


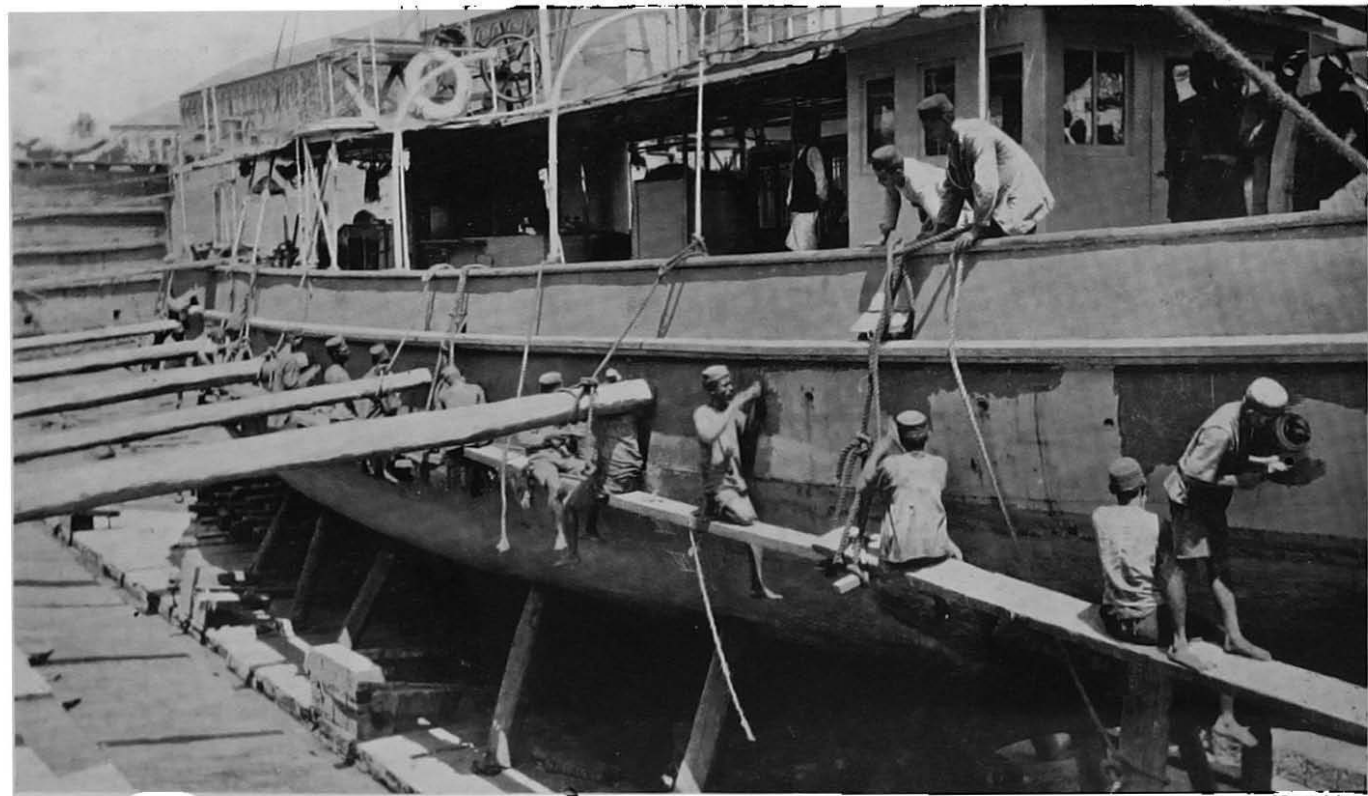
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STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

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LABOUR AND HOUSING IN BOMBAY



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LABOUR AND HOUSING IN BOMBAY

A STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC
CONDITIONS OF THE WAGE-
EARNING CLASSES IN BOMBAY

BY

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FOREWORD

INDIA ranks at the International Labour Office at Geneva as one of the great industrial countries of the world. But during this period of universal trade depression the whole future of her manufacturing industries is giving food for anxious thought. When I left Bombay in March, 1925, there was apparent a most pregnant fact. Notwithstanding natural advantages which should have been decisive—raw material at the doors and an immense home market—Bombay yarn was being undersold in the local market by the products of the mills of Japan and Shanghai, not only on price but on quality, and this despite a substantial measure of protection. The explanation generally offered for this fact was that apart from the adventitious influence of the Exchanges, the mill labour of Japan and Shanghai was more efficient and cheaper than that of Bombay. Those who look below the surface are convinced that the whole prosperity of India is not so much a question of tariffs as of increasing the efficiency and stability of the labour force.

Indeed, the condition of the Labour force in the industrial centres of India is one which sadly perplexes the industrialist, the humanitarian and the sociologist. The aged fiction that India is a land with an unlimited supply of cheap labour persists in England; it has long ceased to bemuse the industrialist in India. Under ordinary conditions—periods of exceptional depression like the present excluded—the supply of labour in Indian industries, even in the staple agricultural industry, is never sufficient, and in relation to quality and quantity of output it is not cheap. The reasons for this are found deep down in the social

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conditions of the people. Although the great textile industries are three-quarters of a century old, there has not yet been evolved a permanent corps of craftsmen. A prominent industrialist declared of the Bombay mill operative that an agriculturist he was, an agriculturist he is, and an agriculturist he will be. Mr. Burnett-Hurst puts the position less epigrammatically, but with absolute truth, when he says that in the chief centres of industry "employers are compelled to depend upon a fluctuating labour population, consisting largely of semi-agriculturists, who migrate hundreds of miles and only reside in the towns for part of the year, returning to their villages when their labour is required for agricultural operations." The chief consequences of this incessant migration are a low standard of technical efficiency, an absence of responsibility arising from treatment of factory work as a disagreeable necessity only to be practiced long enough to enable the worker to earn enough to return to his village, and a social disruption separating the worker from his home and his family for long periods. This in turn has its roots in the deplorable living conditions in the chief centres of industry. In the pages which follow, Mr. Burnett-Hurst gives a vivid picture of life in the immense tenement houses where the Bombay labourer resides, and he has not over-emphasized its squalor and discomfort. The whole future of Indian industry, based as it must be on an efficient and contented labour force, is bound up with an improvement in the hygienic conditions in the great industrial centres.

Until recently we have not been in possession of the information necessary to provide the foundation for an effective policy. When I presided over a Committee formed in 1920 to consider the possibility of devising means for the settlement of the industrial disputes which were then so common, we found that there did not exist the data on which a conciliation or arbitration tribunal could decide on the economic merits of a strike. On our recommendation there was set up the efficient Labour Office of the Bombay Secretariat, which has thrown a flood of light on the conditions of labour in the city. Two years later,

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when I was asked to conduct a more formal inquiry into the same subject, it was unanimously agreed that the first essential to a better state of affairs was improved housing. In both these respects great progress has been made. The inquiries of the Labour Office, and of unofficial investigators like Mr. Burnett-Hurst, have kept public opinion in accurate touch month by month with the economic condition of the labouring classes. The work of the Development Directorate, inaugurated by Sir George Lloyd, was originally designed to furnish sanitary housing for a quarter of a million of people, and there are signs that the provision of better accommodation has temporarily outstripped the demand. The depressing picture, limned by Mr. Burnett-Hurst, of the homes of the people therefore belongs to the past rather than to the present, although the insanitary tenement is still too much in evidence, and full advantage will not be reaped from the work of the Development Directorate until there is a more active policy in the destruction of dwellings which are obviously unfit for human habitation.

