance to the possession of sound health is the unhygienic mode of life.

As regards the Bombay mill industry, it may be generally stated that the physique of the weavers and Bhayya workers from the United Provinces compares favourably with that of operatives recruited locally.

24. (i) From information furnished by mills in Bombay in respect of medical facilities provided by them for their operatives, it may be stated that all of them maintain a fully equipped dispensary in the premises, in the charge of a qualified compounder. Medicines are dispensed to mill-hands free of charge almost without exception. In some mills, it is not only the operatives themselves who take advantage of the facilities provided, but even their wives and children are allowed free treatment at the dispensary; e.g., in one mill, 22 per cent. of the daily average attendance was of the families and relations of operatives.

In addition to the maintenance of dispensaries, almost all mills engage the services of qualified medical officers who visit the mills twice a day and prescribe for the operatives who go to them for treatment. Some mills employ a whole-time doctor to attend to their operatives; and in the case of those workpeople who are too ill to attend the mill dispensary for treatment, it is usual for the mill doctor to go to their places and treat them in their homes free of charge.

Women doctors are not generally employed, and in one case, the appointment of a lady doctor with a nurse to help her to attend to the needs of female operatives was discontinued when it was found that they had no objection to be treated by a male doctor, and did not particularly want the services of a lady doctor.

In a mill of average dimensions in Bombay, 50 to 60 workpeople per day seek medical advice or obtain medicines at mill dispensaries. In the case of those mills where workers' families are allowed to attend the dispensary for treatment, the attendance is somewhat higher.

Another direction of welfare work undertaken by some mill managements in Bombay is the provision of creches in the mills for children under 5 years. The creche is usually in charge of a trained nurse assisted by an ayah. Milk, sugar and biscuits are supplied free of charge to children in the creches, and in some instances clothes are also provided for children during the time they are in the creche. The infants are kept in the creches when their mothers are at work and their minor ailments are also attended to by the mill doctor.

The following figures illustrating the extent of medical and other facilities provided by one of the most important groups of Bombay mills, will be found interesting:

There were in all 84,600 attendances at the mill dispensaries during the year 1927, and the doctors paid 491 visits to the patients' residences; the average employment in that year was 23,000 in the whole group.

The total cost of these medical facilities provided by the firm was Rs. 33,732 11 annas in 1927, which gives an incidence of 6 annas $4\frac{1}{2}$ pies per case treated.

There is a lady doctor for all mills, who ordinarily visits each mill on alternate days, and also supervises the baby creches. She treated 8,480 cases in the year 1927.

Daily average attendance at the baby creches is 75 as against provision made for 100.

25. The medical facilities afforded by mills are now very freely utilized. At one time it was difficult to get the women employees to avail themselves of the professional services of mill doctors, but, during recent years, the objection to examination by male doctors is not so marked. (See also answer to question 24 (1).)

26. Latrines of the flushing type are provided where there are municipal connections in mill compounds and a special menial staff is maintained to keep them clean. Drinking water is provided by all mills in the mill compound and in almost all mills provision is made for washing and bathing and these facilities are very freely utilized.

Sanitary arrangements in mills are, generally speaking, far superior to those in workers' houses.

28. Temperature in factories is suitably controlled by the managements, and is subject to frequent examinations by Factory Inspectors. The existing factory rules are ample to safeguard the workers' health. The effect of atmospheric conditions in mills on the health of workers has been dealt with in some detail, as far as the cotton mill industry is concerned, in the report on Humidification and Ventilation of Cotton Mills submitted by Mr. T. Maloney in 1923, to which attention is directed.

During the last few years a considerable amount of work has been done by the cotton mills of Bombay with the object of improving working conditions by the provision of more adequate ventilation and cooling devices. In accordance with the Factories Act, as amended in 1926, wet and dry bulb thermometers are maintained in all cotton mills. Records are submitted at regular intervals to the factory inspection department, and these are checked against a schedule which corresponds very closely with that laid down in the Humidification Report of 1923. It is understood that, in so far as mills in Bombay are concerned, the schedule is rarely contravened.

29. (i) Industrial and occupational diseases are not known to exist in Bombay cotton mills.

(ii) As amongst other workers in Bombay, malaria is very common amongst mill workers, but every effort is being made to combat this undoubted scourge. Many mills have filled in their tanks, others have covered them up, and some mills now employ a special anti-malarial staff, and have adopted the recommendations of the local Malaria Advisory Committee.

30. (i) The attention of the Commission is drawn to the reply of the Government of India to the International Labour Office contained in the report of the International Labour Office on Sickness Insurance, published in May, 1927. On page 11 it is stated:

"The Government of India consider that the adoption of any comprehensive scheme of sickness insurance must be regarded, for some time at any rate, impractical in India, and they think it unnecessary that the reply to be sent to the questionnaire on behalf of the Government of India should discuss in detail the provisions of a scheme which will be formulated with almost exclusive regard to the conditions prevailing in the more advanced European countries."

(ii) *Possibility of introducing other systems.*—In one or two mills, voluntary sickness benefit funds were started at different times, but none of these has met with any great success. It might be possible to attain a greater degree of satisfaction from such schemes if the State contributed towards the cost.

(iii) The use of native medicines has decreased very considerably among mill workers in Bombay and, as mentioned in reply to question 25, even women operatives now take advantage of the medicines and treatment provided by mills.

31. (i) The Bombay Maternity Benefits Act which came into operation from 1st July, 1929, in the following areas situated within the Bombay Presidency, enjoins that maternity benefits be paid to female operatives employed in a factory for a period of three weeks before and four weeks after confinement at the rate of 8 annas per day :—Bombay Suburban District ; Bombay City ; Ahmedabad ; Viramgam ; Surat ; Broach ; Jalgaon ; Sholapur ; Belgaum ; Amalner and Karachi.

The provisions of the Act are administered by the Chief Inspector of Factories and his staff of inspectors, and the amount of maternity benefit for the period up to and including the date of delivery is to be paid by the employer to the woman within 48 hours of the production of a certified extract from a Birth Register stating that the woman has given birth to a child. The amount due for subsequent periods is payable punctually each fortnight in arrear.

(ii) The previous history of the attempts to introduce legislation to provide for the payment of maternity benefits dates back to the year 1919 when the International Labour Conference held at Washington adopted a Convention concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth, and a special resolution was passed on the representation of the Government of India delegates which read as follows :—

"That the Government of India be requested to make a study of the question of the employment of women before and after child-birth and of maternity benefits before the next Conference and to report these matters to the next Conference."

In pursuance of the above resolution, the Government of India caused exhaustive enquiries to be made into the whole question, and the very complete information which they collected was discussed at the informal conference convened by the Department of Industries, and attended by representatives of associations concerned with the welfare and medical relief of women and children. The findings of this important conference, which were incorporated in a report subsequently framed by the Government of India, were that immediate legislation on the lines of the Draft Convention was impossible.

In January, 1925, Mr. N. M. Joshi introduced in the Legislative Assembly a Bill to regulate the employment of women in factories and mines some time before, and some time after, confinement, and to make provision for the payment of maternity benefits.

This Bill, which was subsequently circulated for public opinion, stated in its Objects and Reasons : "The Bill seeks to carry out some of the proposals contained in the Draft Convention passed at the First International Labour Conference held at Washington in 1919." But Mr. Joshi's Bill laid down that the cost of maternity benefits should be borne entirely by employers, whereas the Convention adopted at Washington enjoined that the benefits to be paid to women in connection with their confinement should be provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of State insurance. That industries should be made to contribute the whole cost of providing maternity benefits was palpably unfair. Another defect of Mr. Joshi's Bill was that its scope was confined to women engaged in particular kinds of employment. The Bill was adversely criticised by almost all the public bodies consulted on the subject and, it is understood, was therefore dropped.

In 1928 Mr. R. S. Asavale introduced a similar Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council which was in the first instance referred to a Select Committee. Mr. J. B. Petit, the Association's representative in the Provincial Council, who was also a member of the Select Committee, appended the following minute to the Select Committee's report, which adequately summarises the Association's views :—

"I regret I am still unable to agree to the principle underlying the Bill. Nor am I in favour of the methods proposed by the Select Committee for putting that principle into effect, for the reasons set out by me at very great length in the speech I made when opposing the first reading of the Bill during the July session of the Council.

"My main objections to the Bill are :—(1) That it is the function of the State to provide maternity benefits and not the function of the employers.

" It is stated in the Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill that it is sought to carry out some of the proposals contained in the Draft Convention passed at the First International Labour Conference. In this connection it is pertinent to point out that the Draft Convention adopted at Washington, enjoined that the benefits to be paid to women in connection with their confinement should be provided either out of public funds, or by means of a system of State insurance. The Bill, however, goes even beyond the provisions of the Draft Convention and requires industrial employers to pay for the maternity benefits for women employed in industries.

" The Bill in the form in which it has emerged from the Select Committee absolutely flouts this principle, since it seeks to impose the whole cost of maternity benefits on employers, a principle which has been accepted by no other civilized country.

" (2) That the exhaustive investigations made by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments into this question of maternity benefits led them to the unanimous conclusion that legislation on the lines of the Draft Convention adopted by the International Labour Conference at Washington was premature, impracticable and unsuited to the conditions prevailing in India.

" (3) That legislation dealing with maternity benefits should apply to the whole of India and to all classes of labour.

" In my opinion no satisfactory answers have been given by the supporters of the Bill to these three objections, and until my objections to the principle of the Bill have been met, I must emphatically oppose it as absolutely unfair and uncalled for."

The Bill was, however, accepted by the Provincial Council, and became law from the 1st July, 1929.

V.—Welfare (other than Health and Housing, but including Education).

34. When the financial position of the industry is considered, the welfare work which is being done by Bombay mills may be considered creditable, and the welfare schemes which were initiated during the industry's prosperity will be continued and extended as soon as financial considerations permit. In this connection, the attention of the Commission is also directed to the Annual Reports issued by the Chief Inspector of Factories, Bombay.

From the information obtained by the Association, it appears that in almost all mills, a tea-shop is maintained in the compound. In many instances, two or more such shops are to be found where, in addition to tea, light refreshments can be had. Where a large number of Mahomedan hands are employed, there is separate provision made for the supply of tea and refreshments to them by a Mahomedan tea-shop keeper.

Cheap grain and cloth shops have been in existence for many years, and were particularly useful to the workpeople during the period of high prices which followed the close of the war.

In some mills, large sheltered accommodation is provided for the workpeople, to enable them to take their meals.

It may interest the Commission to know that one mill has even gone to the length of erecting a theatre equipped with electric lights, where plays are staged and cinema shows are given.

35. The effect of the welfare work is difficult to estimate owing to the fact that millhands are in the habit of changing about from mill to mill, and during the last few years, the beneficial effects of welfare work have been, to a large extent, neutralised by the unemployment and misery caused by frequent and prolonged strikes.

36. It was until recently the practice in a large number of mills to provide schools for half-timers and children of workpeople in Bombay mills. These have largely been discontinued owing to the introduction of compulsory primary education and owing to the raising of the age limit for child workers. The statistics of the Factory Inspection Department show that at the present time only 122 half-timers are employed by mills, and the necessity for schools for them no longer exist.

As regards adult workers, individual millowners have contributed generously towards night schools conducted by the Social Service League, and several mills maintain night schools for their workpeople.

Technical education has been encouraged for many years. The Association has been contributing Rs. 2,000 per year, for many years, to the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute. In addition, in 1922, a special subscription of Rs. 1,14,000 was made to the cost of the new premises of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute. The work carried on by the Social Service League has been substantially helped by the generous contributions in money and machinery made by members of the Association.

37. While the difficulties in the way of inaugurating schemes of this nature which would be acceptable to the workers are undoubtedly great, the matter is receiving the attention of the Association.

Even at present a certain number of old employees do receive grants or pensions on retirement, but nothing in the nature of a general scheme has, so far, been adopted.

38. The chief difficulties in the way of increasing the extent of co-operation in the matter of welfare between employers and their employees are the unsettled habits of the workpeople who move about from mill to mill, and the lack of genuine assistance from some of the trade unions which do not seem to be concerned with improving welfare work.

VI.—Education.

41. *Facilities for Industrial and Vocational Training.*—This subject has been touched upon in answer to questions 11 and 12, but it may be stated that facilities for vocational training could probably be developed if primary education, which must form the ground-work for vocational training, was more general in the Presidency.

42. The labour attracted to Bombay mills in the past has generally been drawn from the ranks of the illiterate, and the Association is not therefore in a position to say what the effect of education would be on the standard of living and industrial efficiency, except that inasmuch as it has usually been the experience in other countries that the extension of education has had beneficial effects both upon the standard of living and upon industrial efficiency, the mill industry of Bombay would welcome a rapid extension of primary education.

43. Machinery in textile mills which is likely to cause accidents to operatives is generally adequately fenced or guarded, and the factory inspection department maintains an efficient supervision over all fencing devices. Fencing has, on the whole, steadily improved during recent years, and many defects which have come to the notice of the factory inspection department, or have been brought to its notice by this association, have been remedied.

In recent years, lap guarding apparatus has been improved, and defects in the fencing of transmission machinery have been reduced to a minimum.

The factory inspection department, in 1927, issued a pamphlet which was distributed to the managers of all mills pointing out the common defects in guards, and improvements have been made which tend to prevent serious or fatal accidents.

The last two years have shown an increase in the number of accidents from flying shuttles and this was brought to the notice of the factory inspection department by this association. Special instructions were thereafter issued, and the number of such accidents has lately decreased.

44. Most of the cotton mills in Bombay are insured by the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association, who at present insure approximately 110,000 men. The total number of accidents reported during the last five years was 11,310, out of which 57 were fatal, 360 resulted in serious injuries and the remaining 10,893 were of a trivial nature.

In European countries, the rate of premium paid for compulsory accident insurance has been estimated at between 1 and 2 per cent., while the rate charged by the Mutual is only 0·2 per cent. This seems to indicate that the rate of accidents in Bombay is very much lower than in other countries. The incidence of accidents in Bombay cotton mills is only 2 per cent. per annum; and in a period of five years, only one person in 9,650 injured was fatally injured. The low accident rate in Bombay mills can be held to be due to the care taken by mill authorities to prevent accidents, and to the control exercised by the factory inspection department. It may also be attributed, in part, to the smaller number of machines attended to by each individual operative in Indian mills.

45. However effectively a machine may be guarded and however thorough the control and instructions, the human element has always to be considered, and is one of the main causes of accidents. There are, however, certain machines in cotton mills which are more likely to cause accidents than others. Experience has shown that the incidence of accidents is greatest in the card-room. A number of these can be attributed to the ignorance and lack of skill of the average card-room operative. Stripping operations cause numerous accidents involving hand and arm injuries which sometimes prove fatal. Belts and machine tools are also frequent causes of accidents.

46. Valuable work in accident prevention has been done by the factory inspection department. Frequent inspections of machinery and safety devices are made to see that the guards, etc., required under the Act, are used and maintained in an efficient state. Whenever it has been found that on any particular machine accidents are frequent, the suggestions made by the factory inspection department for their prevention are attended to by the mills. The frequency of accidents on looms having been brought to the notice of the factory inspection department by the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association, the department's suggestion for the

substitution of shuttle bar guards for guards of the hook type was readily accepted and given effect to by many members of the Millowners' Association. As the result of a fatal accident in the card-room of a Bombay mill due to tetanus ensuing from a trivial injury, the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association caused arrangements to be made for anti-tetanus injections being given in all card-room accidents due to injuries received at the licker-in, card cylinder or doffer cylinder.

In certain cases, accidents have been caused by other workmen starting a machine while the injured man was engaged in cleaning or repairing it. These accidents could, to a large extent, be prevented by the exercise of greater care on the part of the workpeople.

A third source of accidents is the careless handling of the machines by workpeople, which can only be prevented by an increase in efficiency, which might be brought about by a more intelligent appreciation of the chief dangers on various machines. As an aid to this, the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association has issued safety-first posters free of charge to members. These posters illustrate very graphically the danger of work on cards at the front plate either during or after the stripping process, the dangers at the under side of the licker-in, the danger of careless sweeping under ring frames, and the danger of wearing loose clothing in the card-room.

48. Practically all cotton mills in Bombay maintain well equipped dispensaries, and in most cases also provide qualified doctors on a part-time basis, whose services are given free of charge to operatives during sickness or accidents. Minor injuries are attended to by the mill medical staff who also render first-aid in serious accident cases. Some of the larger groups of mills have full-time doctors and one or two have lady doctors.

An interesting experiment is at present being tried by the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association under which men, after discharge from hospitals, are being given further curative treatment such as massage by their own doctors, and in many cases it has been found that the extent of permanent disability has been reduced. In some cases it has been found that the full use of the limb has been obtained by such treatment.

49. As far as the mill industry is concerned, the work of the factory inspection department leaves little to be desired, and the provisions of the Factories Act are rigidly enforced.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. (i) and (ii) Most of the insurance effected under the Workmen's Compensation Act in the cotton mills in Bombay is covered by the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association. Every accident, however trivial and however caused, is notified to the association by members on behalf of the workmen. This system entirely prevents claims being turned down for want of notice, and ensures that every possible claim is lodged and investigated as far as the members of the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association are concerned.

(iii) Though the passing of this Act five years ago has put an extra burden on the employers, it was readily accepted by most mills as they were already in the habit of compensating their workmen when injured. It is found that, with very few exceptions, mills have met their liabilities fully and willingly.

(iv) About 70 per cent. of the mills have insured their risks, the majority with the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association, and the rest carry their own risk. From the workers' point of view, what is most necessary is that they should be assured of receiving compensation in full when injured. As far as the mill industry in Bombay is concerned, this has always been possible, no matter whether the mills have carried their own risk or have insured their risk.

(v) As far as the mill industry is concerned, compulsory insurance is not necessary. There have been no cases in which workers have lost their claims to compensation.

52. The Act as at present framed only covers men employed in all organized industries, and the association considers that its scope should be extended to cover workers on plantations or employed in construction, repair and demolition of buildings.

53. (i) Judging by the experience so far gained, the scales at present in force seem to be adequate.

(ii) The conditions required to be fulfilled under the Act are few and simple, and practically unlimited discretion is vested in the commissioner who may waive any omission on the part of the workman which would disentitle him to compensation.

(ii) As far as the association is aware, occupational diseases are unknown in the cotton textile industry.

(iv) In presidency towns with special commissioners, the administration of the Act has been most satisfactory, and compensation claims are disposed of with despatch. Commissioners usually advise workmen and employers. The giving of

such advice has not prejudiced the commissioner in favour of any party in cases which are subsequently brought to his court for settlement. Outside the presidency towns, where district or sessions judges officiate as commissioners, they do not usually advise parties prior to the hearing of a case for compensation. In this particular respect the instructions of the central government transmitted through local governments requesting all commissioners to help the people concerned, have not generally had the desired effect. These judges are invariably over-taxed with legal work, and compensation cases have to await disposal in the ordinary course and, usually, it takes much longer for settlement of compensation cases than in presidency towns. Even in the registration of agreements where compensation has already been paid, though it takes only a fortnight to register agreements in presidency towns, it is a common experience that, in the mofussil, it may take months to get them registered.

54. As far as the cotton industry is concerned, legislation on the lines of the Employers' Liability Act of 1880 is totally unnecessary.

IX.—Hours.

A.—Factories.

55. (i) The normal hours of work in Bombay mills are 10 per day and 60 per week. The 10 hours is split up into two periods of 5 hours each with a break of one hour from 12 to 1. Attempts have been made to introduce a half-hour recess in the forenoon, but workers themselves have opposed its introduction the chief reason being that they manage to find time to take their morning meal during working hours. An attempt which was made by the association in 1920 to introduce a morning recess to enable the operatives to take their morning meals was abandoned within a very short time of its introduction as the workmen themselves were not in favour of the scheme.

However, in view of the fact that the Tariff Board also stressed the desirability of introducing such a reform towards the end of 1927, the Association invited the Bombay European and the Bombay Textile and Engineering Associations to express an opinion on the subject. The Bombay Textile Labour Union, the only registered trade union which existed at the time, was consulted, and it was found that the proposal was not acceptable to the union. As under section 21 of the Indian Factories Act, a recess of less than one hour can only be provided with the consent of the employees, no further progress is, at present, possible

(ii) With the following exceptions, the number of hours worked in cotton mills is 10 per day :—

Warpers, sizers, calendermen, warehousemen and operatives of the folding department are working, as a rule, for 8½ to 9 hours per day, the hours varying in different mills.

The same remarks also apply to mechanics' shop and smithy, but there are instances where the operatives of these departments are putting in 10 hours' work with a *pro rata* increase in wages.

In all cases, the *actual* number of hours worked per day by Bombay mill operatives is considerably less than ten. During the morning and afternoon, workers spend anything from half to one hour away from their machines. During this time, production does not entirely cease, for the reason that during these absences, machines are kept running as far as possible by neighbouring workpeople, or by surplus hands in the department.

56. In Bombay cotton mills a six-day week is universally adopted.

57. The 60 hours' week has very adversely affected the industry's power to compete against countries like China and Japan where, until recently, the hours of work were considerably more than 10, and where women and children were employed at night and double shifts were and are still common. This subject has been dealt with at length by the Tariff Board in 1926, to whose report the Commission is referred.

58. The reduction of the length of the working day in 1920 has resulted in a certain increase in efficiency, particularly amongst piece-workers, but not to the extent of the reduction in hours, and in that sense it may be stated that the cost of production has been adversely affected in a certain measure.

59. As far as the cotton mill industry in Bombay is concerned, any further reduction in hours would be disastrous unless accompanied by an increase in the number of machines attended by an operative.

60. (i) It is very difficult to state definitely what the effect of the present system of recess is on fatigue, but that fatigue is not felt to any extent is indicated by the refusal of the workpeople themselves to have a morning recess of half an hour, and

by the results of investigations carried out by the Adviser on Humidification. (See Section 24, pages 60-71 of the Report on Humidification and Ventilation in Cotton Mills).

The midday recess which is now given is spent by a large number of hands in sleeping or recreation, the morning meal having been taken previously during working hours. In order that production may not be affected, a suggestion was made some years ago that a half-hours' recess should be given at the time when food is usually taken in the morning, but this proposal, as previously indicated, was found to be unacceptable to the workpeople, and had to be dropped.

(ii) and (iii) The association has no suggestions to offer for the amendment of the law as far as intervals for rest are concerned; nor do they advocate any change in the working hours per day.

(iv) The usual number of holidays per year is between 55 and 57.

61. (i) The practice in Bombay is to give a holiday on Sundays, but if a holiday falls on another day in the week, Sunday is made a working day. The Indian Factories Act lays down that:—

" 22 (1) No person shall be employed in any factory on a Sunday, unless—(a) he has had, or will have, a holiday for a whole day on one of the three days immediately preceding or succeeding the Sunday, and (b) the manager of the factory has previous to the Sunday or the substituted day, whichever is earlier, given notice to the inspector of his intention so to employ the said person and of the day which is to be substituted and has at the same time affixed a notice to the same effect in the place mentioned in Section 36.

" Provided that no such substitution shall be made as will result in any person working for more than ten consecutive days without a holiday for a whole day."

These provisions, in the opinion of the association, are satisfactory and effectively safeguard the workers' interests.

(ii) Taken all in all, the present law is satisfactory.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

A.—Factories.

81. The chief effects of the Factories Act, 1922, on employment have been to reduce the number of half-time operatives, and the number of persons employed on overtime and Sunday work.

82. Infants are not admitted into the mills in Bombay, though they are often brought into the compound by their mothers; and, of course, where creches exist, they are allowed to enter creches. In certain mills they are even provided with milk free of charge. Children between the ages of 7 and 12 are also in the habit of bringing food for their parents or relatives in the mills, and the greatest difficulty is found in entirely excluding them from the workrooms, though every reasonable measure is adopted to prevent this.

83. As far as the mill industry is concerned, the regulations for women's work at present in force are satisfactory. Although the Act lays down a working day of 10 hours, a very large proportion of women employed in Bombay mills, more especially in the winding and reeling departments, work for only 8½ to 9 hours. They come to work one hour later than male operatives, and usually leave earlier in the evening. It may be said that the nature of their work is not arduous, and they rarely put in a full month's work. Their earnings are in the nature of an addition to the family income.

84. (i) As children are not employed to any extent in cotton mills in Bombay, the association desires to submit no opinion as to the suitability of the regulations affecting their employment.

85. The double employment of children does not exist in Bombay mills.

86. *Work and Training of Young Adults: Facilities for Apprenticeship.*—Please see answers to questions 11 and 12.

87. There is practically no "blind alley" employment in the cotton mill industry, and it is usual in all departments to promote from the lower-paid grades to the higher, e.g., in the card room, can-carriers are first promoted as card-tenters and thereafter become strippers and grinders. In the frame department doffer boys in the course of time become siders, and in the spinning department similar facilities for promotion exist.

88. The Indian Factories Act lays down that no child or woman shall be employed in any factory before 5.30 a.m. or after 7 p.m. With these conditions, the institution of a system of double shifts for women and children is economically impossible in the Bombay mill industry, and under these circumstances, the association cannot express an opinion on this question.

XII.—Wages.

96. (i) The prevailing rates of wages in the industry as a whole are fairly accurately represented in the report issued by the Labour Office on the results of an enquiry into wages and absenteeism in selected Bombay mills during July, 1926.

(iii) The face value of wages in the Bombay mill industry has increased by about 100 per cent. since 1914. In addition to this increase in face value, the mill operative has further benefited by the fixation of the rupee at 1s. 6d. sterling.

97. (i) and (iii) The movements of wages in recent years in the Bombay mill industry have been discussed in some detail in the reports of the Tariff Board and the Fawcett Committee. The appended table for a typical mill shows how wages have moved in various departments since 1913 (Appendix 1).

(ii) and (iv) Generally speaking, increases in wages from 1914 were given to meet the advance in the cost of living. Since 1921, the cost of living has decreased to a very considerable extent and the need of reducing wages owing to serious and long-continued depression in the trade became apparent. But no cut in wages has been enforced. As a matter of fact, as indicated in answer to question 96 (iii), the real value of wages has been still further increased during recent years by the fixation of the sterling value of the rupee at 1s. 6d. Taken all in all, wages of mill hands in Bombay have been kept at the same high level as at the peak of the boom period, and this has materially affected the industry's fortunes. This will be more apparent from the statement given in Appendix 2, which shows the relation of wages to profits during the last 11 years.

The association's agreement to the recommendation of the Fawcett Committee to consolidate dear food allowances with the basic wage, provided labour has no objection to any prospective revision of wages according to the cost of living, will mean that although the cost of living is only just over 50 per cent. higher than in 1914, the consolidated wages which will be introduced will include an addition to the 1914 basic wage of a very much higher percentage.

98. *Amounts sent to Villages.*—The attention of the Commission is invited to the statement given on page 35 of the "Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay," published by the Labour Office in 1923. The enquiry in question embraced very nearly 50 per cent. of the cotton mill workers of Bombay, and it is a matter worthy of notice that the remittances, especially of single men, were very considerable.

In this connection, useful information could be obtained if the Commission were to call for records of the extent of the remittances by money order sent to villages from the post offices situated in the mill area in Bombay, for which the mill hands are very largely responsible.

99. Payment in kind is not made in Bombay. All wages in Bombay do, however, include a percentage—70 per cent. in the case of time-workers and 80 per cent. in the case of piece-workers—which was originally added to wages to cover the rise in cost of living. The cost of living has fallen considerably since 1921, but no alteration has been made in the dear food allowance.

101. *Method of fixing Wages.*—(i) and (ii) Up to now wages have been fixed, according to the nature of the work to be done, by the management with due regard to the wages paid in neighbouring localities or neighbouring mills. Since 1917 additions to wages in the form of dear food allowances have been controlled by the Millowners' Association.

No agreements are entered into with individual workmen, except that they are informed of the wages paid when employed.

102. The basis of payment for overtime is laid down in the Factories Act, and is one and a quarter times the ordinary rate. In certain cases a higher rate is given, but never lower.

103. During 1928 an attempt was made to standardize wages throughout the mill industry, and the principle of standardization has been approved by the workers' representatives. So far, it has not been found possible to introduce these standardized wages, although, as far as the spinning section of the trade is concerned, an agreement has been reached on practically every point. In the weaving section, the proposed standard list contemplated a reduction of 7½ per cent. for weavers. The Fawcett Committee considered that such a reduction was justified, but held that it should be given up, provided "Labour leaders in their turn undertake to give real co-operation in trying to make the standardization scheme work properly." The Millowners' Association indicated, at joint meetings which followed the publication of the Fawcett Committee's report, that they were prepared to give favourable consideration to this suggestion, and suggested the appointment of a small joint subcommittee consisting of representatives of millowners and registered trade unions to devise the methods of carrying into effect the Fawcett Committee's recommendation, to the satisfaction of both employers and operatives. Unfortunately, the joint subcommittee could not function owing to the attitude taken up by the Girni Kamgar Union, which resulted in a wanton strike on 26th April this year.

104. Wage changes of the last few years have had very little effect on the supply of labour. The supply of labour for many years past, has been more than adequate to meet the demands of the industry, except during one or two months during sowing seasons, when isolated mills have some difficulty in obtaining their requirements. The higher wages which have been paid have not affected the character of the labour supply to any material extent, nor have they attracted better class labourers. It is, however, possible that a better class of labour may, in future, be attracted to the weaving section of the industry if the use of the efficiency system is extended. But before this could happen, it might be necessary to arrange for special training of such labour. Interesting results have followed an experiment introduced by Messrs. Courtaulds, who have employed rather superior type of labour in their mill for winding and preparing art silk yarns.

105. The introduction of minimum wages by statutory enactment would be of no assistance to the Bombay mill workers. On the other hand, it might be a positive disadvantage, since the level of wages now existing in the cotton mill industry is relatively high compared to wages paid to a similar class of labour in other occupations, and is also out of proportion to the profits made by the industry and the rise in the cost of living.

One of the 17 demands put forward by labour during the strike in April, 1928, which was considered by the Fawcett Committee, reads as follows :—

" 8. The wages of those workers whose average monthly wage is less than Rs. 30 shall be raised substantially."

After discussing the system of minimum wage regulation in various countries at some length, the Fawcett Committee observed :—

" . . . We do not think that in this enquiry we should be justified in importing the principle of a minimum wage to the extent demanded, viz., the fixing of a definite standard of Rs. 30 below which the wages of no mill operative in Bombay should fall. The introduction of such a standard was not contemplated by the parties when they agreed to the reference, as is clearly indicated by the fact that the Standardization Scheme put forward by the Joint Strike Committee themselves in opposition to that of the millowners contains a number of instances in which the wages are less than Rs. 30. . . .

" In our opinion it would be quite inappropriate in a time of recognized trade depression to attempt to raise the general standard of living of millhands, for that is what the present demand contemplates. . . .

" But we think that any attempt to improve the standard of comfort of the lowest paid workers by raising the general level of wages in the mill industry, in the circumstances of trade depression and fierce outside competition, might only result in the closing down of more mills, and thus in the end be injurious to the interests of the working classes."

106. *Deductions*—(i) *Extent of fining*.—This subject has been dealt with at length in the Fawcett Committee and Tariff Board reports, and the extent of fining practised in Bombay mills was the subject of a special enquiry by the Labour Office to which the Commission is referred. The recommendations of the Fawcett Committee, as incorporated in the standing orders framed by them, deal adequately with the problem. The standing order reads as below :—

" 18. Operatives will ordinarily be fined after being heard (but the acts on being repeated or in any gross case may be treated as misconduct under Order 17) for any of the following offences, namely: (a) absence without leave for more than three days without sufficient cause; (b) negligence in work or neglect of work; (c) smoking on the mill premises except in places where smoking is permitted; (d) entering or leaving or attempting to enter or leave the mill premises except by the gate provided for that purpose; (e) habitual late attendance; (f) absence without leave or without other sufficient excuse from appointed work in the mill; (g) quarrelling or behaving in a noisy or obnoxious manner or doing anything likely to cause a breach of the peace; (g) (a) breach of any rules for the maintenance and running of any department and maintaining its cleanliness; and (h) taking bribes from or giving bribes to any other operative or person employed in the mill, or from or to any other person having dealings with the company as a motive or reward for doing or omitting to do any act, the performance or omission whereof would be prejudicial to the interests of the company.

The total amount of fines inflicted under this Order 18 during any particular month shall in no case exceed 2 per cent. of the operatives' total earnings for that month.

All fines imposed under this order will be credited to a Welfare Fund and utilized for such benefit or benefits to the operatives as the company may determine.

No fine shall be inflicted by an officer lower than the head of the department in which the operative is employed."

The 2 per cent. referred to in the order quoted above compares very favourably with the 5 per cent. allowed in the Truck Act in the United Kingdom.

(iii) It will be noticed that the standing order provides that all fines will be credited to welfare work.

(iv) As far as the Bombay mill industry is concerned, legislation, in the opinion of the association, is neither necessary nor desirable.

107. (i) The monthly system of payment prevails throughout the mill industry. Until 1920, payment was made about the 25th of the month following that for which wages were due. From that time, it was agreed that payment should be made on or before the 15th. Actually, the average date of payment works out at about 11th or 12th, since it is the practice to make the payment on the day preceding Sunday or a holiday. When an important holiday falls earlier than the 12th, payment is made even as early as the 8th or 9th to suit the workers' convenience. At such times, the clerical staff have to work overtime in order to prepare the wage-returns.

(ii) The period which elapses between the date when wages become due and the date of payment is from 8 to 14 days.

(iii) (a) The existing system of monthly payments is general in the city and island of Bombay, and is not confined to the textile industry. In 1924, the question of introducing a system of fortnightly payments was raised by Sir Leslie Wilson the then Governor of Bombay, as a result of which the Association approved of the principle of a fortnightly payment, but when the suggestion was put to the operatives, there was a general consensus of opinion in favour of retaining the monthly system of payment, and the scheme was therefore not proceeded with. It may also be noticed that attempts have in the past been made by individual mills to introduce the fortnightly system of payment, but in no case has it been found possible to continue it, owing to the opposition of the workpeople themselves. For further details of what has been done in this connection, the commission is referred to pages 408-416 of the Associations' Report for 1924.

(b) In the opinion of the association, legislation is not necessary. As previously stated, payment day varies between the 8th and 15th of the month, and earlier payment is scarcely feasible owing to the elaborate calculations which have to be made to ascertain the earnings of piece-workers. Moreover, it should be mentioned that a large number of mills have a system under which advances against wages earned are made to workpeople during the month.

(iv) Unclaimed wages are usually payable twice a month on dates fixed for that purpose by individual mills, and the Fawcett Committee have considered this question fully and have framed a Standing Order (No. 15A) which provides that unclaimed wages shall be payable on demand, and the Millowners' Association have already agreed to accept this recommendation.

108. *Indebtedness.*—Association has no information on this subject.

109. (i) There are no profit-sharing schemes in the Bombay mill industry, but during five years of prosperity, from 1918 to 1922, annual bonuses were given to workers amounting to nearly 2 crores. (Appendix 3.)

110. (i) It is very difficult to state exactly what leave is taken by workers during a year, since it is impossible for mills at the present time to keep accurate records owing to the difficulty of separating ordinary leave from absence due to sickness or other cause. The practice which now exists in Bombay mills is that workpeople simply keep away from mills when they require leave or are sick, without informing the management. A very large proportion of the workers also absent themselves for shorter or longer periods. The report of the enquiry into absenteeism made in 1926 for a number of typical mills by the Labour Office contains very interesting tables (tables Nos. 2, 3 and 4), dealing with this subject, which show the actual number of days worked by every man and woman covered by the enquiry.

Records would also be difficult to maintain, for the reason that in many cases, workpeople do not come back to the same mills, but often find employment in other mills on their return to Bombay. When leave of this character is taken, a certain number of days' wages always remain due for payment. These are seldom, if ever, forfeited and payment is made on the days in each month fixed for the payment of unclaimed wages.

The question of evolving a satisfactory procedure for the grant of leave was discussed by the Fawcett Committee who also laid down that:—

"Any operative who desires to obtain leave of absence must apply previously to the head of his department or any officer appointed by the manager for this purpose, who, if he thinks fit, may grant him leave for a period not exceeding two months. If the leave granted exceeds one day, the officer granting it shall keep a record of its grant, and give the operative a written and signed certificate as to the period of leave granted to him. In the event of an operative taking leave in excess of the period granted he shall lose all his rights to reinstatement, unless he has previously secured

written permission to extend the leave originally granted and returns to work on the first working day following the period covered by any such extension, or unless on his return to work he gives a satisfactory explanation for his omission to apply for such an extension and the extension is retrospectively sanctioned."

The above rule, which has been already agreed to by this association, will, when introduced, prove a great improvement on the existing practice for both employers and employees.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

113. Some very interesting comparisons of the efficiency of the Indian mill operative and the mill operatives of China, England, and Japan are made in certain publications issued by the Cotton Yarn Association, Ltd., in December, 1928, and January, 1929.

In the spinning section of a Japanese mill only 18 operatives manage to look after 1,000 spindles on average counts 20s, whereas in India, for the same number of spindles, 30 to 31 operatives are required. In Japan 48 operatives look after 100 looms, while in India 98 operatives are required for the same number of looms. These figures are for 1926 in relation to spinning and for 1925 for the weaving section since which time the efficiency of the Japanese operative has been still further increased, as is evidenced from the information published in the *Economist* of 27th July, 1929, in which it is stated that, although, during the past three years, the total spindleage has been increased from 5,586,000 to 6,344,000 and the number of looms from 74,200 to 81,200, the number of operatives has decreased from 180,000 to 152,000. In addition, the average daily output in February, 1929, as compared with June, 1926, showed an increase of 5.5 per cent. per ring spindle and 8.5 per cent. per loom.

In a report recently published by the Secretary of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, Mr. Arno S. Pearse states that the average number of looms per operative in Japan is 5.5 as against 4 in England.

As compared with England.—It is stated in a report of the Cotton Yarn Association that India is obliged to engage three persons in place of one in Lancashire mills.

The comparison with China is not so disadvantageous to India, and it would appear from the report of the Cotton Yarn Association that the number of operatives employed corresponds fairly closely to the numbers employed in India, though, of course, the hours worked in China are considerably longer and wages are very much less than in India.

Perhaps it is out of the question to compare efficiency in India with efficiency in America, but it is interesting to note that a ring tenter in America on 30s looks after 1,500 to 2,200 ring spindles, whereas in India the average is less than 200 spindles per tenter.

114. (i) The comparisons which have been made in answer to the previous question are affected in Bombay by migration of labour which prevents the attainment of full efficiency and skill.

The output per operative in India is also affected to some extent by lack of education, climatic conditions, and a low standard of living which has not improved in spite of the increases in wages. But the extent of the reduction in output caused by these factors cannot be reduced to figures. All that can be said is that even taking the disadvantages enumerated above into consideration, there is very wide scope for improving the output per operative, but there is a noticeable lack of desire for self-improvement, and there has been strenuous opposition to all schemes aiming at increasing efficiency.

(ii) and (iii) No complaint can be substantiated against the Bombay mill industry in the matter of machinery and plant, but in certain instances lower speeds, with consequential loss in output, have to be adopted because of the lack of skill amongst the operatives.

(iv) As regards the efficiency of management as a reason for poor output per operative in Bombay mills, it may be stated that, in so far as the superior staff is concerned, their technical knowledge compares favourably with that of persons in similar capacities in most countries.

With an improvement in the standard of education, it may be that a changed outlook may arise, and a greater desire for self-improvement may be inculcated, which would reflect itself in increased production.

115. (i) As regards hours of work it may be stated that the reduction in hours which took place in 1920 did bring about a certain increase in the efficiency of weavers, but the production did not benefit to the extent of the reduction in hours in Bombay mills as a whole.

Separate enquiries would need to be made to ascertain the exact effect on production of any of the facts enumerated. All that can be said is that the improvements in working conditions, increased expenditure on health and sanitation, housing, alterations in methods of remuneration, increase in wages, improved ventilation, and protective legislation have so far brought very inappreciable returns in the way of increased production.

116. The possibilities in regard to ensuring increased efficiency have been partially investigated by the Tariff Board and the Fawcett Committee, and it may be stated with certainty that very little further progress can be made in the immediate future unless labour adopts a more reasonable attitude towards the introduction of efficiency schemes such as those introduced by Messrs. E. D. Sassoon and Co., Finlay's, and the Kohinoor Mills. The association has made strenuous efforts to carry into effect many of the suggestions made by the Tariff Board, but little real progress has been possible.

When standardized rates of wages and the efficiency scheme are introduced a further improvement in output may be expected.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. (i) As far as the committee of this association are aware, the principal employers' associations in this country representing the cotton textile industry are :— (1) The Bombay Millowners' Association, (2) the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, (3) the Baroda Millowners' Association, (4) the Delhi Factory Owners' Association.

There was a proposal to start an association in Indore, but the committee are not aware whether it has materialized. Some time ago certain mills in the Madras Presidency organized an association, which subsequently ceased to function when the honorary secretary left India on leave.

The Millowners' Association, Bombay.—By far the oldest and most influential of all the above organizations is the Bombay Millowners' Association, which was established in the year 1875. The association probably owed its inception to the serious attempts that were being made at that time to remove the import duties on yarn when the millowners realized the urgent need of a central organization to guide the destinies and protect the interests of the infant industry.

Membership of the Association.—Out of a total number of 82 mills in Bombay 71 are members of the Association, but in all matters of general policy the Association's decisions are respected even by mills which are not members.

In addition to local membership the Association has members in Nagpur, Hathras, Calcutta, Sholapur, Mysore, Madura, Madras, and Coimbatore.

Management of the Association's Affairs.—The association is unique in India in having its affairs directed by a committee which includes Europeans, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, and Jews, who have all alike contributed to the association's achievements, and whose work bears ample testimony to, and is an excellent example of the cordiality, unanimity and success with which men of different races, views and inclinations working for a common object can promote the common good.

Activities of the Association.—In its broad outlines the activities of the association may be grouped under the following heads :—(1) Collection and distribution of statistics concerning the Indian textile industry in general and the Bombay industry in particular. (2) Registration of trade marks of members. (3) Concerted action by members on matters affecting general policy. (4) Initiation of measures for the progressive development of the industry and reduction of production costs. (5) Protection of the industry's interests by promoting, supporting, or opposing all legislative and other measures which affect the trade, commerce, and manufactures of its members. (6) Collection and dissemination of information relating to the textile trade of other countries.

The standard and completeness of the statistics collected by the Bombay Millowners' Association are probably greater than those of any other organization in India, and compare favourably with those of more advanced Western countries. The Association's statistics stood them in good stead in establishing the industry's case for protection before the Government of India, and their utility survived the test of successive Committees and Commissions of Enquiry appointed by the Government of India. The system of registration of trade marks initiated and worked by the association is unique in this country and has been of great value to manufacturers and merchants alike. Concerted action has for many years been taken in regard to important questions like strikes, lock-outs, short-time working, wages and conditions of employment, and other questions affecting the working of the industry as a whole, and on all these questions the decision of the Association is respected and carried out. With a view to ensure the development of the industry the latest

methods of working and trading successfully adopted by other countries are carefully examined by a special standing sub-committee, who make recommendations for the benefit of the industry. In citing instances of the work of this sub-committee, mention might be made of the standardization and "efficiency" schemes recently formulated by the association, which received the approval of the Fawcett Committee. Another method of promoting the development of the industry for which the association is responsible is the collection and circulation of very detailed information regarding foreign markets.

In assisting the industry to maintain its production costs at a minimum, the association has at various periods in its history taken up the cause of the cotton textile industry to obtain fair treatment in regard to taxation and other charges levied by the Government of India, the Government of Bombay, the Bombay Municipality, the Fire Insurance Association, and other public bodies. It might be claimed that the removal of the Excise Duty in 1926 was largely due to the propaganda carried on by the association, who had behind them the Legislative Assembly and the public. In 1923, to discharge their responsibilities under the Workmen's Compensation Act at a minimum cost, the Millowners' Mutual Insurance Association was formed, which now undertakes to cover members' risks at less than 40 per cent. of the premium originally demanded by insurance companies.

While working to retain production costs at a reasonable level the association has not lost sight of the interests and welfare of labour. For example, in 1920 they submitted to special taxation involving lakhs of rupees per year in the shape of town duties on cotton to provide improved housing accommodation to their workmen. From 1918 to 1922, when the industry was making considerable profits, bonuses to the extent of 2 crores of rupees were given to the workpeople over and above their wages. In addition, wages were raised from time to time to correspond to the increased cost of living. Moreover, wages have been retained at the level reached during the peak of the boom period though the cost of living has since gone down considerably. It might also be stated that long before Government themselves had reduced the working week to 60 hours the association had introduced a 60-hour week. The assistance given by the association to all official, demi-official, and private investigations into the conditions and working of the mill industry in India indicates the *bona fides* of the association in regard to the welfare of labour. The association willingly co-operated with Government in carrying out an investigation into ventilation and humidification of cotton mills, and have loyally carried out the obligations which were imposed on the industry as a result of this enquiry. In addition, they have done a large amount of experimental work at considerable cost in conjunction with the Factory Inspection Department with the object of improving the comfort of working conditions.

A separate statement showing the association's membership in Bombay and elsewhere will be found in Appendix 4.

In 1920, and again in 1924, attempts were made to form a Federation of Employers' Associations in India as the growing need for a more intimate union of employers was realized, and leading associations in India were addressed in the matter, but the response from other bodies was not sufficiently encouraging to enable the scheme to be proceeded with further at that time.

(ii) At the present time there are four unions of millworkers in Bombay, viz. :—

(1) The Bombay Textile Labour Union, (2) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, (3) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, and (4) The Bombay Millworkers' Union. But it cannot be said that the workpeople themselves are really adequately or fully organized. The bulk of the operatives take little or no interest in the affairs of the unions, which are largely controlled by outsiders, though the provisions of the Trade Unions Act regarding the percentage of workers holding official positions are nominally complied with. In many cases these outsiders make a business of promoting and running trade unions connected with all manner of industries, and possess little or no knowledge of the cotton textile industry. Until the workers themselves take a more active part in controlling the policy and working of the unions the trade union movement in Bombay is not likely to be as effective in promoting the welfare of the workpeople as it is in other countries. Some of the defects in the workers' organizations will be apparent from a study of the findings of the Bombay Riot Enquiry Committee and the Court of Enquiry which recently investigated the causes of the recent strike in Bombay mills.

118. (i) From the answer to question 117 (i) it will be seen that the Millowners' Association has been of great assistance to the industry. One has only to turn to the part played by the association in getting the Excise Duty removed, and in obtaining for the industry some relief by the passage of the Yarn Bill and the consistent efforts made to secure a full measure of protection, to appreciate the nature of the service

rendered to the industry by the association. The association has now been in existence for over half a century and is recognized as being the most influential of employers' organizations in India to-day.

The association's efforts towards the provision of some machinery for the settlement of disputes between its members and the various trade unions which resulted in the formulation of the Mediation Rules embodied in the Fawcett Committee's report is another instance of the manner in which the association looks after the interests of the industry and adjusts its policy from time to time.

The effects of the recent activities of certain trade unions on the industry and those whom it employs have not at all been happy. Owing to a series of wanton strikes the savings of the workpeople have been dissipated and their material condition has been very adversely affected. At the same time heavy losses have been inflicted on the industry at a period when the co-operation of labour might have materially assisted the industry in tiding over its difficulties. It is obvious that a new spirit altogether must pervade the trade union movement in the future if the relations between labour and capital are to be placed on a sound footing and the interests of both the employers and the workers are to be protected.

(ii) The attitude of the association towards the operatives has been consistently fair and reasonable. Legislation for the betterment of conditions has been sympathetically considered and the progress towards better conditions of work has, on the whole, been assisted very materially by the existence of the association.

119. (i) Little, if any, active support, but plenty of lip service, has been given by trade unions to activities similar to those enumerated in the question. What has been done has been done by employers and not by trade unions, and the cost of all general welfare schemes which have been introduced has had to be borne entirely by the employers. It is, of course, recognized by the association that trade unionism in India is more or less in its infancy, and cannot be expected to accomplish work comparable with that done by trade unions in other countries. But, speaking generally, it may be said that hitherto it has not been wisely guided. The association would welcome the development of a strong union working on sound trade union lines, and would be prepared to foster its growth and co-operate whole-heartedly, with such a union provided that it realizes its responsibilities to the workers and to the industry.

120. (i) The Trade Union movement in Bombay had its origin in the general unrest that prevailed as an aftermath of the world war. The first serious general strike took place in January, 1919, attended by lawlessness and rioting. A settlement was ultimately brought about after a fortnight through the intervention of the then Governor, Sir George Lloyd. Those who were advising the men during this strike were not in close touch with the men and they had never been connected with the industry, and had little or no control over the men whom they were supposed to lead.

About this time two of the largest groups of mill companies (those managed by Messrs. Currimbhoys and Messrs. Tatas) entrusted the carrying out of welfare work in their mills to the Social Service League under the supervision of Mr. N. M. Joshi. Such welfare work comprised various activities like credit societies, grain shops, reading-rooms, schools, sports, medical relief, maternity and sickness benefits and crèches. This gave an opportunity to Mr. Joshi and his co-workers to come into close contact with the operatives and enabled them to turn their attention to various labour problems. When in the beginning of 1920, another general strike took place which lasted for a full month, a committee called the Labour Settlement League was formed with which was associated the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Unfortunately some of the members of this committee took up an irreconcilable attitude which caused other members of the league to resign. During this strike also the men had ceased work without making any representations or formulating any grievances. This strike, like the one preceding it, was also settled after His Excellency the Governor had intervened in the matter. There was at that time no organization of labourers but outsiders intervened on behalf of the workpeople only after a strike had taken place. No attempt was made to organize labour on sound trade union lines.

During the following three years no strikes took place and nothing was heard about the Labour League or other organizations which had sprung up during the previous strikes. At the end of 1923, however, another dispute arose when no bonus was paid to the operatives for that year, as in previous years, owing to the fact that mills had been working at a loss and the days of high profits had definitely vanished. This led to a strike at the end of January, 1924, which terminated after a period of six weeks, when the matter was decided in favour of the employers by the Macleod Committee. About this time, the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (Chinchpokli Mandal) was formed. This mandal or union had only 182 members, as shown in the register on 1st March, 1928. According to the constitution of this mandal, no outsiders were admitted as members of its executive, which was confined to mill

workers only. The Millowners' Association did not even object to outsiders being elected as officials of trade unions and, in a letter to Government, even went so far as to say that it would be advisable, during the earlier years of the trade union movement, to form trade unions on proper lines, and the following remarks made by the chairman of the association at the Annual General Meeting, in February, 1925, will be found interesting in this connection :—

"We have never objected to outsiders interesting themselves in the trade union movement and helping our workers to form unions on right lines. We realize our workmen are incapable of forming unions unaided, and require the guiding hand of disinterested workers, but that by no means signifies that every political busybody should be encouraged to take a hand in inciting strikes. It is unfortunate for the cause of labour that some people should be determined to import into every question connected with our workers, the idea that capital and labour are hostile to one another and that the interests of the one are necessarily opposed to those of the other. Such an attitude is bound to come in the way of the healthy growth of a genuine labour movement in India. I hope such persons will realize in time that mutual good-will is essential for the furtherance of the objects which they themselves profess to have at heart and that capital and labour are natural friends and not enemies. Blind attacks on capital can lead us nowhere."

Subsequently in August, 1925, another union called the Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal (Parbhadevi Mandal) was formed on the same lines as the existing mandal and in co-operation with it. Mr. A. A. Alve was appointed president and Mr. D. R. Mayekar secretary of the Parbhadevi Mandal whilst M. D. A. Bhatavedekar became the president of the Chinchpokli Mandal. The Parbhadevi Mandal had a membership of 1,270 on 1st March, 1928. The formation of the Parbhadevi Mandal coincided with another prolonged strike which commenced in the middle of September, 1925, and continued for 2½ months. The strike terminated when the proposed wage cut of 11½ per cent. was restored on the abolition of the Excise Duty on 1st December, 1925. After the strike ended, another mandal (Ghorupdeo) was started in December, 1925, and had 570 members on 1st March, 1928. All these were small unions and were not properly organized. It was in January, 1926, that a union with an executive composed entirely of outsiders under the presidentship of Mr. N. M. Joshi was formed with Mr. R. R. Bakhale of the Servants' of India Society as its general secretary. This union had a membership of 8,234 members on 1st March, 1928, and was the first union to be registered under the Trade Unions Act, the registration being effected on 23rd December, 1927. One of the vice-presidents of this union, Mr. S. H. Jhabwala, formed another union called the Bombay Millworkers' Union in March, 1928, with 300 members as a counter-move to Mr. Joshi's union because the executive of the latter did not call a general strike as desired by Mr. Jhabwala early in 1928. While labour was being organized during the years 1925, 1926, and 1927, the position of the industry went from bad to worse and the Textile Tariff Board was appointed by Government on June 10th, 1926, to enquire into the condition of the industry. Evidence was tendered before the board by various bodies including labour unions and others interested in the labour movement and the board issued its report in January, 1927, and this was published by Government in June. One of the important findings of the board was that, as stated on page 208, "By far the greatest disability in costs of manufacture from which Bombay suffers in comparison with Ahmedabad and other up-country centres is in its high costs of labour." The board therefore recommended (p. 209) that, "The only alternative to a reduction in wages in the Bombay mill industry is increased labour efficiency and it is in this direction that the true line of advance lies." They also made definite recommendations for improving the efficiency of workers and reducing labour charges. An attempt was made to put some of the reforms into practice gradually, and this led to unrest amongst the workers of certain mills. Co-operation on the part of the unions to help forward these reforms was wanting. A little later, the Workers' and Peasants' Party was organized, which the *Labour Gazette* for October, 1928, has characterized "a Communist organization." Its members, though not connected with any of the unions that existed before 1928, "began," as is stated on page 3 of the Fawcett Committee's report, "to take an active interest in the strikes during the earlier part of the year." The communist leaders of the Workers' and Peasants' Party saw their opportunity in the unrest due to the introduction of reforms and when trouble began in the mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoys, they co-operated with the Bombay Millworkers' Union which, as stated above, was formed by Mr. Jhabwala, a member of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. They also succeeded in getting the help of Mr. Alve's union, the Parbhadevi Mandal. At first, the Bombay Textile Labour Union held aloof from this movement, as also Mr. Mayekar, the secretary of the Parbhadevi Mandal. On 18th April, 1928, a strike committee was formed composed of the managing committee of the Millworkers' Union and the Parbhadevi Mandal together with Messrs. Bradley, Nimbkar, Dange, and Mirajkar of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

An "Inner Council" was formed consisting of Messrs. Alve, Nimbkar, Dange, Mirajkar, Ghate and Jhabwala. The Bombay Textile Labour Union appointed its own strike committee consisting of 11 members to formulate the grievances for the men who had already gone on strike. Suggestions were made that a combined strike committee should be formed, but no agreement was possible at first as Mr. N. M. Joshi insisted on a representation proportionate to the average paying membership of each union which would, of course, have given his own union a preponderating voice, and would have excluded the representatives of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, which was not a union of textile workers. About the end of April, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay had an interview with the representatives of the Millowners' Association who assured His Excellency that they were prepared to negotiate with registered trade unions. This move, it was supposed, would strengthen the hands of the executive of the Bombay Textile Labour Union which was the only organized registered trade union in Bombay. This opportunity to enter into negotiations direct with the Millowners' Association, leaving alone the communist element that was attempting to capture the trade union movement, was not grasped by the Bombay Textile Labour Union. Instead the executive of the union effected a compromise with the Communist extremists, and on May 2nd, a joint strike committee was constituted which consisted of 30 members, of which half were members of the Bombay Textile Labour Union and half were members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. This compromise was unfortunate and opposed to the true interests of the trade union movement in India. It was a step in marked contrast to the measures adopted by trade unions in England to keep out the communist element from the genuine trade union movement. Mr. Mayekar, the secretary of the Parbhadevi Mandal, rather than join hands with the communist element, elected a new managing committee for a combined union of the three mandals called the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, and this union was registered on 21st May, 1928. Thereupon Mr. Alve formed a new union under the name of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, which soon became notorious as the Red Flag Union, with himself as president and Messrs. Jhabwala, Bradley, and Nimbkar as vice-presidents, and Dange as general secretary. This union was registered on 23rd May, 1928. It was the joint strike committee referred to above which represented the workers before the Fawcett Committee. The membership of the Red Flag Union, owing to its militant tactics and constant propaganda spreading disaffection amongst the men, rose very quickly and thousands were enrolled as members. This union overshadowed and controlled the labour movement in Bombay, mostly through terrorist tactics.

On March 20th, 1929, many of the leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union were arrested on a charge of conspiracy to deprive His Majesty the King of the sovereignty of British India, and on various other charges and new leaders were appointed who persisted in the policy laid down by the previous leaders, and called a general strike in April. The Bombay Textile Labour Union and the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal considered such a strike unwarranted, and advised their members to remain at work. But in spite of this opposition and the conciliatory attitude of the Millowners' Association, the strike was persisted in, and the industry was seriously crippled for a period of five months. The strike was condemned at its outset by the British Trade Union Congress who stated that the Girni Kamgar Union was a communist organization. The unjustifiable character of the strike and the methods of the Girni Kamgar Union have been condemned in most emphatic terms by the Court of Enquiry and the Bombay Riots Enquiry Committee. The Riots Enquiry Committee held that the basic cause of the riots in February was due to the activities of the Red Flag Union leaders. Referring to the speeches made by the leaders of the union, the committee state: "The Red Flag Union leaders, moreover, were not merely making speeches, but they were also training and drilling Red Flag volunteers, and inciting the workers to take the law into their own hands." They were also of the opinion that the speeches made by leaders of the Red Flag Union were of an inflammatory and intimidating character, and they showed that the intention of the leaders of the union was to get the whole industry under their control, not merely to obtain certain pecuniary advantages for the labourers. The committee go on to observe "that the leaders were quite reckless and that their violent speeches found their expression in the differences of the two communities instead of in class hatred."

In the report published by Government setting forth the proceedings and findings of the Court of Enquiry, it is stated that "the leaders adopted an unconstitutional method of converting the mill committees from advisory into executive committees, . . . encouraged antagonism between the workers and the millowners . . . caused several lightning strikes without just cause prior to the declaration of the general strike for the purpose of fomenting unrest preparatory to the general strike which they had contemplated in October, 1928, and which they brought about at the stipulated time . . . the blame lies wholly at the door of the officials of the

union for the state of affairs which prevailed during the months of March and April resulting in the general strike . . . , and that the avowed object of the Girni Kamgar Union appears to be the destruction of capitalism." It was also held that its members violated one of the fundamental principles of trades union in calling a strike at the Wadia group of mills in violation of an express agreement. It is further stated that the mill workers of Bombay were misguided by the Girni Kamgar Union officials, that they were responsible for the improper propoganda which resulted in a misrepresentation of the Fawcett Committee's findings; and that the aggressive and mischievous propoganda and inflammatory appeals made by them to the workers was one of the main causes of the prolongation of the strike.

In his evidence before the Court, the Commissioner of Police stated that his experience in the past had been that the doctrines which the leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union preached were the sort of doctrines which lead to riots and murder, a view with which the Court apparently agreed.

The findings of the two committees, which have been briefly referred to above, amply prove the disastrous effects on the industry, the genuine trade union movement and the general life of the city which have followed owing to the baleful influence of the Girni Kamgar Union in the trade union movement. The growth of the trade union movement in India has already suffered considerably owing to its control by communist leaders who are mainly concerned in drilling men to strike on any flimsy pretext and the urgent need of the hour is to organize labour in Bombay on genuine trade union lines, with the help, if necessary, of an expert adviser from England as is recommended by the Fawcett Committee.

(ii) Labour in Bombay is generally apathetic in its attitude to trade unions, and the greatest difficulty has always been found in getting Bombay millworkers to pay union subscriptions during times of peace. Since October last year, it may be argued that the position has changed, for the Labour Office figures show that, at one time, The Girni Kamgar Union had 70,000 members. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether even the Girni Kamgar Union has ever had on its books anything like this number of members paying subscriptions regularly and it is still more doubtful whether most of the subscriptions were paid voluntarily.

121. (iii) In the Association's opinion, the Trade Unions Act, 1926, is in urgent need of amendment for the reason that, at present, it does not ensure that the unions registered under the Act follow recognized trade union methods; but merely protects, and that inadequately, the individual members of the union from being cheated by the executive of the union.

At present, although it is generally recognized that the Girni Kamgar Union has violated the fundamental principles of trade unionism and has adopted an unconstitutional method of converting its mill committees from advisory into executive committees, and has been found guilty of various other serious counts (see answer to question 120), it has so far escaped cancellation of its registration.

Among the amendments which the Association considers to be advisable are:—

(i) That it should be enacted that every registered trade union's rules should contain provisions for the conduct of negotiations both before and during the progress of strikes.

(ii) That picketing at or near a workman's house should be made illegal.

(iii) That picketing should cease when any dispute has been referred to a court or a board, or to any other independent tribunal set up by Government. (See answer to question 125.)

(iv) That the representation of workers in the managing committee of a union should be increased from one-half to two-thirds.

(v) That no person who has been found guilty of and has undergone imprisonment for an offence involving moral turpitude should be permitted to be on the executive of the union.

(vi) That minutes of proceedings of all meetings of the managing committee, or any other committee with executive powers, should be kept, and should be available for inspection by the registrar.

(vii) That it should be possible for the registrar to call for books of account of a union at any time for scrutiny.

(viii) That the grounds mentioned in the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, for declaring an association to be illegal should entitle the registrar to cancel registration of a union.

(ix) That proper registers of members of a union should be kept.

(x) That where it is clearly established that a union has brought about a strike without a genuine trade dispute, as contemplated by the Act, action may be taken against the union for cancellation of its registration.

122. (i) The individual workman has always been at liberty to approach his employer through the head of his department and present his grievances and this facility, until recently, was fully used. In a number of mills experiments were made some years ago in the direction of joint committees, but owing to lack of interest on the part of the workpeople themselves, these had to be discontinued.

It has been indicated above as to what used to be the procedure for bringing their grievances to the management by the men personally ; but, of late there has been a distinct change inasmuch as the men having a grievance to represent, instead of approaching the management, report it to a union representative inside the mill, or to a member of the newly-constituted mill committees, who take it upon themselves, without even so much as a reference in many cases to the executive of their union, to decide the manner in which the alleged grievance is to be settled, failing a compliance with which by the management, there is no hesitation in declaring a strike without waiting to take any further steps for a possible settlement of the dispute. Volumes of evidence could be produced to show the detrimental effects upon discipline and efficiency which have followed from the unconstitutional activities of these self-appointed mill committees. A perusal of paragraphs 28-38 of the Report of the Court of Enquiry will convince the Commission of the impossibility of permitting such mill committees to continue, if the cotton mill industry is to survive. These mill committees are modelled on the factory " Soviets " which, until recently, functioned in Russia, but it should be noted that according to Reuter's telegram dated 10th September, 1929 (quoted below), mill committees will not, in future, be allowed to interfere in the management, and that personal management has now been restored.

" In order to restore discipline among workers and to raise the output of factories, the Soviet authorities have decided to invest one person only, namely the director, with full power and responsibility. His orders will be absolutely binding on the workers, who henceforth will not be allowed to interfere in the management. All organizations must ensure that ' the one-man-management principle ' shall be carried out.

" It is hoped that this will cause an industrial recovery."

The Association maintains that the direct presentation of grievances by workpeople to the management should be the first step in the investigation and the possible settlement of any grievances that a worker may have. If the worker believes that his complaint has not been fairly dealt with, the union, on his behalf, should take the matter up with the managing agents. If, even then, no satisfactory arrangement is arrived at, the mediation rules provide the means for further investigation. Provision of adequate investigation of grievances is furnished in the Standing Orders drafted by the Fawcett Committee, and particular attention is drawn to Orders Nos. 3 and 21 in this connection.

(ii) The result of the attempts at co-operation between employers and their workpeople to increase efficiency in so far as the mill industry of Bombay is concerned have been somewhat disappointing. The chief reason for this has been the narrow angle of vision of labour and its present leaders, e.g., the principles of standardization and rationalization have been supported by the representatives of labour before the Fawcett Committee, but when put into practice, or when an attempt was made to put them into operation, these very same labour leaders have actively thwarted their introduction, done nothing to put the schemes before the workpeople in their true perspective, and have on many occasions grossly misrepresented their effects on wages and working conditions.

123. (i) and (ii) A record of the recent strikes in the Bombay mill industry during the last few years has been maintained by the Labour Office. The method of obtaining the information, however, does not appear to be satisfactory, and for the last year the record is by no means complete or accurate.

(iii) As regards the nature and method of settlement, strikes in individual mills have usually been settled by direct negotiations. In the case of general strikes, it may be stated that the strike of 1924 was brought to an end by the report of the Macleod Committee. The general strike of 1925 terminated when the owners gave up the contemplated cut in wages owing to the suspension of the excise duty. The general strike of 1928, on the other hand, came to an end when the Fawcett Committee was appointed by mutual agreement between the parties ; and the 1929 strike collapsed. The appointment of the Court of Enquiry in this instance did not bring about a resumption of work.

During the last 12 months, a number of strikes have been called for political and other reasons unconnected with any economic grievances of workpeople (see statement attached : Appendix 5) by the leaders of the Girmi Kamgar Union for the furtherance of aims entirely unconnected with the welfare of labour, for the purpose of fomenting unrest and antagonizing workers against their employers (*vide* paragraph 72 of the Report of the Court of Enquiry).

(iv) No exact estimate of the losses which have been sustained by the industry and the workpeople owing to the strikes of the last 18 months can be made. But the loss in wages alone during the last 18 months has been considerably more than Rs. 3,50,00,000, and the loss in working days has exceeded 27,000,000. A considerable portion of the enormous losses sustained by the industry during this period can also be attributed to the strikes that have taken place during this period.

The association is not in a position to give exact information in respect of the loss sustained by the industry as a whole, but it is possible to arrive at a fairly correct estimate. It may be said that excluding the loss of profits, the loss to the industry in standing and other charges due to the prolonged labour troubles during the last 18 months amount approximately to Rs. 1,30,00,000.

124. *Conciliation and Arbitration Machinery*—(i) *Results of previous investigations*.—Copies of the reports issued by the Macleod and Fawcett Committees, and the Court of Enquiry of 1929 are enclosed. (Enclosures) "D", "E" and "F".*

(ii) *Part played by official or non-official conciliators in settling disputes*.—See answer to question 120 (i).

(iii) No use, as far as the association is aware, has been made by either employers or employees in the Bombay cotton textile industry, of the Employers' and Workers' Disputes Act, 1860.

(iv) During the proceedings of the Fawcett Committee of Enquiry, the association submitted a scheme for the investigation of disputes in the industry by joint negotiations. The machinery proposed was agreed to by both parties, but has not yet been utilized owing to the failure of the employees to nominate their panels. These mediation rules will be found in Appendix XI, page 241 of the Fawcett Committee's report. They were discussed at several joint meetings, after the publication of the report, and during these discussions it was maintained by the association that a written agreement should be entered into, and that it would be advisable to insert an explanatory note providing that the notice referred to in the mediation rules should mean a notice of not less than 14 days. A copy of the draft agreement proposed by the association at the joint meeting held with the employees' representatives after the publication of the report is given below :—

"On behalf of the textile trade unions of Bombay, we hereby agree that to the Mediation Rules as published, should be added an explanatory note as follows : 'That the notice referred to in Rule 1, sub-clauses (i), (ii) and (iii) shall mean a notice of not less than 14 days, and that the words 'special proviso if only one union' at the commencement of clause 4 as printed on page 242 of the Fawcett Committee report, should be deleted, being obviously a printer's error.'

"Subject to these alterations, we agree to the immediate introduction of the Mediation Rules and will use every endeavour to prevent and discountenance any strike of operatives which has not been preceded by the notice herein agreed to."

The intention of the association was to make it clear that notice must be given before declaring a strike. This point was discussed at great length before the Fawcett Committee. It was held that this period depended upon the contract of service, and under existing conditions a month's notice has to be given. As, however, it was agreed by both sides to reduce the period of notice to be given both by employers and employees to a fortnight, a fortnight's notice would be ample. In paragraph 99 of the report it is held that it is wrong to assume that sub-section (1) of section 18 of the Indian Trade Unions Act protects the individual worker when he goes on strike without giving notice. Paragraphs 99-101 make the point quite clear. The committee also give an excellent reason why such a notice should be given, and in paragraph 81 they say "Among other things, this period (14 days) will have the advantage of ordinarily allowing a sufficient time for discussion which may settle disputes between the operatives and the mill management, and thus avoid strikes and lockouts."

The association feels that the utility of the mediation rules would be greatly increased if the provision regarding notice was definitely accepted by labour.

(v) *Opportunity afforded to Workpeople of making Representations*.—See answer to question 122 (i) above.

(vi) *Applicability to Indian Conditions of Industrial Courts, Trade Boards, Joint Industrial Councils*.—Detailed consideration has not been given by the association to the applicability or advisability of industrial courts, trade boards or joint industrial councils, but it would seem that a valuable aid to the introduction of any one of these would be the acceptance and application by labour of the joint mediation machinery laid down in the Fawcett Committee report.

125. The Trade Disputes Act is somewhat unsatisfactory since it makes no provision for the investigation of disputes between employers' associations and trade unions. Its utility is further impaired by reason of the fact that the findings of a court of enquiry or a board of conciliation are likely to be ignored if unfavourable to labour, owing to their inadequate organization and the lack of a sense of responsibility amongst certain trade union leaders. In two other important respects, the Act is defective, since it does not contain provisions for any restrictions on picketing after the inauguration of a court of enquiry or a board of conciliation. In these connections, certain suggestions were made when the Bill was framed. Extracts from the association's representation on the subject dated 7th January, 1929, are given below :—

" *Paragraph 5.*—In one particular, namely, picketing, my association considers the proposed legislation falls short of the present requirements in India. The absence of any special provisions regarding picketing, is probably accounted for by the fact that the Hon. Member for Industries and Labour recently stated that, in the opinion of the Government of India, the law against picketing in India is ample to prevent intimidation and that it is more severe than the corresponding law in the United Kingdom. My association holds a contrary view and desires to stress the necessity for the introduction of restrictions regarding picketing at or near a workman's house similar to those in the United Kingdom. My association also maintains that the Bill should contain provisions for the restriction of picketing of any kind whatsoever after the inauguration of either a court of enquiry or a board of conciliation for the reasons given below :—

" In 1924 when the Trade Union Registration Bill was on the anvil in the Assembly, my association made the following observations on the question of picketing : "Another matter on which my committee most emphatically differ from Government is the question of picketing. My committee are utterly at a loss to understand how Government could have been led into making the somewhat amazing statement that ' the experience of the last few years has not revealed any urgent necessity for imposing a greater restriction on picketing.' The acts of violence that took place during the last big mill strike in Bombay, resulting in very heavy loss to property, are a sufficient refutation of the above-quoted statement of Government. . . . "

" *Paragraph 7.*—Another important point which the Government of India apparently overlooked when framing the Bill is the necessity for measures to ensure that a court of enquiry shall report upon the facts brought before it within a reasonable space of time. Such a provision is especially necessary since the Bill makes no provision for the return to work upon the establishment of either a board of conciliation or a court of enquiry. My association holds that its utility will be vastly increased if the time within which the court of enquiry should submit its report were laid down in its terms of reference when appointed. Similarly, in respect of boards of conciliation, my association considers it advisable that any adjournment of the proceedings as indicated in clause 7 should be limited to a period of 14 days. At the end of that period the Board could again meet to receive reports as to the progress of direct negotiations, and if necessary, a further adjournment could be allowed. Such a procedure would, in the opinion of the association, tend to speed up a settlement by providing opportunities for the Board to use its good offices to overcome deadlocks likely to arise at critical stages."

The need for some further restriction on picketing as at present practised when a strike takes place in Bombay is given additional weight from the findings of the court of enquiry, who held that " picketing and intimidation by the strikers and acts of violence committed by them on non-strikers was one of the main causes of the prolongation of the strike." In paragraph 77 of the court's report, it is stated :—

" 77. There is no doubt that intimidation and acts of violence by the strikers have been an important factor in the prolongation of the strike. Mr. Kelly, the Commissioner of Police, has given evidence before us to prove that intimidation has been carried on by the strikers to a considerable extent both in the chawls and on the roads, and that picketing has by no means been peaceful. The order issued by the chief presidency magistrate under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code has been extended by Government indefinitely in consequence of the strike situation. Mr. Kelly himself has issued an order under the Bombay City Police Act prohibiting meetings of the Girni Kamgar Union. To a question put to him by Mr. Deshpande, as to the reasons for his order, he replied ' because my experience in the past has been that the doctrines which the leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union preach are the sort of doctrines which lead to riot and murder.' Evidence has been led of several specific instances of intimidation and assaults on the workers, and the measures taken by the millowners to avoid molestation of their workers by temporarily housing several of them in mill compounds and by providing escorts.

Mr. Bakhale also has deposed to the members of his union working in the Madanpura mills having complained to him that they were afraid of going to the mills, because they would be assaulted."

Under the present law, peaceful picketing is permissible, but as the association has stated on more than one occasion to Government, in India, this so-called peaceful picketing in almost all cases degenerates into active intimidation, though it is difficult to prove this in a court of law, owing to the fear which exists in the minds of persons intimidated that they would be marked out for further molestation.

In the report of the Bombay riots enquiry committee, it is definitely stated that "the Red Flag Union volunteers helped to intimidate loyal workers. The evidence shows that one at least of the Red Flag Union leaders incited his picketers to intimidate and abuse those who wanted to work at the oil installations." Intimidation has now been made a cognizable offence, but it is somewhat doubtful whether this will effectively put a stop to the evil effects of picketing at the residence of workpeople where intimidation could still be practised on a large scale without coming to the actual notice of the police.

XVIII.—Administration.

133. The association is of the opinion that legislation affecting industrial labour should be of an all-India character as far as possible. This salutary principle has been departed from on several occasions during recent years, and a recent example is furnished by the Bombay Maternity Benefits Act.

138. Every reasonable precaution has been taken to acquaint workpeople with the main provisions of factory legislation through the medium of vernacular translations posted in prominent places in mills.

139. (i) and (iii) Factory inspection is, on the whole, very effectively carried out in Bombay. The staff of the inspection department appears to be adequate for ordinary inspection work, but it is somewhat doubtful whether it is sufficient to enable it to undertake industrial research work of the kind which has been undertaken in western countries.

(iv) Very few prosecutions of Bombay mills have taken place during the last few years for the reason that the Act and the rules under the Act are usually very strictly adhered to.

143. The statistics collected from the mill industry of Bombay by the labour office, the factory inspection department, the Government of Bombay, the Government of India, the millowners' association, and the statistics collected during the recent investigations of the Fawcett Committee and the tariff board, are probably more complete than the statistics collected from any other industry in the world in a corresponding period.

The collection of these statistics has chiefly been of a voluntary character, and this has resulted in fuller information than would otherwise have been possible.

A great personal interest has been evinced in the compilation of information by the managements of the cotton mills in Bombay, and this accumulated information relating to the industry as a whole has been utilized to the fullest extent possible.

APPENDIX I.

Comparative Statement of Wages per month (excluding Annual Bonus).

	Standard Muster 1st April 1913.	Standard Muster 1st Jan. 1918. including 15 Per cent.	Standard Muster 1st Jan. 1919. including 35 Per cent.	Standard Muster 1st Feb. 1920. including 55 and 75 Per cent.	Standard Muster 1st Nov. 1920. including 70 and 80 Per cent.	Standard Muster 1st May 1921. including 70 and 80 Per cent.	Standard Muster 1st April 1923. including 70 and 80 Per cent.	April 1928.	April 1929.
Blow Room Tenters	Rs. a. p. 14 0 0 (100)	Rs. a. p. 17 4 0 (123)	Rs. a. p. 20 4 0 (144)	Rs. a. p. 23 4 0 (166)	Rs. a. p. 25 8 0 (181)	Rs. a. p. 25 8 0 (181)	Rs. a. p. 29 0 0 (207)	Rs. a. p. Same as April 1923.	Rs. a. p. D.o.
Card Room	Rs. a. p. 11 8 0 (100)	Rs. a. p. 15 0 0 (130)	Rs. a. p. 17 8 0 (152)	Rs. a. p. 20 0 0 (173)	Rs. a. p. 22 0 0 (191)	Rs. a. p. 23 12 0 (206)	Rs. a. p. 27 4 0 (237)	Rs. a. p. D.o.	Rs. a. p. D.o.
Speed Frame	Rs. a. p. 19 9 0 (100)	Rs. a. p. 24 0 0 (122)	Rs. a. p. 28 8 0 (145)	Rs. a. p. 36 12 0 (187)	Rs. a. p. 37 12 0 (193)	Rs. a. p. 37 12 0 (193)	Rs. a. p. 37 12 0 (193)	Rs. a. p. D.o.	Rs. a. p. D.o.
Ring Frame Siders	Rs. a. p. 15 0 0 (100)	Rs. a. p. 20 0 0 (134)	Rs. a. p. 23 8 0 (157)	Rs. a. p. 27 0 0 (181)	Rs. a. p. 29 12 0 (199)	Rs. a. p. 29 12 0 (199)	Rs. a. p. 29 12 0 (199)	Rs. a. p. D.o.	Rs. a. p. D.o.
Winders	Rs. a. p. 12 8 0 (100)	Rs. a. p. 14 8 0 (116)	Rs. a. p. 16 12 0 (134)	Rs. a. p. 19 4 0 (154)	Rs. a. p. 21 4 0 (170)	Rs. a. p. 21 4 0 (170)	Rs. a. p. 21 4 0 (170)	Rs. a. p. D.o.	Rs. a. p. D.o.
Weavers	Rs. a. p. 22 0 0 (100)	Rs. a. p. 27 8 0 (125)	Rs. a. p. 32 0 0 (145)	Rs. a. p. 41 8 0 (189)	Rs. a. p. 42 12 0 (194)	Rs. a. p. 47 12 0 (217)	Rs. a. p. 47 12 0 (217)	Rs. a. p. D.o.	Rs. a. p. D.o.

APPENDIX II.

Statement Showing the Profits or Losses made by the Bombay Cotton Mills, Depreciation on Machinery and Buildings, and Wages paid to millhands, etc.

Year.	Profit or Loss with deductions for depreciation actually allowed	Net Profit or Loss after allowing for full depreciation.	Mill Labour.		No. of Mills.	Remarks.
			Wages.	Salaries.		
1917	Rs. 3,02,06,860	Rs. 3,14,00,946	Rs. 2,36,22,571	Rs. 26,24,730	63	
*1918	2,35,79,682	3,37,26,230	37,47,358	64	Strike for 1 week.
*1919	6,15,66,648	3,63,66,356	40,40,706	67	.. .. 1 month.
*1920	10,10,63,174	5,94,12,501	66,01,389	80	.. .. 1 ..
*1921	8,46,44,605	6,65,49,447	73,94,382	80	
*1922	3,87,51,591	6,94,29,915	77,14,435	80	
1923	33,12,933	5,76,03,297	64,00,366	81	
1924	91,69,863	5,45,55,046	66,88,010	79	Strike for 2 months.
1925	1,33,64,654	4,92,11,146	64,17,580	79	.. .. 2½ ..
1926	50,24,463	5,94,25,527	62,09,737	77	
1927	95,06,248	6,12,58,455	61,06,258	75	

* Bonus years.

Note.—The figures in black type show losses.

APPENDIX III.

STATEMENT OF BONUS PAID BY BOMBAY MILLS

Year.	Bonus Paid.	No. of Mills.
	Rs.	
1919	16,09,976	66
1920	30,41,841	77
1921	41,72,348	77
1922	47,59,950	77
1923	48,58,124	75

APPENDIX 4.
COTTON MILL INDUSTRY OF BOMBAY CITY AND ISLAND.
(FIGURES TAKEN FROM THE ASSOCIATION'S MILL STATEMENT FOR 1928.)

Share Capital Paid-up.		Total Number of Spindles and Looms Installed.			
All Bombay Mills.	Mills affiliated to the Millowners' Association	All Bombay Mills.		Mills affiliated to the Millowners' Association.	
		Spindles.	Looms.	Spindles.	Looms.
Rs. 19,08,08,360	Rs. 17,67,98,670	3,451,176	74,825	3,123,054 or 90 per cent.	67,578 or 90 per cent.

