



Labour Office
Government of Bombay

Report on an Enquiry into
Wages and Hours of Labour
in the Cotton Mill Industry,
1926

Prepared by the Labour Office, Government of Bombay

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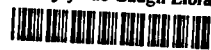


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APPENDIX A

List of Mills selected for the 1926 Cotton Wage Census

Names of Mills	Names of Agents or Owners and their office addresses
<i>Bombay City and Island</i>	
Bradbury Mills Ltd.	Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons Ltd. Agents, 12/14, Outram Road, Fort, Bombay.
New Great Eastern Spinning & Weaving Co., Ltd.	Messrs. W. H. Brady & Co., Ltd., Secretaries and Agents, Royal Insurance Buildings, 12/14, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay.
Swan Mills Ltd.	Messrs. James Finlay & Co., Ltd., Agents, Chartered Bank Buildings, Fort, Bombay.
Fazulbhoy Mills Ltd.	Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons Ltd., Agents, 12/14, Outram Road, Fort, Bombay.
Hindoostan Spinning & Weaving Mills Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Thackersey Mooljee & Co., Agents, Secretaries and Treasurers, 16, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
Madhewji Dharamsi Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Goculdas Madhavjee Sons & Co., Agents, Foras Road, Bombay No. 8.
E. D. Sassoon and Alexandra Mills ..	Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd., Agents, 15, Dougall Road, Ballard Estate, Fort, Bombay.
Western India Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Thackersey Mooljee Sons & Co., Agents, Secretaries and Treasurers, 16, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
Manockjee Petit Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Messrs. D. M. Petit Sons & Co., Agents, 359, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
Jam Manufacturing Co., Ltd. ..	Messrs. Waljee Shamji & Co., Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents, 4, Dalal Street, Fort, Bombay.
Jamshed Manufacturing Co., Ltd. ..	Messrs. Hormusji Ardeshir & Son, Agents, Commissariat Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
Swadeshi Mills Co., Ltd., No. 1 ..	Messrs. Tata Sons Ltd., Agents, Bombay House, 24, Bruce Road, Fort, Bombay.
Century Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd. (Zenith Mill).	Messrs. C. N. Wadia & Co., Agents, Gresham Building, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
Union Mills Ltd.	Messrs. David Sassoon & Co., Ltd., Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents, 3, Forbes Street, Fort, Bombay.
Mathradas Mills Ltd.	Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons Ltd., Agents, 12/14, Outram Road, Fort, Bombay.
New Kaiser-i-Hind Spinning & Weaving Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Vussunjee Munjee & Co., Agents, 15a, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay.
Tata Mills Ltd.	Messrs. Tata Sons Ltd., Agents, Bombay House, 24, Bruce Road, Fort, Bombay.
Globe Manufacturing Co., Ltd. ..	Messrs. Turner Morrison & Co., Ltd., Managing Agents, 16 Bank Street, Fort, Bombay.
Standard Mills Co., Ltd.	Mafatalal Gagalbhai Esq., Liquidator, Rustom Building, 29, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay.

Ahmedabad City

Gujarat Ginning and Manufacturing Co. Ltd.	Messrs. Jamnabhai Mansukhbhai, Agents, Post Box No. 49, Ahmedabad.
Motilal Hirabhai Spinning, Weaving and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Motilal Hirabhai & Sons, Agents, Outside Prem Gate, Ahmedabad.
Silver Cotton Mills Co., Ltd. ..	Messrs. Gopalbhai Balabhai & Co., Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents, Outside Raipur Gate, Ahmedabad.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