Two other evils spring from the migratory habits of the Indian workmen. One is that higher wages are not always, nor even generally, reflected in the betterment of the recipient; they are too often lost in increased absenteeism, even now reckoned as high as 20 per cent. The other is the existence of a large parasite class preying on the worker. Heavy toll is taken of his wages by the money-lender, the jobber or labour supplier, the foreman and the liquor seller, with more recently the "bucket-shop" keeper. At almost every stage the wage-earner is mulcted of some fraction of his wage. This leads to the conclusion that the immediate problem of Indian industry is not so much the raising of wages, for there are many signs that industry cannot bear higher charges, as the extraction of higher service for the wages paid, and securing to the worker a better return for the wages which he is supposed to receive.

In these directions a healthy beginning has been made. Several of the most progressive mill-owners have established and encourage welfare work amongst their employees. The Social Service League and other philanthropic bodies are

spreading co-operation as an alternative to the money-lender, whose charges are anything from 75 to 150 per cent. per annum. The drink traffic is being restricted. Housing and sanitary conditions are improving and education is being extended. The Child Welfare Movement, inaugurated by Lady Willingdon and pressed forward by Lady Lloyd, is tackling the appalling infant mortality. But we have so far only touched the fringe of these immense problems, and the pages of Mr. Burnett-Hurst's work indicate how much remains to be done.

The great essential is that all who are interested, either directly or indirectly, in the future of Indian industry, should take to heart the advice which Mr. Stanley Baldwin gave to the City of London—to think economically, to go down to the homes of the people and see how they live. That is what Mr. Burnett-Hurst has done in this thesis, and it can be unreservedly commended to all who desire to know something of Indian industry. I have indicated only a few of the economic problems which confront all who are responsible for the governance of India. Associated with these is a complete inquiry into the question of industrial fatigue in sub-tropical conditions, with special reference to the pressure of intensive labour as compared with lighter work for longer periods; the influence of malaria on physical efficiency and absenteeism; and the quality of the food supply. I am convinced that a great work which remains to be done is the establishment of the canteen system in Indian factories, securing to the worker a substantial meal in the middle of the day, and the advent of the entrepreneur, who will do for Indian cities what Lyons have accomplished in London in providing good and cheap food for all classes of society.

STANLEY REED.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS study was undertaken at the request of the Ratan Tata Foundation of the University of London, and claims to be the first attempt to make a fairly comprehensive survey of the life and labour of the industrial classes in an Indian city. The material collected is largely the result of personal inquiries or observation during the author's residence in Bombay (1916-19) and subsequent brief visits to that city. Where the information collected has been supplemented by extracts from official or unofficial publications, this is stated and the reference is given.

The writer has to acknowledge the very great kindness of the employers, employees and social workers who have lent assistance in making the survey as complete as possible. Those to whom he owes thanks are too numerous to mention individually, but he must especially express his indebtedness to the late Mr. C. B. Lalaye, Mr. S. K. Bole, Mr. J. P. Orr, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. H. A. Talcherkar and Mr. G. K. Devadhar. His special thanks are also due to Miss M. E. Bulkley for her criticisms and valuable suggestions, to Miss Dorothy Wilford for preparing the map of Bombay City and Island, and to Miss W. G. Thompson for assistance in proof-reading. The photographs illustrating this work were taken by the author unless otherwise stated.

A. R. BURNETT-HURST.

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APPENDIX I

A STUDY OF WORKING-CLASS HOUSEHOLDS IN THE PAREL WARD OF BOMBAY

In 1917-18 an inquiry was undertaken by the author into the social and economic conditions of the working classes living in an industrial quarter of Bombay City. A Committee¹ was formed to advise generally, and the active assistance of a number of social workers—members of the Bombay Social Service League and others—was enlisted.

The inquiry was confined to the wage-earning classes living within the municipal limits of Parel, a ward largely inhabited by mill-hands, railway workers, artisans, etc. In density of population and in infant death-rates it compared favourably with other wards of the city. There was no *prima-facie* evidence that social conditions in the district selected were worse than in other parts of Bombay.

The method of procedure was similar to that adopted by Dr. Bowley and others in selected towns in England,² with such modifications as were necessitated by the different conditions of Indian life and labour. The scheme adopted was to visit a sample of one in twenty of all the houses and tenements in the ward. "Randomness" was secured by taking a complete list of dwellings in the ward (kindly supplied by the Assessment Department, Municipality of Bombay) and marking off every twentieth residence and, in the case of chawls, every twentieth tenement. It was found that 466 residences and tenements would have to be visited. Voluntary and paid enumerators were employed, and after careful training and detailed instructions (a copy of which was supplied to each investigator) the house-to-house visitations were commenced. The inquiry was probably the first of its kind carried out in Bombay and naturally aroused considerable attention from among the inhabitants of

¹ The Committee included Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the late Sir Narayan Chandarvarkar, the Hon. Lalubhai Samuldas, Dr. Harold Mann, the late Principal Anstey, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M.A., and Mr. N. M. Joshi.

² A. L. Bowley and A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty* (Bell & Sons, 1915).

the dwellings. A portion of the inquiry had been successfully carried out when vigorous recruiting for the Indian Army was commenced among the working-classes and the investigators were confused with recruiting officers. Leaflets printed in Marathi and explaining the objects of the inquiry were distributed by members of the Social Service League. This failed to reassure the tenants. As some of the investigators were threatened with personal violence and in one or two cases roughly handled, it was decided to suspend the inquiry for a time. Conditions, however, did not improve, and when, after a period of considerable industrial unrest (owing to the rise in the cost of living), wages were increased and all standards were altered, it was decided to abandon the remainder of the inquiry and to rest content with the information collected. The data obtained related to 139 out of the 466 residences to be visited, i.e., approximately 30 per cent. Upon scrutiny of the cards it was found that seven residences were vacant, information was refused by seven households (in some cases because they thought the men would be sent to the Front), and in four other cases the occupiers were not of the wage-earning class (being clerks, hotel-keepers, etc.), and were on this account excluded from the tables. The households which form the subject of most of the following tables number 121, these representing by sample 2,420.

Some of the information collected is out-of-date (e.g., that relating to wages, income and rent), but the greater part of it (e.g., information as to the composition and size of families, the overcrowding of rooms, the *proportion* of rent to total income, etc.) still holds good. Wherever possible, the conclusions arrived at are compared with those of the Inquiry into Working-Class Budgets conducted by the Bombay Labour Office in 1921-2 and explanations of divergencies, wherever they exist, are given. The differences in the scope and method of the two inquiries should be recognized. There could be no bias in the selection of households in the Parel inquiry, whereas in the Labour Office investigation the households were definitely selected¹ and consisted mainly of families which contained at least one man, one woman and one child. Excluding the single-men class (which contains 253 men in the official inquiry and sixty in the private inquiry), the difference in composition of households in the two studies is shown by the tables on opposite page.