APPENDIX 4—(contd.)
LIST OF UP-COUNTRY MEMBERS.

Name of Mill.	Situation.	Capital Paid up. Rs.	Spindles installed.	Number of Looms installed.
1. Bengal Luxmi Cotton Mills, Ltd.	Maresh, Serampore District, Hooghly, Bengal.	17,78,200	35,124	724
2. Bengal Nagpur Cotton Mills, Ltd.	Raj-Nandgaon, C.P.	12,00,000	31,652	625
3. Berar Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Badnera	5,50,000	19,908	369
4. Bhagrath Spg., Wvg. and Mfg. Co., Ltd.	Jalgaon	20,10,200	7,200	200
5. Birla Cotton Spg. and Wvg. Mills Co., Ltd.	Subzinundi, Delhi	13,75,000	17,920	493
6. Burhanpur-Tapti Mill, Ltd.	Burhanpur	12,00,000	24,240	497
7. Central India Spg., Wvg. and Mfg. Co., Ltd.	Nagpur	96,87,500	1,00,352	2,220
8. Ceylon Spg. and Wvg. Co., Ltd.	Colombo	11,95,125	16,380	538
9. Coimbatore Spg. and Wvg. Co., Ltd.	Coimbatore	12,00,000	57,832	302
10. David Mills (No. 2)	Hathras City (Branch of David Mills Ltd. of Bombay.)	39,04,700	71,944	—
11. Gokak Mills, Ltd.	Gokak Falls, Belgaum District.	7,00,000	17,520	275
12. Hyderabad (Deccan) Spg. and Wvg. Co., Ltd.	Hyderabad	20,00,000	46,274	1,293
13. Indore-Malwa United Mills, Ltd.	Indore, Malwa	7,77,000	20,560	340
14. Jam Shri Ranjitsinghji Spg. and Wvg. Mills Co., Ltd.	Sholapur	7,50,000	22,664	459
15. Kandeish Spg. and Wvg. Mills Co., Ltd.	Sholapur	16,00,000	45,792	851
16. Luxmi Cotton Mfg. Co., Ltd.	Madras	5,00,500	39,804	460
17. Madras United Spg. and Wvg. Mills Co., Ltd.	Tuticorin	73,560	73,560	—
18. Madura Mills Co., Ltd.	Madura	70,58,550	2,19,036	—
19. Do.	Do.	—	43,076	—
20. Do.	Ambasamudram	—	9,968	—
21. Pandyan Mill Co., Ltd.	Madura	11,59,126	28,864	395
22. Mahabooob Shahi Gulbarga Mills Co., Ltd.	Gulbarga, Deccan	5,93,000	52,408	1,020
23. Model Mills, Nagpur, Ltd.	Nagpur	93,34,250	39,400	500
24. Mysore Spg. and Mfg. Co., Ltd.	Malleshwaram, Bangalore City.	12,50,000	18,336	225
25. Pulgaon Cotton Spg., Wvg. and Mfg. Co., Ltd.	Pulgaon	9,99,250	30,628	394
26. Rai Bahadur Bansihal Aberchand Spg. and Wvg. Mill	Hingunghat	—	17,888	—
27. Ramchand Gursahaimal Cotton Mills Co., Ltd.	Lucknow	8,95,373	1,11,360	2,209
28. Sholapur Spg. and Wvg. Co., Ltd.	Sholapur	8,00,000	14,514	160
29. Shri Shahu Chatrapati Mills	Shahupuri, Kolhapur	—	48,308	—
30. Vishnu Cotton Mill, Ltd.	Sholapur	24,00,000	—	1,254

APPENDIX V.

Summary of the Results of the various Strikes in the Bombay Cotton Mills from 6th October to 26th April, 1929.

	No. of strikes in favour of employers.	No. of strikes in favour of workers.	No. of strikes compromised, unsettled or indecisive.	Total No. of strikes.
Information as per <i>Labour Gazette</i>	36	35	15	86
Our information about these 86 strikes	52	17	17	86
Strikes not reported in the <i>Labour Gazette</i> but reported to us ..	15	2	7	24
The correct position therefore is	67	19	24	110

Note.—In addition to the above strikes there were in all 103 strikes due to the following causes :—

- (1) Kidnapping scare.
- (2) Riots.
- (3) Simon Commission.
- (4) Lala Lajpatrai Day.

In all these strikes, work was resumed unconditionally.

APPENDIX.

Absenteeism in the Tata Mills.

We send herewith a statement showing the average number of substitute weavers engaged in the weaving shed during the last six years. It will be noticed that during March, April, and May, and again during October and November, absenteeism is obtained to the greatest extent, and consequently the greatest number of substitutes are engaged during these months. We notice from our daily records that absenteeism is generally less during the first half of the month until the pay-day than during the latter half, and this fact may be attributed to the general tendency among the workmen to absent themselves immediately after the pay-day. From enquiries among the jobbers and the men, we learn that the greater extent of absenteeism during March/May is due to the Shimga holidays which come off during this period. Further, this time of the year is considered to be more auspicious than any other for weddings, and workmen are anxious to depart to their native places for this reason as well as for agricultural purposes before the setting in of the monsoon, and before the coastal traffic of steamships is suspended. Similarly, the greater extent of absenteeism during October and November may be attributed to the Divali holidays which come off during this period. Moreover, workmen, who have been held up by the suspension of the traffic of steamships during the rainy season, avail themselves of the resumption of the traffic and go to their native places. Sickness which is said to prevail to a greater extent immediately after the close of the rainy season is also one of the reasons why workmen remain absent during these months.

We have no statistics to show the exact reasons which lead to absenteeism; but besides the reasons given above we may mention casual illness and the necessity to attend to personal affairs as being among the reasons for the workmen's absence.

In the spinning department we had formerly a system of "Double Badli," by means of which a sider was made to attend to the work of his absent neighbour, and was given an extra allowance of about 50 per cent. for the additional work. This system prevailed till July, 1925, when we abandoned it, and instead engaged a few hands to take the place of absent workmen. In December, 1928, we dispensed with the service of the spare hands, and adopted the system of engaging substitutes, as in the weaving shed. The substitutes are paid on the usual pay-day, and not paid off daily.

Table showing (A) number of Looms worked and (B) number of substitute Weavers employed for each month.

	A	B.		A.	B.
1924.			1926— <i>contd.</i>		
January	1650	135	September	1800	180
April	1670	130	October	1800	210
May	1670	120	November	1800	190
June	1670	100	December	1800	150
July	1670	115			
August	1670	160	1927.		
September	1670	250	January	1800	110
October	1670	280	February	1800	120
November	1670	235	March	1800	200
December	1700	170	April	1800	210
			May	1800	190
1925.			June	1800	100
January	1740	140	July	1800	100
February	1740	180	August	1800	120
March	1788	235	September	1800	150
April	1790	200	October	1800	180
May	1790	180	November	1800	190
June	1700	155	December	1800	145
July	1222	100			
August	1222	135	1928.		
September	1222	150	January	1800	120
			February	1800	170
1926.			March	1800	200
January	1600	90	April	1800	160
February	1600	130	November	1800	70
March	1600	155	December	1800	60
April	1700	235			
May	1750	200	1929.		
June	1750	125	January	1800	55
July	1750	100	February	1800	160
August	1800	130	March	1800	150
			April	1800	145
			October	1800	270

THE COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER.

1. The Indian Merchants' Chamber is a body constituted of various trading, commercial and industrial interests. Several groups of its members are interested in particular trades and industries and either they themselves individually or in groups collectively will have their say with regard to the technical aspect of the questions set forward in the memorandum of the Royal Commission on Labour. They will also be concerned with the details asked for in some of the items of the memorandum.

The chamber itself will, therefore, answer the memorandum on general lines and will concern itself mostly with general broad principles without going into the details.

2. The chamber has generally supported proposals for the improvement of labour. In so far as the workers in factories and in large establishments constitute perhaps the most intelligent section of the masses, every suggestion for improving their physical condition, their surroundings, their conditions of work and generally for bringing about their amelioration, will receive the support of the committee.

3. My committee regret the emphasis which is being constantly put in imitation of the western world on the conflict between the interests of labour and capital. This emphasis, perhaps, does not do much harm in the west where various social and political forces balance themselves. But in India where the labour community is backward in education and is not apprised of its interests and rights, a general disturbance which does not aim at a concrete result, cannot but produce harm. As an illustration of this, my committee would like to point out the recent strike in Bombay, which extended beyond all reasonable period, and the price paid by labour and industry as a whole is beyond all hopes of redemption within a reasonable period of time.

4. My committee would like to see genuine trade unionism established in this country. The organization of unions, as the Commission will discover, is on defective lines at present. A trade union should receive regular contribution from its members and its affairs should be managed on the basis of such contributions by men of the working classes or by regular trade union officials. My committee do not object to assistance being rendered to trade unions, as at present in some cases, by individuals from outside the labouring classes, whose desire is to guide labour in securing its true interests, but they would prefer to see unions formed on proper lines and run by the men themselves. A true sense of responsibility would then dawn on the unions, which is unfortunately not the case at present.

5 My committee would urge on the Commission to enquire how is it that what is regarded in the west as the ultimate weapon in a class conflict, is called into existence in this country in the very first instance. The expedient of a strike is resorted to in countries where trade unionism has advanced on proper lines as a last resort. In India we have known of strikes taking place and of men going on strike, not knowing what it is all about. The formulation of grievances comes about in India after the strike has been declared. Consultations with the management take place after the strike and in an atmosphere in which both parties are losing and are excited and, therefore, in an atmosphere in which, whatever the outcome of the strike may be, a certain amount of bitterness and bad feeling is left. When a reasonable settlement is reached regarding the old grievances, the final point of contention usually is the question of wages during the strike period. Again and again in India the phenomenon of a lightning strike at the instance of a few people led away by sentiment is seen, and this sort of activity on the part of labour has had adverse effect on the progress of the industry. Sympathetic strikes, in the opinion of my committee, do not always disclose the strength of the labour feeling, but the weakness. The real bargaining power of labour arises from a true union amongst themselves and from responsibility towards industry, which finds means for the workers. This sense of responsibility unfortunately has not been evinced on all occasions. Allowance may, however, be made for the fact that the labour movement has been in its infancy in India, but my committee would like to see in future these defects remedied. Labour's claim for improvement would have a much stronger moral as well as material basis when they evince the same tender thought for the preservation and the progress of industry.

6. The result of recent tendency amongst labour, in Bombay at all events, has been a desire to do as little work as possible and to neglect duties assigned to them except where wages are on piece-rate basis. Even here while production is attended to, due care for machinery and plant is not to be seen. My committee understand that discipline which is essential in the efficient organization of the industry has been greatly disturbed. The result is that on the basis of ordinary costs of cotton and cloth, the textile industry should in Bombay to-day be well-off, but it is notorious that it is losing. The policy of labour in not checking inefficiency and neglect and in adopting an attitude which requires increased supervision, is suicidal as it is likely to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs.

7. The most important need of the labour classes in India is education. In spite of the very heavy increased load of taxes being levied on the country during the last twelve years both by the Central Government and by Provincial Governments, the popular demand for compulsory education has not been met. It is unfortunate that education is not made available even to the children of the limited number of industrial workers who are going to constitute the next generation of labour. This defect is likely to perpetuate the present condition and the present mentality of labour. As a result of all this there is room for criticism regarding lack of elementary notions of citizenship on the part of labour. People come from their village homes without any idea as to the requirements of city life in the matter of their own health or their own safety. They are liable to panic. The education, which the chamber would like to see imparted, not only to children but to adults working in factories, ought to comprise elementary hygiene and elementary citizenship. The next important improvement in the matter of the condition of the labouring classes is to teach them the value of money and how to spend it. My committee would like to point out that either singly or in unions the labouring classes do not receive full value for their money from the shops to which they resort. They are also prone to get into debt either to the shopkeepers or to petty moneylenders and the evils, from which they themselves ultimately suffer at the hands of usurious moneylenders, are notorious. The last, but the most important notion, which they lack and which it would be most essential to instil into them, is the value of savings. There are no benefit societies in India working on the western model, and provision for old age or for any social or for any other contingency is rare indeed. The savings of the working classes are generally invested in ornaments which fetch them no interest and which, when converted, generally show a deficit both on account of wear and tear, making charges and on account of the alloy which is mixed with the precious metal. A feature of the life of the working classes is the loss of their savings arising out of an open hospitality to all relations, kinsmen, village folk and caste men. Whenever men are unemployed for any reasons, or when they choose deliberately to stay away from employment, whether it is for a short period or for a long period, they go and live with their relations, kinsmen, or villagers either in the industrial centre or in the village home. While this is a very useful social phenomenon of insurance in the absence of elaborate and adequate provision against unemployment, it eats away the savings of the working classes as a whole and we have no counterpart in India to the enormous funds which trade unions, benefit societies, building societies and other co-operative bodies have in western countries to the credit of the working classes.

8. The other exploitation to which the working classes are exposed, is also the result of their ignorance of their rights and opportunities and that is at the hands of jobbers, who are men arisen from their own ranks. The full extent and evil of this exploitation, my committee trust, the Commission would be able to unravel in the course of their investigation and hope they will be able to institute some effective punitive machinery against the exactions to which men are subjected in this manner.

9. The progress of education, of health conditions and of the social surroundings in which the workmen live, is desirable not only in their own interests but also in the interests of the community generally, and it is essential that the rights which labour has so far secured by legislation and administrative enactments, should be clearly understood by them individually and they should know how to stand out for such rights in a businesslike manner, i.e., in a manner which will not detract from their own interests or which will not hurt the fountain of their income and the source of their employment, viz., the industries in which they are engaged.

10. The improvement of labour conditions, the increase of wages and the bringing up of labour in India on the same basis as labour in other countries, have been constantly discussed and rightly given a chief place in the programme of the working classes in this country. My committee wish to point out that such a programme is perfectly legitimate and laudable. They would, however, point out that the result of these efforts would not depend merely on the strength of the labour struggle against what are called the capitalist classes. The ultimate limit of all amelioration of conditions of work and life is set by the price which can be realized for an article. This price is regulated by the price at which the article can be imported (subject, of course, to import duties) and also by the price at which a rival concern is prepared to sell. Internal competition and foreign imports, therefore, determine the selling price. From this price the industry has necessarily to pay for the raw material. The cost of raw material, it must be recognized, have generally increased on account of the increased transport and other costs as well as increased taxation. The industry has further to pay for the capital costs of the buildings, machineries and of the equipments and for the depreciation of these in order that when they wear out they can be replaced. All industries have further to pay interest

charges on borrowed capital and these have also increased in recent years. They have to pay insurance as well as posts, telegraphs, telephone and other charges, which have shown a marked increase. After all these legitimate out-of-pockets, the residue, from which labour and capital can claim their respective shares, is restricted to a particular amount and this very rigorous restriction is not generally realized by those who claim to speak for labour or in favour of labour. If this residual share is to increase, the production costs must diminish and one of the most important factors for diminishing the production costs is efficiency of labour. My committee desire to record that as compared with a generation ago, Indian labour has improved considerably in efficiency, but there is still a very big leeway to be made up before they attain the efficiency of the workmen in Western countries, and specially the American. If labour want similar conditions to those that prevail in the west, they must give the same kind of work as is given by their comrades in the west, because the products of western factories are coming in competition with the products of factories in which Indian labour is employed. The position is much worse in the matter of the Latin countries like Italy, where the standard of living is not as high as in the United Kingdom. But the matter becomes still more serious when we come to Japan where production is on the same basis as in the west with much lower wages and with an "esprit-de-corps" and a national feeling, which secures very efficient and careful work. The Japanese Government, my committee understand, follows a policy of close study of the vicissitudes of an industry and renders assistance to secure industries from any undue harm over a certain number of years. This policy my committee would like to see established in India.

11. My committee regret that the action taken by Government with regard to labour questions appears to be more or less one-sided, in that, while they have been very prompt with regard to ratifications of conventions and recommendations passed by the International Labour Conferences, they are slow to a fault in meeting with any situation which arises locally, necessitating their intervention either as regards labour disputes or as regards protection to industries. In Europe Government intervention in the time of a great labour crisis is prompt, the latest instance being in connection with the recent textile strike in Lancashire. In India, Government do not move so quickly. They have failed to protect workmen who are willing to work, and have been somewhat dilatory in putting on the statute book laws which would protect workmen against coercion. My committee have been a consistent critic of Government's policy towards industry and they feel that the weakness of India's industrial position must be recognized if labour's condition is to be permanently improved. This weakness arises from the fact that industries are isolated and are not linked together with the result that many things, which industry requires, have got to be imported including machinery. The filling up of these gaps cannot be done by private initiative, particularly as most of the large suppliers of imported articles have set up their own agencies here and are now offering competition of an unfair character to any local enterprise which comes into existence. My committee consider that an industry, which is threatened with extinction, is entitled at the hands of the Government of the country to immediate consideration and adjustment not merely in the matter of tariffs, but in the matter of transport charges and in various other matters such as patronage of Government purchases. In all these directions Government have shown themselves unwilling to move with the demands of public opinion. My committee would like to see labour realize that they are vitally interested in the progress of industry generally and in the increased scope of employment, because the sustenance of improved wages comes ultimately from continuous and progressive demand for labour. They would earnestly request the Commission to analyse this fundamental economic fact and the bearing which it must inevitably have on the fortune of labour in India.

12. Since measures of general improvement have to be adopted and when they are adopted, they impose an additional burden on the industry and since all industries cannot be in a prosperous condition at any particular moment or time, my committee feel that whenever such measures are adopted, it should be open to any industry, which is for the time being in distress, to prefer its case for special protection or encouragement in order to make up the deficits thus caused. The machinery for this purpose is at present extremely unsatisfactory. The protection asked for by any particular industry is going to benefit not only capital but labour and such an appeal would, it is hoped, generally receive the support of leading labour organizations concerned with that particular industry. My committee feel that there should be a national economic policy under which not sectional but general interests would be considered. A quick relief granted to an industry at the first symptom of difficulties arising not only from increased charges in connection with labour legislation, but from any other causes beyond their control, or from unfair and subsidized competition offered from abroad, is of vital importance to labour itself in so far as it saves the industry from a weak condition or from extinction and thus maintains the full scope of employment for that particular class of employee.

13. My committee would like to invite the notice of the Commission to the welfare activities of several employers all over India often unsolicited by the workmen. They recognize this merely as a symptom of class good will and as a clear negation of any bitter class antagonism, and would concede at once that such spasmodic activities do not suffice and that securing conditions, which are essential for the health of the employee or for his surroundings or for his livelihood, must be on a uniform basis and must be by regulation so as to prevent the worst employer having any advantage in competition with the best employer. They, therefore, favour the principle that recognized evils complained of by labour should be put right by means of legislation or by administrative measures. They would like such legislation or regulation to be enforced, but they must sound a note of warning against capricious interference by a body of miscellaneous inspectors of the kind that would find a flaw in the conduct of the management, or which would check the continuity of operations essential to an industry. In either event costs would be considerably increased and the failure of the output of Indian factories to withstand in the market with the imported article would re-act harmfully on the interests of the working classes themselves. With regard to legislation their proposals are that it should be carefully devised with reference to Indian conditions alone and should not be merely a copy of laws existing elsewhere. In general my committee desire that the advantage of any legislation in their favour should go to the working classes. It is undesirable for Government to launch on any legislation which has not been definitely asked for by the industry itself, i.e., either by the employers or by the employees. The solicitude shown by Government for the representation of labour as such ought to secure at all events the more outstanding demands of labour being formulated inside the council halls on the initiative of non-officials. It is also necessary to see that legislation of a complicated and advanced character in the interests of labour is not initiated without definite information as to whether such legislation has been adopted by other countries. Where it has been discovered that it has not been adopted by countries whose output enters India, definite tariff barriers ought to be raised. This again is a measure calculated to benefit the working classes themselves who share the fortunes of any industry in which they are engaged.

14. My committee favour fuller compilations of labour statistics and statistics of prices of commodities for working classes and every device which will help to secure better understanding of the issues by the employers and the employees, such as the conciliation committees and the facilities for the officials of a properly constituted union to lodge a complaint and to receive redress, where possible, and explanation. They would like some machinery to be instituted which would intervene before a strike is called in any industry, and which would lead to a clear examination of the issues. The machinery for conciliation has not been successful in India, as popularity of labour leaders unfortunately depends on the extreme measure of their demand and that of moderate labour leaders is generally at a discount. Having regard to the conditions of society in India and to the general backwardness of labour, what this machinery should be it is for the Commission to decide. But at least for some time it is necessary to have a permanent body constituted, or a court of enquiry with a judicial man of high standing at the head to whom references must be made compulsory before a strike or a lockout is called. My committee would go further and advocate the compulsory reference of all issues arising between employers and employees to such an impartial and competent court. They are aware that laws relating to such compulsory reference have not been successful in certain countries, but the experiment is one which may be made in India and if it is handled by proper men in the first instance for a few selected industries, there is every reason to hope that the procedure may come to be definitely recognized and respected and may come to be adopted. My committee have every reason to believe that, while it would do no harm to labour, it will be welcomed by the employers, as it will save the industry from the ruinous condition of intermittent work and disorganization which inevitably follows a strike or a lockout. The time lost during the strike and the loss of full and efficient work on resumption are so great a price paid that every one ought to strive for arbitration. The *raison d'être* of such independent tribunals lies not only in the grave consequences to either party of a breakdown but in the fact that a detailed and scientific examination of conditions of reduction of wages and prices cannot be conducted either by the employers themselves, much less by the employees or those benevolent well-meaning individuals connected with labour at present. The present position is that labour is content to go along the old rut and is, therefore, opposed to the reorganization of the industry on modern lines whenever it is called for, because it does not understand the full implications. It is well known that every reorganization in industry involves elimination of the least useful unit and the aim is to reduce costs. If every time when a demand is made to make an improvement in the internal organization, the cry is raised by a few parties misplaced and materially affected, and if this cry is taken up universally, industry would be at a standstill. The economic justification, therefore, of any such

reorganization could be only given in detail to a competent and authoritative party and hence the suggestion for the court of enquiry and ultimately of arbitration is not merely as the shortest way out of industrial difficulties, but as the best method of securing the interests of all the parties concerned.

15. My committee would draw the attention of the Royal Commission to an important and outstanding point regarding labour in India, which is, that employment in India is not continuous. In agriculture, able-bodied men have not got work the whole year round. In many places they have no work for at least four complete months in the year and in some cases for actually eight months. Even when they have the work they have not got sufficient work to go on for more than a few hours daily except at the time of sowing operations and harvesting. Employment is not therefore full. Hence the earnings of employment are not adequate. This is what accounts for the low standard of life and it works in a vicious circle, because the low earnings do not provide the wherewithal to buy all that the body needs, much less do they give opportunities for amusements or expanding the mind. In this great backwater of semi-employment and partial employment drift back those that are temporarily or permanently thrown out by the industrial system. There is no machinery in this country either from the labour movement or from Government or from employers which takes account of a large number of men who drift backwards and forwards in this manner. This is without any reference to the considerable amount of casual absenteeism that takes place. If an account was kept of men who had once been employed in the textile industry, but who are now thrown out and are obliged to seek another and possibly less remunerative job, it would be found that the number was very considerable. It would be the same with reference to every organized industry in which the wages are high. This unemployment is an evil, not only from the point of view of the workmen but from the point of view of the country.

16. *Housing*.—The provision of housing by employers has come to be recognized as a desirability. That the employer should in all cases find the necessary capital and organization to provide housing for his employees is a demand which would put a burden on industry which it cannot bear. No progress could be possible if money, which was intended and which falls into the hands of the entrepreneur class, were used in bricks and mortar instead of being employed for production. If the burden is not, therefore, to be placed directly on the industry, what is to be done with regard to housing is a legitimate question. The solution, in the mind of my committee, is the same as the solution everywhere in the world, viz., that rent must be on a basis which would give an adequate return to the capital put in housing and thus more money would be attracted in building houses and the accommodation would increase. But the difficulty in Bombay is that the workpeople with their present standard of life are averse to spending an adequate amount for housing. There was a special difficulty in the town and city of Bombay, because the price of land on which housing could be provided was inordinately high. My committee must point out that the methods of easing the situation so far as the city of Bombay is concerned have proved worse than the disease. Out of the 16,000 rooms provided by Government at Worli, between 4,000 and 5,000 were occupied till lately and there were more than 10,000 rooms locked up. It is claimed that these constructions are better than the houses in which workmen live at present, and if that is so, locking these rooms, which have been constructed from public money and the loss in which is borne by the taxpayer, is deplorable and must be ended. The representative of this chamber has urged that these rooms should be immediately thrown open at a rent which will attract workmen who are living in other crowded parts of Bombay, but the Government have for some reason or other not accepted the suggestion. There was a time in Bombay when chawls, which could be provided by employers, were popular. But since the era of big strikes has set in, there is a suspicion in the minds of the workers and any housing provided by the employer is looked upon with distrust. The difficulty is not that of finding houses for the workmen, but of inducing them to lead a regular life with their families and settle down where the industry is. Most workmen hailing from the interior come alone to the industrial centres and desire to go away for two or three months to spend their time with their families. When they are alone it is not unusual for three, four, five or a dozen of them to pool their resources together in respect of a room which is used mainly for cooking, the resting place being found by the inmates wherever available, sometimes in the open verandah and sometimes out in the open. The point, therefore, to consider is not merely whether the working classes could afford the rents which are asked for from them, but whether they desire to spend on rents for a house in the city on a reasonable scale. Generally it would be found by the Commission that the workmen desire to save their money in order to take it back to their agricultural homes or in order to send remittances to their parents and others, or, as it generally happens, in order to pay instalments of previous debts. The reduction of slums, which is a very desirable object from every point of view, is thus interferred with by the habit of the workmen themselves.

17. Among the general conditions in which improvement for labour is desirable, my committee would give a very high place to the abolition of drink. The amount of money spent by the working classes on drink has never been properly estimated but it is considerable, and there is no doubt that the bulk of it comes from the pockets of the working men. The policy of prohibition has been accepted by the Government of Bombay in principle, but their present financial straits appear to have compelled them to act in the other direction. The harm which the drink can do in India is not to be estimated by the harm which it may or may not do in Europe. Besides that in India, my committee find a tendency among the working classes not to be in moderation when they take to drink. If the working classes are saved from the expenses which they at present incur on drinks, their resources would *ipso facto* increase and their standard of living in other directions would go up. The beneficial results in the matter would be cumulated and they could be secured by a certain amount of stringency at the hands of Government. If the Royal Commission desire to do real good to the working classes in India, my committee trust that they will give the question of reduction or abolition of drink a leading place in their recommendations.

18. *Hours of Work.*—My committee would like to make a few general observations with regard to hours of work. The period fixed by Law for factories in this country is 10 hours a day. This is in accordance with the First Convention of the First International Labour Conference, which provided specifically different treatment to Asiatic countries like India, looking to the difference in climate, economic conditions, organization, etc.

My committee apprehend that efforts may be put forward both before the Commission and outside to get the hours of work reduced. Reduction of hours would only be possible if wages could be reduced or if there was a substantial increase in the efficiency of the workpeople. Reduction of wages is not a practical proposition and, therefore, the only alternative left is in the direction of increased efficiency. In comparison with all European countries and even with an Asiatic country like Japan, the efficiency of the workpeople in India is low and if a radical alteration could be effected in that direction, my committee would support the demand for a reduction of working hours. There is another consideration, however, which requires to be pointed out in this connection, and that is, that while advanced industrial countries which have got a reduced number of working hours, have got a favourable and effective tariff policy protecting their national industries and safeguarding the interests of both employers and employees, India at present cannot afford the luxury of shorter hours, because of the present stage of the development of her industries and the fact that she has no effective protective tariff policy but has only revenue duties and a diluted form of protection passing under the name of discriminating protection. It may not be out of place to remark that even some of these industrially advanced countries of the west have not been able to ratify the Convention referred to above even up to the present time.

Under these circumstances, my committee are firmly of opinion that no reduction should be effected in the hours of work.

19. With regard to the employment of women, my committee would like to see the scope for employment of women to be increased, as otherwise it will be a serious blow to the family budget of the working man, but the employments which would be open to women should be such as would not prove harmful to them, having regard to their special physical needs. In particular, my committee would like to see the employment of women underground put an end to as early as possible. It should not have been allowed and any temporary gain to industry out of this is to be strongly deprecated. The substitution of women for men above ground is, however, to be favoured wherever possible. The principle of equal pay for equal work, which prevails in the United Kingdom and which is admitted, is in the mind of my committee a very sound and righteous principle, but wages have a way of adjusting themselves according to demand and supply, and so long as the field for employment for women is restricted, the reward for them even for the same class of work is bound to be lower than what is paid to men. It is for the Commission in the course of their enquiry to find out what should be done to increase the scope of employment for women and to substitute them for lighter operations where men work at present.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BOMBAY.

2. In dealing with the headings of the schedule my committee have endeavoured to confine themselves to those questions which must obviously affect commerce. In their opinion the actual facts and statistics regarding labour can best be ascertained

either from Government departments, such as the Labour Office, Bombay, or from such representative bodies as the Millowners' Association, the Jute Mills Association and the Metallurgical Association, etc. My committee have therefore as far as possible dealt only with questions of policy and general principles.

3. The importance of the subject-matter of the Commission's enquiry requires no emphasis. As the Controller of Currency remarks in his recently issued report for the year 1928-29, there has been a general improvement in economic conditions in most countries of the world—an improvement which would have been more marked in India but for labour unrest. The Collector of Customs, reporting on the same period, refers to the "enormous economic loss" caused by the cotton mill strike and concludes that "with happier times in Bombay itself the year would have shown, in decided fashion, a welcome revival of trade." These statements are fully borne out by the experience of commercial firms in Bombay. During the past 18 months industrial disturbances has been almost continuous in one part of the country or another and in this respect Bombay has suffered more severely than any other province.

4. Bad as the situation has been in the past, there are those who think that Bombay has still more serious labour troubles ahead by reason of the increasing importance of the political factor. During the past decade or more the Indian labourer in Bombay has been gradually educated up to a higher standard of living, but the danger lies in the fact that neither his reasoning power nor his efficiency has increased in the same ratio as his standard of living. Communism has now stepped in and is busy encouraging him and organizing him to demand that which he cannot earn and is not worth in the industrial market of the world, while the Government under which he lives has applied to him all the privileges and safeguards which have been framed in countries where labour is much better able to realize its responsibilities. In most Western countries such safeguards have come with, or followed, the advance of education among the workers, whereas in India it appears to have been hoped that greater efficiency and a sense of responsibility would follow the safeguards. Whatever the cause of the present unrest may be, the sense of responsibility appears to be very limited in the office-bearers of most Unions and almost non-existent in some; a factor which has undoubtedly contributed in a large measure to Bombay's recent troubles. Unions, which a few years ago lived for a few brief months, when the trouble was merely economic, as a result of the rise in cost of essentials after the war, are steadily increasing in numbers and holding their members in political tutelage under leaders, who receive encouragement, if not much actual material support, from organizations outside their own sphere of activities. There are indications therefore that the situation will be worse rather than better for a number of years to come, unless labour realizes its responsibilities more quickly than appears likely at the moment. One of the principal tasks of the Commission will be to suggest measures for arousing in labour a sense of responsibility and placing the trade union movement on healthier lines. I am now to deal *serialim* with those headings of the Schedule on which the Committee think they can usefully express an opinion.

3. (iii) My Committee consider that from the employers' point of view there is no necessity for public employment agencies. If such are established, presumably they will be maintained, and paid for by the State.

7. (iv) Unemployment insurance, if established, would become a charge on general revenues. My Committee consider that no system of unemployment insurance would be possible in this country, nor do they consider it necessary, since unemployment in the ordinary sense of the term does not exist except among Anglo-Indians and the clerical class for whom special measures of relief would have to be devised.

13. (iii) and (iv) The dislocation to trade and commerce resulting from prolonged industrial disputes is enormous and affects the whole well-being of the community. Works Committees and Works Councils provide a means of preventing such disturbance which, in the Chamber's opinion, is one of the principal subjects before the Commission. In 1920, this Chamber associated itself with the Bengal Chamber urging *inter alia* that early steps should be taken to test the possibility of developing in India a system of Works Joint Committees. My Committee are strongly of the opinion that these attempts should be renewed and persisted in.

29. (ii) My Committee desire to emphasize the necessity for enforcing the prevention of malaria in all big industrial organizations and indeed on the community generally. They consider the Bombay Corporation's neglect to adopt adequate anti-malarial measures deplorable, although from the information available, it would appear that the Bombay Corporation's efforts in this direction have been more effective and sustained than those of other public bodies in India.

37. My Committee are of the opinion that any provision for old age and premature retirement must, in the absence of legislation extending this to the entire community, be a charge on individual industries and as such must be voluntary.

38. My Committee consider co-operation most desirable and every possible effort should be made to extend the movement. It is recognized that Local Governments are striving to popularize co-operation but while their scope is limited and subject to definite drawbacks, these disabilities do not apply to industrial concerns, mills, railways and such like organizations, which are in a position to develop the movement enormously by the formation of Credit Societies, Co-operative Stores, grain shops, etc., and by generally encouraging thrift and self-help.

It is understood that much has been done in this direction, for instance, by the Railways, with most gratifying results. In a country like India where the majority of the workers are hopelessly in debt to Banias and money-lenders, co-operation offers vast opportunities and the establishment of Loan Societies by industrial organizations, with a view to making loans on favourable terms to their employees for the express purpose of liquidating debts running at exorbitant rates of interest with professional money-lenders, would prove of immense benefit.

40. My Committee are of the opinion that education is primarily a matter for the State. It is true that for a good many years past some employers have recognized a responsibility for the education of young employees and the dependents of the labourers. It is understood that various large organizations, e.g., the railways, the Tata Iron and Steel Co. at Jamshedpur, etc have devoted much attention to educational provision for the children of their employees. Such efforts should be encouraged by the State by means of Government grants, etc.

41. Technical and vocational education should also be the concern of the State though enlightened employers will doubtless provide facilities for those of their workmen who are able to profit by such training.

51, 52 and 53. Early this year the Committee were asked for their views on a proposal of the Government of India to examine the principles underlying the present Workmen's Compensation Act and its more important features. A copy of the Chamber's reply is appended for the information of the Commission. My Committee consider that there has not been sufficient experience of the working of the Act to enable them to say more on the subject for the present.

106. The Chamber in 1927, expressed the opinion that there was no necessity for legislative or other action to be taken in regard to the prevention of the infliction of fines on workmen in industrial concerns. My Committee have again considered this question in response to your questionnaire and have come to the conclusion that no circumstances have arisen since 1927 which would indicate that any modification in the opinion previously expressed by them is advisable.

107. In 1926 the Chamber opposed a proposal of the Government of India to set a statutory limit of time within which wages must be paid, and on re-consideration of this question they are still of the same opinion as they were in 1926.

117 to 126. Three strikes have occurred during the past year in India which inflicted great loss and suffering on the community generally. These are the strikes in the Bombay cotton mills engineered by the Girni Kamgar Union, the strike at the steel works at Jamshedpur and lastly the recent strike in the jute mills in Calcutta. It is practically certain that the strike in Bombay was not a genuine trade dispute. That has been definitely declared by the Special Committee appointed by Government to investigate the matter. It is a matter of common talk that the other two strikes were either instigated or prolonged at the instance of speculators dealing in forward business in the shares of the companies concerned or the prices of raw materials or finished products. My Committee cannot assert that this is true but the impression certainly prevails and is widely believed. Sections 17, 18 and 19 of the Trade Unions Act No. XVI of 1926, afford special protection outside the ordinary common law to registered Trade Unions and officers or members of such registered Trade Unions. It is true that these sections contemplate that the act protected shall be done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute. Presumably therefore, the protection would not apply in cases such as those we have mentioned. This is the theory. In practice, however, aggrieved persons would be deterred from seeking the ordinary remedies which they might obtain at common law by the existence of these sections. My Committee therefore, think that it is for consideration whether the law should not be so amended as to provide some ready means of withdrawing the protection afforded by these sections where it is clearly proved that any strike engineered by a Trade Union is not in furtherance of a genuine trade dispute and they suggest that it should be open to any aggrieved person to apply to some authority, either to Government direct or to some subordinate authority, complaining that a particular strike is not in furtherance of a trade dispute and requesting that the registration of the particular union contemplating or furthering such strike should be cancelled or suspended with the effect that the protection afforded by these sections should be withdrawn. My Committee are entirely in favour of Trade Unions as a

means of protecting labour and enabling it to employ collective bargaining in its dealing with employers. What they desire is to protect these institutions, which in India are in their infancy, from exploitation in the interest, whether pecuniary or political, of other persons.

143 to 146. The Chamber has no objection to the collection and compulsory supply of statistics with a view to providing a continuous record of the economic condition of the working classes. The Chamber considers that the collection of such statistics should be undertaken by the Central Government and not by the provincial Governments.

Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923.

My Committee have carefully considered the questions contained in para 18 of letter No. 1125 of 30 November 1928 from the Government of India, Department of Industries and Labour, and they desire to submit replies as under:—

1. In regard to the industries in this Presidency the existing Act appears sufficiently comprehensive and its further extension to unorganized industries is not recommended at present.

2. The only provision for securing workmen against possible loss which occurs to the Committee, is some form of compulsory insurance and they are unable, in the present circumstances, to suggest any scheme of compulsory insurance which would be equitable alike to employer and employee.

3. The Committee consider that, at least from the employers' point of view, lump-sum payments are preferable to recurring payments but they suggest that the compensation should be payable to the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation who should have discretionary powers to issue it in instalments.

4. The present scale of compensation is considered sufficient.

5 The waiting period should remain at 10 days.

6. The list appears already rather long but the Committee suggest that widowed sisters and widowed daughters might reasonably be included provided effect can be given to their recommendation (7) *infra*.

7. The Committee are of the opinion that proof of dependence should be produced to substantiate every claim for compensation.

8. Compensation should be fixed irrespective of the number of dependents.

9 The Committee are in favour on the whole of keeping Section 12 as it stands.

10 The Committee think that some penalty should certainly be provided in the Act for failure to comply with the provisions of this section.

11. The Committee suggest that employers should be required to submit a return of accidents in respect of which compensation is due but has not been claimed or paid.

12. Dependants should have the alternative of applying to the Commissioner who should have power to initiate proceedings.

13 and 14. The Government of India state in paragraph 15 of their letter that it has been suggested that employers should be obliged to register the names and addresses of the nearest relatives of each of their workmen as soon as the workman is taken into employment. The Committee are strongly of the opinion that it would be impracticable for employers to keep such a register.

In this connection they would observe that few workmen appear to be ignorant of the fact that Workmen's Compensation is in operation, since their full rights are brought to their notice by claims settling agencies and trade unions. With regard to the former, the Committee consider that some provision should be made in the Workmen's Compensation Act to register and recognize these bodies and to limit the amount of commission they extract from the dependents of workmen for recovering compensation on their behalf. These agencies should be compelled by statute to lodge a return with the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation of all commissions received in respect of recovery of compensation.

15. The Committee see no objection to the Commissioner being empowered to call upon the employer depositing compensation in any particular case to show cause why he should not deposit an additional amount sufficient to bring the compensation up to the prescribed sum.

16. Where an appeal is lodged the Commissioner should have power to distribute the amount of compensation admitted by the employer as being due and to withhold the balance in dispute pending the disposal of the appeal.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, BOMBAY.

I.—Recruitment.

1. The labour in Bombay is drawn from outside, there being among the workers of Bombay only a few people who may be called the descendants of the original inhabitants of Bombay. The history of the growth and development of the city of Bombay is the history of the commerce and industry in Bombay. Since Bombay became an industrial centre, some working class families have made their homes in Bombay permanently. The number of such families is, however, very small in comparison with the working class population which is fluid in character. A large number of workmen do not bring their families to Bombay, and even those who bring their families here return from time to time to their native villages. They look upon their life in Bombay as a temporary sojourn only, although in the case of some of them their fathers and grandfathers too may have been workers in Bombay.

The labour employed in mills, workshops, factories, docks, and in the building trade and other establishments and concerns is drawn from all parts of the country. There are persons from the up-country districts in the central and southern divisions of the Presidency and from the Konkan districts on the Western Coast. There are Hindus and Mahomedans from Northern India also. Dock labourers employed in loading and unloading work are Deccanis—men from Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar and other districts. In mills the Konkans from the southern talukas of the Ratnagiri district and the Zolas who are Mahomedans from Northern India are weavers, the Hindus from Northern India being generally, employed in the blow rooms. The spinners consist of Konkans in the northern talukas of Ratnagiri, Deccanis from the up-country districts and the persons belonging to the so-called untouchable castes. There is a constant flow into Bombay from the Telegu speaking districts outside the Presidency, of men and women who are employed in mills and in the building trades, mostly as unskilled workers. Turners, fitters, carpenters, etc., in workshops and engineering works are Hindus and Mahomedans from the Konkan, Bene-Israels and even Parsees. Chinese carpenters are sometimes employed in the railway workshops. The most cosmopolitan labour in Bombay is that which is employed on the sea. It consists of the Goanese Christians who are generally saloon workers, the Kharwas (Hindus from Surat and Daman) who are deckworkers, the Konkani Mahomedans who are deckworkers or engine-room workers, and Mahomedans from the South Kanara, Malabar, Bengal and the Punjab, who are generally engine-room workers. A few of these seamen come from places outside India, such as Muscat and Aden. Excepting the Bombay Mahomedans, i.e. Mahomedans settled in the city of Bombay, all the seamen return to their native villages from time to time, especially when they are unemployed or when they return to Bombay after several months' continuous work on the sea.

The most important cause of migration is the fact that most of the village industries have disappeared. Agriculture alone cannot provide employment to all persons in a village and even those who are engaged in agriculture remain unemployed for several months in the year. Each village has to import from outside a number of articles and even necessaries of life, and they can be paid for either by selling off the agricultural produce in the village to outsiders, or by earning money outside the village. The exodus of labour from villages to industrial centres depends to some extent on the fertility of the soil. Even where the land is fairly fertile, the pressure on the land is too much, and those who have either no land of their own or a plot of land too small have to eke out their income from land by working in industrial towns or cities as factory workers or labourers. The number of peasant proprietors possessing land extensive and fertile enough to support the family throughout the year is very small in proportion to the total number of cultivators, and a large portion of the cultivators who raise sufficient food for themselves have no cash in their hands to satisfy their other needs, except those few who have surplus agricultural produce for sale or raise money-crops. Even those whose income from the land is sufficient to satisfy all ordinary requirements of existence have to find money for extraordinary purposes. When they have to celebrate marriages in the family or to meet the expenses of sickness, and even when they have to effect improvements in their land or repairs to their dwellings or to purchase bullocks for the plough or agricultural implements, they have to incur debts from the village moneylenders. These debts can only be paid by sending some members of the family to an industrial centre to earn wages. The debts are generally paid from the savings of these members. Thus agriculture is, not to a small extent, dependent on industry.

There are certain districts in the Presidency where famine conditions are, so to speak, chronic. The average rainfall in these districts is insufficient at least in some of the talukas every year. This adds to the ordinary exodus to the industrial centres like Bombay, Sholapur, etc. Failure of crops at times in other districts also is a factor in the migration of labour from the villages. The district of Ratnagiri supplies a vast army of labour to Bombay and Karachi. The poverty of the soil in

the district is proverbial, most of the land being rocky, sandy and hilly. The staple food of the district is rice and even that has to be imported in great quantities. The supply of labour from this district therefore greatly exceeds that from any other single district in the Presidency. The causes of migration may be summed up as follows :—(a) The disappearance of village industries ; (b) the consequent too much pressure on land ; (c) the insufficiency of income from agricultural sources ; (d) the poverty of the soil in certain districts or tracts ; (e) the subjection of certain districts to chronic famine conditions, owing to failure of rains continuously for years ; (f) failure of crops owing to insufficiency of rainfall or destruction of crops or gardens through locusts, etc., driving the cultivators to industrial centres to seek livelihood ; (g) the dependence of agriculture on income derived from industrial sources, in so far as small peasant proprietors and agricultural tenants and labourers are concerned.

2. The majority of the industrial workers are in touch with their villages, most of them returning to their villages from time to time. Even those who do not work in seasonal factories, but work in mills, factories, workshops and such other concerns as are open throughout the year, visit their homes in the villages annually, or every two years or some such periods, and return to Bombay after spending a few months there. In some cases the period of absence from Bombay is only a fortnight or a month. Some of these men while in their villages help the other members of the family in their agricultural operations. Of course, there are some men who along with their family have ceased to have anything to do with agriculture. Such men return to their villages frequently, only if they happen to have there a hut or house of their own. Otherwise they go there at long intervals, the object of the visit being change of climate or worship of the village deity, or the celebration of marriage of near relatives. The number of industrial workers who have lost contact altogether with their village is, however, small.

As regards the extent of permanent labour force, it must be stated that the periodic absence of a worker from the place of his industrial employment does not warrant the inference that he is a casual workman. Generally, when he returns from his native village, he seeks employment of the same kind as he had before, and if possible, in the same mill or factory, although in the absence of the system of granting long leave of absence to employees in mills the man is treated as a new hand when he returns to work.

3. The methods of recruitment are not uniform. They vary from industry to industry and also from concern to concern.

In textile mills, men are recruited through head jobbers and mukadams and women through *naikins* (forewomen). In a few mills, instead of jobbers, mukadams and *naikins*, the assistants or the heads of the departments have the power to engage workers. In workshops it is in the hands of foremen to give employment. As regards docks, the mukadams collect the labourers in the mofussil and bring them to Bombay. In some departments of the Bombay Municipality it is generally the subordinate officers who engage workmen and women.

Naturally, the present system of recruitment in industrial concerns and works of public utility gives scope for bribery and corruption, which are rife, especially when unemployment is widespread.

The desirability of public employment agencies, at least in big cities, cannot be denied. That the success of such agencies will depend greatly on the schemes that will be adopted for the purpose, goes without saying. Given the co-operation of the heads of different concerns and establishments, representatives of labour, representatives of philanthropic institutions and other public spirited men and women, it should not be difficult to evolve practicable schemes of employment agencies.

4. So long as industries are centralised in cities, the disturbing effect on family life of the workers migrating from their native villages to the cities is inevitable. Either a scheme of industry planning must be devised aiming at decentralization of industries so as to provide agricultural workers with remunerative work at their very doors during their spare time and thus bringing about a *liaison* between agriculture and industry in the place of their present divorced condition, or it must be made possible and convenient for workers to live in cities where they get industrial employment, with their families. It is a fact that a large number of workmen in Bombay do not bring their families with them, and even those who bring them do not keep them here throughout the year, or for more than a year. The reasons are various, the most important reason being the inadequacy of wages in the case of a large number of workers. The families in which the women members are also wage-earners do not so often return to their native places as those in which the women are not earning hands. In the latter class of families, relatives, friends, caste-men or village-men are taken as boarders in order to supplement the earnings of the male members of the family.

Among the other reasons of a workman's living alone in Bombay the following may be included :—bad effect of continued residence in Bombay on health, periods of unemployment, when a man is unable to support his family but has to stay in Bombay in search of employment, and the necessity of there being some one from the family to look after the property in the village, or to look after an old person in the family staying there. In the case of joint families all the brothers working in Bombay do not bring their families in Bombay, as it is found more economical and convenient for one or two brothers only to have their families here and to keep the wives of others at the village, by turns.

The effect of separation from their families on workmen is no doubt bad from moral as well as physical point of view.

5. One of the workers of the league made an enquiry into the condition of the seamen in Bombay and the results have been published in a pamphlet entitled "Seamen in Bombay." The system hitherto in force of recruiting seamen has given a good deal of scope for bribery and corruption resulting in intensifying the evils of unemployment. The appointment of a special officer for recruitment which has recently been made should ordinarily lead to a more even distribution of employment. It is, however, difficult to say just now how far the new system works satisfactorily. The Indian Seamen's Union which has been carrying on agitation for a better system of recruitment is in a better position to give a detailed evidence in this respect. So far as our information goes it seems that the special assistant to the shipping master has power only to appoint serangs and butlers, and also that authorities of individual ships can now select their crews as before. No considerable improvement can, therefore, be expected in the recruiting system under the present arrangements.

6. Now and again complaints are heard in this presidency about ignorant persons being taken to Assam to work in plantations there by the recruiting agents, who concealed the facts from the recruits, and misled them. Questions regarding unscrupulous methods in recruiting labour for Assam plantations were recently asked by a member for Gujerat in the Bombay Legislative Council. Also the Marathi newspapers in Goa (Portuguese territory on the west coast bounded by the Bombay Presidency on the north, south and east) published a few months ago complaints of some men thus misled, who anyhow, succeeded in getting back to their native place. This shows the need for imposing restrictions on the recruiting agents' work, so that the possibility of ignorant persons being duped should be reduced to the minimum. Under the conditions obtaining at present in the plantations, it is the considered opinion of the League's managing committee, it is quite desirable in the interest of labour to discourage by every possible means recruitment of labour for Assam plantations. If the recruits knew the real condition in Assam they would never consent to enlist themselves as labourers. It is, therefore, necessary that the labourers recruited for Assam plantations should not be taken to Assam, without first being taken to an officer appointed by the Government, whose duty should be to acquaint each recruit with actual conditions in the plantations. This officer should be in Bombay, and all the recruits from the Bombay Presidency should be passed by him, and he should be assisted in the work by a small committee consisting of labour representatives.

Every recruiting agent must supply the recruits before they agree to go to Assam, with printed and authorised terms of employment, viz., wages, housing, concessions, etc.,

The Assam Emigration Act (VI of 1901, as amended later) should be so amended as to safeguard the interests of labour. Although some sections of this Act, especially the section giving power to the planter to arrest a labourer, have been withdrawn by executive notification, the Act still remains on the Statute Book and it is still within the power of the Government to cancel the notification and revive the most objectionable features of the Act without the sanction of the Legislature. Similarly, though the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act has been fortunately repealed, the employers can take advantage of section 492 of the Indian Penal Code for the purpose of maintaining their hold on the employees. This danger should be removed at an early date. The labourers must be guaranteed freedom of movement. The agreements signed by the members of the Planters' Association putting restrictions upon the employment of labourers should be declared illegal. The labour should be free and not indentured. If the terms of employment are made attractive there is no reason why there should be any shortage of labour in these days of widespread unemployment. It is also necessary in the interest of the labourers' freedom that all residential areas on the tea-gardens and the roads leading thereto should be open to the public so that the labourers on the gardens may have intercourse with the outer world. Also, in view of the appalling illiteracy prevailing among the plantation labourers, and the helpless condition they find themselves in there owing to the long distance between the plantations and their native places, it is necessary to create a Welfare and Education Fund through a small cess levied on the tea gardens.

7. It is extremely difficult to obtain figures about unemployment in this country owing to the absence of statistics on the subject and also on account of the fact that the number of people migrating to industrial towns and returning to their villages from time to time is far greater than that of those who are purely industrial workers. The enumeration of the unemployed in industrial towns alone will not give an adequate idea of the extent of unemployment in the country. After a fruitless search for employment in towns a number of men return to their villages, finding it impossible to pull on any longer in cities where the cost of living is much higher, also a number of men are dissuaded from going to industrial centres to seek employment by the consideration that the search is bound to be fruitless and that the expenses involved in going and staying there will go for nothing.

Retrenchment due to depression is undoubtedly an important factor in the widespread unemployment of the present day. The unemployment consequent upon the introduction of rationalization may be alleviated by the formation of an "Out of work Donation Fund" as suggested by the Fawcett Committee with regard to the textile mills in Bombay, following the recommendation in the resolution of the World Economic Conference on Rationalization held at Geneva in 1927.

Unemployment Insurance is one of the remedies to alleviate the distress caused by unemployment, but it must be borne in mind that it will be useful only in the case of those who are purely industrial workers and permanent residents in industrial towns. The problem of unemployment which is of a diffused character in the country can never be satisfactorily solved by adopting such measures as are mainly applicable to populations permanently settled in industrial towns.

8. Labour turnover in railway workshops is much less in comparison with that in mills, factories and other workshops. In the former not only the majority consists of skilled workmen but also there is a provident fund for the workers and they are given certain concessions under the service rules. Even in mills the labour turnover is much less than what appears on the face. When a man has to go to his native place he gets a discharge pass. But when he returns he tries to obtain employment in the same mill as far as possible. He is, however, considered a new man when he is given a job in the same mill after his return. Instances are not rare of men and women workers working in the same mill for a number of years.

As regards absenteeism it may be stated that it is mainly of two kinds : seasonal and casual. Seasonal absenteeism is due to the fact that workers employed in cities have sometimes to go to their villages to help the other members of their families in agricultural operations and also to the fact that they feel the necessity of going there for a change or sometimes they have to be present in their native villages at certain religious ceremonies, weddings in the family or to carry on litigations on behalf of the family. It is also common among the mill workers and other workers in Bombay who live alone to leave for their native place as soon as they are down with sickness. Being alone in Bombay they are afraid of being neglected in sickness and are anxious to be amongst their kith and kin. Casual absenteeism is due to sickness as well as to the necessity of seeking relief from the drudgery and monotony in the works, after the monthly wages are received. The conditions of work are so exacting and taxing that a few men remain absent from work even when they are not actually sick. The conditions of work are more to blame than the men.

II.—Staff Organisation.

There is no provision for a scientific training of the managing staff. In mills and other joint stock industrial concerns appointments are often made mainly with a view to provide for the relatives or castefellows of the directors or agents. The training which is received by these men while serving apprenticeship is of only practical nature, and the result is that the men prove to be unprogressive. The methods of work and the notions of management under which these men are trained are believed by them to be perfect, and new methods and new ideas are looked upon with distrust, as if they were heresies to be studiously fought shy of. In short, it cannot be said about the majority of industrial concerns that the selections of the managing and supervising staff, superior and subordinate, are made on any fixed principles, nor that the men selected are given regular training along scientific lines. Scientific management is nearly unknown. Subjects like industrial fatigue and industrial psychology are totally neglected.

As regards facilities for training and promotion of workmen, it may be stated that whatever facilities exist are not available to all persons desirous of availing themselves of them. There are no schools for the training of ordinary industrial workers. Promotion of workmen does not depend so much upon their qualifications as trained workers as on the recommendation by their immediate superiors.

The Social Service League has been maintaining at its Working Men's Institute at Paré a textile technical school, which is meant for the training of ordinary mill-workers—spINNERS and weavers. The original idea when it was started was to make

it both a day and night school. But as day students must be maintained by paying them scholarships sufficient to cover the maintenance charges, and as the millowners showed indifference in supporting such a scholarship scheme, the school consists at present of only night classes. Instruction in these classes is imparted through the vernacular. Some of the millowners helped the League in starting the school by providing funds for a school-building and by giving machinery for practical training. The school receives grant-in-aid from the Bombay Municipality and the Committee of Direction for Technical Education (Bombay Presidency). The League pays a monthly scholarship of Rs. 3 to each student for regular attendance. The students are examined by experts deputed by the Committee of Direction for Technical Education. The course is not, however, yet recognized by the millowners for giving promotion to workmen, although some of the students passed through the course have succeeded in securing good jobs through merit. It is necessary to give encouragement to the young workers by assuring them of improvement in their prospects in employment. In the absence of any such definite assurance on the part of the employers very few young men think it worth their while to undergo the course of training.

At present there are no definite qualifications for the posts of assistants, head-jobbers and jobbers in the different departments of the mills. In not a few cases the sole qualification of a head-jobber is that he is able to bring in a certain number of operatives to work under him. Technical qualifications count for very little in such cases. This naturally results in jobberies and corruptions, and spoils the moral tone of the works.

The system of employing jobbers and head-jobbers and *naikins* as obtains at present in the mills is full of defects, and is, therefore, responsible for a good deal of mischief. The qualifications for these posts being indeterminate, the appointments leave ample scope for underhand dealing. In many mills the head-jobbers wield the power of dismissing men under them, although nominally the dismissal orders are issued by the head of the department or the manager of the mill. The fact invariably is that a head-jobber or an assistant orders a dismissal and it is afterwards blindly confirmed by the departmental head or the manager. Practically no investigation is made as to the real facts of the complaint against the worker. That this power of dismissal is open to serious objection goes without saying. The same power is used by the foremen and mukadams in factories, workshops, and in concerns or departments where labour is employed. In times of severe unemployment the petty officials who have the power to appoint and dismiss workmen have the temptation to use it unjustly and arbitrarily. Vacancies caused through dismissals offer them opportunities to obtain fresh bribes from persons in need of employment. Also it is often complained in respect of certain departments of several mills and factories that the spoils are divided among all the officers of the department, and that the jobbers act as intermediaries between the officer who has the power to give employment and the persons who are willing to offer bribe for securing it. This points to the existence of defects in organization and unless these defects are remedied efficiency and discipline cannot be expected to reach the desired level.

Jobbers have more power especially in those mills in which the wages of piece-workers are on an average lower owing to the used-up machinery and bad material. It is natural for workmen to prefer the mills in which they can earn higher wages at the end of the month with the same exertion, and the mills of the former type do not get a supply of steady workmen. The main duty of jobbers in such mills is, therefore, to keep a steady supply of labour. The jobbers resort to various methods to have a sufficient number of workmen at their beck and call, e.g., by advancing them money or standing surety for them at the moneylenders'. This enables them to gain a hold over the men who in their turn prefer to have such relations with the jobbers, knowing that the latter being interested in their employment for the recovery of the loans advanced by or through them would connive at irregularities and never sack them. There are also other more objectionable methods used by some jobbers for exerting control over the men working under them. The influence of such jobbers is unwholesome and undesirable both on the management and the rank and file of workmen.

The *naikins* (forewomen) have autocratic powers over the reelers and winders, with the result that the latter have to suffer most from corruption and tyranny in the mills.

Works Committees.—The League had prevailed upon Messrs. Tata and Sons, and Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Sons to introduce works committees in the mills under their agency. The experiment was tried for some time, the welfare superintendent of each group acting as secretary of each works committee. It was a joint committee, consisting of members representing workmen employed in the different departments as well as of the heads of the departments, with the manager of the mill as chairman. Questions regarding wages and hours of work were excluded from the

scope of discussion. The grievances, complaints, suggestions, etc., were formulated among the workers' representatives and whenever it was found necessary to collect facts from and ascertain the views of the majority of the workmen themselves, all the men in a department used to be called together. The secretary did his best to learn the workers' point of view and also satisfied himself as to the reasonableness of the proposals, grievances, etc., brought forward by the workmen or their representatives. The agenda was then prepared and circulated through the manager among the officers representing the employers on the committee, before the joint committee met for discussion.

The League's experience in this matter has not been, it must be regretfully stated, encouraging. Given the right spirit on the side of the management, there was no reason why the joint works committees should not succeed in achieving the object for which they were designed, viz., bringing together the management and the workers to discuss in a friendly spirit matters affecting the workers with a view to clearing misunderstanding and removing causes of grievances in time. It seemed, however, that although the agents appreciated the idea underlying the joint works committees, the managers and the departmental heads did not take kindly to it. In one mill, one of the officers resented the idea so much that he prevailed upon the manager and other officers to make it a failure. The very idea of workmen sitting in the same meeting and discussing their grievances with the officers was nothing short of a revolutionary idea to that officer's mind and the result was that the joint works committee in that mill came to an end soon after its establishment. The agents were not prepared to displease the officer, although they had themselves sanctioned the introduction of the works committees. The manager of another mill thought the scheme was superfluous in that he alone could dispose of all the matters without the ado of discussion. In some mills the committees were given a trial. But the experiment proved a failure in the end. The responsibility for the failure lay with the management more than with the workmen. Complaints about unequal wages for the same kind of work and changes unfavourable to workers in piece rates were disallowed by the managements and also workers' representatives complained of victimization on account of the part played by them in the joint committees. If works committees are to be successful the employers must convince the men that a works committee is a real measure of reform and not a sham. The employers being the more enlightened and powerful party it is for them to win the confidence of the workers by showing by their attitude and actions that they are ever prepared for a square deal and that they are always open to reason. If a grievance or demand brought by the workmen's representatives before the joint works committee is decided against the workers, and if the same grievance is redressed or the same demand granted after the workers have given a threat of strike, the workers can have little confidence in the joint works committee. It is natural for most of the managers and officers to look upon works committees as an encroachment on their rights and privilege which they have considered absolutely necessary to maintain order and discipline in the works. Unless there is a change of heart on the part of the employers and their representatives in the works—the managers and officers—works committees can never be successful. It is not the mechanism of the committees but the *spirit* that matters most. If this spirit is forthcoming and where there are unions, the mill or factory or departmental committees of unions are recognized for representing the workers' side, the works committees should prove very useful in minimizing friction between the employers and the employees.

The question is to be considered whether it would be more desirable to have works councils by statutory provision as in Germany than to have them on a voluntary basis on the lines of works committees in Great Britain. The League's committee is more inclined to the former, since very few of the employers would take an initiative in the matter if it is left to their option. The existence of works councils on German lines presupposes the existence of conciliation boards and labour courts, and these will be helpful in checking arbitrary dismissals, which is the greatest industrial evil in this country.

III.—Housing.

16. In Bombay there are chawls (tenements) built by some employers for their employees, but this housing accommodation forms only a very small portion of the housing accommodation required for the labouring population in the city. The Bombay Development Department, which is a Government department, has built several chawls for the working class people, but some of these chawls are still vacant, mainly owing to their out-of-the-way situation. Also the City Improvement Trust has provided housing accommodation. With all this, the housing conditions in general are far from satisfactory. Much remains to be done in clearing the slums and making better sanitary arrangements.

It is not possible in the present circumstances for workers to have houses of their own. Firstly, workers are not certain of their employment and if they are thrown out of employment and see no immediate prospect of getting another job they prefer leaving for their native place to staying here, as the cost of living in Bombay is much higher than in the mofussil. Secondly, even a co-operative housing scheme partially financed by Government and enjoying certain concessions requires some investment by the members and few workers have savings for such investment. Whatever savings are possible are generally sent to the villages where the workers hope to retire in old age.

20. The rent rates in Bombay range between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 or more. Almost all the working class families live in single rooms. There are thousands of workers whose monthly wages are Rs. 20 or Rs. 22 or less than Rs. 25 each. For such a worker, Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 as monthly rent is too much and the evil of sub-letting is due to this inadequacy of wages.

21. It is true that complaints are heard from employers who have built houses for their employees that some of the tenants in those houses are outsiders, i.e., not their own employees. The fact is that sometimes the employees discharged by their employers and subsequently engaged elsewhere continue to stay in the same place. Those who remain at a place for some years get attached to it owing to friendly relations with the neighbours and are naturally unwilling to change it even for a better one.

It is the opinion of the League's committee that housing accommodation should be provided by public bodies and not by employers, except in those places where no alternative to housing provided by the employer is possible. Housing accommodation provided by employers interferes with the workers' freedom.

22. There can be no doubt about the evil moral effects on workers of bad housing conditions. They deaden the sense of decency, encourage promiscuity, stifle love of cleanliness, lower the standard of life and keep away the workers from higher aspirations.

In the case of new industrial centres, town-planning should be made compulsory, with a view to avoiding future problems of congestion and insanitation.

IV.—Health.

23. (iii) Conditions at work places especially in textile mills are not conducive to health. But the conditions in slums are sometimes worse than those in a few mills of a better type in that respect.

(iv) The usual diet of some classes of workers is very poor in quality. This is partly due to low wages and partly to habits and conditions of city life. The staple food of the *Konkani* workers is rice and the milled rice which is used in Bombay is deprived of vitamins and nutritive elements. The deficiency is not sufficiently made up by the use of other articles in dietary. The *Konkanis* being the inhabitants of coastal districts are also accustomed to eating fish which they get cheaply in their villages. In Bombay fish is a costly article of diet and its dietary value is not at all commensurate with the money spent on it. Adulteration and artificial substitution also deprive a good many articles of much of their real food value.

(v) The *Konkanis* form the majority of skilled workers, but their physique is very poor. In addition to the poverty of nutrition and want of balance in their daily diet these people are more given to drinking than the other classes. Liquor has played a havoc with their constitution. The policy of prohibition alone will stop this evil.

(vi) The effects of disturbance of sex ratio and the relation between housing and morality are beyond doubt.

24. The medical facilities provided by employers are neither adequate nor satisfactory. In most of the mills the dispensaries and the doctors in charge of them are not popular. The dispensaries are popular only where the doctors are sympathetic, careful and efficient. Moreover, workers who cannot attend their work owing to sickness are unable to take advantage of the mill dispensaries. And they are greatly in need of medical aid. Lady doctors are required for women workers who do not as a rule like to be examined by a male doctor. Health visiting and talks on pre-natal and post-natal care will be very useful among women workers. At present this kind of work is very limited.

The Nowrosji Wadia Maternity Hospital at Parel has been very popular among the working class women. Such hospitals on a smaller scale are needed in other working class localities. The success of these hospitals and dispensaries depends mainly on the tact and sympathy displayed by the medical staff. The Social Service League maintains at Parel in the Working Men's Institute a dispensary for women and children and the popularity of the dispensary clearly shows that too much is made of the prejudices of the working class people, especially women, against western

medicine. No doubt some years ago the prejudice was stronger, but during the last ten years or so it has considerably waned. The fact is that in many of the hospitals and public dispensaries the poor class patients do not receive sufficient sympathy and attention and they have not the means of availing themselves of the hospitals and dispensaries privately conducted. At private practitioners' the charge for medicine is not less than eight or ten annas daily and the visiting fee of a qualified doctor is not less than Rs. 3 plus taxi-hire. This expense is too much for an ordinary workman to bear. Of course, it cannot be denied that much ignorance prevails among the working class people in this matter and also one comes across instances in which it will be found that more money is spent for engaging the services of a quack than would have been necessary to pay the charges of a qualified doctor. But the fact that the expenses involved in undergoing treatment at a qualified doctor's are heavy in view of the very limited means of the ordinary workers, is also undeniable.

It is a complaint frequently heard from doctors practising in working class localities that their work is often undone by the ignorance on the part of the patients and their relatives, by want of proper nursing and by want of a sickroom. Medicine alone cannot be efficacious in the absence of proper nursing and proper accommodation for the sick and not a few cases are spoilt by ignorance. Those who live in one-room tenements use the same room as kitchen, sitting room and bedroom, and the same also serves as a sick room. Besides, the tenements are so insanitary that the effects of sickness are sure to be aggravated if the patient is kept there. The League's Committee, therefore, are of opinion that free nursing homes are necessary in working class localities if medical aid is to be really useful to these classes.

30. Sickness insurance schemes are possible in those industries in which skilled and literate labour is employed and where there is some stability in service as, for example, in railway workshops.

31. In March of this year the Bombay Legislative Council passed the Maternity Benefits Bill introduced by Mr. R. S. Asavle. A similar attempt in the form of a resolution had been made by Mr. S. K. Bole, in the local Legislative Council, some five years back, but it had failed. With a view to having an All-India measure, Mr. N. M. Joshi had introduced a Maternity Benefits Bill in the Legislative Assembly some five years ago, but the Bill was defeated.

The League was instrumental in preparing and getting introduced a maternity benefits scheme through its Welfare Institutes, viz., Tata Sons Workmen's Institute and the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute, in several mills under the agency of Tatas and Currimbhoy's. It has been found that the burden consequent on the introduction of a maternity benefits scheme is inconsiderable on the employers while it provides a badly needed relief to women workers who are generally poorly paid. The number of women who become entitled to this benefit in a year is small in proportion to the total number of women employed in the same mill.

The League's Committee would urge an all-India measure for providing maternity benefits to women employed in industries.

V.—Welfare.

(Other than Health and Housing, but including Education.)

32. From 1918 the Social Service League, Bombay, was carrying on welfare work for the employees of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons and Messrs. Tata Sons in their mills in Bombay for about five years. The work was undertaken by the League at the request of the respective firms who offered to bear all the expenses of the welfare work done for their employees. The League, therefore, started two separate institutes, viz., the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute and the Tata Sons Workmen's Institute. This welfare work consisted of day schools for half-time workers, reading rooms and libraries, night schools for adults, educational classes for women, co-operative credit societies, co-operative stores, cheap grain shops, cheap cloth shops, gymnasia, *creches*, health visiting, provision of wholesome refreshment at cheap rates during the recess time, joint works committees, etc. The League also succeeded in getting introduced a maternity benefit scheme, and also workers' provident funds. At the League's initiative an all-India Industrial Welfare Conference was held in Bombay in 1922. It was presided over by Mr. A. C. Chatterji (now Sir Atul Chatterji, High Commissioner for India in London) and welfare workers from the different parts of the country together with the representatives of provincial governments and social work institutions took part in the proceedings. The main object of the conference was to bring about a co-ordination in the efforts of, and co-operation between, the various agencies working for the welfare of labour in this country. A permanent organization was also established and this was represented in the first International Welfare (Personnel) Work Conference held in France.

Unfortunately soon after this the trade depression set in and the employers who had introduced welfare work in their works curtailed expenditure in that behalf and also the League was unable to continue its industrial welfare activities financed by the employers, owing to certain reasons. The League, however, continues to be in touch with labour through its independent activities.

Although the welfare work carried on with the financial help of the employers for their employees has been considerably affected by the trade depression, some welfare activities are still continued in several industrial concerns in the various parts of the country, either departmentally or through other agencies financed by the employers. It cannot, however, be said that these activities are the outcome of a well thought out plan aiming at increased efficiency of and contentment amongst the workers. The employers who went in for these activities seem to be dissatisfied with the results achieved hitherto and the employees, on the other hand, also seem to have grown more and more suspicious of these activities. Widespread and acute labour unrest has pushed back welfare work, and it is not a matter for surprise. The fact is that the essentials for success are generally lacking in the welfare work carried on by the employers whether it is carried on departmentally or through other agencies. Welfare work can never be a substitute for fair wages, reasonable hours, stability of employment, just and fair treatment and sympathetic attitude in actual relations. It is too much to expect the workmen to appreciate the welfare activities in the absence of these essentials. Even when the directors and the agents are willing to spend money on welfare work, some of the managers and other officers look upon the expenditure as sheer waste of money and believe that welfare work pampers the workmen who ought not to be encouraged to expect anything from the owners beyond bare wages. And also those who are not so hard hearted seem to believe that welfare work is nothing but charity or philanthropy, and that the workmen must be grateful for these things. The price demanded or expected for this philanthropy is that the workmen should never protest against the treatment they receive in the works, howsoever unfair and unjust it may be.

Welfare work can never be successful and popular amongst the work-people unless the employers realize that it is neither a luxury, nor a philanthropy, nor a means to divert the minds of the workers from the trade union movement, and that it can only be successful as a superstructure on the foundation of justice and fair play. It does not appear that there is such realization on the part of the employers who spend some money on welfare work for their employees. In Bombay welfare activities are carried on departmentally in some mills. A detailed account of these activities may be supplied by the Labour Office. The Y.M.C.A. is carrying on some welfare activities for the employees of some municipal departments. In addition to these, independent welfare activities are carried on in the working class districts as Parel, Naigaon, Chinchpokli, Worli, Tardeo, etc., by the Social Service League, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Infant Welfare Society, the Nagpada Neighbourhood, the Arya Mahila Samaj, etc.

35. It is difficult to assess the results hitherto achieved of the welfare work carried on by the employers or by other agencies on their behalf and the work of institutions for the working classes in general. Firstly, because only a fringe of the working class population has been touched by this work; and secondly, because most of the results are intangible and diffused in character. The fact, however, cannot be denied that the work has not gone in vain, although the expectations of the employers, welfare workers, and social workers in general may not have been fulfilled to their satisfaction. The working classes have become familiar with some new useful ideas and that is not a small gain. The welfare workers of the League had an uphill task when they began their work in Bombay. They had to fight strong prejudices on the part of both the officers and the workers. Most of the prejudices on part of the workers have been since overcome. The welfare workers' path from that point of view has now become smoother. Now a greater number of workmen and women go in for rational medical treatment when they are sick, while formerly many of them avoided going to a doctor. When the League opened its first *creche* in one of the mills entrusted to it for welfare work, the women were unwilling to bring their babies to it, considering it to be a kind of hospital, which connoted a number of horrors to their mind. After a few months the *creche* was full of babies and the other *creches* which followed found no difficulty in attracting babies to themselves. The working class women had a strong prejudice against lying-in hospitals some years ago. When the Wadia Maternity Hospital was started, the main difficulty was how to get patients to take advantage of it. The League's workers helped the doctors in charge of the hospital to persuade the workers to send their wives for confinement to the hospital, and owing to the tact and sympathy shown by the doctors and the matron who showed themselves to be sincere social servants, the prejudice against the use of lying-in hospitals was overcome. In a few years it became very popular. The original accommodation proved insufficient and now it is one of the largest hospitals in the city of Bombay. Similarly the

co-operative movement though confined to credit societies is no longer an unfamiliar thing to the workers. Some of the experiments in welfare work have, no doubt, failed. It was inevitable that in the initial stage there should be some failures. These have, however, served to afford those who are interested in labour a deeper insight into the conditions in which workmen have to work and live.

36. So far as Bombay is concerned the provision of educational facilities by employers is inconsiderable. In textile mills half-time workers are not employed at present. Apart from the fact that millowners have become even more indifferent in such matters than they were a few years back, owing to the labour unrest, there is the difficulty of providing educational facilities for the employees of a particular mill, factory, or workshop, due to the scattered condition of the workmen so far as their residential places are concerned. The workmen of a mill do not live in the same locality.

37 There can be no doubt about the desirability of providing for old age and premature retirement. At present the Indian workers except those employed in railway workshops and a few other concerns are unprovided for in this respect. The condition of unskilled workers is still more deplorable in old age, or after premature retirement, than that of the skilled workers. A very few of the workers are able to save enough which they can fall back on in time of need. Many have to depend upon their relatives and not a few have to spend the remaining years of their life in misery. The joint family system has, however, in this respect, proved useful. But the joint family system is disappearing and the necessity of provision for old age is being felt. It must, however, be borne in mind that so long as there is no stability of employment and workers are arbitrarily dismissed, no provident fund or pension scheme can be popular among the workers. Workers in most of the industrial concerns are uncertain of their employment and also they do not like any portion of their wages to be in the hands of their employers, whom they distrust. They are afraid of losing their independence by entrusting their contributions to the employers. Even if the old age and premature retirement pensions scheme is not to be on a contributory basis and the pension is to be paid solely from the employers' pockets it is doubtful in the present conditions how far the scheme will be successful. In the absence of continuity of service, due to want of stability and the absence of leave rules and system of granting and recording leave; proper investigation into cases of dismissal for indiscipline, loitering, inefficiency, etc., very few workmen are likely to qualify themselves for the benefits intended. It is the opinion of the League's committee that in view of the conditions prevailing at present which are not likely to improve in the near future, and also in view of the desirability of leaving the independence of labour untouched, the provision for old age and premature retirement should be made through the State on the lines of the Old Age Pension scheme in Great Britain.

38. The League has till now organized over a hundred co-operative societies, the majority being credit societies consisting of members belonging to the working class. The co-operative credit societies of which the unit of organization is a mill or workshop or a particular department thereof, have special advantages as well as disadvantages. As it is not possible to deal with this question at length here, it may be briefly stated that the number of defaulters can be reduced only by an arrangement to have the amount of monthly instalments of repayment of loans deducted from the wages. When the employers refuse to help in this way, not only the number of defaulters increases, but also the men who stand as surety have to suffer unnecessarily. The want of stability of employment is also a fact which renders the recoveries of loans difficult. Besides, the credit societies forming a part of a welfare scheme financed by employers are of no use to the workmen during the period of strike when a workman needs a loan very badly, for during the time of strike or lockout the societies automatically cease to function. The credit societies, consisting of members from the mill-workers' class, have suffered a good deal during the last two years owing to two prolonged general strikes and a number of small ones. The danger to welfare credit societies is still greater owing to the change of workers that occurs after a prolonged strike. In short, although the welfare credit societies have saved a number of workmen from the clutches of professional money-lenders and thus have served to some extent the purpose for which they were intended, the fact cannot be denied that the societies organized on the basis of locality, community, or the native village, especially the last, are better than welfare societies in many respects. They tend to foster the spirit of co-operation and thrift, while the welfare credit societies tend to be mechanical.

Co-operative production is out of the question in welfare work. Co-operative distribution in the form of stores was tried, but it did not prove successful. The greatest difficulty in the way is the habit of the people of making purchases on credit, which is allowed by grain-dealers and also by other traders. The temptation offered in the form of credit facilities is too much in the case of most of the workers, although these facilities cost them much in the end.

Lastly, co-operation whether in credit or distribution cannot be expected to yield considerable results in the case of those workers whose wages are insufficient for bare maintenance.

39. *Possibility and Desirability of a Statutory Miners' Welfare Fund.*—The desirability of such a fund is manifest in view of the conditions of the workers employed in mines, especially those in which no provision is made for the education of workers' children, maternity benefits, medical relief, housing, sanitation, etc. There is no reason why such a fund should not be possible in this country on the lines of the same kind of fund in Great Britain. Also, the principle underlying a statutory Miners' Welfare Fund may be extended to all organized industries.

VI. Education.

40. The Bombay municipality has made primary education free and compulsory in F and G wards of the city, which contain a large working class population. Although actual compulsion is rarely resorted to, the number of school-going children has increased since the element of compulsion was introduced. There is also a large number of working class people in E and B wards of the city, and although the Municipal Corporation has seen the necessity of introducing free and compulsory education in those wards, it has not yet been possible to carry out the scheme owing to paucity of funds. At the present rate of progress it will take several years to make primary education free and compulsory throughout the city.

In Bombay the employment of persons in factories and mills below the age of 15 years is now very rare and consequently there is no provision for education of such children.

There are some night schools for adults. The Social Service League is one of the institutions in the city that are conducting night schools. The league was conducting night-schools for millworkers when it was carrying on welfare work for employees of several mills. It has been the League's experience that although the night-schools for imparting education to adults are useful to some extent, the actual results achieved are not commensurate with the money and labour spent on them. Of course, instances of men having taken advantage of a night-school and becoming literates can be shown, but there is a good deal of waste. The attendance is irregular and the average period during which a student takes advantage of a night-school is too short to become of any practical use to him. No wonder many of these lapse into illiteracy again after a few months. The fact is that most of the adults attending primary schools find it tedious to follow the instructions. On the other hand those who have gone through the primary course in childhood stick to the night-school if they go there when grown up.

The league has been conducting night-schools for importing secondary education and it has been found that there is very little waste. The attendance is much more regular and the average period during which a student takes advantage of such school is much longer. The league maintains a night high school in a working class locality, which is registered with the University of Bombay for sending up students for the matriculation and School Leaving Certificate Examinations. The students taking advantage of this high school, together with the middle school attached to it, are peons, workmen, office-boys and others.

Adult education will become much more popular and widespread when primary education becomes universal. The illiteracy of the working classes in Bombay City will not be fully liquidated, even if primary education is made free and compulsory throughout the city, unless the same educational progress is made in the mofussil, for there is a constant flow of adult population into Bombay City from the mofussil.

41. Facilities for industrial and vocational training are very limited. And even if they existed on a more liberal scale only a few boys from the working class families could take advantage of them, since a systematic training requires acquaintance with the three R's on the part of the students. Besides, there is the difficulty of maintaining the boys for a few years while at industrial schools. This is not possible for the majority of workers. If these schools are to be useful to the working class boys, a maintenance scholarship scheme will have to be devised. Also, nearly the same results can be achieved by introducing a paid apprenticeship scheme in which the boys will be required to work for a few hours in the works and to attend the classes attached to the works, where it is possible to start such classes in connection with a workshop, a mill, or a factory. It will, however, be more convenient to start in working class localities, schools having morning, afternoon and night-classes where boys working in different mills, factories and workshops may be given industrial and vocational training. The night-class will be useful for adults working whole time at the place of their employment and the boys will be half-time workers, those working in the morning attending the classes in the afternoon and *vice versa*.

42. There can be no doubt that the spread of education will help to raise the standard of living and also the level of efficiency.

VII. Safety.

46. For accident prevention there is no "Safety First" propaganda by employers who have not, it seems, yet realized the importance of such a propaganda even from the selfish point of view. The millowners of Bombay have started a mutual insurance company for paying compensation to workers for accidental injuries, which can easily carry on a safety first propaganda in the mills and thus succeed in saving much more money than that will have to be spent on the propaganda and also saving human lives and preventing a number of accidents involving claims for compensation. In respect of first aid and medical relief much can be done in mills, factories, and workshops. It is not that first aid is available in all mills and factories, and owing to the want of first aid and the necessary instructions to the injured, injuries are likely to develop into serious ones and even to end fatally.

