

LABOUR IN TRANSITION.

LABOUR IN TRANSITION

A SURVEY OF BRITISH INDUSTRIAL
HISTORY SINCE 1914

BY

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To
IAN MACALISTER.

Vouchsafe to those that have not read the story,
That I may prompt them : and of such as have,
I humbly pray them to admit th' excuse
Of time, of numbers, and due course of things,
Which cannot in their huge and proper life
Be here presented.

SHAKESPEARE,
King Henry the Fifth.

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PROLOGUE.

Of social affairs, it has been said, war does but accelerate tendencies already in existence. In the long run, and on the national scale, the statement is probably true ; and even in the short run, and on the scale of the individual groups and sections of a complex community, it holds good in so far as the sudden assertion of an exacting national purpose demands the utmost of whatever serves, or can be made to serve it, while imposing a drastic test on all social dispositions. It is with the historic application of that test, more especially to the industrial groups of the community, that the following chapters deal. In the result, the numerical and the psychological strength, the functions, the inter-relations, the political status of those groups have been profoundly altered ; and in this respect alone, to speak of no other, we are a fundamentally changed society. " Things will be different after the war," we used to say six years ago. They are, with a vengeance. This book is an attempt to explain how and why.

To this attempt some broad picture of the society over which the storm burst in 1914 is a necessary preface. It was a society, prosperous as modern societies go, of some 28 million more or less educated adults, of whom 8 million men were parliamentary voters—the first full-grown generation in which some degree of education was practically universal : a fact not without significance in regard to the

quality of its institutions, its recreations, and its press. It was a society with individualism in its very blood, gregarious only within narrow limits, organising itself rather according to the fortuitous pressure of circumstance than according to any preconceived plan; moved more by personalities and events than by principles and ideals, amenable to tradition and custom rather than to system and coercion, possessed to an extraordinary degree, though less than half-consciously, with a sort of historic sense of continuity, so that while in its political and legal organisation it had achieved no small measure of at least nominal democracy, its education, its churches (except those of the Catholic faith), its amusements, its manners, and even its dress, tended still to conform, as it were in spite of themselves, to a social framework that was becoming increasingly an anachronism.

The survival of this framework, while making within certain limits for social stability, served to disguise from the general consciousness amazing inequalities of wealth and liberty. In its higher or narrower stages the functions of economic ascendancy were being strained, with a good deal of tacit consent and some success, to fill the space formerly occupied by those of an aristocracy; while strictly within the lower or broader stages there had been growing up for near a century a sullen "class-consciousness" founded, for what it was worth, almost entirely on a community of economic disabilities. To this extent, at least the permeation of the old framework by the modern economic system—"capitalist" system as it is called by its opponents—had dried out the cement that held the fabric together; and it had been repeatedly asserted, and by some believed, that a good jerk from below would bring it all tumbling. The permeation had had other consequences. It had proved necessary to mitigate by statutory regu-

lation—by Trade Boards, by Factory Acts, by various species of insurance—the incidence of the system on those least favourably situated ; and by the action of associations nominally voluntary this regulation had been carried a good deal further ; carried in some cases, it was alleged, to the point of actually impeding the system.

The area over which this further regulation operated was, however, a comparatively small one. There were at the beginning of 1914 about 10½ million men and 3½ million women employed in the industries and services of the country ; and of these, about 34 in the hundred men, and 11 in the hundred women, were enrolled in trade unions—using the expression in a wide sense to include practically all societies that dealt with the terms and conditions of employment of their members. In the narrower sense, the societies affiliated to the Trade Union Congress represented about one-fifth of the total employed population. The organised proportion of workpeople varied widely between the separate industries. In one or two—in coal-mining, in most of the textile, and some of the metal trades—it stood as high as 70 per cent. ; but in the majority there was an unorganised residue of at least one half ; while in the more scattered occupations, among the bulk of the “ black-coated proletariat,” in home and small-shop industry, in the distributive trades, in fishing and sea transport, in agriculture, and among the women generally, organisation had made little headway. The facts that by the date of the Armistice the organised proportion of workpeople had grown to about 50 per cent., and that to-day the minority of 1914 is practically a two-thirds majority, indicate in themselves something like a social revolution.