¹ See above, Chapter V. "Attempts were made to select as far as possible a self-contained family, consisting of a husband, wife, and children. It was, however, discovered that families were made up of more than two adults and these were, therefore, included."—*Report of an Inquiry into Working-Class Budgets in Bombay, 1923, p. 6.*

	Parel Inquiry.		Labour Office Inquiry.	
	No.	Percentage.	No.	Percentage.
Families with at least one man, one woman and one child . . .	51	48.6	2,220	90
Other families	54	51.4	253	10
	105 *	100.0	2,473	100

* It must be borne in mind that this represents by sample 2,010 families

Reference to the detailed classification of households on p. 133 shows how far the "self-contained family, consisting of a husband, wife and children," can be regarded as typical in Bombay City.

On the other hand, the Labour Office gave instructions that the budget statements should be obtained "from all the working-class districts within an industrial area," whereas the private inquiry was confined to a ward inhabited predominantly by mill-hands, as is seen below :

Industry.	Parel Inquiry. (Classification of wage- earners by industry.) Percentage of total.	Industry.	Labour Office Inquiry. (Classification of budgets by industry.) Percentage of total.
Mill Workers . . .	80	Mill Workers . . .	49½
Railway Workshops	4	Municipal Workers	15
Miscellaneous . . .	16	Dock Workers . .	12
		Railway Workers .	9
		Engineering Work- ers	8
		Gas and Elec- tricity, Postal and Miscellane- ous	6½
Total . . .	100	Total . . .	100

In the classification by religion and caste, the differences in detail are set out on the following page.

Religion and Caste.	Parcel Inquiry.		Labour Office Inquiry.
	No. of Households.	Percentage of Total.	Percentage of Total Budgets.
Hindus—			
Maratha	71	58·7	44·6
Kunbi and Kulvadi	5	4·1	8·3
Bhandari	8	6·6	3·0
Vani	5	4·1	1·0
Teli	4	3·3	Not stated
Sutar	4	3·3	1·8
Shimpi	3	2·5	Not stated
Khatri, Sali	3	2·5	Not stated
Mochi	2	1·7	·8
Lohar	2	1·7	1·6
Others (Dhobi, Bhaiya, Gavli, Ahir, Mahar and Brahmin)	6	5·0	29·2
Total Hindus	113	93·4	90·3
Mohammedans	2	1·7	6·2
Indian Christians—Goanese	2	1·7	1·8
Jews	1	·8	·3
Zoroastrians	—	—	·3
Not known	3	2·5	1·1
Total	121	100·0	100·0

The proportion between Hindus and non-Hindus corresponds fairly closely.

Housing and Rents.—It was ascertained from the records of the Assessment Department of the Municipality that of the total number of 466 residences which fell within the scope of the sample inquiry, 118 (or over 70 per cent.) were ground-floor dwellings, 207 (or 15 per cent.) two-storied, 98 (or 6 per cent.) three-storied, and 43 (or 2½ per cent.) with four or more stories. If we assume that a two-storied building contains at least twice the number of persons in a ground-floor dwelling, a three-storied structure three times the number, and so on, it would appear then that nearly 90 per cent. were housed in buildings of more than one story.¹

¹ There are a considerable number of ground-floor dwellings (especially "katcha" huts and tin sheds) occupied by one family only, whereas a building of two or more stories is almost invariably a tenement dwelling. No allowance has been made for this in the estimate.

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The following table shows the relationship between the rent paid in 1917-18 and the number of rooms occupied :

WORKING-CLASS HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RENTS AND ROOMS

Number of Rooms.	* Monthly Rent (including Taxes), 1917-18.														Total.
	Rs. 2.	Rs. 2½.	Rs. 3.	Rs. 3½.	Rs. 3¾.	Rs. 4.	Rs. 4½.	Rs. 5.	Rs. 5½.	Rs. 6.	Rs. 7 and over.	Not stated.			
1	3	7	3	34	18	25	3	7	7	3	1	1	1	1	116
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Total	3	7	3	34	18	25	3	7	7	3	1	1	5	1	120

* In one case there are two families in the one room, sharing the rent equally. This reduces the total number of units in the table by one, i.e., 120 instead of 121.

The number of households in one-roomed tenements was 116 out of 120 (or 96·7 per cent.). The corresponding figure of the Labour Office is about 97 per cent.

Sixty-four per cent. of the households paid rents varying from Rs.3 to Rs.3·8, the median rent being Rs.3½. Since 1917-18 rents have risen considerably; according to the Labour Office figures for 1921-2 the predominant rent for a single room is between Rs.3·8 and Rs.5·8, the most common rent being Rs.3·12 a month.

A detailed description of the dwellings has been given in Chapter III.

Overcrowding of Rooms.—Overcrowding, as defined by the census officials in England, is said to occur when there are more than two persons to a room. Using this standard there was overcrowding in 74 out of the 120 households (or in 62 per cent.). The details are given on next page.

The average number of persons in single-room tenements in Parel was 3·5, whereas the corresponding figure for 1921 given by the Census Report (Cities of the Bombay Presidency) is 2·7. The Bombay Labour Office states that the average working-class family in the city of Bombay, according to the family budgets collected, consists of 4·2 persons. It is not surprising that this figure exceeds that of Parel. The Labour Office collected data relating to families consisting of "man, wife and children." Actually, there are a large number of smaller families. In

**WORKING-CLASS HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
THE NUMBER OF PERSONS AND OF ROOMS**

Number of Rooms.	Number of Persons in Households.													Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1	7	37	21	24	15	4	2	3	1	1	—	—	1*	116
2	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total	7	37	21	25	15	7	2	3	1	1	—	—	1	120

* The abnormal case of thirteen persons to a room (15 ft. by 10 ft.) is that of a group of Pardeshis (all males) who migrated from Benares and are living together. This room was personally inspected.

Parel there were 29 families of "one adult male and one woman with no children," and 11 cases of "one woman," or two persons, one of whom is a woman—a total of 40 out of 105 families, or 38 per cent. As against this the Labour Office have 211 families of "one adult male and one woman with no children," and no other families with as few as two persons; the 211 families form only 8½ per cent. of the total (2,473) families.

In *Livelihood and Poverty* a new and more elastic standard of overcrowding¹ was adopted. Boys from 14 to 18 and girls from 14 to 16 were regarded as requiring three-quarters of the space essential for an adult, and hence equivalent to three-quarters of an adult. Children (5 to 14) and infants (under 5) were taken as equivalent to one-half and one-quarter respectively. Children were expressed in fractions of adults and the number of "equivalent adults" in each household was calculated. Upon this basis overcrowding was considered to exist where there were more than one equivalent adult to a room. According to this test 113 of the Parel households (i.e., 94 per cent.) were overcrowded.

Earners and Persons dependent upon them.—In the 121 households (including 42 boarders, 39 of whom were wage-earners and 3 dependents) there were 268 wage-earners and 206² dependents. Of the wage-earners 202 (or 75 per cent.) were adult males, 50 (or 19 per cent.) women, and 16 (or 6 per cent.) lads, boys and girls. The majority of the dependents are wives or children under 14; some are the parents, sisters or other

¹ *Livelihood and Poverty*, p. 60.

² Seven of these are living away from the wage-earner.

relations of the wage-earners. The few dependent men are ill, infirm or unemployed.

The Census officials carried out an analysis of the composition and size of 260 mill-hands' families in 1921. While the definitions¹ used were slightly different and the families were "selected," yet on comparing the results of the two studies they closely correspond.