49. That the inspecting staff is not able to visit all the factories in the Presidency regularly is clear from the Factories Inspectors' Annual Report. Some factories remain unvisited by a factory inspector throughout a year. Naturally factory inspection is not stringent enough and the regulations are not strictly enforced in a number of factories. Some factory-owners try to evade the provisions of the Factory Act by showing a less number of employees on the muster than the minimum number necessary to constitute a factory under the Act, although the number actually employed by them is over the said minimum. Such factory owners try to avoid the responsibility of paying compensation to the workmen who have received injury through accident in the course of their employment.

50. There can be no doubt as to the adverse effects of safety of excessive hours, poor health (rendering a man nervous), defective light and unsatisfactory working conditions easily bringing about fatigue.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. Owing to the illiteracy and ignorance that prevail among the Indian workers, although some years have passed since the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act came into force, some workers are still unaware of the fact, and that a number of claims may remain unrepresented and unsatisfied. The league's workers have come across cases in which the injured workmen came to know that they were entitled to compensation after the period of six months, within which claims must be filed had elapsed. This shows that provisions of the Act are still unknown to some workmen, especially to those employed in construction work and in factories in the mofussil. It is, however, difficult to estimate the percentage of claims remaining unrepresented, owing to the ignorance of workers.

The effects on industry of the Compensation Act are negligible and the financial burden due to the Act can still be lightened by a safety first propaganda. That the Bombay Millowners' Mutual Insurance Company has been able to show profits is a point that should be noted in this connection.

The millowners have formed an insurance company of their own and there are other insurance companies for this purpose. Insurance is desirable from the workers' point of view, since the employer is not directly interested in opposing a claim. When the employer is directly interested in opposing a claim he is naturally inclined to make use of all the means—fair or foul—at his disposal for disproving the claim. He can suppress evidence as the witnesses are his employees, whom he can intimidate and prevent from telling the truth.

52. The Workmen's Compensation Act needs to be extended to some industrial concerns and business establishments which do not come within the purview of the present Act. Accidents on the Cotton Green and in large warehouses outside the docks ought to be covered by the Act. In these establishments, cotton bales and other big loads have to be handled by the workers, cranes are also used, and accidents ending fatally or in permanent disability frequently occur. The employers are rich enough to bear the compensation charges. Soda-water factories and flour mills must also be brought under the Act, accidents being common in them, especially in the former. Many of these factories and mills are not covered by the Act, since the number of workers employed in them is less than that is necessary to constitute a factory under the Factory Act. Of course, these mills and factories are small concerns, but by resorting to insurance they can avoid the possibility of having to pay large sums in lump by way of compensation.

53. (i) The league's committee thinks that the maximum amount of compensation allowed in this Act should be increased in the cases of permanent disability from Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 4,500, and in fatal cases from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,500, so that the object of the Act may be adequately fulfilled.

(ii) As regards the conditions governing grant of compensation, it is the opinion of the league's committee that in a case of fatal accident the claim should not be allowed to be contested on the ground of negligence on the part of the deceased,

since nobody wants to lose his life for nothing. In this respect it is necessary that the Indian Act should be brought into line with the English law. Also the plea that an employee fatally injured was not attending to his or her legitimate duty should not be allowed to prevail. The dependents of an employee who has thus lost his or her life are in a helpless position and it is very easy for the employer whom the other employees who alone are eyewitnesses in the cases cannot afford to displease by telling the truth, to establish by producing evidence that the deceased worker was not doing his or her legitimate work at the time of the accident or that the accident was due to negligence on his or her part.

(iii) Claims for compensation in cases of industrial diseases are very few ; firstly, because most of the workers engaged in industries in which workers are liable to be affected with certain diseases, do not know that they are entitled to compensation should they be so affected ; secondly, because it is difficult to prove a claim of this nature.

(iv) The present Commissioner for Bombay Presidency is not a whole-time officer for compensation work, having also other duties to perform. A whole-time officer would be better able to devote his attention to this work.

(v) The league's committee would like to suggest that in all cases, even in those in which workmen or their dependents agree to receive amounts in settlement of their claims, compensation amounts should be paid through the commissioner, and all the agreements should be registered with the commissioner, so that employers may not take undue advantage of the claimants' ignorance, illiteracy, and helplessness. Under the present Act it is open to workmen to repudiate agreements if they are not registered with the commissioner, but the majority of workmen do not know that they can do so. Also it should be made compulsory on the part of employers to inform the commissioner as soon as an accident occurs, and failure to do so should be made a criminal offence. This arrangement will enable the commissioner to find out the cases in which the workmen have not received compensation.

In view of the main object of the Compensation Act, viz., that the victim of an industrial accident resulting in permanent disability may not be rendered destitute and thus be a burden on the community, and that the dependents of a worker fatally injured through accident or fatally affected with an industrial disease may not be rendered totally helpless and dependent on the charity of their relatives or the community, it is necessary to see that the amounts paid by employers by way of compensation are properly utilized. Generally speaking, the workers do not know how to make a safe investment when they get a lump sum and often the result is that they are deceived by interested persons among their relatives, caste people, or villagers, and ultimately they become destitute. Especially this is so with regard to women receiving compensation as dependents. Where minors are concerned, it should be made a rule that the amount should be paid by instalments through the commissioner or in the mofussil through the Mamlatdar of the Taluka in which the village is situated. In the case of young widows also it is necessary that the amount should be paid by instalments and should a widow remarry the remaining amount should be paid to the dependents of the deceased coming next in order.

Business Agencies for Compensation.—Since the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act came into force business agencies have been started for helping workmen or their dependents to obtain compensation. Many of the workmen or workmen's dependents entitled to compensation under the Act, no doubt, need help. But the ignorance and illiteracy which prevent the working-class people from obtaining compensation due to them, unaided, are likely to be exploited by unscrupulous agents for their own benefit and the object of the Act is thus likely to be partially defeated. It is, therefore, quite necessary in the interest of the claimants under the Act to subject the transactions of these business agencies to some restrictions. The Social Service League can speak on this matter with some authority, since it was carrying on the work of helping workmen or their dependents to obtain compensation. This work was under the supervision of a sub-committee, the chairman of which was Mr. K. M. Javeri, late Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes, who was also for some time an acting Judge in the Bombay High Court. A certain percentage was charged on the amount of compensation secured, but the department started for this activity never paid its way and ultimately it had to be closed. It is nearly impossible for a respectable public institution successfully to compete with business agencies, the latter being free to resort to any devices and methods. Almost all the cases of fatal accidents coming within the purview of the Act went to business agencies, and only cases of permanent or temporary, total or partial disability had to be undertaken by the league. Cases of the latter sort are generally expensive, since such claims are often contested by employers and the fees of lawyers and medical experts are to be paid. The league charged commission at a flat rate, so that claims involving small sums, but contested by the employers, should not result even if successful in depriving the

claimants of a large portion of the amount. Claims in fatal accidents are easier to prove and had the league got such cases also in sufficient number along with cases requiring extra expenditure, the league would not have been forced to discontinue this useful activity.

It has also been found that a business agency which generally undertakes compensation cases on behalf of workmen has no scruples to undertake to fight workmen's claims on behalf of employers. This should not be allowed. The plea that a lawyer can take any side which pays his fees is no argument in this matter. Agencies are allowed to represent workers' side, not as lawyers but as a special concession in the interest of the workers. The employers must always be represented by professional lawyers or their own representatives.

The league's committee, therefore, thinks that there should be a provision in the Act or in the Rules under the Act for safeguarding the interests of claimants for compensation against profiteering by business agencies.

54. It is but just and reasonable that workmen should be free to take action under the Employers' Liability Act which would entitle them to a larger amount of compensation than what is allowed under the Workmen's Compensation Act, since the amount of compensation in cases of injuries due to an employer's negligence must be considerably larger than the amount in such cases of injuries as may be considered incidental to the industry itself.

In this connection my committee would like to point out that the Government of India had included in the draft of the Workmen's Compensation Bill which was first introduced in the Legislative Assembly in 1922, certain provisions on the lines of the Employers' Liability Act and that those provisions were subsequently deleted by the Select Committee.

IX.—Hours.

Even the hours allowed at present under the Factories Act, are, in the opinion of the league's committee, excessive and eight hours' system should be introduced at an early date. Should eight hours' work be made universal, there would be more efficiency and the employers would also be compelled to adopt labour-saving and time-saving devices, giving up their present indifference. Side by side with this reform, facilities for utilizing leisure in a better and healthier way should be provided to the working-class people.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

81. It cannot be said that the effect of the 1922 Act has been in any way undesirable on employment.

In Bombay, juvenile labour was not much used in the mills, and at present there are practically no half-time workers in Bombay mills. Also infants were never admitted in mills here, even where there was not a single mill crèche. The practice has been prevalent only in the mills in Ahmedabad.

86. There are no facilities for a systematic training of young adults in many of the industries.

88. Although the question about double shift system does not arise so far as the industries in Bombay are concerned, it may be laid down that night-work should be prohibited for women, young adults and children.

89. In building and other construction work, women are employed in large numbers. Some of them are required to lift and carry loads up and down ladders. It is, therefore, necessary that the employment of women in carrying heavy loads should be prohibited and for that purpose the Act may be extended to building and other construction work. The use by local governments of Section 2 (3) (b) appears to be very rare. The bidi-making industry (industry of making cigarettes of uncured tobacco) in Bombay is one of the industries to which the Act needs to be extended. The *bidi* shopkeepers employ a number of persons, the majority of whom are women, and they are required to work in insanitary, ill-ventilated places which are crowded with workers. It has been found that the percentage of patients suffering from tuberculosis is very high among women employed in bidi-making.

XI.—Special Question relating to Seamen and Workers in Inland Navigation.

No race discrimination should be observed in the treatment of seamen in respect of rations and accommodation.

XII.—Wages.

97. There has been an all-round increase in wages since the Great War, owing to the increase in the cost of living. The wages were not, however, increased by the employers voluntarily. In Bombay, especially in the textile industry, the workers

had to resort to strike to wrest an increase every time. This meant that wages did not keep pace with the cost of living and that the workers had to suffer from high prices as well as from strikes involving loss of wages. The cost of living is shown to have decreased, but on the whole house rent has increased and so far as the mill industry is concerned, the workers have ceased to receive annual bonuses, which being over and above the wages, enabled the lowest-paid class of workers to meet the higher cost of living. Moreover, owing to the depression of trade there has been recently much unemployment, not a few of the workers having to remain idle now and again. If the average earnings of an average worker are spread over the last three or four years, it will be found that the average monthly earnings have been much less than the average monthly earnings when the cost of living had reached its peak.

Although in the mill industry, which is the premier industry of Bombay, the wages have nominally stood at the same level, the average monthly earning of piece-workers, who form the better-paid portion of mill operatives, have decreased owing to manipulation of piece-rates.

(iv) When the employers had to increase wages in response to the workers' demand when prices of the necessities of life were soaring high, the increase in wages bore no relation to the profits which were then fabulous. It is, therefore, not fair to bring in the relation of wages to profits now. Some of the employers had set apart a fund out of the profits for the equalization of dividends, but none of them thought of having a similar fund for the equalization of wages.

100. The system of payment through contractors, sub-contractors, or headmen, is still prevalent in certain kinds of work especially in building and construction, excavation, and loading and unloading work. Sometimes workers have to suffer on account of this system. The wages are kept in arrears and at the end the workers have to lose the wages earned by them owing to the refusal of the sub-contractor or indefinite delay in payment, or his evasive replies. The former being illiterate and unorganized are unable to recover their wages. Especially is this so when the sub-contractor is a mere adventurer, having no reputation to lose and also having no assets that can be attached. The interest of these workers ought to be protected by requiring the owner of the building, etc., or the concern or establishment for which the contractor or head man is engaged, to receive a deposit from the latter as guarantee for due payment of the wages to the persons engaged by him, the main responsibility being the owner's, and the contractor's in the case of a defaulting sub-contractor. Or each contractor or sub-contractor may be required by law to take out a licence to carry on such business providing sureties for due payment of wages to the workers. This will save the workers from unscrupulous or insolvent contractors and sub-contractors.

101. Wages are fixed by negotiated agreements between the employers and the employees only in those industries the workers in which are organized to some extent. But there are many industries, concerns, and establishments in which the workers are not at all organized. Especially in the case of unskilled workers, the wages are fixed on the principle of demand and supply. The number of organized workers is very small as compared with the total number of workers. It is, therefore, necessary to have some machinery on the lines of the Trade Boards in England for fixing minimum wages in such industries as are not organized on the workers' sides. There can be no doubt as to the advisability of a statutory establishment for fixing minimum wages. Also it should not be found impossible to devise such machinery for fixing and revising minimum wages and rates in different industries and localities from time to time.

106. Fines are very common and in some cases they are excessive. Even where they are not excessive the workers do not get an opportunity to prove the injustice done to them through imposition of fines by their immediate superiors. In some mills and factories the fines have to be confirmed by the manager, but that procedure is merely formal and no real investigation is made by the manager before an order for fine is confirmed. Other deductions consist of recovering the price of a spoiled article from the workman, recovering housing rent or price of grain supplied through the cheap grain shop; the last being unobjectionable as generally the grain is supplied at cost price and it is left to the option of each worker whether he should take advantage of the concession or not. The most objectionable is the deduction of wages for spoiled articles. In some mills the practice of handing over the spoiled cloth to the weaver and deducting the price from his wages is prevalent. The piece of cloth thus handed over to a weaver has to be disposed of by him, and he gets much less than what has been deducted from his wages by way of its price. Also in the case of house accommodation provided by employers, sometimes the rent charged to the workers is excessive in consideration of the accommodation of which the workers are forced to avail themselves if they have to retain the job. In some out-of-the-way places there is no other housing accommodation and that provided by the employer

is wretched. In such cases the employers should be required to provide sanitary houses and the rent should bear a certain proportion to the wages of each worker. The fines must be utilized for the welfare of the workers themselves. Employers should be required to keep a separate account of fines and their utilization.

Legislation on the lines of the Truck Acts in England is quite necessary in India.

107. Wages as a rule are paid monthly. The exception is found in the case of casual labour. Even those workmen who are considered as engaged on daily wages are paid monthly; and each time the wages are kept in arrears for a week or more. In the textile mills, payment of wages is not made before a period of from 10 days to a fortnight of the following month elapses. This means that each worker's wages for 10 days on an average are kept in arrears. A new worker has to wait for the payment of his wages for about a month and a half. Thus a new worker, unless he stays with his relatives and is helped by them, has to begin his life in Bombay in indebtedness. Certainly this is bad for him both morally and economically, morally bad because he becomes used to the habit of contracting debts at the threshold of his career as a wage-earner.

The system of weekly payment will be beneficial to workers in many ways. They will not have to begin their life in Bombay with the handicap of indebtedness, and also afterwards they will better realize the proportion of their expenditure to their earnings. Also it is very likely that the habit of purchasing grain, etc., on credit will be considerably checked since the grain dealer himself will have to recover his dues weekly instead of monthly as at present. It is, however, a fact that some of the leaders of workmen are opposed to the system of weekly payment. Their main objection is that more money will be spent on liquor. Liquor shops are crowded on pay-days of mill-workers and under the weekly payment system there will be four pay-days in a month instead of one as at present. There is, no doubt, some truth in this objection. The fear is not quite groundless. The League's Committee is, however, inclined to think that the fear is rather exaggerated, because the recklessness in expenditure fostered by the monthly payment system is bound to be checked by the weekly payment system. All the same, the present excise policy of the Government is undeniably responsible to a great extent for the economic degradation of the working-classes.

(iv) The so-called unclaimed wages is a scandal, so far at least as the Bombay mills are concerned. These unclaimed wages are in fact not so much unclaimed as unpaid. In some cases the payment is often put off from time to time and the worker concerned becomes tired of going to the mill again and again, if the wages are due for a few days only and he has to waste time and take the risk of losing his new employment. Also a discharged worker is flatly refused the wages due to him for a few days. Again, the millowners have made a rule not to pay wages when six months have elapsed after they become due. This is an arbitrary rule, and a number of workmen who go to their native place and remain there on account of domestic difficulties for over six months, have to find on return that their wages have been forfeited. At present there is no legal obligation on the part of employers to utilize the "unclaimed" wages in a particular way. But the employers are not at all entitled to appropriate these amounts and must be compelled to spend them on the workers' welfare.

108. Indebtedness is common both in villages and industrial areas. However, the rate of interest charged on loans by money-lenders is as a rule much higher in industrial areas than in villages. Some classes of workers in cities are perpetually in debt. The rate of interest charged by professional money-lenders in Bombay, ranges between 75 and 300 per cent. per annum. The result is that the person who contracts debts from a professional money-lender is able to pay the interest at the most, and goes on paying interest for years together without ever being able to pay off the original amount of loan. Only a few working-class families will be found who are free from indebtedness. The League's Committee would suggest the establishment of municipal pawnshops as in Germany. This will save a large number of workers from usurious interest and shady accounts.

109. So far as the League's Committee is aware no employer has yet gone in for a profit-sharing scheme. The millworkers received an annual bonus for a few years during the boom period. The bonus was stopped as soon as the profits began to dwindle. The maximum amount of the annual bonus was equal to a worker's average monthly wage during the year, and the amount was proportionately reduced if the worker worked for nine months or six months only during the year. The amount of bonus each worker received at the end of the year had no relation to the amount of profits realised by the employer. During the period when the bonus system was in practice, it was found that the workers were more regular and steady in attendance so that they should be able to earn the bonus. This they did sometimes at the cost of their health, as they did not leave Bombay even when it was advisable for them to go out for a change of climate and when rest was absolutely necessary.

Another bad effect from the labour point of view was that the workers had meekly to submit to any kind of treatment at the hands of their superiors. It was, however, a much needed relief from a purely economic point of view inasmuch as those who had contracted debts could pay them off, and those who were able to save nothing during the year with all economy could have something to lay by when they received a lump sum.

110. In mill industry which is the premier industry of Bombay, the workers are not entitled to any privilege leave even when they have put in several years' service, nor can they get sick leave on full or partial wages. The general practice for a worker is to get discharge from service when he has to go to his native place, and when he returns to work he is considered a new employee. There is no regular system of sanctioning and recording leave. Since continuous service does not confer any special privileges on the workers they also are indifferent in this matter.

111. Undoubtedly a Fair Wages Clause in public contracts is necessary, but for the determination of "Fair Wages" it is necessary also to have a Minimum Wage legislation.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

112 to 114. In the absence of a scientific study of and statistics bearing on efficiency in the past continuing up to the present, it is not possible to make an accurate estimate of increase or decrease in efficiency of Indian workers in recent years. Opinions are, therefore, likely to differ on this point even among the employers. It is often asserted by the employers that there has not been any considerable improvement in the efficiency of workers. Supposing it is a fact, one ought to hesitate before pronouncing a verdict. Efficiency is not an independent thing; so many factors contribute to it. Many of these factors are to be provided by the employers, the State and public bodies. Labour alone cannot increase its efficiency. It must be induced and helped to do so.

As regards comparative efficiency of Indian and foreign workers, the League's Committee is not prepared to admit that the Indian worker is so less efficient than the workers in other countries as represented by the employers and those who are misled by superficial comparisons. This question had been incidentally considered by the Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1908. At that time the late Dr. T. M. Nair, one of the members of the Commission, had pointed out in connection with labour efficiency in English and Indian textile mills, that for the same money the Indian millowner got nearly double the work that an English millowner did. Mr. C. B. Simpson, of Messrs. Binny & Co. of Madras, had shown by calculation that 2.62 Indian employees were equal to 1 English worker, but he was not prepared to say that if 982 Lancashire workers came to India they would run a mill worked by 2,622 Indian operatives. Comparisons are useless and misleading unless conditions are identical. Mr. Rajani Kant Das in his book on "Factory Labour in India" refutes the prevailing notion that three factory employees in India are equal to one in Great Britain, on the ground that there does not exist the equality of working conditions for such comparison. This argument is reinforced in "Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast" by the same author, by the evidence of American and Canadian employers showing that Indian workers in California and British Columbia are as good as Chinese, Japanese, American, and Canadian workers.

Comparisons in efficiency are no doubt affected by the factors enumerated in the questionnaire, viz., migration of workers, use of machinery, comparative efficiency of plant, comparative efficiency of management, physique, health, education, standard of living, and climate. The League's Committee would add to these the quality of the raw material supplied to the workers. As regards migration of workers, the League's Committee would like to point out that Indian labour is not migratory in the strictest sense of the word. Though an Indian worker goes to his native village from time to time he returns to the same industrial work in the city, and follows the same occupation for a number of years. The change of climate resorted to by the Indian workman once in a year or two results in benefit to his health, and he returns to his work in a fitter condition than that in which he generally leaves for his native village.

It is not that the Indian worker is naturally inefficient but that very little has been done to improve his efficiency. He is ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-housed and illiterate; and also what results from bad management, bad or out-of-date machinery, bad material and bad business organization is attributed to his inefficiency. The following remarks of the late Dr. T. M. Nair expressed in his minute of dissent on the Report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission, 1908, are as true to-day as they were over 20 years ago:—"In my humble opinion, in India it is the worker who suffers from bad management and not the management that suffers from bad workers."

115. Changes in working hours, changes in other working conditions, expenditure on health and sanitation, housing, alterations in methods of remuneration, movements in wage levels, legislative enactments, dietary, alcohol and drugs, and industrial fatigue are sure to affect production to a more or less extent. Most of the employers in India and their managers are conservative to a degree and do not care to know what has been achieved in other industrially advanced countries in these matters. Their patent excuse for not going in for an experiment is that the conditions in India are altogether different and that what has been possible elsewhere would not be possible in this country. Hence, experiments and studies of their results are very rare. Time and motion study, study of industrial psychology and scientific management, are nearly unknown.

Alcohol is responsible to a great extent for the want of required standard of efficiency. Among certain communities of the working classes addiction to drink is widespread and the result is physical deterioration and economic degradation which must necessarily tell on efficiency. In short, it may be stated without fear of contradiction that the Government reaps excise revenue at the cost of the efficiency of those who are the real producers of wealth.

116. Increased efficiency can be obtained if the State, the employers, public bodies and the general public will do their duty by introducing the necessary reforms and removing the present handicaps on efficiency.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. Employers in many of the large industries are organized while workers in many industries are still unorganized, and the workers' organizations that are in existence are not strong enough to put up a successful fight against the employers when the interests of the workers are to be protected. The membership of a number of workers' trade unions is very small as compared with the number of workers employed in those trades or industries. Also the workers' movement suffers from multiplicity of unions in the same trade or industry. The employers are naturally in a much stronger position, their associations being compact and well supplied with funds. The effect of employers' organizations should not necessarily be adverse on the conditions of workers in their employment. Both the industry concerned and the workers engaged in it should benefit from an employers' organization if it is guided by a progressive spirit and enlightened self-interest. But unfortunately the general tendency of these organizations is reactionary. It is found that the least competent among the employers set the pace, with the result that industry and workers suffer alike.

119. The trade union movement in this country is only ten or eleven years old and some of the unions have been only recently started. Most of the unions have not yet been able to undertake schemes for unemployment benefit, old age pensions or strike pay.

120. The illiteracy prevalent among the working classes is a serious handicap on the trade union movement in this country. There is dissatisfaction among the workers and the discontent breaks out in strikes from time to time, but it is very difficult to make the majority of workers understand the principles of trade union movement. Before the trade unions came into existence the workers had their own methods to get their grievances redressed. Those methods were also successful sometimes, although they were crude. The trade union methods have not yet won the workers' faith, since the employers have not shown that they are open to reason. The employers' attitude as a rule is hostile to the trade union movement and the constitutional methods of trade unionism impose some disadvantages in strategy and tactics of the warfare between the employers and the employees. The employers are quick to exploit those disadvantages for making their position stronger.

The employers look with disfavour on trade unions and complaints about victimisation of workmen taking a prominent part in the trade union movement are frequently heard. Some employers refuse to recognize unions of their workers and to deal with them. This naturally tends to destroy the faith of workers in constitutional methods.

121. *Trade Unions Act, 1926.*—Registered trade unions have to be conducted in such a way that a good deal of clerical, accountancy and correspondence work is to be done. This renders the workers much dependent on outside help, and in the case of small unions the expenses of engaging efficient outside help are nearly prohibitive. The League's Committee would, therefore, suggest the advisability of the Government's issuing instructions to the registrars of trade unions to avoid red-tapeism as much as possible. The registrars of the trade unions and their staff should consider themselves as belonging to a department of social service.

122. *Miscellaneous Questions Regarding Trade Unions.*—Employers complain of lightning strikes occurring even where the workers are organized into a trade union. In this connection it must be remembered firstly, that in a mill, workshop, factory

or concern, or a department thereof, all the workers are not members of the unions concerned; secondly, that the procedure to get the workers' grievances redressed, before deciding to resort to strike, is such as enables the employer to adopt dilatory tactics and thus to subject the workers' enthusiasm for concerted action to cold douches and also to gain time for causing breaches in the ranks of the workers by intimidation or promises of personal gain.

In order to be able to secure the workers' co-operation for increasing efficiency of production the employers must first take them into their confidence, must show by their acts that they deserve the workers' confidence, must lay all the cards on the table and must be prepared for a square deal. Workers should not be expected to extend their co-operation unless they are satisfied that they too will be benefited by increased efficiency and the proposals from the employers are not made simply for increasing the latter's profits.

The position of employees in State industrial concerns in relation to general trade union movement cannot be said to be much better than that of employees in capitalist industrial concerns. As a case in point the railwaymen's unions may be mentioned.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

123. The causes of industrial disputes are various. Sometimes they are really very serious, and when they are apparently trivial, it is the result of accumulated grievances remaining unredressed. The serious causes include proposals for reduction of wages by employers, demands for increased wages by workers, dissatisfaction among the workers owing to the introduction of new systems of work without the consultation of workers, quarrels between the parties over piece work rates, fines, assaults, victimization, excessive hours of work, rate of wages for overtime work, etc.

Naturally strikes and lockouts result in loss to industry and workers. Some disputes during the last two or three years affecting thousands of workers continued in the form of strikes or lockouts for months together. A few of the disputes were settled though not before both the parties had suffered a good deal, but in most disputes it was a trial of strength between the employers and the employees, amounting to a war of attrition. Even in those cases in which strikes were settled they left embittered feelings on both sides.

Recrudescence of labour trouble has, therefore, been the order of the day. The employers are generally in a better position in that there is widespread unemployment among the workers. Moreover, the former know for certain that the workers on strike must yield sooner or later through sheer economic exhaustion.

124. The Government of Bombay had appointed in 1921 a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Stanley Reed to enquire into the causes of industrial disputes and to suggest measures for bringing about speedy settlements thereof. On the recommendations of this committee the Bombay Government decided to introduce a Trade Dispute Bill in the local legislature but when the Government of India was asked to grant permission for the introduction of that Bill, the permission was withheld on the ground that it must be an all-India measure and that the Government of India was contemplating the introduction of a similar Bill in the central legislature. Several years, however, elapsed before the Government of India could bring forward a Trade Disputes Bill in the Legislative Assembly. Had the measure come into existence without much loss of time, much loss to industry, and workers would have been avoided and much experience would have been gained by this time for amending the measure for its more satisfactory working.

A joint standing machinery for regulation of relations between employers and the workpeople will be possible only when workmen's unions are freely recognized and sympathetically treated and accepted as a necessary part of industrial organization by the employers.

Not only opportunity must be afforded to workpeople of making representations but also all such representations must be sympathetically considered.

There is nothing inherent in Indian conditions to render impossible the applicability of Industrial Courts, Trade Boards and Joint Industrial Councils in this country. What is required is the right spirit on the part of the employers' and workers' organizations, especially the former.

125. *Trade Disputes Act.*—The League's Committee would like to point out in this connection that the disabilities imposed on workers employed in public utility services, although rightly imposed in the public interest, have not been compensated for by special concessions. The workers in public utility services are deprived of the weapon of strike and the authorities or officials knowing this full well are sure to treat the workers' complaints with indifference.

If the workers are to be deprived of the weapon of strike they must be assured of their just grievances being promptly redressed. The workers employed in such establishments must be unreservedly allowed to form their unions and to formulate

their grievances, a suitable machinery must be devised for investigation and redress of their grievances and it must be made compulsory for the authorities concerned to follow the procedure laid down in the interest of labour. Otherwise to be employed in a public utility service will be a penalty for the workers.

126. The attitude of Government towards trade combinations is not sufficiently sympathetic, Government in this country being itself a great employer of labour. Government has not shown readiness to recognize the unions of workers employed under it. As regards the attitude of the Government in connection with industrial disputes complaints have been heard from trade unionists about partiality being shown to employers by local officers during workmen's strikes although these strikes were due purely to industrial causes and there was not the least suspicion of political motives. Such partial attitude of the Government officials creates the impression on the minds of the workers that the Government is ever on the side of the capitalists and consequently the belief is strengthened that the condition of labour will never really improve so long as the present system of Government continues.

XVI.—Law of Master and Servant.

Laws like Madras Planters' Act, 1903, which punishes a breach of contract of service as a criminal offence, should, in the opinion of the League's Committee, not be allowed to remain on the statute book.

XVII.—Administration.

133. The attitude of the Central and Provincial Legislatures is not quite sympathetic on labour questions. The majority of the members of legislatures consists of capitalists and their henchmen, landlords, middle class men having little acquaintance with the conditions of labour and official bureaucrats. Several Bills in the interest of labour including the Maternity Bill have been defeated in the Legislative Assembly. Some urgent and useful Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference have not yet been ratified. An important measure like the Trade Disputes Act contains some seriously objectionable features from the labour point of view, and they were retained in spite of strong opposition from the representatives of labour. As regards the Bombay Legislative Council the general attitude of the majority of members may be judged from the facts that recently the Goonda Bill was passed and the proposal to lower the municipal franchise in Bombay was rejected. The Goonda Act has placed arbitrary power in the hands of the executive in such a way that labourers might be summarily dealt with as if they were little better than hooligans, during the time of labour crisis. The lowering of the municipal franchise as proposed last time in the Bombay Legislative Council would have removed the anomaly of keeping the City Municipal franchise as high as for the Provincial Legislature and the bulk of the working class people who are now voteless would have been able to vote at municipal elections. The Bombay Municipal Corporation is at present dominated by capitalists with the result that the interests of labour are neglected. This state of things would have been remedied to some extent had the proposal to lower the franchise been accepted.

It is necessary that there should be a separate portfolio for the Ministry of Labour in the Central Government just as it is in Great Britain. As for Labour Offices in the Provinces they should have Advisory Councils consisting of representatives of labour employed in different industries and establishments.

137. In small Indian States Factories Acts are non-existent and in the larger states they are nominal or very liberal in the capitalists' interests. The enforcement of the Factories Act in Indian States is very lax. Under autocratic rule the interests of the working class naturally suffer, the capitalists having personal relations and influence with the chiefs and their ministers. Some capitalists from Bombay have started mills and factories in Indian States simply with a view to exploiting labour. In addition to cheapness of labour in the States the capitalists find the advantage of having less restrictions to observe than in British India in the matter of hours of work, employment of women and children, compensation for accidents, etc. The introduction of maternity benefits, provident funds, old age pensions and other reforms will be further incentives for the capitalists in British India to turn their attention towards exploiting the facilities in Indian States in respect of labour. It is, therefore, quite essential that Indian States should be brought into line with British India in the matter of labour legislation, so that conditions respecting labour are equalised. This equalisation will be in the interests of workers in Indian States and in British India alike.

138. Owing to the illiteracy and ignorance of workers their acquaintance with the factory legislation is extremely meagre and this state of things enables employers to evade some of the provisions made in factory legislation and other labour measures.

Even if some measures urgently called for are passed, labour will not be able to reap the benefits arising from them in full measure so long as the present illiteracy of the masses continues.

139. The fact that every year some factories remain unvisited by the Factory Inspector shows that factory inspection is not satisfactory. If it is proved that the inspecting staff is inadequate it must be adequately increased.

141. Railways owned by the State can do much to set examples to private employers in other industries and establishments and also to other public or semi-public bodies, in solving problems affecting personnel. The discontent among the employees of State-owned railways is as acute as or perhaps more acute than that among other classes of employees in the country. The main cause of this deplorable state of affairs is dead routine, want of contact between the higher officials and the employees, want of confidence on the part of employees in the authorities and the unsympathetic attitude of the authorities towards the unions of workers. The present staff Councils have not been able to win the confidence of the workers. The railway workers' unions must be recognized and the representatives of labour in the Staff Councils must be elected by the unions. State-owned railways can demonstrate the possibility of success of the principles underlying the Joint Works Committees. The administration of the nationalized railways and the treatment meted out to their employees should serve as models to show how industries can be carried on in a spirit of service to the community with a willing co-operation of the workers.

XVIII.—Intelligence.

It was proposed by Government to introduce a Statistics Bill, but the outcry raised by employers against the proposed measure made the Government drop it. A measure of that kind is, in the opinion of the League's Committee, necessary for collecting statistics useful in judging the condition of workers and in arriving at right decisions in industrial disputes.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE BOMBAY SHAREHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

I.—Recruitment.

In connection with industry all over India the industrial commission of 1918 refers to the scarcity of labour. In Bombay this scarcity is particularly felt. The primary cause of this scarcity is no doubt the want of proper organization on the part of our industrial managers and millowners throughout. There should be a central bureau in each province to keep up a continuous propaganda amongst the agricultural classes with a view to attract them towards industrial centres. Our Bombay labour is mostly made up of agriculturists who are extremely poor, and it is frequently urged on their behalf that they hardly get one square meal a day, there is no reason why we should not have abundant labour in local industries if steps are taken to scientifically recruit same. At present the millowners mostly rely on jobbers for such recruitment generally at the gates of the mills. This system is open to considerable objection apart from its apparent defect to meet the normal requirements of the industry in busy periods owing to the scarcity we have already alluded to. As far as labour at the gates or available within the city is concerned, it should be engaged directly by the officer in charge of the mills, as is done in the centres outside Bombay. Again, the agricultural operations are carried out in our country with much less efficiency and economy of human labour than other civilized countries. The cause is abject illiteracy of the masses and absence of power driven machinery and other modern implements of agriculture. If some method could be employed by which the agriculturists could be made to employ modern methods, a large amount of surplus labour would be available for industry. This would bring about conditions under which not only we should have abundant labour supply but would also make it possible for us to work out a system of maintaining a labour reserve against absenteeism as recommended by the Indian Tariff Board (cotton textile industry enquiry) in its recommendation No. 46. The greatest impediment here is the woeful illiteracy of the masses and unless that problem is tackled boldly and on much larger basis, we shall be continuously handicapped in this and many other directions as we shall show later. According to the industrial commission's findings in their report issued in 1918 the area under cultivation was approximately 250,000,000 acres of which 40,000,000 acres are, for the time being, fallow and unworked. The total agricultural population of the country according to census returns of the times was approximately 80,000,000, thus approximately those directly employed on land worked up to one person to every 2.6 acres of cultivated land.

In European countries the figure works out at about 17 acres per person. These figures could not have much increased since the date the said report was written, and they clearly indicate the wastage in human labour on agriculture which could be advantageously attracted towards industry through the use of improved methods of cultivation, particularly when Indian soil and climate are, generally speaking, more favourable as compared to European countries. A good portion of labour which comes to Bombay from the Deccan and Konkan, or those who migrate to the Bengal coalfields from Chhota Nagpur, or the labourers from Behar and the eastern districts of the United Provinces who try their luck at mill centres in Calcutta, keep one eye on their agricultural holdings under cultivation, and the other on the factory and mines where they go during certain times of the year to make extra money. As far as Bombay is concerned, migration of this character takes place in April and between April and October there is great scarcity in industrial labour, particularly during active times and our mills have to work short-handed to the great loss and detriment of industry. Unemployment therefore, as far as industrial labour is concerned, is unknown in our city except among the incapables and undesirables. The question of unemployment insurance therefore, on the basis of anything like that which prevails in the United Kingdom, is out of the question.

High Wages.

The one result of this general scarcity is that our workmen are in a position to dictate their own terms on questions of wages, particularly at the time when the industry happens to be in a favourable condition. In times of depression, the wages which have thus been raised under pressure of activity during flourishing times, cannot be easily reduced. This is clearly proved by the findings of the Textile Tariff Board in their report in which they show how wages steadily rose from July of 1917 right up to November, 1920, and that, excepting the case of yearly bonus of one month's wages, the abnormally increased rate prevails in spite of the depressed condition of the industry. (See paragraphs 49 and 59.)

There is general disinclination on the part of labour to adjust itself to changing conditions in the industry. It is commonplace that in these days of keen competition reduction in the costs of production is very necessary. If for this purpose wages are reduced or retrenchments are made in the number of men employed, a hue and cry is raised by labour without fully appreciating the necessity for the action; it is therefore of paramount importance that in the present state of our industries labour should realize the necessity of adjusting itself to changing conditions in the interest of the economic welfare of the country. In this connection we would suggest the employment of technical experts both by the employers and the workmen who could watch and safeguard in mutual co-operation the interests of both parties and bring about a settlement whenever any question of readjustment of wages arose in consequence of the introduction of improved machinery or production of a new quality. We also suggest that the Government should help in the establishment of technical schools as suggested by the Textile Tariff Board in paragraph 68 of their report.

In the managing agents' firm as well, there should be at least one member who should have technical training and experience.

Paragraph 60 of the same report (Textile Tariff Board) deals with absenteeism among the operatives in Bombay, though they say that in Ahmedabad where also this ill exists, the percentage is much lower than that in Bombay. The general complaint of absenteeism, which is a drag on the industry, is due to the fact that workmen in Bombay are particularly overpaid in comparison to their normal standard of living which is very low. The other factor which encourages this is the joint family system (as well as the chummery system which applies to those without family) under which brothers with their wives and children, all earning units, live together and the total budget of receipts in their case is large enough in comparison with their standard of living with the resultant wide margin for taking alternate holidays without much inconvenience. There are some who try to explain away this phenomenon on the ground of "fatigue" and climatic conditions to which the obvious answer is that climate of Ahmedabad is in no way superior to that of Bombay and hours of work at both these centres are uniform.

Drunkenness is also one of the principal weaknesses of our labouring classes which in a measure conduces to absenteeism. The policy of the excise department up to now in selling licences by auction had forced the liquor vendors to increase their sale by various means which naturally result in increased drunkenness. A large number of men keep away soon after the pay-day simply because of this reason. We should therefore strongly urge the commission to recommend that immediate steps be taken with a view to reduce liquor shops in factory areas as far as possible.

The Average Bombay Wage.

The average wage paid to the workmen in our factories in spite of his illiteracy, even as far as his own vernacular is concerned, works out at a figure which is much higher than the standard of living would justify. For example, a jobber in Bombay mills earns from Rs. 125 to Rs. 225 per month, a weaver from Rs. 45 to Rs. 75 per month and a spinner from Rs. 30 to Rs. 45 per month, whereas the ordinary peons, even of a superior class who not only know their own vernaculars but know something of English do not earn more than Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per month, even after a service of some years. Even the domestic servants drawn from the same class earn not more than the peons. Compare with them even the average clerk in Bombay who earns a pay of Rs. 60 to Rs. 150 and manages to live on that pay in healthier surroundings as well as in greater comforts as to dress, etc. The above wages are paid in spite of the fact that technical knowledge both among the operatives and even the jobbers is of a very poor character. (This technical training for these operatives in some organized form is absolutely necessary. There is no effort made even to furnish booklets and leaflets in vernaculars containing explanations for those of the operatives who can profit by same.) These mill workmen as already stated live together on the joint family system and practically speaking all adults and grown-up children, male and female, constitute earning units with the result that the family budget runs into large figures. In spite of all that they live in the same chawl as the ordinary peons. Even a jobber who earns, as we have stated above, from Rs. 125 to Rs. 225, also lives in the same chawls in the same condition as the lower paid mill-hand. With reference to the first indication of overpaid condition, viz., absenteeism referred to above, it may be added that during the favourable days of the war, for the industry, the employer was particularly anxious to keep his factory working with full complement of his hands and paid extra bonuses with a view to encourage same, he failed to reduce absenteeism. The average absenteeism, according to the Tariff Board report of all Bombay mills came to 10.38 per cent. and in this connection Ahmedabad workmen were more favourable for the simple reason that Ahmedabad workmen are drawn from a class which is given to thrift and saving habits, whereas the Konkan workman is more extravagant and inclined to be easy-going. The remedy therefore does not lie in the raising of wages but in efforts being made with a view to raise the standard of living of these workmen by the spread of primary education, improvement of their intellectual calibre on the outlook of life, impressing them with the advantages of healthy living and generally adopting measures which would inculcate healthy ambition among them and make them aspire to a higher level generally while at the same time making them appreciate the fact that higher wages can only be paid by an industry which can earn them through efforts of labour in co-operation with employers. We should then arrive at what the Americans call "low labour cost in spite of high wages". The bonus and profit sharing schemes under conditions such as now prevail with an illiterate labour failing to appreciate the value of the higher standard of living are not likely to improve the position. The present period of wage payment at the end of every month may advantageously be replaced by weekly payments, if possible.

Welfare Work and Protection.

The industry expects to be assisted by adequate protection against foreign competition by properly adjusted tariff walls. In the present state of depression such assistance, in our opinion, is absolutely necessary. We should add that in case the industry manages to get into better times, with the assistance of protective tariff, the excess gains, should, in appropriate measure, be utilized towards welfare work and improvement of labour efficiency instead of being paid out as additional wages to an already overpaid labour under conditions we have referred to. The advantages of welfare work which is more apparent in the moffussil are dealt with in para. 67 of the Textile Tariff Board report and are as follows :—

"Direct contact between employer and employee is much easier in up-country centres than it is in Bombay, and, in most cases ample space is available for the provision of such amenities as creches, hospitals, both general and maternity, recreation grounds, schools, canteens and co-operative stores. Our inspections have shown that the most efficient mills in up-country centres fully realize the effect which the provision of such amenities has on the efficiency and contentment of labour, and we consider that it would be in the interests of the Bombay Industry to follow their example in this respect."

The fact that during the period of present labour troubles and lightning strikes the up-country mills are working overtime to advantage emphasises the necessity of an early move in this direction on the part of the millowners of Bombay.

In Bombay the mill area is of manageable size, where, besides the welfare work of usual type, collective propaganda of an educational character can be carried on and directed easily through the co-operation of the labour unions by the millowners through their association. Instead of each mill dissipating its efforts on this work, central recreation grounds, clubs and theatres attached should be provided for all employees under the association. Cinemas with the help of criers may be used for illiterate labour for instructing and explaining to them the various operations which their vocations require them to perform efficiently. Also the modes of life on a higher standard among labouring classes on the continent and the U.S.A. may be demonstrated, teaching them how to live well and attempt to rise to higher grades of life as in advanced countries where, according to Dr. Shadwell in his work on Industrial Efficiency, "the development of manufacturing industries was chiefly a process of workmen rising to be employers." It is said that in the U.S.A. communistic doctrines have not made much headway because there, every workman expects to rise and become a capitalist as his many compatriots have done. Whatever is spent here is an investment of great value instead of a burden and would amply repay the industry through the improved efficiency, increased production, lower relative cost and contentment and loyalty of labour.

Works Councils or Works Committees.

In our opinion works councils or works committees are most desirable. Here, in every factory, mill or workshop, if we had a works committee of the type they have in Germany and Sweden, where representatives both of the employers, i.e., management, and of the work people take counsel in conference on all questions of common interest, it would be of great advantage. In this connection, it is interesting to quote from "Britain's Industrial Future," being the report of the Liberal Industrial Enquiry, 1928 :—

"We sent investigators to Germany to report upon the working of the scheme there; they reported that the workpeople regarded it as of real value, and would not willingly part with it; and that while some employers made little of it, many spoke warmly in its favour. It is held by many in this country that to make such a system compulsory would be unwise, since its effectiveness must depend upon the readiness of the management to use it, and an indifferent management can reduce it to futility. Those who take this view believe that the application of compulsion may retard rather than assist the practice of consultation. We recognize that there is some force in this connection. There are two purposes for which a works council can be used; the first is the ventilation of grievances, and the assurance of an opportunity of expressing the workpeople's view with regard to the rules under which they have to work; the second is the pooling of ideas, and the enlisting of workpeople's help in securing efficiency. The latter can be made of no avail by a hostile and indifferent management, but the former can certainly be secured if regular meetings are bound to take place. We conclude therefore—and our opinion is fortified by German experience—that the advantages of a compulsory establishment of works councils outweigh any defects which may attend it."

We ourselves think that the compulsory establishment of such councils will be for the benefit of all concerned. Of course, as far as the workmen's representatives are concerned it would be best if it is insisted upon that outsiders should not represent them but that only wage earning units should be returned on such councils. The actual proportion in which they should be represented is a question on which there may be some difference of opinion. The Whitley Committee of 1916, recommended 50 per cent. representation on either side and we believe that that would be a proper data of representation in order to inspire confidence in the working classes as to the efficacy of their representation. Of course, the function of the council will be more or less of a consultative nature and if conducted sympathetically might promote good relations between the employers and the employees. They may be consulted for example (i) on the working rules of a factory as well as those (ii) in connection with dismissals. In this connection special rules if created in consultation on both these heads, particularly the latter would tend to avoid ill-feeling which is the chief cause of many industrial troubles. Dismissals may be due to either inefficiency insubordination, or slackness at the factory and in either of these cases a council such as the one we are suggesting will be of great assistance tending as it is sure to do towards smoothness in place of unpleasantness. In connection with welfare work also these joint councils connected with each factory will also be of great help. In this connection it is advantageous to quote here a passage from the excellent book published only this year (1929), of Prof. Henry Clay of the University of Manchester, entitled, the "Problems of Industrial Relations" where the working of the industrial councils as recommended by the report of the Whitley Committee for the past ten years comes in for close criticism.

The author has to admit that "The experience of the industries that did adopt the Whitley scheme points to the same conclusion, that the continuous contact and co-operation over non-controversial business, which an industrial council involves, are an aid to the peaceful settlement of differences, even if they cannot offer a complete guarantee of peace."

Hours of Work.

The reduction from 12 hours to a 10 hours shift has not materially reduced production as is admitted on all hands. This encourages us to recommend the experiment of a further reduction by at least half-an-hour which ultimately may lead to a "nine hours' shift." We agree with the recommendation of the Fawcett Committee on this question, as given in para. No. 42 of their report, on the "extreme desirability of extra recess" through the reduction of working hours. In our opinion it may be given a fair trial and if the experiment succeeds in "reducing loitering and absenteeism and results in no material loss of production" it may be converted into a permanent arrangement. We of course realize that much will depend on the co-operation of the workmen here with the management, but as the above recommendation of the Fawcett Committee was due to the earnest pleading on the part of labour leaders themselves, who assured the committee that the same would be successful on the footing we have stated above, we are inclined to suggest the experiment.

Industrial Disputes.

Trade Disputes Act.—We are strongly of the opinion that the Act should be amended so as to prohibit picketing. Any one who is familiar with the recent events in connection with industrial disputes in the country, especially in Bombay, will agree that this amendment is absolutely necessary. Para. 88 of the report of the Court of Enquiry recently appointed by the Government of Bombay under the Trade Disputes Act shows that picketing and intimidation by the strikers and acts of violence committed by them on those who declined to go on strike, resulted, among other causes, in the prolongation of the April, 1929, strike in Bombay. In para. 77 of its report, the Court has held, on the evidence of the Commissioner of Police, that intimidation had been carried on by the strikers to a considerable extent both in the chawls and on the roads and that picketing was by no means peaceful. The Court also refers to a statement made by Mr. Bakhale, a well-known labour leader, that the members of his union working in the Madanpura mills had complained to him that they were afraid of going to the mills, because they would be assaulted. Para. 72 of the report of the Percival Committee recently appointed by the Government of Bombay, also refers to intimidation of loyal workers and their families; in view of these findings there is no course open but to stop picketing; it has been argued that the right to strike being the birth right of every worker and being the essence of the Trade Union Movement, it follows that the right to persuade another peacefully to withhold service is equally legitimate. This argument overlooks the fact that those who are willing to work have a right to be protected from those on strike. This was the principal point made by the Hon. Member in charge of the Trade Disputes Bill while speaking in the Assembly in connection with an amendment prohibiting picketing. He actually quoted a passage from a book entitled "Freedom of Associations" Vol. I which stated that "the right to work, however implies that those willing to work have the right to be protected against strikers and that picketing is prohibited." (See Legislative Assembly Debates dated 6th April, 1929, Vol. I page 2,950). We should further point out that under the present industrial conditions in force in India, peaceful picketing is only a vision. This is due to the fact that an illiterate labourer can seldom be expected to act peacefully in times of excitement. This aspect of the question also came in for careful consideration at the conference convened by H.E. the Governor of Bombay in June last, in connection with the strike situation which resulted in His Excellency's decision to introduce a Bill in the Local Legislative Council for prohibiting picketing. The idea had unfortunately to be dropped for causes beyond the control of the Local Government, but we take this opportunity to quote from the speech of His Excellency at the time of the opening of the local Legislative Council in July, 1929.

"In addition it was found to be the general opinion of the bodies represented at the conference that picketing as now practised is often only another work for terrorization of the workers, especially at their homes and that a measure to control picketing during industrial disputes was necessary. As I indicated in my announcement to the conference in Bombay it was originally intended to frame such a measure on the lines of the English Act as it then stood, but as it is understood that this Act is now being reviewed, Government have decided not to introduce a Government measure on the subject for the present."

We trust we have made out a sufficiently strong case for anti-picketing legislation in India ; we hope therefore that the Royal Commission will make recommendations on the subject bearing in mind that Indian Legislation should proceed along the lines of special Indian Conditions.

Industrial Disputes (Causes).—One of the causes of industrial disputes is the lack of contact between the employers and employed which tells heavily on their relations. In this matter the most important factor is the human factor. The healthy development of this factor depends, among other things, on the frequency with which employers come into direct personal touch with the workmen. With our illiterate labour, the problem of labour presents special difficulties of our own in India. This makes it all the more necessary for employers that personal contact should be brought about as far as possible between them. We have already suggested works councils as a remedial measure in this direction. The managing agency system, as it is being worked at present, is also responsible for this want of contact. Under it, a managing agent can go on adding company after company to its list in addition to carrying on various businesses in as many lines as it pleases. The heads of the firms concerned are thus too busy ; their energies are directed towards so many channels that there is scarcely any time for them to come into contact with the workmen ; that work is often left to inexperienced and unsympathetic assistants. A kind word, a sympathetic pat from the agent which goes a long way towards bringing about an atmosphere of loyalty and respect is thus conspicuously absent. In this view it is interesting to note that this question of the lack of contact was raised at the conference of representatives of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, The Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the European Association which the Millowners' Association had called on the 12th June, 1929, to consider the strike situation when Mr. H. P. Mody, the chairman of the association, observed as follows :—(See " Times of India " of 12th June, 1929).

" Coming to the question of the want of touch between the employers and the workers, I will not deny it ; all I will say is that there have been excuses for it. The ignorance and illiteracy of the men and the classes from whom they have been drawn have not made it possible for employers of labour to get into the skins of the workpeople but whether something or other should be done in the near future is a matter which must engage the earnest attention of all employers of labour. My Association would observe that the excuse suggested is hardly convincing. The truth of the matter is that our mill agents have neither the time nor the inclination to establish personal contact with their workmen with the result that wrong impressions and distrust of the management exists among the workmen."

In view, therefore, of the importance of the point we hope that the Commission will be good enough to investigate to what extent the managing agency system as it is being worked at present is capable of bringing about personal contact between employers and workmen as a system or how far it is possible under the system to bring about this most essential factor for industrial peace and well being.

[Trade Combinations.

Trade Unions Act, 1926—Possible amendments.—That the imperfections of the Trade Unions Act have left the door open to a number of abuses is illustrated by the reports of the Court of Enquiry and the Percival Committee. The court has held that some of the leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union took an unfair advantage of the conditions prevailing in October, 1928, and adopted the unconstitutional method of converting mill committees from advisory into executive bodies ; that their policy was to encourage individual actions among the officers of a mill committee even to the extent of declaring a strike although such procedure was against the rules. The court has further held that these leaders encouraged antagonism between the workers and millowners and caused several lightning strikes without just cause, that the officials of the union unjustifiably broke off the negotiations with the millowners then pending, and took the extreme step of declaring a general strike, that the dispute which resulted in the general strike did not exist between the workers as a body and the millowners, but between the officials of the union on the one hand, and the millowners on the other. As to the main causes of the prolongation of the strike, the court has held that they were due to (a) the aggressive and mischievous propaganda of the officials of the union and inflammatory appeals made by them to the workers, and to (b) picketing and intimidation by the strikers and acts of violence committed by them on non-strikers. The court also found that the officers of the union did not act according to recognised rules of trade unionism, and that important documentary evidence bearing on the strike was not available.

The Riots Enquiry Committee (Percival Committee) has held that the union was the basic cause of the riots and that the intention of the leaders was to get the whole industry under their control, not merely to obtain pecuniary advantage for the

labourers. These findings and conclusions show that there is an urgent necessity for a drastic amendment of the Indian Trade Unions Act, if the labour movement in this country is to be saved from going into the hands of undesirable persons. It will be seen that there is no provision in the Act prohibiting sudden or lightning strikes without notice, in countries where trade unionism has advanced on sound lines, strikes are a last resort. In India they have become a normal feature. This we submit is most unsatisfactory. It will be also seen that the Act does not provide for any machinery whereby those who are not genuine friends of labour can be prevented from being honorary officers of a union under Section 22. Similarly, the Act does not contain any provision whereby any honorary officer can be turned out if found to be indulging in excesses or working contrary to the constitution of the union. The select committee to which the Trade Union Act, 1926, was referred observed in Clause 6 (e) "we propose the admission of honorary and temporary members as the assistance of experienced labour leaders will be of considerable value to trade unions, while the movement is in its infancy." The facts disclosed show that this right has been grossly abused and that safeguards are needed as regards the qualifications and appointments of honorary or temporary members. The Act also does not provide a procedure to be followed in connection with the calling and the conducting of a strike or for dealing with a strike which is called and conducted in violation of the rules of the union; it is submitted that in such cases the certificate of registration should be cancelled. The Act is also silent about many matters, e.g., the nature of the books to be kept, inspection of accounts by inspectors appointed by the Government on requisition of members or those interested, the manner in which the alterations, variations or modifications in the rules are to be carried out, the appointment and removal of officers, the number of such officers, the minimum number of members required for a trade union, and the minimum subscription payable. In short, there is considerable need for control and supervision on the working of a Registered Trade Union. An enquiry should also be made as to how far the power to admit honorary members under Section 22 of the Act is being abused by multiplication of trade unions in the same industry and in the same area. Under regulation 22 of the Bombay Trade Unions Regulations, 1927, the right of the public to take inspection extends only to the register kept in accordance with regulation 5, but it is submitted that this right should be extended to all documents filed before the Registrar.

GIRNI KAMGAR MAHAMANDAL.

I. Recruitment.

1. 20 per cent. of the Textile labourers are local, the rest come from outside. Out of these $\frac{1}{2}$ are Mahomedans and the rest are Hindus, Christians, Jews and others. Most of the Mahomedans are working in the weaving department and the Hindus in drawing department, mechanical line of the weaving department and carpentry. The Marathas, men and women, come from Poona, Sholapur, Satara, Belgaon, Nasik, Ahmednagr, Kolaba and Ratnagiri district and their distribution on work in several mills is as follows :—

Men from the southern part of the Ratnagiri district and from Poona and Satara district work chiefly in the weaving department, those from the Kolaba and other districts in the spinning department, men from Ratnagiri district work also in framing and roving departments. Women from the southern part of Ratnagiri district work in winding, dyeing and reeling and the Ghati (Kokan) women work in Safet (white) winding, frame ring and carding departments. Mahomedan women work in colourwinding department. The Bhayyas from northern India work in the blow-room and carding departments, the low caste people such as Mahars, Mangs and others work in the sweeping department and in roving, carding, framing and ring departments also. The pardeshis and Bayyhas who come from U. P. are included in the $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the Hindu community. In the bleaching and dyeing departments men from Ratnagiri district and the Mahomedans work equally together.

2. In proportion of service in the city of Bombay the number of labourers coming from abroad and adjacent villages and that of men out of employment is far greater than the requirements, such unemployed staff of people get work only in the absence of leave of the permanent incumbents on account of sickness, performance of marriage ceremonies, and affairs of their landed properties at home. Some of the men from Konkan and southern India (Deccan) who work in Bombay mills go to their native places to look after their fields there, soon after the setting in of the monsoons, and return to their duties in summer every year but those from northern India go to their native places once in three or four years as their motherland is far away from Bombay and going so far is most expensive.

After all the Hindusthani Bhayyas work in the departments of little importance such as carding and blow-room while men from Konkan work in the much more important department of weaving and they are found fully experienced and expert in that art.

3. As stated in the para. above, men from Konkan Deccan and other adjacent villages, come for service in Bombay being compelled to do so by their inability to pay off the Government assessment of their own lands which produce nothing on account of shortage of timely rainfall and get themselves employed in the absence of men on leave. Such men are found at hand when necessity for additional hands is felt by the millowners.

7. In Bombay many men are seen without employment.

The reasons are :—(a) Men of profession such as ironsmiths, carpenters and others, who used to supply landowners in their own villages, with ploughs and other implements of peasantry which now have been supplied ready-made by foreign countries, have lost their own profession and have therefore been compelled to come to cities like Bombay in search of employment in some of the firms. (b) In view of curtailment of expenses particularly reduction of low paid working hands has lately been taken in hand by the employees. (c) Five or 6 mills in Bombay have lately been closed and 10,000 or 12,000 workpeople have been thereby left without employment.

In this way the number of unemployed has been increasing day by day.

8 (ii) It seems that there is no system of engaging temporary hands. Had there been permanency in the employment of the working staff, the temporary employment could have found its way in that system. The men employed here are not sure that they will have to serve for life, getting higher ranks of proficiency nor could they entertain hopes of promotions in pay with the increase of members in their families, are not willing to work on the same pay and post through the long run of their future life and in cases when a new officer resumes duties, several changes recur and under such a transitory system of employment one can scarcely find labourers (work-people) of long-standing. Hence temporary system of employment might not have been introduced.

9. The benefit of the Apprentices' Act of 1850, although it is very important, has been enjoyed only by men in authority or by men highly favoured by the agents and the superintendents, their relations or people of their own caste. The Act is not in the least beneficial to any other working hand.

II.—Staff Organization.

10. The agents' duties are :—To purchase raw materials, to sell ready made cloth and keep accounts of the profits and loss of the mills and his subordinate officer, the manager has to look after the management of the mill.

11. The manager and the superintendent have power to appoint departmental supervising subordinate staff, while the agent alone is empowered to appoint chief superintending superior staff of several departments in the mill.

12. The system of recruitment is already mentioned above. No mill has managed to give preliminary education of processes and machines. Those who have been raised to the rank of jobbers and head jobbers have tried their best to pick out knowledge of their own duties only through their long standing experience in the department.

There is a technical institute in Bombay but only men who know English are admitted into it. No benefit of the institute has been derived by many others who know not English, as the education there is not imparted in Marathi or other native language. No steps have been taken by the millowners as regards preliminary education. In some of the mills, schools were opened to educate half-time boys, but that was only a farce and no more importance could be given to it, but now half-time system, has been put a stop to and consequently the so-called schools have been closed.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation have started compulsory Primary education, but the boys are not able enough to take the benefit of that education as their guardians have no stability of their professional services and that the wages they receive are too small to meet their own wants.

In many of the mills, the vacancies of jobbers and head jobbers are filled up by outsiders under favour or recommendation of men in high repute setting aside the claims of the qualified lower subordinates already working in the department.

13 (i) Generally the work-people and their supervising head officers are on friendly terms with each other, but now for a year or two there is a friction between

them because the leaders of the working staff are outsiders and quite ignorant of the mill matters and in fact vagabonds, and through the teachings of the newspapers of selfish attitude.

(ii) Jobbers bring men for work. They know how to repair machines and supervise the working staff and their work. Hence it is quite necessary to keep jobbers. In the absence of jobbers the work will suffer.

(iii) *Work Committees*.—Nothing can be said more satisfactorily about the unity of the labour party in the mill area of Bombay because of the opposition of the supervising head officers. Notwithstanding all such opposition, the Girmi Kamgar Maha Mandal—a union of the workpeople—has alone survived for 4 years past.

(iv) *Work Councils and Industrial Councils*.—No such councils are in existence here.

14 (i) In every mill, a timekeeper is appointed to keep attendance of the workpeople and accounts of their pay. The clerk in the department prepares accounts of the workers on piece-work and sends them to the timekeeper who checks them and enters them in the muster roll. The timekeeper prepares pay-tickets and distributes them amongst the work-people one day previous to the pay-day and the pay is distributed the next day after the distribution of pay-tickets.

The system of keeping attendance is as under:—There are tin and punched tickets provided for all the departments except the weaving. A box is kept at the entrance door of the mill, wherein given tickets are to be put in, and the ticket boy takes them out from the box and puts them on the Board kept for the purpose. The timekeeper then checks the tickets on the board with the report of the present working hands from each department, and fills in the attendance register of those that are present on work and prepares the accounts of pay at the end of each month. Besides the timekeeper has to submit reports of the occurrences of accidents, injuries or any mishap to any of the working hands. Thus the timekeeper has to work very hard. He has to look after the welfare of about 1,000 work-people.

(ii) Cashiers or pay-masters come from the agents' office to distribute pay to workers. The pay is distributed in the presence of the timekeeper and in accordance with the entry made in the muster roll against each and every worker. Gangs after gangs of workers come from several departments of the mill, to receive their pay.

15. *Contractors and Intermediators*.—There is no system of contractors in the Bombay mills.

III.—Housing.

16 (i) Owners of some of the mills have erected chawls for housing the workers as also the development and improvement trust department have erected chawls for housing them into rooms of 10 ft. by 10 ft. Accommodation for free ventilation and water has not been properly attended to but all rent charge there is very high.

(ii) Government and wealthy people have built chawls for work-people. Rents of rooms in the Government chawls erected by the development department vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 9-8 annas according to the area of the unoccupied rooms in different parts of the building

(iii) Workers have no chawls of their own.

18 (i) The present and most urgent demands of the workers are, education and housing with suitable accommodations with tolerable rents.

19. According to the present style of building a house, the millowners have built houses of a common nature for the millhands and the rents charged thereupon are also considerably less than other buildings of the same standing and structure but the accommodation for free ventilation and light is not properly attended to in erecting them. In all they are like other buildings of the same style.

The development department of Government have also built several chawls in various parts of the mill-area, but they are as if they were pigeon-holes and the tenants living there generally suffer from malarious fever still there is no cheapness in the rate of rents charged and almost all of these chawls are therefore, left unoccupied.

20. Caste distinction is given particular attention to in the living of the work-people in the mills and the rates of rent are generally the same throughout the whole area.

IV.—Health.

23. The health of the millhands is very bad owing to the thick population in the city, want of free ventilation and the nasty air they have to inhale in the mill compounds and in the occurrence of any epidemic, the first of its attack is on the workers in the mills and on account of various inconveniences they are not able to face the danger of the epidemic.

(ii) Average death-proportion amongst children of the workpeople is far greater than any other country in the world. The municipal report itself proves that the average is more than half of the average death proportion of children in any other country.

(iii) No precaution has been taken about the unhealthy condition of the workpeople in the mills.

The owners of houses always look after the recovery of monthly rents from the tenants. They do not care at all for the inconveniences of the tenants nor do they get the dirt removed from the different quarters in the chawl, they do not look to white washing and colouring, get the gutters drains and privies cleaned. Not only this, but even the municipality here is quite careless about cleaning gutters and roads in the habitation of the workpeople.

(iv) The workpeople have to buy articles of very poor food owing to their scanty means of subsistence allowance.

24. (i) The owners have opened dispensaries for giving medicines to workpeople, but it is a mere show. The workpeople have no confidence in the treatment and medicines given there, because they fully well believe that there will be very little or no improvement at all.

(ii) Government hospitals have been opened, but how far the patients going there have improved is a most serious question to be solved.

(iii) Charitable dispensaries have been opened, but they require much more improvement in them.

(iv) Female doctors, passed nurses and midwives have now-a-days come forward to prescribe their medicines, but the workpeople cannot take the benefit of their medical help as the fees charged by these female doctors are abnormally very high.

26. (i) Latrines are provided for workpeople, but they are extremely dirty at either of the places.

(ii) Provision of drinking water is not sufficient at all.

(iii) Where there is not sufficient provision of drinking water it is not difficult to ascertain what arrangements could be there for bathing and washing purposes.

27. There is no management or supervision in the mill.

29. Cold and malarious fevers are generally harbouring at the doors of the millhands, besides cholera and other epidemics prevail oft-times, and seriously endanger the lives of the millhands.

30. *Sickness Insurance*.—No such course has up to now been followed by any of the mills.

31. *Maternity Benefits*.—Millowners have now begun to bring into force this practice for the last two or three months because of the arrival of the Whitley Commission here, but not otherwise.

V.—Welfare.

32. Tennis-grounds have been prepared and are ready for the enjoyment of officers but no arrangements of the nature have been made for the millhands.

34 (i) Tea shops on contract have been maintained in the mills for the supply of refreshments to the millhands as also sheltered accommodation is provided for the workpeople to take their meals and creches for children.

(ii) There is no necessity of any physical exercise as the workpeople are so much tired of the laborious work of the day that they need only rest after such horrible work of 10 continuous hours.

35. These above provisions of welfare if available, are beneficial to the millhands.

36. The practice of providing schools for half-time boys has long since been discontinued by the millowners. Now there is not such educational facility in existence.

37. In some mills grants or pensions, not as a right, are received by certain numbers of old employees, but in almost all the mills even when the workers do not receive their pays for the work done, how could they expect to get the pension scheme introduced?

38. Nature of co-operation could not be understood. It will be better if the peculiarity for co-operation be explained in a wider sense of its application.

VI.—Education.

40. No facilities of education have been given by the millowners but there are some municipal schools in the industrial areas which serve the purpose for the time being.

41. The millowners have done nothing in respect of industrial and vocational training.

42. As the millowners have not devoted their attention to the training of the millhands nothing can be said about its good or bad effects upon the millworkers.

VII.—Safety.

44. There is no register kept for the purpose to find the number and nature of accidents occurring in the mills but some of the workers who suffered from serious injuries in the accidents, got small amounts of compensation.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. It is better if the compulsory insurance comes in force.

52. Possibility of providing against insolvency of employers who might be so covered.

No action has been taken in this respect by the millowners.

IX.—Hours.

55. The hours of work in Bombay mills are 10 per day and 60 per week. These 10 hours are split up into two periods of 5 hours each with a break of 1 hour from 12 to 1.

56. In Bombay mills a week of six days is adopted.

60. The present system of allowing recess hour at mid-day from 12 to 1 is agreeable as the workpeople take their meals and amuse themselves awhile in the interval.

61. In Bombay it is a practice to give a holiday on Sunday but when a holiday falls on any other day in the week, Sunday stands as a working day.

X.—Women, Young Adults and Children.

81. *Effect of 1922 Act on Employment.*—This act has reduced the number of half-time operatives, the number of working hands employed on overtime and the work on Sundays.

82. Infants are not admitted to the mills in Bombay, but in mills where creches (rooms) have been provided for, their mothers are allowed to take the infants with them and keep them in creches. In some mills the infants in the creches are provided with milk and biscuits free of charge.

83. Women are compelled to work 10 hours a day. It is better if the working hours in the case of women be changed from 10 to 8 hours a day.

85. The system of double employment of children does not exist in Bombay mills.

87. Children are not allowed to work in the mill soon after the introduction of 1922 Act which reduced the number of half-time operatives but when a newcomer comes in for work in the mills, he is promoted from lower grade to the higher according to his proficiency in the execution of work done.

88. Women and children are not allowed to work at night, because such a system is not agreeable to workpeople.

XII.—Wages.

96. Prevailing rates of wages are from 28 to 35 Rs. per month but they are quite insufficient. It is true that rates of pay have been increased by 70 per cent. to 80 per cent. but rates of food grains and other articles of family requirements have an increase of 150 per cent.

97. After much debate about the present pay, the millowners have submitted to the Fawcett Committee, a statement showing average rate of pay from which it appears that there is an increase in the pay of the workpeople in some of the departments of the mill establishment, but there is a reduction at the same time of one quarter of the staff of working hands in those departments and consequently the work there has increased 33 per cent.

99. Seventy-seven per cent. to timeworkers and 80 per cent. to pieceworkers are paid in excess of their present pays to cover the rise in the cost of living, and although the rates of staple food grains have been reduced a little for the last four years, the excessive dearness in the rates of rents of hired rooms and still further increase in the rates of articles of food and other requirements in the family, the so-called apparent increase in pay is not even sufficient to cover the expenses and make the two ends meet.

101. Wages have been fixed according to the nature of work done, with due regard to the wages paid in the neighbouring mills.

No contracts or agreements are entered into with individual workers, but the wages are fixed by the heads of departments according to their own choice.

102. As the system of employing persons on overtime has been discontinued by the enactment of 1922 Act, there seems no necessity now to think of the average scale of wages paid to workers.

103. In the year 1928, an attempt was made to standardize wages throughout the mill industry but the same has not come in force up to now and that the principle of standardization was not properly understood by the workpeople.

104. There is no source to know what effect changes in wages was on labour supply.

105. If the minimum standard of wages be fixed at Rs. 40 in the case of males and at Rs. 30 in the case of females, the workers can pull on precariously in the present days of scarcity and want.

106. (i) The maximum limit of fining should be 2 per cent. of the pay received.

(ii) When the heads of departments are displeased with any worker, they get him dismissed without any reason. It is desirable that they should make proper inquiries into the matter before issuing order for dismissal.

107. Payments of wages are made monthly and the millworkers approve of the system now in force.

108. When a workman comes from his native place to Bombay for work, he owes nothing to anyone in Bombay, but he is after some time found fully engrossed with debts.

109. In Bombay there is no system of giving bonus or profit share to millhands.

110. Leave on full pay is not at all granted to any worker because of his sudden illness or any other emergency. They get leave without pay and it is granted by the head of the department to which he belongs.

XIII.—Efficiency of Workers.

112 and 113. The Rt. Hon. Thomas Shaw has fairly admitted in 1925 that the Indian mill operative has a very interesting comparison with any other workers in the efficiency of work.

114. Almost all the workers come from villages. They, therefore, require time to commence with the work on machines as they require necessary instructions in the use of machinery. The Bombay millhand has to work through unsuitable state of circumstances such as inefficiency of plant and management, physique, health, education, standard of living and climate and he, not minding the unsuitability of circumstances, tries to improve himself in the conduct of his business matters, but he has to keep his proficiency in work confined to himself as he entertains no hope of getting higher posts of rank or increment in pay.

115. (i) By changes in working hours there is a slight increase in the piecework.

(iv) When a working man lives in the chawls erected by the owner of the mill in which he works, is discharged from his duties he has to submit to the oppression of the millowner to vacate the rented rooms occupied by him.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

119. (i) The intention of forming a trade union is to try to give requisite compensation to any of the workers found in a serious and sudden accident, to make provision for unemployed, to help the sick with medical help and the old, with money.

(ii) They have to look after health, education, economy in expenditure industrial education, improvement in the construction of buildings and persuasion of millhands to build houses of their own by economical means through co-operation.

120. (i) The Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal is a union conducted by the millworkers themselves. It is the first union established in Bombay. It also stands first of all other unions in India. Outsiders, ignorant of the mill matters, are not allowed to take part in it. The reason is that although there are many learned men in Bombay, they are not conversant with mill affairs and therefore not able enough to deal with the manners of behaviour between the millowners and the millworkers. They do not know the system of work in the mills and do not understand what the difficulties are nor do they try to understand them. They give their advice one way or the other, whether right or wrong, as they like in order to make much ado about nothing and make their name famous in the public by hook or by crook. It has long been experienced that their advice of the nature mentioned above is not at all beneficial to the millworkers but on the contrary it is worthless. It ruins the interests of the workpeople. Hence such men did not find their way in this union.

While the union was in progress, the millowners proposed a cut of 11½ per cent. in the wages of the workpeople but this union did not move an inch from strike, but kept it on. The result was that it proved very successful in the end. The workers got their full wages without the slightest cut. Leaders from outside such as Messrs. Joshi, Bakhle and others who had come with a view to help the Mahamandal, but as the whole work of the union was taken in hand by the workers themselves, they did not succeed in their attempts and the union worked on uninterruptedly. In 1928, another strike was proclaimed, but as it was untimely and without any cause the Mahamandal was not for it. But Messrs. Bakhle, Joshi and other leaders of the communist party commenced a general strike and kept it on through the help of rich people in the foreign countries such as England and Russia and others. The Mahamandal, finding that the interests of the workpeople are ruined in the general strike, kept aloof from the general strike. The leaders of the communist party understood that they are going a wrong way, but they, instead of coming to the right path of virtue, tried to crush down the Mahamandal altogether, but as it was consisted of workpeople alone, they could not do so. The Mahamandal fully well believed from the beginning that these outsiders will certainly spread disaffection amongst the workpeople and ruin their interests and their belief was fully well confirmed by the decision of the Court of Enquiry and that of the Riot Enquiry Committee in 1929.

(ii) The union can exercise control over its members in the execution of its business matters.

(iii) The union can increase the extent of co-operation between the master and the servant and confirm their relations with each other.

122. (i) *Methods of negotiations between Employers and Employed.*—It is possible to observe such a method.

(ii) The co-operation between employers and employed can increase the production.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

123. In order to bring the strikers to terms, the millowners closed the mills altogether.

(i) The millhands do not get requisite compensation in return for their efficiency in work, the oppressive policy of the head officers towards the workpeople, and unusual cut in their wages.

(ii) Every strike lasts longer than its previous one. The second strike lasted for six months but there was no fighting in any other strike than that of 1928.

There was fighting in the strike of 1928, not because it lasted for a long time, but because the speeches made by the leaders of the red flag union were of an inflammatory and intimidating character producing discontent in the minds of the workpeople.

(iii) Settlement can easily be made on such conditions as are approved by the employees.

(iv) It cannot be understood to what extent the machines have been kept without use and thereby have become useless as also the workers extremely suffer in the strike.

124. (i) We do not know what are the results of the investigation.

(ii) There is no objection to appoint conciliators.

(iii) The Act of 1860 is beneficial to the millowners.

(iv) There is no joint standing machinery.

(v) His Excellency the late Governor Sir Leslie Wilson had paid a visit to the Mahamandal in 1924. No other opportunity was afforded to the workpeople to represent their cause.

(vi) No representative of workers association has been admitted in any council assembly, trade board or joint industrial association.

The representatives that have now come forth and appointed as leaders are qualified, but they know nothing of the mill work nor have they any knowledge of other mill affairs. The reason why they are appointed is that the millworkers do not know English.

125. *Trade Disputes Act.*—The act has just come in force but from its apparent attitude it seems to be very troublesome to the workpeople.

126. The Government always keeps itself neutral.

XVII.—Administration.

133. *Central and Provincial Legislature. Action and attitude on labour question.*—Please refer to reply to 124 (vi).

The qualified solve the question as they think better. No opinion of the work-people has been taken into consideration up to now.

134. By the movement of international organization some points have been referred to legislative councils and action has been taken to bring them in force but by slow degrees.

136. The Government have opened a Labour office and it has some concern with the labour party.

146. There are so many developments sought for and they can be brought into effect but the millowners are quite against the development scheme.

BOMBAY PORT TRUST.

I.—Recruitment.

1. The bulk of the labour, skilled or unskilled, employed in the Bombay Port Trust Docks and Workshops comes from villages and coast towns in the Bombay Presidency. Most of the casual labour in the docks comes from the districts of Ahmednagar, Nasik, Poona and Satara. A fair number of semi-skilled employees in the workshops such as firemen, greasers, etc., come from the United Provinces and a small number of Pathans are also employed. About 60 per cent. of the labour employed on the Port Trust Railway comes from outside the Presidency.

The majority of employees recruited from outside Bombay visit their homes once a year.

Engineering Department.—Many of the Workshops hands leave during or before the monsoon to attend to cultivation of their fields or repairs to their homes in their native villages and rejoin afresh on their return to Bombay after an absence of two to three months. Besides the practice of leaving work during the monsoon the staff also avail themselves of the 14 days' leave on full pay allowed them per year.

2. The average number of workmen employed in the chief engineer's department is 6,600 per month and this figure does not vary appreciably. Of these, approximately 2,700 men have been admitted to the Provident Fund after 3 years' continuous service and may therefore be considered permanent.

Docks Department.—The labour force employed in the docks by the Port Trust averages some 3,500 daily with minima and maxima on ordinary working days of 1,800 and 5,000 respectively. Of this number, about 80 per cent. are casual and the remaining 20 per cent. are "permanent" in so much as the latter are paid monthly at daily rates and enjoy the privilege of contributing to the Trustees' Provident Fund and of being granted annual leave.

Railway Department.—The permanent labour force is 470, or 512 including locomotive drivers and firemen.

3. *Engineering Department.*—It used to be the practice some years ago to send Muccadams to the villages to recruit labour but there is now no necessity for this as men offer themselves for employment at the works in sufficient numbers. When new men are required they are selected according to their experience and general suitability.

The supply of labour is generally greater than the demand and no improvements can be suggested. The need for public employment agencies does not exist as far as this department is concerned.

Docks Department.—About 80 per cent. of the labour employed in the docks are engaged in gangs through headmen called "Toliwallas" who recruit a standing nucleus from their villages and secure the balance in the City as required from day to day. The toliwallas or gangmen are not necessarily headmen in their villages in early life, but are frequently enterprising and intelligent coolies who have become gang leaders by common consent of their fellow-workers. These toliwallas function as bankers to their regular gangs and generally care for their well-being. Payment of wages is made through the toliwallas who may be considered as small agents or contractors with the advantage of having a personal interest in and some measure of the confidence of the men. When disputes arise, the Port Trust Officer in charge of labour is usually called upon by both parties to adjudicate, and his advice is generally accepted. As these toliwallas and their permanent nucleus of labourers serve for many years in the docks, the relations between employer and employed are

generally speaking of a more intimate nature than would be possible if labour were recruited through Employment Agencies. At present the dock labourers are not members of any union; should they become so, it is possible that the present relations will undergo considerable change. Under existing labour conditions in India it is considered that the substitution of employment agencies for the present system of recruiting through *toliwallas* would be disadvantageous to all concerned.

Railway Department.—There is always an ample supply of applicants on the spot to meet all demands.

The need for public employment agencies is not felt nor are they considered to be a very reliable source of recruitment.

7. *Engineering Department.*—In the case of coolies and the less skilled men the question of unemployment in the true sense does not arise as they can generally return to their villages and maintain themselves and their families by working on the land.

In the case of men in more regular employment, such as crane drivers, etc., an effort is made to mitigate the hardship of temporary unemployment owing to slackness of work by a system of compulsory leave without pay, apportioned as equitably as possible among the staff.

8. (i) Workmen in the shops and on general maintenance work are allowed to work up to an age limit of 65 years provided they continue physically fit, and many workmen who have done good service in the past are retained on light work to an advanced age.

Docks Department.—Owing to the method of recruitment and employment through *toliwallas*, muster rolls of individual casual labourers are not maintained. The average duration of service as coolies in the docks is about ten years and is about the same for the permanent or monthly-paid hands, the majority of whom are in the Conservancy Establishment. When age prohibits heavy manual labour, the majority retire to their village holdings giving way to younger men who take their places. Their old age is therefore automatically provided for by the custom of the country.

Railway Department.—Since the Bombay Port Trust Railway was opened 14½ years ago, the duration of employment among inferior grades has been as follows:—8 per cent. over 10 years, 34 per cent. over 5 years, 58 per cent. under 5 years.

Among the drivers and firemen the figures are:—61 per cent. over 10 years, 31 per cent. over 5 years, 8 per cent. under 5 years.