Names of Mills	Names of Agents or Owners and their office addresses
<i>Ahmedabad City—contd.</i>	
Ahmedabad Sarangpur Mills Co., Ltd. ..	Messrs. Himatlal Motilal & Co., Agents, Outside Raipur Gate, Ahmedabad.
City of Ahmedabad Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Chandulal Karsandas & Co., Ltd., Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents, Kankaria Road, Ahmedabad.
Aryodaya Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Mangaldas and Balabhai & Co., Agents, Asarva Road, Ahmedabad.
Shorrock Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Mafatlal Chandulal & Co., Agents, Asarva Road, Railwayपुरa Post, Ahmedabad.
Rajnagar Spinning, Weaving and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Mr. Mangaldas Girdhardas Parekh, Secretary, Treasurer and Agent, Railwayपुरa Post, Camp Road, Ahmedabad.
Rajpur Mills Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Patel & Co., Agents, Gontipur Road, Railwayपुरa Post, Ahmedabad.
Asoka Mills Ltd.	Messrs. Lalbhai Dalpatbhai & Co., Agents, Pankore's Naka, Ahmedabad.
Marsden Spinning and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Marsden Bros., & Co., Ltd., Agents, Gontipur, Ahmedabad.
Ahmedabad Sri Ramkrishna Mills Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Chimanlal Maneklal & Co., Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents, Gontipur Road, Ahmedabad.
Himabhai Manufacturing Co., Ltd. ..	Messrs. Dhirajlal Khusaldas & Bros., Agents, Rewadi Bazar, Latiff Buildings, Railwayपुरa Post, Ahmedabad.
Ahmedabad New Textile Mills Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Naranlal Jivanlal & Co., Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents, Post Box No. 30, Ahmedabad.
Ahmedabad Advance Mills Ltd. ..	Messrs. Tata Sons Ltd., Agents, Bombay House, 24, Bruce Road, Fort, Bombay.
Ahmedabad Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.	Messrs. Runohodlal Chhotalal & Co., Agents, Shahapur, Ahmedabad.
<i>Sholapur City</i>	
Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd. (one section of the Mills).	Messrs. Morarjee Goculdas & Co., Agents, Sudama House, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate, Fort, Bombay.
Lakshmi Cotton Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	The Bombay Co., Ltd., Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents, 9, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay.

APPENDIX B

Wage Movements in Recent Years and Attempts at Standardization

In Bombay, the first joint action taken by the Bombay Millowners' Association was in January 1918 when a dearness allowance of 15 per cent. was granted to all workers in all Bombay mills irrespective of the fact whether the operatives worked on time or piece rates of wages. The 15 per cent. granted on the 1st January 1918 was increased to 35 per cent. on 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 July 1925 the Bombay Millowners' Association notified all operatives in the Bombay mills that the wages of all workpeople in the mills affiliated to the Association would be reduced by 11½ per cent. with effect from the 1st September 1925 owing to the high prices ruling for cotton, increased cost of production due to the high rates of wages, Japanese competition, unprecedented accumulations of cloth and yarn due to the demand not keeping pace with production and to the maintenance of the excise duty of 3¼ per cent. on cotton manufactures. Negotiations to bring about a settlement of this dispute between the millowners and the representatives of labour proved abortive and over 30,000 operatives in fifteen mills went out on strike on the 15th September. By the 2nd October there was a complete stoppage of work in all the mills in the City and by the 6th October the strike had extended to the two mills in Kurla. The only point on which there appeared general unanimity was the necessity for the immediate suspension of the excise duty and the Government of Bombay made representations to the Government of India to this effect. At the end of November the Viceroy suspended, by a 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.

One of the reasons of the general strike in the cotton mill industry in the Bombay City of the year 1928, which started on the 16th April and lasted till the 6th October, was alleged reductions in wage rates in various mills in Bombay City. One of the seventeen demands submitted by the Joint Strike Committee, which was in charge of the conduct of this strike, to the Millowners' Association was 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". One of the conditions of the settlement of the strike which was arrived at on the 4th October 1928 was that pending the report of the Committee of Enquiry that was to be set up, the rates and wages of March 1927 should be paid, with a few exceptions in particular mills.

In Ahmedabad, disputes in connexion with wage rates are referred to a Permanent Arbitration Board, consisting of Seth Mangaldas and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, which was appointed by a Resolution adopted by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association on the 4th April 1920. Failing an agreement, a dispute is referred by the arbitrators to a *Sirpanch* or Umpire. The system of arbitration in the matter of wage disputes had, however, been brought into effect in the Ahmedabad mill industry three years earlier. Prior to 1917 no concerted action was taken by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association 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 Millowners' Association or the Arbitrators or Umpires chosen from time to time awarded increments to different departments in different proportions. The Warpors 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 the Association decided upon an increase of 62½ per cent. in wages to workers in the Sizing, Calendaring and Engineering Departments. The same increment was granted to mill Mochis (leather workers) and the pay of some workers in the Cloth Folding Department was fixed after giving a similar increase. About the same time increases 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 them. 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 an increase of about 15 per cent. was granted 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 an all round cut of 15-62½ per cent. mainly on account of depression in trade. No general changes were made in rates between 1923 and 1929 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 rates to any appreciable extent. Early in the year 1929, the Textile Labour Union at Ahmedabad requested the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association to restore the Wage Cut effected in 1923. The matter was referred to the permanent Arbitration Board consisting of Seth Mangaldas as the representative of the Millowners' Association and Mr. M. K. Gandhi as the representative of the Labour Union. On the Board failing to arrive at an agreement the matter was referred to a *Sir Panch*. Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, retired Chief Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay, was appointed the Umpire. Dewan Bahadur Jhaveri gave his award on the 4th December 1929 recommending an increase of five per cent. for weavers and of eight per cent. for spinners with effect from the 1st January 1930. The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, at a meeting held on the 7th December passed a Resolution agreeing to accept the Umpire's Award and to grant these increases with effect from the date recommended.