	Parel Inquiry.	Census, 1921.
Percentage of Wage-earners	56.5	59.5
<i>Wage-earners</i> : Percentage of Adult		
Males	75	72
" " Females	19	21
" " Aged	Not distinguished	4
" " Children	6	3
<i>Dependents</i> : Percentage of Children	50	51
" " Adult Females	32	40

Size and Composition of Families.—The detailed classification of households on pp. 133-5 shows considerable variation in the composition of families. Excluding the "single-men" class, there are about 75 different groupings in 105 households. The largest group is the one where the married man is the sole wage-earner; it forms 38 per cent. of the whole. The largest sub-groups are "man earner and dependent wife" and "man and wife earners with no dependents": these form 19 per cent. of the whole. The statisticians' so-called "normal family"² only occurs in four of the 121 households (i.e., 3 per cent. of the cases). If we define "family" as consisting of man, wife and with or without children (adult sons and daughters to be included), we find that there are 24 cases of "man and wife," 12 cases of "man, wife and 1 child," 9 cases of "man, wife and 2 children," and 10 cases of "man, wife and 3 or more children." Again, when the definition of "family" is widened to include all the households except the "single-men" class and those containing only one person (e.g., including households such as 3 single women and 1 single man working on his own account), we still

¹ The Census definitions were :

	Males.	Females.
Children	0-14	0-11
Adults	15-54	12-49
Aged	Above 54	Above 49

² Man, wife and three children.

find the family of two persons is the one that most frequently occurs; the "median family" consists of three persons. The details are set out below and are compared with the results of the above-mentioned Census inquiry:—

Number of Persons in Family.	Percentage of Families.*	
	Parel Inquiry.	Census, 1921.
2	36	21
3	20	18
4	17	21
5	13	20
6	8	8
7	2	3
8	2	2
9 and over	2	7
Total	100	100

* Excluding "families" of one person.

In the Parel ward the families which were found most frequently consisted of "man and wife," and the "average" family consisted of three persons (viz., man, wife and one child). The Bombay Budget Report states that, according to the family budgets collected, the "average" working-class family consists of about 4 persons (viz., 1 man, 1 woman and 2 children under 14). The reasons for this difference have already been given on p. 124, and no further comment is needed.

Earnings, 1917-18.—The earnings of each worker, as stated by him or a member of his household, are tabulated on the opposite page. They have not been checked by reference to the employer. The large number of "not known" and "doubtful" cases include boarders and persons working on their own account (e.g., hawkers, carpenters, etc.). Abnormal statements have also been placed under the heading "doubtful."

Four-fifths of the men received between Rs.12 and Rs.30 per mensem; the average earnings were Rs.19.1. The Bombay Wages Report gives the average monthly earnings of men in the cotton-mill industry as Rs.18.6.8 in May, 1914; according to the same authority the wages in May, 1921, were Rs.34.15.2.

The Report of the Budget Inquiry (1921-2), issued by the same office, gives the average monthly earnings of adult males as Rs.42.5.7, or 20 per cent. greater. It would appear that either the cotton-mill industry is badly paid compared to other

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MONTHLY EARNINGS OF MALES (OVER 18 YEARS) AND
FEMALES (OVER 16 YEARS)

Earnings.	No. of Males.	Earnings.	No. of Females.
Under Rs.10 . . .	1	Under Rs.5 . . .	1
Rs.10 to Rs. 11 . . .	3	Rs.5 to Rs.6 . . .	2
11 " 12 . . .	3	6 " 7 . . .	4
12 " 13 . . .	18	7 " 8 . . .	9
13 " 14 . . .	12	8 " 9 . . .	18 *
14 " 15 . . .	7	9 " 10 . . .	2
15 " 16 . . .	16	10 " 15 . . .	7
16 " 17 . . .	5	15 " 20 . . .	1
17 " 18 . . .	9	20 " 25 . . .	—
18 " 19 . . .	5	25 " 30 . . .	—
19 " 20 . . .	—	30 and over . . .	1
20 " 25 . . .	15	Unknown . . .	1
25 " 30 . . .	11	Doubtful . . .	4
30 " 35 . . .	5		
35 " 40 . . .	4		
40 " 45 . . .	2		
45 " 50 . . .	3		
50 and over . . .	2		
Unknown . . .	45		
Doubtful . . .	36		
	202		50 *

* Includes two married women under sixteen years.

occupations (which is not the case), or that the budgets selected were taken from "better-class" households and are not typical.

The average monthly earnings of women in Parel (1917-18) was Rs.8.8.6. The earnings of adult women cotton workers in May, 1914, was Rs.10.0.10, according to the Bombay Wages Report; the corresponding figure for May, 1921, was Rs.17.6.6. The Budget Report states that the average earnings per month for earning women was Rs.16.11.6 in 1921-2.

Family Income (1917-18).—Family income comprises the sum of the incomes of individual members of the household together with additional sources of income (e.g., from boarders, agriculture, etc.). Boarders usually paid Rs.6 to Rs.8 per mensem, and it has been assumed that a monthly profit of Rs.2 per head was made. In one case, where the persons lodged with the household, it was assumed that they shared the rent in proportion to the number of "equivalent adult" occupants.

The following table shows the relationship between "family income" and rent:

FAMILY INCOME AND RENT

(Note.—The "single-men" class has been excluded from this table.)

Monthly Rent (including taxes).	Family Income.										Total
	Rs.10 and below Rs.15.	Rs.15 and below Rs.20.	Rs.20 and below Rs.25.	Rs.25 and below Rs.30.	Rs.30 and below Rs.35.	Rs.35 and below Rs.40.	Rs.40 and below Rs.45.	Rs.45 and below Rs.50.	Rs.50 and over.	Un- known	
Rs.2 and less .	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
Rs.2½ . . .	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
Rs.3 . . .	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3
Rs.3½ . . .	5	5	5	4	2	2	1	—	—	2	27
Rs.3¾ . . .	1	5	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	—	17
Rs.3¾ . . .	2	5	7	2	—	1	—	1	2	1	21
Rs.3¾ . . .	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	3
Rs.4 . . .	2	—	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	6
Rs.4½ . . .	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Rs.5 . . .	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
Rs.5½ . . .	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rs.6 . . .	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Rs.7 and over	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	5
Unknown . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Total . . .	14	20	21	15	6	6	5	7	4	7	105
Median in- come . . .	Rs.12	Rs.17	Rs.22	Rs.27	Rs.30½	Rs.36½	Rs.40	Rs.45	Rs.58½	—	—
Median rent .	Rs.3	Rs.3½	Rs.3½	Rs.3½	Rs.3½	Rs.3½	Rs.3½	Rs.4	Rs.3½	—	—
Rent as per- centage of income . . .	25	19	16	12	11½	9½	8	9	6	—	—

The salient features of the table are the high proportion of the income expended on rent in the case of families with small incomes and the fall in the proportion as the amount of income increases. In the Budget Inquiry the percentage expenditure on rent for families with corresponding income limits was:

Below Rs.30 (excluding scavengers) . . .	10.9 per cent.
" Rs.30 (including scavengers) . . .	7.5 " "
Rs.30 and below Rs.40	8.6 " "
Rs.40 " " Rs.50	7.3 " "
Rs.50 " " Rs.60	8.3 " "

A further table, showing the number of earners, average number of persons per family, etc., in relation to the "family income," is given on opposite page.