(ii) *Engineering Department.*—In the case of construction works men are generally engaged temporarily for the duration of the work. In the case of maintenance works employment is generally regular and permanent. In the workshops the number of men employed naturally varies according to the amount of work in hand but to mitigate the hardship of unemployment among the regular workers, a certain proportion are placed on compulsory leave at intervals when the work is slack. This system is however resorted to as little as possible.

Docks Department.—Casual employment in its application to the docks is taken to mean daily engagements as required. About 80 per cent. or say an average of 2,000 men are casual.

Railway Department.—During the busy season, November to April, 12½ per cent. additional staff are employed on casual basis.

(iii) *Engineering Department.*—The average of absenteeism is about 7 per cent. during the year.

Docks Department.—The percentage of absenteeism among the permanent monthly-paid labourers consisting of conservancy branch, water lascars and general purposes coolies, is about 11 per cent. which increases to about 14 per cent. during the two months of seasonal exodus just before till just after the monsoon. Regarding casual labour no figures are available but during these same two months some shortage of docks labour is liable to occur. The causes in both cases are: (a) the marriage season, and (b) the demands of village agriculture. It is to be noted that these seasonal migrations are common to domestic servants and most classes of labour in Bombay.

Railway Department.—The extent of absenteeism, i.e., absence without leave amounts to about 6,000 days per annum among 470 men, the causes being chiefly due to temporary sickness and family affairs. Absenteeism in this Department cannot be said to be seasonal as absences due to seasonal occupations are generally covered by sanctioned leave. About 50 per cent. of the above 6,000 days are without pay involving a loss of about 2·1 per cent. on the total annual wages bill.

II.—Staff Organization.

The central administration of the Port Trust is vested in a Chairman and a Board of 20 Trustees, under whom are the Deputy Chairman and the Heads of the various Departments of the Trust.

10. *Engineering Department.*—There is one head of the department and under him are 1 deputy, 3 executive and 6 assistant engineers, a number of sub-engineers, a mechanical superintendent and 4 assistant superintendents, foremen, chargemen, supervisors, overseers, muccadams, etc.

Docks Department.—The docks are under the constant personal supervision and inspection of the trustees' docks manager and his deputy and assistant managers. They are also frequently inspected by the chairman of the board of trustees. Each of the three docks has a deputy manager in immediate control and each dock is subdivided into sections under an assistant manager. Each of the transit sheds has a superintendent; the gate checks are supervised by gate inspectors and gatekeepers. The "Hamallage" or labour branch of the docks is controlled by a deputy manager with an assistant manager under him. This branch controls (under the docks manager's orders) the daily engagement, allocation and payment of the dock labour employed for Port Trust purposes and the allotment of staff duties generally.

Railway Department.—The railway department is controlled by a manager under whom are 2 deputy and 3 assistant managers. The operative work at the various yards and depots is under the immediate supervision of yard foremen and the commercial or clerical work at the yards is supervised by goods foremen of various grades. The engineering branch of the railway comes under the chief engineer and is immediately supervised by an assistant engineer under whom are 5 inspectors and sub-inspectors.

11 The managing staff in all departments are selected in accordance with their qualifications, experience and general ability. As far as possible vacancies are filled by promotion within the service. When this is not possible vacancies are advertised and the selection is made by the board or the chairman in accordance with the provisions of the Act. The appointment of the deputy chairman and heads of departments is subject to the sanction of Government.

12 The staff qualify for advancement by experience and by acting from time to time in higher appointments in temporary vacancies caused by leave or sickness.

Engineering Department.—Skilled workmen in the shops are promoted — as opportunities occur—according to the merit and ability shown by them in their particular class of work. By this means they can in time rise to such appointments as head fitter, chargeman, etc.

13 The relations between staff and rank and file are generally cordial and satisfactory. Subordinates always have access to their superior officers and through them to the head of the department and through him to the chairman if they have any complaint to make or grievance to represent.

The provision of such amenities as living quarters, schools for employees' children, infant welfare and maternity centres, the Co-operative Credit Society and other schemes connected with employees' welfare and referred to elsewhere in this report has done much to increase the contentment of the workpeople in the Trustees' employ.

14 (i) Registers of attendance are maintained by timekeepers in each department. At works directed from one centre but spread over outlying areas "Check timekeepers" go round and check the men at the site of their particular job. The accounts department also maintains an independent test check by means of its outside audit branch.

Piecework and contract works are checked by the departments responsible for the work, i.e., for engineering work by the chief engineer's staff and for docks labour by the docks manager's staff. A secondary check is also maintained by the chief accountant's outside and revenue audit staff as follows:—

For engineering works quantities are checked and for docks labour the tonnage or number of packages handled is verified from the import general manifest and returns submitted by the steamer agents and the docks shed staff.

(ii) Payments are made in cash monthly in arrears except for labour at the outlying quarry works at Anik and for casual labour at the docks. At Anik the payments are made half-monthly in arrears owing to the isolated nature of the work. Where the number of workmen to be paid is large payment boxes are filled in compartments in the cash office and taken to the works by cashiers for distribution on the spot. Payments are made in the presence of a responsible departmental officer by the cash staff of the chief accountant's department in the majority of works and in a few cases by the cashier of the controlling department concerned.

In the case of the docks labour, the docks department cashier makes the payments. Daily paid labour is paid the following day while payment for piecework is made soon after the completion of the ship's discharge or loading.

15. (i) *Engineering Department.*—Building and construction work is frequently entrusted to suitable contractors.

Docks Department.—As stated in above replies, recruitment and engagement of the casual labour, which comprises the majority of the Port Trust dock employees, is effected through the toliwallas. The procedure is the outcome of years of custom, and though there are no specific contracts these toliwallas may be considered as petty contractors. Since 1925 piecework has been adopted as much as possible as the basis for labour payments in the Trustees' Docks. Practically all quay portage, sorting, stacking and warehousing is paid for by the ton or, when more convenient, on the basis of a numerical unit. Conservancy, water supply, certain loading contracts and odd jobs are carried out by the monthly-paid staff.

Railway Department.—The work of loading and unloading approximately 3 million bales of cotton per annum is let out on contract.

(ii) So far as is known, sub-contracting is not resorted to.

(iii) and (iv) *Engineering Department.*—The contractors' work is in all cases supervised by Port Trust engineers which leaves no scope for unsatisfactory work.

Docks Department.—The working conditions in the docks are controlled by the Port Trust through its docks department, that is to say the toliwalla supplies his men as required and directed by the labour branch of that department. Briefly the shipowner requisitions for his requirements day by day, and subject to practical considerations such as cargo congestion, religious holidays, etc.—the docks department meets these demands by instructing the toliwallas to produce suitable labour gangs and perform the tasks specified. The toliwalla has no powers to negotiate with the shipowner or any party other than the Trust.

Railway Department.—No direct control is exercised over working conditions as between the contractor and his workmen, the effect of which has been found satisfactory.

III.—Housing.

16. About 36 per cent. of the normal number of labourers engaged are housed in accommodation provided by the trustees. The number at present housed is slightly over 3,000.

18. Three plans showing the type of the quarters provided at Antop village, and two plans showing the type of quarters at Wadala for railway staff are attached* together with a brief description of the accommodation at the Wadi Bunder chawls, *vide* Appendix A.*

1,725 units and 11 dormitories are provided for the occupation of manual labour employed by the Trust. The various types of accommodation provided are : (a) single, double or three-roomed tenements, according to the class of workmen ; (b) semi-detached, single-storied two-room cottages at Antop village ; and (c) single room quarters in the Wadi Bunder chawls.

Lighting is provided in passage-ways ; conservancy is carried out departmentally. Water supply is free.

19. The accommodation provided is popular among the men and is utilized to the full letting capacity.

20. The quarters are either rent-free or allotted at concessional rents up to Rs. 7—8 annas per mensem per unit, according to the class of the quarters provided and the workers occupying them.

In the case of the docks coolies (who form the largest proportion of the labour housed), the rents charged represent between 13 to 15 per cent. of the man's average wages. No allowance has been made for overtime wages or the fact that practically all the tenants have lodgers who are also mostly dock employees.

The maximum rental of Rs. 7—8 annas per mensem per unit charged at the Wadi Bunder chawls is half the economic rent.

21. *Engineering Department.*—Tenements are not rented except to persons employed in the Trust. Single men belonging to one department are sometimes allowed to share a room but sub-letting is not allowed. When a tenant leaves the service, he is required to vacate his room, failing which legal action is taken. Such cases are now practically non-existent.

Docks Department.—The infiltration of outsiders is a continual source of trouble to the Port Trust ; the labourers themselves appear to have no objection to indiscriminate overcrowding in exchange for any unauthorized rents they are able to collect from " outsiders." From time to time the trustees take legal steps to secure evictions if disciplinary action is ineffective.

IV.—Health.

24. (i) The trustees have provided dispensaries at the following places on their estates where cases of sickness and injury are attended to and ordinary medicines are supplied to the staff free of charge : Prince's dock ; Wadala ; Grain depot ; Antop village.

Serious cases of accident, etc., which cannot be attended to at the trustees' dispensaries, are sent to one of the public hospitals to which the trustees are regular contributors.

In addition to the above, temporary dispensaries are maintained in localities where works involving the engagement of labour on a large scale are in progress.

All employees of the Trust (including casual labourers) are further entitled to the supply of ordinary medicines for their families on payment in cash according to a scale of charges which represent as nearly as possible the cost price of the medicine. At Antop village dispensary medicines are supplied free to the residents.

(iv) No women doctors are engaged as the number of women employees is insignificant.

25. Full advantage is taken of the medical facilities provided. No separate statistics of the attendance of the labourers is available ; the total number of patients attended and cases of injuries treated during the official year ended 31st March, 1929, at the Port Trust dispensaries were as under :—

	No. of patients attended.	Cases of injuries treated.
Prince's dock dispensary ..	23,107	1,109
Wadala dispensary	5,020	599
Grain depot dispensary ..	6,714	1,759
Antop village	10,344	60

During the last small-pox epidemic 3,381 persons (including family members of the staff) were vaccinated.

26 Adequate sanitary arrangements and water supply at work places and in Port Trust quarters are provided. Washing places are provided at quarters.

31. The first work financed out of the recently constituted employees' welfare fund was the erection of a maternity home and infant welfare centre at the Port Trust dock labourers chawls at Wadi Bunder at a cost of Rs. 22,570. The maternity home, which was opened by Her Excellency Lady Wilson on 16th November, 1928, has accommodation for six cases at a time with provision for future extension, and is equipped on the most modern lines. The management of the home and centre is undertaken by the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society who provide the medical staff, medicines and milk for distribution ; the Port Trust contributes Rs. 500 a month towards the expenses in addition to paying for the electricity and gas, water charges, telephone rental and maintenance of the building. The home has proved extremely popular and during the first six months of its existence 70 patients have been accommodated. Owing to the increasing demand a scheme for extension is now being prepared.

V.—Welfare (other than Health and Housing, but including Education).

32 and 34. In addition to the opening of the maternity home and infant welfare centre referred to above, the trustees have in contemplation schemes for the benefit of their labourers such as laying out playgrounds with equipment for indigenous and other sports and games ; also affording monetary assistance to the social service branch of the Y.M.C.A. to organize periodical cinema shows, musical entertainments, night lectures, etc.

An employees' co-operative credit society was instituted two years ago, the membership of which is open to all classes of employees (including workmen) who are members of the trustees' provident fund. The objects of the society are to encourage thrift by enabling members to save and invest part of their income in a safe and remunerative manner and to prevent indebtedness to money lenders by making loans available for approved purposes on reasonable terms as regards interest and repayment. The present number of members is 2,503 ; the issued share capital is Rs. 2,36,470 and the loans outstanding amount Rs. 2,90,773.

36. (i) and (iii) *Docks Department*.—For the dock labourers' children a free primary vernacular school is provided by the trustees in the compound of the labourers' chawls. The three teachers and one lady teacher are selected on the recommendation of the municipal school authorities.

Railway Department.—Three grades of education are provided free for workers' children : (a) Kindergarten ; (b) Marathi vernacular standards I–IV ; and (c) Anglo-vernacular I–III.

Note.—Standards I to III in the Anglo-vernacular school rank " *pari passu* " with standards V to VII of the Marathi School plus tuition in English.

These schools are administered by the Bombay Port Trust and financed by Government, the Bombay Municipality and the Bombay Port Trust.

(iv) *Docks Department*.—The average attendance of children is about 120 or just under 50 per cent. of the total child population of the chawls. Making allowances for infants and language difficulties, the percentage is considered satisfactory.

Railway Department.—The schools are used to the fullest extent by the workers' children between the ages of 5 and 12. Educational authorities do not admit children under the age of 5 and parents as a rule remove children on their attaining the age of 12 with a view to their seeking employment. The average attendance of pupils is about 170.

37. Owing to the joint family system prevailing in most parts of India, the earning members are as a rule burdened with the support of those members of the family who are unable to work. A retiring provision for labourers incapacitated by age would obviously alleviate the burden.

In the Bombay Port Trust, workmen—after having put in a qualifying period of 3 years continuous service—are admitted to the benefits of a provident fund, the terms and conditions of which are considered to make adequate provision for retirement in normal cases. The employee contributes 8½ per cent. of his earnings and the Trust contributes a similar amount plus interest on the accumulated balance at the rate fixed by the trustees from time to time according to the interest earned on the investments of the fund—generally the rate is 5 per cent. per annum or slightly under.

VI.—Education.

41. The Trustees have a scheme for training apprentices in their workshops. On completion of their course these apprentices are eligible to apply for appointments such as chargemen in such vacancies as may occur.

VII.—Safety.

43 and 46. *Docks Department*.—The Trustees' views on these questions and the conditions in the Bombay docks, as compared with those in British ports, are stated in letters addressed to the Government of Bombay (Marine Department) in 1928, which are quoted below :—

(Dated 26th September, 1928).

While acquiescing in the principle of protection of dock workers against accidents, the trustees are of opinion that, as far as the Port of Bombay is concerned, there is no actual need for legislation on the subject. The Port authorities already take all reasonable precautions in their own interests for the safety of their workers and it may be pointed out that, apart from humanitarian motives, the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act provides a strong incentive to safety measures. The precautions already adopted in the Port Trust docks have been compared with the regulations detailed in the section of the English Factory Act which is applicable to dock workers and it is found that, with the exception of (1) compulsory chain sling testing and (2) the provision of first-aid outfits at various centres in the docks, this administration is observing the English rules in all essentials. As regards exception (1), the adoption of suitable rules is now under consideration and as regards (2) municipal ambulances are obtainable within 15 minutes of the occurrence of any accident in the docks.

The trustees are, on principle, opposed to any fresh legislation which would tend to add to the financial burden on port administrations or shipowners. If, however, the International Labour Conference, after considering the opinions of the various Governments, comes to the conclusion that the existing provisions for the protection of dock workers are insufficient and that it is necessary to frame an International Convention on the subject, the trustees are of opinion that the terms of that Convention should be on the lines adopted in Great Britain, as specified in the relative section of the English Factory Act. They consider it most important however,

that the terms should allow port administrations considerable latitude in the matter of framing rules as it would be essential to practical working that such rules should be based on experience and known conditions at the various ports. In Bombay, for example, the rules for workers in the docks would require to differ considerably in certain respects from those for workers at the bunders (open wharves for small craft) as the working conditions are totally different. The trustees also consider it most desirable to avoid any risk of the work of port administration being hampered by interference from subordinate outside officials and they would therefore urge that in framing regulations to give effect to the object under reference, the major ports, like the principal railways, should be vested with responsibility for carrying out such regulations with a minimum of outside interference.

As regards the suggestion of setting up Safety First Committees on which the workers would collaborate, the trustees are of opinion that, under present conditions and having regard to the fact that Indian dock labour as a class is still illiterate, the adoption of this proposal would not serve any useful purpose.

(Dated 26th October, 1928).

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum No. 1016/1808-M, dated the 24th September, 1928, and enclosures which has crossed with my No. 4319 of the 26th ultimo. To the general views expressed therein the Trustees have nothing further to add, and this reply is therefore confined to some amplification of the statements made regarding safety precautions observed in the Trustees' docks.

There are no specific rules and regulations akin to the British "Docks Regulations, 1925" framed under Section 79 of the British Factory and Workshop Act, 1901.

Under Section 73 of the Bombay Port Trust Act of 1879, however, the Board is empowered to make by-laws for *inter alia*.—(a) "The guidance of persons employed by them"; (b) "The safe and convenient use of the wharves, docks, piers, warehouses, framways and other works constructed or acquired by them under this Act"; (c) "for the use of the public landing-places constructed by or belonging to them"; (d) "for the reception and removal of goods brought within the premises of the Board"; (e) "for keeping clean the harbour and basins and the works of the Board, and for preventing filth or rubbish being thrown therein or thereon"; (f) "for regulating, declaring and defining the wharves, docks and piers vested in the Board on which goods shall be landed from, and shipped on board, vessels"

In the attached statement a comparison is made between the requirements of the British regulations and the measures taken or by-laws in force in the Bombay Port Trust Docks from which it will be observed that the Port Trustees as distinct from "Ship" and "Merchant" operating in the docks are already observing practically all the more important safety precautions.

It will also be observed that in respect of certain processes, principally those connected with the handling of cargo, the Trustees through the medium of their by laws have powers and exercise those powers to ensure a reasonable factor of safety.

It is trusted that the above remarks and the comparative statement will provide Government with the information they require.

In conclusion it is desired to emphasize the Trustees' views that should the introduction of legislation be decided upon, ample latitude must be allowed to enable the varying conditions at different ports and at different parts of the same port to be observed without hindrance; also that the controlling bodies of major ports should be vested with responsibility for carrying out statutory regulations with a minimum of outside interference.

The statement referred to in the latter (copy enclosed, *vide* Appendix C) shows clearly the safety precautions in force.

Railway Department—The existing regulations are laid down in the General Rules for Open Lines of Indian railways. Copies are published in English and the various vernaculars and issued to all staff concerned. In addition to the General Rules, local rules are laid down for the safety of employees and it is the duty of the supervising staff to see that such orders are understood and carried out.

44 and 45. **Engineering Department**.—Accidents incidental to the nature of the work occur from time to time and are usually due to the carelessness of the workmen themselves. The average number of trivial accidents per annum is about 500, serious accidents about 3 and fatal accidents about 2.

Docks Department.—Examination of Police returns show that the majority of fatal accidents occur on board vessels and are caused by falling into open holds. As regards the sheds and quays, fatal accidents are usually due to goods falling out of crane slings and by persons being run over by vehicles. The fundamental cause

of the majority of such accidents is the labourer's own carelessness and disregard of ordinary safety precautions. The following statement summarizes the accidents that occurred in 1928-29 :—

Causes of accidents.	Slight.	Serious.	Fatal.	Total.
<i>On Board Vessels.</i>				
Falling into holds or lighters	9	4	3	16
Falling in dry docks	—	1	2	3
Goods falling out of slings	3	—	1	4
Breakage of slings	1	—	1	2
Other causes	52	5	5	62
Total, 1928-29	65	10	12	87
Total, 1927-28	46	31	7	84
<i>On Quays, Sheds and Roads.</i>				
Breaking of chain slings	7	2	—	9
Breaking of rope slings	1	—	—	1
Run over by carts, motors or railway wagons	12	8	—	20
Failure of ships' gear or machinery	—	—	—	—
Failure of Trustees' gear	2	—	—	2
Goods falling out of slings	5	2	2	9
Other causes	508	77	8	593
Total, 1928-29	535	89	10	634
Total, 1927-28	400	95	4	499
Falling into dock basin, 1928-29	—	—	4	4
Falling into dock basin, 1927-28	—	—	9	9
Grand Total, 1928-29	600	99	26	725
Grand Total, 1927-28	446	126	20	592

Railway Department.—The incidence and causes of accidents are enquired into and reported annually to the Railway Board on their standard form. This form gives full information as regards both incidence and cause and actual figures for all railways are obtainable therefrom.

48. Doctors and dispensaries are provided in the docks and other centres and are immediately available when required.

City ambulances are obtainable within 15 minutes of the occurrence of accidents in the docks, while the trustees have under consideration the provision of first-aid boxes in the docks. Up to the present, no steps have been taken to train the staff in first-aid treatment.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

52 and 53. This matter was referred to the trustees by the Director, Labour Office, and Registrar of Trade Unions under cover of a questionnaire submitted along with Government Resolution, General Department, No. 264 of 18th December, 1928. The reply of the trustees (in May, 1929) is quoted below :—

With reference to Government Resolution (General Department) No. 264 dated 18th December, 1928, I have the honour to submit the following statement of opinion, approved by the Board of Trustees, on the questions referred to in the letter from the Government of India, Department of Industries and Labour, No. L-1125 dated 30th November, 1928 :—

1. As regards ports it is considered that the scope of the Act should be extended so as to make it applicable to such of the following classes as are not already included, subject to the prescribed limit of pay :—(a) all port employees working within dock areas, including dry docks ; (b) persons employed on dredgers, tugs, barges, launches, or any other vessels owned or operated by a port authority ; (c) persons engaged in submarine diving operations in connection with the service of a port authority ; (d) persons employed in the service of any electrical supply or distribution company or attending upon any machinery connected therewith.

3. From the employers' point of view, as far as organized industries are concerned, lump sum payments are decidedly preferable to any general system of monthly disbursements which would involve heavy clerical work and resulting expense to the employer. From the employee's standpoint it is considered that on the whole the lump sum payment is also preferable for the following reasons:—(a) in many industrial centres, especially ports, the bulk of the working population is not indigenous and periodical visits from their villages in order to collect payments or, alternatively, the uncertainty of accurate delivery of remittances through the post to out of the way addresses offer grave objections; (b) in the case of permanent disablement a lump sum payment enables the recipient to set up a shop or purchase land or otherwise invest his capital in such a way as to support himself. A hopelessly improvident person or one who is in the hands of unscrupulous relatives will derive little or no benefit from his compensation in whatever form it is paid to him. It is, however, considered that some reasonable discretion should be given to the Commissioners as regards the form of payment.

4. The scales of compensation laid down in the case of death, permanent total disablement or permanent partial disablement are considered reasonable and adequate except that the minimum monthly "assumed wages" under Schedule IV of the Act might be raised to Rs. 15. The compensation allowed for temporary disablement, *vide* Section 4 (1) D (i), is considered inadequate for employees whose pay is over Rs. 60 per mensem, e.g., a coolie earning Rs. 30 a month is eligible for compensation at the rate of Rs. 15 a month while an employee on Rs. 300 is limited to Rs. 30 only. To rectify this inequality it is suggested that the limit of compensation be raised to Rs. 75 per half month or one-fourth of the monthly wages which ever is less.

5. It is not considered that the waiting period should be reduced as this course would encourage malingering over trifling injuries. While appreciating the loophole for abuse it is considered that "dating back" provisions to say the fourth day might suitably be introduced as it is undoubtedly a hardship for men whose injuries incapacitate them for some weeks to lose ten days' compensation.

6. It is considered that the inclusion of widowed sisters and widowed daughters would sufficiently enlarge the present list of dependents but the commissioners are in the best position to offer an opinion on this matter.

7. Submission of proof of dependence is desirable but insistence on this in all cases would undoubtedly complicate the administration of the Act. It is suggested that such proof should be demanded in the case of a parent or paternal grandparent. The commissioners are in the best position to offer an opinion on this question.

8.

It is considered that the party who employs and pays the workman should be responsible for the payment of compensation, but the workman should be allowed to claim against the principal, leaving the latter to recover from the contractors. The Act should therefore be suitably amended so as to permit of liability being passed on in every case to the party directly employing the workman.

IX.—Hours.

A.—Factories.

55. *Engineering Department.*—Working hours on week days except Saturday:—8 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with interval for meals from 12.30 to 1.30 p.m., 8½ hours. Working hours for Saturday:—8 a.m. to 1 p.m., 5 hours. The limit in the workshops and quarry is 60 hours per week including overtime.

56. Six days per week.

60. (i) All workmen are allowed one hour for meals.

(iv) Apart from Sundays there are 26 holidays on which the works are closed, Besides this, there are certain "sectional" holidays.

61. Sunday is observed as a day of rest.

B.—Mines.

63. The Port Trust "mines" consist of two open quarries for trapstone and moorum. The same working hours as stated above are observed.

C.—Railways.

73. (i) *Railway Department.*—The normal hours worked are 8 per day and 56 hours per week.

(ii) The actual hours worked are in accordance with the normal except in certain cases where duties are of light or intermittent nature. The following percentages show this :—

On 8 hours duty equal	76 per cent. of total staff.
" 9 " " "	5 " " "
" 10 " " "	12 " " "
" 12 " " "	6 " " "
" 14 " " "	1 " " "

(iii) Workers are normally not on call after doing the above hours of duty until their turn again falls due.

74. Seven days are normally worked per week.

76. (i) No intervals are actually laid down but the intermittent nature of railway work provides sufficient opportunity for occasional rest.

(ii) Staff whose spells of duty exceed eight hours are allowed one hour off for meals.

(iii) No holidays are given except under the leave rules dealt with in paragraph 110 of this questionnaire.

D.—Other Establishments.

78 and 79. *Docks Department.*—The hours of work in the docks are :—Daywork, 8 a.m. to 12.30 p.m., 1.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. Nightwork, 7.30 p.m. to midnight (half night), 7.30 p.m. to 3.30 a.m. (whole night). Ordinarily the docks are closed on Sundays, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday and the King's birthday, though vessels are permitted to work on payment of additional charges. Labourers employed upon these days are paid at standard rates. The many religious holidays are recognized to the extent of allowing as many members of the community concerned as can be spared to absent themselves from work. Actually the crises of most festivals enjoyed by the working classes are reached at night so that the men are willing to work by day during most of such festivals. The average number of hours per week worked by the toliwalla's men, i.e., the casual labourers, cannot be stated with any pretence to accuracy. Endeavours are being made to extract some information from the men; this will not be available in time for this report but may be referred to in the oral evidence. The monthly-paid men average six days per week and in addition work about the same number of nights on overtime per month.

80. Dock labour has been contented and stable for some years, and the men are generally sufficiently clannish to support one another in disputes. In the absence of unsettling propaganda and agitation therefore, it is not considered that regulation by legislative means is necessary or desirable. To go further, it is probable that such regulation would be resented by the men and without necessarily benefiting them, would hamper the mercantile interests of the country.

XI.—Special Questions Relating to Seamen and Workers in Inland Navigation.

93. *Engineering Department.*—The ordinary working hours on dredging craft aggregate 50 per week. The working day is from 8 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with an interval of $\frac{1}{2}$ hour for meals. On Saturdays the hours are from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. without interval. For work done beyond the ordinary working hours the crews are paid overtime.

Port Department.—There are no fixed hours of work for the crews of the vessels comprised in the Port Department flotilla. They are called for duty at any time during the day or night as required but in the ordinary course their working hours in the aggregate do not exceed 8 hours per diem.

94. *Engineering Department.*—Suitable accommodation is provided as necessary on dredging craft. Rations are not provided, but cooks, cooking utensils, stoves and fuel for cooking are provided.

Port Department.—No rations are supplied to the crews of the vessels comprised in the Port Department flotilla.

The majority of the crews of the Port Department flotilla live on board their vessels. The lascars of the Prince's, Victoria and Alexandra Docks are provided with free quarters at the docks for their own use only but not for their families.

The crews of the vessels comprised in the Port Department flotilla do not serve under articles of agreement.

95. The Indian Merchant Shipping Act does not apply to vessels of the Port Department flotilla which are classed as "inland vessels."

XII.—Wages.

96. *Docks Department.*—The prevailing rates for labour at the present time are :—

- A.—Boy or truck coolies (casual)—14 annas per diem.
- B.—Boy or truck coolies (monthly-paid)—14–15 annas per diem.
- C.—Scavengers (monthly-paid)—14 annas per diem.
- D.—Bag coolies (casual)—Re. 1–8 annas per diem.
- E.—Muccadums who generally supervise groups A, B and C, draw an average of Re. 1–8 annas per diem.

From inspection of some of the toliwallas' wages accounts, it appears that the dock labourers' earnings (including overtime) are about Rs. 32 per man. The men employ clerks who check the amounts paid them by the toliwallas.

97 and 100. *Engineering Department.*—On a representation last year from the Port Trust Employees' Union that the pay of workshops hands had not kept pace with the increased cost of living and that increments were rarely given, a thorough investigation was made into the rate of wages of all workmen in the engineering department. Copies of the following two statements prepared at that time are attached for information, vide Appendices* E. and F. :—(a) Comparative details of number and pay of various classes of Port Trust workmen employed in 1914 and 1928 ; (b) Average percentage increase of pay in each class as compared with 1914.

Docks Department.—The rates of wages ruling in 1914 in regard to the classes of labourers mentioned in reply to questionnaire No. 96 were as follows :—

- A.—Annas 7 per diem.
- B.—Annas 7–8 per diem.
- C.—Same as A probably.
- D.—Annas 12–14 per diem.
- E.—Annas 10–12 per diem.

Prior to 1925 the Port Trust paid the toliwallas at daily rates per man supplied. Since 1925 the Trust has paid them at piecework rates on tonnage handled. The men are paid by the toliwallas according to both methods. Broadly speaking the toliwallas pay their regular hands steady rates with small bonuses for extra rapid work. The rate of wages of extra men that the toliwallas engage from day to day in the city are governed by supply and demand, in connection with which there are two controlling factors : (a) seasonal variation occasioned by the annual migration during the rainy season and (b) daily variation caused by greater or less number of vessels working in the docks.

There are no formal agreements or contracts as between the Trust and the toliwallas or between the toliwallas and their men. As will be seen from the paragraph on prevailing wages, the increases in rates have generally speaking corresponded with the increased cost of living.

102 *Engineering Department*—Basis of 8 hours, whether night or day, equals a day : 4 hours half a day and so on, except :—(a) Tide work dredging, where fixed allowance is sanctioned ; (b) continuous night dredging, where the first six hours count as one day ; (c) divers, who are paid by shifts of 4 hours.

Overtime is calculated on the same basis as ordinary pay. Pay for the purposes of overtime is :—(a) In the case of daily-rated staff, the daily rate of pay, and (b) in the case of monthly-rated staff, the monthly rate of pay divided by 30.

Sundays are paid for on the same basis as ordinary overtime.

Docks Department—Payment is made by the day, half day, etc., at the ordinary day rate, plus a small bonus which varies with the different classes of labourers from 1 anna to 4 annas.

Railway Department—No extra payment is made for Sunday work. Overtime to drivers and firemen is paid at the ordinary rate of wages.

105. It is considered that until labour organization in India has reached a higher stage of development it would not be practicable, except perhaps in the case of certain organized industries, to lay down a statutory minimum wage for labourers.

Conditions and cost of living vary so widely in the different provinces and cities of a vast country like India that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to lay down statutory minima applicable to the whole country.

Labour such as that employed in docks in Bombay is almost entirely casual and subject to seasonal variations, the reasons for which are explained elsewhere. The present conditions and the haphazard system of recruiting such labour would

* Appendix E is not printed.

not lend themselves to the establishment of a statutory minimum wage nor is it thought that legislation in this direction would be popular among the labourers themselves.

It would no doubt be advantageous in certain respects to lay down statutory minima in the case of skilled and semi-skilled labour employed in organized industries, factories, workshops, etc., subject to due allowance being made for the territorial variations in cost of living referred to above. As regards the Bombay Port Trust Workshops, the wages of the various classes of skilled and semi-skilled workmen are regulated within certain minima and maxima which, although not statutory, are determined by prevailing rates in similar works in the locality and do not vary to any extent except in so far as any applicable change in the cost of living may justify.

106. *Docks Department*—Fining is seldom resorted to, but the *toliwallas* are sometimes fined for unsatisfactory work. Fines are not recoverable from the labourers unless under the definite orders of the Port Trust Officer in charge. All fines are allocated to the Trust Welfare Fund, which is utilized for the promotion of welfare work for the benefit of the employees.

Railway Department.—Fines are limited to a maximum of 10 per cent. of the employee's monthly pay. The extent of fining amounts, on the figures of the preceding 12 months, to .15 per cent. of the total wages bill.

Other deductions are made on account of debits for avoidable loss or damage to Port Trust property for which the employee is responsible. Such debits are included in the limit and the percentage recoveries mentioned above.

Fines are utilized in the promotion of welfare work on behalf of the employees. Legislation for the levying of fines and their limitation is provided for in the Indian Railway Act No. IX of 1890.

107. (i) Monthly, half-monthly and daily. Monthly payment is the general rule except for the workmen at Anik Quarry who are paid half-monthly, and casual labour at the Docks which is paid daily or on completion of the ship's discharge or loading.

(ii) Maximum of 15 days.

(iii) This subject was fully enquired into by the Government in the year 1926. Copy of the chairman's reply No. 4284, dated 20th October, 1926, to the enquiry is attached for reference (Appendix H).

(iv) Unclaimed wages are after a reasonable period (generally about 2 years) transferred to a welfare fund for the benefit of the employees, but any claims submitted and substantiated thereafter are met from this fund. For all practical purposes it may, therefore, be stated that unclaimed wages are always recoverable, subject to authentic proof of the validity of the claim.

108. Money lending on usurious terms is a curse that is prevalent throughout India. The Port Trust has taken various steps to protect its employees from the pernicious effects of this custom, e.g. money is advanced from the employee's provident fund in cases of certificated illness of the employee or his family and there is also a Co-operative Credit Society of the Port Trust employees which is increasingly patronized and has as its objects the encouragement of thrift and the granting of loans for reasonable purposes on easy terms as regards interest and repayment.

110. Fourteen days' leave on full pay is ordinarily allowed to workmen (except casual labour at the docks who are engaged from day to day, as required, through *toliwallas*).

Workmen on the establishment who are injured on duty are allowed 1 month's leave on full pay and 3 months' leave on half pay.

The above rules do not apply to the line staff of the Bombay Port Trust Railway who are governed by the railway service rules. They are allowed 15 days on full pay in one year and, if injured on duty, are allowed up to 6 months' leave on full pay. They are also allowed leave on full pay not exceeding 30 days if they have to proceed for treatment to a Pasteur Institute and, if residing in Port Trust quarters, if they or any of their family contract a contagious or infectious disease.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

120. (i) Three unions have so far been constituted in the Port Trust, i.e.—(1) Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union; (2) Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union; (3) Bombay Port Trust Docks Staff Union.

The first two have been officially recognized by the Port Trust; the third will be officially recognized as soon as it is registered under the Indian Trades Unions Act. The conditions of recognition are detailed in Appendix I*.

The Employees' Union is open to all employees in the chief engineer's department. It chiefly represents the workshops employees. The membership (1,458) represents about 40 per cent. of the total number of workmen employed in the department.

The Railwaymen's Union is open to all employees on the Bombay Port Trust Railway, superior and inferior, but mostly represents clerical staff. The membership (304) is about 41 per cent. of the total number of employees.

The Docks Staff Union is open to all employees of the docks department, but so far it has not been patronized by the dock labourers and represents chiefly the clerical staff, permanent and temporary. The dock labourers have so far held aloof from the Union, though efforts have been made to enlist their support. Although not *unionized* this class of labour is extremely clannish, and would readily combine in the event of any dispute with their employers.

(ii and iii) The attitude of unions towards the administration is in the main correct and generally speaking the conditions of recognition are observed without friction. In common with other unions the management is largely in the hands of outside labour leaders, one result of which is that representations are frequently made to the employers which are vitiated by incorrect knowledge of facts and ignorance of service and working conditions. Trades union organization in India is in its infancy and the demands submitted are frequently entirely impracticable and put forward without any regard to common sense or equity as between the worker and the employer. An insistent and recurring demand is that all workers should receive periodical increases of pay irrespective of their skill or efficiency or the nature of the work on which they are employed; another frequent demand is that once a worker has been engaged he should be retained indefinitely, irrespective of whether there is work for him or not.

The administration observes strict impartiality in its dealings with union and non-union employees and generally speaking the relations between the administration and the Unions are quite amicable, though instances have arisen when a union has had to be warned for vilification of non-union employees in the union periodical. The administration has consistently impressed on the unions the desirability of managing their own concerns without interference from outside labour leaders and agitators and to some extent the unions are showing a disposition to follow this advice, although a few prominent labour leaders still function as office bearers and exercise a strong influence on the policy of the unions.

121. (i) Two of the Port Trust Unions have registered and the third is in process of registration. The unions appear to have no objection to accepting the provisions of the Act.

(iii) Under the existing provisions of the Act it is possible for all the office bearers to be non-employees. Article 22 of the Act lays down that not less than one-half of the total number of officers shall be persons actually engaged or employed in the industry; as, however, the term "officer" includes the managing committee, it is possible for all the principal office holders, i.e., president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, etc., to be outsiders. The Trustees consider it very desirable that the office bearers should, as far as possible, be selected from among the employees and they are of opinion that in this respect the Act is defective and should be suitably amended. It also seems desirable to lay down that before a union can be officially registered it must show that its membership constitutes an adequate proportion of the class of workers whom it purports to represent.

122 (i) Reference is invited to the Port Trust conditions of recognition (Appendix I).^{*} Representations from the unions are submitted in writing to the chairman or the secretary of the Port Trust and are fully investigated with the head of the department concerned. The result of the investigation is then submitted to a staff committee of the Trustees and, in cases where the unions ask for deputations to be received, these requests are always acceded to by the chairman and the staff committee.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

125. The Trustees have expressed to the Government the opinion that the Major Port Administrations should be included in the category of Public Utility Services for the reason that ports are as much an essential link in the chain of transportation and supply as railways, and it has been abundantly proved in other countries that trade and industry can be disorganized, and public welfare seriously affected, by sudden stoppages of work in ports. In the present illiterate and unorganized condition of labour in India it is very necessary that—as regards all essential services—the law should provide prompt and adequate means of restraining the activities of irresponsible and extreme labour leaders.

As the Bill stands, it would allow of ports being notified as Public Utility Services after three months' prior notice in the *Gazette of India*, but this delay in enforcing the provisions of the law might easily prove disastrous to trade and industry.

APPENDIX C.

Comparison of requirements laid down in British Regulations, 1925, with actual measures taken and Bye-laws enforced in the Bombay Port Trust Docks.

(Referred to in reply to Question No. (46)).

British Regulations	If observed in Bombay.	Relevant Docks' Bye-laws, if any.	Extracts from Bye-laws and Remarks.
<i>Part I.</i>			
1 (a) ..	Observed	<i>Nil.</i>	
(b) ..	Observed in Prince's and Victoria Docks. Similar arrangements for Alexandra Dock in hand.	<i>Nil.</i>	
2 (a) ..	Observed	<i>Nil.</i>	Consisting of life-belts hung on open hooks attached to transit shed walls.
(b) ..	Do.	<i>Nil.</i>	Consisting of recessed ladders and stairs on quay walls.
3 ..	Do.	<i>Nil.</i>	As certain classes of goods are stored in the open, and night work is regularly carried on, the standard of lighting is high.
4 to 6 ..	Not observed	<i>Nil.</i>	It is proposed to adopt these measures
7 ..	Observed	<i>Nil.</i>	A Municipal Motor Ambulance stationed near the centre of the dock system is reserved for accidents in the docks and can be obtained in less than 15 minutes. Should more than one ambulance be required three more are available from a distance of about 2 miles. The Port Trust also maintains an emergency hospital and dispensary with an assistant surgeon in whole-time charge near the centre of the dock system.
8 ..	Not observed	<i>Nil.</i>	Would follow with the adoption of sections 4 to 6 above.
9 (a) ..	Observed	27, 43	Substantial gangways are supplied free. "Ship" responsible for attachment, adjustment and illumination. Illumination compulsory for foreign going ships in compliance with precautions against ingress of rats and their plague fleas.
(b) ..	Concerns the master of vessel.	<i>Nil.</i>	
10 ..	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	
11 ..	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	
12 ..	Do. do. (also) ..	69	"Masters and owners. . . are responsible for the proper provision of lights in all those parts of vessels where work is being carried on in any way connected with the use of the Trustees' cranes . . and other property." The Trustees therefore exercise some control.
13 to 17	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	

APPENDIX C—continued.

British Regulations	If observed in Bombay.	Relevant Docks' Bye-laws, if any.	Extracts from Bye-laws * and Remarks.
<i>Part III.</i>			
18 ..	Observed in respect of Port Trust plant.	<i>Nil.</i>	
19 ..	Observed in respect of Port Trust gear.	<i>Nil.</i>	
20 to 22..	Observed in respect of Port Trust gear.	<i>Nil.</i>	The Trustees have a chain testing house at which Stevedores' chains and slings are tested for a small charge. An enlarged testing house and compulsory testing of Stevedores' gear is under consideration.
		67 & 68	Stevedoring Firms work under licenses granted by the Trustees, who are thus able to exercise a measure of control over their operations
23 24 ..	Do. do. ..	67 & 68	See remarks on 20 to 22 above.
25, 26 & 27	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	
28 ..	Not observed ..	<i>Nil.</i>	Adoption of these measures is in hand.
29 ..	Observed in respect of Port Trust plant	41	" Exhaust steam or water from winches or other machines or engines on board vessels in dock shall be led down the side of the vessel to below coping by a hose or other effective appliance."
30 (a) ..	Do. do. ..	70	This Bye-law holds the "ship" responsible for loading the Trustees' quayside cranes with slings not exceeding in weight their designed lifting powers.
31 (b) ..	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	
31 ..	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	Bye-law No. 67 requires competence in Hatch foremen.
32 ..	Observed ..	<i>Nil.</i>	There is no age limit however. The docks quays are from 30 feet upwards in width and are not used for storing cargo which is taken into or behind the transit sheds.
33 ..	Concerns Master of vessel	<i>Nil.</i>	In practice not used in the Docks.
34 ..	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	
35 ..	Do. do. ..	67	This bye-law almost covers this regulation, viz. . . . " one foreman in the hold, who . . . whenever a vessel is loading cargo in the between decks . . . shall that see between-deck hatches . . . are properly put on before commencing work."
36 ..	Do. do. ..	67 & 68	The dock officials refuse to allow dangerous or negligent slinging and if need be stop work on the vessel
37, 38 & 39	Do. do. ..	67	Almost covered by this bye-law

APPENDIX C—continued.

British Regulations	If observed in Bombay.	Relevant Docks' Bye-laws, if any.	Extracts from Bye-laws and Remarks.
<i>Part III. contd.</i>			
40 ..	Observed in respect of Port Trust gear.	127	" Any person who shall cut, deface or injure any . . . (Port Trust property) within the dock shall in addition to the prescribed penalty (a fine) be required to pay the amount of damage, etc. . . ."
41 ..	Do. do. ..	<i>Nil.</i>	
42 ..	No regulations	<i>Nil.</i>	
43 ..	Concerns master of vessel	<i>Nil.</i>	
44 ..	No regulations	<i>Nil.</i>	
45 ..	Do.	<i>Nil.</i>	Under the terms of bye-law No. 117 the power to enforce the docks bye-laws and generally manage operations within his jurisdiction in the docks is vested in the docks manager.
46 ..	Do.	<i>Nil.</i>	

APPENDIX F.

Statement showing average percentage increase of pay in each class of workmen in the Bombay Port Trust Engineering Department as compared with 1914 (referred to in reply to Question No. (97)).

Designation.	1914.	1920.	1928.	Percentage of increase over 1914.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Fitters	2 0 10	2 9 7	3 0 6	48
Turners	2 2 6	2 11 1	2 15 6	42
Greasers	0 12 0	1 4 0	1 10 0	116
Asst. Fitters or Fitters Coolies ..	0 12 3	1 5 0	1 6 10	86
Carpenters	1 6 9	2 3 0	2 13 0	98
Mochees	1 8 0	2 1 0	2 0 0	33
Caulkers	1 2 6	1 15 3	2 5 4	102
Blacksmiths	1 10 9	2 4 5	2 14 8	74
Hammermen	0 13 0	1 6 0	1 8 0	84
Boilermakers	1 12 3	2 3 2	2 9 3	46.7
Riveters	1 2 4	1 9 1	1 10 9	46
Holders	0 12 0	1 2 5	1 4 3	69
Coppersmiths	2 2 0	2 12 0	2 15 0	40
Tinsmiths	1 13 6	2 11 0	2 7 5	34
Plumbers	1 10 0	2 2 0	2 9 9	61
Moulders	1 9 4	2 6 6	2 6 4	51
Sailmakers	1 2 3	1 10 7	2 1 0	80
Painters	1 2 4	1 8 4	1 13 0	60
Firemen	0 12 0	1 4 0	1 7 0	91
Bamboo Coolies	0 9 3	1 0 0	1 1 8	90
Masons	1 6 0	1 12 0	2 3 0	59
Kitson's Light Lighter	0 12 0	1 4 0	—	—
Bhusties	<i>Nil.</i>	1 4 0	1 8 0	140
Water Women	0 7 0	0 15 0	0 14 9	111
Extra Khallastees	0 9 0	1 0 0	1 2 0	100

APPENDIX H.

Copy of letter No. 4284, dated 20th October, 1926, from the Deputy Chairman, Bombay Port Trust, to the Director of Information and Labour Intelligence (Labour Office), Bombay (referred to in reply to Question No. (107)).

2. It is agreed that, for the reasons given a delay of a fortnight or more in payment of monthly wages inflicts some hardship on employees and that legislation is desirable to check the abuses referred to. It is considered necessary that powers should be reserved to Local Governments to exempt such administrations and concerns as can satisfy the Local Government that their system of payment of wages is regular and involves no hardships to their employees. It will also be necessary that employers should be allowed to fix the date on which for purposes of calculation of wages the month should commence and end. This will be most necessary in the case of employers whose staff is divided into a number of departments or sections spread over a large area and have to be paid on separate pay sheets. In administrations such as the Port Trust this necessitates the continuous payment of wages from the 1st to the 15th of each month, according to a fixed programme. It would be impracticable to prepare and disburse all the pay sheets within a week without considerably augmenting the clerical and cash staff, but the difficulty can be overcome by fixing different dates for the commencement and end of the official month for the different classes and sections of employees. This would be merely a matter of internal organization and would not affect the employees and it, therefore, appears unnecessary to provide that the sanction of Government should be obtained to such arrangements.

3. It is not considered that the enforcement by law of a shorter period of payment than monthly would be either desirable or practicable.

4. The proposal to fix one week as the time limit within which the payment of wages due must be made, is considered reasonable. It should be laid down that wages shall be paid within six days after the close of the period for which they are due and that Sundays and holidays under the Negotiable Instruments Act should be reckoned as *dies non* in computing the statutory period of six days, otherwise it will not be practicable to comply with the requirements of the law if a succession of holidays should intervene immediately after the close of the period. It is not considered that, in respect of the time limit, any distinction should be drawn between monthly wages and wages for a shorter period. In the great majority of cases wages are calculated and paid on a monthly basis, but if, for any special reason, payment is to be made fortnightly or weekly, the preparation of the paysheets and other formalities connected with the disbursement necessitate just as much time and labour as in the case of monthly wages and the margin allowed for payment should, therefore, be the same, otherwise employers would be put to unnecessary expense for additional clerical staff. It should also be made clear that, for the purposes of this legislation, daily-rated staff in regular employ who are paid by the month shall be regarded as on the same footing as monthly-rated employees. Workshops employees, for example, are usually engaged on a daily rate of pay but their wages are disbursed monthly as long as they are in regular employ. The services of such employees in the Port Trust is recorded in service registers and they are entitled to certain of the privileges of the permanent staff, e.g., provident fund and casual leave. It would be impossible to grant such privileges if their wages were not disbursed monthly and any change in the present system would undoubtedly be resented by the employees themselves as likely to prejudice the security of tenure of their employment.

5. It is considered desirable that provision should be made on the lines suggested in paragraph 6 of Mr. Ley's letter under reference for payment within the statutory period of a percentage (75 per cent. appears reasonable) of the wages earned, in cases where intricate calculations or evaluations are involved. Special pay of the nature of bonuses, overtime, etc., should be excluded from the operation of the proposed legislation, or, if considered preferable, the Local Government should be given authority to grant exemption in such cases.

6. The proposed enforcement of the legislation by the infliction of fines, regulated in the manner suggested in paragraph 7 of Mr. Ley's letter, is agreed to, but the suggestion that a portion of the fines might be allocated to the workmen injured, should certainly not be adopted as the division of the money among the workmen affected, in proportion to the degree of injury would probably be so difficult as to render the proposal unworkable. In any case, injuries to workmen are covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act and no steps should be taken to interfere with its operation.

7. The chairman is in agreement with the proposal that the power to prosecute should be vested in some independent authority, such as an inspecting staff, but it is considered that the procedure to be adopted in regard to inspections should be very

carefully defined, it being clearly desirable to avoid all unnecessary interference with the internal management of the concerns affected. It would probably be sufficient in most cases if the employers were required to furnish periodical certified returns showing the period and date of disbursement of their staff wages.

8. Finally, it is agreed that the abuses which the proposed legislation is designed to check are particularly associated with the larger industrial concerns, and that, for this reason and having regard to the difficulty of extending the operations of the measure to smaller establishments, the legislation should be restricted in its operation to those concerns to which the provisions of the Factories or the Mines Act are applicable.

Messrs. E. D. SASSOON & Co. Ltd.

Housing.

The housing of mill operatives in Bombay is a problem which has engaged the attention of Government and mill companies for some years.

In seeking accommodation, the workers first consideration is the charge for same, and they seek the cheapest available without thought of sanitation or healthy surroundings. The workers further considerations are for accommodation with friends or relations and as near as possible to their place of employment.

The Development Department constructed numerous blocks of chawls some years ago, but they have not been taken up to the extent originally anticipated for various reasons and there still remain areas in the city which are overcrowded and unhealthy.

Along with other mill companies, we have chawls of our own, but in the past they were not taken advantage of by the operatives to any large extent as they felt they had not the same latitude in regard to arrears of rent as they would have with a landlord of privately owned chawls who had no control over their wages. We also found that we were housing numbers of workers belonging to other mills and factories who were sub-tenants of our own operatives who had engaged the rooms.

We consider there are advantages, to the operatives and to ourselves, in providing clean sanitary accommodation close to the mills and we have given this matter our serious attention. Steps were taken recently to remove all outsiders from our own chawls and we have reduced the rents considerably in an endeavour to fill the rooms with our own employees. We further allowed considerable latitude in regard to the payment of arrears of rent. The result has been satisfactory and to-day our chawls are practically full, all occupied by our own work-people and their families.

As already stated, we employ approximately 22,000 operatives. In considering housing schemes however, this figure requires adjustment.

There are a large number of men who will always live with their friends or relatives at a distance from the mill, and it is estimated that not more than 50 per cent. of our permanent operatives can be induced to take advantage of housing facilities provided by our mill companies.

To-day, we have 23 blocks of chawls, containing in all 775 rooms. The average size of the rooms is 166 sq. ft. and the average rent is Rs. 4-2 annas per month. This rent compares favourably with that charged by the Development Department and private landlords, it being 15 per cent. and 40 per cent. cheaper respectively. All rooms have been let and there are approximately 1,200 operatives and their families in occupation.

Taking the most up-to-date and recently constructed chawls as an example, i.e., those connected with the David Mills Co., it is a matter of interest to note the following figures :—

The capital cost to the mills company amounts to Rs. 10,45,518 whereas the return on this outlay amounts to about Rs. 1156 per month net, not allowing for depreciation, or 1.3 per cent. return on capital outlay.

Welfare.

Medical.—There are three full time doctors on the mills staff, one being a lady doctor whose special duty is the care of female operatives; all of the doctors visit the mills daily. We maintain nine dispensaries, each in charge of a full time compounder under the supervision of the medical officers.

Two whole time welfare workers are employed, chiefly for the benefit of the co-operative societies in the mills, at an annual charge of Rs. 4,140. They also supervise the night-school, co-operative restaurant, reading rooms and baby creches.

Restaurant—Some of the clerks of the Alexandra and E. D. Sassoon mills started a restaurant in April, 1923. It is not a registered co-operative society, but 36 shareholders subscribed for 99 shares at Rs. 5 per share.

The managing board consists of 8 members and the mills paid a sum of Rs. 250 for the initial expenses for providing cooking vessels. The mills also pay the salaries of the cook and servants and give the rooms occupied rent free. The expenses of the food are divided amongst the members at the end of the month. This restaurant has not functioned too well and the care of same is now being taken over by the welfare officers.

Reading Room and Library.—From the profits of the restaurant, a reading room and library is conducted for members only. There are 425 books in the library, both in English and vernacular, and newspapers and periodicals are regularly purchased.

This society also granted a sum towards the purchase of a cricket kit for the use of employees of the mills.

Tea Shop.—The Alexandra and E. D. Sassoon mills also maintain a tea shop towards the expenses of which, the mill sanctioned the sum of Rs 500. In the beginning this shop was managed by the members of the mills co-operative society, but it turned out a failure and after one year's trial, the contract was given to an outsider for the supply of food on fixed rates at a monthly rental of Rs. 145.

Creches.—There are two baby creches, one at the Jacob Sassoon mill and the other at the Rachel Sassoon mill, each capable of providing for about 50 babies. The daily average attendance prior to the strike was 30. The infants are daily bathed and dressed in clean clothes provided by the mills. All except those entirely breast-fed, are given milk and biscuits.

Each creche is in charge of a whole time matron assisted by two or three ayahs. The lady doctor visits both the creches every day. Further extensions to creches to our mills were under organization, but have been delayed owing to the recent mill strike.

In connection with the creches, we wish to acknowledge the assistance we have received from the Factory Inspection Department of the Bombay Government, mentioning Dr. Miss Cama in particular.

Anti-Malarial Work.—An anti-malarial staff is employed in charge of an inspector to prevent the breeding of malarial mosquitoes in mill compounds and chawls.

Accidents—Full wages are paid by the mills for the first ten days of disablement, although the Workmen's Compensation Act does not provide for any payment for this period. The total amount thus paid in advance of statutory requirements in the year 1927 was Rs. 2,940-11-6 pies.

Cheap Grain Shops.—Nine grain shops are maintained. Grain, cereals, sugar and jaggery are sold at these shops to the operatives of the respective mills at cost, and on credit against earned wages. The annual aggregate turn-over is Rs 1,25,000. The shop expenses amounting to Rs. 12,000 annually are paid by the mills.

Employees' Benefit Fund—All unclaimed wages are credited to this fund and grants are made from it to employees retiring after long service and to dependants of deceased employees. Financial distress caused by illness is also relieved. The total disbursements thus made in the year 1927 were Rs. 25,460-2-9 pies.

Hawalla.—This is a system whereby operatives leaving the firm's service (either temporarily or permanently) are enabled to draw their wages before the stipulated pay-day. About Rs. 1,75,000 is annually advanced at an interest of 3 to 6 pies per rupee. The funds for this system are provided free of interest by the mills and the interest of 3 to 6 pies per rupee above mentioned, is utilized solely for welfare work.

A Night-school.—(for adults as well as children) is conducted at the Jacob Sassoon mill, where elementary English, Marathi and Arithmetic are taught. The average attendance in normal times is about 50.

Co-operative Credit Societies.—All mills, except the Manchester and Elphinstone mills, have 19 co-operative credit societies between them. The David mill has seven departmental societies, and the Jacob Sassoon mill has six. Membership of one of the latter societies is entirely restricted to women workers.

The recent strikes affected these societies adversely to a considerable degree, and vigorous efforts of the welfare workers appointed by the company have been necessary to keep the societies in existence.

Whereas, the aggregate membership in 1928 shows a fall of 19 per cent. from that of the previous year, and the share capital a corresponding fall of 20.7 per cent., the aggregate amount of members' deposits is now up by 15.8 per cent. and outstanding loans have been reduced by 15.5 per cent. Three societies which were in the "C" class in 1927, were brought up to the "B" class in 1928. A statement showing the comparative position of the societies at the end of 1927 and 1928, respectively, is attached hereto.

Till the end of 1927, the policy of the firm was one of non-intervention in the management of the societies. It was however, discovered that several societies had passed into the hands of cliques consisting of jobbers and clerks and that the rank and file kept away from the societies. The aggregate membership in 1927, was 1,907, which is only 8½ per cent. of the total employees of the mills concerned. Misappropriation to the extent of Rs. 4,400 was detected in the Alexandra and E. D. Sassoon mills co-operative credit society. The firm therefore directed its welfare workers to control the working of the societies generally. This change of policy is having very salutary results, as will be seen from the progress made by the societies recorded in the statement attached. It has to be remembered that these improvements were brought about in a year which was full of strikes.

By way of encouragement, the firm grants an annual bonus of Rs. 100 to the secretary of each society standing in the "A" class. Loans free of interest are frequently advanced by the firm to the societies. The aggregate amount of loans thus advanced in 1927 was Rs. 6,440.

Wages are paid monthly on a day between the 10th and 15th of the month following that in which the wages are earned. This system has been criticised and suggestions have been put forward from time to time for the payment of wages fortnightly, and even weekly. In 1912, we made an experiment of paying wages fortnightly, but after three months the system had to be dropped. In 1924, the Secretary of State for India raised the question again, and the millowners' association went into the matter exhaustively, but the scheme had to be dropped in deference to the wishes of the workpeople. Mr. Chamanlal introduced a Bill in the Legislative Assembly in September, 1924, under which the payment of weekly wages to workmen, domestic servants and other employees was to be made compulsory. The Bill was dropped and the system of monthly payments was continued.

When we introduced the system of paying fortnightly wages in 1912, a deputation of workpeople approached us and intimated their intention to strike if the system was not dropped. Their argument was that their rents were paid monthly and that they ran monthly accounts with grain shopkeepers, provision shops, etc., and that these accounts were settled monthly. They further pointed out that they relied on receiving a full month's pay when they wished to return to their villages periodically. We did not proceed with the matter and the system of paying monthly was reverted to.

When the Secretary of State for India, raised the question of fortnightly payments in 1924, the Governor of Bombay approached the millowners' association who appointed a special advisory sub-committee to draw up a practical scheme. The scheme put forward was on the following basis :—

Wages should be paid on the 15th and 30th of each month.

On the 30th of each month, wages earned from the 1st to the 15th of that month should be paid, and on the 15th, wages earned from the 16th to 30th of the preceding month should be paid. The system to come into force in August, 1924.

The scheme as prepared by the sub-committee was referred to individual members of the association who were asked to consult their operatives in the matter. It was found that the workpeople were universally opposed to the change and the arguments advanced were the same as those placed before us in 1912. Several mill companies were opposed to the scheme, unless other large employers of labour, such as the tramway company, municipality, etc., could also introduce it. The scheme was finally dropped in June, 1924.

In regard to the criticism made at various times of the delayed payment of wages, i.e., 10 to 15 days after they have been earned, we consider the workpeople have no real grievance on this point. It must be remembered that the calculation of the wages due to piece workers is a lengthy process in a large factory and 10 days is not an unreasonable time for the preparation of the pay rolls. We are of opinion that this could be expedited and payment made on the 6th day of the following month, but this would necessitate a few adjustments to make the work easier, such as the consolidation of the dear food allowance.

The pay-days are fixed by the millowners' association annually and a day before a mill holiday is invariably chosen; for instance, if there is a religious festival on the 12th of the month and the mill is to be closed on that day, wages would be paid on the 11th. Further, if there is no festival and the mill is to be stopped on a Sunday the 14th, wages would be paid on Saturday the 13th. It has been suggested that a fixed pay day would be more suitable to the workers. In our opinion this would cause dissatisfaction, as the men would always want their wages to be paid before their holiday, and as long as we continue to be elastic in this matter, there will be no real grievance.

Operatives leaving service, at irregular dates are paid their earned wages on pay-day, but if they ask for earlier payment, they are paid under the Hawalla system, i.e., at a discount of 3 to 6 pies in the rupee. When a whole section is stopped, operatives are paid their full earned wages within two or three days.

Prior to the recent strike, operatives gave the mill officials one month's notice from the 1st of the month of their desire to resign at the end of that month and wherever sufficient reasons were advanced for immediate leave, such leave was given by the granting of a discharge pass.

Since the strike, workmen rarely give notice of their intention to resign. They ask for an immediate discharge which is generally granted and the operative is paid his full earned wages on pay-day, or earlier under the Hawalla system should he so desire.

The operative leaving service without notice should, under the mill rules, forfeit his wages. As pointed out above, however, an immediate discharge is usually granted and his wages paid on pay-day. We can trace one instance of wages of an operative being forfeited through leaving the mill without notice. In this instance, the operative filed a suit in the Small Causes Court for the recovery of his wages, but the Court upheld the argument of the defence that as he had left service without notice, he was not entitled to draw his wages and the suit was dismissed.

Fines.—Order No. 18 of the standing orders as presented by the Millowners' Association to the Fawcett Committee, provides for offences for which operatives are liable to be fined. Section (b) of this order provides for fining in cases of negligence in work or neglect of work.

The Fawcett Committee's report deals with this subject at considerable length and makes reference to the practice of handing over damaged cloth to weavers, debiting their wages with the full cost of such damaged cloth. The Fawcett Committee disapproved of this practice although they appreciated the necessity for strict disciplinary action in cases where faulty cloth was produced as a result of negligence. In November, 1926, we abolished the system of handing over damaged cloth to weavers and our mills were instructed to deal with all such cases by fining the individual concerned. This change resulted in an inordinate increase in the quantity of fents produced and within a year it was found necessary to revert to the old practice of handing damaged cloth back to the weavers.

The incidence of fines (all mills) during the 8 months January to August, 1925, was .14 per cent of the wages bill. During the period January to October, 1927, when fines were imposed on those weavers producing faulty cloth, the incidence rose to .23 per cent. On reverting to the old practice of handing over damaged cloth to the weaver, at the end of 1927, the incidence dropped and during the period January to April, 1928, it was .15 per cent. of the wages bill.

The value of damaged cloth handed over to weavers during the period January to September, 1925, averaged Rs. 260 per month per mill (under our control), and during the period January to September, 1926, Rs. 380. per month per mill. As pointed out above the system was abolished towards the end of 1926, and revived in November 1927. Since the end of 1927, the mills have not worked normally and we are not in a position to give figures of damaged cloth values for the last two years.

A certain percentage of the cloth, varying with the type of cloth manufactured by a particular mill, may be considered as difficult to sell as the styles and qualities may vary from those used by the class to which the weaver belongs. Where the cloth is an easily saleable one, as the price recovered from the weaver is the wholesale contract rate, he will lose nothing at all in disposing of the cloth. There may be some hardship where the cloth is not easy to sell and adjustments might be made in the price at which such cloth is debited to the weaver. We feel that the principle of debiting cloth to a weaver should be maintained in view of our experience during the period this system was abolished.

It is, however, essential that the operative should have protection to prevent him being saddled with cloth, the basic fault of which was caused by matters outside his control.

Prior to the strike we were negotiating with the local union with a view to providing a joint examination with a union official and the operative concerned, before cloth was finally booked to the operative in order to protect the latter, but the strike stopped all negotiations.

Some system of examination is necessary and in the absence of efficient trade unions, it might be made a duty of the local factory inspectors although we are afraid they are already overworked and with the present staff will not be able to cope with this.

While on the subject of wages, we wish to refer to what is known as the efficiency system of working which was introduced by us and which has been referred to at length in the Fawcett Report of 1928.

The Tarriff Board in its report, states that "the only alternative to a reduction in wages is increased efficiency and it is in this direction that in our view, the true line of advance lies." This question of increased efficiency has been the subject of serious consideration by us for some time and in 1926, we introduced what is now known as our "Efficiency System." This scheme was explained in detail in our written statement to the Fawcett Committee submitted through the Millowners' Association, and we attach hereto a copy of it. (Marked appendix X with supplementary appendices).

It is an accepted fact that the competition which the Bombay mills have to face is keenest on qualities imported from Japan. The textile industry in Japan is well organized and the report on it recently published by Mr. A. S. Pearce, the general secretary of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers Association, is illuminating.

From a perusal of this report it will be seen that the weaving section is the department in which India is terribly backward. It is reported one girl attends 5 ordinary looms without difficulty as against 2 which is the common practice for a male weaver to attend in Bombay.

Our "Efficiency System" provides for advancement on these lines and although it will be some years before we attain the state reached by Japanese operatives, we are of the opinion we shall maintain steady improvement in this direction.

Co-operation from labour is however a vital necessity if much advance is to be made and if successful, means that labour will benefit by the expansion of the industry, due to our attaining competitive costs with higher wages to the individual operative.

In addition to the improvement in the efficiency of workers, it will also be necessary for mills to instal more modern plant.

Post war developments in the textile industry have been such that more progress has been made during the last 5 years than was made in the previous 50 years in the development of improved textile machinery.

In the spinning side, combined blowing room machinery, high drafting and other minor methods have made much machinery redundant and reduced the work of the operative.

On the weaving side improved methods of winding, high speed warping, automatic drawing-in and twisting and automatic looms have completely revolutionized existing methods of working. New problems have entered the industry in relation to these new methods and the existence of sound trade unions, on the lines of the textile trades unions existing in England, have become an imperative necessity.

If the industry in Bombay is to continue, changes of equipment and methods of working to enable us to keep abreast of our competitors are absolutely essential.

The operative in Bombay is conservative to a degree and unless handled by a strong trade union, will resist the changes and the upheavals which the installation of improved machinery will necessitate.

Criticism against the efficiency system has been most intensive on account of the fear of consequential unemployment by its adoption. It is evident that unless the efficiency of the workers and the machinery is brought up to date, the industry in Bombay will totally pass out with a great deal more unemployment than will be incurred in the adoption of efficiency schemes. Such schemes however, will enable the industry to meet foreign competition and lead to the expansion of the industry to an extent which will not only absorb any unemployed, but will lead to further expansion.

Trade Unions.

We have already criticised the absolute necessity in Bombay for the establishment of trade unions functioning on lines similar to the textile trade unions in England. Our firm have realized this for a very long period and in 1922 endeavoured to form a trade union amongst the operatives of the Rachel Sassoon mill by giving covert assistance. The services of Mr. Peter Baptista were called in and he was requested to organize a trade union to which we promised every possible help that lay in our power in so far as it is possible for an employer to assist in the formation of a trade union amongst his own employees.

A union was formed, but unfortunately fell into bad odour very rapidly owing to lack of trained and experienced officials. Mr. Baptista was unfortunately not able to afford us much assistance at that time owing to pressure of work in other trade unions he was connected with. Since that date, we have always endeavoured to deal with any trade union that has brought up any matter for discussion before us and at no period have we refused to meet the authorized representatives of trade unions.

The necessity of soundly organized unions is such that we consider that in the absence of other means, Government should take the matter in hand at once and, if necessary, bring out experts from England to organize and train trade union officials from the ranks of the workers.

E. D. SASSOON WELFARE INSTITUTE.

Comparative Position Statement of the Co-operative Credit Societies in the Years 1927-28 and 1928-29.

No.	Society.	Number of Members.		Share Capital.		Reserve Fund.		Deposits.		Long and Short Loans Outstanding.		Agents' Loans.		Working Capital.		Class.	
		1927-28.	1928-29.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1927-28.	1928-29.
1	E.D.S.T.R. Dye Works	Rs. 141	Rs. 147	Rs. 5,958	Rs. 6,563	Rs. 155	Rs. 462	Rs. 809	Rs. 1,578	Rs. 5,853	Rs. 5,638	Rs. —	Rs. —	Rs. 8,668	Rs. 9,665	Rs. A	Rs. A
2	Rachel Sassoon Mill	112	105	4,427	4,012	545	697	268	205	5,166	4,518	—	—	6,049	5,605	A	A
3	Apollo Mills	130	122	3,523	3,396	543	670	566	290	3,682	4,077	—	—	5,155	4,852	A	A
4	Meyer Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	416	323	9,601	7,894	1,158	1,601	398	164	9,903	6,719	—	—	11,855	10,558	B	B
5	Alex. & E. D. S. Mills	157	151	5,193	4,823	975	975	3,297	3,718	5,299	5,674	500	—	10,595	10,530	B	B
6	Edward Sassoon Mill, Ltd.	144	96	1,796	1,408	554	639	73	623	2,437	1,786	—	—	2,899	2,951	B	B
7	David Mills, Mule	105	67	1,427	1,085	1,045	1,064	—	—	3,167	3,011	800	—	4,325	3,454	C	B
8	" " New Ring	66	56	1,002	808	761	762	175	—	2,287	1,919	990	274	3,309	2,389	B	B
9	" " Old Ring	83	50	850	860	669	669	—	—	2,280	2,016	720	—	2,576	2,063	B	B
10	" " Mech. & Bd.	71	37	933	550	427	427	—	—	1,886	812	450	—	2,037	977	B	B
11	" " Blow & Card	32	31	506	341	528	529	—	—	1,013	426	300	—	1,627	1,120	B	B
12	" " New Frame	21	18	352	253	223	234	—	—	386	521	450	120	1,144	758	C	B
13	" " Old Frame	15	9	200	140	177	178	—	—	585	331	450	75	958	586	B	B
14	Jacob S. Mill, Weaving	107	57	5,697	2,855	372	640	23	21	5,381	3,715	—	—	7,103	3,795	B	B
15	" " Carding	130	109	3,840	3,740	826	1,140	100	100	6,576	5,843	700	—	6,780	5,866	B	B
16	" " Eng.	48	41	1,891	1,791	491	682	122	5	3,234	2,433	300	—	3,266	2,836	C	C
17	" " Folding	63	57	1,674	1,555	355	418	250	290	2,724	2,478	200	—	2,998	2,609	C	C
18	" " Spinning	51	45	970	890	734	680	—	—	1,635	1,498	—	—	1,883	1,585	C	C
19	" " Reeling & Winding	15	19	150	187	15	26	—	—	65	75	—	—	211	218	C	B
		1,907	1,540	49,390	39,139	10,549	12,493	6,081	6,994	63,559	53,690	5,860	469	83,038	72,517	—	—

Appendices Nos. I to IX have been compiled recently and before the Industry had regained its normal standing and therefore in some cases do not represent the normal state of the Industry.

THE MANCHESTER MILL.

APPENDICES Nos. II AND III.

Classification of Workers according to age and married condition.

Age.	Males.				Females.			
	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowers.	Total.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widows.	Total.
10 to 20	21	58	0	79	28	9	2	39
20 to 30	333	87	26	446	104	2	43	149
30 to 40	123	20	15	158	8	0	23	31
40 to 50	37	4	6	47	0	0	4	4
50 to 60	9	0	1	10	0	0	1	1
60 and over	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	0
	526	169	50	745	140	11	73	224

THE MEYER SASSOON MILLS, LTD.

APPENDIX No. IV.

Duration of Service.

Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Up to 1	383	114	497
1 to 3	237	37	274
3 to 5	225	40	265
5 to 10	303	83	386
10 to 15	134	24	158
15 to 20	68	14	82
20 and over	45	18	63
	<u>1,395</u>	<u>330</u>	<u>1,725</u>

THE MANCHESTER MILL.

APPENDIX No. V.

Number of Persons staying together.	Number of workers.
Up to 2	269
3 to 5	430
6 to 8	179
9 to 11	66
12 and over	25
	<u>969</u>

THE MANCHESTER MILL.

APPENDIX No. VI.

<i>Rent.</i>							Number of workers.
Monthly rent in Rupees.							
Up to 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
2 to 4	..	..	..	..	..	..	75
4 to 6	..	..	..	..	..	..	246
6 to 8	..	..	..	..	..	..	169
8 to 10	..	..	..	..	..	..	131
10 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	142
							797

THE MANCHESTER MILL.

APPENDIX No. VII.

Classification of Workers according to Residence.

	Males.		Females.
1. Permanent residents of Bombay	30	..	0
2. Outsiders	714	..	225
	744	..	225

THE MANCHESTER MILL.

APPENDIX No. VIII.

Statement showing the extent to which the workers go to their Villages.

In a year.	Month. 0- $\frac{1}{2}$.	Month. $\frac{1}{2}$ -1.	Month. 1-2.	Month. 2-3.	Month 3 and over.
Once	87	448	127	14	5
Twice	43	33	—	—	—
More than twice ..	—	—	—	—	—

The figures in the above appendices are compiled from information received direct from our workmen and cannot therefore be considered as strictly accurate.

THE MANCHESTER MILL.

APPENDIX No. IX.

Monthly earnings of workers.

Earnings in Rupees.	Number of workers.	Earnings in Rupees.	Number of workers.
Up to 20	304	70 to 80	19
20 to 30	314	80 to 90	7
30 to 40	146	90 to 100	3
40 to 50	102	100 to 125	13
50 to 60	112	125 to 150	8
60 to 70	34	150 to 250	6

The above figures are compiled on the actual wages paid and not on rates, i.e., they are largely affected by absenteeism, and the present unsettled state of the industry.

APPENDIX No. X.

A careful survey of the international textile situation made in 1923 brought to light the fact that Japan and China were easily able to undersell their competitors in every line of textiles in which they had specialized. Investigations showed that the principal advantages possessed by Japan were :—(1) The advantage accruing by the employment of women and children on night shifts, which the Textile Tariff Board of 1926 have found to be "unfair" competition; (2) lower costs of production with, in many cases, individually higher wages than paid in India; (3) absolute vertical specialization on certain qualities, enabling them to practically control the market in these styles.

Other minor advantages were found, such as cheaper power, etc., but as these do not come within the scope of a statement on the "New" system, they need not be dealt with here. Every advantage that Japan possesses has been carefully scrutinized by the Bombay millowners as a body and by individual members, and attempts made with varying success to reduce our charges to the same or less than similar charges existing in Japan.

Labour is the highest charge of all (excepting raw materials), but any attempt to reduce the rate of wages of labour in the past, has resulted in strikes to the disadvantage of all parties concerned.

We considered the possibility of increasing the wage of the operative by asking him to tend more machines; at the same time assisting the operative by introducing better methods of working. Tests were made in several of our mills as to the feasibility of what may be termed "Fordizing" the industry. By this we mean the allocation to each operative of enough work to keep him healthily employed throughout the working day and paying him the maximum rate of pay that the work he is doing will permit of.

With the idea of reducing costs and increasing wages, it was essential that we should make a complete survey of the industry with a view to providing every means in our power to make the work lighter for the operative, our aim always being that there should be the same or less real work for the operative under any new system we might establish than was done formerly under the old system, except in cases where the operative was formerly employed on real work for a ridiculously low period of the working day.

Our survey convinced us that in many sections of the industry, operatives were not doing from more than three to four hours actual work, and the actual amount of work that could be done in these particular departments could easily be doubled without unduly taxing the worker.

Before proceeding with the installation of the scheme, small experiments were made in various directions and we decided to proceed on the following lines :—(1) Fix standards of production and quality for each machine in the mill; (2) arrange systematic checking so that these standards are maintained; (3) fix a standard of cotton for each mixing, below which we were not permitted to go and arrange the quality of mixing to suit quality of fabrics we manufactured.

These standards to be fixed so that the maintenance of the standards fixed for quality, production and machine should not be made difficult for the operative.

(4). Adjust each machine in process so that it will work at (a) maximum efficiency, (b) permit of good wages to the worker, (c) reduce the cost by making each worker handle a very much increased outturn without being overworked.

As a preliminary it was decided to pay the worker 33 per cent. to 50 per cent. more than the previous wage for twice the number of machines attended, but conditions were adjusted so that in spite of attending more machines less than twice the work was done.

In this connection we would point out that in the English list (Oldham Masters' Cotton Association) it will be noticed that the rates for two frames are only about 30 per cent. more than the rates provided for one frame, and from such information as has been obtained from Japan and America, the total increase wage to the worker has only been from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. in spite of much greater multiplication of the machines tended.

We have referred to the intense vertical specialization adopted by the Japanese and to make the position clear an explanation is perhaps necessary.

All cotton manufacturing countries use one of the two methods of manufacturing or a combination of both in varying degrees, viz. —(1) Horizontal specialization linked up by different classes of middlemen, which permits of small units; (2) vertical specialization in which all processes are concentrated in one hand from the raw material to the finished product, necessitating large units and limitation of style.

The latter is the system developed by the Bombay mill industry and is the ideal system for the production of cloth and yarn required in huge quantities, but fails where small quantities of varied products are required, or where flexibility and ability to meet rapid changes of styles are necessary.

Lancashire has almost entirely built up its huge business on horizontal system, while our Japanese competitors have carried vertical specialization to an extent unknown elsewhere in the textile countries of the world. Germany and Italy also have the vertical system, but more approaching the Bombay development of the same; in fact, Bombay, Italy and Germany may be said to be of the same vertical type which gives more flexibility than with the out and out vertical style of the Japanese, but which suffers in the intense competition for the manufacture and sale of bulk products.

Lancashire, America and India have lost trade to China and Japan in grey goods of types suitable for bulk production and it is worthy of note that it is only in this class of goods in which Japanese and Sino-Japanese mills have been enormously successful.

Bombay mills are arranged for vertical specialization and are better placed, particularly on the lower counts, than the Lancashire mills, from this point of view, to meet the intense Japanese competition. The difficulty as far as the general run of Bombay mills is concerned, is that while organized vertically, there is too much variety in the equipment to permit of intensive competition with the Japanese. This is due to the requirements of the internal trade for which the mills were designed and which requires varying widths and styles of cloth for different periods of the year. It cannot be laid at the door of the individual millowner who, in the majority of cases, put in looms to replace trade lost in yarn for China, and naturally put in the style and width of loom to suit his home trade and its seasonal variations.

We decided to try and work a mill on this intensified vertical specialization and for this purpose endeavoured to compete with the Japanese 10 lb. sheeting or cabot and grey drills. We purchased the Hongkong mills and renamed it the Manchester mills with a two-fold object. The first was to ascertain if the vertical system of production could be intensified on Japanese lines, and the second was to ascertain if the Manchester or rather Lancashire method of allocating work and payment could be adopted in a rational form suited to the conditions prevailing in Bombay.

We have been able to dispose of our production, but in the export market we were compelled to sell at a loss in spite of realizing slightly higher prices than our competitors. In India a very small profit was possible and we are satisfied that more intense specialization can be made a success if the whole-hearted co-operation of labour can be secured.

It is essential here to point out that no attempt has been made or is intended to be made to establish the new system where the conditions we have laid down for success are not at present possible. Under this head we place the spinning of coarse counts 10's and below and the old system continues where these counts are spun. In the weaving departments the only sections in the whole of our group where the three and four-loom systems have been attempted has been on plain or drill cloth on an easy class of work. On fancy and more difficult cloth the old system is prevailing, and will prevail until we can find means to fulfil the conditions laid down for the success of any new scheme. On certain qualities and styles we have moved in the other direction by placing *one* loom per weaver, and it is certain that for some time to come there will be very little displacement of labour in the weaving section unless we are driven by the continuance of non-co-operation from labour to instal automatic looms with which we are experimenting with some measure of success.

Appendix I gives the dates in which the new system was introduced into the various departments in each of our mills.

Dealing first of all with the spinning section of the industry it will be noticed that all sections of the spinning department of the Manchester mills (except the wett frames) commenced work on the new system from the re-opening of the mill in May, 1926, and very little difficulty was experienced at the commencement in this mill due probably to the fact that it was a mill that had been stopped for a long period and there was therefore increased employment and not a displacement of labour.

The Manchester mill is one of the oldest mills in Bombay dating back to 1874 and has changed hands several times. On taking the mill over, we spent over six months repairing the plant and buildings. Old and out of date machinery was scrapped and machinery not suitable for the manufacture of standard sheeting was transferred to sister mills and replaced by suitable machinery either new or from sister mills. Full details of the system and personnel as compared with the previously existing system are given below department by department:—

Mixing Room.—The old system of hand mixing was done away with and a completely new pneumatic mixing plant installed. This results in a much better opening and blending of the cotton and a saving of labour (see Appendix 3).

Blow Room.—The old plant was scrapped and replaced by two exhaust and four finisher scutchers, the number of machines being reduced and the cotton handled automatically by the machines except for removing the laps. On the scutchers we have one man to two machines the wage being increased from Rs. 25—8 annas to Rs. 35—7 annas. For many years the David mills had been running a section of their blow room on this system without extra pay. The system has been in existence in a mill in Delhi since the inception of the mill at a wage at present of Rs. 25. The system was so successful that this was the first portion of the new scheme to be put into work at sister mills in our group.

Cards.—The cards in the mill were completely overhauled and where any case of doubt of the quality of the card fillet occurred the card was entirely reclothed. Additional cards were installed and the weight of cotton treated per card reduced.

A team system as near as possible to the English system was introduced splitting the cards into sections of 30 cards or 3 preparations.

Each team consists of :—

1 Front jobber	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 44-2.
1 Back jobber	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 44-2.
1 Lap carrier and fly gatherer combined	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 27-2.
2 Can minders	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 23-8.

