CHAPTER II
THE TOWN AND THE FACTORY

In this chapter I have made an attempt, firstly, to give the genesis of Oriental. This genesis can be understood only in the background of the history of Rajnagar. While the main purpose here is to provide a setting for the understanding of the social system of Oriental, I will also try, incidentally, to throw some light on the process of industrialization of a typical town and on the emergence and growth of a typical factory in India. Secondly, I will describe the physical features of Oriental and a normal day's routine therein - the factory as it appears to an outsider visiting it.

I

Geographically, Rajnagar occupies an important position in Western India. It is located along the main coastal highway across Gujarat, connecting the Deccan peninsula and the Indo-Gangetic plain through Rajputana. It is at Rajnagar that the route connecting the west coast with Central India and the Malva plateau, branches off from the main coastal route. The ancient route from northern Maharashtra across the Dangs and the Satpura hills joined the main transcontinental route at Rajnagar...
the Rajnagar area truly played the role of a corridor for the migration of peoples, armies and cultures from times immemorial."

The town evolved from a nucleated village with a few hamlets around it. This settlement grew into a flourishing township about the beginning of the Christian Era. The nucleus of medieval Rajnagar grew as a hamlet of the old town and displaced the latter as the focus of the city. With the plunder and destruction of Rajnagar in 1451 A.D. by the ruler of Malwa, and the construction of a citadel by a Muslim prince at the beginning of the 16th century, the town shifted from ancient Rajnagar to the east of it. The site of the ancient town then became more or less the industrial suburb of textile workers. These were, however, independent workers and never constituted any semblance of a factory.

During the late Mughal period, European traders came to Rajnagar. The English and the Dutch established their factories in Rajnagar by the beginning of the 17th century to the west of the town, giving rise to what is now known as the camp area. The building of the British Residency in 1834 gave further impetus to the development of the camp area. The railway station and some factories were established on the western periphery of the town beyond the camp area and now the whole area is linked up into the present city of Rajnagar.
Rajnagar has thus been a large town since long, with a tradition of trade, commerce and industry. Its chief importance, however, was as a seat of administration. In the late medieval period (961-1297 A.D.) Rajnagar was only part of a district of the Gujarat kings ruling from Anhilvad Patan in North Gujarat. During the early Muslim period it became a district town of the Delhi Empire. Since then it gradually gained in political importance. The district governors of Rajnagar, like many of their counterparts elsewhere, occasionally revolted against the central authority. This made the town a hot bed of internecine conflicts. In the wake of this, people from other regions came to Rajnagar and many of them settled there. As Gujarat was protected by the desert of Rajputana in the north and the Satpuras and Arvallis in the east, it became more or less a cul-de-sac for the people who were pushed out of north-western and northern India.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Mughal Empire was weakening. The revolts of the governors of districts including Rajnagar eventually led to a major political confusion. This was a propitious moment for the Maratha warriors of the Deccan who slowly infiltrated into Gujarat. Maratha chiefs took sides in the internecine quarrels of Mughal governors and, in the process, could capture power for themselves. At the same time the local Hindu population of Rajnagar was agitated against the Muslim governors and their officers for their immoral activities.
and, therefore, instigated Maratha chiefs against Muslim governors. A Maratha prince captured Rajnagar in 1734, and started ruling the area with Rajnagar as the capital of the state which came to be known by the same name. When British rule was established in these parts, Rajnagar still maintained its identity as a native state until after the Indian Independence. In May 1949, Rajnagar was merged with the Union of India.

Under the Maratha rulers, Rajnagar steadily prospered as a town. As the capital of a state, it opened up a wide range of administrative and army services. Eventually, it became the economic and political focus for the surrounding areas and the home of all sorts of arts and crafts. The 1891 census report of Rajnagar says:

"The Capital city may par excellence be styled a city, or technically a town, where the presence of a rich court influences many arts and trades, and which, as the chief Seat of the Government, gives scope to the liberal arts and professions, and to the useful application of the science of the West."

It will be seen from Table I that, though Rajnagar was in the heart of a predominantly agricultural region, it was chiefly non-agricultural. It included a wide variety of occupations - civil and military services, professions, commerce, household services and minor industries. Its geographic position made it a vital connecting link between its hinterland and the outside world. This position, as we
have seen, had since long attracted people from other regions of India. As means of communication improved in the wake of *pax Brittanica*, more and more people from outside immigrated into Rajnagar to avail themselves of the job-opportunities it offered.