	Family Income.										Total
	Rs.10 and below Rs.15.	Rs.15 and below Rs.20.	Rs.20 and below Rs.25.	Rs.25 and below Rs.30.	Rs.30 and below Rs.35.	Rs.35 and below Rs.40.	Rs.40 and below Rs.45.	Rs.45 and below Rs.50.	Rs.50 and over	Un- known	
Families with :											
Man alone earning	9	12	8	6	1	3	1	4	1	1	46
Man and 1 or more children earning	—	2	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	6
Man and wife alone earning .	—	1	6	6	3	1	—	—	—	2	19
At least one male over 20 years earning . . .	—	2	4	—	2	1	4	1	3	2	19
Woman alone earning . . .	5	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	7
Woman, girls and lads earning . .	—	3	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	7
No earnings . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Total . . .	14	20	21	15	6	6	5	7	4	7	106
Total number of persons* (earn- ers and depend- ents)	35	58	73	50	18	30	26	36	21	11	358
Average number per family . .	2.5	2.9	3.5	3.3	3	5	5.2	5.2	5.2	—	3.4

* Excluding those living away from the family.

Sixty-six per cent. of the families had an income of less than Rs.30 per mensem. Families with less than half that amount were in every case supported by only one wage-earner. Fortunately the families with small incomes are also small in size.

CLASSIFICATION OF 121 HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO WAGE-EARNERS AND DEPENDENTS THEY CONTAIN

Abbreviations.: *m*, man over 18 years, distinguished as *s* (son) if living in his parents' house; *l*, lad of 16 to 18 years; *b*, boy of 14 to 16 years.

f, woman over 16 years, distinguished as *w* (wife or widow) if married, and as *d* (daughter) if living in her parents' house; *g*, girl of 14 to 16 years; *w*¹ and *w*² signify 1st wife and 2nd wife respectively, and *w*^{*} signifies girl or child wife.

c, boy or girl of school age (i.e., 5 to 14 years), distinguished as *sc* (scholar) if attending school.

in (infant), child under 5 years.

○ enclosing a symbol signifies "living in village."

Note.—*s* and *d* are not considered to be dependent children.

Wage-earners.	No. of Households.	Dependents.
Man only	18	No children, viz. : w, II ; w ² , 3 ; w, f, I ; w ² , f, I ; w, m, f, I ; f, I.
	10	1 child, viz. : w, in, 6 ; w, c, I ; w, sc, I ; w, f, in, I ; w, f, c, I.
	7	2 children, viz. : w, in, in, I ; w ¹ , w ² , in, in, I ; w, c, in, I ; w, c, c, I ; w, sc, sc, I ; c, c, I ; w, f, g, c, I.
	5	3 children, viz. : w, c, c, in, I ; w, f, sc, sc, in, I ; w, s, c, c, c, I ; w, g, c, c, I ; w, l, c, c, I.
	3	4 children, viz. : w, sc, sc, in, in, I ; w, c, c, c, in, I ; w, c, c, in, I.
	1	6 children, viz. : w, f, b, c, c, c, c, in, I.
	—	
	44	
Man and child	3	w, I ; m, f, I ; w ² , c, I.
Man and boy	1	w, c, c, in, I.
Man and 2 sons	1	w, w ² , I.
	—	
	5	
Man and wife	17	No depts. 7 ; f, in, I ; c, I ; s, I ; f, I ; in, in, I ; c, in, I ; c, c, I ; f, c, in, I ; w ² , f, m, c, in, I ; c, c, in, I.
Man, wife, and sister	1	f, in, I.
	—	
	18	
	—	
Man only	2	No depts. 1 ; w, I.
Woman only	3	No depts. 3.
Daughter only	1	w, I.
Son only	1	w, I.
Man and wife	1	No depts. 1.
Man and son	1	w, sc, I.
Man and woman	1	c, I.
2 men	2	w, I ; f, f, m, I.
Woman and son	1	No depts. 1.
	—	
	13	
	—	

"Working on own account."

APPENDIX I

Wage-earners.	No. of Households.	Dependents.
2 Men	3	w, f, in, I; w, sc, I; w, w, c, in, I.
Man and woman . .	2	c, c, I; m, w, c, I.
Man, woman, and child	1	○. ○. ○. ○. ○. c, in, in, I
3 Men	1	w, w, w, sc, sc, I.
Man and 2 women . .	1	f, c, in, I.
2 Men and woman . .	1	No depts. I.
2 Men, woman, and child	1	c, c, in, in, I.
2 Men, 2 girl-wives, boy, and child . .	1	f, I.
	—	
	11	
	—	
Woman only	3	No depts. 1; sc, I; m, I.
Woman and lad	1	No depts. I.
Woman and daughter	1	No depts. I.
Woman and son	3	No depts. 3.
Woman, lad, and school-girl	1	No depts. 1.
2 Women	1	c, c, I.
2 Women and child . .	1	in, in, I.
	—	
	11	
	—	
Lad	1	w, I.
Son	1	w, I.
	—	
	2	
	—	
No earner (pensioner)	1	w, c, in, I.
"Single Men":		
1 Man	3	
2 Men	1	
3 Men	3	
3 Men and child . . .	1	
4 Men	5	
5 Men	1	
8 Men	1	
10 Men, lad, and boy .	1	c, I.
	—	
	16	
	—	
Grand Total	121	

APPENDIX II

BUDGETS OF "SELECTED" FAMILIES, 1918

*Inquiry Card No. 604.***Budget No. 1.**

B. B. (aged 30) and his wife P. (aged 20) are natives of Turbhen (Chiplan). They belong to the Gurav caste. Both are at work, the husband as a labourer at one of the oil companies and the wife as a reeler in a cotton mill. Their respective wages are Rs.17 and Rs.7. B. B. earns Rs.2 in addition by overtime. He also obtains loans for mill-hands, etc., from a grain merchant, who gives him presents at Diwali in return for these services. Though he acts as an agent of the grain merchant for such loans, yet he has to stand security against any loss due to misappropriation by the borrowers. For this reason, he is himself in debt to the extent of about Rs.70 and has to pay a monthly interest of 1 anna per rupee. He and his wife occupy one room in a chawl and pay Rs.2.8 per month rent. The man is active but drinks—the enumerator adds that the amount spent in drink is Rs.3 per month, but at other people's expense. The items of income and expenditure are as follows:

INCOME: Rs.26 PER MONTH.

EXPENDITURE.

	Quantity.	Cost.
		Rs. a. p.
<i>Food—</i>		
Rice	12 paylis	5 0 0
Patni	4 "	1 8 0
Other grains	1 "	0 8 0
Pulse	½ "	0 4 0
Fish	—	1 0 0
Meat	—	1 0 0
Vegetables	—	0 8 0
Spices	—	0 8 0
Chillies	—	0 8 0
Salt	—	0 2 0
Milk	—	0 4 0
Tea	—	0 1 0
Sugar	—	0 8 0
Midday teas	—	1 0 0
Sweet oil	1 seer	0 1 6
Copra oil	2 seers	0 7 0
Pan supari	—	2 0 0
Bidis	—	1 0 0

	Rs.	a.	p.
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>			
Kerosene oil	—	0	5 0
Fuel	—	1	8 0
<i>Services—</i>			
Barber and dhobi	—	0	6 0
<i>Rent.</i>	—	2	8 0
<i>Interest on Loan</i>	—	2	0 0
<i>Clothes</i>	—	3	0 0
		<hr/>	
Total	Rs.26	2	6

When he has enough money in hand, he spends Rs.2 a month on holidays and religious rites and Rs.3 on "guests." He also makes remittances of Rs.5 to Rs.10 monthly or once in two months to the members of his family in his village.