For settings and general supervision of cards, one head jobber and one assistant jobber are employed and no other men are employed. Oiling is done by the front and back jobbers and the sweeping is done by the men.

Drawing Frames.—Three preparations of old machines were scrapped and replaced by new machines, the balance of the old machines being thoroughly overhauled.

Instead of one man to each head, two men were put on three heads. The old wage was about Rs. 33 and the new wage is Rs. 41.

Slubbing-Inter Frames.—The old system was continued but all the machines in this department were completely overhauled and old machines scrapped.

Roving Frames.—All machines were overhauled and old machines scrapped. One man tended two machines instead of the usual Bombay practice of one machine. No additional assistance was given other than the existing doffer boys. The wage was increased by 50 per cent. although the difference in the same system in the English list is 30 per cent. In all cases, the increases given were in our opinion too high but were given to encourage the adoption of the system.

Ring Spinning.—The alteration in this section was to place a side boy in charge of two sides instead of one side as formerly, the number of tarwallas and doffer boys being the normal number employed in sister mills on similar counts. Wages were increased from Rs. 25-8 annas to Rs. 39 and with the quality of work there is no reason why a side boy should not mind up to 600 spindles, which Mr. Sasakura maintains is done in Japan.

One feature of post war development in the cotton trade has been the rapid increase in the use of high-draft system which eliminates at least one and possibly two processes in the spinning department. Yard production is speeded up and roving frames eliminated, saving floor space and power which can be utilized for more ring frames. For some years we have been experimenting with the various types of high drafting systems on the market and have now decided on their respective merits for the type of yard we spin.

The Manchester mills and a portion of the Jacob Sassoon mills have been converted to one of these systems. As a result the former does not now require roving frames and therefore operatives, power, stores or space for same. In addition, the quality of the yarn is improved and the bobbins in the creels of the ring frames last four times as long as before and so reduces the work of the side boy.

Weaving Section.

Warp.—The existing grey winding machines were completely renovated and in addition a Schlafhorst "M" pattern high speed winding machine was installed. Our experiment with this machine showed that on coarse counts the Indian operative was unable to keep pace with the speed of the machine and we transferred this machine to a sister mill where the results are entirely satisfactory on finer counts. The old system of grey winding therefore continues and also the old rate of wages and conditions of employment.

Weft.—(Re-winding). Universal winding machines No. 90 type and Schlafhorst high speed winding machines "S" type were installed to re-wind all the weft on to special large size bobbins, so that the amount of yarn wound on a pirn was increased

from 540 yards to from 1,500/1,750 yards depending on the size of universal pirn used. Rates were exactly as paid in our sister mills on similar machines and no change was made in the rates of pay or condition of employment. The employees on these machines are an addition to the number of employees previously engaged, i.e., the working staff of the mill is increased by the total number of workers employed in this department.

Warping Department.—No alteration has been made in this department and the rate of pay and conditions of work are the same as existed formerly in sister mills.

Sizing.—The entire department was completely overhauled and a much simpler and easier system of working established. The number of operatives employed remain the same as in our sister mills. This department in particular is grossly overpaid when compared with other countries. A sizer in Japan looks after one machine and is paid Rs. 55 per month whereas in Bombay he is paid over Rs. 90 and requires the assistance of a back sizer on Rs. 45. There is no reason with the class of yarn working at this mill why one sizer should not look after one machine with one back sizer to six machines.

Drawing-in.—The conditions here are exactly as before but a reduction in the number of men employed has been made by the installations of two automatic warp twisting machines in which the old set of healds from the weaving shed are twisted to the new beam reducing the number of drawers by two-thirds to three-fourths according to the life of a set of healds. This is to some extent counterbalanced by the employment of a team of higher paid men on the warp twisting machines.

Weaving Shed.—As previously pointed out this shed is now re-planned for vertical specialization and only two qualities of grey cloth are made—the plain looms making three yard sheeting and the drill looms 13½ lb. drills. Only one count of weft is used in the whole shed, and headings are practically non-existent. Trouble for the jobber and weaver is saved; there is no change of pick wheel to be made and no need for a weaver to worry as to the correct count of weft he has to use—any weft at the looms goes into any of the three or four looms he has to tend. For the line jobber the whole process of gaiting up is simplified—all the work is straightforward and it should not take more than 15 minutes for the jobber to have a new beam working after the old beam is completed.

The weaver is employed purely as a weaver in that the warp beam is brought to the loom by a coolie, it is gaited up by the jobber and handed over to the weaver in a working condition. Weft is brought to the weaver by special weft coolies and woven cloth is taken to the cloth warehouse for him. His work is reduced to reshuttling the loom on the breakage of weft and drawing in broken ends. The former is reduced by the fact that the length of yarn in a shuttle is increased from 540 yards to 1,500 yards, that is, he has less shuttling to do on three or four looms than he formerly did on two looms.

A much better class of warp is supplied to him and the cloth is of low reed and pick so that his work in this direction is also reduced, apart from the additional help given by supplying him with weft at the looms and taking his cloth from him. Further help is given in that the mill provides a spare weaver for each double section, to help any weaver who has a smash or is in any difficulty. This man also helps to tend the looms of weavers who have left their looms as they occasionally must with five hour runs. On the quality of work supplied, the nature of the cloth and the assistance given, we feel confident that any weaver of average ability could mind six and not three or four looms.

It is interesting to note from Mr Sasakura that mills in Japan are discontinuing the use of universal winding on account of the cost of same, although they are increasing the number of looms per weaver, whereas in Bombay, Trades Unions are resisting any increase on the number of looms per weaver in spite of the expense of this additional process and the assistance given.

Speaking in England, as recently as September 26th, this year, Mr. Frank Nasmith makes the following comment :—

“ Throughout the Continent an effort is being made to-day to reduce the cost of production by installing improved machinery and methods. The rewinding of weft is being very seriously and closely considered. By increasing the filling supply in the shuttle, the weaver can attend to more looms from four to six being the increase in the majority of cases. Less wages per loom are paid to the weaver who has no more work to do, often less, and who earns weekly a higher wage than previously. The rewinding of weft makes an ordinary loom semi-automatic and in the Valley Field mill, at Montreal, the automatic weft replenishing mechanism previously applied to the looms has been removed and rewind weft used. Weavers are looking after

16 looms in this shed, being provided with assistants such as weft and cloth carriers, who are, however, not on the same high rate of wages as the weaver. Making the spinner or weaver a full time producer is most essential." (Textile Weekly October 5th, 1928, page 119.)

Line Jobbers.—Instead of an average of 40 looms per section a line jobber is asked to look after 60 looms in view of the straightforward nature of the work.

Head Jobbers.—The conditions of work for head jobber are the same as existed previously in sister mills and there is no alteration in rates or conditions of work.

Cloth Warehouse.—No alteration is made in the cloth warehouse except that a few men such as piece sorters are not necessary in view of the mill only making two styles of cloth-drill and sheetings, which cannot possibly be mistaken.

The chief inspector of factories, Mr. T. W. Johnstone, took a keen interest in the Manchester mill experiment and had many opportunities of studying same as he regularly visited the mill in connection with some special experiments we were conducting on ventilation and humidification under his guidance. As a result the following comment was made on page 9 of the annual factory report of the Presidency of Bombay, 1927 :—

"Wages generally remained steady throughout the year. The most important strikes occurred in two Bombay mills controlled by a large firm of managing agents. An attempt was made to introduce the recommendations of the tariff board respecting an increase in efficiency as an alternative to a reduction in wages. In at least one of the mills every effort was made by the management to secure efficiency. Machinery was reorganized and to a great extent replaced. Its lay-out was also improved. Weavers were required to work three looms instead of two, but every facility was given them. Larger pirns provided for the shuttles to cut down the labour involved in shuttling. Improved methods of handling the cloth and giving out work were adopted and it is doubtful whether the weavers had, owing to the improvements effected, actually more work to do on three looms than on two under former conditions. The arrangements benefited the employer and the employee alike. Working costs were reduced but the employee received better wages. The strikes, which lasted throughout August, ended in favour of the employers. The system was extended to other mills under the same agents but was followed in the early part of this year by a strike in all their mills to be again followed by the surrender of the employees."

The system was slowly extended to our other mills, the order being :—

Blow Room—

Meyer Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	July, 1926.
Edward Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	August, 1926.
David Mills Co., Ltd.	..	..	..	..	September, 1926.
Alexandra Mill	..	..	..	..	December, 1926.
Elphinstone Spinning & Weaving Mills Co., Ltd.	..	..	..	..	February, 1927.
Apollo Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	July, 1927.

Card Room—

Meyer Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	October, 1926.
Alexandra Mill	..	..	..	..	October, 1926.
Edward Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	June, 1927.
E. D. Sassoon Mills	..	..	..	..	February, 1927.
David Mills Co., Ltd.	..	..	..	..	March, 1927.
Elphinstone Spinning & Weaving Mills Co., Ltd.	..	..	..	..	April, 1927.

Drawing Frames—

Edward Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	February, 1927.
Apollo Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	January, 1928.

Frame Departments—

Apollo Mills, Ltd.	..	..	..	..	September, 1927.
David Mills Co., Ltd.	September, 1927.

Ring Frames (Weft)—

Manchester Mill.	January, 1927.
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Weaving Departments—

Manchester Mills (4 looms),	January, 1927.	Part sections.
(3 and 4 looms),	August, 1927.	Complete shed.
Apollo Mills, Ltd. (3 and 4 looms),	August, 1927.	
Meyer Sassoon Mills (4 looms),	March, 1928.	Part section.

The introduction of the system at the Apollo mills led to a strike on August 1st, 1927, at that mill in the weaving department. These weavers brought the workers at the Manchester mills on strike on August 5th, 1927. The strikers resumed work at the Manchester mills on August 27th, 1927, and at the Apollo mills on September 1st, 1927, and the system has continued there since.

Shortly before the end of December, another group of mills in Bombay issued a notice making the system optional in their mills from January 1st, 1928, and we decided to issue a notice to the operatives in our mills that the spinning departments would go on the new system from February 1st. Trade was in a terrible condition. Huge stocks of cloth were held by many mills and offers for goods were at prices which showed such a loss as to make it worth consideration whether the mills would not do better to close down rather than accept such prices.

If the operatives were not prepared to co-operate in reducing costs it was certainly not advisable for the mills to continue running and adding to the heavy existing stocks or selling forward at a huge loss. A strike occurred; the dates of striking and resuming being in Appendix 4. A feature of this strike was that the strike commenced at mills in our group with the lowest number of spindles per frame, viz., 240 to 252.

The next strike was the last general strike which commenced in the middle of April at the Currimbhoy mills and Appendix 5 gives the dates each mill stopped work. It will be noticed that it was some days afterwards that these mills were brought out on strike and in more than one case actual physical resistance was put up by the operatives against strikers from other mills before the mills were compelled to close down. Although our decision to adopt this system was arrived at before the tariff board sat and was in progress at the Manchester mills during the sitting of the tariff board, the latter body arrived at a decision which we maintain advocates the system we have adopted as a means of saving the industry in Bombay without reducing wages. Mr. Sasakura has given evidence showing the rapid strides Japan has made in this direction and we attach Appendices Nos. 6 and 7* showing a comparison with Bombay on the basis of information supplied by him as well as from official sources.

The objections made against the system by labour on various occasions have been (1) physically impossible to work the system without detriment to health; (2) fullest economic benefit not given to workers; (3) unemployment; (4) standard of efficiency of jobbers not improved; (5) provision should be made for greater facility for technical education; (6) provision of proper raw materials.

1. It is very difficult to counter this allegation as the mills have never been able to settle down to a steady run through strikes. In addition, it is the experience of most Bombay mills to date that higher wages mean a higher percentage of absenteeism. Certain operatives prefer a lower scale of wages to increased pay for more work and these men have, in some cases been weeded out. Appendix 8† shows the attendance on the new system as compared with the old, where comparisons have been possible. We maintain that operatives can do the work we have asked them to do without danger to health, in fact, in many cases much more work than the tasks allotted could easily be done.

2. We have erred in the liberal side in giving the operatives 50 per cent. increased wage for the increased work. The tariff board have commented on this point and we have already drawn attention to the fact that the proportion given is much less in other countries. The 50 per cent. is not all saving to the mills, in fact, the amount of saving is far less than would be warranted by the position of the industry, bearing in mind that the major portion of this saving goes in the provision of additional plant and labour.

3. Unemployment is a national problem and a question that cannot be handled by individual mills. This system is a means of maintaining present employment for the majority of the workers in the industry and if successful may lead to the re-starting of many mills now closed down or the partial adoption of double-shift working.

4. The millowners' association have dealt with this problem but individual millowners have contributed plant to the school started by the social service league, which to date has not been successful.

5. Facilities are given for technical education. Appendix 9 shows the number of employees from our mills attending the apprentice classes at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.

6. We maintain that better cotton has been given at all our mills for the spinning of all counts above 10s., the latter not being on the new system.

* Appendix No. 7 not printed.

† Not printed.

APPENDIX 1.

Statement showing the various dates on which the "Double System" was introduced in the various departments and mills of the Sassoon group.

Name of Mill.	Blow Room.	Carding Department.	Drawing Room.	Frames Department.	Ring Room.
Jacob Sassoon	February 1928	February 1928	February 1928	February 1928	February 1928
Alexandra Sassoon	December 1926	October 1926	Do.	Do.	Do.
E. D. Sassoon	February 1928	February 1927	Do.	Do.	Do.
Manchester	May 1926	May 1926	May 1926	May 1926	May 1926 January 1927 (weft)
Edward Sassoon	16th Aug. 1926	1st Jan. 1927	1st Feb. 1927	February 1928	1st March 1928
Meyer Sassoon	July 1926	October 1926	February 1928	Do.	February 1928
Elphinstone Mill	February 1927	April 1927	Do.	Do.	Do.
Apollo Mill	July 1927	March 1927	January 1928	September 1927	January 1928
David Mill	September 1926	March 1927	February 1928	Do.	February 1928
WEAVING.					
Manchester	4 looms. January 1927	3 and 4 looms. July 1927	•		
Apollo Mill		Do.			
Meyer Sassoon		April 1928			

APPENDIX 2.
MANCHESTER MILL,
Summary of Spinning.

Departments.	Operatives.		Average wages.		Extra equipment.	Reduction in Men.	Saving in Wages.
	Old.	New.	Old.	New.			
1. Mixing Department	..	16	26 10 0	33 6 0	Rs. a. p. 14,566 0 0	6	Rs. a. p. 92 0 0
2. Blow Room	..	14	34 8 0	49 2 0	46,934 0 0	7	139 10 6
3. Card Room	..	47	26 2 0	38 10 0	61,266 0 0	28	496 9 9
4. Frame Department	..	142	28 11 0	34 2 0	21,740 0 0	33	356 7 9
5. Ring and Mule Spinning	..	268	26 10 0	32 0 0	12,550 0 0	79	1,084 11 0
Total	487	—	—	1,57,056 0 0	153	2,169 7 0

Summary of Weaving.

Department.	Operatives.		Average Rate.		Extra Equipment.		Reduction in Men.		Increase or Decrease in Wages.	
	Old.	New.	Old.	New.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
Grey Winding	98	98	23 15 1	23 15 1	—	—	—	—	Rs. a. p.	—
Universal Winding	42	100	20 9 0	20 9 0	66,824 0 0	58	—	—	1,192 10 0	—
Warping	21	21	42 9 4	42 9 4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sizing	17	19	56 7 11	57 3 3	7,255 6 0	2	—	—	126 8 0	—
Drawing-in Room	29	20	42 3 10	48 5 0	5,690 0 0	—	—	—	—	258 12 0
Weaving Shed	444	313	51 2 0	58 13 2	25,030 3 0	—	—	—	—	4,287 7 0
Warehouse	47	46	30 14 9	30 6 0	8,500 0 0	—	—	—	—	56 1 0
Total ..	698	617	—	—	1,13,299 9 0	60	141	141	1,319 2 0	4,602 4 0

Bombay, 9th December, 1928.

THE MANCHESTER MILL.

DETAILS OF APPENDIX 2.—Comparative Statement of Old and New Position.

<i>Old System.</i>			<i>New System.</i>		
<i>Mixing Department.</i>					
Men.	Wages.	Average.	Men.	Wages.	Average.
	Total.			Total.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
16	426 0 0	26 10 0	10	334 0 0	33 6 0
	Old Equipment.		Reduction in men, 6.	Saving	
Nil (hand work).			in Cost	.. ..	92 0 0
				New Equipment.	
			1 Bale Breaker.		
			1 Roving End Opener.		
			1 Pneumatic Plant.		
			Cost	.. ..	14,566 0 0
 <i>Blow Room Department.</i>					
Men.	Wages.	Average.	Men.	Wages.	Average.
	Total.			Total.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
14	483 9 3	34 8 0	7	343 14 9	49 2 0
	Old Equipment.		Reduction in men, 7.	Saving	
4 Double Creighton Beaters.			in Cost	.. ..	139 10 6
5 Hopper Feeders and Scutchers.				New Equipment.	
5 Finishers.			1 Double Creighton Opener	} Combined Arrangement.	
			1 Vertical Opener		
			2 Exhaust Openers.		
			2 Breaker Scutchers.		
			1 Beater Scutcher.		
			5 Finishers.		
			Cost of New Machinery	Rs. a. p.	
			.. ..	42,668 0 0	
			Cost of Overhauling and		
			Erection	.. ..	4,266 0 0
			Total	.. ..	46,934 0 0
 <i>Card Room Department.</i>					
Men.	Wages.	Average.	Men.	Wages.	Average.
	Total.			Total.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
47	1,230 14 3	26 3 0	19	734 4 6	38 10 0
	Old Equipment.		Reduction in men, 28.	Saving	
72 Cards.			in Cost	.. ..	496 9 9
				New Equipment.	
			72 Cards.		
			28 Cards.		
			—		
			98 Cards.		
			—		
			Cost of New Equipment	.. ..	42,666 0 0
			Cost of Wire	.. ..	18,000 0 0
			Cost of Erection and Over-		
			hauling	.. ..	600 0 0
			Total	.. ..	61,266 0 0

DETAILS OF APPENDIX 2.—Comparative Statement of Old and New Position.
—contd.

<i>Old System.</i>			<i>New System.</i>		
<i>Warping Department.</i>					
Men.	Wages.		Men.	Wages.	
	Total.	Average.		Total.	Average.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
21	894 5 0	42 9 4	21	894 5 0	42 9 4
	Old Equipment.			New Equipment.	
11	Warping Machines.		11	Warping Machines.	
<i>Sizing Department.</i>					
Men.	Wages.		Men.	Wages.	
	Total.	Average.		Total.	Average.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
17	960 7 0	56 7 11	19	1,086 15 0	57 3 3
	Old Equipment.			New Equipment.	
5	Sizing Slashers.		6	Sizing Slashers.	
4	Vats.		4	Vats.	
			Cost of 1 New Slasher ..	6,225 0 0	
			Cost of Overhauling and		
			Renewals	1,030 0 0	
			Total ..	7,255 0 0	
<i>Drawing-in Room Department.</i>					
Men.	Wages.		Men.	Wages.	
	Total.	Average.		Total.	Average.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
29	1,225 0 0	42 3 10	20	966 4 0	48 5 0
	Old Equipment.			New Equipment.	
13	Hand Drawing Machines.		6	Hand Drawing Machines.	
			2	Barber Twisting Machines.	
			Cost of New Machinery ..	3,690 0 0	
			Cost of Overhauling and		
			Spare Parts	2,000 0 0	
			Total ..	5,690 0 0	
<i>New Weaving Sheds.</i>					
Men.	Wages.		Men.	Wages.	
	Total.	Average.		Total.	Average.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
444	22,700 2 0	51 .2 0	315	18,412 11 0	58 13 2
	Old Equipment.			New Equipment.	
800	Looms.		800	Looms.	
			Cost of Overhauling and		
			Repairs	8,385 3 0	
			To suit working of 3 looms		
			system :—		
			Cost of Long Shuttles ..	7,600 0 0	
			Cost of Universal Pirns ..	8,845 0 0	
			Electric Fans	200 0 0	
			Total ..	25,030 3 0	

DETAILS OF APPENDIX 2.—Comparative Statement of Old and New Position.
—contd.

Old System.			New System.		
Warehouse Department.					
Men.	Wages.		Men.	Wages.	
	Total.	Average.		Total.	Average.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
47	1,453 6 0	30 14 9	46	1,397 5 0	30 6 0
				Reduction in men, 1.	Saving
				in cost	56 1 0
				New Equipment.	
				4 Folding Machines.	
				1 Damping Machine.	
				1 7-Bowl Calender.	
				1 Sewing Machine.	
				1 Rotary Stamping Machine.	
				1 Cloth Baling Press.	
				Cost of New Machineries ..	7,500 0 0
				Cost of Overhauling and	
				Repairing	1,000 0 0
				Total	8,500 0 0

APPENDIX 3.

Particulars of Double System Strike Period (Sassoons' Group),

and

APPENDIX 4.

General Strike Period.

Name of Mill.	Stopped on.	Opened on.	General Strike Period.
Jacob Sassoon	3rd Jan., 1928	13th Feb., 1928, Weaving 20th Feb., 1928, Spinning	23rd April, 1928
Alexandra	4th Jan., 1928	9th Feb., 1928	24th April, 1928
E. D. Sassoon	4th Jan., 1928	13th Feb., 1928	24th April, 1928
Rachael Sassoon	4th Jan., 1928	1st Feb., 1928	24th April, 1928
Manchester	10th Dec., 1927	25th Jan., 1928	24th April, 1928
Edward Sassoon	5th Jan., 1928	6th Feb., 1928	21st April, 1928
Meyer Sassoon	2nd Jan., 1928	21st Feb., 1928	24th April, 1928
Elphinstone	6th Jan., 1928	21st Feb., 1928	23rd April, 1928
Apollo	7th Jan., 1928	23rd Jan., 1928	23rd April, 1928
David	6th Jan., 1928	23rd Jan., 1928	17th April, 1928

APPENDIX 5.

Weaving Rates for Standard Sheetting 36 × 40 × 13½.

SUMMARY.

Description.	2 Looms.	3 Looms.	4 Looms.	5 Looms.
1. Present rate	9·93	8·14	7·45	—
2. Millowners' Association amended list	9·00	7·38	6·75	—
3. Yarn Association Reports	6·93 (2 to 3 looms).	—	—	—
4. Cunningham's Report 95 per cent. efficiency.	6·98	4·66	3·49	—
5. Do. less 15 per cent. weighted ..	6·07	4·05	3·03	—
6. Cunningham's Report 80 per cent. efficiency	8·29	5·53	4·14	—
7. Do. less 15 per cent. weighted ..	7·21	4·81	3·60	—
8. Sasakura's list 95 per cent. efficiency	—	—	—	3·34
9. Do. less 15 per cent. weighted ..	—	—	—	2·90
10. Do. list 80 per cent. efficiency ..	—	—	—	3·96
11. Do. less 15 per cent. weighted ..	—	—	—	3·44

APPENDIX 6.

	Japanese Mill, 840 Looms.			Bombay Standard, 840 Looms.			M.O.A. Standard, 840 Looms.			Manchester Mill, 800 Looms.			Manchester Mill, 800 Looms.		
	Number of Men.	Rate per day.	Total wages per day.	Number of Men.	Rate per day.	Total wages per day.	Number of Men.	Rate per day.	Total wages per day.	Number of Men.	Rate per day.	Total wages per day.	Number of Men.	Rate per day.	Total wages per day.
Head Jobbers	2	2-43	17-01	2	5-34	90-80	2	4-63	78-74	2	4-25	55-25	2	4-25	55-25
Line Jobbers	7	1-79	12-53	17	5-34	90-80	17	4-63	78-74	13	4-25	55-25	13	4-25	55-25
Asst. Jobbers	3½	1-40	4-90	3	0-719	2-16	3	0-88	2-64	3	0-88	2-64	3	0-88	2-64
2nd Jobbers	2	1-15	2-30	4	1-372	5-49	1	1-30	1-30	1	1-44	1-44	1	1-30	1-30
Olmen	4	1-02	4-08	4	2-745	2-74	4	1-24	4-96	6	1-24	7-44	4	1-24	4-96
Sweeper	2	2-69	5-38	2	0-98	1-96	1	2-61	2-61	1	0-91	0-91	1	2-61	2-61
Beam Carrier Muccadum	2	1-79	3-58	2	5-884	5-88	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54
Beam Carriers	2	1-79	3-58	3	0-91	2-73	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54
Humidifying Fitter	1	2-43	2-43	1	2-29	2-29	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54
Humidifying Cooly	2	1-70	3-40	3	0-91	2-73	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54	2	3-269	6-54
Head Fitter	1	1-40	4-20	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73
2nd Asst. Fitter	3	1-40	4-20	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73
3rd Asst. Fitter	3	1-40	4-20	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73
Cooly Fitter	3	1-40	4-20	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73	3	0-91	2-73
Weavers	Female	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Slay Maker	140	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Carpenter	1	2-94	2-94	1	2-29	2-29	1	2-94	2-94	1	2-94	2-94	1	2-94	2-94
West Cooly Muccadum	1	1-175	1-175	1	1-175	1-17	1	1-63	1-63	1	1-86	1-86	1	1-63	1-63
West Coolies	6	1-96	5-88	6	1-96	5-88	4	0-98	3-92	3	0-98	2-94	4	0-98	3-92
Moches	3	1-175	3-52	3	1-175	3-52	1	1-71	1-71	7	0-98	6-86	7	0-98	6-86
Spare Jobbers	175½	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Spare Coolies	175½	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Total Number of Operatives	175½	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Total Wage Bill per day	Rs. 334-21	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Men per 100 Looms per day	20-89	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Wages per 100 Looms per day	Rs. 39-78	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27
Average wage per operative	Rs. 1-90	1-96	274-40	420	1-68	789-60	420	1-704	715-83	3280	2-127	532-02	3286	2-095	557-27

APPENDIX 9.

Statement showing the number of employees attending the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.

	1925.	1926.	1927.
Jacob Sassoon Mill	5	7	6
Alexandra and E. D. Sassoon	1	2	2
Rachel Sassoon	1	1	1
Manchester Mill	—	—	3
Dye Works	—	—	—
Apollo Mills	1	1	1
Meyer Sassoon Mills	1	3	4
Edward Sassoon	—	—	—
David Mills Ltd.	2	2	2
Elphinstone Mills	2	4	5
Total	13	20	24

Mr. M. S. BHUMGARA, SOLDIER BAZAAR, KARACHI.

I.—Recruitment.

1. (i) The total number of workpeople employed in Bombay mills, under normal conditions, is about 153,000. Of these there are about 22,000 Mahomedan weavers, who are not agriculturists in any sense of the word. They have no land of their own to cultivate, and are practically domiciled in Bombay for more than two generations with their wives and children. Then, there are Kamathis, numbering about 9,000, who are also domiciled in Bombay for many generations past. Thus out of about 36,600 weavers working in Bombay mills, nearly 31,000 are domiciled Bombay citizens and have nothing to do with agriculture. Then again, there are those amongst spinners and others coming from Ratnagiri and adjoining districts. As a matter of fact, these people who number about 30,000 have lost all connections with their native country during last fifty years. It is a fact which every millowner in Bombay knows that when there are labour troubles in Bombay of the nature of a general strike, it is on these Ratnagiri men that the millowners generally depend to break the strike, as these people have no home to return to and hence they are the worst sufferers at such times.

We thus see that about 40 per cent. of the whole labour complement of the Bombay mills has nothing to do with agriculture and that they are mill operatives pure and simple. Of those that remain, thousands from several other districts have made Bombay their home and though they retain their connections with their native towns, most of them have ceased to be agriculturists themselves. They may have their homes in the country, they may have their family land which may be cultivated by their relations at home, and hence they may be going to their *muluk* occasionally for a change. But that does not mean at all that they will very easily revert to agriculture. Necessity has no law, and when they are starving in Bombay during a general strike, they have to return to their country, partly because there the living is much cheaper than what it is in Bombay and partly because of what small chance they may have to work on the fields.

If these facts are properly understood both by the millowners and the union leaders, most of the present difficulties, in providing for the Bombay cotton mill operatives a humane treatment, will disappear.

(ii) *Causes of particular Streams of Migration.*—These causes are of a varied nature, the chief amongst them being traced as under:—(a) Misrepresentations regarding their prospects in Bombay mills by jobbers who, in old days, visited the agricultural parts of the country as recruiting officers on behalf of their mills. Those that migrated had little idea of the cost of living in Bombay as compared with that in their own country. (b) Insufficient scope for agricultural pursuits. (c) Vicious temptations of the city life in Bombay as reported in the country from those who had already migrated into Bombay. (d) Hand-loom weavers, who before their migration into Bombay, were working on hand-looms gave up the latter in favour of power-looms. It may be stated here that most of the weavers in Bombay mills have been in this profession for many generations past. The only change, so far as they are concerned, is that they have reverted from the hand-loom to the power-loom.

(iii) *Changes in recent Times.*—As I have stated above, a very large number of workpeople have now made Bombay their domicile and hence the practice of having to send jobbers as recruiting officers up in the country has now ceased. Nowadays, instead of the jobbers going out in search for men, there is a fairly large and free flow of workpeople from up-country into Bombay in search for employment.

3. (i) *Methods of Recruitment.*—The workpeople, as a rule, offer themselves at the mill gates for vacancies. They are generally introduced to the head-jobber of the department concerned by the line jobbers working under him. Sometimes the head-jobber brings his own men. The qualifications or the antecedents of the new men, barring the spinners, are never inquired into. Very often some of these men are quite new but manage to get an entrance. As a rule, money makes the mare go.

The Indian Tariff Board had an occasion to go into this question and their conclusions on this subject are to be found in paragraphs 63 of their Report, Volume I, pages 138 and 139.

It appears that the millowners had to admit that the system of engaging men through jobbers furnished openings for corruption. Their attempt, however, to explain the situation by saying that "it is the only possible system in Bombay conditions, as the jobber is in touch with labour to an extent that no official of the mill can possibly be, and that it does not necessarily follow that because a jobber produces men, they are engaged by the mill," shows that the millowners have not before them the correct facts. There is no objection to a jobber producing his men. The objection is regarding the final selection of his men by himself. And to this, the millowners say that it does not necessarily follow that because a jobber produces men, they must be engaged. With all due deference, I beg to submit that this is not correct. The statement is entirely wrong. As a rule, the departmental heads and in several cases their assistants, are never at the mills until about an hour and a half or two hours after the mills start working, and if they are not on the spot when the men are recruited, it does not necessarily follow that because a jobber produces men they must be accepted for engagement. This is my personal experience as a mill manager.

The millowner's further contention that "it is not always possible for all vacancies to be filled from the applicants waiting at the mill gates for employment, and that, when this is the case, the only course open is to send out jobbers to the homes of the operatives to collect men" applies not to the present times but to the latter part of the nineteenth century. I am in a position to assert most definitely that the state of things to which the millowners refer does not at present exist, except perhaps in case of a couple of mills which may be geographically unfavourably situated. Even in the latter case, I have made personal inquiries from the manager of a mill which was at one time similarly affected on account of its unfavourable situation and my information is that during the last seven years, when all mills in Bombay were working under normal conditions, there was not a single occasion to send a jobber in search for men.

(ii) *Possible Improvement.*—The Tariff Board's condemnation of the practice and their recommendation that "all labour should be engaged directly by the officer of the mill in charge of the department which requires it or by a reasonable assistant" seems to me to be the only rational method which needs to be adopted. If the millowners desired to make a change in this direction, all that they have got to do is to make the presence of their departmental heads and of their assistants compulsory a little before the starting of the mills.

(iii) *Public or Private Employment Agencies.*—These do not, as a rule, exist. Even if they did they would be useless. Such agencies, at the same time, would be a menace to the workpeople, who would be exploited every time. There are at present a number of service securing agencies throughout the country which claim to secure jobs for the unemployed amongst artisans and clerks. Some of these agencies are an open scandal and ought to be suppressed or allowed to exist only under a licence from the local Government, which should satisfy itself as to the resources of these employment agencies to secure jobs for the unemployed.

7. *Unemployment.*—(i) The extent of employment depends upon the engagement by the mills of their required complement from day to day. Unemployment in the Bombay cotton mills, as a rule, falls under two different and distinct classes. Some of the mills work only a part of their machinery, leaving the other part stopped for some time. Unemployment thus caused necessarily tells on the workpeople who

are thrown out. A very large percentage of men who offer themselves for employment at different mill gates every morning belong to this particular class of unemployed workpeople. There are other mills which are very erratic in this matter and stop their spindles and looms at any moment, sometimes at the very last moment, thus turning out a part of the workpeople who, having left their homes early in the morning, wended their long way towards their mills in the hope of earning their daily bread. This unexpected driving out of the men cuts them both ways. They cannot get a job in the mill where they think they are permanently engaged; at the same time, they are deprived of their chance to look out for a job elsewhere, due to their being late for this purpose. Such sudden dismissals may mean nothing to the mills concerned, but they do tend to create disaffection amongst the workpeople. It is necessary that the men who are not required the next day should be given a notice to that effect the previous evening. This is the least that the mills could do. Failing this, the workpeople should be paid their wages for that day. Barring the two cases above mentioned, generally speaking, unemployment in Bombay cotton mills cannot be called of a very cruel nature.

(ii) (a) Retrenchment in itself is not so calamitous in its effects. It is, however, necessary that those who are the newest on the staff should only be axed. The turning out of old hands under the pretext of retrenchment does work a hardship on them. Such instances of dismissal often happen due to the petty jealousies between the jobbers and their men and the jobbers should not be permitted to have their last say in the matter. The same thing may be said of other cases of dismissal where it has no object but that the man does not suit the jobber or that the jobber refuses to let himself suit the man. Retrenchments and dismissals cause a great disaffection particularly when they are uncalled for. When I was manager of the Khatau Makanji mills, I had myself to send away for good a very large number of superfluous persons from almost all departments. There was then no disaffection at all, as each one of the cases I had personally investigated in consultation with the departmental heads and their jobbers.

I may here append a note to explain what an unfair dismissal generally means and how it tells on the workpeople. I do it, because I find that during the last mill strike an attempt was made to show that the once dismissed workpeople were offered a job elsewhere, but it was alleged against them that they were so obstinate and unreasonable that they would not accept the millowners' offer to reinstate them in other mills.

The man who, by dint of his steady application to his machine for a number of years, has thoroughly mastered it, knows it and understands it perfectly well. In a way, he has learnt to understand his machine's many and odd eccentricities and knows how to get the most and the best work out of it. To ask a man, therefore, to give up his own machine and work on another is to punish him for his past diligence. By working on a machine other than his own, he stands in no better position, so far as wages are concerned, than the man who has been all his life a rolling stone and who owns no machine which he can, by any possible pretence, claim to know and understand thoroughly.

(b) As a rule voluntary retirement takes place when the man becomes physically unfit for further work or when he decides to give up mill life and return to his country.

Among other causes leading to unemployment may be reckoned the spread of an epidemic, strikes and lock-outs.

(iii) *Methods of alleviating and remedying distress.*—There was a time when the millowners could have taken steps to introduce a system of unemployment insurance for those thrown out of employment due to retrenchment or those who were wrongly dismissed. Benefits of such insurance could have been extended to those unable to attend to their work on account of illness. As for those dismissed, something more should be done than giving full credence to the statement of the jobber concerned. It is not unoften that a jobber brings a new man because he gets his *bakshish* from him. The result is that an otherwise innocent man has to make room for his brother who has been found more generous to the jobber. In a very large number of cases, jobbers are supported by their departmental heads, partly because the latter are sometimes entirely on the mercy of their jobbers for a smooth running of their departments and partly because they have their own share in the poor man's *bakshish*.

(iv) Subject to what I have said above, unemployment insurance, as a rule, will not very much help the workpeople in Bombay cotton mills. So far, there is not that healthy atmosphere within and without the mills and it is possible that any scheme of general insurance may be abused by a section of the workpeople. However, any compensation paid as suggested above would make the millowners a little more concerned about their own affairs which they have now totally left to the charge of a set of irresponsible persons.

8. *Labour Turnover*—(i) *Average duration of employment*.—For spinners, this is most uncertain and nothing definite can be said. There are those who spend their whole lives in the mills, then there are others who work for a few years and then go away to their villages. It often happens that a change of jobbers necessitates a change of the entire batch of men working under them. . . It is remarkable that weavers, as a rule, are very reluctant to leave a mill where they may have worked for a number of years in spite of a change of their jobbers. This is because, being paid on production, they fully appreciate and understand that their earnings for some time to come will be considerably affected in the new place. I know a large number of weavers who have put in twenty to thirty years' service in one place.

(iii) *Absenteeism*.—This is a subject to which the Bombay millowners have given their much thought and time, but without success. I have, however, noticed one thing that in a mill where the chances of absenteeism being forced on the workpeople by a stoppage of machinery are few, the complaint in this direction is almost insignificant. When a mill stops a number of its men from time to time in a most erratic way, the latter naturally try to find out a more permanent place. Even then, when some of the mills have stopped a part of their machinery for some time, there is a surplus of labour available, and the effects of absenteeism are not always quite patent. But when all mills are working under normal conditions, and there is no surplus, the mills of the type I have just described are the worst sufferers. In that case, they have no choice of their own and the departmental jobbers are compelled to accept for engagement any and all who offer themselves for vacancies. It must be said, however, that such occasions are but few and rare, and in my experience I have never felt a shortage of workpeople in spinning departments.

The Tariff Board has evidently said three things in the matter of absenteeism. Properly analysed, they stand as follows :—

- (1) It is difficult to suggest a way by which absenteeism can be reduced.
- (2) A mill in Bombay has reduced its absenteeism from 15 to 1 per cent.
- (3) The best way is to engage a ten per cent. bigger staff.

To be candid, I cannot see any logic in the above suggestions. They have before them a mill which has successfully reduced absenteeism from 15 to 1 per cent. by bringing to its aid a most rational method, and yet the Tariff Board cannot see the wood for the trees. Their own suggestion of engaging a 10 per cent. larger staff is, to say the least, most unbusinesslike and not at all in the general interests of the industry. It is a pity that they could not see that the suggestion, if honestly put into practice, is open to grave abuse. What the mills, at present engaging this larger staff, have gained in efficiency, I do not yet know. My own experience is that after getting rid of most of this so called " reserve staff," I was in a position to improve efficiency to a very considerable extent.

I may say what generally happens when this extra " reserve " staff is engaged by a mill. Truly and really speaking, spare hands do not at all spare the trouble which is, without them, involved. On the other hand, they add to the existing troubles. Once the spare hands are taken up, they remain as a permanent fixture to the existing labour staff. If this, in itself, is not an evil, the practice makes room for greater corruption while it exists and in spite of gaining in efficiency, as imagined by the Tariff Board, there is a decided check on its improvement. The idea is to put in the spare hands in place of absentees. In experience, I have found that this is never done to the fullest extent. If A is absent, B comes in and earns his wage in the name of A and when A receives his wages, B is paid out of it through the jobber concerned. An additional man is thus provided for reasons which are not far to seek. I have known of mills taking substitutes even for these very spare hands if any of them remained absent. And where, through a strict supervision, the full number of spare hands are made use of, one sees in the departments a criminal waste of materials. And what is the excuse? All spare hands are engaged! As if they were brought inside the mills to be disengaged.

Now, I may show the effect of this practice on departmental efficiency. Where a department is accustomed to receive a number of extra hands, that department never makes any progress. It remains progress-proof. I ask a mill agent to apply this rule to his own office. He has an accountant. Supposing every time he goes on leave there is a man reserve to take his place. What happens? The rest of the office staff remain where they are. Their instinct for progress is killed. They are made ambitionless. The office efficiency remains at its lowest ebb. And at the top of all that when for some reason or another, the accountant and his substitute both disappear, the office is in a state of chaos and disorder. Similarly, by engaging an extra set of men in a mill, the workpeople are deprived of their most elementary lessons in efficiency. At the same time, it encourages the departmental heads in their present attitude to let the departments

take care of themselves. A better and stricter supervision with a more rational method of organizing the departments ought to help the management not only to do away with the additional staff but to add also to the workpeople's efficiency. The practice of engaging spare hands is, therefore, not only rotten in its principles but highly objectionable to the healthy growth of departmental efficiency in a cotton mill.

II.—Staff Organisation.

10. Administrative organization generally depends on the extent of the powers exercised by a particular manager. There are mills where managers are invested with full powers so far as administrative affairs are concerned. There are others where his powers are generally defined. There is yet a third class in which managers have to place the smallest possible matters before the agents for their final approval and sanction. Needless to say, the administrative affairs in mills falling under the first class are most satisfactory, if the managers concerned are intelligent, conscientious men. They being on the spot, they know best what to do under certain circumstances. The managers who have their powers defined have a very limited scope for their activities. The mills which suffer most in matters of administration are those falling under the last group. I know of instances where a number of useful suggestions were withheld from being brought to the notice of the agents simply because, in spite of their own very firm belief in their suggestions, the managers did not know what was going to be their fate and they generally preferred to let the things take their usual course.

In some mills, agents do not understand the difference between administrative and departmental organization. The result is that often the administrative head remains a mere figure-head and he thus learns to shirk his own responsibilities.

As a rule, departmental organization is left to the care of jobbers. There are exceptions, but they are very few. Why such things exist only the millowners can say. It is impossible to write on the subject of departmental organization in all its aspects. The subject is so comprehensive that it may call for the writing of an elaborate thesis to do it a full measure of justice.

11. There are no fixed rules for the selection of staff. All over the world, various agencies are made use of in their selection and the millowners cannot be an exception. Personal acquaintance, introduction through one or another source, past obligations, friendship, etc., are questions which are generally considered in the matter of staff selection. In some cases, applications are independently invited through the agency of the press. In that case, the best recommendations are generally on paper. It has been the experience of a large number of millowners that the men who have the best certificates are often the most rotten.

12. The selection of subordinate staff is, as a rule, the chief concern of the departmental heads. The practice is much abused and an idea of its abuse can only be gathered from the fact that in one particular instance a man who had never seen a cotton mill during all his life was appointed a head-jobber in one of the Bombay mills. Such instances may be exceptional, but the practice is not sound in its principles. In some cases, nowadays there is a tendency to encourage students who have passed out from the Victoria Jubilee Technical School to go in for these jobs. My own knowledge is confined to only a very few of them, but the general complaint about the technically trained young men is that they are a bit too much conceited for their having in their pocket a diploma of their proficiency. Though their knowledge of departmental practice is often nil, they claim to be better trained all round. This complaint, from what little experience I had of this class of men, I have no hesitation to endorse.

The jobbers who belong to the subordinate staff are mostly untrained. The result is that in several mills where the departments are left entirely in charge of their jobbers by the departmental heads, they necessarily run jobber-like. Efficiency is at its lowest, waste production is absolutely unchecked, production is manufactured both in the processes and on paper, and, in short, the departments are in a most disorganized state. So long as the present method of engaging jobbers exists without any attempt being made to train them, there is little chance of being any improvement in labour efficiency in Bombay cotton mills. Facilities for training them are few and far between. I have discussed this question further in paragraphs 40 and 41 below.

13. Relations between staff and rank and file are of the most unpleasant nature. Had these relations been what they should be, Bombay would have acquitted itself honourably during the last great strikes in cotton mills. One great difficulty of the whole thing is that the senior staff has done little to place before the agents the workpeople's case truly and honestly. I have discussed this question with several managers and departmental heads, when almost in each case I was told that if they attempted to place the workpeople's case before the agents, they themselves would incur the latter's displeasure. I feel that their fears are not at all well founded.

In any case this is the situation as I can see it. The agents not having a direct touch with their workpeople, the workpeople's grievances are not brought to their notice in proper light. In many cases the agents consult their managers as to what they should do. This is a very wise course which any mill agent can safely adopt as it gives the manager an opportunity to place before the agent all the facts pertaining to a particular case. But I find that the facts are often distorted, as some managers like to give the agents an impression that the mills are in a helpless state due to the workpeople's vagaries. Thus the workpeople are between the two stools. There is no love lost between themselves and their officers. At the same time, these officers are the only people to whom the agents can refer in matters affecting labour, and if their representations are not honest and straightforward before the agents, the workpeople must necessarily suffer.

14. Every mill in Bombay has an efficient timekeeping department. . . . The only possible chance of a fraud being played on the mills is in the case of spare hands and "budlis" (substitutes), but with proper supervision this can be eliminated.

The system of making wages payment in a large number of mills is entirely out of date. It entails not only a great hardship on the workpeople, though they themselves may not regard it as such in view of their getting a chance for a frolic, to leave the department and present themselves at the timekeeper's counter, but at the same time it means a heavy loss to the mill itself in production. There are only a very few mills who have a more rational method of distributing wages payment. As one who was responsible for introducing the latter method, I gave expression to my views in my lecture on "Re-organization," to which I have already referred. My remarks under the heading "Other Forms of Waste" explain this point and hence I beg to reproduce them below:—

. . . . One of the most common forms of waste of which we know so well is the recurrent waste of time every month when we distribute wages among our mill-hands. What this waste of time means really in money very few seem to have considered carefully. It is an open secret that the production in an average mill on pay-day is only a half-day's production, though the mills have to pay in every respect a full working day's expenses. This way, full six days in a year are lost to the mills."

III.—Housing.

17 to 22. Housing conditions for Bombay cotton mill labour are far from satisfactory. In some places they are of an appalling nature. They are practically unfit for human habitation. The Bombay Government have made some serious efforts to provide suitable dwellings for the workpeople but such efforts have, for the most part proved unsuccessful. It must be admitted that during recent years the mill-owners have largely co-operated with the Government in providing for the workpeople sanitary dwellings. The co-operation consists in their paying, though not with a smiling face, Re. 1 per bale of cotton on all cotton coming into Bombay. This evy on cotton is called "Town Duty," which approximately means Bombay mill-owners' contribution of about a million rupees per year. The tenements constructed by the Government have, no doubt, relieved the situation which would have otherwise been accentuated. It was reported to the Tariff Board that about 69 per cent. of these tenements were lying vacant. The reasons mentioned were difficulties of access, absence of bazaars, and, above all, the unsuitability of the construction of these tenements. The Tariff Board declared that it was alleged before them that the tenements being built of cement were too hot in the hot weather and too cold in the cold weather. Ill-housed workpeople can never be expected to be efficient up to a certain standard, but it was unfortunately not very well realized that the industry which demanded protection against foreign competition had deprived itself of the efficiency of its workpeople to a very great extent due to most unsatisfactory housing conditions in Bombay.

In my opinion the best way out of the difficulty would be to abolish the town duty on cotton and instead ask the millowners to form workpeople's mutual housing societies, to which they should be made to contribute each at the rate of Rs. 2 per bale consumed. The money for the construction work can be borrowed at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum. The duty levied at the rate of Rs. 2 per bale should be utilized to pay the major portion of the interest charges on the borrowed capital. We may take the instance of a mill consuming 40 bales a day, that is, about 12,000 bales per year. Its contribution to the housing society would be about Rs. 24,000 per year. The construction of 50,000 tenements have cost the Government very nearly 50 million rupees, thus one tenement costing about Rs. 1,000. If 500 tenements are provided for a mill contributing as above Rs. 24,000 per year, the cost of building such tenements would be roughly Rs. 500,000. It is reasonably certain that the

tenements built by such a society as I have suggested above, particularly under the direction of the mills concerned, so as to make them sufficiently attractive for the workpeople from their own point of view, will find a sufficient number of tenants every time. Taking the rent per each tenement at a low figure of Rs. 4 per month, the total rents realizable per month would be Rs. 24,000 per year. This amount, that is, Rs. 24,000, together with Rs. 24,000, being the mills' contribution, should enable the society not only to pay interest at 5 per cent., that is Rs. 25,000, but should leave a sufficient surplus for taxes, building repairs, reserve and sinking funds, etc. Under this scheme, about 25 per cent. of the total complement of a mill's staff can be housed and its future expansion should not be found difficult on more progressive lines.

IV.—Health.

23. *General Conditions.*—These depend largely on the respective temperaments of the workpeople concerned, their mode of life and their diet. As a class, Mahomedan workpeople are temperamentally more cheerful, more practical, and more sensible to the necessity of their having to earn their daily bread under a plan of nature. The Hindu operatives, however, are in the matter of their temperament, quite reverse.

What I have said of the temperament applies equally to the physique of the respective classes. The diet of the both differs in essential particulars. The Mahomedan worker's diet is simple but wholesome. Not so of the Hindu worker, whose earnings being meagre, he has to be content with his poor diet both in quality and in quantity. Between Hindus and Hindus, the Kamathis and the Marathas of the higher class, as distinguished from the untouchables, are decidedly far superior to the rest of the Hindus. The untouchables are not permitted to work except in the spinning department.

With regard to the working conditions at mills, it must be said to the credit of the Bombay millowners, that they are, as a rule, far superior to the conditions obtainable in some of the Lancashire mills, except that the Indian workpeople are accustomed to keep their own surroundings very unclean by constant spitting on the floors and on the walls and otherwise disfiguring these places. I have visited several mills in Lancashire at Bolton, Blackburn, etc., and on a comparison being made between them and the Bombay mills, I am in a position to say that any complaint regarding working conditions generally in Bombay mills ought to be entirely discredited.

24 and 25. *Medical Facilities.*—Much has already been done and still more is being done in this direction. For this, the Bombay millowners deserve the workpeople's best thanks. As a rule, the western science of medicine has not so far gained the workpeople's full confidence. There are several mills to which dispensaries are attached and in some of these the workpeople can get English as well as country medicine. A large majority of the workpeople, being illiterate, have not learnt the value of nipping a disease in the bud. They believe in the efficacy of country medicine, which they often prepare at home. In more serious cases they go to the *Vaids* and *Hakims* practising *Ayurvedic* and *Unani* (Greek) systems of medicine.

26 and 27. *Sanitary Arrangements.*—These call for attention. Of what I have seen in more than a dozen mills in Bombay, I say that the facilities so far provided are not only insufficient but of the filthiest kind also. In some mills, drinking water tanks are placed next to the latrines. Mills, as a rule, do not provide bathing places, and when washing places are more generously made use of by the bolder amongst the workpeople to have a bath to their own content, they create nuisance to the detriment of the rest of the staff. A more rigorous application by the sanitary inspectors of the powers vested in them may bring about a welcome change in the existing conditions.

30. *Sickness Insurance.*

If the millowners desired they can work up a scheme for the benefit of the workpeople in this direction, either side by side with compensation insurance in their own mutual insurance company, or in co-operation with some existing life office. In other countries, including even South Africa, there are staff pension schemes. Under a staff pension scheme, provision is made for adequate superannuation benefits to employees on their retirement from service, a monthly income during their incapacitation is assured, and a cash sum to their dependants in the event of their death is paid whilst in service. Under a scheme like this, the mills would be relieved of all responsibilities in connection with its proper administration, as a life office may undertake to administer it on their behalf on receiving a small percentage of commission.

VI.—Education.

40 and 41. In my own experience, I myself started at the Khatau Makanji mills three classes, one for primary education and two for technical training—one of these was a preliminary class for the workpeople and the other for an advanced course of study for the jobbers. The classes were held in the evening when the mill was closed after the day's work. The staff was wholly voluntary and was recruited from mill clerks and departmental assistants, I myself devoting two solid hours every evening to supervise the working of the classes. The classes were a great success. The workpeople were so attentive and were taking such great interest that within a short time of the starting of these classes, many of them began reading and writing simple lessons in their own vernacular. After I had left the mills, I learnt that the classes had been closed down.

42. *Effect of Education on Standard of Living and Industrial Efficiency of Workers.*—In my own experience, I have found that these effects were remarkable. The millowners seem to be in a mood to complain about everything pertaining to labour and perhaps they will try to say the same thing about labour education as they have said about welfare work. But in spite of whatever they may have to say, one thing is certain and it is this; that education means efficiency. After I had started my classes at the Khatau Makanji mills, I had the satisfaction to see that, with a set of most preliminary hints, there was an all round improvement. The departments which were at one time most notorious for being hopelessly unclean began to be scrupulously clean. There was a marked tendency on the part of the operatives who attended the classes to behave better, they took greater care of the materials, wasted less time in their excursions outside the departments, were more attentive to their work and, on the whole, there was a most satisfactory change in their mill life. The number of operatives who joined the classes was a small one, but this small number of men exercised over their fellow work-people very great influence, and I often noticed that not only the operatives who were attending the classes were trying to keep everything pertaining to their work clean, but they also saw that their neighbours were clean as well. As a matter of fact, it was a part of their lessons and they were often asked to give the benefit of their instruction to their brethren in the departments. And the way in which they loyally and faithfully carried out these instructions showed that what they learnt in their classes they placed to the best advantage while at work. In short, other workpeople were also brought into a healthy contact which helped directly to reduce the percentage of waste in different forms. Besides, every operative who attended the classes was asked to keep his body clean, to wash his clothes regularly, to have a regular daily bath. When the classes met and dispersed, they offered their prayers to God. Such are the things which I am sure would do no harm to any industry.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. The scale of compensation is very poor and needs to be revised. A poor man while he is unable to work for his living should not be deprived of a part of it while he is injured for no fault of his own.

The saving clause works a great hardship on an injured person. It stipulates that a workman who is able to resume normal work after 10 days or earlier shall not make a compensation. The fears that when such compensation is paid the workman will unnecessarily stay away are totally unfounded, as every case is dealt with on its own merits and compensation is paid only on a medical certificate. Perhaps it may be contended that similar exceptions are provided in other countries too. But then, it should be remembered that the scale of wages for an average Indian workman is so low, his mode of life is so miserable and in every other respect he is so totally helpless that he has no other alternative but to incur a personal liability during his preliminary illness.

The valuation of injury at 100 per cent. needs to be raised. At least, it ought to be made in proportion to the wages earned by the workman injured, irrespective of the scale of his wages, letting the present figure of Rs. 2,500 to remain as a minimum for an injury at 100 per cent.

The present scale of compensation is 30 months' wages in case of death or Rs. 2,500, whichever is less. In my opinion Rs. 2,500 ought to be made, not the maximum, but the minimum. Where the wages are higher, the compensation should be regulated according to the wages and not according to a maximum fixed arbitrarily. In matters like this, we need discretion rather than caprice.

Under the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act, the cost of a minor's life is Rs. 200, that is, less than fifteen pounds sterling. Never was the life of a domestic pet valued at so miserably small a sum, and it is no wonder that this grossest form of inhumanity which has permitted the Indian employer to keep quiet over this form of compensation should give westerners an idea that the life of an Indian coolie is less valuable than a pariah dog. It is not for the framers of the Act to say that

in the case of the minor the dependants are not likely to be helpless as they may be in the case of an adult. Apart from all considerations, the fact is, that a valuable life is lost in the course of employment, and that is enough. The framers of the Act are not infallible. When they see chances of dependence less in the case of a minor, how are they going to help the parents in their old age and distress where the minor happened to be their only child ?

There is yet one more flaw in the Act and that is about its disqualifying a workman who has been drawing above Rs. 300 from receiving any benefit from the operation of the Act. A workman is a workman, whether he earns Rs. 15 a month or Rs. 500 a month and it is absolutely inconceivable why the Act should cease to operate in his favour so long as the workman himself does not cease to be a workman. The latter ought to have as much right to compensation as any ordinary workman has.

IX.—Hours.

59. The time has now come when the working hours need to be reduced from 10 to 9 per day. At present, while the number of working hours per week is nominally 60, very often the men are made to work for 90 hours by working 9 days at a stretch. The reason is that if there is a holiday during the week, the mills can work on a Sunday which is acknowledged to be the day of rest throughout the civilized world. The present Indian Factories Act allows it, Sunday, therefore, needs to be made a compulsory holiday.

The reduction in the number of working hours from 60 to 54 per week may give the millowners, at the start, a smaller production, but this will be sufficiently compensated by an increased efficiency of the workpeople. The millowners themselves have often complained that though the workpeople are at present working nominally for 10 hours they are, as a matter of fact, not giving full 10 hours' work. This explains for the industrial fatigue which tells heavily on the workpeople and tends to retard their efficiency.

XII.—Wages.

97. The wages in Bombay cotton mills have moved with the price movements at different times. In a great and growing city like Bombay, the prices have moved rather quickly and with the moving of these prices, the workpeople had to demand higher wages. In spite of the many struggles between labour and capital in the past, the present day standard of wages, particularly in spinning departments, is fearfully low and needs to be raised.

98. It is most difficult to ascertain what percentage of the total number of mill-hands employed in Bombay mills send any amount to their villages, and the percentage of the wages earned in case of those that did. The only thing that I can say is that the lot of an average workman is too miserable to permit him to send anything to his village. The ordinary work-people, the real toilers, have their wages standard so low that unless they eat half the bread themselves, it is not possible to send the remainder to their villages. As a mill manager, my experience is that nine out of ten workpeople are indebted to the Bania, the Marwari and the Pathan and the official banker at the mills. I am in a position to say that a majority of the work-people, even without their sending any money to their villages, do not get for themselves full half bread to which I have referred. I want the commissioners to understand this point very clearly. There are many hundreds, nay thousands, of men working in the cotton mills of Bombay who earn about ten annas a day. While considering that this small sum of money is not enough to let a person in a large city like Bombay, howsoever miserably he may be living, keep his body and soul together, one has to remember that not a small number of these workpeople are sent away from the mills every now and then on the ground that there is not sufficient work for the whole of the departmental staff. Thus, if a person can earn, say for 20 days in a month, then that person's monthly income will come to Rs. 12-8 annas, that is, about sevenpence a day. And then there are workpeople whose total wages do not exceed, even if they put in a full month's work, Rs. 13 or Rs. 14 per month, that is, about seven to eight pence per day. Surely, these are not the people whom one should expect to eat, drink and make merry while they live in Bombay and send the surplus of their earnings to their home sweet home.

There are, no doubt, a few men in the mills who are in receipt of fairly good wages. They are the jobbers, turners, fitters, carpenters, and others, but they are, strictly speaking, workmen of the supervising staff or belonging to the artisan class, and do not form the bulk of the workpeople. As a rule, weavers are better paid than spinners, but being domiciled in Bombay, they have not to send anything to their country, except under special cases.

101. The principle which was fundamentally wrong in 1879 for fixing the workpeople's wages is wrong in 1929, and yet it continues to the dissatisfaction and disaffection of the workpeople. In old days, the idea of fixing wages was very crude. The departmental head, in consultation with his jobber, found out what were the messing charges in Bombay for a workman. To this was added a small allowance for the sake of his coming to Bombay from his native country. And that was the living wage. The definition of a living wage is the same now as it was then. The only fact which the millowners recognized was that the workpeople had a duty towards their employers to live on till they worked for them as that would let the industry also live. What kind of living it was they cared little to know. Their only concern was to hire him at something less than what he was really worth or what he did really deserve.

103. After a series of attempts, the millowners have come to the conclusion, only during the last year, that it is possible to standardize the wages in Bombay cotton mills.

107. In Bombay cotton mills, wages are generally paid 10 to 15 days after they have become due. In the existing state of things this period of 10 to 15 days is really necessary to prepare wages muster rolls. If the system of monthly wages payment is to continue, wages must remain in arrears as they do now. However, the present economic condition of the worker demands that the wages should be paid weekly. The present system is most wretched in its principles, as during its existence an average workman has learnt to contract debts. As a matter of fact, in many cases, he is compelled to do so.

It is a pity that the millowners do not desire to encourage the system of short period payments. Whatever may be their fears, as one who has an intimate knowledge of the mode of cotton mill operatives' life and hence of his wants, I am in a position to say that the introduction of a system of weekly wages payment will make the workpeople more contented, more independent in their requirements and less dependent on a class of usurers, often of a most abominable type.

The committee of the millowners' association, in their letter to the *Asiatic Review* (in reply to an article by Lady Chatterjee in 1924), tried to justify the system of monthly wages payment and said :—

" Individual members of the association were requested to elicit the opinion of the workpeople as to whether they would prefer monthly or fortnightly wages : an overwhelming majority of the workpeople expressed themselves strongly opposed to the introduction of the system of fortnightly payment of wages and insisted on the continuance of the present system If the mill operatives had shown any preference for the system of fortnightly payments, the association would have certainly asked its members to pay wages to operatives every fortnight."

It will be interesting to know what steps the millowners had taken to ascertain the real needs and wishes of the workpeople and how many of 153,000 workpeople preferred a monthly system of payment so as to form themselves into an "overwhelming majority." It is rather strange that the millowners did not care to ascertain the wishes of the workpeople, in this particular matter, through their labour unions.

As a matter of fact, many of the mills in Bombay pay their workpeople, even to-day, a part of the wages earned by them in the shape of an advance. On this part payment of wages which are actually earned, the workpeople have to pay an exorbitant rate of interest. Can it ever be believed that the workpeople who have to pay an exorbitant rate of interest on a part of their own earnings would be unwilling to receive a payment of their wages on which they would not have to pay any interest at all. It is for the millowners to say that this is not correct.

The advances to which I have referred above, are made either directly by the mills concerned or, in a few cases, through the instrumentality of some other parties. It is also a well-known fact that over and above their receiving the advances from their earned wages, the workpeople have to borrow sums of money regularly from Baniyas, Marwaris, Pathans and others at a most prohibitive rate of interest. It is also a fact, too well-known to the millowners and their officers, that the workpeople buy their foodstuffs on credit and eventually pay a price much higher than what they would have to pay if they bought them for cash. I know Baniyas and Marwaris who would not pay the workpeople any sum of money in spite of their preparedness to pay the fixed rate of interest, however high it may be, unless the workpeople agreed to buy their requirements from those Baniyas and Marwaris. Thus this class of usurers thrive not only on the workpeople's evil habits of contracting debts but they get their pound of flesh by extorting from the workpeople as much money as possible in the ordinary course of their purchase. In this, they have a double object. The first is to keep the workpeople attached to them and second so to squeeze them

that they may never get out of their indebtedness. All these things, I beg to submit, are being done to the knowledge of the millowners. They are too well-known to their managers and heads of departments. And yet when we are told that an "overwhelming majority" of the workpeople preferred a monthly system of payment, one may like to know why they were so very fascinated with a wicked system which did them no good at all but, on the other hand, adversely affected their interests from every conceivable point of view.

I hope I shall be permitted to say something more about it. There is no secret about the fact that besides Baniyas, Marwaris and Pathans there is yet another class of people who freely loan money to the workpeople. These are the mill jobbers, timekeepers, and in a few cases, heads of departments. In some cases, the jobbers and the timekeepers make use of an official's money in this mutual banking business, when the departmental head remains only a "sleeping partner" in the affair and gets his share of the income. It is, therefore, as clear as daylight, that if the payment were made fortnightly, these "official bankers" of the workpeople would certainly lose their extra source of income. The fortnightly wages may be in the interests of the workpeople, as they really are, but they are not in the interests of these bankers, through whom the "real needs and wishes" of the workpeople were most probably ascertained. It is really strange that it never occurred to the millowners that the workpeople who were squeezed so clean on all sides and who were made to mortgage their future earnings to a set of merciless usurers deserved an urgent relief.

But this is not all, as a mill manager I am in a position to say that the system of fortnightly wages payment will never find favour with an "overwhelming majority" of the present day mill officials. They know that with what crude method of making wages payment they have in vogue in their mills, they are going to lose heavily in production if the wages were paid twice a month.

These are most stubborn and unchallengeable facts. They show what really lies at the bottom of the "real needs and wishes" of the workpeople. Any change, whatever its future significance, calls for better organization and more simplified methods. If this cannot be done, then workpeople are the real sufferers. But when they suffer, the industry must suffer as well.

Personally, I do not believe in fortnightly payments. They are better than monthly payments, but not as good as payments made every week. But let the "real needs and wishes" of the workpeople be ascertained through their labour unions.

108. *Indebtedness.*—I have referred to this in paragraph 107 above. How far and to what extent a mill hand is indebted in his village, it is difficult to ascertain. The village indebtedness may not be his own. It may be his father's or perhaps his grandfather's. Instances of such ancestral indebtedness are not by any means few. But his indebtedness in the industrial area is an established fact. The very fact that hundreds of money-lenders of all descriptions present themselves at the mill gates on wages payment day for collection of their dues is a sufficient proof of their indebtedness.

To help the workpeople to get out of the usurers' clutches, I beg to suggest the following remedy. In my opinion, in every mill centre there must be opened "millhands co-operative credit societies." Through such societies, the millhands should be offered an opportunity to borrow small sums of money. Perhaps some people will try to show a difficulty by saying that the millhands, some, or many of them, after receiving loans will run away. I do not wish to make a secret of the fact that the difficulty will be there, in the matter of conducting the business of such societies very satisfactorily, but if we think of the difficulties, we cannot think of the workpeople's welfare. The difficulties are, however, not insurmountable and if practical business men like the Bombay millowners approached it with a never-failing heart, there is no reason why they should not accomplish it quite satisfactorily.

106. As a mill manager, I am in a position to say, that fine, as a form of punishment, is resorted to in very exceptional cases, and in any opinion, if the practice is well regulated and if there is no chance of a greater evil being introduced through it, the practice must continue as a necessary evil and the millowners cannot be blamed for such continuance.

109. *Profit-sharing.*—The question of profit-sharing by labour in industrial undertakings in India is, in the present Indian conditions, un-arguable, and those who have been advocating in India the introduction of this measure, only make a fun of the sufferings of Indian labour. Several industrial concerns have been running their plant and machinery, though for years past they show no profit at all. In a private business, if it is found to be unremunerative, its proprietor, if he is an honest man, will like to close it down. But that is perhaps the concern only of the millowners

and of the shareholders to see why some of these concerns, in spite of their making losses year after year, are allowed to continue their operations. What I, however, want to point out is, that if it is profitable for the management to carry on business when there are no profits, it would not at all be profitable for the profit-sharing workpeople for whom probably nothing will be left.

Even as a theoretical problem, a system of profit-sharing, while it is likely to be opposed by the employers, will do little good to the workpeople themselves. What the workpeople are most concerned with, is their compensation, if any, over and above their nominal wage. They are also as much concerned that the ordinary standard of their wages will be maintained irrespective of the times being good, bad, or indifferent. How this could be possible, I have tried to show in paragraph below.

Maintenance of Ordinary Wage Standard.—It is only a sad mentality which wants to attack the workpeople's wages without any strong grounds. A state of mere trade depression is not at all a strong ground for reducing the workpeople's wages for the simple reason that the trade has its own cyclical periods of prosperity as well. Even while there is trade depression, there are a number of directions in which expenses can be curtailed to let the industry hold its own. After what I have seen in cotton mills in Bombay, I refuse to believe that the industry could not get on without attacking the workpeople's wages. These are matters of internal administration and perhaps they are not within the terms of reference of the present Commission, but I have no doubt in my mind that the Indian cotton mill industry will be in a position to look after itself only if the millowners pay greater attention to the matters of internal administration, which to-day, in not a few cases, is of the most wretched kind.

As regards workpeople's wages, my own opinion is that there is now time when, if labour is to be made to co-operate wholeheartedly with the industry, labour must be given a definite guarantee that no attempt will be made in future to reduce their wages, but, on the other hand, steps will be taken at the very first opportunity to ensure the maintenance of their ordinary standard. I say it is only fair that labour's ordinary wages which are the minimum must be insured. If the millowners can insure that lifeless plant, machinery and building, if they can insure their stock in trade, if they can insure their very profits, I see no reason, none at all, why the workpeople's wages should not be similarly insured. No doubt, if it is only during better times that this can be done on a firm and permanent footing. We have to remember that labour is a more permanent fixture for any industry, and that fixture needs to be well maintained if the industry is to progress on sound rational lines. For the proper maintenance of that fixture, which is a first charge on the industry, equalization of wages funds accounts needs to come into existence. It will insure the workpeople's wages against bad times and against periods of trade depression. When the wages are insured, the self-satisfied labour will insure the prosperity of the industry and will be ready to give the employers its very warm and loyal co-operation.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

112. The efficiency of the workpeople, as a rule, depends on the administrative efficiency. Yet, we find that the efficiency of the spinning departments of the Bombay mills has invariably suffered, compared to the efficiency in the weaving sheds, from the earliest days to the present times. The causes are of a varied nature. Besides lack of departmental organization, we see want of proper system of piecework, long working hours, ill-housing, ill-feeding, want of proper education and so on. The Indian Tariff Board laid special stress on the mills in Bombay introducing piecework.

The above recommendations, when properly analysed, point to the following main observations with regard to the question of efficiency :—

- (1) Spinners should be placed on piecework.
- (2) Number of spindles, per spinner, should be increased.

(7) To improve labour efficiency, there must be corresponding improvement in the standard of efficiency of jobbers.

- (8) Greater facilities for technical education should be provided for jobbers.

Considering the above observations in order, the first recommendation to place spinners on piecework is of a very sound nature. I do not think that this in itself is a radical change. With due regard to the millowners' opinion which is based on I do not know what specific grounds, I beg to submit that they are not correct in what they say. Even taking for granted that the change is a radical change, if it is introduced in a rational way, it will not only be not opposed by the workpeople, but they will be very pleased to welcome it. That is my experience as a mill manager.

The Tariff Board's recommendation to increase the number of spindles per spinner is not wise in the present condition of the spinning departments in Bombay mills. I do not say that the recommendation is not practical. But my objection to its

introduction at this stage lies in the fact that the millowners and their officials have done nothing so far to get from the workpeople the highest production from the number of spindles which they are at present attending.

With reference to this second recommendation, the millowners' fears that the workpeople will go on strike if asked to attend to a larger number of spindles are not wholly justified. The workpeople, as they are now trained, find it difficult to give a fairly good production per spindle and an increase in the spindleage would necessarily reduce the present efficiency per spindle. I do not, however, think that this is a radical change in any way. As mill manager, I am in a position to say that I have tried in both these directions and the results that I was able to obtain were highly satisfactory. In the Khatau Makanji mills where I was manager, I increased successfully not only spindle efficiency, but the number of spindles per spinner were also increased. There was no disaffection, however, and the departmental head and his jobbers who first opposed the change, finally appreciated and welcomed it.

In what the Tariff Board say regarding corresponding improvement in the standard of efficiency of jobbers, they have earned the very best thanks of the workpeople. But their last observation that greater facilities for technical education should be provided for jobbers is as unsound as it is useless. As a rule, so far as technical education is concerned, an average jobber knows much more than his departmental head. In my own experience I have found that so far as departmental practice is concerned, the technical knowledge of jobbers, particularly in the carding and spinning departments, is of a very high order and I have known technically trained students who take charge as departmental assistants to receive their lessons in departmental practice from these jobbers. What is wanted, however, is not a knowledge of the departmental technique but of departmental organization. I have already referred to this great drawback. It is in this direction that a jobber needs necessary inspiration from his departmental head. As a matter of fact, the latter is paid for that. But as the matters now are, few departmental heads have any inspiration to offer to their jobbers, and the latter are so much accustomed to the present jobber-like mode of working the departments that fewer still amongst them have any of such inspiration to draw from their departmental heads.

113. Indian workers are efficient or inefficient just in proportion as Indian mill managers and departmental heads are efficient or otherwise. I have often made this statement, but it has not been palatable to a class of officials who have been a burden on the industry. It is strange, however, that even a class of millowners find it very difficult to swallow this statement. But the very fact that the figures of production in different mills, working under almost identical conditions, are at variance, shows that there is something inherently wrong with the efficiency of Indian mills and something wrong with those too who refuse to believe it. I expressed my views on this subject as embodied in my lecture on "Reorganization." These I beg to reproduce below from pp. 15-16 of its printed copy:—

"Coming nearer home, what do we find in case of efficiency? This only a comparative study of figures can tell. While we have in our mills a larger number of operatives employed than in Lancashire or in Japan giving us a smaller production, our own figures of production at home are so erratic and incoherent as directly to reflect on our ability to look after our several departments. I have been able to collect figures from as many as 29 mills in Bombay, and the comparison that I have made therefrom is both interesting and instructive. Of these 29 mills, I have rejected 14 mills because they do not stand a proper comparison for several reasons. Of the 15 mills I have selected, I group the first three under class 'A,' six under class 'B' and six under class 'C.' I may say that in nine out of these 15 mills, the cotton used, though not the same, is practically of the same class, the counts spun are from an average of 22s to 24s with one exception where the average count spun is 18s and with another exception where it is 29s. At the same time, as far as possible, I have tried to find out the age of the machinery in each case and I am satisfied that in none of these nine mills the production could be affected on that count. My figures for the first two groups are as under:—

Group 'A.'

No. 1 mill 20s spindle average	6.89 oz.
No. 2 " " " "	6.33 "
No. 3 " " " "	6.09 "

The general average for group 'A' is thus 6.31 oz. (in 20s converted) per spindle,

Group 'B.'

No. 4 mill 20s spindle average	5.73 oz.
No. 5 " " " "	5.64 "
No. 6 " " " "	5.61 "
No. 7 " " " "	5.33 "
No. 8 " " " "	5.19 "
No. 9 " " " "	5.04 "

The general average for group 'B' is thus 5.42 oz. (in 20s converted) per spindle . . . The difference in efficiency between the first and the ninth mills is 36.70 per cent. . . . whereas the difference between the first best and the fifteenth is 48.19 per cent. We may leave out of consideration the last six mills as the particulars both of cotton and of counts are not identical nor very near identical.

"To see what all this means in rupees, annas and pies, we shall assume that each of the two mills, or rather the groups of mills, are spinning 12,000 pounds of yarn and weaving 10,000 pounds of cloth per day. First let us take spinning. We see here that for what it costs the one mill to spin 6.31 oz the other spins for the same cost 5.42 oz. Leaving out the price of cotton and taking the average spinning cost for 20s at 9 pies per spindle the other mill would be running (30,480 spindles for the first and 35,443 spindles for the other) 4,983 spindles more to work up its production. 4,983 spindles at 9 pies each per day would mean 233 rupees odd per day, that is, Rs. 71,531 per year. And if we take the first mill in the first group with the ninth mill in the second group we find that the second mill has to run (38,095-27,866) 10,229 spindles more to make up its production. These at 9 pies per spindle per day would cost Rs. 480 per day or Rs. 147,360 per year for spinning efficiency alone . . .

" . . . In other words, because some screws are loose here and there in your departments each of the mills in the second group is burdened with an average dead loss of over a lac and 50,000 rupees every year. And all this for the sake of inefficiency as compared with the efficiency of a few of our good mills and not as compared with the efficiency of mills in Lancashire or in Japan. The moral of the whole comparison is that the words 'Efficiency' and 'Inefficiency' are so loosely used in our everyday transactions that it is not possible to give any serious attention to this question unless we see its effect in rupees, annas and pies."

While drawing attention to these facts and figures, I offered some observations of a general nature on this subject which I beg to reproduce here from pp. 11-12 of the said printed copy:—

"To me for one, it appears that the more we go into the question of efficiency the more do we feel condemned in our own eyes. The Indian textile industry is not an infant industry. It is an industry which is three generations old. And to our greatest discredit, let me assure you that during all these 75 years our progress as mill officers is practically nil. There may be a few honourable exceptions but as you know exceptions do not form a rule. Our carding and spinning masters will be interested to know that ever since 1858 the number of men that were employed for 1,000 spindles in our spinning rooms was 12-14. Even today it is about 12. In some cases, it is 9-10, but in others it is 13-14, and in one case I know the number of men per 1,000 spindles is 17.7. This is the net result of our progress during the past 75 years. Now let us see how they stand in other countries. Mind you, the figures I give you here are not of my own compilation. I take them as published in Prince Kropotkin's excellent book, 'The Fields, Factories and Workshops.' Take the case of Germany. In 1861, she engaged 20 operatives for 1,000 spindles; India in that same year, engaged 12-14. Today Germany has brought down her old figure of 20 to less than 6, whereas we are standing where we were in our great-grandfathers' time. Take the case of England, the home of spinning industry. In 1831, that is, very nearly a hundred years ago when her spinning industry was in an exceptionally infant stage, England had only 7 operatives for 1,000 spindles and today it is less than 3. And in the United States of America, we find that one girl tended 896 spindles in 1905, and today she is tending 1,200 spindles. And amongst the less important countries of Europe the figures for Switzerland and Bavaria are from 6-7 per 1,000 spindles, and for Alsace and France about 9.5.

"Similarly, a weaver in Bombay manages 2 looms as a rule, as against 4 ordinary or 8-12 automatic looms in Lancashire. In the United States of America a girl weaver manages as many as 20 to 24 automatic looms. Whatever it may be in other countries, it appears that India is destined not to have automatic looms. And why? The secret is that if India had automatic looms, these would run automatically, but the rest of the things would not go on here as automatically as they are doing now. It means that we want to take the least trouble possible in discharging our responsible functions. Let alone the automatic looms, but to let a weaver work 4 ordinary looms, besides his looms being kept in first-class condition, he must be supplied with faultless beams from the sizing; to get the faultless beams from the sizing, the winding and warping departments would call for A1 superintendence, etc., etc., but who is to do it? In his evidence before the Tariff Board Inquiry Committee, Mr. P. A. Baptist referred to the opinion of men coming from England who said that in England the weavers would absolutely refuse to work

a loom which is worked by an Indian weaver. Mr. G. Findlay Shirras, an ex-director of labour, in his evidence before the same body declared that an Indian weaver was not at all a bad weaver, and that he could get the same efficiency as was customary in Lancashire.

114. (i) In my opinion, migration of workers should not affect the efficiency to any appreciable extent. The department would, however, have to take great care in selecting "budlies" (substitutes) from the right stock. As a rule, spinners are more steady in their attendance and even while some of them are absent, jobbers use greater discretion in their selection than they do in case of doffer boys and others. The raw hands are, in the first instance, engaged as doffer boys or coolies and it is only when they have received a certain amount of training that they can expect to work as spinners. Doffing is always considered, by the way, an unimportant piece of departmental work and the slackness in this particular direction is often of a most scandalous nature. If departmental supervision is thoroughly systematic, the doffing would generally help to add to the departmental efficiency. A doffer has to learn only a few lessons which he can do satisfactorily within a short time. But that seems to be nobody's concern in a very large number of mills and when the production is low, it is very convenient to say that Indian labour is inefficient.

(iv) *Comparative efficiency of management.*—I have referred to this in several places in this statement as also in my reply to paragraph 113 above under "Industrial efficiency of workers," and under paragraph 116 below. My conclusions on the subject are that when management in Bombay mills will be as efficient as it should be, most of the present troubles will soon disappear.

115. Effects on production due to various causes including hours of work, housing conditions, dietary, piecework, etc. I have discussed generally each under a different heading in this statement.

(ix) Drunkenness is a general vice amongst the workpeople which cannot be denied. I have made very careful inquiries from a number of liquor shop keepers having their shops in mill areas, and in localities inhabited by the workpeople and I am told that the sale of liquor for the first two days following the wages payment is about four times its normal sale. This shows that though drunkenness, as a vice, exists amongst the workpeople they are not addicted to it so as to be condemned altogether. At the present moment, they are not provided with necessary amenities of life and they find in liquor shops, for two days in a month, an agreeableness which they would otherwise shun.

The result of the inquiry I have above referred to leads to confirm their being over head and ears in debt. It appears that after paying off their sundry creditors, what little remains with them, they spend in drinking, and then once again for the whole month, or at least till such time as they get their advances against their wages, they go on incurring fresh debts.

When I am here referring to the vice of drunkenness, perhaps some will come forward to argue that if the workpeople are paid fortnightly or weekly instead of their being paid monthly, as is now done, they will go on drinking every week or fortnight and thus they will squander more money in drinking than what they are doing now. I beg to submit that such argument should have no weight at all, for the very fact that if the workpeople wanted to drink more frequently and squander more money and involve themselves into a greater indebtedness, there is nothing to stop them now. As one who has very carefully studied their mode of life, I am in a position to say that instead of this vice being encouraged by their getting short period payments, they will on the other hand, learn better how to adjust their weekly or fortnightly budget, they will have fewer creditors to attend to and hence they will be better workmen than they now are. I may also say that moneylenders of all descriptions including their official bankers will be simply too pleased and ready to give them larger loans at a higher rate of interest if these workpeople wanted to drink more in their present situation. There is another outstanding fact in their favour and it is this that even now, besides getting their monthly wages, when a large majority of them receive from their mills advances against their wages on payment of interest, they never think of going to the liquor shops. This interim payment is as good as a fortnightly payment, only with this difference, that under a system of fortnightly wages payment, they would receive payment by their own right, whereas now they get it on sufferance. If the payment of advances is not objectionable, there could be no possible objection to a regular payment of wages weekly or fortnightly.