II

The beginning of the rule of a Maratha prince, whom I will call Nice, in 1876 marked the inauguration of a manifold development of Rajnagar. Nice was very ambitious to modernise the town as well as to bring as much happiness and prosperity to his subjects as he could. He travelled widely in India and abroad, thus coming in contact with different cultures, and provided to his people as many new items of civilization as his treasury could afford. He was mainly responsible for making Rajnagar the most beautiful town of its region, with good roads, impressive buildings, public parks etc. He introduced a system of compulsory education in his state and started libraries, hospitals and educational institutions at many places in the state.

By this time the machine technology which brought about the Industrial Revolution in the West had already entered India under the British impact. The first textile mill was established in Bombay in 1854 and in Ahmedabad in 1861. New enterprises soon developed in these and other towns. Raw materials were easily available. In different parts of the country, including Gujarat, there were families and communities which, by a long association with trade and
commerce, had accumulated capital which they could divert to industry. It was gradually realized that industrialization was not only a sound economic proposition for the wealthy, but was also beneficial to the society at large, since it gave employment to the jobless, and increased the wealth of the country as a whole by checking imports of finished goods from abroad.

Moreover, during this period the problem of poverty and unemployment was attracting the attention of the British Indian Government as well as of native rulers. Agriculture was hardly at the subsistence level and frequent famines in different parts of the country dislocated the economic life of the people. With the growth in population, pressure on land was increasing. As a result, people in villages who could not sustain there started drifting towards towns in search of jobs. In urban areas also, handicrafts were losing ground due to the weakening of royal patronage and competition from foreign goods. A part of the jobless in the Rajnagar area was absorbed in the construction of railways, roads and buildings lavishly undertaken by King Nice. Nevertheless, he visualized that he could provide considerable job-opportunities to his people by starting factories, as was done in other parts of the country.

Furthermore, the frequent and wide travels of Nice made him aware of the prestige and the promise of overall prosperity attached to industrial towns everywhere. He was particularly ambitious to place Rajnagar in line with the
major cities of India and saw that a good means to achieve his ambition was to industrialize Rajnagar. The following extract from a speech he delivered in Ahmedabad clearly demonstrates his ambitions:

"Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease, all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another and a larger aspect of the matter and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. It is our last chance...... that which struck me most (at a Paris exhibition) was the enormous difference between India and Europe today...... But beyond all this ...... one fact struck me with a curious emphasis - the enormous gulf which separates the European and the Native of India in their ideas of comfort...... My mind went back to the bazaar in my own city of Bombay, the craftsmen working at their old isolated trades with the methods which have sufficed them for centuries without a change, the low irregular houses, the dreamy life drifting between them, and then contrasted it with this...... tide which was sweeping and eddying around me, drawing its needs from a thousand machines like these and gathering its comforts from the four quarters of the globe."

The geographic position of Rajnagar was also conducive to industry. Good facilities of capital, raw material, transport and market were available.
Inspired by all these factors, Nice tried to encourage some wealthy men in the area to start factories. But initially the latter were not prepared to take the risks involved. Consequently, Nice himself started a textile mill in Rajnagar with state capital in 1885, and then a few more factories elsewhere. These ventures were unsuccessful due to bad management and limited resources; however they set a precedent for private enterprise. Slowly textile mills, sugar mills, engineering and pharmaceutical factories started in Rajnagar and elsewhere in the state. Nice always encouraged and helped industries till he died in 1939. He started a technical institute and attracted students to it by offering them scholarships. He patronised a bank in Rajnagar with a view to developing business and gave tariff protection to infant industries. Following the developments in British India, he promoted legislation to regulate working conditions in factories and employer-employee relationships.

Since 1949, Rajnagar has been a district town of the erstwhile Bombay State, and lately of the newly-created Gujarat State. Its importance as a centre of trade, commerce and education has been ever on the increase. Besides, new factories have developed, and some old ones have considerably expanded, two of them in collaboration with big industrial concerns in the West. An industrial estate has now been promoted in Rajnagar for the establishment of small-scale industries. In the north-west of the town, a large area known as industrial area has come up and is continuously expanding.
Even so, Rajnagar is today a moderately industrialized town. In 1957, there were six textile mills, three pharmaceutical factories, seven engineering factories, two glass factories, a rubber factory, a chemicals factory, a cotton-gin and over a dozen oil and grain mills, besides several repair workshops and other small factories. According to the census of 1951, out of a population of 211407 in Rajnagar, 57790 or nearly 27.3 per cent were connected with industry. However, the census has a very broad definition of industry, and therefore the actual percentage of industrial population should be smaller than 27.3. A popular image of Rajnagar is that it is a town eminently suited to easy-going and unambitious folk and lacks the 'spirit' of an industrial town such as Ahmedabad.