Some of the implications of the change are noteworthy. It means not merely that the industrial area over which collective bargaining is possible has

been extended. It means that a majority of the working people of the country have realised the manifold possibilities of group action. It means that the extent to which concerted action in pursuit of a common policy is possible among the various trade unions is now a matter of first-rate importance to the entire community. And so far as such action is even attempted it means that there is a bigger potential backing of interested people and financial resources behind it than at any time in the history of the country. But if we ask how far in fact such action was in 1914 and has since become possible we are faced with certain considerations in regard to organisation and to opinion, that modify the effect of the whole progress.

As regards organisation, the number of separate societies—somewhere about 1,200—has not varied very much for twenty years; and counted as units, the vast majority still rest on a local craft basis. The number of national or general societies with effective centralised administration does not even now exceed, at an outside estimate, 150. On the other hand, "probably five-sixths of all the trade union membership, and practically all its effective force, are to be found among the hundred principal societies to which the Ministry of Labour has long confined its detailed statistics."* By 1914 the tendency to centralisation was in full swing; and during the succeeding years it became a factor of importance second only to the actual growth in membership. The forms it has taken vary from complete fusions of regional or competing associations that covered practically the same classes of workers, to highly complex federations and affiliations among distinct groups in the great industries, with varying degrees of central control. And concurrently with this tendency there has emerged a difficulty in the

* Webb: *History of Trade Unionism*.

nature of the control itself ; a difficulty which is really a particular case of the general truth that the industrial and the political centres of this country are anything from two to five hundred miles apart. In proportion as the administration has become centralised and the administrative unit expanded, both the actual and, so to speak, the psychological distance between Head Office and the district, the shop and the individual member have inevitably widened ; until now the leaders of the larger associations have to adopt something like the same tactics in informing, educating, and interpreting the opinion of their vast constituencies as does the Government in regard to the country as a whole. And the difficulty is complicated by the fact that the process has roughly coincided with the supersession, actual in more cases than is apparent, of some of the older leaders and policies, by men of a different type, different training, and very different ideals. Here is at any rate one group of tendencies the war accelerated ; one of the leading clues to the tangled history we are to unravel.

As regards opinion, no concise statement will cover all the facts, and no single policy will ever cover all the unions. Most of the principal societies were and are affiliated both to the Trade Union Congress and to the Labour party ; but the former had its own left, right and centre, and the Labour party was a rather loose federation comprising, in addition to the Trade Unions, the I.L.P., the British Socialist Party, the Fabian Society, and one or two other non-vocational bodies that were very far indeed, once war broke out, from pulling together. The Trade Union Congress had its Parliamentary Committee, and the Labour party its National Executive, and both united with the General Federation of Trade Unions to form a Joint Board which dealt with a variety of concrete issues pretty much as they

arose. Then there were the local Trades and Labour Councils, which the Labour party admitted to affiliation and the Congress refused; there were local branches of the I.L.P. and the various other Socialist bodies; and there was the little group of thirty-six Labour members, organising themselves and their constituencies on orthodox Parliamentary lines.

All this is perhaps somewhat confusing—and in 1914, in fact, the unions were finding it so, and contemplating the general clear-up that is now in progress; but it was as nothing compared with the real confusion of opinions subsisting among the rank-and-file. There one met not merely the official programs of the recognised authorities, but all kinds of doctrine promulgated by all kinds of organisation, from semi-Capitalist to downright Communist, and a maze of controversy upon almost every matter of applied social or industrial policy. At the heart of a good deal of it was the unsolved problem of the nature of the ideal industrial unit—vocation or industry, or a mixture of both. Beyond that, generalisation is of little use, save to point out that there was a wide dissatisfaction with the Capitalist system so far as it was understood, a broad sentiment in favour of some sort of collective control of some industries, and a half-articulate demand for some better representation of “working-class interests” than anything in the prevailing system afforded. From such a state of things it was easy to evoke a common sentiment, difficult to frame a common policy, almost impossible, except on rare occasions and the narrowest issues, to evolve a common plan of action.