Inquiry Card No. 639.

Budget No. 2.

M. S. is a Ratnagiri Maratha, 35 years of age. He is employed as a "jobber" in the carding department of a cotton mill and receives Rs.80 a month in wages; he makes an additional Rs.10 by working overtime. He lives with his wife (28 years of age) in one room, the rent of which is Rs.3.8 per month. The enumerator states that he is one of "those who are ruined by being able to earn more than they require." He stands surety for some of his friends who give him drink. He also gets something from the men working under him. Yet with all this, his whole income is not at present sufficient to meet his drinking expenses, payment of interest and family maintenance. "His wife," the enumerator states, "is the most unhappy person in this settlement. I talked to him and promised to help him, but to no effect. He cannot even pay his rent regularly. It is said that there are some decrees pending against him, but somehow he manages to avoid the bailiff. He is indebted to grain dealers and others to the extent of from Rs.200 to Rs.300, on which he has to pay interest at the rate of 1 anna per rupee per month, i.e., Rs.12.8 to Rs.18.12. This debt has been incurred through his standing security for others, and through his own extravagance and drinking." His budget is rather interesting, as it shows how a well-paid operative can squander his money if he wishes to do so.

INCOME: Rs.90 PER MONTH.

EXPENDITURE.

	Quantity.	Cost. Rs. a. p.
<i>Food—</i>		
Rice	16 paylis	7 0 0
Other grains	—	1 0 0
Pulse	—	1 0 0
Fish.	—	5 0 0
Meat	—	5 0 0
Vegetables	—	2 0 0
Spices	—	1 0 0
Chillies	—	1 0 0
Salt	—	0 4 0
Milk.	—	1 0 0
Tea	—	0 8 0
Sugar	—	1 4 0
Midday tea	—	3 0 0
Sweet oil	2 seers	0 6 0
Copra oil	4 seers	1 0 0
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>		
Kerosene oil	4 bottles	0 10 0
Fuel.	—	2 0 0
<i>Extras—</i>		
Pan supari	—	2 0 0
Bidis	—	2 0 0
Liquor	—	40 0 0
Holidays and religious rites	—	2 0 0
Guests	—	3 0 0
<i>Services—</i>		
Barber and dhobi	—	0 8 0
Rent	3 8 0
Interest on Loans	5 0 0
Clothes.	5 0 0
Total		<u>Rs.96 0 0</u>

The above details relate to a particular month, but his expenditure is very irregular and depends upon the amount of cash in hand.

Inquiry Card No. 646.

Budget No. 3.

B. K. is a Hindu 45 years of age, whose native place is Malwan (Ratnagiri district). He is a dhobi (washerman) by caste. Ten months of the year he spends in Bombay, where he lives alone and occupies a room for which he pays a rent of Rs.2 per month. B. K. is employed in the bleaching department of

a cotton mill and is paid Rs.14 per month. Although sober and a man of good habits he would know better how to spend his money if he had been educated. Like the average uneducated mill-hand he is thrifless and never thinks of providing for the future—whatever he earns, he spends. While he never saves anything, he avoids incurring debt. His monthly expenses are detailed as follows :

INCOME : RS.14 PER MONTH.

		Quantity.	Cost.	
			Rs.	a. p.
<i>Food—</i>				
Rice.	.	2 paylis	1	0 0
Patni	.	5 "	1	8 0
Wheat	.	1 "	0	8 0
Other grains	.	1 "	0	6 0
Pulse	.	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	0	4 0
Spices	.	—	0	2 0
Chillies	.	—	0	4 0
Salt	.	—	0	2 0
Jagri	.	10 seers	1	0 0
Ghee	.	—	0	4 0
Milk	.	—	0	2 0
Tea	.	—	0	1 0
Sugar	.	—	0	4 0
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>				
Kerosene oil	.	2 bottles	0	5 0
Fuel.	.	—	1	0 0
<i>Services—</i>				
Barber and dhobi	.	—	0	6 0
Rent	.	.	2	0 0
Clothes.	.	.	1	0 0
			Rs.10	8 0
Balance in hand			3	8 0
Total			Rs.14	0 0

Inquiry Card No. 605.

Budget No. 4.

N. M., aged 25, and his wife L. (18 years), Hindus of the Mali caste, are both working at the same cotton mill, the former in the sizing department and the latter in the winding department. The husband earns Rs.25 per month, and makes Rs.3 to Rs.4 in addition by overtime. His wife earns Rs.8 per month. A debt of Rs.10 has been incurred to meet expenses of visiting their native place, Tasgaon. No interest is paid on this loan as the man has been fortunate enough to obtain it from the social

worker in charge of the settlement. The couple occupy a single room for which they pay Rs.2.8 per month. Both of them are respectable and not addicted to drink, but they make no attempt to save money. Their monthly income and expenditure is stated to be:

INCOME: Rs.36.8 PER MONTH.

EXPENDITURE.

	Quantity.	Cost.	
		Rs.	a. p.
<i>Food—</i>			
Rice.	4 paylis	1	12 0
Wheat	2 "	0	14 0
Maize	12 "	3	0 0
Other grains	1 "	0	6 0
Pulse	3 "	1	2 0
Vegetables	—	1	0 0
Onions	—	0	4 0
Spices	—	1	0 0
Chillies	—	0	5 0
Salt	—	0	2 0
Milk	10 seers	1	9 0
Tea	1 lb.	2	0 0
Sugar	10 seers		
Sweet oil	2 "	0	6 0
Pan supari	—	0	8 0
Bidis	—	0	10 0
Copra oil	1 seer	0	4 0
Jagri	—	0	2 0
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>			
Kerosene oil	—	0	10 0
Fuel.	—	1	4 0
<i>Services—</i>			
Barber and dhobi	—	0	9 0
<i>Holidays and religious rites</i>		0	12 0
<i>Clothes.</i>		2	8 0
<i>Rent</i>		2	8 0
		<hr/>	
		Rs.23	7 0
	Balance in hand	11	9 0
		<hr/>	
		Rs.35	0 0
		<hr/>	

Inquiry Card No. 633.

Budget No. 5.

N. B., 36 years of age, is a Ratnagiri Maratha from the village of Kharepatan. Unlike most mill-hands from Ratnagiri, he resides in Bombay the whole year. He lives with his mistress, a woman of 28, and their child, a boy of 12 years. Occasionally he stays with his wife, who lives in another part of Bombay.

APPENDIX II

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The man is employed as a " mukadam " in a cotton mill, where his mistress works in the winding department and the lad collects bobbins. Their monthly wages are Rs.25, 10 and 6 respectively. It appears that he made the acquaintance of the woman when he was placed in charge of the winding department. Owing to an accident the woman is unable to work much. Nevertheless, the total earnings of the three, with overtime, are said to average Rs.56. Owing to illness, a debt of about Rs.40 has been incurred with the grain-dealer.

INCOME : Rs.56 PER MONTH.

EXPENDITURE.