III

In the first decade of this century, Nice, who was constantly in search of able men, got acquainted with a proficient chemist whom I will call TV. The latter was ambitious to specialize in the manufacture of spirits and medicines. With that aim he floated a joint stock company in Bombay. Seeing the opportunity of industrializing Rajnagar in a new field, Nice attracted TV to start his proposed enterprise in Rajnagar, with a promise of cheap land and other financial help. The lands of nearby villages were requisitioned under state authority and sold to TV's company for the factory. Let us call this factory XY. It started production in 1908.
With the help and encouragement of the state, XY made good progress right from the start. According to an estimate, the cost price of XY liquor was only ten per cent of the price at which it sold. Again, retailers started mixing XY liquor with costlier foreign liquor for their own profits. This increased the demand for XY liquor. The factory flourished.

In the initial stage, TV secured the assistance of Hari (this was not his real name). Hari belonged to a wealthy lineage of the Patidar caste of Central Gujarat. He graduated from a Bombay college when education was very rare in his caste. He was a man with a "bold and imaginative outlook" which is evidenced by the fact that he had started a small factory of copper sulphate in north India and another of liquor in Gujarat even when he was studying. He was attracted by TV's enterprise and associated himself with XY financially and managerially. In course of time, however, Hari, with his wealth, business acumen and tact, dominated the management of the factory. TV died in a few years and then Hari was practically left the sole manager of the business. He acquired dominance in the capital of the enterprise and floated a managing agency firm in the name of himself and his sons. In the meantime, liquor was gradually replaced by pharmaceuticals. With the growing popularity of allopathic drugs due to contact with the west, and with the increasing stress on indigenous goods in the wake of the freedom movement, there arose a good market for Indian medicines in India. Hari attracted talented chemists and
physicians and developed the production of various drugs and injectibles. Eventually XY became one of the most well-known pharmaceutical factories in India.

Nice, the ruler, was quite impressed by the success of Hari and by the credit his factory brought to Rajnagar. He gave him even more encouragement than he gave to TV. He honoured the factory by paying visits to it in 1912, 1931 and 1932. Two state honours — "Gem of the State" (Raj Ratna) and "Friend of the State" (Raj Mitra) were conferred on Hari in 1926 and 1936 respectively for his "distinguished services in the field of industrial development".

As an employer, Hari was quite indulgent towards employees. "So long as liquor was manufactured in XY, a major attraction for the employees was free liquor served by the Management, at times even sweets with liquor. Moreover, most employees were from nearby villages and for them the factory jobs were merely subsidiary occupations in addition to agriculture. Thirdly, employees usually regarded Hari as a 'master' in the traditional Indian sense. All these factors made for very cordial relations between Hari and the employees. In an address presented to Hari by his employees, they stated:

"You are a kind and just master...... The relations between you and ourselves have throughout been cordial and never have they been disturbed...... Feeling has been growing upon us that you and we belong, as it were, to one family...... We are proud of you. You have brought reputation to the works and to our humble selves...... The
provident fund rules are better than anywhere else, and so are leave benefits."

Besides, in 1939 the hours of work in factories allowed in Rajnagar State were 60 per week. In XY, however, workers worked for only 51 hours...... And these concessions were made voluntarily by the management, not as measures to meet any demands of workers or government legislation.

These cordial relations between the employer and employees, together with the awe-inspiring personality of Hari and his friendship with the highest authority in the state kept the personnel of XY under Hari's subordination. A trade union movement had started in Rajnagar in the 1920's and industrial workers were becoming conscious of their rights and privileges. This movement, however, could not touch the employees of XY almost as long as Hari lived. A top executive of a dominant chain of trade unions in Rajnagar said:

"So long as he was living, he was the virtual king in his factory. No one dared to approach his employees for trade union activities."