With regard to the effects of drunkenness on efficiency, I beg to submit that a habit, temporary or habitual, is not at all a virtue and the millowners should do their best to reclaim them by providing sufficient amenities of life. If this vice has any

effect on the departmental efficiency, it must be almost imperceptible as can be seen and verified from departmental figures of production for these particular days.

116. The whole secret of efficiency lies in an employer's ability to choose men who will fit the places and who are prepared to carry out the entire programme of administrative work without attempting to shirk from it. At the same time, besides administrative methods, materials play no mean part in bringing the efficiency to its highest point. Needless to say, however, that the best of methods and the best of materials will be of little use if personal efficiency is lacking in one or more of its different compartments.

So long as no attention is paid to the various methods of time study, so long as departmental organization remains in a languishing state, so long as steps are not taken to introduce rational methods in the whole system of administration, so long shall inefficiency continue to eat away the industry in its very foundations.

If it is recognised that labour efficiency must go hand in hand with administrative efficiency, if it is further recognised that a larger and better production must depend as much on labour efficiency as on administrative efficiency, then the old traditional management under which the workpeople are regarded as mere wage earners and under which the employer's will is the only code of administrative rules must necessarily die and from its ashes must rise a system of management under which workpeople and every member of the staff will be regarded as so many partners in the industry. No one needs to be frightened. When I say, partners in the industry, I do not mean the profit-and-loss sharing partners, but partners who will share industry's progress, prosperity and goodwill.

Messrs. CHICHGAR & CO., GOVERNMENT SHIPPING BROKERS, BOMBAY.

Recruitment.

5. The existing practice for recruitment of seamen till July, 1929, was that all the serangs in dock and engine department were sent to the respective officer and chief engineer of a ship for their selection. The serangs so selected were instructed to make up their full complement of crew for approval by the officer and engineer respectively. If any serangs were unable to obtain a complete crew, they used to seek our help for a further supply of men. The whole crew were accordingly sent on board, or at times at the shipping office, to put them in the articles of agreement. Before they signed articles they underwent medical examination either by the ship's surgeon or a doctor of shipping companies from shore. If any men were found unfit for employment the doctor would reject them and the serangs would look upon us for supplying men in place of those rejected.

After signing articles the crew received a month's advance and in the event of a ship sailing on coast port half advance from us in the presence of the shipping master or his representative. They were again taken on board by us, on the day of ship's sailing, with their kit from their quarters after undergoing the usual disinfection and medical examination. It does happen that some members of the crew are rejected by the port health officer at the time of disinfection and also at the time of ship's sailing and we accordingly, through the help of runners (our paid servants), replace these men and complete the crew at the last moment.

Since July, 1929, Government have appointed a special officer for recruitment of seamen.

Whilst the P. & O. and British India recruit their own men, the other companies obtain their crews from the shipping office through the special officer appointed by Government lately. Ever since the substitution of a special recruiting officer we have no hand in the recruitment of crews.

Suggestion.—The recruitment of seamen in Bombay is at present in the hands of the special officer appointed lately and we are unable to suggest any suggestion until the new practice is given a fair trial.

Dr. CLIFFORD MANSARDT, DIRECTOR, THE NAGPADA NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSE, BYCULLA, BOMBAY.

I.—Recruitment.

3. (i) The existing method of recruiting labour in Bombay is largely through the jobber, a system which though securing labour, leads to various abuses, such as petty graft and jobber control over the outside life of the labourer. The system from the social welfare point of view can scarce be regarded as satisfactory.

(ii) It would seem that there must be opportunity for the direct access of the labourer to the controller of the post in which he seeks employment. An employment manager, personnel officer or welfare worker charged with both the employing and the welfare of the employees will quite likely lead to improvement.

(iii) The Nagpada Neighbourhood House, in connection with its family service, has dealt with several thousand cases of unemployment. It is our conviction that the problem can only be dealt with through a system of public employment agencies as against isolated individual attempts. An individual agency finds it difficult to make sufficient contacts to be of the highest service, and on the other hand often finds itself to be in the position of not having enough men on hand to meet a hurry up call for labour. Were public agencies established, both of these problems would be met, as well as the further important matter of being in touch with the whole labour situation instead of but parts of it.

I would be in favour of establishing local agencies in the industrial areas, all of which would be under the direction of the Government Labour Office, which office would make its contacts with the employers, study the entire situation, and instruct the local offices as to the number of men and type of men needed. A co-ordinated system of offices might prevent the running back and forth between mills that increases the labour turnover at present. The Government Labour Office would also be charged with equalizing the supply and demand in various industrial centres, as well as recommending public works when the situation seemed to demand.

V.—Welfare.

34. (b) For the past two and a half years the Nagpada Neighbourhood House has been carrying on welfare work in one of the most congested regions of Bombay, viz., Second Nagpada, Byculla. We have found the people ready to respond and appreciative of the opportunities provided for education, recreation and for improving the public health. It is our opinion that Bombay presents an almost unlimited field for constructive welfare work.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY WOMEN'S COUNCIL.

A.—Introductory.

A certain amount of welfare work is carried on in the city of Bombay : (1) by employers ; (2) by other agencies.

1. Special welfare activities form part of welfare schemes carried on by (i) the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute (which is working for the mill-hands of a group of seven mills. It has four centres of work) ; (ii) Messrs. Tata, Ltd. ; (iii) E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd.

Welfare activities comprise of one or more of the following : (i) a creche ; (ii) primary classes for women ; (iii) co-operative credit societies ; (iv) sewing and hand-work classes ; (v) medical help ; (vi) maternity benefits.

In addition to this welfare work, 10 to 12 creches have been started in other mills for the benefit of their women workers.

2. There are other voluntary agencies such as (i) Mahila Mandal (the women's branch of the social service league), and the Bombay Workmen's Institute, that are carrying on medical relief and educational work among the working-class women in Parel ; (ii) the Y.W.C.A. is also working among the women at Naigaum ; (iii) the Seva Mandir is another centre which is doing welfare work for the women in Tardeo.

B.—The Housing Problem in the District of Tardeo.

Observations under Seva Mandir.—Our knowledge of the housing conditions in the district of Tardeo is limited. Here we shall only state those facts which we have collected through the inhabitants or through our own observation of six or eight chawls (tenements), we come in contact with almost daily, due to our social service centre in that district. The dwelling places occupied by the wage-earning classes are of four types : (i) chawls owned by private individuals ; (ii) chawls provided by the employers ; (iii) chawls provided by the B.B. & C.I. Railway Company, with somewhat modern structure ; (iv) tin sheds—the plots owned by the landlords.

Maneckjee Petit Mills which is in the district where we do our social work, provides 13 chawls with 400 rooms for their workers. The total number of workers at this mill is about 4,050. We are in touch with only one of these thirteen chawls provided by the employers.

There is no building provided by Government in our district, but there are four chawls provided by the B.B. & C.I. Railway Company, and the rest are owned by the private owners.

Nature of Accommodation provided by the Employers.—Through the studies of the chawls of the employers, we can say in general that the housing condition of these labourers is very unsatisfactory. One room is provided to each family which is not big enough for our joint family system. Also the members are allowed to sublet their rooms, to keep boarders even in the passages, on verandahs and also they build a shelf in the passage where people rest during the night. Very often one family has 14 to 15 boarders in such a small room. The mill authorities officially allows four to five members in one room, but this rule is not strictly observed.

Chawls owned by Private Individuals.—There seem a considerable contrast between chawls provided by the employers and private individuals. In the first case, the advantage is of the rent, which is practically half of that of the private owners. Also the rooms are better lighted and better ventilated because of the verandahs in the front. The employers' chawls also provide "Mori" (washing-place) in the room for the purpose of washing and bathing, which is a very great help to the women folk, especially at the time of sickness and delivery. Also a garbage can is provided to collect the rubbish, and we do not see open drainage in between two chawls. The above-mentioned facilities are not found in the chawls owned by private individuals. The private chawls are absolutely inadequate to meet the demand of the workers. The rooms are small, dark and stuffy. The greatest disadvantage is that they have no "Mories" (washing places), or no place even to throw water while cooking. We know of some cases where a temporary shed was put up in front of the room to wash a newly-born baby. Every kind of household washing is done in the front of the room, where the water collects. There are taps provided at the end of each story, but there is no facility in the room. There is more of sub-letting as they are free from restrictions regarding subletting, cleanliness and sanitation.

Result on Health.—The result of such housing on the health of the workers is detrimental. The over-crowding in the room, effects health and morals. There is no satisfactory arrangement as regards latrines, drainage, or cleanliness on the whole, either in the chawls provided by the employers or by the private landlords. There are still some latrines where there is no flush system. Also the complaints regarding bad drainage, broken pipes, etc., are not attended to by the people in charge. The Mukhadams or Bhaiyas who are supposed to look after the sanitation and see to the regular attendance of the sweepers are very slack in their duties. The result is that there is always a terrible smell in both these types of houses. The old fashioned latrines should be at once replaced by the new ones. During the monsoon, the water leaks from the roof in some cases. The ground being uneven, the water collects during the monsoon. This results in malaria and many other diseases.

Nature of Accommodation in Tin Sheds.—The tin sheds are occupied by the depressed classes. These are level with the streets, and are not high enough for a person to stand erect. These tins are fitted together by stones, etc., and men, children chickens and goats are herded together as one family. Each big shed is divided by cloth drapings into four or six rooms, occupied by four to six families. There is no light, or ventilation, and such huts are absolutely unsuited for any human habitation. These huts are in existence for the last so many years. There are no taps, no latrines, no water supply, and the inhabitants have to go a long way for their respective needs. They have no baths for days and days, and we see the children covered with dirt, playing in mud by the side of the goats and chickens. During the summer the tins are too hot in the afternoons so the inhabitants are found sitting on the roadside in the shade. Very little need be said in such circumstances regarding the result on health and morals. Just close to these huts, there are buffalo stables which has had effect on the health of the people.

Utilization by the Workers of the Housing Accommodation available.—There are no Improvement Trust chawls in our district, but the chawls provided by the employers are gladly utilized and appreciated by the workers; but such chawls are very few in number.

Rent Rates.—There is a considerable difference in rents of the employers' chawls and those of the private owners. The employers charge about Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-8 annas per room while they vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8.

The system of the rent in these tin sheds is very complicated. A man who owns a piece of land has given a contract for a certain sum, to another man who lives in the neighbourhood. This man has again given a contract to the Bhaiya, who charges about Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per shed to the inhabitants who sublet their rooms to others.

Problem of Subletting.—This problem is very difficult in labour classes. Often the men-folk come to Bombay from the villages and have no homes. They come and stay with their relatives and pay some money for board and lodging. The head man of the family who is directly paying the rent for the chawls provided by the employer, is not employed elsewhere, but many others in his family and the boarders, who take advantage of these chawls are not necessarily working at the same mill or factory.

Effect on Morals.—The present housing system leads to overcrowding and lack of privacy. The family life hence becomes very difficult, and all the activities of the home life are impeded. One great disadvantage is that many of the men-folk do not bring their wives and children to Bombay for want of room, and hence the men lead an immoral life. Often a man lives with another woman as his wife, and everything results in misery. Also when a mother is expecting a baby, she gives birth to a child in the same room where there are big grown up boys and girls. At night all men, women and children sleep together. Often a newly married couple get half of the room separated by a piece of cloth.

There are also common latrines for men and women which also has a bad result on morals.

Improvement suggested.—The workers should have at least two rooms with two windows and a little space in the front. There should be one "mori" in each room. Also the system of subletting should be entirely abolished. The flooring in the room should be of stone pavement and not of mud as it is at present. There should be separate latrines for men and women, and more than one tap on each floor. Garbage cans should not only be provided, but it should be seen that they are used. The supervision of the Mukhadams and Bhaiyas should be regular and strict. The municipality should take more interest, and better care of such existing huts, sheds, and chawls. The people in charge, e.g., Mukhadams, are very neglectful to the complaints of the workers. The sweepers should attend more regularly than they have been.

Tin Sheds.—It is impossible to improve upon the tin sheds in any way, and the only alternative suggestion that could be made is that the municipal authority should never allow such huts to be erected, and should see to it that the existing ones are demolished as early as possible.

Conclusion.—This is our general observation about the housing conditions in the locality of Tardeo, where we conduct our work under Seva-Mandir. Our institution has been in existence for the last three years only, but we have done our best to help and uplift the cause of the workers. We have often taken women to the hospitals for their confinements and other sicknesses, for the very reason of bad housing. We have given free medical help to many women and children at our clinic. To take away children from the bad housing conditions, we have organized play centres for boys and girls in the evenings. We also have given health talks in the chawls and at our centre to women. There is also a nursery school at our centre for the children, who will otherwise be in the streets. Many girls and boys are taken to the municipal schools by our workers. The grown-up girls and women come to us daily for educational and social purposes.

Thus we in our small way are trying to help the cause of the needy and the poor, yet such private social agencies can do very little, till the very homes of our people are not what they should be.

C.—Naigaum Social Service Centre.

Naigaum is a mill area district, consisting of 42 chawls built by the Bombay Development Department and is situated in the north of the island about seven miles from the centre of Bombay.

This district is surrounded by few Kohinoor mill chawls, Spring mill chawls, seven tin sheds and one or two old chawls. There are four or five textile mills near this district and quite a number of mill hands who work in these mills will be found living in Naigaum chawls.

A social service centre is opened in one of the B.D.D. chawls, especially to do welfare work among women and children. The centre is not strictly restricted to people living in the Naigaum chawls, but is open to everyone living in other chawls round about or near in other districts. This type of industrial work is done educationally, medically and socially.

(i) *Education.*—Nursery school is started to help the children of those mothers who work the whole day long in the mills. But on account of the recent riots and strike, quite a number of families have left for their villages, and its difficult to find enough children of these mothers who are actually working in the mills, to keep the school open for the whole day during mill hours. But there is a school where children,

both of mothers who are working in the mills and of mothers who stay at home come, and a trained teacher is in charge of the school, which is open from 10 a.m., to 12 p.m., and from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.

The average number of attendance is between 20 and 25. The number is limited to 30 because there is no room to hold more than 30 children. The children first learn cleanliness. The method of teaching is on kindergarten lines.

School for Married Women and Young Girls.—This school is open daily for two hours. Married women and young girls who have very little chance of keeping up their reading and writing, on account of household duties and various other difficulties in the family, are encouraged to attend the school. Some of them are quite beginners. Lot of house to house visiting is done to help the women to realize the importance of education.

Some of them are willing to come but their mothers-in-law don't permit them to step out of the doors. Some feel they are married and have children and its too late to begin to go to school, but in spite of all these difficulties and barriers in the way, the average attendance daily is between 15 and 18.

Individual attention is given to each woman and the teaching is done in a most friendly way to suit the time and satisfy the needs of the women and girls. A trained teacher is employed to teach these pupils. They are also given extra lessons on geography and current events twice a week.

These are the two different kinds of educational work done in the centre. The nursery school needs a creche attached to it. The bigger children are asked to look after the smaller ones while the mothers are away in the mills. Therefore the bigger children are not in a position to go to the nursery school. Unless a creche is provided, this will not be successful. This is not possible to do for want of money.

Even though Naigaum area is a compulsory school educational area, it is not possible to conduct regular schools on account of lack of teachers and social workers to go round, encourage the parent and collect children. There are other attractions which must be provided, as for instance, gramophones, musical instruments, etc.

(ii) *Medical.*—A medical clinic is opened twice a week under the guidance of a well-known lady doctor in Bombay. The women, at first did not realize the necessity of taking any medicine to cure themselves from any illness. House to house visiting is done and new patients are encouraged to take the advantage of the clinic. The average number is between 25 and 30. In case of serious illness and special attendance, they are taken personally to King Edward Memorial Hospital, Wadia Maternity Hospital and Cama Hospital.

It is essential to provide in each area several aids in the direction of medical assistance. Special sanitary officers should be appointed to look after the chawls. In addition there is a need of highly trained medical officers for every large mill.

(iii) *Social.*—Visiting the families is done as often as possible in the chawls in order to get the first hand information of the life of families, their economic conditions and various other difficulties.

Unemployment is found to be one of their chief problems lately. Though there is no machinery for labour exchange in Naigaum, still by keeping in touch with various social welfare agencies, they are helped more or less in getting employment or advice, but it is not very successful to find jobs for all those who come to the centre seeking employment.

Lantern Lectures on health are given and slides are shown on mosquitoes, flies, tuberculosis, etc., to teach them the importance of good health and hygiene.

In *Domestic Science* classes, the women learn cooking and preparing children's food, washing babies, etc., by actual demonstration.

Sewing Classes are held once a week for these women who sew garments either for themselves or for their children. Some of the women can't hold the needle properly, but they are learning gradually.

Four Evening Clubs for Girls and one Sewing Class for Children are held three times a week. The chief aim is to build up their character, to teach them discipline and cleanliness. In their clubs they have drill, story telling, games, gardening, singing, etc. They also do some handwork and sewing.

Just lately a Blue Bird Company is started under a trained leader once a week. The boys requested to have a sewing class for themselves, and their request is granted by holding a class for them once a week.

Volunteer workers who are interested in this type of social work, render their services in helping with the various activities at the Naigaum centre in charge of two permanent social workers.

The Naigaum centre is open to all without any distinction of caste or creed. The work is growing and needs encouragement and support from various directions. If adequate attention is to be given to the needs of the people in the mill area, we need assistance from :—(a) The Government in the direction of special grants to social service agencies, allowance being made for a great deal of experiments ; (b) the municipality in increasing the number of sanitary officials and social workers ; (c) the millowners in constructing creches, school buildings and in making liberal grants to the social service agencies. For after all, we are taking care of the health of the workers and thus making them more efficient.

D.—Concluding Remarks.

Considering the fact that there are a little more than 30,000 women workers employed in the textile mills, in the city, the existing welfare work for women touches only a very small number, there are certain things which prevent the working class women to take full advantage of the existing facilities :—(1) General illiteracy and ignorance ; (2) conservatism and social customs ; (3) want of time, over and above the 11 hour working day, they have to do the household work, early in the morning and late in the evening.

Some of the following things will help in improving the conditions of work for women :—(1) The working day must be shortened and made a normal 55 hour week, and 10 hour day. (2) Knowledge of elementary laws of health and public hygiene should be first given, through talks and magic lantern slides, posters, etc. (3) At the initial stage of welfare work when one has to figure against ignorance and social custom, the only effective method will be the personal method of work. For this reason millowners should be urged to employ a trained full-time woman welfare worker wherever there are a large number of women working in the mills or factory. (4) There is a great deal of scope for this type of work to be done by voluntary agencies. Wherever they exist they ought to be backed up by millowners whose work-people are benefited by the work. (5) There is already in existence a social training centre for women, carried on by a joint committee of four societies (The University Settlement, Y.W.C.A. and two Missionary Societies). This can very well be utilized in training such women welfare workers as are needed.

Bombay being such a large industrial centre, in our opinion the millowners should be doing more social and welfare work for their employees than at present.

E.—Maternity Benefits.

Maternity benefits have become a law since July last, and hence in force since the last three months. But we strongly recommend to make it applicable to the whole of British India instead of only to the Bombay Presidency. Also the Government should be requested to see that the provisions of the Bill are strictly carried out by the parties concerned.

F.—Employment of Women in Mines.

Under the Indian Mines Act (1922–1923) the Government of India have the power to prohibit the employment of women in mines (underground). We recommend strict abolition of this pernicious system of employing women underground, as it tends to the physical and mental deterioration, and to a large extent, to the moral ruin of women workers. Women are employed in mines because they receive less wages than men.

G.—Factory Inspection.

A speedy increase in the inspectorial staff in the factories is urgent. We recommend that at least one factory inspectress be employed in each large industrial area.

Adult Education.—Adult education is a paramount national necessity. Proper provision should be made for the education and recreation of the workers, both inside and outside the mills in each industrial area. Besides education in the three R's, there should be education to the eye, e.g., cinema and magic lantern shows on hygiene, sanitation, improved methods of doing their work in factories, and evils of drinking, gambling, etc.

We also recommend that the law with regard to child labour should be safeguarded, so as to protect their future health and well-being. Indian workmen should receive better treatment than they receive now, e.g., decent living wages, better housing, etc.

Mr. TAROKNATH K. RAY-CHOWDHURY, MEMBER, INDIAN STATES PEOPLES' CONFERENCE, BOMBAY.

I tender my evidence from my several years' personal experience of Indian States. I was an official in Marwar State and an assistant engineer, P.W.D. employing a large labour force in Mewar State, both in Rajputana.

I was recently an officer in the Agriculture Department of Gwalior State, C.I., in which capacity one of my duties was to tour in British India for indirectly studying labour conditions and attracting men who have small or no lands, and such ex-agriculturists who are working in factories as well as unemployed men and ex-emigrants from the colonies to take up lands in the Gwalior State, where out of 62 per cent. of culturable lands only 32 per cent. is cultivated. I have travelled in this connection in many cities and towns of the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal and the Province of the Punjab. I have also travelled privately in Rajputana, the United Provinces and Central Provinces. My mission had a good connection with labour in British India as compared with that in an Indian State. I can speak authoritatively on the effect of labour in British India in reference to labour conditions of Rajputana and Central India and on the subjects of origin of labour, administration and intelligence from the schedules issued by you. I do not tender my evidence from or on behalf of any Indian State or its people.

1. *Origin of Labour.*—Of the total population of 318,942,480 of India according to the census of 1921, 247,003,293 belong to the British Provinces and 71,223,218 to Indian States, i.e., nearly one-fourth of the total population of India is contributed by Indian States. Seventy-three per cent. of the population of India is agricultural; the industries having 10 per cent.; trade, 6 per cent.; transport, 2 per cent.; and organized labour, 1 per cent.

This one-fourth population of Indian States has its proportionate effect on the rest of the three-fourths of the population of India in respect of the origin of labour in India as a whole. Before the advent of British rule in India, India was mainly an agricultural country, and though there were industries like manual spinning of silk and cotton, etc., there were no factories and organized industries and labour as are growing to-day. The labour required for these organized industries has its major source in the agricultural population of India. Though the population of India has very slightly increased, yet taking into consideration epidemics, famines and emigration and the enlistment in the army and various services which absorb the increase, I can safely say that the major source of labour for organized industries is the peasantry of India. I also arrive at this conclusion from the steady falling down of villages in Indian States and rapid growth of industrial centres. In the State of Gwalior, of which I have personal experience, I have calculated that the areas of cultivated and culturable lands are decreasing for the past years at the rate of nearly 2 per cent. In the absence of statistics, I could not tell you the percentage of decrease in village population of Indian States, but from the stream of migration from these villages to industrial towns in search of employment, which I have personally seen, I am definitely of opinion that a proportion of labour of industrial centres is derived from the agricultural villages of Indian States. In the State of Gwalior a large number of villages have become entirely uninhabited and desolate. In the State, the density of population in 1911 was 124, in 1921 it had fallen down to 121. The forthcoming census would perhaps reveal a further fall.

Men from the Gwalior State have been recorded in the census report of 1921 to be going to the Assam plantations.

When I was in Savantwadi State, in the Bombay Presidency last year, I found thousands of people returning to their villages in that State for a recess during the strike. The main cause of migration in the State and Kolhapur, where I have enquired personally, is the scarcity of cultivable land and increased land revenue.

(ii) *Causes of particular Streams of Migration.*—Some of the causes of this particular migration from the Indian States of Rajputana and Central India to British India are: (1) The increased assessment of land revenue; (2) neglect of improvement in agricultural methods by the State administrations; (3) neglect of improvement of agriculture in States by irrigation and co-operation as compared with British India; (4) the scientific agriculture and aid of co-operative societies to agriculturists in British India, who produce more at less cost and less labour than States peasants and thus under-sell their produce; (5) the consequent poverty of States peasants; (6) the earning of fixed wages at factories, railways, plantations, etc., in British India; and (7) the better government, liberty, organization, better wages, scope for improvement and amenities of life in British India, which are not available in Indian States.

137. *Effect of Difference in Law in Indian States and British India.*—No labour legislation in India would be useful for India as a whole and for the world in general if all the states are not made to enforce the broad international principles of the same. The difference between labour laws of Indian States and British India would produce discontent and there would be unhealthy competition and constant movement of labour from the one to the other. Factories established in Indian States with sweated labour at starvation wages working for 22 hours a day, would ruin factories in British India working for a restricted day. Indian States would then continue to be a menace to economic factory production in British India and to international civilization. When Britain is trying through the League of Nations for the notification of International Labour Conventions in foreign countries, they should at least get them notified in their own Indian States. A natural India cannot be divided into two artificial Indias—one to be civilized and progressive and the other uncivilized and backward. Whatever progress is made for the amelioration of labour conditions in India, the same would be incomplete, if Indian States with their one-fourth of the population of India, are not allowed as equal partners. Little improvement can be done to labour in Indian States if the States do not progress with their political administrations in uniformity with British India. The Indian States are in subordinate co-operation to British India only when the sovereign power deems the same to be to its advantage. Whatever progress British India has done is due to British civilization and the British could have done the same for the progress of civilization in Indian States if they had not neglected their duty to 71,000,000 of their subjects. Two years back the Rt. Hon. Sir V. S. Shastri said in a speech in South Africa that the cause of India's slow progress is the Indian States. These 71,000,000 of suppressed people of India are like a heavy stone chained to the leg of British India. So long as the labour administrations of British India and Indian States are not of the same type, India cannot progress and she will grow to be a constant menace to world civilization, which is bound to react on Great Britain, the Empire and the world.

My remarks, though general, do not apply to progressive states like Mysore, which are exceptional.

The Indian States have pledged themselves to co-operate in Imperial matters. Modern labour problems are not only imperial but international. The states would be glad to co-operate with the suzerain power in this matter only if that power invites them sincerely to co-ordinate.

THE SHOLAPUR BRANCH OF THE BOMBAY TEXTILE LABOUR UNION.

II.—Staff Organization.

11, 12 and 13. We believe no system is being observed by the management in training and promoting workmen to higher posts. Invariably claims of workers who have put in long services and know of the departmental work more than any new recruit, have been set aside only because he happens to be not in the favour of the superiors. Favouritism is the only qualification that is required for a workman for promotion and even the management do not care to see how far the claims of workers of long standing have been superseded. Blacklegs are sure to be appointed to higher posts. In making appointment to superior posts, no heed is paid to the capacity of the workers themselves. It is a great misfortune that the millowners are dependent upon the so-called efficient blacklegs, who proved useful at the time of strikes without looking to their efficiency.

III.—Housing.

16. All the mills provide housing for their employees and nearly 12 per cent. of them take advantage of it. Government has not done anything in this direction and the remaining number of the operatives, nearly 80 per cent. have been accommodated at the housings provided for by private landlords and the housing conditions of those are certainly not fair.

17. Though there are many possibilities to acquire suitable land for the use of workers, efforts have not been made so far in this direction either by the local Government or local bodies. Sholapur is not a congested place like Bombay and Ahmedabad and the housing conditions of the workers can very well be improved if the municipality takes it into its consideration, with the help of the Government.

18, 19 and 20. Overcrowding in rooms provided for by employers is not uncommon. The rates of the rents in other parts of the town are high and the employers' chawls are more convenient to the workers in respect of low rates and the possibility of attending the mills punctually.

IV.—Health.

23. (iii) In some of the mills the supervisors and head-jobbers are so much after exacting work from the employees, that not even a minute's leisure is allowed to them, or if the worker absents himself for unavoidable cause, he is suspended or dismissed; even no time is allowed at times for drinking water or at the nature's call. As regards medical facilities for women no provisions have been made and the one that has been made by the employers by opening dispensaries in the mill premises, are not taken advantage of by women.

26. At work places much scarcity of water is felt. It was one of the grievances of the workers in the last strike, that there were not sufficient water taps, that is, not more than 12 in one mill. It is after the strike that the management made extra provision and the number of taps was increased. The accumulated effect of the scarcity of water and the exaction of work, was, that the workers on many occasions had to go out of the mill premises to take their food where they can get sufficient water. In many cases, too, they had to finish up their meals without having a drop of water to drink. Where there is so much clamour in mill premises, what provision the mills must have done for bathing and washing and to what extent they must have been used by the workers can only be imagined. So far as the question of water supply is concerned, we must say that the Sholapur labour is the most unfortunate in the Bombay Presidency. Sholapur is known for its scarcity of water and the hours for getting it are limited to five in the morning and three in the evening. At home places in nearly 80 per cent. of the cases the water supply is found insufficient for factory workers. We have met with instances in the employers' chawls where the woman has had to be satisfied with only two buckets of water and that too after waiting for two hours. It is a daily scene that female workers wait near the water taps for hours together, in hundreds, and get with great difficulty a little quantity of it.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. So far, we have never come across a case in which the employers were found unable to pay compensation to the workers. But it is desirable that provision be made against possible loss to the workmen by means of compulsory insurance. The Government of India have circulated letters on this question and such influential bodies as the Chamber of Commerce have given their qualified consent to the proposal. When some millowners have actually insured their concerns against possible claims, as they think it desirable, there is no harm to make it compulsory to avoid delay in payment and to ensure safety to the workers.

53. Here again the Act requires some important changes and scales require to be enhanced. We meet with instances where a workman under a temporary disablement used to get Rs. 2½ as half-monthly compensation. The Government of India, too, seems to be of this opinion that in the cases of more poorly paid workmen, scales of compensation should be raised. In the case of temporary incapacities, whether partial or total, the recommendations of the International Conference should be brought into effect and the rates of compensation should be increased.

XII.—Wages.

96 and 97. The wages of Sholapur Textile workers are the lowest possible. For the present we are in possession of only two reports on an enquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the cotton mill industry in Bombay Presidency. One held in 1921, and the other in 1923. Report for 1926, is not yet ready and therefore for the subsequent changes in the wages of operatives we have no authoritative information. However, we have here relied mainly on the report of 1923 and from our experience we are sure that since 1923, there are no increases in the wages of the operatives. As regards cost of living, from the report of the Administration of Bombay for 1927-28, it can be seen that since 1923, there was a slight rise, but in 1927 it has come to the same points as in 1923. As for wages, whether of ordinary labour, in rural or urban areas, there are no increases since 1923-24, but decreases to 4 or 5 points. From the experience of the present rates of wages and from the published reports we are sure that the Sholapur workers are the most poorly paid by the most profit making concerns in the whole of India. Operatives

are employed on piece and time work systems. Those in the spinning department, mainly male workers, are time workers; female operatives are mostly employed in reeling and winding departments on piece-work system. The average daily earnings of men, women, big lads and all work people in 1923 report are shown as Re. 1; 6 annas 4 pies; 9 annas 1 pie; 12 annas 9 pies respectively. 98·4 per cent. of women operatives earn from 4 annas to 9 annas a day in any case. From the report of the enquiry ^{to} family budgets of Sholapur City, out of 290 women in cotton mill workers, 131 have been shown as earning from Rs. 6 to Rs. 9, and 139 have been shown as earning from Rs. 9 to Rs. 12. We are quoting figures as they appear in reports published by labour office. The defect of the enquiry is that "separate earnings of every individual are not known," that is, we are not in a position to say what a particular individual earned after deductions for fines, forfeiture, or when there was no work given, etc. Wages quoted above are average wages, but in the piece-work system we have instances to show that some piece-workers, after having put in an average month's attendance, did not even get Rs. 1 or 2. There may not be many examples of such nature, but, taking into consideration the lowest level of wages, it can only be imagined what hardships labour have had to suffer when they are to lose in fines or some such deductions. We have quoted some figures for 1923, but since then changes have taken place in the earnings of the operatives, not for the better but for the worse. The average earnings of operatives in 1921 and 1923 are shown as follows:—

	1921			1923		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Men	25	13	9	22	3	10
Women	10	15	9	8	9	7
Big lads and children'..	14	2	0	12	7	11
All work people	20	9	4	17	10	6

It will be seen from this table that systematic reduction in wages was made since 1921 to 1923 that is, in the boom period of the mills. The wages of 1921 were raised after the general strike of 1920. Average full-time workers' monthly earnings were Rs. 27 for men, Rs. 12 11 annas for women, Rs. 15 5 3 pies for big lads, and Rs. 21 8 annas 3 pies for all work people. With regard to male operatives the wages of those are also considerably low; men winders were shown to get 9 annas 8 pies per day at Sholapur; the male operatives in spinning departments also got no more than Rs. 16 to Rs. 18 a month. In 1923, table spinners in this department are shown to get 11 annas 1 pie for piecers and 8 annas 2 pies for tarwallas or followers. In this connection comparative tables for Bombay and Ahmedabad will be of great interest. From the study of the tables for 1923 and 1921, it can be seen that no woman gets more than Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 a month, and no male operative more than Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 a month. The disparity in the wages of the male and female workers is nowhere, in other industrial parts, so great as in Sholapur. Figures for 1926 are not available, but those that were provisionally supplied by the labour office to the Fawcett Committee published on page 125 of that report, show that wages of 1923 nearly correspond to wages of 1926. There are no increases in the wages but there must have been decreases. The percentage increase in the wages of weavers to that of spinners comes to 141, that is not the case in other industrial centres such as Ahmedabad and Bombay. Women in Ahmedabad get nearly 50 per cent. more than women at Sholapur. The disparity in the wages of male and female operatives in Sholapur is very great.

As regards movements in wages with regard to cost of living, no information is available to show the relation of wages to the cost of living in recent years. The labour office have tried in 1921 to apply the cost of living index for Bombay to other centres, but they knew their mistake, and in their report for 1923 the officiating director stated that he was not satisfied that the index numbers for Bombay would at all approximate to the other centres. Even in the United States of America the index numbers for different cities vary from 153 to 183 points. Even in official reports such as the *Labour Gazette* no information is available about Sholapur, except retail prices for food articles; even wholesale prices are not given just as for Karachi or Bombay. It will be seen therefore, that there are no statistics to show the relative value of the cost of living of Sholapur to other centres. Even the labour offices had intended to overhaul their system of arriving at the correct cost of living index. As regards the reports of the wages and hours of work that are published by the labour office, we have to suggest that complete information ought to be supplied with separate earnings and the information must not be given on voluntary lines, but it should be made compulsory by enacting a law on the basis of "Statistics Act" prevalent in Dominions and other countries for compulsory collection of statistics.

Sholapur mills are the most profit making cotton mill industries in the whole of India. One mill has made more than 3 crores on a paid-up capital of Rs. 8,00,000 and the share prices are quoted at such a high rate as 4 to 5 times their original value. The other mills also, such as Vishnu and Laxmi, are one of the most "liquid" concerns and their quoted prices also run as far as 5 to 6 times their original value. The profits of the companies are, compared with other mills of the Presidency, most exorbitant. Comparison with Ahmedabad or Bombay, will show that the profits earned by Sholapur mills are greater than what other mills had earned. It is stated that, in Ahmedabad, 48 mills in 1925 made Rs. 50,00,000, 56 mills 2,00,000 in 1926; and 51 mills 4,900,000 in 1927; while in Bombay in 1925, 79 mills are shown as having sustained losses amounting to Rs. 133,00,000; in 1916, 76 mills sustained losses amounting to Rs. 50,00,000, and in 1927, 75 mills have earned profits amounting to Rs. 95,00,000. But in Sholapur it will be found that 4 mills have earned Rs. 35,62,000 in 1925; 25,98,000 in 1926; and 26,61,000 in 1927. These figures are given approximately. We give below a table showing the net profits of mills in Sholapur from 1920 to 1927. These 4 mills absorb nearly 17,000 to 18,000 workers. Only 1 mill, that is Jam, engaging 1,400 to 1,600 hands has been omitted from this table.

Year	Profit in rupees.
1920	1,12,09,063.
1921	1,51,90,685.
1922	1,27,36,231.
1923	75,76,815.
1924	45,35,812.
1925	35,62,370.
1926	25,98,996.
1927	26,61,511.

The figures of these profits, whether in the boom period or at any other time, will show comparatively the best financial position of the mills compared with others in the Presidency. The lowest scales of wages shown above will speak for themselves.

105. One of the most intricate of the subjects in point of administration is the fixing of minimum wage in industries. The Government of India in reply to the questionnaire issued by the International Labour Office have practically dissented from applying the minimum wage machinery in India. This subject is beset with innumerable difficulties. But it should be remembered that the principle has been applied in Canada, France, Norway, Austria, Rumania, Uruguay, South Africa. The laws in force in those countries vary according to conditions. But the principle has been applied. Secondly, the principle that where workers cannot conclude effective agreements with the employers, the minimum wage principle ought to be applied. For instance, in Sholapur there are more than 2,000 to 3,000 persons engaged in hand-loom industry. They have no organization. Factory Act is not applied to them. Where wages are exceptionally low and the workers disorganized this principle ought to be applied without delay.

106. Sholapur will be undoubtedly ahead of all the industrial centres in respect of fines. Sholapur is well known for its double "Khada" system. For one day's absence two day's absence is marked. Here too, there are 2 systems. One is that the operative even if he turns up for work the other day, is not allowed to work; and the second system which is more harmful is, that the operative works at his tools but forfeits the wages earned on that day. But this is not all. We have met with instances where the workers lose more than they can actually earn for 2 days, for 1 day's absence. Suppose a time-working spinner absented for 1 day without leave. Then he is marked "double Khada". His fixed wages amount to 12 annas per day. According to the ordinary system he is to lose Re. 1 8 annas for 2 days. but in many cases the workers have lost at the rate of Re. 1 or Re. 1 4 annas when he is actually getting 12 annas or less than a rupee per day. This is simply illegal. Apart from these there are suspensions and dismissals. They are left at the discretion of the superior officers. For damaged cloth, for alleged insubordination, or some such other misconduct the superior suspends him for 4 or 5 days. The point in suspending the workman for more than 4 days, is that he, in consequence of his absence, loses his Jwari and Dal concessions. In Sholapur, the workers are given Jwari and Dal for Rs. 2 8 annas, the market price of which comes to Rs. 3 8 annas or Rs. 4. For bad or negligent work dismissals follow. There are no limits with regard to the extent to which fines were inflicted. In some cases the authorities act like criminal courts. An instance in point may be cited. A worker was alleged to have taken away a turban of another workman. The manager of the mill inflicted a fine of Rs. 10,

on the person who was alleged to have committed the theft. The thing stolen was not the mill's property. The manager had no right to inflict such fine at all. It was a criminal case and ought to have been decided by the court and not by the manager. Had the property belonged to the mill there would have been some ground for such deduction. In some cases the authority resting in the manager is simply arbitrary and illegal. The fines thus inflicted are certainly not corrective, but if they are compensatory to a certain extent, they are certainly morally and legally indefensible. In this connection also in 1925, the Government of India addressed letters to the provincial governments and asked for their opinions, whether any action could be taken to effect the wrongs.

107. Workers here are paid their wages in the 3rd week of the 2nd month, and this operates as a calamity to them. He should be paid in the 1st week of the next month at the latest.

As regards unclaimed wages, it is a common practice in Sholapur that they are forfeited, even if the worker attends the mill on pay-day. At times he is not given his wages and is asked to claim them as unclaimed wages in future. For irregular attendance, wages of the operatives are suspended and they are marked as unclaimed wages. Unclaimed wages which are not claimed within a period of six months are forfeited by the rules of the company. With regard to fines, etc., we believe that some action ought to be taken and statutory provision ought to be made on lines of English Truck Act. Even the Fawcett Committee have suggested remedies to the effect that unclaimed wages should be paid to the operative when claimed by him, if he is sufficiently identified, and have approved of Bombay mills rules to the effect that the amount of fine should not exceed in any case 2 per cent. of the operative's earnings. We fully endorse the views expressed by the committee so far as it only relates to unclaimed wages and scales of fines.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

120. Only recently a labour union has been formed at Sholapur on the 5th May, 1928. It is a branch of the Bombay Textile Union. In the month of March, 1928, owing to the low rate of wages, a strike in the old mill took place and the workers approached some local men. At the time it was thought desirable to ask Mr. N. M. Joshi to come over here and start a labour union under his guidance. Accordingly a branch of the Bombay Textile Labour Union was formed. Since then the union has been working. The main grievances of the workers for the mill strike were low wages, and bad treatment at the hands of the management. The executive of the union is solely in the hands of the workers and they manage all the activities of the union. There are no outsiders except one as secretary for the present. The workers understand the importance of the organization but the attitude of the mill owners towards the union movement, and especially their campaign of victimization against those who even remotely stand in better relations with the union, has greatly come in our way. At the time of the strike some 8,000 to 10,000 persons had the courage to join the union and to fill in the regular forms, but failure in the strike brought in its turn such a set back to their enthusiasm that not many workers from the mills, where strike ended in favour of employers, have the courage to join the union now. About the attitude of the employers towards the union it is of a purely antagonistic character. So much high-handedness prevails in their attitude while dealing with union questions or grievances that they are blind to their responsibilities as employers, utterly ignorant of their duties towards their employees and even are foreign to social etiquette too. We may cite one instance in point.

How Mr. N. M. Joshi was Insulted.—After a normal resumption of work in old mill all the other mills followed suit and the strike continued for some days. The President of the union, Mr. N. M. Joshi, personally came down to Sholapur in order to study the situation, saw the officers of the mills and decided to call off the strike at once. On one occasion when he, along with another respectable gentleman in the city and the local labour leaders, proceeded to see the manager of one mill, the Parsee gentleman asked Mr. Joshi to apologise first for the alleged strong wording of one of the labour leaders without knowing what Mr. Joshi came for, or what he had to say. After a few exchanges of words the gentleman plainly asked Mr. Joshi to walk away. He ought to know that even a king cannot ask others to apologise without giving reasons. We would never have referred to this personal incident had it not been a sure index to show the extent of employers' irresponsibility; but this is not all. His, we may say, was a rustic part, but look at the enlightened side of the attitude. Mr. Joshi thereupon personally interviewed all the managers of the mills and finding that the strike situation would not improve for the better in the interest of the workers, called off the strike on the 10th October, 1928. The very second day workers went to their respective mills to resume their duties, but to the surprise of

all, one and all were refused admission by the four mill managers concerned. Reasons were not assigned for the refusal to admission, but it was reported to us that the managers took objection to some of the remarks of Mr. Joshi, in which he had stated that in order to get strength, we have to accept failures, at times.

121. Sholapur labour have had to tell a long tale about the defects of the Trade Union Act as well as the attitude of the mill-owners towards the labour movement. According to the present Act only registered trade unions are exempt from civil and criminal liabilities. We do not know why this restriction has been imposed upon the free combinations of workers. Question of registration is, we understand, immaterial in other countries and the same liberty ought to be given to the workers in India also. It might be argued that there are no difficulties in getting the unions registered, and it can very easily be done. Yes, to a certain extent it is so. But so long as any combination of workers is carrying activities, without criminal intentions of doing wrong to owner's business, why should that body of persons be under an obligation to have itself registered? Well, further, even if a union is registered what guarantee is there that the registered body will not indulge in activities purely on destructive lines? The whole problem comes to this that if the workers are to be given free rights of combination they must not be under any sort of imposition whatsoever, and must be exempt from civil wrongs which are ordinarily actionable. The principle of the law is that no cause of action lies when a body of persons in the interest of their accomplices only ask them to break their contract. The actual breaking of contract is actionable under the present Act, too. So, when the workers are privileged to work in combinations and to enjoy the rights of civil and criminal exemptions how does it stand to reason that only those unions that are registered are privileged? The principle has been acknowledged that even in ordinary law a doctor or physician is not made liable for civil wrongs who asks his patient in his interest to break the contract with the employer if the doctor finds that by continuing in his contract he is sure to mar his health; so also is the case with a relative who asks his dependent or near relative to break his contract. Moreover, it is not possible under every circumstance to have the combinations registered when they are of temporary nature. If no rights are given to unregistered trade unions the present Indian Trade Union Act is nothing short of an amendment to the Indian Registration Act, and not a declaration of inherent rights of the workers.

Civil Suits.—We have dealt with the general principle of the Act above. Coming to a specific instance of the mill-owners' attitude towards the trade union movement and how they take protection under the non-registration of unions, we narrate below the history of the civil suits filed against the Sholapur labour union officials. The case is still before the court, and the issues on which it is being fought are altogether different. Our contention is that the Sholapur union is the branch of the Bombay Textile Labour Union which is registered, and therefore no action lies. Plaintiff's contention is that it is not registered and hence the suit. The matter is sub-judice.

Even though we are barred from entering into the merits of the case extensively, we take the opportunity of presenting the only aspect prominently brought forth only so far as it reflects upon the attitude of the mill-owners' towards the trade union movement. Four mills have joined as plaintiffs, claiming Rs. 25,000 as damages, they have sustained owing to our activities, picketing, etc., as they have put it in their plaint. In their plaint they have stated that they have sustained incalculable damages but as the defendants are not men of means they have brought down the figure to Rs. 25,000. We have mentioned this incident only to show the nature of the suit. Is it a suit of civil nature or a suit of vexatious nature? If they have sustained losses amounting to lakhs, why should they not proceed to recover all? If they cannot recover a substantial sum, why should they be satisfied with only a nominal sum of Rs. 25,000? From the very nature of the suit, it is manifest that the suit is for harassment and for nothing else. Further, to recover that sum they have engaged a legal acumen of the highest standing in the Bombay Presidency, we mean the Hon Mr. D. F. Mulla. We do not know to what extent the plaintiffs have incurred the expenses. The whole thing comes to this, that the Plaintiffs are fighting for something different from the recovery of any sum. It is very clear from their past attitude towards the union that any how or other they want to kill this movement and make it impossible for a man of means to take interest in the labour work. And the defective nature of the Trade Union Act has given them ample opportunities to do so. It is said often in politics that the extremists of to-day become the moderates of tomorrow; but in Trade Union activities moderates of to-day are sure to become the extremists of tomorrow, if the mill-owners' attitude is not changed.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

123. The latest dispute occurred in the month of April, 1928. It affected only one mill. Low wages, the treatment at the hands of the management, the arbitrary rules of the mill, were the main grievances of the workers. Some workers were found

not to get more than a rupee or two in a month on account of the systematic cut made by the management in the wages of the operatives. The strike in the old mill ended in a partial compromise between the labour leaders and the management. In the months of June and July the other four mills went on strike; in the meanwhile the union had been formed and the grievances of the workers were intimated to the management by a notice. No consideration was given to the demands of the workers, and they had to go on strike. In those two mills, Vishnoo and Laxmi, the treatment meted out to the workers was simply inhuman. One of those mills went on strike on account of severe beating to a worker at the hands of one of the superiors of the staff. This dispute lasted to the end of September and the beginning of October. The strike was called off by Mr. N. M. Joshi on the 10th of October, 1928. The union officials tried their best to settle the disputes but the owners being adamant no compromise could be arrived at. The dispute ended in favour of the employers. During the continuance of the strike the employers did their level best to subjugate the workers and even the police authorities were at the back of the mill-owners. Workers living in employers' chawls were asked to vacate the rooms. In some cases the roofs of houses were forcibly removed. In some cases water supply was prohibited to the strikers by the mill-owners in the chawls. The manager of the Vishnoo mill delegated all his powers over the chawls to a Mahommadan contractor who took a prominent part in breaking the strike. The Government also took no small part in the struggle. Picketing was resorted to from the 24th of August, 1928, and on the fourth day the picketers were prosecuted by the police under Section 61 (Q) of the District Police Act. Some ten picketers standing by the road side could not have obstructed the traffic. It was nothing but a part played by the police in helping the mill-owners in their fight to annihilate the labour movement. We know that the police order to withdraw picketers was disobeyed by the picketers and their labour leaders; but the order itself seemed to us quite unwarranted and hence illegal, as it certainly cannot be said that a few volunteers standing by the road side could have obstructed the traffic so as to justify the police order. The police were in search of an excuse. They wanted, they found, and they used. Attitude of the police towards the movement, we are constrained to say, was not of an impartial character, and even one of the superiors of the police had to suffer for his silly words. After the prosecution of the volunteers by the police the learned magistrate convicted them to pay a fine of from 20 to 30 rupees. There still remained the union officials. The president and secretaries of the union were convicted under Sections 447 and 341 of the Indian Penal Code respectively. Thus ended the picketing, thus ended the strike, and thus were the labourers placed in their position worse than in what they were before. In the second strike in which a European firm was involved, police seemed to have taken a prominent part on behalf of the mill-owners. Black legs were being brought under police protection to the mills. During the period of three to four months of the strike not a single incident of threat, violence or breach of peace had occurred. Workers were intimidated by the agents of the employers. If Government's attitude towards the industrial dispute is to be judged from acts of the police it seems to us to be partial towards the management, especially in the second strike. The Government assumed the part of a third party. In the first strike when we approached the Government for settlement the district collector informed us, that unless both parties agree, Government will take no action. In industrial disputes it is easy and convenient for Government to take no interest unless called for by necessity of maintaining law and order, but it should at the same time be remembered that strict neutrality and silent impartiality are both dangerous to that class of workers who are not sufficiently organized to fight their own cause and who have been perpetually exploited by the capitalists. This frame of mind on the part of the Government is the more provoking when they are in a position to know the real and legitimate grievances of the workers.

The Bombay Y.M.C.A.

Backwardness of Indian Industry.—In the consideration of questions affecting labour in India it must not be overlooked that there are present in Indian industry many incidental undesirable features of the West. We note a tendency to compare conditions here with those prevailing in other countries. As a member of the League of Nations, India will no doubt, both give and receive much through the International Labour Conferences, and action taken for labour in western countries will ultimately affect and largely benefit labour in India, e.g., "As India was a member of the League of Nations and had participated in the International Labour Conference in 1919 she was called upon to ratify the conventions and recommendations passed at

that Conference. In view of the stage of industrial progress reached, and her peculiar position as a tropical country, the case of India received special consideration. She was however asked to introduce a 60-hour week in factories and mines, to prohibit the employment of women at night; to raise the minimum age of employment to 12 and to enquire into the possibility of granting maternity benefits to women industrial workers.* All of which has now received attention.

Disproportion of Sexes.—The League of Nations recognizes India's backward industrial position, but it needs to be more generally recognized that industrialism is in its infancy in India. The proportion of factory workers and their dependants to the rest of the population is little more than 1 per cent. Out of Bombay's population of over a million, less than 200,000 were actually born in the city itself. (*Vide* Census Report, 1921, Vol. IX). In Bombay the majority of the workers have their roots in the village. The labourer by heredity, training and instinct is a villager. He comes to the factory and remains no longer than he can help. For this reason he does not as a rule bring his family to the city to make a home near his work. This in part, explains the proportion between the sexes in Bombay as 66 to 34. (The estimated population in the middle of 1927 was males 849,322, females 449,386, *vide* Administration Report of the Municipal Commissioner for the city of Bombay). If we note the proportion between men and women coming from adjacent districts, e.g., Ratnagiri, it is about 67 to 33, while in the case of those from the more distant Provinces like the U.P. it is 89 to 11, while from Madras it is as 79 to 21. We are bound to have unsatisfactory conditions in the mill area so long as a minute percentage of the Factory labourers have their families with them in Bombay. We regard this as a question of first-class importance, the solution is extremely difficult. We are aware of the main causes of the existing situation in social customs, housing, lack of education, and recreational facilities, wages, etc., but what steps can be taken to remedy matters can, we believe, be determined only after much fuller study of the problem than has yet been made. We suggest that steps be taken to have such a study made. We are aware of another aspect, viz., that the villager becomes factory hand "having a home and work to which he can return when he ceases to be employed in a factory gives him a certain strength" (†) but this *instability* of labour constitutes a fundamental difficulty for the employer as well as for all those who have at heart the welfare of the industrial workers.

Difficulties.—We will now refer to what, in our judgment, are some of the causes for the present discontent. We are aware of the obstacles that stand in the way of schemes for betterment, not the least being the labourer's own indifference to, and lack of desire for, improvement, but there are signs that he is becoming aware of that possibility for himself, in view of which we would advocate well conceived schemes of welfare service, which should include a co-ordinated plan of primary and adult education. For the aim of education, besides supplying the equipment needed for earning a living and preparing men to take their part in the life of the country, is to satisfy the spiritual needs of men. Our general plea, therefore, is for education and more education, albeit, suitable education, so that labour will retain its best representatives in industry.

Housing.—The happiness and efficiency of labour is dependent in a large measure on the conditions under which the labourer lives. It is true that the labourer is from the village and will have the habits of the villager, but the overcrowding in many parts of the city does militate against securing that privacy to which even the villager is accustomed. Much has been done in recent years on the part of Government, the various authorities in the city, and many employers to provide accommodation, but much remains to be done to relieve the congestion hereunder noted. It will be observed that there has been no diminution in numbers in the southern congested wards, as one would expect, in view of the big building schemes in the northern part of the city.

Ward.	Density of population per acre.	Census 1921.	Municipal Commissioner's Report, 1927.
A	51	53
B	203	208
C	431	450
D	89	102
E	114	126
F	28	34
G	44	52

With this table, the figures of certain districts will make clear precisely where overcrowding exists.

* See Labour in Indian Industries by G. M. Broughton.

† Op. cit. pp. 83, 158.

Area.	Density of population per acre.	Census 1921.	Municipal Commissioner's Report, 1927.
Kumbharwada	736·86	799·57
Kamatipura	714·05	786·21
Second Nagpada	699·03	719·48
Kara Talao	581·55	592·87
Chukla	489·07	484·97
Bhuleshwar	471·30	470·09
Umarkhadi	469·18	477·68
Market	411·69	445·20

To relieve this congestion the workers should be induced to move into the unoccupied chawls erected by the Bombay Development Department and we suggest two things, (1) increased facility of access, both by road transport and if possible by the provision of more direct footpaths from the chawl areas to mills, workshops, etc., and (2) a comprehensive scheme embracing the education and recreation of the workers and their families during their leisure time. This we are convinced would make life worth while in the chawls of Worli, De Lisle Road and Naigaon.

We agree with the recommendation in the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, viz., "To avoid congestion in future no industrial concern should be started, except in the N.E. of the Island of Bombay or in S.E. of Salsette, without the consent of the municipality" (page 283).

Indebtedness.—One of the chief contributory causes to the discontent in industry is, we believe, the indebtedness of a large percentage of the workers. Social and religious customs play an important part, but sickness and unemployment also drives the worker to the moneylender. When the workers can read and write and "know figures" there will be less opportunity for the moneylender to obtain the present extortionate rate of interest on loans. The existing state of affairs could be remedied to a certain extent by an arrangement whereby loans will be made available on easy terms. Co-operative credit societies serve some branches of labour, when approved security is forthcoming, but we agree with the authors of the Report of the Bombay Riots Inquiry Committee that the subject should be examined by the Provincial Banking Committee (page 88).

Absence of Family Ties.—This constitutes a problem in Bombay because of the presence of a vice area. Not only does it demoralise men while they are here, but the danger of returning to their village with venereal diseases can be better imagined than described. We are glad to note that Government action is contemplated to suppress the brothels, and this should considerably lessen the risk of infection, moreover the effect on the labourer of such action will be that he will no longer feel that provision is made for him in this respect by the authorities and thus many will be led to think twice before seeking gratification in this manner.

Wages.—It has been said that the standard of wages in factories is governed by the amount necessary to tempt the poorest type of cultivator from his holding. The first charge upon industry is a living wage for the workman and every workman should give an honest day's work in return for his wages. It is admitted that many of the mill workers are paid low wages. Standard rates of wages if adopted by all mills for skilled and unskilled labour would, we believe, remove one cause of discontent.

Hours of Work.—We are of opinion that there is need for thorough expert investigation of this important question. There has been much dogmatic statement in regard to the most satisfactory hours of labour, and where it has not been dogmatic it has been too frequently based on inadequate data. We suggest that the time has come when the whole subject should be submitted to scientific investigation.

Recruitment of Labour.—One thinks of jobbers, mucedams, mill operatives, etc., when using this term, but we believe the recruitment of labour opens up a bigger question than that of unskilled labour for mills, factories and workshops. Unemployment in the city is a serious problem, affecting whole groups of citizens, other than manual workers. With it must be considered the question of producing more educated foremen, jobbers, etc., those who will be in a position to lead labour intelligently, with a background of full technical knowledge of the particular industry they serve. At present there are very few, if any, leaders from the ranks of labour.

Labour Exchanges.—In this connection we suggest the establishment of Government Labour Exchanges be considered as a means of dealing with this problem. such exchanges would make for mobility of labour and generally assist not only the labouring classes but those in other walks of life who cannot find employment at any one point. Inducements should be held out to educated youths to enter industry in larger numbers which will strengthen the ranks of labour and find employment for those engaged in the already overcrowded clerical and general

office ranks. The Indian Industrial Commission deals fully with the need for providing facilities for training middle class youths for industry. To some extent this has been done, but we believe more could be done to attract youths to manual vocations, and with this in view the curricula in primary schools should include suitable subjects. Night schools should be governed by the same principle, of course. Certain millowners in Madras give primary education to their workpeople. "The industrial bias imparted by the education given has had the result of keeping the pupils in the mills as intelligent and efficient workers instead of leading them to desire clerical appointments, and the scheme may, therefore, legitimately be regarded as a great investment."(1).

Ex-Sepoys.—Working as the the Employment Committee of the Soldiers Board, the Bombay Y.M.C.A. has found employment for 5,388 ex-sepoys during the past seven years.

Services such as this could be extended to meet the demands of an industrial city like Bombay; whether these should be undertaken by Government labour exchanges, or by subsidised voluntary agencies is a question to be determined.

Adult Education.—A well-thought out scheme of night schools for adults would appear to be a prime necessity at this juncture, but we would strongly urge the appointment of a small committee to study the question of adult education in India in all its aspects.

Fines.—Where fines are imposed they should be fair and reasonable, and all such deductions credited to a welfare fund for the benefit of the employees.

Welfare Supervisors.—We would further suggest that consideration be given to the employment of trained welfare supervisors for each mill or group of mills to deal with all questions of personnel. Such officers might have works committees to assist them. It must also be remembered that present day industry demands thorough scientific study and research, and the time is coming when specially trained welfare officers will be set to work to keep India abreast in the realm of Industrial Psychology whose "aim is to discover the best possible human conditions in occupational work, whether they relate to the best choice of a vocation, the selection of the most suitable workers, the most effective means of avoiding fatigue and boredom, the study and provision of the most valuable incentives to work, the causes of and remedies for irritation, discontent and unrest, the best methods of work and training, the reduction of needless effort and strain due to bad movements and postures, inadequate illumination, ventilation and temperature, ill-considered arrangements of material, or defective routing, layout, or organization."(1).

Thus welfare supervisors and experts in Industrial Psychology will be needed in the Indian industry of the future.

Right use of Leisure.—The proper utilization of all leisure time by the labourer reacts on his work. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the temptations to drink, gambling and immorality be counteracted by agencies that attract him and whose services make for his improvement and contentment. Provision for such facilities should be looked upon as a good investment by employers of labour.

Welfare of Factory Labour.—We agree with the authors of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission when they say, "The inefficiency of Indian labour can be remedied by the provision of education, the amelioration of housing conditions, the improvement of public health and a general policy of betterment." (Page 282).

Y.M.C.A. Service.—The Bombay Y.M.C.A. lays special emphasis on a general policy of betterment along the lines of welfare service, the programme being designed to meet the physical, mental and spiritual needs of the workers. It includes: Provision of open spaces for playgrounds, etc. "Play for all" policy is adopted (8 centres already operating); akhadas and gymnasiums; education in night schools; propaganda regarding intemperance, gambling and immorality; cinema and lantern shows; lectures and talks; hygiene and sanitation; Indian music, drama, etc.; scouting for boys—camps where boys do everything for themselves. (See separate report on scout camp).

At present we operate in the city at the following centres—

1. Naigaon, in Y.M.C.A. hut	For mill employees.
2. Worli, in chawls	For B.B. & C.I. Railway employees.
3. Love Grove, on municipal property..	For municipal employees.
4. Arthur Road, on municipal property..	For municipal employees.
5. Dadar, on municipal property	For municipal employees.
6. Mustan Shah Baug, playground . . .	Open to the public, no restrictions.
7. Gilder Tank, playground	Open to the public, no restrictions.
8. Ripon Road, Willingdon Memorial Playground.	Open to the public, no restrictions.

The service rendered is in line with the latest advances in Industrial Psychology. The solution of the problems ultimately rests upon the adequacy with which we deal with the human element in the industrial world. That adequacy depends upon; (a) enlightenment, leading on to correct decisions; (b) domestic comfort, ending in contentment; (c) wholesome and elevating environment, helping, or encouraging the growth of true community life.

Development of Human Personality.—The Bombay Y.M.C.A. would stress the importance of the due recognition of human personality, and of the necessity for providing such facilities for the labourer as will develop personality and enable him to create a standard of comfort that makes for personal happiness and contentment, and stability in industry. "The industrial world is constituted not by economic individuals acting always under the influence and guidance of enlightened self-interest, but by human beings acting under the influence of human impulses, emotions, and passions, arising out of fundamental human needs." (1).

A statement regarding welfare service already attempted by the Bombay Y.M.C.A. is attached (2). Since it was drawn up, requests have been made—and will be met—for two more welfare centres for municipal menial employees and another for Port Trust employees in their village at Antop. It is true to say that the extent of our service is only limited by our financial resources. We are in entire agreement with recommendation No. 104 of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission which reads:—"The responsibility for general welfare work among factory labourers must devolve mainly on private individuals and associations. Government and local bodies as well as employers should, however, assist them as far as possible." (Page 283). It is our experience that all such service is better done—both in the interests of employers and employees—by unofficial agencies, to ensure the greatest and most lasting benefit.

THE BOMBAY ELECTRIC SUPPLY AND TRAMWAYS COMPANY, LTD.

I.—Recruitment.

1. Our labour is all recruited in the city of Bombay. Much of this labour is of purely local origin, but in our traffic department many of our tram-car drivers are up-country men, for instance, from the Punjab and United Provinces. On the other hand, our conductors are chiefly Mahrattas and Konkanis.

(i) We are not seriously inconvenienced by migration of labour. At certain times of the year, especially just before the monsoon, a large number of men avail themselves of leave.

(ii) In our opinion the attendance of our labour has improved in recent years.

2. (ii) *Extent of Permanent Labour Force.*—Abstracted from July, 1929 pay sheets:—

Officers	.. .. .	30
Clerical and kindred staff	.. .. .	591
Electric supply branch	.. .. .	880
Omnibus and tramways branch	.. .. .	3,387
		4,888

July being a monsoon month, these figures are somewhat lower than average, which may be taken at 5,000.

3. (i) We have no trouble at all in recruiting all the labour we require.

Traffic Department.—Candidates apply personally at the appointed time, and the officer responsible selects likely looking candidates from among the applicants. Fitness for service is the chief point taken into consideration, but preference is given to men who have had some education, and give intelligent answers to simple questions. Candidates are then subjected to medical examination, after passing which they are required to sign an agreement, accepting the general rules of the company embodied therein. After the formalities are completed, they are sent to our schools to learn their duties for periods varying from 4 to 10 weeks, for which they receive a subsistence allowance of Rs. 15.

(1) Industrial Psychology ed.: by C. S. Meyer page 19 (1929).

(2) (a) Social Welfare Service of the Bombay Y.M.C.A. (b) Report on a Scout Camp, held August 31st—September 1st, 1929. (Not printed).

Engineering Departments.—Skilled labour is recruited either on the basis of testimonials or recommendation by a trusty employee. In all cases actual engagement is subject to actual trade tests, or periods of probation. Promising unskilled labour is trained by working with skilled labour, and promotions are made, after passing trade tests, when vacancies occur. We always endeavour to promote our own rather than engage new employees.

Unskilled Labour is generally obtained by mucedums or employees already in the service of the company.

(ii) Our experience has not shown the necessity for any methods other than those detailed above.

(iii) Our experience has not shown the necessity for public employment agencies.

7. (i) We have no means of knowing definitely what is the extent of unemployment in this city, but we do know that unemployment must be considerable, judging by the enormous number of applications for employment which we receive.

(ii) We consider that the unemployment that exists has partly been caused by the retrenchment that has taken place in all large concerns, in consequence of the bad state of trade.

8. (i) *Traffic Department.*—The length of service, as in August, 1929, was as follows :—

Years of service.	Conductors.	Drivers.
1	123	37
2	137	42
3	190	52
4	110	22
5	160	60
	720	213
6	172	36
7	172	45
8	34	14
9	38	51
10	14	21
11 to 15	1	19
16 to 22	4	20
	435	206
Total ..	1,155	419

At the beginning of 1925, though we then employed 1,612 conductors and 712 drivers, only 42 conductors and 110 drivers had over 5 years' service. There are various reasons which account for the marked declension in the total numbers employed, but these do not appear to affect a conclusion that the duration of the service of such employers has materially improved.

Clerical Department.—The average length of service, as in August, 1929, was as follows :—Clerical staff, 8 years 7 months ; sepoys and office boys, 5 years 8 months.

Workshop Department.—The years of service, as in August, 1929, was as follows :—

Years of service.	Number of men.	Years of service.	Number of men.
1	22	8	26
2	21	9	19
3	58	10	71
4	30	11	52
5	45	12	24
6	56	13	17
7	59	Over 13	30
		Total ..	530

In this department the average service in August, 1929, was approximately 7 years.

(ii) As regards casual employment, this is practically confined to the temporary engagement of coolies for such work as laying electric cables. It seldom amounts to more than about 10 per cent. of the permanent labour force, or about 30 per cent. of the mains department alone.

(iii) (a) The numbers employed in our workshop during 1928 averaged 640 ; absenteeism averaged 62.5 daily, evenly distributed throughout the year. Absenteeism is greater amongst the higher paid men than amongst the lower paid.

In the mains department absenteeism averages about four days per month without leave.

Causes of absenteeism are sickness, domestic and property troubles, personal work at homes, long leave in employees' native places covering religious and other ceremonies.

(b) Unskilled employees usually take some leave, prior to, or at the beginning of the monsoon, chiefly to repair their houses in their native country, or to make agricultural preparations.

Traffic employees suffer more sickness in the monsoon and cold weather.

(c) It is difficult to estimate time and wages lost, but in our mains department it is estimated to be about four to six weeks per unskilled employee annually, amounting to Rs. 30-40 in wages.

In our workshop during 1928 :—299 working days \times 62.5 absenteeism daily = 18,687 men days were lost, or an estimated equivalent in wages (at Re. 1-8 annas per day average) of Rs. 28,031.

II.—Staff Organisation.

12. (i) The company relies largely on its apprenticeship scheme for filling the junior officers appointments. Young men are put through a three or four years' course as apprentices in the various departments of the company. Those that show marked promise are usually promoted to the appointment of "technical assistants" on completion of their apprenticeship. Others may, or may not, be retained in the company's service. When vacancies occur amongst the junior officers, the technical assistants are given first consideration for promotions.

(ii) No special arrangements exist, but in practice skilled men usually train unskilled men, many of whom in course of time, after passing the various trade tests, earn promotion.

13. (i) To the best of our belief the relations are generally good. It has been our experience that officers in charge of departments have, as a rule, treated complaints with consideration. The instructions to such officers are that the policy of the company is to remove a genuine grievance at once, if it is at all possible to do so. Officers are also instructed at all times to hear and consider complaints with care and deliberation.

14. (i) A special time keeping department, under the control of the secretary of the company, keeps the time of all employees. Clocks are used in certain departments where feasible, for instance in the workshop. The timekeeping department is subject to inspection and check by the company's own audit department.

(ii) From the timekeepers records, pay sheets are prepared by the same department. These are subject to audit by the company's audit department, and, prior to payment being made, all officers concerned are required to certify that the pay sheet is correctly drawn. The pay sheets are then passed to the cashiers who draw the necessary funds, handing them over to the pay clerk's department, which is responsible for placing the money due to each man in a special envelope for that man. The timekeeper issues a chit to each man, giving his number and amount due. On presentation of this chit at the appointed time and place the pay clerk hands over his particular envelope, in exchange for the pay chit or time card.

15. (i) The company maintains its own workshop, where a commercial costing system is in force. If it is considered that work can be executed cheaper by outside parties, specifications are prepared and tenders called for from outside contractors, as well as our own departments. The contract is awarded to the contractor whose tender is the most economical.

The majority of work let out on contract is for the construction of new buildings.

(iii) The company's chief officer concerned supervises the work, the contractor employing labour at his discretion, but indemnifying the company in respect of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

III.—Housing.

16. (i) The company owns the following housing accommodation :—(a) Nineteen quarters for officers, and six small quarters for subordinates ; (b) One chawl, containing 160 rooms of which half are reserved for the traffic department, and half for the workshop department ; (c) One chawl, containing 12 rooms in the workshop compound ; (d) One chawl, containing 44 rooms at the company's Colaba depot, chiefly occupied by traffic men based on Colaba.

(iii) Officers and employees, who do not live in the above quarters or chawls, rent their accommodation from private landlords.

18. The large and modern 160-room chawl is of standard Bombay Improvement Trust design, the rooms being 120 square feet in area. The accommodation in this, and in the other chawls belonging to the company, is popular largely, we think, because we have made a practice of fitting one electric lamp in each room. Modern latrines and water supply are available in all the chawls. Considerable expenditure is incurred in efforts to keep all the chawls sanitary and clean. Whitewashing is frequently carried out as often as three times in two years.

19. The company's chawls are always full, with the exception of the 80 rooms in the large chawl allotted to the traffic department. In that block of 80 rooms practically every room is occupied, but as so many of our men are either bachelors, or married men who leave their families up-country, four such men are allotted to a room on the basis of four berths per room. Vacancies occur chiefly in these berths.

20. In the 160-room modern chawl the rents are fixed at Rs. 8 per room and Rs. 2 per berth per month, inclusive of electric light.

In the old fashioned Colaba chawl, the rentals are calculated according to the number of berths available in each room, at the rate of 12 annas per berth per month.

In the small workshop chawl the rents are Rs. 8 and Rs. 6 for the large and small rooms, respectively.

21. The company raises no objection to officers living in company's quarters, arranging for paying guests in other employ to live with them. Should any of these quarters fall vacant and not be required by any officer of the company, efforts are made to let them to outside parties.

As far as the company's chawls are concerned, every room must be let to an employee of the company, but no objection is raised to the tenant allowing close relations to live with him, provided no overcrowding is caused, i.e., in excess of four per room; two children being considered as one adult.

So far no cases of eviction from chawls have become necessary.

22. We know that other authorities who have more extended housing facilities, have less difficulty in obtaining unskilled labour than we have.

It is considered that the conditions in our chawls have certainly improved the morals of the tenants, mainly due to the strict enforcement of rules and regulations for such accommodation.

IV.—Health.

24. *Extent of Medical Facilities Provided*—(i) *By employers*.—The company provides free medical attendance and medicine to such of its workshop, traffic and other employees, who attend at the company's well-appointed dispensaries at Colaba and Dadar Tramway depots.

25. *Extent to which Medical Facilities are utilized*.—The average number of attendances at the dispensaries daily for the first seven months of 1929 has amounted to about 140. This figure includes cases, in which "first aid" has been rendered by the assistant surgeon in charge, to workshop men meeting with accidents.

26. *Sanitary Arrangements*—(i) *Latrines*.—Ample latrines are provided at the company's depots, the number of seats provided being in excess of that required by the Factory Act.

(ii) *Drinking Water*.—Special tanks, directly connected to the municipal mains for the supply of drinking water, are provided where any appreciable number of employees work. It is of course impossible to provide such tanks for the use of all employees in an undertaking of this nature.

(iii) *Bathing and Washing*.—No special facilities are provided, but use is allowed and made of the various taps, fitted in the depots for the purposes of washing trams.

30. (iii) The company's senior medical officer states that, with over 28 years of professional experience, he can definitely say that prejudices against western medicines are gradually dying out. The company's staff readily avail themselves of the treatment on western lines afforded by the company.

V.—Welfare.

32. (i) A special "employees welfare fund" is maintained. To this fund are credited all fines recovered from employees, donations made by passengers and proceeds of "lost property" sales.

The fund is available at the discretion of the general manager for making small loans to necessitous employees, and for other deserving cases, which cannot properly be assisted with company's moneys.

Loans, which normally do not exceed two months' salary or wages, do not bear interest, and must be repaid within one year by monthly deductions from salary or wages. Such loans are not granted to applicants who are eligible to receive loans from the provident fund.

The utilization of the credit balances of this fund is from time to time considered by the board of directors, the intention being that such surplus funds shall so far as possible be expended on welfare work to the advantage of those employees of the company, who have in part contributed to that fund in the shape of fines deducted from their wages.

33. The company does not employ any welfare officers, but a senior employee is designated "welfare supervisor," his general duties being to receive complaints and make recommendations regarding welfare, and to see that the various company's chawls, canteens, etc., are maintained in a satisfactory state of cleanliness and repair.

34. (i) An excellent modern canteen has been provided at the company's Colaba depot. A small canteen has also been provided at the company's Tardeo depot. A tea shop exists at the workshop. The two former have only been in existence for a few months, and their advantages are only beginning to be appreciated. In the workshop, however, the tea shop does a large trade amongst the 500 odd men employed there.

The company does not employ any women, consequently it has no shelters or creches.

(ii) A club building has recently been erected at Colaba tramway depot, adjacent to the company's head office, for the benefit of the men based on that depot, and living in the chawl thereat. This building, which is approximately 54 feet by 32 feet, inclusive of verandah, is divided into two portions—one half being a club room, with refreshment bar, where indoor games may be played and music availed of. The other half is used as an akhada or gymnasium, in which wrestling and various gymnastic exercises are continuously practised. The club is provided with a small garden; also with a very small paved area for outdoor gymnastics, together with a sand pit for the children living in the chawl.

Efforts are being made to obtain the use of land for two tennis courts in the Fort area for the benefit of the clerical and other staff who desire to play tennis, but at present our applications have received no reply.

Further, two large plots of vacant building land at Dadar are lent by the Bombay Improvement Trust for outdoor games, such as cricket and football. This land will however have to be vacated at 24 hours' notice, if required by the Bombay Improvement Trust for their own purposes.

The best sports club cannot at present be considered to have commenced operations, but it is hoped that it will function successfully during the coming cold weather.

35. It is too early at present to say what results have been achieved by the activities outlined above, but there is no doubt that the provision of amusement and facilities for recreation tend to improve the contentment, and consequently the efficiency, of the employees generally.

36. Except for the Company's Apprenticeship Course, and for the deputation of a few of the company's younger and promising employees, to attend instructional courses in electrical wiring, etc., at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, the only educational activities in force at present are classes for instruction in first aid. We also have two schools for training conductors and drivers in their duties.

37. A Provident Fund has been in force since 1914. All officers and employees, other than those employed on probation or temporarily, in receipt of salary or wages of not less than Rs. 15 for a full normal month's work, are required to become members of, and subscribe to, this fund.

A member drawing a salary or wages of Rs. 100 or over per month contributes 16 pies per rupee, but in the cases of those drawing under Rs. 100 per month the compulsory contribution is 12 pies per rupee or, at the members' option, 16 pies per rupee.

The company contributes to the fund monthly an amount equal to the members' own contribution for that month and allows interest, which is credited monthly, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, calculated on the monthly balances standing to the credit of all members, including the contributions made by the company.

All costs and expenses of administering and working the fund are borne by the company.

The company's contributions are only paid in full to members leaving the company's service after completing 15 years therein. For service between 10 and 15 years two-thirds are paid, whilst for service above 5 years and not exceeding 10 years one-third is paid. In cases, however, of retrenchment or death, the full company's contributions are paid.

Members can obtain advances up to one-third of their own contributions, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, for the purposes of sick leave, medical assistance or other special emergencies.

Dismissal from the company's service for dishonesty, gross misconduct, or leaving without notice entails forfeiture of all claims on the company's contributions. Such of the company's contributions as are forfeited or withheld, revert to the general revenues of the company.

The whole of the credit balances of the fund are invested in the business of the company.

Savings Fund.—In addition to the provident fund, the company instituted a savings fund in 1914. Salaried members of the provident fund only are eligible to join this fund, and may contribute either half an anna or one anna for every complete rupee of monthly salary. The company allows interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, calculated and credited monthly. But, in addition, the company, on the 1st January each year, credits each member in respect of his monthly balances during the previous year, with further interest, dependent upon the length of service with the company as follows :— $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for service exceeding 5 years but not exceeding 10 years ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for service exceeding 10 years but not exceeding 15 years ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for service exceeding 15 years.

Balances standing to the credit of members are invested in the business of the company.

Gratuities on Retirement.—The company instituted in 1921 a system of gratuities on retirement. The scales now in force are as follows :—

To the whole of the Traffic and Engineering Staff :—

7 years' service	3 months' pay.
10 years' service	6 months' pay.
12 years' service	9 months' pay.
15 years' service	12 months' pay.

In all the cases quoted above, whatever his length of service, no officer or employee shall receive as a retirement gratuity more than the equivalent of one year's substantive salary or wages.

In the opinion of the management, these funds tend very materially to the success of the company's working. The sums standing to the credit of various employees at the end of their service are frequently very substantial for persons in their class of life.

VII.—Safety.

44. The number of accidents of every description, however slight, which occurred in our workshop in 1928 was 24.

45. Accidents have chiefly been due to disobedience of orders, carelessness in transporting heavy materials, and other directions, e.g., electrical burns, and burns from molten metal as moulders refuse to wear shoes.

46. All machinery is well guarded, belting fenced, and lifting tackle tested. Men are fined for removing safety devices. Factory rules are rigorously adhered to. The factory inspectors have on more than one occasion sent officers of other firms to see, and learn from, our safety arrangements.

48. A qualified doctor attends employees who seek his advice. An assistant surgeon is on duty during working hours, in a well equipped dispensary, to render first aid.

50. The daily working hours ($8\frac{1}{2}$) do not seem to fatigue employees unduly, but in the hot weather, towards the end of the day, there is a slacking off, which cannot be considered unnatural. Men are allowed to take tea or cold drinks in the shops between 9 and 11 a.m., and between 2.30 and 4.30 p.m. Thirty minutes are allowed daily as "Latrine" time. Meals can be obtained on premises at cheap rates.

General health is good ; cases of long illness are infrequent ; deaths amongst employees are of very rare occurrence.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. *Workmen's Compensation Act.*—(i) Those provisions of this Act, which affect this company, are utilized to the fullest extent. Employees also take full advantage of the Act on their side, not infrequently through agents, who make a business of putting forward claims, but no case has yet occurred in which the company, through taking immediate action, has not been able to ignore applications from such agents.

(ii) From the 1st July, 1924, when the Act came into force, up to the end of 1928, out of Rs. 10,685 which became payable in respect of 188 cases of accidents falling within the scope of the Act, only Rs. 38 in respect of 10 accidents have not been claimed.

It is however, to be noted that in addition to the compensation for which the company was liable under the Act, an additional sum of Rs. 2,990 was paid in respect of temporary disablement included in the 188 cases mentioned above. These additional payments were made, because it has been the practice of the company, for many years to pay full wages for the full period of disablement, necessitated by justifiable accidents.

During the above period a further 932 cases of accidents occurred, in which the employees were not entitled to any compensation under the Act. In the majority of these cases, full or partial compensation amounting to Rs. 4,955 was paid in accordance with the company's custom.

(iii) We do not consider that the Workmen's Compensation Act has caused any effect at all in this company, as it has been our custom for many years to pay full or partial wages in all cases of justifiable accidents, met with when fulfilling duties in the service, and in accordance with the rules and regulations, of the company.

53. (i) In connection with the revision of the Workmen's Compensation Act, we have already given our opinion to the Local Government that, in the cases of some higher paid employees, the scale fixed for temporary disablement is somewhat on the low side, e.g., an employee drawing Rs. 200 per month would only be entitled to draw Re 1 per day during disablement.

(ii) We think the conditions governing the grant of compensation are somewhat harsh and to the detriment of the employer, e.g. :-

Under Sec. 3 (1) (b), (ii) and (iii) the employer is exempted from liability, in respect of any injury to a workman resulting from an accident, which is directly attributable (a) to the wilful disobedience of the workman to an order expressly given, or to a rule expressly framed, for the purpose of securing the safety of workmen, or (b) to the wilful removal or disregard by the workman of any safety-guard or other device which he knew to have been provided for securing his safety. In such cases the onus rests on the employer of proving that the disobedience or removal by the workman was wilful, i.e., deliberate. This is an extremely difficult matter and acts unfairly on the employer.