	Quantity.	Cost. Rs. a. p.
<i>Food—</i>		
Rice	16 paylis	10 0 0
Patni	4 "	2 0 0
Wheat	2 "	1 0 0
Other grains	1 "	0 8 0
Pulse	2 "	1 0 0
Fish	—	3 0 0
Meat	—	0 8 0
Vegetables	—	2 8 0
Onions	—	0 8 0
Spices	—	0 8 0
Chillies	—	1 4 0
Salt	—	0 5 0
Milk	40 seers	8 0 0
Tea	—	0 8 0
Sugar	—	1 0 0
Midday tea	—	1 0 0
Sweetmeats	—	5 0 0
Sweet oil	3 seers	0 9 0
Copra oil	1½ "	0 6 0
<i>Extras—</i>		
Pan supari	—	0 8 0
Bidis	—	1 0 0
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>		
Kerosene oil	—	0 8 0
Fuel	—	3 0 0
<i>Services—</i>		
Barber and dhobi	—	0 12 0
Rent		2 8 0
Interest on Debt		2 8 0
Clothes		3 0 0
		Rs.53 4 0
Balance in hand		2 12 0
Total		Rs.56 0 0

*Inquiry Card No. 628.***Budget No. 6.**

V. R. is a native of Khenoli-Vengurla (district Ratnagiri). He is a Hindu Maratha, 28 years of age. He lives with his wife, aged 20 years, their daughter (aged 4 years) and a male cousin of 23 years. All three adults are mill-hands, the two men being employed in the bundling departments of different mills. The head of the household earns Rs.25 per month, his wife Rs.7 and his cousin Rs.18. The cousin pays Rs.8 towards the expenses of the household, keeping the balance to meet his own personal expenditure, e.g., on "bidis," "pan supari," tea, barber, etc. The husband has incurred a heavy debt of Rs.130, Rs.100 to a grain merchant and Rs.30 to a jobber. The debt was incurred to meet the expenses of his marriage and of the illness of his child who died. The interest charges alone are Rs.8.2 a month, the rate of interest being 1 anna per rupee.

INCOME: Rs.40 PER MONTH.**EXPENDITURE.**

	Quantity.	Cost.	
		Rs.	a. p.
<i>Food—</i>			
Rice.	16 paylis	6	8 0
Patni	6 "	2	4 0
Bajri	1 "	0	6 0
Other grains	—	0	8 0
Pulse	1 paylis	0	6 0
Fish	—	1	8 0
Meat	—	1	0 0
Vegetables	—	1	0 0
Onions	—	1	0 0
Spices	—	0	4 0
Chillies	—	1	0 0
Salt	—	0	3 0
Milk	—	1	0 0
Tea	—	0	4 0
Sugar	—	0	10 0
Sweetmeats	—	1	0 0
Sweet oil	1 seer	0	3 0
Copra oil	4 seers	1	0 0
<i>Extras—</i>			
Pan supari	—	1	0 0
Bidis	—	1	8 0
Holidays and religious rites	—	0	8 0
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>			
Kerosene oil	6 bottles	1	0 0
Fuel.	—	1	8 0

<i>Services—</i>			
Barber and dhobi	.	—	0 4 0
Interest on Loans	.	.	8 2 0
Rent	.	.	2 0 0
Clothes	.	.	2 8 0
			<hr/>
			Rs.38 6 0
Balance in hand			1 10 0
			<hr/>
Total			<u>Rs.40 0 0</u>

Budget No. 7.

Details of this family are not available. The family consists of K. P., his wife and son. Their family income is Rs.24 per month. Their expenditure is as follows :

	Quantity.	Cost.
		Rs. a. p.
<i>Food—</i>		
Wheat	3 paylis	1 5 0
Bajri	20 "	8 0 0
Other grains	1 "	0 8 0
Pulse	1 "	0 8 0
Meat	—	0 8 0
Vegetables	—	2 0 0
Spices	—	0 8 0
Chillies	—	1 8 0
Salt	—	0 4 0
Milk	—	2 0 0
Sweetmeats	—	0 8 0
Sweet oil	2 seers	0 6 0
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>		
Kerosene oil	2 bottles	0 5 0
Fuel	—	2 0 0
<i>Services—</i>		
Barber and dhobi	—	0 6 0
Holidays and religious rites	.	0 8 0
Rent	.	2 8 0
Clothes	.	2 8 0
		<hr/>
Total		<u>Rs.26 2 0</u>

Budget No. 8.

Details of this family are not available. The family consists of D. A., his wife and son. Their income is Rs.29 per month. Rent, Rs.2.8 per month. The items of expenditure, including the latter, are :

	Quantity.	Cost.
		Rs. a. p.
<i>Food—</i>		
Rice	8 paylis	3 8 0
Bajri	16 „	7 0 0
Other grains	1 „	0 6 0
Pulse	1 „	0 7 0
Fish	—	2 0 0
Vegetables	—	3 0 0
Spices and Chillies	—	2 0 0
Salt	—	0 4 0
Sweet oil	1 seer	0 3 0
<i>Extras—</i>		
Pan supari	—	1 0 0
<i>Fuel and Lighting—</i>		
Kerosene oil	2 bottles	0 5 0
Fuel	—	2 0 0
<i>Services—</i>		
Barber and dhobi	—	0 10 0
<i>Rent</i>		2 8 0
<i>Clothes</i>		2 8 0
	Total	Rs.27 11 0

APPENDIX III

STATISTICS OF DOCK LABOUR

(Note.—The following statistics give the number of shift engagements, i.e., if a labourer worked on 15 night shifts and 24 day shifts in April, 1918, he would appear as 39 units in that month. In the same way, in the distribution according to wages, the units are persons per shift.)

Month.	No. of Persons per Shift (ooo's). Dock Section.			Total.
	Military.	Trade.	Sundries.	
April, 1918	238	53	44	335
May	229	42	47	318
June	202·5	53·5	46	302
July	168	60	53	281
August	145	69	45	259
September	96	79	46	221
October	91	78	49	218
November	102	86	50	238
December	99·5	94·5	58	252
January, 1919	97	81	60	238
February	99	68	50	217
March	105·5	91·5	52	249

NUMBER OF PERSONS PER SHIFT, ACCORDING TO NATURE OF WORK, DURING THE MONTH OF MARCH, 1919.

Nature of Work.	Mathads.		Boy Coolies.		Women.		Total.	
	Day.	Night.	Day.	Night.	Day.	Night.	Day.	Night.
Military traffic	1,706	450	86,052	15,698	1,610	—	89,368	16,148
Trade (Import and Export)	24,403	14,291	23,525	16,627	7,667	5,114	55,595	36,032
Sundries (e.g., sanitary work, warehouse, sweepers, etc.)	3,798	134	43,459	3,464	1,128	200	48,385	3,798
Total	29,907	14,875	153,036	35,789	10,405	5,314	193,348	55,978

NUMBER AND AMOUNT OF WAGE PAYMENTS TO PERSONS PER SHIFT.