In the case of the Sholapur mills the increases granted in cash wages by individual mills between the years 1918 and 1920 were consolidated with the rates prevailing in 1914 and the first increases given as dearness allowances were paid in kind. In the Laxmi and the Vishnu Mills, full time adult operatives were given in January 1918 the right to purchase 12 seers of grain per month for Re. 1-10-9. Children or half-timers were allowed to purchase six seers. From February 1919 onwards full-time workers who had not lost more than four days in a month were allowed to purchase 20 seers of grain at a flat rate of Rs. 2 giving them an advantage which varied between Re. 1-5-8 and Rs. 4-15-4 per head per month according to the fluctuations of prices in the Grain market. Children were allowed to purchase ten seers for a rupee with a corresponding advantage. The first increases in basic rates in the same mills were granted during the year 1918. These varied in different departments. The next increases in cash rates were granted early in the year 1920. The rates for Mixing Coolies were increased by 15 per cent., for Blow Room Operators by 30 per cent., for Card Strippers by 20 per cent., and for Frame Tenters by about 10 per cent. In the Ring Department Piecers were given an increase of 11 per cent., doffers, who got no increase in 1918, 15 per cent., and Tarwallas (Followers) 10 per cent. Among women workers, Reelers got an increase of 12½ per cent. and winders about 10 per cent. Front and Back Sizers were granted 20 and about 11 per cent. respectively. The rates for two-loom weavers were so adjusted as to give them an increase of about 20 per cent. Workers in other Departments were also granted proportionate increases, but the highest increases, amounting to about 40 per cent. were granted to Drawers in the Drawing-In Department and to Reachers. Both the increases in the cash rates granted in 1918 and in 1920 were consolidated with the rates prevailing in 1914. The first dearness allowance to be given in cash, and as a percentage on the basic rates, was granted in March 1920. Time workers received 15 per cent. and piece workers 30 per cent. In November of the same year the allowance for "fixed" workers was increased to 30 per cent. and for piece workers to 35 per cent. There has been no change in these percentages since 1920.

In the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills, which employs over 7,000 workers, the Grain Allowance was first granted in February 1918. The scales of the grain concession from time to time were as follows:—

	Seers of Grain (Sholapur Measure. One seer of Jowari equivalent to 143 tolas) per month	Amount that the workers have to pay to the mills for the grain per month
	Seers	Rs. a. p.
February and March 1918 (Jowari only for those whose basic wage was Rs. 13 and below)	12	2 0 0
April 1918 to January 1919 (Jowari and Dal)	16	3 0 0
February 1919 to July 1922 (Jowari and Dal)	22	3 0 0
August 1922 onwards	22	2 8 0

From April 1918 the concession of purchasing *dal* also was given to all adult operatives. Children or half-timers got half the concession and Jobbers were granted grain worth one rupee more. The scales for deductions are irrespective of market prices. The mills reported that a general rise in basic wages was given in April 1920 after the strike of that year. Hours of work were at the same time reduced from 12 to 10. As in the case of the Laxmi and the Vishnu Mills, the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills also commenced giving a High Prices Allowance as a separate percentage on basic rates from February 1920. All fixed wage earners and Reelers and Winders (i.e., female operatives working on a piece-rate basis), were granted an allowance of 15 per cent. and male piece-workers an allowance of 30 per cent. respectively. There have been no changes in the scales of the Dearness Allowances since November 1920. It will have been observed that there were three separate increases in wages in the mills in Sholapur during the year 1920: (1) substantial increases in basic rates, (2) the first grant of a Dearness Allowance as a percentage on the earnings accruing from the consolidated basic rates, and (3) the doubling of this allowance in the case of all time workers and female operatives and an increase of five per cent. in the allowance for male piece workers.

The Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) appointed by the Government of India in the year 1926 to investigate, *inter alia*, the condition of the Cotton Textile Industry in India and to make recommendations, found that "by far the greatest difficulty in the case of manufacture from which Bombay suffers in comparison with Ahmedabad and other upcountry centres is in its high cost of labour and 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".

The report also suggested the adoption of a system of standardised wages for the same class of work as between mill and mill. Such a standardisation would help to strengthen the position of the industry. The Millowners' Association took up the question and drew up a scheme which provided that all operatives except weavers would get at least the same average wages that they had been getting provided they worked with reasonable efficiency but there should be a cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the present average wage of weavers. The standardisation scheme followed in the main the uniform lists in Lancashire. The Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee appointed after the strike of 1928 went in detail into this scheme and made numerous recommendations regarding it.

The Millowners' Association proposed to bring a detailed Standardisation Scheme into operation with effect from 1st October 1929 after discussing these recommendations 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 1929 in consequence of the refusal of the Millowners' 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 general strike in the Bombay cotton mills on this question which lasted from 26th April to 17th September, it was not possible for the Association to bring the scheme into operation with effect from the date proposed. At the moment of writing no information is available as to the date from which the Association now proposes to standardise wages in the Bombay mills.

APPENDIX C

Deductions for spoilt material handed over to workers

The Labour Office of the Government of Bombay at the instance of the Government of India conducted in the year 1926 an extensive enquiry into "Deductions from Wages or Payments in respect of Fines" and published the results in the form of a special Report in 1928. The Enquiry covered all the various industrial establishments, including cotton textile mills in Bombay City, Ahmedabad and other centres of the Presidency. One of the questions on which information was called for was in respect of the nature and extent of deductions for spoilt or damaged material handed over to workers. It was found that this practice was very rare in factories and establishments outside the Textile Industry. The system of handing over to workers articles spoilt or damaged through their negligence and of making deductions from their wages on account of such articles was reported to be prevalent in 31 out of 76 cotton mills in Bombay City, 40 out of 49 reporting mills in Ahmedabad and 13 out of 19 mills in the rest of the Presidency. 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. This method of calculation of the deduction was reported to have been adopted in 22 mills in Bombay City, 33 in Ahmedabad and 8 in other centres of the Presidency. The statistics for the total amount of deductions made during the first ten months of the year 1926 and the number of instances in which the deductions were effected were furnished by 24 mills in Bombay City, 18 in Ahmedabad and 4 in other centres of the Presidency. Deductions amounting to Rs. 80,959-15-7 in 17,513 instances were reported by the 24 Bombay mills. In other words the average amount of deductions per month amounted to Rs. 8,096 and the incidence to Rs. 4-10-0 per instance. Similarly, the eighteen Ahmedabad mills employing an average of 4,936 weavers stated that the total amount of deductions was Rs. 74,800-9-10 and the number of instances 31,956. The average deduction per month was Rs. 7,480 and the incidence worked out at Rs. 2-5-5 per instance. Seven mills which gave only the amounts of these deductions and not the numbers of instances in which they were made, reported that for a total number of 2,628 weavers employed the deductions for spoilt cloth amounted to Rs. 47,674-2-0 or an average of Rs. 4,767 per month. If the two sets of figures are totalled it is found that an amount of Rs. 1,22,475 was deducted in ten months in respect of 7,612 workers or at an average of Rs. 1-9-9 per head per month. In the case of the four mills in the other centres of the Presidency a sum of Rs. 4,565-11-11 was recovered in 1,512 instances. The rate of the deductions was at Rs. 3-0-3 per instance and Rs. 456-9-0 per month. No figures were available with regard to the incidence of the deductions *per worker* for the workers on whom it was imposed.

With regard to the effects of this practice, it is urged that the employees who are given the spoilt material have no difficulty in selling it and that in cases where they are not able to sell it they use the cloth themselves. The evidence of the workers themselves goes to show that, in many cases, they experience the greatest difficulty in disposing of the material that has been thrust upon them and this is especially the case as regards the kinds of cloth for which there is no local demand. The weaver with limited resources is very often anxious to realise the value of the damaged cloth as soon as possible and is therefore forced to sell it for whatever price he can get. In most cases the price fetched is considerably less than the actual "cut" effected from the weaver's wages. In many cases the worker is forced to retain cloth for which he cannot obtain a satisfactory price, although he does not ordinarily require it for his own use. Sometimes, however, the worker is able to dispose of the damaged material at a price equal to or more than the amount deducted from his wages and thereby he escapes punishment altogether.