IX.—Hours.

A.—Factories.

55. (i) 8½ hours daily for 5 days per week ; 5½ hours on Saturdays ; Total 48 hours per week.

(ii) Overtime worked is negligible.

(iii) The workers are not on call after the workshop closes daily.

60. (i) One hour daily for tiffin, except on Saturdays.

(iv) All employees are granted 4 general holidays annually with pay. Employees of over 10 years' service also receive full pay for about 7 sectional holidays. Part day leave without pay is also granted in cases of certain religious festivals. No pay is given for Sundays, on which men do not work but pay is allowed for 3 hours leave on Saturday afternoons.

D.—Other Establishments.

78. (i) In the *Traffic Department* conductors work 8½ hours and drivers 8 hours respectively. The average of hours worked per month approximates closely to these figures, but the daily hours worked vary considerably in accordance with the various duties on various tramway routes.

(ii) The actual working hours, i.e., including overtime, are not materially in excess of the above hours, for, as a general rule, the working of overtime is not permitted if it can possibly be avoided throughout the company.

79. The normal working days per week are six, but in a company working the transport services, and supplying electrical energy throughout the City and Island of Bombay, work never ceases. In those departments where the nature of the work requires regular attendance on Sundays, and/or general public holidays, a day off is allowed for each such attendance. Employees working shifts are all allowed one shift off per week, i.e., their normal week's work comprises 6 shifts of 8 hours.

XII.—Wages.

96. (i) Average earnings (i.e., Bonus, Gratuity, Provident Fund, etc., not taken into account) of certain employees during July, 1929, were as follows:—

Number on which average is ascertained.	Designation of Employee.	Average Earnings in Rupees.
8	Blacksmiths	60
13	Cabinet Makers	86
48	Carpenters	69
68	Coolies	26
8	Drillmen	49
75	Fitters	62
49	Fitter's Assistants	40
10	Hammermen	31
11	Moulders	66
5	Painters, Good	60
30	Painters, Rough	39
14	Turners	62
9	Watchmen	38
12	Winders (Armature)	87
28	Wiremen	60
9	Writers	65
1,085	Conductors	45
390	Drivers (Tramways)	48
83	Drivers (Omnibus)	72
(iii) Total salaries and wages actually paid in cash for 1928 (officers excluded)		Rs. 31,62,086
Bonus		1,60,489
Add : Gratuity (average for 3 years)		22,859
		Rs. 33,45,434
Company's Contribution to Provident Fund		1,89,956
Cost of medical facilities		15,875
Difference between return at 6 per cent. on cost of company's chawls and the net return		26,549
Clothing issued		44,253
		2,76,633
Money value of all earnings		36,22,067

Therefore, the proportion of money wages to money value of all earnings was as 100 is to 108.26 during 1928.

97. (i) Prior to 1916 the wages generally paid throughout the company had been constant for several years, but, owing to the Great War and the consequent increase in the cost of living, the scale of wages had to be reconsidered in that year (1916). "War" allowances were then introduced, the scale being revised in 1919 as follows:—

To employees drawing from Rs. 126 to Rs. 200 per month	10 per cent.
To those drawing from Rs. 76 to Rs. 125 per month ..	17½ "
To those drawing Rs. 75 and under per month	25 "

This scale has never been altered and is still in force at this date, though the cost of living has varied from that in 1916 when the scale was introduced.

Several alterations in the rates of salary and wages of individuals have, of course, from time to time been made, largely in view of the additional responsibilities falling on such employees, owing to the growth of the company's business.

In 1922, strikes occurred both in our workshops and traffic departments, and adjustments in rates of wages were then made in certain cases and are still in force.

The scales of salaries and wages now paid are thought to be favourable, when compared with other undertakings of a similar nature. It is not the company's custom to adjust such scales in relation to the profits of the company earned annually.

101. In the workshops, at the time of the strike in 1922, a promise was made to the then employees that the company would pay wages equivalent to those paid by the G.I.P. Railway authorities for similar classes of work. Since July, 1927, new employees have been engaged on flat rates of pay, approximating to the rates above referred to. In no other department of the company can it be said that wages have in any way been fixed by negotiating agreements; they have usually been fixed at favourable rates, after due consideration has been given to rates paid by other comparable concerns in the city.

102. As has previously been explained, the company's business is continuous. Questions do not, therefore, arise as to work on Sundays. Those employed on shift work six shifts per week. Others, who may have to work on Sundays or Public Holidays, are allowed one day off per week.

The rules in the various departments of the company regarding payment of overtime vary somewhat.

Traffic Staff.—All overtime is paid at the rate of time and a quarter, but double time is paid to men called up for duty on their weekly day off.

Workshop Staff.—Overtime up to four hours per month is paid for at the rate of time and one quarter, but at the rate of time and a half for all overtime over four hours per month put in by workmen.

Foremen and mistries are paid at ordinary rates for overtime worked in excess of eight hours in any one month. They are not paid for overtime not amounting to eight hours.

No workman is entitled to draw extra pay for overtime unless the hours he has worked during any month amount to more than the total ordinary working hours for that particular month.

The company's policy is to reduce overtime to the absolute minimum. Consequently in practice very little overtime is worked.

106. (i) It is laid down in the company's standing orders that deductions in respect of fines shall not exceed 5 per cent. of salaries or wages, except in cases of outstandings when employees leave the company's service. Fines inflicted in excess of 5 per cent. of salary or wages are deducted in two or more instalments. All fines recovered are credited to the company's "Employees Welfare Fund." The fines inflicted on 2,754 of the company's employees during 1928 amounted to 0.19 per cent. of the total wages paid, namely, to Rs. 4,390, or Rs. 1-9-6 pies per man fined.

(ii) Deductions are made from employees' pay in respect of provident fund, provident fund advances, savings fund, fines, rental of accommodation in company's quarters or chawls, income tax, advances from the employees' welfare fund, cost of extra clothing (if any) issued, and cost of tools lost.

In the case of traffic department conductors, deficits in cash returns in respect of tickets sold, is also recovered from pay.

(iii) *Utilization of Fines.*—This has been fully explained in answer to Question 32.

107. (i) The whole of the company's staff is paid once per month for work during the previous month. In cases in which casual labour is employed, payments are occasionally made weekly, or in some very exceptional cases daily.

(ii) The payment of the company's staff for any month's work is completed during the first 10 days of the following month.

(iii) The company opposed, with the utmost emphasis it could command, the proposals to introduce legislation with a view to regulating the periods of wages payment, and to prevent delay in such payment. Such legislation, if introduced, would cause considerable trouble and expense. It is, moreover, very doubtful whether employees would appreciate the payment of wages at intervals of less than one month. It is the custom of the country to make all purchases for payment on a monthly basis. It is considered that no deviation from that system would be welcomed either by sellers or buyers. It is strongly felt that the present monthly practice calls for no alteration.

(iv) Wages unclaimed for more than three years revert to the general revenues of the company, but can be claimed at any later date. It is not the company's practice to withhold payment of any such wages at whatever date they may be claimed. Quite recently an instance occurred of wages earned approximately eight years ago being claimed and paid.

108. (ii) To minimize the burden of indebtedness by relieving them of heavy interest charges, loans are advanced to employees :—(a) From the provident fund, bearing 5 per cent. interest per annum; (b) from the employees' welfare fund, bearing no interest; (b) cannot be availed of, if a loan is permissible under the regulations of (a).

From (b) (the employees' welfare fund) loans were advanced during 1928 and 1929 as follows :—

Year.	No. of Employees.	Total amount of loans advanced.	Average amount of each loan.
1928	444	Rs. 33,713	Rs. 76
1929	446	Rs. 29,505	Rs. 66

The working of this fund is explained in answer to Question No. 32 (1).

109. (i) No profit-sharing schemes have ever been in force. A suggestion to introduce some such scheme was made in 1922, but it was pointed out that there would be the greatest difficulty in working such a scheme to the satisfaction of all employees, many of whom are illiterate. As an alternative, the introduction of the payment of "gratuities on retirement" was suggested and was forthwith sanctioned by the board of directors.

It has been the custom of the board of directors to sanction, and the shareholders in annual general meeting to confirm, the payment of an annual bonus to all officers and employees in the company's service since 1916. This bonus is calculated at the rate of one month's salary for salaried employees, and one-twelfth of actual earnings, excluding overtime, for other employees.

It is hard to say what the effect of the introduction of the payment of annual bonus has been. There are many pros and cons to such procedure, but it has now been in force for so many years, that extensive opposition would arise were the payment to be discontinued.

110. *Annual or other Leave*—(i) *Extent to which taken by workers*.—Mains, 4 to 6 weeks per year. Clerical, average 28·6 days; sepoys and boys, average 24·6 days—leave of all descriptions during 1928.

Traffic.—Statistics of actual leave availed of for 18 months, 1st January, 1928, to 30th June, 1929 :—

Particulars.	Conductors.	Drivers.
Number of men	916	408
„ men-days	4,34,294	1,91,352
„ men-days absorbed by long leave ..	57,402	24,603
„ men-days absorbed by sick leave ..	15,530	6,090
Average number of days long leave per man ..	62 or 13 p.c.	68 or 12·8 p.c.
Average number of days sick leave per man ..	16 or 3·5 p.c.	15 or 3·2 p.c.

Workshops.—Absences during the year 1928 :—

Periods of absence.	Number of Men.
Present on every working day	10
Absent between 10 and 15 days	189
„ „ 16 and 25 days	96
„ „ 26 and 35 days	86
„ „ 36 and 50 days	90
„ „ over 50 days	59
	530

(ii) *Extent to which countenanced and/or assisted by Employers*.—For details please see standing order 27/18 on page 31 in attached copy of standing orders.* Speaking broadly, 15 days "leave pay" per annum is granted to workers. Clerical staff are allowed 31 days full pay per annum to cover leave of all descriptions.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency of Workers.

112. *Workshops*.—Employees have gained considerable knowledge of western methods. They do not take long to fall in with modern ideas and the handling of up-to-date machinery, thus increasing production.

Mains.—No very marked changes in case of unskilled labour.

Clerical.—Opportunities do not occur frequently to replace older clerks, etc., by better educated and more efficient employees. This process, however, slowly takes effect, resulting in increased efficiency. Generally the efficiency of the clerical staff might be considerably higher, and efforts are being made to achieve that end.

* Not printed.

Traffic.—Since the end of the war the education of the employees has undoubtedly improved. We have many more English speaking conductors than we had in 1922, the year in which the last traffic strike occurred. The overall efficiency has also shown marked improvement. We think the improved scale of free issues of clothing has tended to increase employees' self-respect.

Speaking generally, the prevailing unemployment has acted as a restraining influence on employees. Those that have jobs intend to try to keep them; consequently they are more amenable to discipline than in past years.

115. (iv) Efficiency is undoubtedly improved by provision of housing for the following reasons :—(a) Less sickness as sanitation is much better; (b) more regular attendance at work, owing to accommodation being reasonably near work; (c) more regular meal and rest hours are possible; more hours are available for rest; (d) men on early, late, or irregular duties arrange with others sharing their rooms to prepare their food for them, and thus save the time normally devoted to preparing their own food.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

117. (i) An entirely unofficial federation of the senior officers or partners in engineering firms exists in Bombay, under the name of "The Bombay Engineering Employers Federation." The members of this federation meet, when occasion demands, to discuss unofficially questions of interest relating to engineering problems met with in Bombay. The federation is officially recognized to the extent that the Director of Labour Intelligence usually furnishes copies of proposed legislation to the federation for opinion.

(ii) At the time when the serious labour unrest prevailed from about 1920 to 1922, many unions were formed in Bombay, amongst others being a union (Bombay Tramway Union) for the benefit of tramway employees. The company, when asked to recognize that union, laid down certain conditions to be fulfilled, prior to recognition being granted. Those conditions have not so far been fulfilled. The union, which is now known as "The Tramway Men's Union," is not recognized by the company. It is understood that in their Annual Report for 1928-29, the union claimed to have 881 members, of whom practically all were said to be employed in the company's workshop and other engineering departments. No traffic employees are said to belong to the union.

122. (i) In this company every employee has the right to appeal to the head of his department. Such appeals are made either personally, by deputation, or in writing. It is, however, generally known that, in the event of an employee not being satisfied with the decision of the chief officer of his department, an appeal lies to the general manager of the company. Judging from the number of appeals that are received, it can be assumed that this procedure is thoroughly well known. In the event of the general manager's decision being unsatisfactory, a further appeal lies to the board of directors of the company.

In the past negotiations have been, and they are still occasionally, carried through by deputations from employees in various departments to the chief officer of the department concerned, but in some cases directly to the general manager of the company.

(ii) *Workshop.*—Many employees do co-operate. Where up-to-date plant has been installed, they have increased production. Production will, it is hoped, be further increased by the formation of the sports club mentioned elsewhere, as a good foundation in sport is likely to be reproduced to some extent in work.

Mains.—Definite improvement is noticeable in the case of skilled labour in recent years.

Clerical.—Response has been feeble, probably on account of :—(1) Long established traditional methods of working; (2) older employees not appreciating the appointments of new employees, who are frequently considerably better educated than they themselves.

Traffic.—There is a very marked inclination on the part of many of the men to co-operate, e.g., no labour trouble has been experienced since the 1922 strike. The tone of the men generally shows considerable improvement, no doubt in part due to the company's efforts to make their work as little irksome as possible, and to provide facilities for their welfare generally.

XV.—Industrial Disputes.

123. Since the formation of the company in 1905 the following strikes have occurred :—

Traffic Staff.—1910. A short strike of conductors and drivers. 1920. From the 7th October to the 21st November. A general strike. 1922. From the 18th September to the 22nd November. A general strike.

Workshops Staff.—1919. 23rd January. 149 men struck work and were discharged. 1920. From the 26th January to the 7th February. A general strike. 1920. From the 7th October to the 2nd November. A general strike. 1920. From the 23rd December to the 29th December. Hartal; no work done though men presented themselves in the workshop. 1920. From the 30th December, 1920, to the 5th January, 1921. Workshop employees locked out.

The foregoing strikes occurred chiefly during the period of intense labour unrest, which prevailed for a period after the conclusion of the Great War.

The causes may be attributed to the increased cost of living, and arising therefrom to questions of pay and also partly to questions of hours worked, and leave granted.

At this distance of time, it is impossible to give information regarding the loss caused to the company and to the workers themselves, but it may be added that, in the traffic strike of 1922, 1,300 men were discharged, with loss of company's contributions to the provident fund and gratuities on retirement.

124. The difficulty that has always been experienced in handling the strikes which have occurred, has been to find any individual or any representative deputation of the employees, with whom negotiations could be carried through successfully.

In one or two cases gentlemen with no interest in the company have been agreed upon as interpreters. Assistance has not been rendered by official or non-official conciliators in settling disputes. Help has, however, been given by one or two independent gentlemen, who have advised both the company and the employees.

No use has been made of any statutory powers. No joint standing machinery is in existence for the regulation of relations between employers and employed.

(v) *Opportunity afforded to Workpeople for making Representations.*—This question has been fully answered under question 122 (1) above, but it may be added that it has been definitely proved on many occasions, that traffic employees specially take severe punishments or hardships lightly, *provided* they are given the opportunity to represent their cases. This is always done, and every man is given a patient hearing. His demands may not be acceded to, but he goes away happily, as he has attained his end by securing all he wanted, namely a full hearing.

XVII.—Administration.

138. The Factory Act provides that certain notices are to be exhibited in various languages in all factories. Such notices are exhibited in the company's workshop, which alone comes under the Factory Act.

139. (i) The factory inspector visits the workshop on an average twice a year, and his reports have indicated that very little of an unsatisfactory nature has been found.

Major S. K. ENGINEER, O.B.E., F.R.C.P.E., Physician, J. J. Hospital,
BOMBAY.

1. At present if a seaman is ill while the ship is in the docks or in the stream, he is treated on board by the company's doctor in cases of ordinary illness; if he requires special surgical treatment or is too ill to be treated on board, he is sent to one of the local hospitals for admission and treatment.

If the medical officer suspects malingering on the part of a seaman, he is kept under observation either on board or sent to the hospital for opinion.

While at sea, he is treated either by one of the officers or the chief steward of the ship who plays the part of a doctor.

2. At present there is no separate accommodation for a sick seaman. He has to sleep in the same room together with other seamen. This room contains from three to six berths for three to six seamen.

3. While at sea, if he is found suffering from any of the venereal diseases, he has to occupy his own berth together with other healthy seamen in the same room.

While in port, there is no accommodation at present in the Indian hospitals for such seamen to be treated as inpatients when surgical interference is required, then and then only are they admitted for treatment.

4. The ship's medicine chest is at present in any nook or corner. I have seen it even in the captain's bathroom. It contains drugs, instruments and such other appliances as are laid down in the Ship's Captain Medical Guide.

It contains some drugs which are as old as our grandfathers. There are others which are never used at all from the time the ship is launched till she is scrapped. There are no drugs recognized as specific for such conditions as cholera, dysentery, asthma, chronic bronchitis, rheumatism, etc.

Some instruments and appliances are not replaced even when they go out of order.

5. The doctor, the officer or the chief steward has also to do the work of the compounder and the dispenser.

6. The recipes in the Medical Guide are either obsolete or antiquated at present times.

7. The crew has to undergo vaccination two or three times in a year either in the same or at different ports without any necessity for doing so or for no fault of theirs. This is their common complaint.

8. The doctor, the officer or the chief steward does not receive any instructions in the handling of the instruments or the appliances. Whenever an emergency arises he reads the Medical Guide and tries to carry out the instructions to the best of his ability.

The officer receives lessons in first aid and has to pass the examination before he goes up for his "ticket", but it is not compulsory for the chief steward. Such certificates are valid for three years only. He is to be re-examined at the end of that period.

Suggestions.—1. While in port, if a seaman refuses to receive treatment or undergo an operation considered necessary by the company's doctor, he must be paid off and not allowed to stay on board under any pretext. The opinion of the company's medical officer must be final.

While at sea, if an operation is considered necessary, or the illness is of such a nature as not to be entrusted to one who acts as a doctor on the ship, he must be sent to the hospital, even if the necessity for such an operation or the treatment of the illness does not exist at the first port of arrival of the ship, for observation, opinion or treatment.

If the hospital authorities certify, he may join the ship or be paid off according to the circumstances.

2. Every ship must have a hospital consisting of two or more beds for sick seamen, while in port or at sea, suffering from dysentery, diarrhoea, gastritis, etc., in order to segregate them from others who occupy the same room.

3. While in port, venereal cases, even if suffering from a sore, must not be treated on board, but must be sent to the hospital or venereal clinics for treatment at those places where they are in existence. No seaman is to be "signed on" until he produces a certificate to the effect that he is free from the disease.

A venereal clinic card, such as one that is carried by the white crew, is to be demanded from the Indian crew, stating all the particulars of the kind of treatment he has received while at different ports, to enable the doctor in the next port to give further necessary treatment if required.

4. The ship's medicine chest must be located in the ship's hospital, and must contain such recognized drugs as are in common use at present by the medical profession.

The medical officer of the company must be held responsible for the medicine chest to be in order according to the regulations.

5. Those drugs that can be obtained in the form of pills or tablets must replace the present drugs—liquid or crystalline—to prevent any mistake on the part of those inexperienced who carry on the work as the compounder or the dispenser.

6. The Medical Guide requires thorough revision by a committee consisting of European and Indian doctors who have experience of Indian mercantile marine service.

7. Whenever the members of the crew of a ship have undergone vaccination or inoculation against smallpox, cholera, enteric, etc., each member must be supplied with a certificate to that effect signed by the medical officer. Such a certificate is to be held valid according to the regulations or the instructions of the port health officer.

8. Every officer after obtaining his first aid certificate must produce, before being promoted, a certificate of having passed an examination very nearly on the same lines as are prescribed in the book for "Home Nursing" by the St. John Ambulance Association, and on further promotion of having received instructions in the use and handling of instruments and appliances as are required in cases of emergency and for which they are provided in the medicine chest.

These instructions and certificates will not be a burden on the purse of those who have to perform these duties as they have to pay fees for instructions and certificates for the first aid, and whenever they go up for re-examinations. From my personal experience of nearly nineteen years I am of opinion that these further instructions will be much appreciated by those who have to perform their duties as doctors without any previous training. There is no necessity for an officer to get certificates in first aid every third year till he is promoted to the rank of captain. This present system is certainly a burden on his purse and unnecessary waste of his time, money and energy.

Messrs. MACKINNON, MACKENZIE & COMPANY.

PART I.

Recruitment etc., of Crews in Bombay by P. & O.S.N. Company.

The Employment Bureau which exists as a sub-office of the Government shipping office in Bombay is not made use of by the P. & O. for recruiting purposes.

The method of recruiting seamen for the company's ships varies in each department and the following are the methods in use :—

Deck Department.—On the arrival of a time-expired crew in port, the serang reports to the marine superintendent and his name is placed on the roster.

He is told as far as practicable how long he is likely to have to wait for his next ship and is allowed to proceed to the country to await his next appointment. He is assured that his turn will not be missed and he and his crew leave Bombay for his village up country.

A serang being next on turn for employment is warned about a month in advance to what vessel he is to be appointed. A list of ratings required is given him, and he is required to present himself about 10 days in advance of the vessel's arrival with the nullies (continuous certificates of service) of his crew. These documents are carefully scrutinized by the company's marine superintendent and if satisfactory the crew are ordered to muster for his inspection. They are next examined by the company's surgeon and are then ready to be drafted to the ship.

The serang having had good warning of the date of his appointment is in nearly all cases, able to make up his entire crew from his own and adjacent villages.

Every encouragement is given to this, as it has been found on all occasions to tend to better discipline and to add to the general contentment of the crew.

Duties.—The Lascar seamen's duties when at sea commence at 6 a.m. and finish at 5 p.m. with two hours for meals.

On Saturdays during the forenoon a part of the crew are detailed to clean quarters. At 1 p.m. work ceases and the afternoon is allowed for washing and mending clothes.

On Sundays work ceases at 9 a.m. and the crew are allowed the day for rest.

In terminal ports the work is from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. except in winter time when it is from daybreak until dark.

It frequently happens that a vessel arrives in port during the night hours. On these occasions the crew are given time off during the next day.

Engine Department.—Men for the Engine room department are recruited from amongst Peshawuri Pathans, Chachi Pathans and Punjabis. The serangs are kept on a roster and given ships in order according to their suitability for the class of ship, time out of employment and the particular jhat to which they belong.

There is a ghat serang for each community and his duties consist solely in aiding serangs to collect their crews and in providing odd ratings required for any purpose.

A serang selected for a ship is required to produce the discharge certificates of his men which are carefully looked through in the office before the men are produced for inspection and medical examination. Practically none of the men employed in the engine room crews have their homes in Bombay and, although there is generally a considerable number of men from each community staying in Jamatkanas, or boarding houses, in Bombay, it is often necessary for serangs to telegraph to their tindals or others to bring the men down to Bombay. This is especially the case during the harvest season.

It cannot be said that there is any serious unemployment amongst these men.

Unfortunately through the reduction in the number of the company's ships and the fact that many ships are now oil driven we have on our books many more serangs than we actually need. This means that serangs who have completed a year at sea are required to stand off to give others a turn of employment and that they will be on shore for a period of about 15 to 20 months.

The serangs do not wait in Bombay but go to their villages until near the time they may be required. Some even wait until they are sent for to take their turns.

This method has proved entirely satisfactory to the company and to the men themselves.

Every effort is made to prevent bribery and the serangs and men are warned at muster that any giving or taking of bribes will lead to instant dismissal from the company.

As neither the ghat serangs nor the brokers have any influence over the choice of serangs there is far less bribery than formerly and one or two cases of summary dismissal have discouraged the serangs from squeezing their men.

Duties.—Men are on three watches, working 4 hours and resting 8 hours.

Saloon Crews.—Only Goanese are employed in the native saloon crews of the P. & O. company's ships and these men are selected individually without any assistance from butlers or pantrymen.

Every man employed in P. & O. has his name registered in the company's books where a complete record of his service is kept.

When men are required for ships a list of men is made out from the register, names being taken in order according to the time they have been out of employment. If any men whose names are on the list fail to present themselves a message is sent to the man's club to ascertain if the man is in Bombay.

There are two unions in Bombay to which these men mostly belong—The Indian Seamen's Union and the Bombay Union. The majority of the P. & O. employees belong to the latter.

These unions are of assistance to us in bringing forward the men required. Although in the past the men have suffered heavily through mismanagement and defalcations in the Indian Seamen's Union, this appears now to have been remedied and as long as the unions use their funds for the benefit of their members and not for the benefit of the professional exploiters of labour, they should be of considerable service to the men during their long periods of unemployment.

The majority of Goanese are Portuguese subjects domiciled in Goa but they come to Bombay for employment, living in Goanese clubs or boarding houses of which there are over 300 in Bombay.

There is unfortunately a serious state of unemployment amongst these men and far more men are offering themselves for employment at sea than can be taken on.

With the exception of certain of the higher ratings no men are allowed to serve more than one year at sea. They must then come ashore to make room for others. The usual period of unemployment for the company's regular servants is, for pantry-men and saloon waiters about 16 months, for other ratings about nine months.

So far as the P. & O. company is concerned, this state of unemployment has been largely brought about by the men themselves or rather by unwise action of the Indian Seamen's Union in forcing them into a strike some three years ago.

Duties.—As in all other lines carrying Indian saloon crews.

The wages paid in the P. & O. company for ships engaging crews in Bombay is as follows :—

Deck Department.

Serang	..	..	..	Rs. 80 p.m.
Tindal	..	..	..	Rs. 51, 45 and 39 p.m.
Lascars	..	..	..	Rs. 32 p.m. (if with four years' sea service).
"	..	..	..	Rs. 29, 26, 23, 14 p.m., according to service.
Bhandary	..	..	..	Rs. 34 p.m.
Topas	..	..	..	Rs. 30 p.m.

Engine Department.

Serang	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 80 p.m.
Panniwallahs	..	..	..	..	..	.. 44, 40, 36-3 p.m.
Tindals	..	..	..	..	..	.. 39 p.m.
Firemen	..	..	..	..	..	.. 30 "
" (2nd class)	..	..	..	..	..	.. 24 "
Bhandary	..	..	..	..	..	.. 34 "
" (Mate)	..	..	..	..	..	.. 19 "
Storekeeper	..	..	..	..	..	.. 35 "
Lampman	..	..	..	..	..	.. 32 "
Coal trimmer, Serang	..	..	..	..	..	.. 50 "
Coal trimmer	..	..	..	..	..	.. 24 "

Pursers Department.

(Goanese).

First Saloon Pantryman (Mail)	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 100 p.m.
" " " (Intermediate)	..	..	..	..	..	.. 95 "
Second " " (Mail)	..	..	..	..	..	.. 65 "
" " " (Intermediate)	..	..	..	..	..	.. 60 "
Chief cook (passenger)	..	..	..	..	..	.. 150 "
Baker	..	..	..	..	..	.. 100 "
Cook (cargo)	..	..	..	..	..	.. 70 "
" " after two years	..	..	..	..	..	.. 80 "

Pursers Department—continued.

(Goanese)— <i>continued.</i>		
Baker (cargo)		Rs. 60 p.m.
Baker (cargo) after two years		" 65 "
Troop cook		" 75 "
" baker		" 65 "
Assistant cook		" 65 "
Second		" 55 "
" after 5 years		" 60 "
Curry cook		" 50 "
Scullion		" 30 "
Assistant baker		" 55 "
Baker's mate		" 35 "
" after 5 years		" 40 "
Butcher, mail		" 80 "
" cargo		" 60 "
Assistant butcher		" 50 "
Butcher's mate		" 30 "
" after 5 years		" 35 "
Iceman		" 30 "
Knifeman		" 30 "
Topas;		" 30 "
Pantry boy		" 15 "
Laundryman		" 40 "
" after 1 year		" 45 "
General servants and messroom boys on promotion ..		" 25 "
General servants and messroom boys on promotion after 1 year.		" 40 "
General servants and messroom boys on promotion after 5 years.		" 45 "
General servants and messroom boys on promotion after 10 years.		" 50 "

Bonus for Prevention of Desertion in London, Australia and China.

Lascar serang	Rs.20 each
" barra tindal	" 10 "
Fireman serang	" 20 "
Fireman tindals	" 10 "
Coal trimmer serang	" 20 "

PART II.

Resignation.

Mazagon Dock is a marine engineering, shipwright and stores concern, dealing principally with the repairs and requirements of vessels of the P & O., B.I.S.N. Cos., and allied fleets sailing to and from the port of Bombay.

Recruitment.

Labour.—The bulk of the skilled labour employed comes from districts in the Bombay Presidency, the different classes employed are Hindu and Mahomedans, with some Indian Portuguese. The first named usually visit their homes once a year, more than the other classes. Casual and unskilled labour is not employed to any great extent in the works and is of the usual coolie class engaged as occasion requires.

Absences.—A small proportion of the workmen as stated above absent themselves before or after the monsoon to attend the cultivation of their fields and repairs to their homes.

Number Employed.—The average daily attendance of workmen in the engineering and shipwright departments is 2,300, with a minimum of 1,700 and maximum of 2,600 respectively. In addition, casual labour is engaged through the contractors, averaging 40 per day for the above, and a further number averaging about 250 men per diem are requisitioned by ship's officers for cleaning and scaling of vessels in the docks and harbour.

Method of Recruiting.—Skilled artisans are more or less permanently employed, with some fluctuation according to whether busy or slack times, other skilled or semi-skilled labour when required is obtained from men offering themselves for

employment and is selected according to proficiency and general ability of the applicant. The supply is usually greater than the demand and as selection is thus possible there is no need of employment agencies.

Employment.

Average duration of Employment.—Workmen in the shops are allowed to work without any particular age limit, provided they continue physically fit, and some old workmen who have done good service in the past are retained under these conditions.

Promotion.—Skilled workmen are promoted to higher grades as opportunities occur, i.e., in the event of the position of mastery falling vacant by death or retirement.

Retrenchment.—This must necessarily affect the permanent workmen disadvantageously when sufficient work does not present itself to give employment to the whole number, but to minimise the hardship as much as possible the men are put on shifts during slack periods which is apportioned as equitably as possible.

Labour for Mail and Passenger Service.—Casual labour to the average of about 230 men weekly is employed through contractors, on the arrival and departure of vessels, in the handling of mails and passengers' baggage.

Relations between Staff and Workmen.—These are generally satisfactory. The workmen have always access to their superior officers and through him to the general manager, or even direct access is not denied.

Time-Keeping.

Registers.—Attendance is registered by timekeeper and staff of clerks, checked by the superior officer in each department and extensions checked by accounts department. Men working outside or on vessels are mustered and sent out on a "challan" (description of work to be done form) to the officer of the vessel, or to any other party, where requisitioned.

Wages.

Payments.—Payments are made in cash monthly, on a daily rate of wage; payments are made about the middle of the month, the payment boxes being filled in the managing agents' offices, brought to the works and distributed by, or in the presence of responsible departmental officer. Daily paid or casual labour engaged through contractors is paid by them.

Basis of Payment for Overtime.—Overtime is calculated on the same basis as ordinary pay, i.e., 8 hours per day.

Deduction by Fining.—Is not resorted to.

Unclaimed Wages.—These are returned to the managing agents if not claimed within a week or ten days.

Health.

Sanitary Arrangement in Works.—Suitable latrines and water supply is provided, with drinking water taps and wash places are provided.

Accidents.—There is a surgery with an apothecary in attendance, to provide first aid in the case of accidents, which if serious are conveyed to the hospital.

Hours.

Hours per Weekday.—Working hours in engineering and shipwright departments are: weekdays from 7.30 a.m. to 12 noon, and 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.: 8½ hours. Working hours on Saturdays from 7.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m., 6 hours: totalling 48½ hours per week.

Holidays.—There are four paid holidays in the year, viz., New Year's Day, Good Friday, King Emperor's Birthday and Christmas Day. Sunday is observed as a day of rest, except when urgent work on steamers demands attendance.

Small Craft Flotilla.—There is a number of tugs, launches and barges in use for harbour work, manned by an aggregate of 500 men. These men more or less live on board the craft and do not serve under articles of agreement. The Indian Merchant Shipping Act does not apply to these vessels.

Stores.—A large store is maintained for ships' requirements giving employment to 60 permanent coolies and about 28 occasional men per day.

Welfare.

Recreation.—A teashop is run by outside agency situated on the premises and a sports club which is chiefly patronized by clerical staff.

Loan Society.—An employees' co-operative society was instituted seven years ago, open to all workmen and clerks, the purpose of which is to enable employees to invest savings in a safe and remunerative manner and to obtain loans on reasonable terms and so avoid usurious money lenders.

The present number of members is 888, the issued share capital is Rs. 96,501, and the outstanding loans are Rs. 81,975.

Safety.—Every reasonable precaution is taken for the safety of workers, which is carried out to the satisfaction of the Factory Act Inspector in the guarding of moving parts of machinery, testing of crane wires, etc., which measures are not only consistent with humanitarian motives, but in self interest. The Indian Compensation Act provides a strong incentive to safety measures.

Workmen's Compensation.—According to the Act employees "waiting periods" are paid for at compensation rates.

Trade Combinations.

Individual Trade Unions.—One union so far has been constituted i.e., the Mazagon Dock Employees Union. This is in its infancy, and about 50 per cent. of the workmen are members. So far, its attitude generally speaking, is similar to other unions, under the management of outside labour leaders whose view point is always one-sided, without any regard to equity between the worker and the employer; the demand generally being increase of pay, irrespective of skill and efficiency in the worker, and continued employment whether there is work or not for him. Strict impartiality is observed in dealing with unionists and non-unionists. A desirable feature in these unions would be the management of their own concerns without interference from outside unions.

List of Minimum and Maximum Rates for June, 1929.

Designation.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Average.
Blacksmiths	1 12	3 6	2 6
Carpenters	1 4	3 0	2 2
Coppersmiths	2 0	2 10	2 3
Tinsmiths	1 6	2 4	1 13
Coolies	1 0	1 2	1 1
Fitters	1 8	3 10	2 8
Brass finishers	1 12	2 12	2 3
Moulders	1 12	2 12	2 3
Masons and bricklayers	2 0	3 14	2 8
Muccadums	1 13	2 8	2 3
Oilers	—	1 6	1 6
Patternmakers	1 12	3 10	2 7
Painters	1 0	3 9	1 11
Riveters	1 7	1 15	1 11
Rivet boys	1 0	1 5	1 2
Hammermen	1 2	1 8	1 5
Turners	2 4	4 6	2 12
„ mistry	—	5 0	5 0
Sawyers	1 15	3 0	2 3

LETTER FROM MESSRS. MACKINNON MACKENZIE & CO., AGENTS,
THE BRITISH INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO. LTD., NO. S/3479, DATED
11TH DECEMBER, 1929.

We have the honour to address you on the subject of the evidence tendered to your Commission on 23rd ultimo by the shipping master and the secretaries of the Indian Seamen's Union and the Bombay Seamen's Union, and would make the following comments in case they may be helpful to the members of the Commission.

Recruitment.

We agree with the shipping master that the present system is quite satisfactory to employers. It was stated by the secretary of the Indian Seamen's Union that the engagement of serangs for this company is controlled by the shipping broker, but we would point out that this is not the case. We keep a register of serangs and butlers and they are engaged direct by our respective superintendents in conjunction with

the commanders and chief engineers, and all other qualifications being equal preference is given to the man who has been longest out of employment. If we have no suitable serangs available, we apply to the shipping master for a few to be sent to our office, from which we make our selection quite independent of the brokers.

With regard to the suggestion that all seamen should be registered and employment offered to them in rotation, we do not favour this. It is our experience with regard to deck and engineroom crews that to obtain satisfactory results it is essential that the serangs and the men have mutual respect for each other and the present system under which the serang and his men come from the same locality or the same village lends itself to the smooth and efficient working of the department. It is not uncommon in the event of a serang leaving a ship through illness or other cause, for the crew to refuse to sail under another serang, and we think the idea of a serang having to engage men in rotation would prove most unsatisfactory even if found practicable. Naturally we prefer crews who have experience of our methods of working and we could not agree to being required to take men strictly in order of rotation. The company is responsible for the lives of passengers and the safe carriage of cargo, and we are therefore entitled to have a free hand in the selection of our men, in the same way as any other employer of labour.

We do not consider that unemployment is as serious as it appears at first glance, and we would point out that according to our information it is the custom for Indian seamen to return to their country for a considerable period, even up to eight to twelve months, after a year's service afloat, therefore only a portion of the seamen shown as unemployed are seeking employment, for it is our experience that, at times, serangs have difficulty in mustering a crew. We agree that the number of serangs offering is far in excess of the demand but do not think that it would be possible for more than three quarters of the serangs to muster a full crew at the same time. Most of these men would secure employment within a reasonable period if they were willing to sign on as lower ratings.

As we feel that it may be possible to arrange for the engagement of Goanese saloon crews in rotation by registering each suitable applicant for employment and engaging them in rotation, we have been experimenting in certain of our steamers. Results to date have not proved entirely satisfactory, for when the crew is appointed, the butler invariably complains that certain members of the crew are not to his liking, and it is found that the men to whom he takes exception are men who are not from his native village. When the butler is called upon to explain any shortages of plate, linen stores, etc., on the vessel's return to port, he protests that he complained about certain of the crew appointed and claims that he cannot be held responsible for the actions of men of whom he does not approve.

Calcutta Crews on Bombay Steamers.—It was mentioned that Calcutta crews were brought to Bombay as their wages are lower than those prevailing in Bombay. Wages in Calcutta are slightly lower than in Bombay, but when the cost of bringing the men across is taken into consideration there is little or no saving.

We may say our reason for employing Calcutta engineroom crews is entirely due to their being found more efficient under the conditions which the vessels they are employed on run. The disadvantage of employing them is that to replace men who desert or fall sick we have to send to Calcutta, and this takes a few days to do, and sometimes results in a vessel sailing without her full complement.

In April, 1928, we appointed a Bombay engineroom crew to the "Karoa," on the African Mail Line, but the result was not a success. On the first three voyages it was found that the trimmers although keeping six hour watches had great difficulty in supplying the firemen with sufficient coal. On the fourth voyage the trouble was more serious, and the steamer left Seychelles a day late, and some of the deck crew were sent below to assist the firemen and trimmers. The coal consumption of the steamer also increased very considerably owing to bad firing and we, therefore, had no alternative but to revert to Calcutta men.

In July, 1928, we tried a Bombay engineroom crew on the "Ellora," on the African Line, with similar results. As a Ratnagiri crew could not be obtained (which seems to discredit the reports of unemployment) a Punjab crew was signed on, and they were personally selected by the shipping master. Adverse reports were received after the first voyage, but the chief engineer was willing to persevere with the men and latterly they turned out fairly satisfactory. As 26 of these men refused to sign on again on expiry of articles, and it was impossible to obtain a suitable Ratnagiri crew, we were compelled to engage a Calcutta crew.

It has been our experience throughout that Calcutta engineroom crews are more satisfactory than Bombay crews on steamers which have to maintain a fairly high speed.

The following statement shows that the number of Bombay crews employed on the company's steamers based on this port is far in excess of the number of Calcutta men engaged.

	Deck crew.	Engineroom crew.	Saloon crew.
Slow Gulf Service :			
Five steamers	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay
Fast Gulf Service :			
Three steamers	Bombay	Calcutta	Bombay
African Service :			
Five steamers	Bombay	Calcutta	Bombay
African Coast Service :			
Two motor vessels	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay
Karachi Service :			
Two steamers	Bombay	Calcutta	Bombay
Malabar Service :			
Two steamers—1 steamer	Bombay	Calcutta	Bombay
1 steamer	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay
Home Line :			
Two motor vessels—1 motor vessel	Calcutta	Calcutta	Bombay
1 motor vessel	Calcutta	Bombay	Bombay
Four steamers—2 steamers	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay
1 steamer	Bombay	Calcutta	Bombay
1 steamer	Calcutta	Calcutta	Calcutta

Brokers.—The broker's only duty in connection with new crews is to make an advance of one month's pay to each man who is engaged. Should any man desert or be signed off articles before he has earned the amount of his advance, the loss of the unearned portion is borne by the broker. In return for this immunity from loss the company pay to the broker a commission of 5 per cent. on all advances made by him. It was suggested that this work might be performed by a Seamen's Co-operative Society, and we would have no objection provided we are guaranteed the same immunity as at present.

We trust that the contents of this letter will prove of assistance to the members of your Commission and we shall be glad to supply any further information you may desire.

Mrs. SHAREEFA HAMID ALI, VICE PRESIDENT, ALL INDIA WOMEN CONFERENCE AND PRESIDENT KOLABA WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

III.—Housing.

16. Very few houses are supplied for labourers by factory or millowners. Their housing accommodation is usually extremely insanitary. Eight or twelve people sometimes occupy one small room in large industrial cities like Bombay.

There are one or two mills which have built good quarters for their workers. I consider the Sholapur mills, owned by Narotamdas Morarji as a model mill in this respect. Private houses are more expensive than those supplied by millowners or factories and their sanitary condition much worse.

It is urgently necessary that Government should appoint more women inspectresses to supervise the housing of women labourers as housing accommodation has a good or evil moral effect on workers, especially the young women and girl workers.

IV.—Health.

23. General health of working class mothers is far from good. Opium is given to babies as a rule by the working-class women to keep them quiet. This leads, of course to great infant mortality and physical deterioration of the children.

Every factory which employs women should be made compulsorily to keep a crèche and to appoint a trained factory welfare worker. In this respect India is far behind England where in a place like Horrocks works for instance five welfare workers are employed. And this is pretty generally the practice in all the centres of labour in England.

25. Even when medical facilities are provided the women do not know how to make use of them. For this it is necessary either to employ or to encourage social workers to come and teach the women the necessity of using sanitary arrangements,

taking care of their drinking water, the need of bathing and washing and also more necessary than anything else the need of getting in only trained midwives or women doctors for maternity cases. Unless registration of dais and midwives is made compulsory the women labourers will undoubtedly send for the cheapest help and that will be the untrained filthy dai who is chiefly responsible for the appalling mortality amongst women and children.

V.—Welfare (other than Health and Housing, but including Education).

Employers must be made to feel responsible about the general welfare of their workers. As far as women are concerned they must be given the use of hospitals, creches and maternity homes, and arrangements made for their education, not in schools necessarily, but by talks on health, hygiene, food values, baby nurture, cooking, housekeeping and training of children, and arrangements should also be made to teach the three "R's" to those women who are willing to learn.

Very few mills or factories even provide a shelter for meals. The Sholapur mills is the only place I have seen where a canteen for millhands is provided.

56. Reading and writing for men and children should be compulsory, and a good deal of teaching in various domestic and health subjects should be given by lantern slides for men, women and children.

38. Co-operative grain shops and cloth shops should be provided by every mill and factory.

VI.—Education.

41. It is desirable to have vocational and industrial schools attached to teach the future workers.

42. The right type of education does undoubtedly increase the efficiency of industrial workers.

X.—Special Questions relating to Women, Young Adults and Children.

82. The admission of infants in factories is necessary, but employers must be compelled by law to provide a creche for each factory.

83. Women should not be allowed to work for more than six hours, because they are compelled to do a good deal of work at home before and after working hours.

Miss M. KARA, SEVA MANDIR, BOMBAY.

The Housing Problem in the district of Tardeo.—Our knowledge of the housing conditions in the district of Tardeo is limited. Here we shall only state those facts which we have collected through the inhabitants or through our own observation of 6 or 8 chawls (tenements) we come in contact with almost daily, due to our social service centre in that district. The dwelling places occupied by the wage earning classes are of four types :—

(i) Chawls owned by private individuals, (ii) chawls provided by the employers, (iii) chawls provided by the B.B. & C.I. Rly. Co. with somewhat modern structure, (iv) tin sheds. The plots owned by the landlords.

The Maneckji Petit Mills which is in the district where we do our social work, provides thirteen chawls with 400 rooms for their workers. The total number of workers at this mill is about 4,050. We are in touch with only one of these 13 chawls provided by the employers.

There is no building provided by the Government in our district but there are four chawls provided by the B.B. & C.I.Rly. Co., and the rest are owned by private owners.

Nature of Accommodation provided by the Employers.—Through the studies of the chawls of the employers, we can say in general that the housing condition of these labourers is very unsatisfactory. One room is provided for each family which is not big enough for our joint family system. Also the members are allowed to sub-let their rooms, to keep boarders even in the passages, on verandahs and also they build a shelf in the passage where people rest during the night. Very often one family has 14 to 15 boarders in such a small room. The mill authorities officially allow 4 to 5 members in one room, but this rule is not strictly observed.

Chawls owned by Private Individuals.—There seem a considerable contrast between chawls provided by the employers and private individuals. In the first case, the advantage is of the rent, which is practically half of that of the private owners. Also the rooms are better lighted and better ventilated because of the verandahs in the front. The employers' chawls also provide "mori" (washing place) in the room for the purpose of washing and bathing, which is a very great help to the women folk, specially at the time of sickness and delivery. Also a garbage can is provided to collect the rubbish, and we do not see open drainage in between two chawls. The above mentioned facilities are not found in the chawls owned by private individuals. The private chawls are absolutely inadequate to meet the demand of the workers. The rooms are small, dark and stuffy. The greatest disadvantage is that they have no "mories" (washing places) or no place even to throw water while cooking. We know of some cases where a temporary shed was put up in front of the room to wash a newly born baby. Every kind of household washing is done in front of the room, where the water collects. There are taps provided at the end of each storey, but there is no facility in the room. There is more sub-letting, as they are free from restrictions regarding sub-letting, cleanliness and sanitation.

Result on Health.—The result of such housing on the health of the workers is detrimental. The over-crowding in the room affects health and morals. There is no satisfactory arrangement as regards latrines, drainage or cleanliness on the whole, either in the chawls provided by the employers or by the private landlords. There are still some latrines where there is no flush system. Also the complaints regarding bad drainage, broken pipes, etc., are not attended to by the people in charge. The Muccadams or the Bhaiyas who are supposed to look after the sanitation and see to the regular attendance of the sweepers are very slack in their duties. The result is that there is always a terrible smell in both these types of houses. The old-fashioned latrines should be at once replaced by the new ones. During the monsoon, the water leaks from the roof in some cases. The ground being uneven the water collects during the monsoon. This results in malaria and many other diseases.

Nature of Accommodation in Tin Sheds.—The tin sheds are occupied by the depressed classes. These are level with the streets, and are not high enough for a person to stand erect. These tins are fitted together by stones, etc., and men, children, chickens and goats are herded together as one family. Each big shed is divided by cloth drapings into 4 or 6 rooms, occupied by 4 to 6 families. There is no light or ventilation and such huts are absolutely unsuited for any human habitation. These huts have been in existence for many years. There are no taps, no latrines, no water supply and the inhabitants have to go a long way for their respective needs. They have no baths for days and days, and we see the children covered with dirt, playing in mud by the side of the goats and the chickens. During the summer the sheds are too hot in the afternoons, so the inhabitants are found sitting on the roadside in the shade. Very little need be said in such circumstances regarding the results on health and morals. Just close to these huts there are buffalo stables, which have bad effect on the health of the people.

Utilisation by the Workers of the Housing Accommodation available.—There are no improvement trust chawls in our district, but the chawls provided by the employers are gladly utilized and appreciated by the workers; but such chawls are very few in number.

Rent Rates.—There is a considerable difference in rents of the employers' chawls and those of the private owners. The employers charge about Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-8 annas per room while they vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8.

The system of the rent in these tin sheds is very complicated. A man who owns a piece of land has given a contract for a certain sum, to another man who lives in the neighbourhood. This man has again given a contract to the Bhaiya who charges about Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per shed to the inhabitants who sub-let their rooms to others.

Problem of Sub-letting.—This problem is very difficult in labour classes. Often the men-folk come to Bombay from the villages and have no homes. They come and stay with their relatives and pay some money for board and lodging. The head man of the family who is directly paying the rent for the chawls provided by the employer, is not employed elsewhere, but many others in his family and the boarders, who take advantage of these chawls, are not necessarily working at the same mill or factory.

Effect on Morals.—The present housing system leads to overcrowding and lack of privacy. The family life hence becomes very difficult, and all the activities of the home life are impeded. One great disadvantage is that many of the men folk do not bring their wives and children to Bombay, for want of room, and hence the men lead an immoral life. Often a man lives with another woman as his wife, and everything results in misery. Also when a mother is expecting a baby, she gives birth to

a child in the same room, where there are big grown-up boys and girls. At night all men, women and children sleep together. Often a newly-married couple get half of the room separated by a piece of cloth.

There are also common latrines for men and women which also have a bad result on morals.

Improvement Suggested.—The workers should have at least 2 rooms with 2 windows and a little space in the front. There should be 1 "mori" in each room. Also the system of sub-letting should be entirely abolished. The flooring in the room, should be of stone pavement and not of mud, as it is at present. There should be a separate latrine for men and women and more than one tap on each floor. Garbage-cans should not only be provided, but it should be seen that they are used. The supervision of the Muccadams and Bhaiyas should be regular and strict. The municipality should take more interest, and better care of such existing huts, sheds, and chawls. The people in charge, e.g., Muccadams are very neglectful to the complaints of the workers. The sweepers should attend more regularly than they have been.

Tin Sheds.—It is impossible to improve upon the tin sheds in any way; and the only alternative suggestion that could be made is that the municipal authority should never allow such huts to be erected, and should see to it that the existing ones are demolished as early as possible.

Conclusion.—This is our general observation about the housing conditions in the locality of Tardeo, where we conduct our work under Seva-Mandir. Our institution has been in existence for the last three years only, but we have done our best to help and uplift the cause of the workers. We have often taken women to the hospitals for their confinements and other sicknesses, for the very reason of bad housing. We have given free medical help to many women and children at our clinic. To take away children from the bad housing conditions, we have organized play centres for boys and girls in the evenings. We also have given health talks in the chawls and at our centre to women. There is also a nursery school at our centre for children, who would otherwise be in the streets. Many boys and girls are taken to the municipal schools by our workers. The grown-up girls and women come to us daily for educational and social purposes.

Thus we in our small way are trying to help the cause of the needy and the poor, yet, such private social agencies can do very little till the very homes of our people are what they should be.

Dr. NUSSERWANJEE HORMUSJEE VAKEEL, M.R.C.S. (ENGLAND),
L.R.C.P. (LONDON).

Practising for the last 17 years in Bombay, I have been associated for the last 14 years with the textile mill industry of this city in the way of being medical officer to four different mills, viz., The Simplex Mills, the Mathradas Mills, the Hong Kong Mills, and the Wadia Woollen Mills. Of these at present I am medical officer of the first two mills only. During these 14 years, I have had a fair insight into the working of medical relief for the textile mill hand in this city, the effect of such relief on the physical well-being of the textile labourer and where such relief to my mind is defective.

In 1914, and up till the War came to an end, medical relief to the mill hands was poor indeed. Most of the mill dispensaries were very miserably equipped with medicines and the dispensaries were a disgrace. Even to-day, though several mill dispensaries have vastly improved, and some of them actually good, there are yet a good many where there is plenty of room for improvement, both in the quality and quantity of medicines supplied, as well as the general appearance and equipment of these dispensaries. In spite of this, as will be seen from the attached statistics of the two mills I have been in charge of (and I dare say other medical officers of some of the well-equipped dispensaries of some other good mills are of the same opinion), much good is done by these dispensaries; and if a personal interest is taken in the physical well-being of the mill-hand by the medical officer himself and not left to his subordinates, these dispensaries become very popular. The textile labourer shows on the whole, appreciation of work done and feels grateful for what is being done by the mill agents for medical relief.

The economic factor is largely responsible for the somewhat bad state of a good few of these dispensaries, as, much economy is exercised in the ordering of drugs. Imported drugs are very expensive in Bombay, and although much head-way is made in the way of manufacturing several drugs in India, and these can be bought in the market at comparatively low rates, they do not compare in quality to the product of the west and so the individual that suffers owing to cheap drugs bought, is the patient. In Great Britain great facilities are provided by the Government for the labour population to supply medicines cheap, and I do not see why the local Government or Government of India cannot help the mill-owners in these critical times to supply medicines to these institutions at very low rates. This can easily be done if the imported drugs are supplied to the mills at import duty-free rates. The indents for the supply of medicines for each month or each quarter of the year may be sent to special Government departments for inspection and endorsements. The medicines can then be bought at the usual market rates by the mill agents and then the Government can be asked to pay the mills the difference in the cost, which, in other words would mean that the medicines would be supplied duty-free. If this be done, better quality medicines and a larger amount of them can be bought by their agents for the relief of their employees.

In spite of much agitation, great talk and a number of strikes, I can unhesitatingly say that the health and general physical condition of the textile labourer, in general, has vastly improved since the years 1914-16, and in my opinion the factors responsible for this improvement are various :—

(1) Better pay.

(2) Lesser hours of work.

(3) Great improvement in the sanitary conditions of such parts of Bombay in which the mills are situated—the roads, which were the most horrible in Bombay are to-day, about the very best, minimizing the nuisance of dust (which means much less disease); and narrow lanes are converted into fine broad roads. The northern part of the island where most of the mills are situated is thus a different place in many respects.

(4) The chawls, though they are not all that is desirable and a few of the criticisms directed against them are certainly true, are, however, infinitely better than the horrible hovels in which the labourer used to stay in days gone by, as there is certainly more light and ventilation for fresh air in these new chawls than there used to be in the old dwellings.

(5) Lastly, the Compensation Act has been of very great benefit to the worker. Few can appreciate the real advantages of this Act more than men like me who were accustomed to see the ill-effects of the absence of this Act and compare them with the great advantages derived from its existence at the present time. It may be said at once, that even in pre-Act days, many mill agents at the recommendations of their managers were very humane and generous in compensating their men for injuries, but in most cases few cared as to what happened to the injured person—whether he lost a finger or a limb or his life, and the irony of losing a finger or a limb, was often, though not always, that he lost his job also—perhaps the only compensation he received. With minor injuries, certainly, he had to work day after day, causing him much pain and suffering and very often it was the jobber who was responsible for this cruelty as he was in those days more powerful than what he is to-day, and the movement of the injured parts with work caused not only pain, but slow healing of wounds. To-day things are vastly different. Whether the accident be small or great, the injured person is at once taken to the departmental head who sends the patient, accompanied by a jobber, to the mill dispensary. There the wound is examined and receives first-aid at once, the wound being thoroughly sterilized. If the nature of the injury is serious, the patient is at once sent to the hospital in a municipal ambulance which runs an admirable service, being always very prompt in honouring calls for accidents. If the injury is not so serious it is treated all the time at the mill dispensary and until the injured part is cured the patient is not allowed to work, and he gets full pay for the time he is recovering, provided of course, the medical officer in charge of the dispensary certifies to his regular attendance for treatment.

Although as a result of this Act, which, thanks mostly to the goodwill of the mill agents appears to work comparatively smoothly, the interest of the injured being thus secured, there must be set on foot some movement amongst the men themselves by resorting *en masse* to insurance against illness. It is a common and very often a sad sight to see men with high fevers trying to work against their strength and ability, not for one or two days but for several days together, because of the fear of loss in wages for the time they are absent; and when recovered from the fever,

the after-effects of the illness are sometimes many and probably in some cases the damage to the constitution is life-long. I only wish that the unions instead of wasting so much money over strikes and propagandas against mill agents, were to use that money for insuring men against illnesses.

A glance at the annexed statistics chart will show that a large number of diseases treated have been that of the skin, and most of the diseases affecting the skin are the result of poor hygienic care of it. It has been a surprise to me and it will be, I am sure, to the members of this Royal Commission, that in such a large and industrious city with its constant boast of being "Urbs prima in Indis," neither the corporation nor the Government has ever thought of establishing one single public bath, whilst thousands and thousands of pounds are spent in Europe for the benefit of those who cannot enjoy the advantage of a bath at home. To cite but one example in the world, one has only to see the famous baths of the city of Vienna, viz., the Dianabades and the Ameliabades. This is too poor a country to think of having these palatial baths for the poor, but surely it is high time that it had some public bath to speak of. I suggest a co-operation of the mill-owners, corporation and the Government in this matter. The mill-owners should supply lands for the erection of these baths in the compounds of the mills, the cost of erection of the baths must be borne both by the Government and the corporation, and the cost of the maintenance be borne by all three. That these baths should be reserved mostly for the mill hands only in the hours that the mills are *not* working, and for the other workers in the hours that the mills are working. There is another factor which enters into the causes and prolongation of the skin diseases, and that is clothes. Although the Indian worker takes more baths in his life than the European worker, owing to milder climatic conditions and the tenets of his religion, he is careless with regard to the nature of the water he uses for his bath, and the bath generally means one without soap of any kind, and then the same clothes or such as are dipped in water are put on again. To remedy this I would suggest that a cloth-sterilizing apparatus must be fixed up with every bath where clothes may be either subjected to heat, as is done in the disinfection sheds in the different parts of the world for infectious diseases, or dipped in some antiseptic solution and rapidly ironed by very large machines worked with steam or electricity as is found in laundries nowadays. Baths must be provided with soap. The municipality can supply water rate free, the millowner can easily supply steam or electricity for the water sterilization and heating and mechanical ironing of clothes, and Government can give monetary help to share the rest of the cost of upkeep. In this way nearly two lacs of the Bombay population can be provided with free baths.

When one considers the number and nature of the diseases with which the medical officer is confronted, one cannot but observe that the doctor selected must be of the good type, has not only a sound experience of various ordinary diseases, but must be possessed of special knowledge of special subjects, such as of the eye, the nose, throat and ear, because at the two large mills under me, the Mathradas and the Simplex there has been a total attendance of no less than 8,737 in the course of two years in these two special subjects alone. It is not right for the workman, when he consults for eye or nose, throat or ear trouble, to be told every time to go to a hospital for it, because he has hardly the time to leave his work and would rather be treated in the mill dispensary. Of course, for operative work he must seek hospital shelter. To get a good type of doctor he must be fairly well paid. There are many mills where the wages are fair, viz., Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 a month for an hour's attendance daily, but there are others where the scale is miserable and I consider Rs. 150 or less for a large mill inadequate to get the right type of man if he means serious and conscientious work.

The assistant is generally a compounder, who does fairly useful work for Rs. 50 to Rs. 80 a month, but he is generally not a qualified chemist or pharmacist, and one hopes that a time may come when there will be also better qualified men for their post and then they can demand better wages.

There is one other subject on which I have very reluctantly to draw the attention of the Royal Commission. I say reluctantly because in referring to it I am fully conscious that a great economic problem is involved with the question, and nobody who has the real interest of the textile industry at heart must do or say anything that may further accentuate the very deplorable and critical state to which the industry has been reduced to-day. I fully realize that a large portion of the textile mill workers are irresponsible workers. The finer instincts of the workman to be proud of the quality of the work he produces, to be conscious of the duty he owes both to his country and to his employer, and to be thoughtful of the larger problem of doing his bit to compete against foreign goods, are all absent in him. On the other hand there is also a large number of loyal workers (the last strike has shown that

there is such a class) which suffers for the sins of the other workers. I am alluding to the number of holidays that the mill hands get and the way in which these holidays are arranged. There is much force again in saying that there is a large class which takes its holidays when it likes and how it likes, thinking not an atom about the injury to the industry. But I am not speaking for these. I am again speaking for the loyal workman. He complains. It is no good saying that one must not compare the British worker with the Indian worker. A time will come when, given the benefits, which the British worker enjoys, the Indian worker will be more alive to the absolute necessity of a bond of good feeling towards his employer. Therefore, in order to appreciate the real strength of this grievance it would be best to compare the *number of holidays* that the British textile labourer gets with the ones that the Indian gets in Bombay. In England the worker gets Sundays, half-holidays on Saturdays, and the 10 days of summer holidays, with the three days of Good Friday, Christmas, and New Year's Day, altogether 91 days, whilst the Indian worker gets only 61 days at the most. If there is a holiday given in the week for some Hindu or Mahomedan festival, then to compensate that the following Sunday is a working day, and worse still is the fact that if there is such a holiday falling in the middle of the week, say on a Wednesday or a Thursday, then there is no rest for a conscientious workman until after ten consecutive working days. I consider this very derogatory to the health of a good conscientious workman. I can understand easily a Britisher working in the winter of an English climate like that without a rest, but in Bombay, with its none too bracing climate, to work ten days in succession for ten hours a day without a break is not easy. It is quite possible that one of the causes, though it may not be the main cause, of the worker being a loiterer and a shirker, may be that he sometimes cannot work steadily as how he is asked to work. I hope, therefore, that without detriment to the efficiency and economy to the industry some amicable settlement may be arrived at with the consent of the owners and the employees, even by doing away with some of the petty and unimportant Hindu and Mahomedan holidays, whereby Sunday is *always* made a holiday.

No medical evidence can be complete without referring to the incidence of malaria in the northern part of the city. Referring to the statistics again (and it has been the experience of almost all the mill doctors) that this disease takes its greatest toll between the months of May and December, and the least for the months of December to April. In several malaria epidemics often 25 per cent. of the workmen are affected and this is a serious matter for the efficient working of the mills and the amount of production. Very often during these epidemics the sheds look deserted and the dispensaries work at high pressure. It is immaterial whether the ponds grow *Anophele Subpictus*, which is a non-carrier of malaria; and the sprinkler tanks and the cisterns grow *Anophele Stephansis*, which is a deadly carrier of malaria. I think the time has come when slow and tardy actions must be speedily abandoned and a persistent, vigorous and extensive campaign for the destruction of these *Anophele* larvæ must be undertaken to get rid of this shadow of living death, stalking in our midst year out and year in, incapacitating some temporarily, and others permanently, from their work and working untold misery. Of course, the ideal remedy would be to fill up all these ponds whose number is great and whose sizes are none too small; but such a proposition has been often and often discussed and dropped again several times owing to want of finance and partly also in many mills the water of these tanks is very useful, and doing away with them would be a source of inconvenience and expenditure to the mill authorities. The only other alternative, therefore, would be to try and sterilize these tanks of the *Anophele* larvæ by means of partly (a) chemicals, such as Kerosene, Pervicol, and especially Paris Green, and (b) fishes, or both. With regard to the effects of Paris Green and the results of that material I must refer the members of this Royal Commission to the very admirable papers on this subject by Captain Chalam and Dr. Dalal, and Dr. Dalal and Dr. Madon, in the "Indian Medical Gazette," of 10th October, 1927, and also to another very good paper on the subject in the July number of the same journal by Drs. S. N. Sur and H. Sirkar, of Bengal.

Of course, the sprinkler tanks can be sealed up with a concrete work construction, and I am glad that even at this late hour the municipal authorities have woken up, urging the mill-owners to hurry on with this covering up of sprinkler tanks. With regard to the pond waters in a big city like Bombay, where there are no chances of people using these tank waters for washing and drinking purposes, the use of Paris Green becomes safe and the cost of this material, either diluted with dust or french chalk, to the corporation or the mill authorities is nothing, compared to the great good that such a procedure of wholesale and extensive sterilization of all ponds, tanks and cisterns by this larvicide can be brought to the benefit of suffering humanity. In the controversy that is raging in the press and the corporation about the filling up of wells, not enough stress has been laid on the acute malarial problem that is facing the northern part of the island.

Mathuradas Mills, 1926-27.

	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	Total. in the Year
Accidents, injuries, dressings ..	749	781	758	748	646	529	564	400	306	377	239	236	6,333
Gastro-intestinal diseases ..	140	92	101	117	189	167	134	41	60	77	73	44	1,235
Diseases of skin ..	498	556	518	735	759	560	600	469	359	483	341	394	6,271
Diseases of respiratory system ..	105	90	109	108	177	166	186	222	155	108	49	50	1,525
Diseases of genito-urinary ..	40	39	61	46	79	42	43	23	25	35	17	22	472
Diseases of muscles, joints and nerves	564	633	649	890	941	644	644	528	474	511	394	463	7,335
Diseases of teeth ..	42	44	42	55	53	52	63	28	26	30	24	14	473
Diseases of eye ..	60	60	59	71	68	61	75	33	33	34	25	18	597
Diseases of ear ..	66	73	81	81	81	82	73	44	39	49	51	39	759
Nose and throat ..	32	27	35	39	33	39	26	17	13	14	14	5	294
Operations ..	11	6	2	11	8	7	5	5	3	9	5	7	79
A.—Fever malaria ..	557	715	704	802	907	595	645	420	337	369	284	319	6,792
B.—Other fevers ..	88	104	108	129	149	100	88	50	44	53	37	41	991
													33,107

AMBERNATH LABOUR UNION.

I.—Recruitment.

Workers of various communities from different parts of India are working at Ambernath in the factory owned by The Western India Match Co., Ltd. Pathans, Criminal Tribe settlers, Mahomedans from Northern India and Malabar, Navaganis from the Deccan plateau and Konkans from neighbouring villages and the sea-coast, Malbari Hindus and Bhayas from Northern India, Christians from Goa and other parts, Telegus and others from Southern India form the labour force of Ambernath.

In the rainy season when cultivation starts the village workers are frequently absent from work and some of them take final settlement and go away returning to seek employment when agricultural work is over. About 1,500 workers are generally employed in the factory.

Recruitment is practically through the supervisors resulting in favouritism and jobbery. If the workers are recruited by the management in co-operation with the local union favouritism and jobbery may be put a stop to.

There is much unemployment at Ambernath. Some workers have been victimized since the failure of the last strike in July, 1929. Lack of village industries is also responsible for unemployment to a certain extent. The village boys are often found seeking jobs in the factory in order to supplement their family income. There is more supply of labour than there is a demand for and this unemployment cannot be checked unless a few more industries are established at Ambernath.

Unemployment Insurance.—Some scheme for the relief of the unemployment at least for workers permanently settled in the Industrial Centre is necessary.

Employment is Insecure.—Leave rules are not liberal enough to meet human needs. Workers have often to take final settlement and go away because they cannot get leave even for a legitimate purpose. When they are able to resume work they come back to seek re-employment. Workers are in no way benefited by sticking loyally to their jobs. Absenteeism prevails to some extent. There is no difference made between regular and an irregular worker. The favourites of the supervisors are allowed all sorts of latitude while others are harassed. Agricultural operations in the rainy season, undetected and unrecorded sickness and necessity of relaxation to remove strain of work are some of the causes of absenteeism.

II.—Staff Organization.

The manager of the factory, the works manager and the officers in charge of different departments are generally Europeans who do not know the language of the workers sufficiently well. They have, therefore, to depend on the supervisors who are recruited from English knowing workers in some cases. These middle men are in no way superior in culture to the workers and are responsible for many malpractices prevailing in the factory.

There are no facilities for the training either of the supervisors or workers. Promotions of workers are rare. There is no human touch between masters and men. The relations between them are quite mercenary. The system of employing supervisors of low standing is responsible for many malpractices. Works committees, works councils and industrial councils are not in existence. Record of work done and attendance are kept by supervisors. Wages are paid to workers in the departments through the officers in charge of the departments. Works committees started in a patronizing spirit cannot work satisfactorily. If the workers' representatives on a works committee are elected through the workers' unions, where they exist, such organizations may help both the employers and the employees.

III.—Housing.

The majority of workers are housed by the management. There are four types of rooms built. New chawls have been recently built for higher class of workers, the monthly rent of each room being about Rs. 6 in addition to water charge at the rate of 6 annas per head per month. The second type of houses are concrete buildings and a great many workers have to live in rooms made wholly of iron sheets. These last are quite unfit for human habitation as they get very hot in the hot season and very cold in winter. Generally the working class families live in one room tenements. This results in overcrowding and is detrimental to health as well as to morals of the people concerned. Rents vary from Re. 1 to Rs. 6 per month according to the type of room occupied. During strikes the workers do feel the disadvantages of living in houses built by the employers. If workers are encouraged to build cottages in village fashion on modern plans they can be housed very cheaply and each family

may be allowed to have as many rooms as its number require. If Government and the management encourage the workers in organizing a Co-operative Housing Society the above suggestion may be carried out resulting in removal of overcrowding and consequent physical and moral improvement of the workers.

IV.—Health.

The general health of the workers is not satisfactory. There are annual visitations of malaria and other epidemics. Evil effects of disturbance of sex ratio are also marked.

Medical facilities are provided by the employers by maintaining a dispensary for workers. But as the present doctor in charge of it is very unpopular with workmen they use it only when they cannot do without it. They often prefer to go for treatment to another local doctor who is in charge of a dispensary in the Dharamsi Morarji Chemical Works, even though they have to pay for it. No provision is made of women doctors, trained midwives or dais. Sanitary arrangements are not satisfactory. Latrines both in the factory and the chawls are often out of order. There is a scramble for water supply at certain common water taps where water can be had only at stated hours and crowds are always seen doing penance for water. Bath-rooms and washing places are not provided.

Sickness insurance is urgently needed by working class people. They are in a great plight when they fall sick as their absence from work even for a single day deprives them of their wages and they have to incur additional expense to get cured.

A nursing home conducted with the ideal of service will make medical help popular with the people.

Maternity benefits have not yet begun. There are cases of women who have even lost their jobs after confinement.

V.—Welfare.

There is no welfare work done by the employers. The labour union has recently made a small beginning by organizing a Co-operative Credit Society and a store for the workmen. The management is willing to help such activities.

Two shop-keepers are allowed to run refreshment rooms in the factory. These rooms are shabby and are far from satisfactory. The so-called creche in the factory is a mockery. There is no systematic attempt made for provision of physical culture, recreation and amusements.

The labour union since it started work in May, 1928, has arranged a few dramatic performances, a magic show and two magic-lantern lectures for the recreation of the workers.

For adults no education facilities are made available. For workers' children a primary school is maintained by the employers, but as its working is entrusted to a christian mission it is not as popular as it ought to be.

Provision ought to be made for old age and premature retirement of workers; otherwise they are sure to be stranded when they are no longer able to work and they are no more able to earn their living or be a drag on the earning members of their families. The necessaries of life such as food and clothes ought to be supplied to workers at cost price so that their meagre earnings may be made to go a long way.

VI.—Education.

There is a local board school at Ambernath for the children of the locality in addition to a school maintained by the match factory. There are no facilities for adult education and industrial and vocational training.

VII.—Safety.

"Safety first" propaganda ought to be carried on by the employers even in their own interest. Some measures ought to be immediately adopted for the prevention of cases of burning and other accidents in the match factory. Accidents are very frequent at Ambernath.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

The workers are benefited by the Workmen's Compensation Act. The union and the employers co-operate in seeking that due compensation is paid in each case. Insurance by employers ought to be made compulsory so that the employers may not be tempted to deprive the injured of their dues. Workers, meeting with accidents, ought to be paid full wages till they are in a position to resume work or they are compensated for the injuries sustained.

IX.—Hours.

Hours of work per day should not exceed eight. Ten hours a day causes too much strain and is responsible for much of the loitering and irregular attendance by workmen. Generally six days are worked per week.

The workers go to the factory at 7 a.m. and work up to 12 noon. They resume work at 1 p.m. and leave at 5.30 p.m. or 6 p.m. There is one hour's recess after five hours' work. If there are two recesses instead of one at the end of each three hours' work there will be less fatigue and there will be more output of work. There is generally one holiday in a week.

XII.—Wages.

Rates of wages as cut down in 1927 prevail at present at Ambernath. The workers are paid twice a month. The wages vary between 10 annas to Rs. 3 per day. In surrounding agricultural area the wages are as low as 8 annas per day but the worker is fed in addition to his daily wage once during the working hours.

Overtime and Sunday work is paid at $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the usual rate. Minimum wages ought to be fixed by law. At present the minimum wage earned by a woman comes to about Rs. 14 per month and that by a man to Rs. 20, a minimum fixed by law ought to be at least Rs. 30 per month.

Fines are imposed for absence without leave at the rate of half a day's wages for one day's absence. A worker is also fined for negligence. Rent and water charges are deducted out of wages.

Amounts collected as fines are distributed as bonus amongst workmen meeting with accidents. Wages for fifteen days are in the case of each workman withheld and then payments are made. Unclaimed wages ought to be paid whenever demanded by the worker to whom they are due.

Workers are heavily indebted. The rates of interest range between 75 per cent. to 300 per cent. in the industrial areas and between 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. in the villages.

Bonus and profit sharing schemes are not in existence. Supervisors are paid bonuses according to the production of workers.

All leave is without pay. Since the starting of the union leave is granted for legitimate purposes on representations being made. Workers from neighbouring villages go on leave generally in the rainy season and unreported sickness is also a cause for absence. Generally it is difficult for workers who are illiterate to obtain leave even for legitimate purposes on account of the unsympathetic attitude of the supervisors. Some privilege leave ought to be granted every year to every workman after one year's service in order to enable him to go on a holiday.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

The Ambernath labour union was formed on the 1st May, 1928, during a strike. The strike ended successfully on the intervention of Mr. N. M. Joshi the president of the union. There was another strike at the end of July, 1928, owing to the management's policy of victimization. This strike was also successful. The union has represented about 500 grievances of the workers to the management and majority of them have been redressed. Night work by women was detected by the union. The union has successfully exposed many of the malpractices practised by supervisors and some of them have been brought to book. Two supervisors have been fined in Law Court. One has been dismissed by the management after an enquiry instituted on representations made by the union. One has been transferred to another department and still the management is partial to supervisors and hard on workers.

The workers as a class appreciate the work done by the union so far but religious differences between Hindus and Mahomedans are hampering the progress of the union; there was an unsuccessful strike in July, 1929. The failure was due to communal differences of which full advantage was taken by the management. Since this event the union's activities have suffered to a certain extent though all the activities started by it are still going on. Three workers have been sacked and about twenty workers have been still kept out of employ.

The attitude of the directors and the manager is not unsympathetic. The union has established a practice of meeting the management once a week to get all grievances redressed. This method wards off all avoidable trouble and maintains peace and order in the working of the factory.

There were three general strikes since the union was started. Two of them were successful and one failed. The first strike lasted for two weeks, the second for a week and the third only for a day. The first two strikes were amicably settled and the third failed owing to communal tension amongst the workers.

The union has affected the conditions of workers to some extent. Dismissals have become very rare. Fines are in some cases cancelled when imposed without sufficient reason. Jobbery is checked and all sorts of legitimate grievances of workers are redressed. Physical punishments and abuse of workers have vanished.

The union has organized a Credit Co-operative Society and a store for the benefit of all workers and an out-door dispensary has been recently started.

Ambernath is surrounded by a group of villages the residents of which are also being beneficially affected by the activities of the union. An association of farmers has started work and it is undertaking co-operative sale of paddy this year and intends to organize social work for the betterment of village people.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE MAHARASHTRA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Introductory.—The committee of this chamber are alive to the fact that capital as well as labour are both essential to industry and that their harmonious relations are a *sine qua non* of the prosperity of industry, other factors being what they should be. The committee, therefore, have always tried to view with sympathy and understanding all proposals, from whatever source emanating, for the good of labour. They desire, however, to emphasize that unless there is an appreciation and understanding of the whole situation by the workers themselves and unless they are alive to the exigencies of the true industrial position in this country, no great advance is possible in the direction of amelioration of the working classes. The committee have watched with increasing uneasiness the recrudescence of working class unrest all over the country, during the last year or two. It is rather unfortunate that frequent stress should be laid upon the want of identity of interests between labour and capital by even those who claim to be working for the good of labour. This unnecessarily creates cleavage and fanned class-feeling and even at times class-hatred, rendering reciprocal appreciation of each other's difficulties extremely difficult, due to the generation of heat. An atmosphere of suspicion or mistrust, wherein each party views the other's expressions and actions as moves calculated to deliberately defeat its own purposes, is certainly not conducive to the mutual understanding or to the solution of difficulties facing both the parties. The committee, however, have to say that such an unpleasant atmosphere has existed in this country in any case so far as Bombay is concerned, for some time past, and consequently the task of adjustment of mutual differences has been rendered very difficult.

XIV.—Trade Combinations.

Genuine Trade Unionism is in every way desirable.—The committee take this opportunity to state that they stand for genuine trade unionism and its healthy growth. The rank and file of labour can only learn to correctly appraise labour problems and see things in their true perspective through the schooling of such a growth. That will, in course of time, render it possible for both labour and capital to understand each other better than they are doing at present. It is always preferable to have an organized and intelligent labour than to have a large crowd of workers without any organization, cohesion, or discipline. It is desirable more particularly from the point of view of the employers, as it is more convenient for them to understand labour grievances from the unions than from the individual workers, who often number several thousands in any decent-sized, well-established and organized modern industrial establishment.

Workers are fairly well organized in the Cotton Textile and other Industries of the Country.—As far as the cotton textile industry is concerned, the workers are fairly well organized in unions. The Bombay textile workers are organized to the extent of 70 or 80 per cent. The textile workers at Ahmedabad also are similarly organized. The other industrial centres in India, like Cawnpore, Calcutta and Nagpur, have also unions of their workers. The workers in the match industry and the steel industry in the country are also organized. The growth is more or less recent and covers for the most part a period of about a decade, the period that has elapsed since the close of the great European War (1914–1919). The value of trade unions is being increasingly appreciated both by the workers themselves and by the capitalists. Although trade-unionism in this country has had the advantage of experience of the movement in other western countries to guide it, and although its growth has been rapid enough, it is still in its infancy and trade-union activity is not still regularised, although the 1926 Trade Union Act has gone a great way in putting trade unions on a proper basis. As has been earlier observed the rank and file have not yet learnt

enough and naturally their control of the unions' policy is not quite effective. It must, however, be noted that the workers are becoming more intelligent day by day and they are evincing greater interest in problems that affect their interests. After all the workers are not so ignorant as they are commonly supposed to be. The attitude of employers is no longer one of hostility or opposition to these unions, though in some cases one may occasionally see unwillingness on the part of the employers to recognize the union. This is not quite an unusual or a new thing to notice in the early days of trade union movement in a country. Similar opposition was evinced in England by the employers in the infancy of the trade union movement. Both the employers as well as the employees will have to adjust themselves to the requirements of the new situation which the evolution of the modern organized industry has called into being. The question is only one of time. The railways in this country are gradually passing into the hands of the State. There is no valid reason why employees in State-owned industrial concerns should be in a different category, so far as the application of trade union principles to them is concerned. It is possible to say that the employees in the "public utility" services stand on a different footing on account of the nature of the services in which they are employed. Even there it is only a question of how and where to draw the line of demarcation between these and others.

Strike is a Weapon to be used in the Last Resort ; Many Grievances can be removed by Representation and Negotiation.—It is rather unfortunate that strikes are often, and at times, one is tempted to say, unnecessarily declared even for redress of smaller grievances as could be seen from the history of the recent Bombay strikes in the textile industry. They are sometimes declared even without the knowledge of the union officials. The workers are not yet educated in the true principles of trade unionism and they naturally think that strike is the most handy weapon. It is not, as a matter of fact, a weapon to be so lightly used now and then, it is to be used only in the last resort. Many grievances are such as can be at once removed by means of representation and negotiation. There may be others which cannot be at once removed by these methods, but which surely yield to the same treatment if persisted in for some time. It will be yet some time before labour leaders rise from the rank and file of workers themselves and make outside help unnecessary. The mass from which the average industrial worker in this country is recruited is illiterate unlike the general mass of people in the western countries. Naturally they lack, at least in the beginning, the sense of responsibility. The blame for this appalling illiteracy of the working class rests primarily with the Government of the country which has done so little to wipe it off.

XII.—Wages.

The General Lowness of Wages in this Country is due to a Variety of Causes.—It is true that the general level of wages of industrial workers in this country is low. The committee, however, think that no comparison could be usefully instituted between the wages here and those in the West. It would lead us nowhere. Unlike the advanced countries of Europe and America, this country is industrially very backward. Not only are there few industries, but even those that exist are mostly quite in their infancy ; and none have grown to a robust height mainly on account of the *laissez faire* policy followed by the alien Government of this country. When the industries themselves are not thriving and prosperous, it naturally follows that wages have to be low. Apart from the smallness of wages and causes such as want of thrift, lack of foresight, etc., on the part of the workers, the principal and the most powerful cause which accounts for the miserable condition of the Indian working class is the wide-spread drink evil. He has little savings, if any, due to the smallness of his wages, and these again are frittered away in drink.

The Drink Evil is the Bane of our Industrial Worker.—The general conditions of life in this country are different from those that obtain in the west ; and hence the generally recognized western standards of a worker's life, must not be applied here, in their entirety without due regard to the factors which mark the conditions here.