But if large-scale organisation and general opinion were thus inchoate, the actual workaday business of the trade unions in regard to the “terms and conditions of employment” was to no small extent

stabilised. Parallel with, and in some measure consequent on, the expansion of the unions, there had been a steady progress in the organisation of the employers—not merely in the direction of what are usually called trade combinations, but towards concerted action in regard to labour. By the summer of 1914 over 1,500 national and local employers' associations were dealing collectively with labour matters, and the number was increasing at the rate of over two hundred a year—a good deal of the increase, of course, being due to the expansion of functions on the part of existing associations that originally dealt with trade and commercial questions only. And naturally, and, on the whole, beneficially, the relations between the corporate bodies on either side of industry tended to settle down. Says the Twelfth Report of the Ministry of Labour on Conciliation :

“ The position in regard to the settlement of labour disputes in this country, prior to the war, was that the majority were settled by agreement between employers and workpeople without recourse to Government intervention. An outstanding feature of the industrial position in Great Britain had for many years been the permanent voluntary conciliation boards, established by agreement between employers and workpeople, unsupported by legal enactment, and depending for their success on the goodwill of the parties. During the course of half a century, voluntary conciliation boards or other suitable arrangements for the settlement of labour disputes had been established in all the well-organised industries, and this procedure was instrumental in settling large numbers of disputes ”

—mainly before, that is, and sometimes after, direct action had been invoked by one side or other. Over

300 such boards were in existence at the beginning of 1914, to say nothing of the joint district boards for the miners set up under the Act of 1912, or the joint boards on the railways set up after the Board of Trade conference at the end of 1911.

In spite of this machinery, however, the three years preceding the war were years of marked "unrest" in industry. The number of open disputes originating in 1913 was nearly three times the average of the years since 1900; while in respect of the number of workpeople affected, 1912 constituted an even more startling maximum. But it would be misleading to base any general conclusion on these facts alone. These same years, it must be remembered, were fat years for commerce and industry; 1913 is spoken of as having witnessed a "trade boom." They were years, that is to say, of good employment; and the usual inverse correspondence between the unemployment returns and the totals of industrial disputes had persisted with remarkable accuracy through the whole period since 1900. Nothing in fact illustrates more clearly the real nature of the industrial system than the immediate increase in the strike figures whenever the labour demand gave the unions an opportunity. The strike was in fact a normal and necessary part of the system, recognised as such, in at least a negative way, by the law. The extent, therefore, to which the "unrest" of 1913 may be called abnormal is smaller than the figures would suggest. What is significant is that in the analysis of the causes of those 1,500 disputes of 1913, the two heads under which is revealed an increase not only considerable in itself, but much larger than the increase of the total in comparison with previous years, are "the employment of particular classes or persons" and "trade unionism"; wages as a cause of dispute shows an absolute decline in importance.

Here we come upon a leading symptom of the complex social situation of the early century. The political labour movement was yet in its infancy, and there was behind it no such accepted school of political philosophy and tradition as informed the older political parties. For many years there had been a few trade union representatives in Parliament ; but it was not until 1900 that the new-formed Labour Representation Committee secured the return of the first two members on a definitely political " ticket " ; not until 1906 that the effort to stimulate a sense of political solidarity among working-men had any very marked effect on the election results. 29 political Labour candidates were then returned in addition to 23 trade union representatives ; the event being made the occasion of a speech* by Mr. Lloyd George in which the Radical program of succeeding years was put forward as an antidote to this " socialist mission among the workmen." Four more years were to pass before the trade unionists and the L.R.C. men were definitely united as a political unit ; and before the next appeal to the country was made, political Labour was handicapped by the Osborne judgment.

Apart, however, from that particular disability, the situation was one of intrinsic difficulty for the Labour movement, and the period tempts comparison with the age of Bismarck and Lasalle. The political creed of the new-born party was not so firmly established nor so widely recognised that it could easily maintain its integrity in face of an energetic Radical administration that was professedly trying to reach the heart of the working man with arrows taken from the Socialist quiver. Liberals as well as Labour men were proving themselves (on occasion) apt pupils of Quintus Fabius ; and though the presence of the Labour group may have done much to expedite

* Quoted in Beer ; *History of British Socialism*, Vol. II.

the reformist measures of the period—national health and unemployment insurance, minimum wage legislation, workmen's compensation, old age pensions and the rest—it was the Liberals who earned (or took) the credit. Further, the great constitutional battles waged by the Liberal party left the Labour group no choice but to sink its identity; and "the political necessity of supporting the Liberal party bills relating to the Budget and the House of Lords, and of not playing into the hands of a still more reactionary front Opposition bench, were not readily comprehended by the average workman."* In the country, the political forces of Labour were far from consolidated. "Many of those (wrote W. C. Anderson at the close of 1911) who find its sinews of war cannot when the crisis comes forget their old faiths of Liberalism and Toryism. So miners at Lanark are held at the moment of voting by their old tradition, and nullify at the ballot-box the work they themselves set going in the Trade Union branches."†