Referring to this question the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) in paragraph 64 of their Report (1927) stated as follows:—

"It is the practice in many mills to compel a weaver to take over cloth spoilt by defective workmanship the full value of such cloth being recovered from him and credited to the mill. The weaver has then to dispose of the cloth as best he can.

* * * * *

This practice was justified by Managing Agents on the ground that disciplinary measures are necessary to maintain efficiency and quality. There are many mills which do not adopt the system but merely impose a fine for defective workmanship and we are convinced that it is desirable in the interests of the mills themselves that it should be abolished as the advantage which the mills derive from it is entirely incommensurate with the soreness it causes."

The Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, 1928-29, discussing a new Standing Order proposed by the Millowners on the subject observed that "there can be no doubt that the practice is liable to considerable abuse, and it has often given rise to industrial unrest. The weaver constantly feels that he has been unjustly penalised for damage caused from reasons which were beyond his control, and asserts that his protests are not heeded. There may be no real attempt to determine whether pieces of cloth have been spoilt owing to the worker's negligence, or on account of defective machinery, bad raw material or carelessness in some other department; and there is a natural tendency for employers to decide such cases in their favour. The worker may not be able to dispose of the spoilt or damaged material except at a considerable loss, and the incidence of the fine thus inflicted on him may be very heavy. No doubt there may be some cases where weavers benefit by getting slightly damaged cloth, which they can keep for their own use or dispose of at a profit; but we think that the objections to the practice outweigh its utility". The Committee, on the other hand, held that "it would be clearly unreasonable for the employer not to have power to recover compensation for damage caused by the negligence of a weaver, by fine or deduction from his wages". In conclusion, they tentatively suggested the addition of a rule on the following lines to the Standing Orders proposed by the Bombay Millowners' Association:—

"The Company shall not be entitled to debit a weaver's wages with the cost of cloth damaged by his negligence, unless he elects to take it over on those terms. Otherwise the Company may deduct from his wages an amount corresponding to the estimated loss caused to it by such negligence, provided that, if the proposed deduction exceeds the sum of Rs. _____ or the weaver disputes the damage being due to his negligence, the deduction shall not be made by an officer of the Company lower in rank than an Assistant Weaving Master. If the latter officer directs a deduction of Rs. _____ or over, and the weaver disputes his liability to pay the same, there shall be a joint examination of the damaged cloth by such officer of the Company as the Manager appoints and a representative of the weavers, who may be either an employee of the Company or an official of a registered Trade Union. If they agree in their decision, the Manager shall accept their decision. If they disagree, and there is no independent person to whom the Manager and the weavers' representative agree to refer the dispute, the Manager shall decide what amount (if any) shall be deducted from the weaver's wages."

We have referred to the matter at some length here in order to show the impossibility of taking into account this peculiar form of wage deduction in arriving at the average of a weaver's earnings. It is impossible to estimate the money value of the "fine" which may, moreover, in a few cases, where the type of cloth handed over is readily saleable, actually involve a profit and not a loss.

APPENDIX D

Table showing the average monthly earnings of Mill clerks

Department and occupation	Total number returned	Average monthly earnings
I. BOMBAY		Rs. a. p.
Mill or Factory Clerks—		
Head clerks	18	217 0 1
General clerks—		
1st class	13	157 9 7
2nd class	44	84 13 0
3rd class	16	43 13 5
Head time-keepers	24	127 0 10
Assistant time-keepers	64	66 9 7
Head store-keepers	28	158 6 7
Godown-keepers	103	68 0 0
Cotton clerks	43	87 15 7
Waste clerks	26	68 5 1
Sizing clerks	45	64 11 7
Weaving clerks	64	64 13 1
Folding clerks	49	65 13 2
Other mill clerks	326	56 15 10
Junior technical assistants	86	36 3 7
2. AHMEDABAD		
Mill or Factory Clerks—		
Head clerks	21	133 0 5
General clerks—		
1st class	5	133 6 5
2nd class	109	54 3 11
3rd class	88	29 14 10
Head time-keepers	15	64 7 6
Assistant time-keepers	27	34 2 5
Head store-keepers	14	66 8 7
Godown and Warehouse clerks	45	37 11 9
Cotton clerks	24	44 10 5
Waste clerks	9	28 10 2
Sizing clerks	50	45 8 9
Weaving clerks	24	38 12 0
Other mill clerks	210	33 11 3