Hari had six sons. They received higher education, one in medicine and the others in different branches of technology and engineering. They were associated with the XY company as partners of the managing agency. One of them died in young age; another developed differences with Hari and, separating from the family, started a new pharmaceutical factory in the vicinity of XY. The other four sons remained in XY.
By then, an engineering workshop was established as a part of XI for repairing its machinery and tools and manufacturing small parts to replace worn-out parts. Of the four sons of Hari remaining in XI, the senior-most, who was a qualified engineer educated in Germany, was in charge of the engineering workshop. With his zeal to develop new lines of production, he made a modest beginning in 1935 in manufacturing burners and blowers, chemical and water centrifugal pumps, fabricated tanks, paper-cutting machines, etc. Hari encouraged the new venture, foreseeing the opportunity of utilizing the capital he had accumulated and of directing the talents of his sons in different directions to bring prosperity, credit and fame to his family and state.

The results of the new venture were encouraging. Orders came forth. In 1939, they manufactured a water-turbine pump. It was then for the first time that a turbine pump for lifting sub-soil water was designed and manufactured in India. It proved a success. Then the Management started recruiting special technical staff and skilled labour for the engineering section.

In view of the progress of the new venture, it was separated from XI in 1943 by promoting a new company - the Oriental Limited. This was first a private limited company, subsidiary to XI, and was managed by the same managing agency which managed the business of XI. For two years, the son of Hari who initiated the new line acted as the Managing Director of Oriental. For the next three years Hari himself took up that position. Meanwhile, his another son finished
his technical education in America and returned home. The latter was then given over the charge of Oriental while the first son took up the management of XY.

The business of Oriental steadily expanded. The turbine pumps were cheaper than imported goods; their demand in the market therefore grew steadily. Oriental designed and manufactured pumps to meet various needs, such as irrigation, water-works and house-hold tube-wells. Moreover, after independence, the Government started the "Grow More Food" campaign to increase agricultural output. All this made for prosperity of business and expansion of Oriental. Soon the factory undertook to make electric motors for various purposes. These also had a promising market, particularly after the initiation of five-year plans.

In 1948, the Oriental plant was separated from XY and shifted to its present premises adjoining those of XY. In 1949, the company was made a public limited company. It was, however, subsidiary to XY in that a large chunk of capital in it was contributed by the XY company. In 1951, after the death of Hari, a new partnership firm was formed for Oriental to replace the old managing agency functioning in the name of Hari and his sons. The son of Hari who took over the management of Oriental from his brother became the head of the new managing agency and continued as the Managing Director.

This Managing Director soon earned a name for Oriental by his abilities. He was praised by most employees and
others as a specially gifted Managing Director. He was "the rare combination of a proficient engineer and an able business executive". He attracted some 'first class' engineers. The factory became one of the most progressive factories in this area. It was, for example, the first to introduce a time-study scheme whereby workers were given incentive bonuses for output over a normal amount of work. A provident fund scheme was introduced in Oriental before it was made obligatory by the government. With all this, Oriental became for the employees "one of the finest places to work in". Both the Management and the workers of Oriental stressed that their relations were more cordial than in most other factories in and around Rajnagar.

In 1954, Oriental undertook the manufacture of motor-control and other switchgear equipment in collaboration with a German firm. In two years they placed on market such goods as oil-immersed and air-break starters, switchgear panels, electric sub-station equipment etc. The German firm undertook to provide technical assistance to Oriental and training facilities to its employees. The switchgear and allied equipment produced by Oriental was sold through the agency of a company combining the interests of Oriental and the German firm.

Oriental was thus a reputed and smoothly-working concern when I collected the data presented here. Also, at that time the expansion of the factory was much in the air. Employees often discussed with me the prospects for them.
in Oriental in the wake of its expansion. “The production of electric motors and switchgear will be shifted to a new factory”; “the Foundry is going to be a separate concern”; “the younger brother of the Managing Director is being trained to take the charge of a new factory” - these were some of the gossips of Oriental employees when I was doing fieldwork. Moreover, once a local newspaper of Rajnagar reported that the Oriental Management were planning to develop the production of bicycle parts. In short, numerous things appeared to be in the offing for those working in Oriental. The following figures will give some idea of the prosperity of the factory. The authorized capital of the Oriental company was Rs. 5,000,000 in 1957 as against Rs. 1,000,000 in 1944 and the subscribed capital was Rs. 2,000,000 in 1957 as against Rs. 500,000 in 1944. The company made a net profit of Rs. 4,32,670 in 1957 whereas it made a profit of Rs. 53,319 in 1944. The amount spent on salaries and wages was Rs. 17,24,472 in 1957 as against Rs. 1,82,391 in 1944. It spent Rs. 63,513 on publicity in 1957, but only Rs. 778 in 1944.