Wages in manufacturing industry are higher than those in agriculture. The Bombay mill workers are not at present adequately remunerated as the industry is not paying. Bonus is paid to the workers but the committee are not aware of any profit sharing scheme instituted anywhere except for an attempt that way in one place in the country. The extent of the exploitation of workers by jobbers deserves to be investigated. The committee do not consider that it would be either advisable or possible to establish minimum wage by law in this country to-day.

It has to be admitted that labour has become more efficient than what it was some years back. It is, however, still behind the western workers in point of efficiency. In India a large percentage of factory workers are still not industrial workers throughout the year and attend for some months to their fields also. This

has some advantages but from the point of view of the efficiency of the workers it has some disadvantages also. The class of workers however, who are purely industrial workers is steadily growing. The tropical climate of this country as also the conditions under which he works have also something to do with his comparative inefficiency as compared with the western worker. With all this our workers, it must be said to their credit, are giving a very creditable account of themselves and there is no doubt they will soon equal the western workers in this respect.

IX.—Hours of Work.

"Shorter hours" principle and its value are being increasingly appreciated by our industrialists. The working hours are at present 10 in factories and in course of time as conditions permit they would be still reduced. The G.I.P. Railway have adopted an 8-hour day recently. But unlike other industries which have to work under a regime of free competition both internal and external Railways are in a peculiar position, due to their being in the position of monopoly public utility services and hence unaffected by competition. Shorter hours will rather therefore be slow in coming in industrial establishments. Shorter hours of work are needed for workers, so that they should have leisure for recreation, etc., but this is not possible all at once. This country has subscribed to the International Convention adopted at Washington. The committee are, however, unable to endorse the view that this country must allow itself to be dragged along with the more advanced nations in these reforms without consulting the convenience of its own national economy. The example set by the great American motor manufacturer in respect of short hours and high wages is there for the world to copy, but it will be a long time before we reach the stage when we can do that.

Trade Unions being in their Infancy, they are rather in a Militant Mood to-day.—There are few agencies, if any, to induce and encourage the habit of saving amongst the workers. Trade unions are a plant of recent growth, and they are too much in the militant mood of mind at present to attend to any other consecutive schemes of work for the betterment of the conditions of the working class. Their whole faith seems to be in fighting the capitalists in order to obtain better wages, not knowing that this can only be possible if the industry itself prospers and pays well. They appear to think that wages being increased other things can adjust themselves. If a tenth of the zeal and energy which the labour leaders are at present expending in fruitless fights were devoted to weaning the workers from the drink evil or to teaching them the habit of a cleaner and more hygienic living or inculcating in them the spirit of co-operation and self-help, some real and lasting good could surely have been done and the workers would have rendered a better account of themselves both in working as well as fighting. The committee note here with regret that the government of the country are mainly to be blamed for the drink evil in this country.

The Government of the Country are mainly to be blamed for the Drink Evil.—Workers' efficiency as well as their general condition will both be much better if this evil is root and branch destroyed. The testimony of Henry Ford is overwhelming on this point. The committee therefore urge that the Government should take immediate steps to put a stop to this drink evil. The steps will materially and markedly enhance the efficiency of the workers.

No General Economic Policy for the Industrial Development of the Country followed by the State.—Not only have the Government failed to encourage the industrial growth of India by following till very recently a free trade policy against which Indian political leaders and Indian economists have protested *ad nauseum*, but on the contrary they have tried to burden the infant industries by prematurely trying to give effect to the new fangled western ideas of labour benefit here. They have promptly ratified the International Labour Conference conventions and recommendations; it would, however, have been to their credit if they had equally promptly shown the desire to help industries either by trying to negotiate a settlement of trade disputes or by promptly setting up protective tariffs where a case is clearly made out. The Government are however, moving at snails' pace in this direction. The development of industries in this country has been without any plan, as no definite and general policy for economic development of the country is pursued by the State, the Government always considering that industry was no part of their business.

Naturally, therefore, no Co-ordination of Industrial effort in the Country.—Nothing has been done by the Government either to bring about or accelerate the growth of industries in this country. Whatever has been achieved so far is due to private initiative and enterprise. There is naturally no co-ordination of effort in the industrial development in the different parts of the country. No wonder then that machinery, chemicals, and other things have still to be wholly imported. The State has not only not cared to develop other industries, but it has not also done anything to develop even those industries which are considered to be key-industries.

Further the State has never cared till very recently, and even that under the great war time pressure, to patronize the products of Indian industry. All this has reacted very unfavourably on the industry as well as on the general economic condition of the country. The workers, as a consequence have suffered. Indian agriculture is no longer able to support the population with its growing needs.

The Committee are for giving every Amenity of Life to the Workers, but consistently with the ability of the Industry to bear the burden.—The committee of this chamber stand for giving every amenity to the workers—amenity which can be given consistently with the ability of the industry to bear the burden. This central fact can never be lost sight of, and it need not be pointed out that all attempts at improvement of the condition of the working class means additional expense. It is not to be inferred from this that the committee do not want to see labour benefited further. They would like to see all recognized and proved grievances redressed, either by administrative action on the part of the industry concerned, or by legislative process. In all this however, it must be stated, that due regard should be had to the Indian conditions and to the state of the industry itself which ultimately has to foot the bill. Legislative action should only be taken when both the workers and the employees have asked for the same, and after a careful consideration of the question. Howsoever desirable it may be to have a nation-wide uniformity in this respect, the committee think that in many cases it would be found to be useful as well as convenient to carry such legislation through the provincial legislatures, as conditions differ widely from province to province, this country being a sub-continent in itself.

III.—Housing.

A fair amount of work is done for the working class in respect of housing, at least so far as Bombay is concerned.

In the matter of housing of the textile workers in Bombay, the industry, the Government and private individuals have all done work in their own ways. The housing may not be quite up to the mark from hygienic and other points of view and it can be conceded that there is scope for improvement. But what exists to-day is a distinct advance on what existed before. Housing of a big industrial population, like the one in Bombay, is no easy thing in a costly place like Bombay. In the matter of lighting, conservancy and water supply there is generally no ground for complaint. Rent charges for houses are rather high, but recently it is understood, they have been reduced to enable the workers to take advantage of the development department chawls. Sanitary arrangements both at home as well as at the places of employment are fairly satisfactory. There is enough water provided for drinking, bathing and washing purposes. If there be noticed any defect, the employers and landlords set matters right as soon as it is brought to their notice. As regards medical facilities, it can be stated that the employers, Government, the municipal corporation of Bombay and private agencies have done much in this direction.

V.—Welfare Activities.

Welfare work is also undertaken by employers and other agencies such as the Social Service League. Employers have often done it unasked. There is much scope for work in this direction. Arrangements for recreation and education may not be quite satisfactory. They may be meagre but the industry has done something in this direction. The committee however like to state that the responsibility for seeing the masses equipped with the elementary education rests primarily with the Government and they cannot shift it on to the employers after the fashion of log-rolling as they call it. Provision of play-grounds for workers' children is not an easy question in a costly place like Bombay and the Government ought to co-operate with the employers for providing them with plots at a nominal charge, or even absolutely free of charge. It has to be admitted that there is ample scope for health and other welfare work for labour. But there are difficulties in the way even here. Incidentally it may be mentioned that some of them are so serious that it is not possible to overcome them unless state takes prompt and effective action. For instance, it is no exaggeration to say that milk sells in Bombay dearer than in the biggest cities of the world. This most essential product has now gone almost beyond the reach of the working class people. Unless the Government take prompt action by stopping the daily slaughter of milch cattle in the Bombay slaughter houses and make it obligatory on the railways to allow a larger quantity of milk free of charge to come into Bombay as they do at Calcutta and to charge nominal freight rates for taking dry buffaloes out of Bombay, no improvement in the milk situation seems possible, and milk is so essential for children, in fact it is the very best food for them. Even the middle classes are experiencing great difficulty in securing pure milk at reasonable prices.

V.—Industrial Disputes.

Some Machinery for settling Industrial Disputes desirable.—The committee would like to suggest that there should be set up some machinery for bringing about a peaceful settlement of the industrial disputes between the employers and the employees on the merits of the points at issue, always bearing in mind of course the supreme interests of the industry concerned. Some such machinery would be to the interest of both of the parties for some years to come at least. Even a step in the direction of compulsory arbitration as in Germany will not be unwelcome as an experiment to begin with.

If its results are good, the same might be extended. That will save the industry from the frequent shocks and the course of economic life of the society also will not be frequently disturbed. An independent tribunal would render possible an unprejudiced and impartial handling of the points of difference.

Forced Labour should be Abolished.—The committee would like to suggest that the Royal Commission will do well to recommend forthwith the abolition of forced labour throughout the country. The committee would suggest its abolition, even in the Indian States, but, unfortunately, the Indian States do not come in the field of the Royal Commission's enquiry. The Royal Commission can usefully enquire into the conditions under which labour is recruited in this country for the tea estates and for emigration.

In conclusion, the committee would like to emphasize the need of (a) abolition of the drink evil in the country. That will mean increased efficiency so far as the worker is concerned. It will also better the workers' health and improve his economic condition. It will radically alter the tone of the life of our worker. (b) The committee would further like to point out the great difficulty experienced in Bombay in getting pure milk at a reasonable price. The Royal Commission would render a distinct service to the working classes if they urge upon the Government of Bombay the necessity of taking immediate steps to ensure sufficient supply of pure milk at reasonable price in this city so that the same may come within the reach of the working classes. Their children do not at present get enough milk, as the cost of the same is very high. (c) If the workers' condition is to be bettered, the State must undertake to compulsorily give to all, free elementary education, both to the children and to the young people who may be without it. (d) The committee do stand for the amelioration of the worker's conditions and for providing amenities of life for him, things which would make him better socially, physically and morally, but they like to state it as their considered opinion that these things can come only in proportion to the ability of the industry concerned to bear the consequent burden. The committee has not tried to have their say on each of the subjects in the extensive list issued by the commission. They have referred only to a few of them and expressed their views. The *laissez faire* policy followed by the Government of the country has proved detrimental to our national interests. It has reduced the economic stamina of the nation and seriously handicapped the industrial development of the country.

THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

In submitting their memorandum on the questionnaire forwarded to them by the Royal Commission on Labour in India, the Corporation feel that, owing to the insufficient time at their disposal, they have not been in a position to answer more fully and in greater detail the questions relevant to the scope and work of the Municipality. Besides, it appears from the terms of reference that the work of the Commission is mainly confined "to inquire into and report on the existing conditions of labour in industrial undertakings and plantations in British India," and consequently, although the Corporation employ a considerable section of labour in their various departments, they do not come directly within the purview of the inquiry before the Commission.

The Corporation, however, feel it necessary that such information as they are in a position to supply about recruitment, health and education of their labouring staff should be made available to the Commission when they enquire into the conditions of labour in the city of Bombay as a whole. The Corporation understand that the Municipal Commissioner has already furnished certain information required by the

Royal Commission regarding the conditions of housing of the Municipal employees. Hence, the Corporation have selected only those questions "in the subject-matter of which their experience mainly lies," and furnish brief answers to them. They are as follows :—

I.—Recruitment.

1. The labour employed by the corporation is recruited locally as both skilled and unskilled labour is always available in the city. Both the classes of labour come in search of employment from the Konkan districts, the Southern Maratha country, and the Gujarat. The Mahars in the Health Department are recruited mainly from the Ratnagiri district, while the Halalkhores chiefly come from Kathiawar and Gujarat and a few depressed class people from the north western provinces and the Punjab are also engaged.

3. No special method of recruitment is adopted. Persons in search of employment apply for work at the different ward offices and the workshops and are engaged by the sub-engineer at the various ward offices so far as unskilled labour is concerned. All skilled and unskilled labour at the workshops and pumping stations is engaged by the mechanical engineer. Other skilled labour is recruited by the local offices of the departments in charge of the wards.

7. The greater part of municipal labour staff is recruited on temporary basis. Nevertheless, care is taken to see that the same men remain in employment as long as work is available for them. Unemployment is, therefore, not common among them, but occurs at times on asphalt works and on work in connection with the tarring of roads by the road department, owing to the closing down of such works in the monsoon. Some men in the health department are being thrown out of employment owing to the adoption of a system of removal of refuse by mechanical power and the conversion of basket privies into water-closets.

8. There is no turnover in the case of permanent labour staff, but the men on the temporary staff do not always continue in employment throughout the year. They generally go to their native places before the rains for tilling the fields and return at the end of the monsoon after gathering the harvest.

II.—Staff Organization.

10. The unskilled labour is under the sub-engineer, or the chief inspector, or an officer of corresponding rank in charge of the wards. They have under them a number of overseers, sub-overseers, maistries and mukadams to supervise the labour staff. The skilled and unskilled labour at the municipal workshops and pumping stations is under the mechanical engineer.

11. The managing staff consists of heads of departments who are appointed by the corporation subject to confirmation by Government in the case of the executive engineer, the executive health officer, and the hydraulic engineer.

12. (i) The supervising staff in the engineering department is recruited from graduates in Civil engineering, mainly from the Bombay University. Some of the supervising staff hold foreign university degrees. The superior supervising staff in the health department, which is the other department of the municipality employing labour on a large scale, is recruited from medical graduates mainly of the Bombay University. Some of them hold health diplomas of European universities. A few of the superior officers of both the engineering and the health departments have undergone training in Great Britain. Some of the subordinate officers of both these departments also hold engineering and medical degrees of the local university, while others are practical men who have acquired their training and experience in the municipal employ.

(ii) No special facilities are provided for the training of workmen but some of the skilled supervising staff is recruited from men who have passed out from the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay.

13. The relation between the staff and the rank and file is cordial as a rule, because in the matter of wages, conditions of work, as well as provision for old age and death, the workmen employed by the corporation are at least as well off as those employed by any other body in Bombay, public or private. It is only in the municipal workshop which numbers among its employees a larger proportion of members of the municipal workmen's union than any other branch of municipal service, that there is occasionally a certain amount of discontent and friction with the immediate superior officers.

III.—Housing.

16. and 17. Information in regard to these questions has already been supplied by the municipal commissioner, a copy of which is appended to this memorandum.

18, 19, 20 and 21. Information in regard to these questions has already been supplied by the municipal commissioner, a copy of which is appended to this memorandum.

IV.—Health.

23. The general health condition of workers in municipal employ is satisfactory. There is no employment under the municipality of such a nature as affects prejudicially the health of workers.

24. No special medical facilities are provided for the municipal labouring staff, but free dispensaries and hospitals are provided in the city by Government and the municipality, of which the labour staff avail themselves. There are also charitable dispensaries where medical treatment is available. Trained municipal nurses and midwives in each ward visit the labour areas periodically.

25. The class of unskilled labour employed by the corporation do not take as much advantage of these facilities as they should.

26. (a) Where labour is stationary such as at the municipal workshops and pumping stations, latrines, water pipes and other sanitary conveniences are provided. Other workmen in the road and drainage departments, who are working in all parts of the city, make use of public latrines, water fountains, bathing places, etc.

(b) Sanitary arrangements are fairly satisfactory in the chawls provided by the corporation for the accommodation of their workmen. The nature of sanitary facilities in private chawls inhabited by municipal workmen, however, varies from bad to indifferent.

27. The chawls provided by the corporation for the accommodation of their workmen are regularly visited and inspected by their officers.

31. Maternity benefits in the shape of six weeks' leave on full pay is allowed to all women employees of the corporation.

V.—Welfare.

32. The corporation, through the agency of the Y.M.C.A. and the Bombay Youth League, have started several welfare centres for their menial employees. Grants are made by the corporation to the organizations running those centres.

33. Welfare officers and workers, honorary and stipendiary, are appointed by the organizations running the welfare centres.

34. The nature of other welfare activities consists in providing means of recreation, amusement and physical culture. Several night schools are also conducted by the agencies.

35. Although the welfare work of the nature stated in the reply to question No. (34) has not been going on for a long time, its beneficial results are already appearing in the contentment of the workers and particularly of their children. In the opinion of the corporation the extension of such welfare work is one of the best antidotes to industrial unrest.

36. Please refer to replies on questions Nos. (41) and (42).

37. Special disability leave is granted to the municipal employees of the labouring or artisan class, whether permanent or temporary, on account of injuries received in the course of their duty, provided they are not caused by their own negligence or disobedience of orders. The period of leave on full pay varies from 1 to 4 months, according to the length of service, the minimum service required being 5 years, and in addition, 2 months' leave on half pay is granted.

As a provision for old age, a municipal servant, whose pay on retirement does not exceed Rs. 100 per mensem, and whose length of service is not less than 25 years, and whose services are required to be dispensed with owing to old age, is granted a gratuity equal to seven times his average monthly salary. If, however, such a municipal employee dies before being made to retire, the gratuity mentioned above is paid to his widow or children or in their absence to his parents, brothers and sisters, if any. Advantage of this benefit is granted to all kinds of labourers including scavengers and halalkhores, provided the conditions specified above are satisfied. The number of gratuities so granted is fairly large.

Since October, 1920, the municipality has established, on a voluntary basis, a provident fund for the benefit of its officers and servants, including labour class, whether permanent or temporary. In the case of labourers, the employee subscribes at the rate of one anna and four pies or one anna in the rupee on the amount of his monthly wages, according as such wages do or do not exceed Rs. 50 per mensem. The municipal corporation contribute to the provident fund at the rate of 100 per

cent. on the subscribers' subscription at the end of each official year and allow interest at 5 per cent. per annum on the subscriber's subscriptions as well as the municipal contribution. Advances are also granted to the employees out of their provident fund, subject to the rules made in that behalf. It is also open to subscribers to the provident fund to take out a policy of life assurance with any approved insurance company, and facilities are accorded, by way of advance, to pay the premia out of their own subscriptions to the provident fund. However, employees of the labouring class have not yet begun to take advantage of life assurance.

Subscribers to the provident fund do not get the gratuity for old age mentioned above when the amount of such gratuity *plus* the amount of the municipal contribution credited to the provident fund account exceed their 10½ months average monthly salary. The provisions of the Provident Fund Act of 1925 have been extended to the provident fund established by the Bombay municipality and therefore the municipal employees get the benefit of the protection afforded by the Act against attachment under any decree or order of the court in respect of any debt or liability incurred by them.

Although the benefits of provident fund are open to temporary municipal employees, the municipal contribution is paid to them only after a minimum service of five years.

38. The corporation have got no special co-operative societies for the benefit of their staff, but an effort was made in this direction by the Social Service League, which effort, however, failed owing to the fact that the corporation cannot recover the dues by deduction from the pays of their employees as desired by the League. The starting of societies, particularly for debt redemption, under the advice of the registrar of co-operative societies, is under contemplation.

40 (i) In Bombay, the labour population is mainly located in the F and G wards of the city. The population of these two wards together comes to a total of 3,14,205 persons (1,97,666 males *plus* 1,15,539 females as per census taken in 1921). Since 1925, the corporation have made primary education free and compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 years complete and 11 years complete residing in these two wards. Moslem girls were exempted at first, but this year such girls in these two wards between the ages of 6 years complete and 10 years complete are made to attend schools compulsorily from the 1st August, 1929. On 30th June, 1929, there were in these two wards, 14,605 children, exclusive of Moslem girls, liable to be made to attend schools compulsorily and out of them, 11,624 were actually attending schools and 2,981 were defaulters.

(ii) and (iii) The corporation have not opened special schools for children employed in factories. A few night schools attended mostly by grown-up children and adults are run by the corporation.

41. On the recommendation of the Industrial Commission, the Bombay municipal corporation resolved in 1925, to give an industrial bias to primary education in the municipal schools. Handicraft classes were accordingly started in suitable schools and the corporation are running 14 centres, where pupils from surrounding schools are given instruction in handicraft. These centres are mostly situated in schools, in which the children of the labouring classes attend in large numbers. At the end of the year 1928-29, 3,001 pupils from 26 schools were receiving instruction in handicraft in these 14 centres. The instruction imparted in handicraft classes covers a wide range of subjects, including paper-folding, paper and card board modelling, flower-making, fret-work, wood-work, wire-work, book-binding and cane-work. The work of instruction in these classes is carried out by 11 special teachers, with 1 superintendent over them, all of whom possess special qualifications in these subjects.

42. It is yet too early to pronounce opinion upon the effect of education on the working classes as a whole, because compulsion was introduced in F and G wards only just four years ago, and the children so educated have not yet been employed in industries. But even before compulsion was introduced, a good number of the labouring population had been attending schools and the corporation think that education is having a good influence upon their general habits and outlook on life.

VII.—Safety.

46. Adequate and proper precautionary measures are taken to prevent accidents on works.

47. The Workmen's Compensation Act does not apply to the entire labour staff employed by the corporation. But as regards the staff to whom the act is applicable, full compensation admissible under the Workmen's Compensation Act is granted to proper claimants.

Statement supplied by the Municipal Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Labour regarding the housing accommodation provided for manual workers employed in the Municipality referred to against questions 16 to 21 :—

Name of Department.	Extent to which housing is provided for manual workers.	Nature of accommodation provided.	Utilization by workers of the accommodation provided.	Rents Charged.	Whether persons other than those in employ are allowed to occupy the tenements.
Fire Brigade	All the staff attached to this department is provided with quarters comprising one to three rooms according to rank, the exigencies of the service demanding compulsory residence in them, free of rent.			Rent free	No outsider is allowed to occupy the quarters except relatives of the employees.
Health Department	Accommodation is provided for 5,538 labourers (both Scavengers and Halalkhores) out of 7,537.	Pucca built chawls with single room tenements, each measuring 10 ft. x 10 ft.	The accommodation is utilized for residential purposes.	Annas 10 per month for each Halalkhore man and woman : 8 annas for each scavenging man : 5 annas per month for each scavenging woman ; Rs. 2 per month for each outside male relative of the Municipal employee and Re. 1 per month for each outside female relative of the employed.	The relatives of the Municipal employees are permitted to a limited extent to reside with them in the room allotted.

Statement—continued.

Name of Department.	Extent to which housing is provided for manual workers.	Nature of accommodation provided.	Utilization by Workers of the accommodation provided.	Rents Charged.	Whether persons other than those in employ are allowed to occupy the tenements.
K. E. M. Hospital College and G. S. M. College.	226 employees of the labour Staff are provided with housing accommodation of 173 rooms.	5 chawls comprising 173 rooms.	The house accommodation provided is utilized for purely residential purposes.	Accommodation provided is rent free.	No.
Gardens Department	All the 39 employees are provided with housing.	2 chawls consisting of 39 rooms.	The house accommodation provided is utilized for purely residential purposes.	Out of 39 rooms provided, 22 are charged 8 annas per month per room, other rooms are rent free.	No.
Drainage Department.	13 employees out of 600 have been provided with housing accommodation.	8 rooms and one C.I. shed.	The accommodation provided is utilized by workers.	Rent free	No.
Engineering Department (General Branch).	All the 289 employees are provided with housing accommodation.	Permanent and semi permanent chawls.	All available accommodation is fully utilized	Do.	No outsiders are allowed to occupy rooms except nearest relatives dependent on the employee.
(Mechanical Branch)	104 employees out of 664 are provided with housing accommodation.	Permanent chawls ..	Do.	Do.	No outsiders are allowed to occupy rooms.

Statement—concluded.

Name of Department.	Extent to which housing is provided for manual workers.	Nature of accommodation provided.	Utilization by Workers of the accommodation provided.	Rents Charged.	Whether persons other than those in employ are allowed to occupy the tenements.
Engineering Department—concluded. (Roads Branch) ..	165 employees out of 1,545 are provided with housing accommodation.	Semi-permanent chawls and temporary sheds.	All available accommodation is fully utilized	Rents charged are :— 10 annas per month for a male labourer and 5 annas for a female.	The relatives of the employees are allowed to occupy the tenements on payment of a monthly rental of Rs. 2 in case of a male and Re. 1 in that of a female.
Markets Department	106 employees out of 135 are provided with housing accommodation.	Chawls and Zawli sheds, Single room tenements of permanent nature. The dimensions of the room vary from 12 ft. X 10 ft. to 18 ft. X 12 ft.	The accommodation provided is used for residential purposes.	Rent free	No outsider is allowed to occupy the tenements. If relatives of the labourers other than those forming his family are found sharing the room, they are charged at the rate of Rs. 2 per male and Re. 1 per female.
Water Department	279 employees out of 605 are provided with housing accommodation.	Chawls and semi-permanent C.I. sheds having single and double room tenements.	Do.	Do.	No outsider is allowed to stay in the quarters.

THE WORKERS EMPLOYED IN TANNERIES AND LEATHER FACTORIES AT DHARAVI.

1. *Hours.*—The workers in those tanneries and leather factories to which the Factory Act is not applicable are required to work daily for 12 to 14 hours, for earning a bare subsistence. These 12 to 14 hours are to be spent by the workers in performing dirty tasks in unhealthy premises.

2. *Wages.*—The workers in the tanneries and the leather factories get a very low wage. Their earnings vary from 12 annas to Re. 1 per day. They are forced to accept a wage established by competition. Hunger is the impelling motive in such competition. They are thus virtually wage slaves of the employing class. Almost all the workers are piece workers and low wages is one of the main reasons why they are required to work longer. This proves the necessity of fixing the minimum living wage by statutory law in this industry.

3. *Housing Conditions.*—It is very difficult to give a graphic picture of the houses occupied by the workers. Dharavi is the most insanitary place and its sanitation has been criminally neglected by the Bombay Municipal Corporation. It is notoriously malarious. During the rainy season many of its roads are impassable owing to the accumulation of slush and overflow from drains. The houses are not fit for human habitation.

4. *Health.*—The workers in the tanneries and the leather factories suffer from ill health. It can well be imagined how physically feeble a worker is bound to be when he is required to work in the factories for more than 12 hours, to be satisfied with two meals of the meanest stuff and to shut himself up in a dungeon during the night.

Neither the factory where they spend the whole day is an ideal place where they can work without injuring their health, nor the place where they take shelter during the night. In the absence of nutritious food, the exhaustion from hard strenuous work for over 12 hours naturally damages their health.

5. *Other Complaints.*—The tannery work is a blind alley occupation, there being no prospect of promotion to higher grades or increase in wages. In some of the factories the wages due to the workers remain in arrears and the workers continue to work without receiving their wages for three or four months. It is difficult to describe the sufferings of the families of such workers. Non-receipt of wages at regular intervals plunges the workers into chronic indebtedness. The workers being "parias" (men belonging to the so-called untouchable caste) and not knowing any other trade have to accept all these conditions if they want to keep body and soul together. They are at the mercy of the Mukadom (foreman) as he enjoys the power of dismissing them at his sweet will. They often fall victims to his tyranny and harassment. They are not free to join any trade union and they are always afraid of being victimized if they dare to form a union against the wishes of the factory owners and the Mukadoms.

6. The workers in the tanneries and leather factories are not entitled to benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Act as the factories in which they work do not come under the Factory Act. To remedy this disability as well as to put a legal restriction on excessive hours of work the Factory Act should be so amended as to include all tanneries and leather factories.

Mr. G. C. SEERS, Managing Director, GENERAL MOTORS INDIA LTD.,
BOMBAY.

I.—Recruitment.

1. *Origin of Labour.*—Mainly local. India is in its infancy with regard to the motor industry, and the number of workmen—fitters and metal workers—trained yearly in the various workshops of the railways and engineering firms, dockyards, etc., creates a supply which is in excess of the demand. Peculiar to Bombay, the recent disturbances in the mills have instilled into the minds of their quondam workers a sense of uncertainty, even fear that not only are their jobs of indefinite duration but their lives also. Apart from a very few highly skilled positions, e.g., armature winders, high grade mechanics and coach and body strippers, boiler makers (first class), etc., the greater portion of the other sections, viz., fitters, painters, tailors and less skilled mechanics can be obtained any day at the factory premises. This situation obviates any necessity of having to resort to outstations for men. Further, after a short period of operation in our plant the men are loathe to go when laid off for a very short period, and return eagerly on the appointed day. The conclusion one is

compelled to draw is that the conditions under which the men work and their environment are conducive to mental and bodily satisfaction and improvement. Furthermore the fact that the wages are slightly higher than the average obtainable elsewhere, is an additional attraction. Added to this is the treatment they receive from their sectional and departmental heads. It appears, from the fact that positions in our factory are so eagerly sought after, that the general conditions of employment are entirely satisfactory.

2. Much was heard of the bogey of workmen wishing to return to their native villages. In our case this has proved to be almost a myth, for, whilst we have not been entirely free from this experience, the percentage has been insignificant and not worth recording. This again can be attributed only to the pleasant conditions, financial and physical, under which the men work.

3. *Method of Recruitment.*—A little has been said of this earlier.

(i) At present the men are questioned separately and their credentials and certificates examined carefully. Where the nature of the work is skilled, a test of skill is imposed. All individuals are subjected to a medical examination. Thus, the plant is assured of none but the best for each job.

(ii) and (iii) Not experienced—not necessary.

4. At the outset, reports of deaths, accidents and disturbances in families of employees were not infrequent. These reports were not accepted too readily, but were investigated personally whenever possible and convenient. This method of procedure served to check satisfactorily the frequency of complaints.

8. Probably 10 per cent. of the labour over the period experienced has changed due to all causes. The period of operation does not cover a year, so statistics cannot be compiled.

(i) At least 11 months in the year possibly.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Illness constitutes an important factor in absenteeism. Malaria, influenza, dysentery and other tropical diarrhoeas are the principal diseases concerned. Surgical accidents do occur on the average of 12 per diem both of a serious and trivial nature. Cases of malingering to get away on leave to their native places or to attend to private business or festive occasions often arise; but shamming is reduced to a minimum by efficient collaboration between the departmental heads and the medical officer, to whom such cases are always referred. On an average three medical certificates are passed daily for short or long leave, depending on the medical or surgical aspect of the case, and this in a factory which employs close on 1,000 hands. During the monsoon months, i.e., June to September, the curve of absenteeism always rises, due principally to the increasing prevalence of malaria and the migration of the agricultural labouring classes to their homes to till their soils.

Turnover for period commencing June, 1929, and ending October, 1929 (Actual):—

Number of employees on register	950	
Number of discharges from June/October	350 (approximately)	
Total number	1,300	
		Percentage.
Resignations, from June/October, 1929	85	6.5
Continued absence, from June/October, 1929	91	7.0
Sickness from June/October, 1929	9	7.0
Reduction	102	8.0
Undesirable	32	2.46
Inefficient	21	1.6
Labour turnover	342	26.3

IV.—Health.

23. (i) *Figures of Mortality.*—Only one fatal case of tetanus occurred since the inception of the factory, in an otherwise clean and healthy wound, which was being dressed daily by the dresser. This patient used to open the dressings when at home, despite repeated warnings. He was dressed with the best and latest antiseptics at the dispensary.

(iii) The working conditions are highly satisfactory *vide* the incidence of medical absenteeism and the negligible occurrence of industrial diseases. The ventilation and sanitary systems are up-to-date and perfect, the site of the factory ideal and the water supply chlorinated and wholesome. Suitable guards are provided at danger spots, gloves and respirators are provided for the men in the paint and spray section. Conditions at home are not known to us, as the personnel reside in various parts of the city and suburbs.

(iv) The dietary of the inferior factory hand is far from satisfactory except in the case of the Pathan, Muslim, and the Northern Hindu. The meagre vegetarian fare of the local and Southern Hindus and the poorer Christian is insufficient to cope with the physical strain involved in manual labour, and must cause an appreciable amount of industrial fatigue. The remedy lies in the assimilation of better food and hygienic housing conditions. A vegetarian diet consisting of lentils (dhal), ghee, nuts, butter, bagri and jowari should be substituted for the wholesale and indiscriminate consumption of rice which is the staple diet of the Indian. The mixed vegetable diet suggested above is more nutrient and will furnish all the necessary ingredients necessary for the cells of the body. Rice alone furnishes carbo-hydrates, to the entire exclusion of proteins, fats and the necessary vitamins.

(v) Roughly speaking, 75 per cent. of the men may be said to possess the necessary physique; the rest are either below weight, under-sized or ill-nourished. The European, Pathan, Muslim and the Bhaya races of Northern India stand industrial fatigues well, their diet and inherent constitution standing them in good stead. The worst recruit is the local city man in this respect. The recruitment of weakly individuals is totally eliminated by the medical test for physical fitness. Employees going downhill are provided with intensive tonic treatment at the dispensary and otherwise advised. Men with strong lungs are selected for the duco and spray sections. These are given periodical advice on health and hygiene. A change of department or even of climate is advised in deserving cases.

(vii) The housing conditions of the factory hands are unknown, as they are spread over the city and the suburbs of Bombay. It is self-understood that the more hygienic the housing conditions are, the less the mortality will be.

24. (i) *Extent of Medical facilities provided by Employers.*—A well-fitted surgery and dispensary is provided on the spot, centrally situated for all the sheds. A qualified half-time surgeon attends from 9 a.m. to 12 noon and even later. From 12 noon to 5 p.m. the latter is at his residence for any emergency case that may occur within factory hours. An ambulance service is permanently on the spot and the patient is speedily conveyed to the surgeon by two attendants for treatment, after being rendered "first-aid" by the dressing-compounder, on the spot. The case is often treated by the surgeon at his residence, or sent in the same ambulance to the nearest hospital if very serious, or taken to the patient's home, if the latter so desires and the doctor opines likewise. Cases under the Factory Act are duly reported to the Chief Inspector of Factories, and those under the Workmen's Compensation Act to the insurance company. Fatal and severe cases admitted to hospital are reported to the police. The dresser-compounder and the hamal are on the spot during the factory hours, i.e., 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. rendering any aid then. Up-to-date drugs are provided. The "first-aid" room contains the Betz operation table (U.S.A. Army model), a stretcher, a Berkfeld's filter and a fine almira for medicaments. All treatment is gratis. The Government aids in a very few cases that need major operative treatment or special nursing. The Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital, the King Edward Memorial Hospital, and the St. George's Hospital are sometimes utilized for serious cases. Private treatment is taken by a few factory hands and officials, but this is almost negligible. No agencies of any kind exist to give medical aid to the employees nor is there need of any, as the existing arrangement at the factory is quite satisfactory.

(iv) *Provision of Women Doctors, Dais, etc.*,—This does not arise as there is no female labour.

25. The "first-aid" department is well patronized by surgical as well as medical cases. The most illiterate coolie and the highest official in the factory come up with a tiny abrasion for a touch of tincture of iodine and a bandage, or even for a tablet of cafiapiran for a headache. The daily attendances of all cases ranges between 30 to 50. A thorough course of treatment is patiently gone through, and the advice of the surgeon faithfully followed in 99 per cent. of the cases. The remaining 1 per cent. may be influenced to take indigenous treatment or to consult the charlatan. The extent to which medical facilities are generally utilized will be best appreciated by the divers types of cases treated.

Wounds and burns of all varieties and intensity, on various parts of the body. Foreign bodies in the eye. Fractures, dislocations, and sprains of minor members.

Frequent syncope. Nail injuries. Skin diseases, e.g., dermatitis, scabies, eczema, etc. Abscesses, cysts, etc. Protean inflammation. Anti-tetanic treatment (phrophylactic). All endemic diseases. Infectious diseases (so far only 1 case of small-pox and 2 of chicken-pox have occurred).

26. (i) There is an up-to-date latrine flushing system for the three sheds "N", "K" and "O" consisting of 50 latrines within and without the factory. The washing tap arrangements consist of 8 wash basins for the higher officials and 11 tap arrangements for the menial staff. The water supply of the Bombay main is stored in a sanitary tank with a separate connection from the one used for drinking purposes. The former is used for flushing purposes. The sanitary and drainage system is regularly looked after by the staff of the maintenance department, some of whom have expert practical knowledge of the subject. A corps of 17 factory cleaners and 3 sweepers is always on the spot to sweep the place and attend to cleansing measures in general. The Bombay Port Trust inspector makes periodical visits to the plant to detect larvæ in any collection of water on the premises and reports to the medical officer of the plant. A joint occasional inspection is made by the medical officer and the malarial inspector, and anti-malarial measures are discussed and used, if need be. Up to now no infectious larvæ have been detected. For the extermination of rats, which really breed in the granaries of the Bombay port sheds, rat poison has been used in the plant. The closing up of pits and burrows has been carried out, and the employees have been warned not to throw about morsels of food etc., on the factory premises. In fact, it has been decided to inflict a small fine on any one eating within the factory and neglecting the above warning. The latrines and washing places are regularly disinfected with phenyle. The medical officer submits all dead rats to the Director of the Haffkine Institute for a report. So far 6 have been sent and all with a negative report. The spot where the dead rat has been found is immediately cleansed with carbolic lotion. The ventilation of the plant is adequate, both internal and external, the open site in Sewri contributing to the latter. Exit arrangements for all effluvia is satisfactory. A special dumping place is provided at the rear end of the "N" shed. Special attention is paid to the condition of the booths and sections of the paint shop, where the men have to work in enclosed places. Cases of industrial fatigue are few and far between, and this goes to prove that the ventilation is satisfactory.

(ii) The drinking water system is put up in a good storage tank of the capacity of about 500 gallons. The fact that no water-borne diseases, e.g. typhoid, cholera has occurred shows that the water supply is so far not polluted. The chlorination of the Bombay water supply from which our supply is drawn is also responsible for the prevention of disease.

29. (i) Cases of industrial diseases are very few, and these might have been brought on by pre-existing disease in the employee, who joined prior to the appointment of the medical officer. A few cases of dermatitis of the hands and arms were noticed in the beginning in the enamel department, but these have been wiped out by the use of gloves, medical treatment and observation and hygienic advice to the patient. In the spray section (duco), only hands with sound lungs are taken on, and no case of any chemical poisoning has, as yet, occurred. The men in the paint shop are always watched for anaemic or bronchitic taint. They receive intensive medical treatment, advice on personal hygiene, diet, etc. Efficient ventilation, both at home and the factory is the principal prophylactic remedy, together with wholesome food. The medical officer and the paint shop foreman keep a constant watch on any suspicious case, and generous leave is given for a change of air to a deserving case, whose health remains below par, in spite of care and advice. Mild cases of industrial fatigue have occurred, on the average, three a week. The fatigue is mainly manifested by syncope and giddiness. Rest and stimulants have revived them very soon, often instantaneously. No case of chronic fatigue has yet occurred, necessitating a change of work or invaliding. The heat of the tropics, hunger and low diet of an individual contributing greatly to fatigue, and this case of genuine industrial fatigue may be said to be almost negligible.

(ii) No case of cholera or plague has occurred. Hookworm is rare in this Presidency, and no case of this nature has yet been detected. Hardly any labour in this factory is recruited from the Bengal Presidency where hookworm is badly endemic. Three cases of guinea-worm cysts and abscesses had to be invalided, owing to frequent absenteeism. This infection was from Poona district and not local. The employees were all vaccinated during the severe epidemic of smallpox in March last. The one coolie who refused to be vaccinated after three requests contracted the disease, but fortunately survived and rejoined the factory. He was immediately removed to the infectious diseases hospital and quarantined for four weeks. Roughly 10 per cent. of the personnel are chronically infected with malaria, which is the principal factor in sick absenteeism. The malarial curve in Bombay rises from June to October and during this period more cases are seen. The bad housing conditions, poverty and

neglect of proper food and treatment contribute to this cause. Those so infected are given routine intensive treatment at the dispensary, followed by a change of air or invaliding in the severe cases. Candidates with enlarged spleens of whatever nature are rejected from admission to the factory. Cases of tropical diarrhoeas and dysentery rank next to malaria in incidence amongst tropical diseases. These are mainly caused by chills and indiscretion in diet, and are not the result of factory conditions. Suitable treatment for bowel diseases, viz., chlorodine, bismuth and castor-oil emulsions, emetine, yatren, is given.

30. (iii) Speaking generally, the staff of this factory wholly accept western medicine, as full advantage is taken of the facilities provided by divers castes and creeds, be the case surgical or medical. Much depends on the personnel of the medical department. The results include good medical care, a perfect faith in the doctor, and the doctor's patience, and personality eliminate nearly every difficulty as regards the acceptance of allopathic medicine. Persuasion, tact and even gentle force have to be used in the small percentage of the illiterate or stubborn or superstitious cases. Gratuitous and good treatment encourage the patient to accept western medicine.

VII.—Safety.

44. From 1st March, 1929, to 31st October, 1929 :—Cases within the Factory Act (major), 31 ; cases without the Factory Act (minor), over 2,000.

45. *Causes.*—(1) Neglect, absent-mindedness, ignorance of handling work and material ; (2) necessary, unavoidable (pure accident) ; (3) industrial fatigue (a minor cause) ; (4) Absence of proper preventive measures for safety ; (5) enmity and jealousy ; (6) haphazard condition of material or machinery or uneven ground.

46. Accidents can be prevented by the following measures :—(1) Provision of proper guards and fencing to machinery ; (2) selection of competent men who have handled the same machinery previously ; (3) proper care and attention on the part of the operator ; (4) proper allocation and fixity of machinery and material ; (5) selection of men of sound presence of mind, good physique, clear vision, good nerves and of a healthy dietary : industrial fatigue would be thus reduced to a minimum ; (6) a thorough training in the handling of machinery by the foreman and appreciation of the possible dangers in dealing with such machinery ; (7) removal and segregation of all dangerous waste material, e.g., nails, etc., to a safe dumping place.

48. *First-aid Medical Relief.*—The half-time medical officer, the full-time dresser-cum-compounder and the hamal comprise the staff of this section. The employment and assistant employment manager give ordinary assistance to the patient, such as provision of ambulance, removal of the patient to the doctor's residence or hospital. No fatal case has as yet occurred on the premises, nor any grave case of a surgical nature, e.g., avulsion of a big member, rupture of internal viscera, etc.

Treatment—Wounds.—The antiseptics used are :—(1) Lotions—hydrogen peroxide, camphenol, boric and carbolic ; (2) Dressings and disinfectants—tincture Benzoin Co., tincture iodine, iodoform and boric, etc ; (3) Johnson's & Johnson's cotton wool, lint and bandages.

The Bets operation table, U.S.A. army model, is provided, together with Esmarch's rubber tourniquet. An ambulance stretcher is always provided for the more serious cases. The dressings are changed ordinarily every 24 hours. A prophylactic dose of Hoest's antitoxin (tetanus) of 3,000 units is administered in all infected wounds and burns, especially if the former are caused by rusty nails. Serious cases, surgical or medical, are taken in the ambulance with one or more attendants to the patient's home or hospital, after rendering first-aid at the dispensary or the doctor's residence. These cases comprised so far major wounds, fractures, dislocations, appendicitis, hyperpyrexia due to malaria or pneumonia, and syncope. Treatment is continued at the factory or hospital depending on the condition of the patient. A serious case may be admitted in a hospital for a short time and discharged. The treatment is continued at the factory and the patient certified to resume duty only when thoroughly fit. Cases of wounds requiring suturing, haemostatics or minor amputations are dealt with on the spot. Thus tendons have been stitched and arteries ligated, apart from ordinary stitching. Crushing injuries are treated with continued soda chloride solution compresses with stimulants.

Fractures, Dislocations and Sprains.—Cases of fractures of the fore-arm and dislocation of the shoulder have occurred. These have been set and immobilized. Subsequent splinting, massage, passive and active movements have been carried out. Ample leave is given for such conditions within the Factory Act, and none permitted to resume duty till the disjunct parts are normal. The help of the X-rays is used both

at the onset of the accident and even later. Sprains and traumatic synovitis are fairly common. Scott's dressing, lin. Iodi, and lin. Belladonna with lin. Saponis used judiciously in these cases have shown good results.

Burns.—Cases of burns of various degrees have been met with. These have been satisfactorily treated with carron-oil dressings, picric acid, and later with other ordinary emollients, e.g., petrolatum and weak boracic ointment.

Foreign Bodies in the Eye.—Pieces of metal, wood, chemicals, have entered the eye during work. Removal of the foreign body, cleansing with a daily wash of zinc and boric lotion, and shielding the affected eye have given satisfactory results as no complication has so far occurred to cause loss of the eye or even defective vision. Chemical agents in the eye are cleansed with distilled water and neutralized suitably, or treated with instillation of castor oil, depending on the type of case.

Syncope.—These generally occur from high fever, haemorrhages from wounds, hunger, heat or industrial fatigue. The patients are put on a stretcher and brought to the first-aid department. Sal volatile, spirit ammon. aromat., and even stimulant hypodermic injections are administered, if necessary. Ordinary cases that revive soon resume duty after little rest in the dispensary; serious cases are sent home or to the hospital, depending on the etiology of the attack. Only one mild case of electric shock came to my notice, which recovered promptly with ordinary stimulants and a little artificial respiration.

VIII.—Workmen's Compensation.

51. Compensation is given to all cases injured on duty, provided neglect or shamming is not involved. Wages are paid for short absence, and for those accidents which require more than 10 days' leave full pay for the absent days is given. In case of a permanent injury when a function or functions of a particular member are lost, compensation is given proportionate to the extent of loss of function. The disability of the employee and his wage-earning capacity are always taken into consideration in estimating the amount of compensation. The employees take full advantage of the Act, some of them even going to the extent of shamming and sending legal notices. No deserving claim can be overlooked as the Commissioner of the Workmen's Compensation Act enquires into these cases, as well as the Government Factory Department. Locally, the accountant, medical officer of the plant, the insurance company and the employment manager deal with any such claim as to its merits or demerits. Two claims of supposed permanent injuries are being discussed at present, though hardly tenable, and the commissioner has not yet been appealed to, despite voluminous correspondence between solicitors and this firm. The fact is that the onus and blame often rests on the employee for neglect in such cases and not on the employer.

53. (iii) A very few mild cases of industrial diseases have occurred, and these have readily responded to medical treatment and hygienic advice. None have been invalidated on this ground so far, and the question of compensation has not arisen. If an otherwise healthy individual contracts industrial disease in the course of work, he is liable for compensation. A regular watch kept on any susceptible employee by the foreman and the medical officer would eliminate this factor or at least check its progress by suitable medical advice and treatment.

XIII.—Industrial Efficiency.

114. If industrial fatigue can be reduced to a minimum, then, *ipso facto*, efficiency of workers will correspondingly rise. To effect efficiency a sound physique and good health are absolutely essential. The test for physical fitness should eliminate all weak and unsuitable candidates. A thorough knowledge of the work and machinery and healthy standards of diet and sanitation go a long way towards efficiency of workers. Addiction to drugs, owing to loss of nervous and muscular control, tends towards deficiency. Climate is an important factor both of the factory area and the native home of the employee, as the hardy races of northern India stand industrial fatigue far better than the denizens of the plains and coasts, their dietary contributing greatly to this factor. Malaria is a crippling factor and a very serious one in the causation of inefficiency in workers.

115. Selection of men of good physique, proper medical advice and treatment, with good hygienic conditions at home and the factory, should certainly turn out a better production, and easily cover the expenditure involved. The formation of workmen colonies under ideal hygienic conditions if managed well should prove an asset to both the employer and the employed.

The staple food of the factory hand and the Indian in general is rice, which does not give sufficient calorific energy for hard manual labour. A strict vegetable diet, viz., lentils (dhal), vegetables, ghee, wheat, bagri, and jwari would be ideal.

Alcohol and drug habits affect the efficiency of men and therefore production by absenteeism, also causes deficient output due to loss of nerves and muscular control. Men addicted to *ganja*, *charas*, *bang*, or opium would be ordinarily inefficient workers. Industrial fatigue would be detrimental both for the quality and quantity of the output of labour.

116. *Possible methods of securing Increased Efficiency.*—(1) Selection of men of good physique in general.

(2) Selection of men of sound experience and commonsense.

(3) Selection of men unaddicted to drugs.

(4) Efficient medical service to keep the men fit and regularly advised.

(5) Elimination of the incidence of malaria and provision of proper sanitary quarters for workmen colonies.

(6) Insistence of a suitable dieting for men with due allowance for their religious ideas.

(7) Selection of men from Northern India and the Mofussil.

(8) Proper supervision, instruction, and sympathy by the foreman.

IX.—Hours.

A.—Factories.

55. *Hours Worked per Week and per Day*—(i) *Normal.*—Eight hours per day, first five days of week; five hours on Saturday; 45 hours per week.

(ii) *Actual.*—Not exceeding 11 hours per day; not exceeding 60 hours per week.

(iii) *Spreadover.*—Workers not kept on call to exceed hours as shown in (ii).

56. *Days Worked per Week.*—Five-and-a-half days.

57. *Effect of 60 Hours Restriction*—(i) *On workers.*—Increases efficiency due to conservation of strength.

(ii) *On Industry.*—No effect in this factory.

59. *Possibility of Reduction in Maxima.*—Not considered advisable without provisions to take care of emergency cases such as breakdowns.

60. *Intervals*—(i) *Existing practice*—(a) *In relation to fatigue.*—Not exceeding four hours.

(i) (b) *In Relation to Workers' Meal-times.*—O.K.

(ii) *Suitability of the Law.*—O.K.

(iii) *Suitability of Hours during which Factory is Working.*—O.K.

(iv) *Number of Holidays given.*—All major gazetted holidays.

61. *Day of Rest*—(i) *Existing practice.*—Saturday afternoon and Sunday.

(ii) *Suitability of the Law.*—O.K.

62. *Exempting Provisions and the use made of them.*—Have been used only on two occasions this year.

XII.—Wages.

96. (i) *In Industry.*—In this factory: Re. 1-4 annas per day minimum; Rs. 5 per day maximum. Average earnings Rs. 60 per month.

101. *Method of Fixing Wages*—(i) *By negotiated agreements.*—Yes: with workers. Starting pay based on experience of worker.

102. *Basis of Payment for Overtime and Sunday Work.*—Overtime at rate of one-and-a-half times standard rate paid for all over 8 hours on weekdays and all over 5 hours on Saturday.

103. *Extent of Standardization.*—Wages about 50 per cent. standardized on basis of skill. Will eventually be 100 per cent. standardized.

105. *Minimum Wages—Advisability and possibility of statutory establishment.*—Considered advisable and practicable.

106. *Deductions*—(i) *Extent of fining.*—Not in effect.

(ii) *Other Deductions.*—For lost tools only.

(iv) *Desirability of Legislation.*—Not necessary.

107. *Periods of Payment*—(i) *Periods for which wages paid.*—For calendar month.

(ii) *Periods Elapsing before Payment.*—One week after end of calendar month.

(iii) *Desirability of Legislation.*—Not considered necessary.

110. *Annual or other Leave.*—None in effect. Workmen allowed leave if considered necessary.

Rev. A. L. BRADBURY, Manager, INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT, HUBLI (DHARWAR).

I have noticed from newspaper reports the proposal that wages should be paid weekly has not been strongly urged before the Commission, and so I venture to ask the Commission to give this proposal further consideration.

As manager for nearly 10 years of a settlement of 2,500 people, most of whose male members are employed in the Bharat Spinning and Weaving Mill or the M. & S.M. Railway workshops, I have had a good deal of experience of Indian industrial workers, and this experience is widened by my association with a co-operative credit society and a grain shop.

A worker in the railway shops gets pay for the month on the 15th of the next month, and a worker in the mill on the second or third Saturday of the next month. That means that on pay day he is owed about six weeks' wages and that at no period after his first fortnight is he owed less than a fortnight's wages. I have considerable sympathy with the employer in the matter of keeping some pay in hand but I think that a week is ample.

The English members of the Commission know the purchasing customs of the British workman. I think it is true to say that practically all his purchases are on a cash basis. Marketing is done on Saturday. Enough money is retained to pay the rent on Monday and also to pay subscriptions to friendly societies, clothing clubs, holiday clubs, Christmas clubs, and so on.

The purchasing arrangements of the Indian workman are a complete contrast. Nearly all his purchases are on credit. His grain is purchased on credit and he is frequently two months in arrears with his payments and very likely this credit costs him two annas in the rupee. His clothes and his wife's clothes are purchased on credit. His wife purchases glass bangles on credit. His barber gives him credit. Meat, firewood, petty groceries, pan, bidies, medicines, liquor, mineral waters, are all bought on credit. The half-timer boy or girl in the mill runs a credit account with the sweetmeat roadside stall at the mill gate. The oil seller with his handcart of oil going from house to house gives credit. The only cash business I can think of is the cinema. Even the shroff will sell jewellery on a first payment of a quarter or a half. Add to these the serious debts at the time of marriages and births. The railway company does not give tickets on credit, but the money for a railway journey or holiday is very frequently borrowed.

I do not claim that the British workmen's weekly wages keep him on a cash basis, and the Indian workmen's monthly wages compel him to live on credit, but I am convinced that there is some considerable connection between these facts.

A few years ago a private member introduced a weekly wages bill into the Assembly. It made very little progress, and was defeated after a very inadequate debate. A Government speaker opposed the bill and stated that it would damage credit. I may have misunderstood him but if he meant that it would injure the workman's credit, and if he was right in saying this, then I maintain he advanced a most powerful argument in favour of the bill. I am confident that the very best thing that could happen to the Indian workman would be the destruction of his credit.

If the workman could be paid weekly, and get on to a cash instead of a credit basis for his purchases, I believe that before long an immense amount of his indebtedness would disappear and that slowly a habit of saving would grow with, in consequence, an immense improvement in his whole economic condition.

There are other arguments for this reform, but I venture to urge this especially for the consideration of the Commission.

Mr. H. H. STRUTTON, Manager, SHOLAPUR INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT, AMERICAN MARATHI MISSION.

The fact of being in charge of a settlement of criminal tribes for over 12 years in Sholapur, where we have never had less than 1,000 of them employed in the mills, and, at times, have had about 1,800 thus employed, has given the writer good opportunities of studying the labour problems in this place.

It has been the practice of the settlement authorities to distribute its workers in each mill, in proportion to the total hands employed therein, rather than to allow the settlers to chose their own mills, and the changing about from one mill to another for trivial reasons, or without proper notice being given has been discouraged.

In the early years of the settlement, the mills accepted the tribes people when they were only able to do unskilled work. They were sent here after being found committing crimes and wandering about the district, and were new to restraint of any kind, nor had their children ever attended schools. They were, in addition to being unskilled and unruly, always ready to lift yarn and small movable articles from the mills, as well as money from the pockets of other hands.

These cases of theft were always sent, by the mill authorities, to be dealt with departmentally by the manager, and the culprit, after punishment, was usually given another chance at his job. Sometimes he was fined or required to furnish sureties for good behaviour, but in all cases the managers were notified, and unless the offence was very serious, the mill accepted him back again the next day, if not on his old job, on another that he could do. In this way, by showing co-operation and a certain leniency, police court delays, with the necessity of mill clerks or departmental heads appearing as complainants, and wasting a lot of their time, was avoided, and the settlement people and its authorities were greatly helped.

No discrimination has been made in the treatment meted out to settlement people and that given to town hands, nor has any resentment been shown by other mill hands when called upon to work side by side with tribes people.

An agreement was arrived at some years back, by which the proportionate number in each mill should be maintained, even though hands had to be sent off for various reasons. This has enabled us to count on the mills as a regular source of labour absorption, and by having the younger members of settlement families trained from half-timer age onwards, we have been able to get a higher percentage of skilled workers in the mills than was possible at the outset.

The ultimate result of the mill work as a successful source of income to such people as these tribes is evident from the fact that though the settlement had a population of 2,300 in 1917, when the present manager assumed charge, it has now a population of 4,500; is the largest C. T. settlement in India; has about the smallest percentage of absconders, and the crime statistics have gradually improved, as the settlers have earned better wages and become used to mill conditions.

This improvement each year is due, in a large measure to the increased earning capacity of each settler's family, and to the persistent teaching and supervision of the children in the schools, where enforced attendance daily has been the rule all along. When the jail commission visited Sholapur in 1920, the earning capacity of our people was under Rs. 15 per month as an average, due to so many being unskilled, and a large percentage being on temporary work only. But since then the average has gone up considerably, and with the grain bonus added, we have no complaints from anyone re. low wages. In fact, our difficulty here is to refuse admission to tribes from other settlements, who are continually asking to be drafted here for mill work, or relatives of present settlers who try to get in, either inside or outside the wire enclosure.

Many of our families are obtaining from Rs. 45 to Rs. 80 in wages, from the fact that more than one member is on regular work, and this makes for great contentment.

We have been able to place from 200 to 300 settlers on work other than as mill hands. Some have been taught masonry and carpentry; others have become motor drivers or railway hands. Certain of them are too wild to ever take up work inside a mill, and these are placed on outside work for the municipality on roads, or under some settler contractor who takes up a job of supplying road metal to the P.W.D. or the railways. This latter is paid for at piece-work rates, and is very suitable for tribes who will only work outdoors.

Owing to the impossibility of obtaining sufficient cultivatable land in the settlement area, which is about 175 acres, we have not been able to take up field or farm work as a means of employment and therefore are limited to using one irrigated field of about 10 acres only as a means of employing a few troublesome lads, and those whose health unfits them for mill work.

Technical school work has been carried on, with a trained staff, for several years. The mill authorities recognize the value of this as a means of getting the boys and girls familiar with work they will, later on have to do, and, for several years past, three mills have given a liberal grant towards the expenses of this school. The children are examined by the Government inspector each year and the results are satisfactory.

In addition to the technical school grant, four mills have given us a grant towards our medical work from the beginning, and this has helped us to maintain a good standard of health amongst the people. All of them mainly live and sleep in the open air, and we have followed the system of allowing them to erect their own huts and houses rather than build chawls for them, and this mode of living suits them better, as we have proved by comparing those at Umedpur settlement with those

using some of the old police line quarters in the Kalyanpur settlement in the city. We seek to enforce cleanly habits, and have our own staff of sweepers to deal with refuse and rubbish.

About 2,000 settlers and their dependents have now either been proclaimed free, or have been placed outside the settlement enclosures on probation. In addition to these, many families have, from time to time, been allowed to leave Sholapur, after purchasing land for themselves in the districts around, and are now settled down as farmers. We keep an oversight over such families by means of probation officers, and they are only required to live honest lives, send their children to school, and, in general, fulfil the conditions expected of all honest citizens wherever they may be living. After a period of six years these people are no longer classed as criminal tribes, provided they have shown a clean record during their probation. The recalls back to settlement life and conditions are less than 2 per cent. so far.

One of the benefits that the mills have derived from the employment of the tribes people is that they can count on the number as being regularly maintained, no matter whether the local labour market is disturbed on account of strikes, virulent epidemics or bountiful harvests. During strikes here we have been able and allowed to send our people to the mills to carry on essential outdoor or unskilled duties, if only because we have put it to the strike leaders that over 1,500 idle tribes people were likely to take the opportunity of helping themselves to valuables and property in the town if idle all day. In the strike of 1920 the officials of Sholapur applied to the Government for troops to be sent here, because of the danger of looting on the part of our people, or "due to the fact that there are 4,000 criminal tribes people here who are liable to break out and cause looting of shops, etc.;" but in any cases of disturbances due to strikes our people have never been involved.

In plague, cholera and smallpox outbreaks, by a system of compulsory inoculation, not only have our people been immune from attack but they have not stampeded away, no matter how serious the outbreak.

Regular attendance at the mills is maintained by a system of settlement inspectors appointed to check the attendance of about every 300 workers employed; they report and enquire into every case of absenteeism every morning. Those who are sick are given medical attention and a certificate which prevents them losing their job.

I have gone thus far into some of the history and methods of the settlement work, not because of any need to advertise such, but to illustrate that certain of the methods adopted in the settlement to ensure regular attendance, health of workers and housing under more or less healthy conditions; technical training of the young; regular reports about, and checking the delinquency of idle workers, might possibly be adopted or developed by any labour organization or institution that may undertake to look after the benefits of any group of mill workers.

In the first place, Sholapur seems to rank a bad third in competition with Ahmedabad and Bombay, in three important qualifications for successful mill work: (1) skilled labour; (2) regular attendance of weavers and higher paid hands; (3) stable mill population, due to migratory village hands.

It is common knowledge with all engaged or interested in mill industries, that the Ahmedabad mill worker is in a class by himself. The average Guzerati man is smarter in every respect than the average Mahratta. This is partly due to the fact that one has been familiar with cotton from infancy, whereas the other has seen little but the cultivation of food grains under difficult circumstances, and he has only comparatively recently been driven to take on mill work as a dire necessity, while the Guzerati has taken it on because he likes it and is prepared to stick to it.

Then the average Mahratta mill hand still has his family fields and will stay on in his village as long as those fields yield a good return, or he will go for a few months to the mills, and back to his village to help in the annual harvest, to say nothing of the fact that he has probably left his wife and family in that same village. These facts serve to show the difficulties Bombay and Sholapur mills have to meet in the classes of labour available.

For several years I ran a hand loom weaving factory for Christian employees. I found that the only ones who made a living wage on an average of 8 hours a day were men who had been gathered, as orphans, from Guzerat; these married and maintained a family on the outturn of their looms, whereas others, from the Deccan, failed to make a living.

Sholapur, whether in spite of its mills or because of them, is said to hold the record for the Presidency, for the prevalence of the hand loom industry. From the experience gained by going in and out of the houses of hand loom weavers here, I would say that the industry is only maintained, or able to continue, because the men work at least 12 hours a day, and have the help of their women folk in the preparing and sizing of the warps, and of their children in the filling of bobbins. They have few holidays and are seldom seen idle. One can hear the looms working at all hours of the night, and if a parade of hand loom weavers was called out, few would pass an average medical test.

Another reason that it continues to hold its own is because of the facility for buying cheap yarn in Sholapur. Not only are coloured yarns of all textures that have become tangled in dyeing or by rough handling in the mills, sold at greatly reduced rates as waste yarn—a lot of which is capable of use by hand loom weavers, with their family free labour to unravel same and wind it on to bobbins or into warps ; but it is a well recognized fact that a lot of yarn pilfering goes on in every mill, and much walks out of the gates every evening on the persons of women employees, the searching of whom is a task that no one will undertake.

But the chief reason that the industry continues is that these weavers came here long ago from the Nizam's dominions, a Telegu crowd, and they still have the natural desire to be their own masters, and to work at whatever class of work, little or much, as they choose. Others have joined them, and from their numbers younger men have become mill weavers. They are, to a considerable extent, hag-ridden by local money lenders, and in grievous debt to yarn sellers.

There is little doubt in the minds of employer and employed alike, that labour for the mills should be organized, and unions formed, but success in this respect will be slowly obtained. It would be a mistake to try and organize unions immediately along the lines that meet with success in the Western countries.

Experience in strikes here leads everyone to the conclusion that anyone with a glib tongue can sway the average mill-hand crowd. It will be a matter of considerable time before a union of mill hands can attain the position of winning the confidence of employed and employers to anything like the extent that this is possible in lands where two or three generations have enjoyed the benefits of sound education.

For this reason the aims of any trades union organization ought to be modified into dealing with matters that can be definitely chartered out or laid down, and such unions should have linked with them, in some capacity, an officially recognized labour expert, qualified by experience in the industry concerned, as well as experience with the Indian employee, and a working knowledge of their vernacular, to maintain some balance in the matters under dispute.

Too often, the type of union representative Bombay Presidency has had experience in, so far, has *not* been of the kind that will eventually serve the best interests of labour, or get for it any concessions worth while.

Labour Arbitration.—It may be possible to establish some kind of a labour arbitration court in the three large mill centres, later on ; but before this is done, it will be necessary to have the profit-making capacity of the industry, and the efficient earning capacity of the employees properly explored and tabulated. If unions as such are established, then the various branches of employment, relative to the skill or importance of the workers should have separate union committees, and it should never be possible for a small portion of employees in a mill to engineer a strike in that mill, which might have the effect of involving others, merely because they themselves have a grievance, or because, as in many cases in the past, a worker or jobber has been discharged for some offence committed in the mill.

That there are uneven rates of pay in certain mills, due to various causes, such as long usage ; special kinds of cloth or yarn manufactured in particular mills, or special processes used, that will bear adjustment after looking into, no one will deny. But such problems can best be dealt with by a small committee of experts, on which labour can have its representative. Only in this way will it be possible to arrive at standard rates of pay that will be practical and satisfactory.

Welfare Workers appointed to any mills will have little or no power to deal with serious cases of breaches of mill rules or the discharge of any person, even if the welfare worker is appointed by the mill itself. The few exceptions to this will be found to be men of outstanding ability and infinite tact. It stands to reason that the sub-manager or master of each department must reserve to himself the right to discharge any person for inefficiency, for insubordination, or for incitement to refuse to do any work he may allot to any hands under him. Such discharged workers always have the right to appeal to the higher authorities in the mills, if they are hands of any standing ; if they are not, they use the bazaar writer. In cases where bad judgment or vexatious dismissal occurs very often, it very soon becomes evident to the management that the particular master concerned is not getting the best out of the hands in his department, or treating them with due consideration. Such a man runs greater risks here than anywhere else.

Jobbers and Bribery.—This question is a very old one, and there is little doubt that each mill, sooner or later, has to deal with some of its jobbers for this sort of thing. Taking the question as a whole my experience has been that such charges are usually exaggerated by disappointed workers failing to obtain work, or the particular kind of work they wanted, men who have often moved from mill to mill to see where their system would obtain for them the best job. As in the previous

paragraph referring to vexatious treatment, jobbers who are in the habit of taking bribes never get a very long run for their money, unless they are careful to stock their department with efficient and contended hands, a thing hard to do if they are ready to lay one man off against another.

Anyone really familiar with mill conditions will agree, in any case, that far less of this bribery goes on to-day than was going on five years ago, and the remedy for it lies exactly where the remedy for other inefficient work lies, in an improved mill-hand. Good workers do not need to bribe their way into any mills. Bad workers will continue to do it, jobber or no jobber.

Being one who has been aptly described as a "glorified jobber" myself, and one who has, of necessity, to get all of his able bodied men into the best possible jobs available for them, I would say that until labour is sufficiently well graded, as well as organized, to ensure the mill management being able to pick the best available workers from the local labour market, the jobber has to continue his job. I know some very decent men amongst them. Besides these, several of my best crims have been made jobbers in the local mills. I would very soon hear of it, if they started taking bribes.

Technical Education.—If asked to emphasize the greatest need the mill industry has to-day, I would say that it lies in the substitution of more technical education, in place of the policy of giving every bright lad, and many others, a chance to go on and get what passes for a high school education in India.

There is no remedy for the present glut of unskilled mill labour on the market—these people will live and die unskilled. But that is no reason why the rising generation should not be made skilled in many trades. The material is there, sufficient to equip and thoroughly equip every trade with efficient workers, but the dearth of properly organized technical schools throughout the Presidency is deplorable, and until the education department and each local body or municipality wake up to the need of properly training the youth of their schools, whether they will or no, into expert tradesmen, at the same time making their high school standards much higher, India will have to buy its best articles abroad, or have other countries dump them here at prices they cannot compete with.

There is no reason discoverable why Sholapur should not have one or two large and well-equipped technical schools, one of which should specialize in training lads as mill hands, in every department of such work, from raw cotton up to the best grades of yarn and cloth. Attendance at such schools should be as compulsory as at others. The marvel is that this city has escaped having such schools till now. The mills, even if they can get back to the rosy period of ten years ago, cannot run such schools here, any more than they do such things in other countries. It is as much a municipal task as keeping a city clean, or combating disease, and the education department is at last waking up on the matter, or beginning to, and will give grants, within a year or so to all local bodies who are willing to open them. Let us hope they will withhold all ordinary grants to those who will not.

Technical night schools, also, should be opened for all lads from 12 to 16, already in the mills.

Welfare Work; Medical and Housing Schemes.—The amount of activity along these lines should be left to each mill to decide on the grounds of its own workers' needs, plus the profit earning capacity of the mill concerned. At all events, this is not the time to offer advice to the mills on the subject when most of them are struggling with adverse balance sheets.

The fact that most of the well-managed mills started out to do something worth while along these lines when profits were good, is enough to show that they can be trusted to look after the interests of their workpeople, apart altogether from the fact that they know it is in their interest to see to this. In these days of great advancement of ideas of social work for the masses, no one can shut their eyes or pockets for long to urgent needs of this kind. To say, however, that a lot of the welfare-work begun in this and other presidencies on behalf of the mill workers, has not met with a great deal of gratitude on the part of those catered for, is merely to state a fact.

With regard to the special problem of housing it is only fair to expect that if the mills are to build special houses for their workers, who then contribute in a large measure to the revenue of the city, they should not have to pay the highest possible market rates for any land they require for such purposes, especially as the rental returns they charge are nominal only. At present they have to buy in keen competition with others in the open market, or if Government land is available they have at times been asked the highest rate obtaining for the best land in the place. Wherever such land is available the lowest rate rather than the highest should be charged.

I would rather be inclined to favour co-operative building societies to cope with the housing problem in most places.

Women Workers—wages and benefits.—From 200 to 300 women and girl workers from the settlement are at work in the Sholapur mills.

In no department of the mills is there so great a difference in the wage earning capacity of the workers, as in the winding and reeling departments. Other jobs, where fewer women are employed need no comment, as they are stocked with older unskilled workers.

Certain women, clever and skilled, make good wages, and these are employed on the better classes of work. Mr. Shaw, when out here, put the ratio of efficiency of the men in mills as compared with Lancashire (skilled only), as four against one. He was silent about the women.

In every mill in Sholapur, I would say 20 per cent. more women can be found each week than the actual work calls for. From my own observances, it seems that quite a number are employed because they will not leave, or because they would sooner be there and do some work which will bring them in a certain amount of wages per month, plus a bonus for attendance and the grain allowance, than remain at home, and be limited to the lesser amount of pity gossip they would hear, or be idle. Certain it is, that if a minimum amount of wage was introduced into their departments, many of them would be idle. If the mills were short of space, and flush with work, then the survival of the fittest would begin, but as things are, the women will not give you correct answers if you ask about their pay; they will not thank anyone who would try to weed out the inefficient, and they have their own way of sorting themselves into or out of the different mills, till they are all somebody else's relatives.

To introduce better conditions of work and pay, or any form of social improvement into the women's departments in mills will always be difficult, if only for the reason that most of the muddadam women (jobbers again) in charge are of doubtful local repute. No other kind will undertake the job of bossing women about in any department, their tongues are not free enough.

Maternity Benefits Bill.—The less one says about this the better. If it were a social measure for the benefit of women in the mills, surely it would not have suggested that the women should leave an all-day standing-up job not one month before confinement, but three. It is probably meant to be a real benefit to the young women who have to go to the mills for work, but the fact that the benefit amount is fixed at about the highest wages earned by women, will have the effect of closing up many younger women's jobs, when jobbers can get older and more efficient ones, for it is age that makes for efficiency in women's work. I very much doubt whether any mill will be able to stand the extra cost that this rate will involve, if properly adhered to. For the mofussil the rate is much too high, especially in view of the fact that the women have the option of using the maternity wards that most mills either run or subscribe to. It seems to be a hurriedly conceived Bill that needs amending and adjusting to city and mofussil requirements and conditions.

It is my experience here, that the women are well treated in all of the mills, that they are keen to accept work on the present pay and existing conditions, though I occasionally have complaints as to their wanting better-class work, but these are, as often as not, made by the more troublesome types amongst them. They also have the pick of the rooms, as far as fresh air and light go, in all of the mills. The fact that we do not have to watch their attendance records as we do the men's speaks for itself.

In conclusion, I would say that I think there is a genuine desire on the part of most, if not all, of the mill managers to improve the general conditions under which mill labour exists; and if there had not been so many varied interests involved, and so much anti-capitalistic propaganda put before the ignorant masses of mill hands during the past three years or more, with its consequent dislocation of, and loss to the industry, labour conditions would have been better to-day than they are.

Intimate contact with mill managers and mill hands for 12 years convinces me that there is a far better feeling existing between the two parties than can be gathered from newspaper reports, and there is a genuine desire on the part of most mill owners and agents to tackle the question of removing removable grievances, if, and whenever possible.

Though the question may be outside the province of the Royal Commission on Labour, it is a fact that stares everyone in the face, that until some change is made in Indian tariff rules that will rectify the unfair competition that Japanese and Chinese as well as continental goods are able to come into India with—if only for the reason that India's cotton trade was established under conditions prevailing before the war—then any rules framed for the benefit of mill labour are likely to become a dead letter and unworkable.

I am an Australian, and have carefully watched for 40 years the struggle of that country to establish self-contained industries and although messes enough have been made there with tariff bolstered and subsidised industries, she could not have established what sound industries are found there now, without tackling the serious economic and tariff problems involved.

India is going to change from a self-centred, self-contained country into one that will want to increase its exports and decrease its imports. Farmers are no longer content to grow food enough for themselves and their cattle, and live on in the old communal exchange style that was the vogue when I came here 35 years ago. They want money now, so they grow peanuts for cash. They even go so far as to export the Indian egg.

Their sons are going to be industrial workers in cities, good or bad ones, according to the way they are trained. The father will introduce improved methods into his farming, not because he is advised to, but when he realizes there is money in it.

Greater changes have come into agricultural labour conditions in India during the past 10 years than are generally known. The fact that exporting firms can afford to, and already have, placed thousands of well-paid buying agents into all the large towns in India, and the Indian firms also are taking this export trade up, has to be taken into account when rural and urban labour conditions are reviewed, as it is a big factor in the increase in the cost of living for all workers, whether they live in cities or villages. The days of cheap grain foods are gone, never to return.

LALSHANKER J. BHATT, MEDICAL OFFICER, THE CHANDRODAYA MILLS, LTD., VIRAMGAM.

I am connected with the mills at Viramgam since last 13 years as medical officer, and during the period for about 3 years worked as representative of the official liquidator.

Mills being in existence here since last 45 years, labour is mostly local and is recouped from surrounding villages and from Rajputana, especially Marwar.

Unemployment here is generally in educated classes, and retrenchment, whenever it occurs, affects these classes (clerks, etc.) more than any other body.

Relations between the staff and rank and file are generally fair. The Chandrodaya Mills, Ltd., have got works committee out of the workers, and its existence lessens the chances of strike, etc. Attendance registers are kept by the timekeepers and wages are actually paid by the office staff. Viramgam Mills have got chawls for their workers and if provision for sullage, water, etc., is made, they may prove a blessing. Workers lose money by indebtedness and drinking, etc. To cure root cause of illiteracy and its consequences, Primary Education Act, passed by the Bombay Government, must be put in force at any sacrifice, by which morality and homely life will also come in order. Medical facilities in a limited sense are provided. To improve physique, and to reduce heat, some facilities and contrivances ought to be kept to have the temperature cool inside the mills' departments.

Illness is often the cause of absenteeism, as malaria is chiefly prevalent here. Surroundings of the mills are such, that unless these are mended it cannot be prevented.

Welfare work is not carried out here, but shelters and refreshments are kept in mill's compounds. Employers have got insurance for their workpeople and its advantage is fully taken. Wages are earned by workpeople more than other parts of the local and surrounding places, but due to their ignorance and indulgence, more money is wasted by them than others.

R. B. Dr. V. V. MULAY, L.M. & S., PRESIDENT, MUNICIPALITY, SHOLAPUR.

Notes on Sholapur Municipality.

Income, about Rs. 9,00,000. Population, 114,000. Octroi, Rs. 3,00,000. Taxes, Rs. 3,50,000. Rents on land, Rs. 35,000. Market and slaughter-house, Rs. 30,000.

The rest include sale proceeds of land, fees, Government contributions, etc.

Municipality spends on Capital works about Rs. 1,50,000.

Housing quarters for municipal menials Rs. 50,000 spent in last three years.

Housing sites for the poor are provided for in town planning scheme No. 1 and No. 2.

The whole of Telang Pachha Peth, occupied by the weaver class people, purchased by the municipality in town planning scheme No. 1 for the benefit of the tenants.

S. No. 96, occupied by the poor class people is under development at municipality's expense.

New Tirhega, occupied by menials belonging to railway, mills and other working class and depressed class people, developed entirely at the municipality's expense and efforts.

(1) Credit Co-operative Society for the municipal employees; (2) Credit Co-operative Society for municipal school teachers; (3) Credit Co-operative Society for menial staff under formation; (4) Municipal Staff Association with definite aims and objects to improve their general conditions.

Health welfare work:—Two maternity homes; three dispensaries; one Lady Dufferin hospital; Leprosy treatment centre and asylum; periodical celebrations of health and baby weeks.

Education:—Compulsory primary education adopted. Depressed class hostel maintained on municipal contribution. Industrial school under contemplation.

Extensive schemes for improvement of water supply and drainage and town improvement are already undertaken and being executed successfully during the last six years.

THE NARSINGGIRJI MANUFACTURING CO, LTD., SHOLAPUR.

Double khada system, whereby operatives were cut two days pay for one day's absence without leave, was stopped about a year ago. Absentees have gone up, as a result, about 5 per cent.

Examination of Indebtedness in the Narsinggirji Mill, Sholapur, 1929.

Total employees on books	..	..	..	..	4,035
Absentees	..	..	..	..	390
Half-timers	..	..	..	..	250
Reeling women	..	..	..	..	700
Winding women	..	..	..	..	495
					1,835
					2,200 men.

The 2,200 male workers were individually questioned regarding their debts.

In some cases they have apparently given figures which are excessive, but on the whole their statements may be regarded as reasonably accurate.

The total indebtedness of the 2,200 persons was 3,17,000. Out of the 2,200, 1,250, or 57 per cent, were free of debt.

The average indebtedness per indebted person is Rs. 254.

The average rate of interest worked out on individual rates and not on the debt basis is 30 per cent.

450 out of the 2,200 indebted persons had land or other property from which they derive income.

The average income per head per month of these 450 persons is practically Rs. 6.

Some useful information from the Narsinggirji Mfg. Co., Ltd., Sholapur.

- (1) Total number of hands on roll: 4033 Male, 2208; women, 1327; children, 500.
- (2) Percentage of absentees, 12 to 15 per cent.
- (3) Average number of substitutes engaged daily, 80 in spinning; 85 in weaving.
- (4) Maternity benefit given per month (since Act came in force): average to 8 women.
- (5) Number of accidents, 8 to 12 per year. Majority of these are minor accidents.

(6) Percentage of Mahommedans amongst the mill workers 10 per cent.

(7) Half-timers, boys and girls attending the school in the register, about 164 boys present.

(8) Average wages (including high price allowance—30 per cent. on fixed wage and 35 per cent. on piece work) :—

Spinning men	Rs. 17 to 20
Spinning women	Rs. 7 to 8.
Half-timers—Boys	Rs. 7-12-9 pies.
Girls	Rs. 7-12-9 pies.
Weaving men	Rs. 20 to 25, single men.
	Rs. 35 to 55 double men.
Grey winders	Rs. 6 to 8.
Coloured winders	Rs. 8 to 10.

(9) Grain Benefit.

Spinning men	7 to 8 per cent. on their wages.
Weaving men	5 to 6 per cent. on their wages.
Women	14 to 16 per cent. on their wages.
Children	8 per cent. on their wages.

(10) Concession of house rent in mill chawls, to those only who are housed there, 45 to 50 per cent.

Percentage of benefit on wages comes to spinning men, 8 per cent. ; weaving men, 5 per cent.

(11) Total number of blocks, 309 tenements in chawls ; about 1,300 people living there.

(12) Daily bonus to half-timers, 1 anna (for regular and punctual attendance).

Daily bonus to women, 1 anna (for regular and punctual attendance).

Percentage of benefit of bonus on wages : half-timers, 11 to 12 per cent. ; women, 22 to 23 per cent.

Every year regularly bonus is being distributed to workers.

Last year out of 4,000 people, 3,395 hands received full bonus, i.e., 65 per cent. of the total ; about 265 hands received $\frac{1}{2}$ bonus, i.e., 7 per cent. of the total.

Condition of distribution of bonus (377 working days in a year) — (a) The workers who are absent up to 76 days in a year get full bonus, (b) The workers who are absent up to 105 days in a year get $\frac{1}{2}$ bonus, (c) the workers who are absent for more than 105 days get no bonus.

(13) Separate latrines and urinals and drinking water taps for men and women.

(14) Medical help given free to all mill hands.

(15) Hospital, primary school, dispensary, creche, are maintained.

(16) An Indian gymnasium and recreation ground is kept in chawls.

(17) After allowing for repairs, the net capital on chawls comes to less than 2 per cent.

(18) Humidifying and cooling arrangements are made in all the three floors of carding and spinning rooms, cost of which was Rs. 1,00,000 last year.

(19) In weaving department there is underground running water and arrangement for sprinkling water on roofing also is made.

(20) Supply of filtered cold water to the workers for drinking is specially arranged in hot season.

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