Wage.	1918.			1919.		
	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March.
Rs. as. p.						
1 10 0	54	115	—	—	—	—
1 8 0	5,549	5,146	—	1	37	—
1 7 0	119	51	—	—	—	—
1 6 0	300	493	174	144	416	149
1 5 0	—	17	104	54	—	72
1 4 0	327	10,918	12,699	9,313	15,639	15,349
1 2 0	493	1,256	9,575	13,843	794	7,233
1 1 0	—	—	18	57	—	18
1 0 0	10,949	1,138	2,549	1,474	1,735	2,281
15 0	—	15	116	—	—	13
14 0	1,125	2,230	3,241	1,723	1,531	2,698
13 0	1,975	2,701	1,930	1,442	1,530	2,276
12 0	9,734	10,336	4,958	5,972	4,181	4,104
11 0	122,225	151,184	142,480	129,722	138,697	139,269
10 6	—	—	20	—	—	—
10 0	20,335	4,301	19,927	26,011	1,272	12,083
9 6	—	—	—	—	27	—
9 0	2,894	5,163	2,279	422	460	619
8 0	9,050	7,059	10,857	10,925	10,774	15,610
7 6	17	—	18	—	—	—
7 0	1,517	933	1,661	1,378	924	1,582
6 6	—	—	—	25	—	—
6 0	453	321	476	335	269	410
5 6	10	30	—	—	—	—
5 0	222	96	7	55	18	78
4 0	364	297	181	241	165	203
TOTAL	187,712	203,860	213,270	203,137	178,469	204,047

APPENDIX IV

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES, 1916-21

A detailed record of strikes which occurred from 1916 to July, 1921, has been prepared by the author. A study of this shows that there have been four distinct "waves" of industrial unrest. The first of these commenced at the end of August, 1917, although isolated strikes in July and early August were indicative of the general discontent. During the months of September and October, 1917, over thirty strikes were recorded, but they were nearly all of short duration and were, with one exception (the strike of postal workers), confined to textile mills. The workers in almost all cases demanded 10 per cent. increase of wages to meet the enhanced cost of living, and in nearly every instance the strike was successful. A feature of the strikes was the isolated action of the workers of each mill; as soon as the concession was granted in one mill, the operatives in another would demand an increase.

The second wave—from April, 1918, to July, 1918—was also confined to textile mills. The strikes, which were for increased bonus to meet the rise in the cost of living, were mostly successful.

January, 1919, witnessed the first great mill strike, when 150,000 workers stopped work. The strike lasted for eleven days; the workers' demands for increased wages were conceded. There followed a series of strikes (eight in January and seven in February) in the railway workshops, mint, dockyards, engineering works, etc. The strikes were short-lived, as the demands for higher wages were granted.

The fourth wave commenced with another great mill strike on January 2, 1920, which lasted a month. Approximately 150,000 workers struck for higher wages, shorter hours and other concessions. The industrial discontent spread to the railway workshops, oil installations, dockyards, engineering works, municipal employees, tramway workers and even tailors and cutters. The strikes, which were chiefly for increased wages, were mostly successful.

The following table shows the frequency of strikes in Bombay City and Island since 1916 :—

APPENDIX IV

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Year.	Disputes commencing in the month of												Total.
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
1916 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
17 .	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	2	22	12	2	5	47
18 .	5	5	3	5	11	15	8	2	—	4	3	—	61
19 .	9	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	18
20 .	25	4	3	1	2	3	2	2	6	7	4	4	63
21 .	7	4	1	1	2	1	2	9	17	5	3	4	56
22 .	9	7	1	8	10	6	8	8	3	2	4	5	71
23 .	2	15	1	9	5	5	3	9	3	7	2	7	68
Total	57	42	10	25	30	30	26	32	51	37	20	25	385
Monthly average (1917-1923) .	8.1	6	1.4	3.6	4.3	4.3	3.7	4.6	7.3	5.3	2.9	3.6	

Details of the industrial disputes, since July, 1921, are to be found in the *Bombay Labour Gazette*.

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GLOSSARY ¹

Akhara . . .	gymnasium.	Dal or dhai	untrained midwife.
Ambarus . . .	a drink made from mango-juice.	Dal . . .	pulse.
Athawada . . .	mill-hand who works alternate weeks.	Dal-pani . . .	dal-water.
Badli . . .	substitute.	Dastoori . . .	commission.
Bajri . . .	bulrush millet.	Depressed classes	persons of low caste (e.g., Mahars, Chambhars, Dheds).
Balla goli . . .	opium pill.	Dhobi . . .	washerman.
Baroot . . .	labourers skilled in stacking case cargo.	Diwali . . .	festival of lights.
Bhatta . . .	food allowance.	Galla . . .	double room.
Bhaya . . .	caretaker.	Ghagar . . .	large water vessel.
Bidi . . .	country-made cigarette.	Ghati . . .	Hindu of the Decan.
Bigari . . .	unskilled labourer ; works chiefly in the building trade.	Ghi . . .	clarified butter.
Bunnia . . .	grain merchant.	Ghongadi . . .	blanket.
Burra-khana	big dinner.	Goanese . . .	Indo-Portuguese from Goa.
Bustee . . .	collection of huts.	Go-down . . .	warehouse.
Channa . . .	pulse.	Gram . . .	chick-pea.
Chapatti . . .	unleavened bread.	Gully . . .	narrow passage.
Charpoy . . .	bed.	Gunny . . .	sacking.
Chatai . . .	mat. *	Halalkhor	sweeper.
Chatti . . .	earthen water-pot.	Handa . . .	large copper basin.
Chawl . . .	tenement building.	Helkari . . .	casual labourer.
Chula . . .	fireplace.	Hisab . . .	account.
Compound	courtyard.	Holi . . .	festival of fire.
Coolie . . .	unskilled labourer.	Hookah . . .	Indian smoking pipe.
Coolie-lines	row of workmen's dwellings.	Jagry or jagri	unrefined sugar.
Coor-moora	parched rice mixed with gram.	Jobber . . .	foreman mill-hand.
Dada . . .	hooligan type of mill-hand.	Julaha . . .	weaver.
		Karanda . . .	small round brass basin fitted with a lid.
		Katcha . . .	crude.
		Khanavali	boarding-house.
		Khata-book	account book.

¹ Excluding names of castes and geographical names.

- Kutchra** . . household refuse.
Lakh . . . 100,000.
Lascar . . . seaman.
Lathi . . . heavy stick, stave.
Lota . . . brass pot.
Maistry . . . chargeman.
Marwari . . . money-lender.
Matadi . . . bag-carrier.
Mawali . . . Bohemian type of
 mill-hand.
Mithai . . . sweetmeat.
Mukadam . . . foreman of a gang
 of labourers.
Nahani . . . bathing place.
Nalkin . . . forewoman.
Naoghani . . . skilled weight-lifter.
Notice-
wallah . . . notice-writer.
Pan supari . . . "pan"-leaf and
 betelnut.
Pardeshi or . . . Hindu from North
Pardeshi . . . India.
Bhaya
Pat . . . stool.
Patni . . . coarse rice.
Pitli . . . brass plate.
- Puranpoli.** . . . kind of tart.
Pylee . . . four Bombay seers ;
 nearly 3 lbs. by
 weight.
Sari . . . woman's dress.
Seer (Bom- . . . weight : 4,900
bay) . . . grains, Troy.
 measure : 49 cubic
 inches.
Shike . . . net bag.
Shimga . . . see "Holi."
Sowkar . . . money-lender.
Syce . . . groom.
Talimkhana . . . gymnasium.
Tamasha . . . entertainment.
Tolli . . . gang.
Tolliwallah . . . head of a gang.
Tom-tom. . . . drum.
Toddy. . . . country liquor.
Untouch-
ables . . . persons of low caste.
Zavil shed . . . huts constructed
 from dry leaves
 of date or coco-
 nut palms.

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