IV

Oriental occupied a large rectangular plot of land adjoining the premises of XY. The latter edged on the northern border of the area of Oriental. On the other side there was a big outstretched piece of land owned by the Oriental Company. This plot of land was meant for the future expansion of the factory. In a corner of the plot there was
a brick-and-wood structure providing residential facilities to three staff-members of Oriental. In another corner there were mud-houses which accommodated twenty six employees of the "worker" category.

The Oriental premises were marked off from surrounding areas by high brick-walls on all sides. This gave a physical identity and exclusiveness to the factory and checked unauthorized incomings and outgoings of persons and materials. The walls were separated by gates at various points. On the front side there were two big iron gates. One of these was used only for the movements of vehicles used by the Managing Director's family and some distinguished visitors. The other was used for the passage of other vehicles - motor-cars, goods-trucks and donkeys; it was also used as an exit for staff-members at the close of the main shift. On the two sides of this gate there were two small gates. Of these, one was always kept open for the passage of pedestrians and cyclists and the other was usually kept closed.

There was another gate on the north which joined the premises of Oriental with those of AX and was used for the exchange of goods between the two factories. Another gate on the north-east lay across the railway side-track extended from the main railway tracks to bring goods-wagons into the factory. Yet another gate in the south linked the Oriental premises with the vacant land of the Company.

On entering Oriental by the front gate in general use, you would see a wide passage leading from the gate to the
opposite end with buildings on either side. You would first encounter a gate-clerk and a watchman who, if you were a stranger to them, would ascertain the purpose of your visit and then direct you to the proper place. They checked the entries and exits of all men and materials. The gate-clerk kept attendance records of all employees and the record of goods moving into and out of the factory. The gate-clerk worked in a rectangular verandah close to the main gate. In this verandah there were a few benches on which ordinary persons desiring to see the factory or some worker were asked to wait. Adjoining this place was a room used for the dispensary of the factory. Two notice boards were hung on the outer wall of the dispensary. Nearby, there was a wooden cupboard stand in which the brass tokens given to workers as symbols of their attendance were kept. Beyond this place, on the two sides of the main passage there were platforms used as bicycle and car-sheds.

On the right hand side of the main passage, just near the front gates, there was a two-storeyed air-conditioned building housing various office departments. This building had nine small rooms or closets for officers, ten big halls for other staff, a library hall and an auditorium. There were two toilet rooms and a water-cooler on each floor. Not far from this building was another building used for the canteen of Oriental. At a small distance from the canteen there was a small room wherein an electric sub-station was maintained, directing electricity to the various parts of the factory.
The remaining portion of the factory premises was occupied by four large one-storeyed structures, two on either side of the main passage. These were workshop buildings. The one on the right nearer the office-building included the Machine, Electric, Testing, Fitting and Repairs and Maintenance workshops, the Inspection department, the tools and jigs unit of the Designs office and part-stores. There were urinals and lavatories and a water-cooler for workers in a corner of this building. The other building on this side housed the Pattern shop and Foundry with its various sections - clay, core, moulding, furnace, die-casting and chipping. Attached to this building was a small two-rooms apartment used for the metallurgical laboratory and core-die-casting.

On the left side of the main passage, one of the two buildings included the Switchgear and Welding workshops, separated by a wall. The other was used for the general raw materials stores. Behind this, there was a small room used for storing miscellaneous raw-materials.

Along the outer walls of the four main workshop buildings there were rectangular sheds used for storing finished articles and parts and wooden packing-boxes. At two places, boxes packed with finished products were kept ready for transportation by goods-carriers.

Besides the watchman on duty at the main gate, there were four different places on the premises where watchmen were posted, obviously for security purposes.
More than ninety per cent of the total work of Oriental was done in the main shift which worked from 7-30 a.m. to 4-15 p.m. with a recess of 45 minutes from 11-30 a.m. to 12-15 p.m. Some workers, e.g. office peons and workers in the clay section of the Foundry, arrived an hour or so earlier than others in the morning and left correspondingly earlier in the evening. Watchmen worked in turns in three shifts of eight hours each round the clock. The Purchase Manager and some other employees in the Purchase and Office departments worked from 10-15 a.m. to 6-00 p.m. with a break of half an hour in the afternoon.

Besides, activities in the clay, moulding and chipping sections of the Foundry, in the machine shop and in parts of the Electric, Switchgear, Welding, Repairs and Maintenance and Testing shops were continued for a second shift which worked from 4-15 p.m. to 12-45 a.m. A few machines in the Machine shop also worked a third shift from 12-45 to 7-30 a.m. In those workshops where two or three shifts were worked, the personnel changed shifts in turns. The second and third shifts, however, worked with a minimal personnel - there were workers carrying on actual operations, a few chargemen to supervise them and the gate-clerk and watchmen. Other employees - officers, technicians, foremen, clerks and a large majority of workers - worked in the main shift.

A warning whistle and a start whistle were blown at the beginning of the main shift. The beginning and end of the recess as well as the close of the shift were also heralded by the blowing of whistle. All employees were
expected to arrive at the factory and start work at 7-30 a.m.,
though in practice the Management neglected late-coming up to
five minutes. The first thing almost all employees did on
arriving at the factory was to register their attendance.
As we shall see in Chapter III, different status-categories
of employees registered their attendance in different ways.

After this, those workers who did not wear their
factory-uniforms outside the factory (since in their families
and neighbourhoods uniforms were regarded as the sign of a
labourer, not proper for a 'gentleman' in society), and
therefore arrived in their usual clothes, changed into
uniforms. Each employee then went to his place of work and
started working as instructed by his superior or from where he left on the previous day. If you visited Oriental during
work-hours on any working day, you would find different
employees doing a great variety of activities. You would also find at all hours some employees taking respite from
work - chatting with fellow-employees at the place of work or squatting near the lavatories, cutting jokes with others or
taking hurried puffs from bidis (native cigarettes).

In the recess, those employees whose homes were at a short distance from the factory went home for lunch, some others got their lunch from their homes through hired tiffin-
boys and still others brought their meals along with them when arriving at work. A few workers ate little or nothing
during the recess. They took a heavy breakfast at home in the morning and took meals only after returning home in the
evening. This was either because of the ideas of pollution or because the workers in question wanted to save money on food. After finishing their lunch in the recess, some employees played cards or carrom, others took a short nap somewhere in the factory area and the rest gathered in groups and talked about various matters - about their families and friends, about incidents in the factory, about their ambitions and despairs as employees, about the trade union or about local, regional or national politics. A good part of my data came through participation in these talks.

Towards the close of the shift, workers, as each finished his day's work, could be seen going to have a wash and preparing to leave for home. Those who changed into uniforms in the morning changed back into their usual clothes and left the factory as the final whistle blew. Employees were not allowed to stay on the premises after duty hours except with the permission of officers. When extra work was to be done to cope with schedules, some employees stayed on for overtime work for which they were paid extra remuneration.

Some employees had often to go out of the factory premises as a part of their duty. The Labour Officer, for example, had to go out to deal with government offices and matters pertaining to labour. The Transport department staff had to go to the railway station or to the town in connection with despatch of goods. The servicing staff had to go to customers' places for repairs etc. Moreover, some employees
of the Sales department were posted outside Rajnagar - in
the major Indian cities where Oriental had its sales offices.
These people hardly came to Oriental. Some activities of
Oriental were thus stretched beyond its physical limits.

NOTES

1. A part of the geographical and historical information
given in this chapter is drawn from a published work
of Professor B. Subba Rao. This work is based on
archaeological excavations and recorded history,
including travellers' accounts. The rest of the
information is borrowed from gazetteers and books
pertaining to the erstwhile Rajnagar State and collections
of speeches and addresses delivered by a former ruler of
Rajnagar. I have also used some information contained
in an unpublished M.Com. thesis of M.K. Shah. I have
withheld specific references in order to maintain
anonymity of the factory I studied.

2. In 1891, the town had a density of 14058.57 per square
mile, as against 351.78 in Rajnagar sub-division (taluka)
and 293.63 in Rajnagar division (district).

3. The Rajnagar area lies in the rich plains of Gujarat
and contains partly light red and partly black soil. It
is the centre of a tract growing bajri (Penicillaria
Spicata), many cereals, rice and cotton.

4. This information is partly borrowed from Gadgil, D.R.
(1954), especially chapters 1, 2 and 3.
5. The contents of this section are based on information hand-outs and souvenirs published by the XY and Oriental Managements, books giving account of Hari's work and talks with persons connected with Hari's family.

6. For the division of employees into staff members and workers, see Chapter III.
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Table I  Occupational Distribution of Population in Rajnagar town as compared to that in Rajnagar District - 1891. Compiled from the Rajnagar Census Report, 1891.