The years following the elections of 1910 were in fact years of disappointment, not merely with the results of the political organisation of Labour, but with the general policy of collectivist Socialism which formed the mainstay of its program. While that policy was apparently gaining support from the Liberals, important sections of Labour were turning towards Socialism of a more particularist, and in some ways, incompatible, order. Syndicalism, which relied on industrial coercion rather than the ballot-box, was making rapid headway in Wales and on the Clyde. Guild Socialism—one of the many important contributions of the *New Age* to social history—was moving towards its place as a recognised policy from 1908 onwards. At a critical moment the reaction

* Webb: *Op cit.*

† "Daily News" Year Book, 1912.

against Fabian collectivism was reinforced by Hilaire Belloc's brilliant attack on the "Servile State." And if, as has been stated,* the influence of Bergson strengthened the movement towards direct industrial action, that of Nietzsche confirmed the growing distrust of constitutional political democracy.

Thus, while Liberalism was approaching its Philippi on the field of foreign policy, and political labour attempting with indifferent success to focus the heterogeneous mind of its constituency, the centre of action passed again to the industrial arena. The industrial organisation of the workers ran far ahead of their political evolution. The liaison between the militant forces of Labour and their political direction grew swiftly weaker. The principle that economic power precedes political power was drastically applied in the great upheavals of 1911 and 1912, which led in 1913 to the first proposals for a Triple Alliance. And while the militant arm was being trained on tangible issues with a view to its eventual use in a wider field, both means and ends of the political and constitutional movement were increasingly brought in question.

On all this suddenly broke the cataclasm of external war, of whose effects the story is now to be recounted: a story that must inevitably be concerned in the main with the difficulties, the differences, the struggles against the unforeseen obstacles and failures in circumstance and society of which history is made. We shall see the worker challenged by the national emergency to declare his relative loyalty to vocation, to class, and to the commonweal. We shall see the industrial Labour movement challenged to convert its offensive-defensive alliances of groups within a group to active agents of the national purpose, called on, and at last compelled to sacrifice securities of many years' earning to

* See Scott: *Syndicalism and Philosophic Realism*.

the common need. We shall see the political Labour movement challenged to define exactly what in national and international polity it stood for. And remembering that not even the poorest worker is wholly circumscribed by vocation, we shall watch the whole nation ridden harder and harder by an ordeal that was for nearly four years in doubt, spurred by dire necessity to a pace at which its very relaxations savoured of violence, weakened from time to time less by misfortune than by sheer weariness, dazed by the endless monotone of the guns and the machines, impaired in health physical and spiritual by the strain of the one pitiless purpose—emerging after all, swiftly and almost incredibly, to a triumph too great for grasping. If at times we dwell upon the darker side of the war period it is in order that its sequel may be better comprehended. History demands that human motives as well as human actions be brought to light ; and to judge men is at all times less profitable than to understand them.

PART ONE.

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF WAR TO THE MUNITIONS ACT OF JULY, 1915.

| | 1914. |
|---|----------------|
| War Emergency Workers' National Committee Formed | Aug. 6 |
| National Industrial Truce Resolution ... | Aug. 24 |
| Engineering and Shipbuilding Con- ferences on Labour Supply | Oct. to Jan. |
| | 1915. |
| Committee on Production Appointed | Feb. 4 |
| Clyde Strike of Engineers | Feb. 16 |
| Shells and Fuzes Agreement | Mar. 5 |
| D.O.R. Amendment No. 2 Act | Mar. 16 |
| Treasury Conferences | Mar. 17-19, 25 |
| Command Paper on Bad Time-keeping Enrolment open for N.E. Coast King's Squad | May 1 |
| Ministry of Munitions Established ... | May 15 |
| War Munitions Volunteer Enrolment Open | June 9 |
| Munitions of War Act | June 24 |
| | July 2 |

*(The dates given to Acts of Parliament are those of
Royal Assent.)*

SELECTED AUTHORITIES, ETC.

GENERAL.

The principal authority for the whole period is the daily and periodical Press, in which practically all important statements of the Government, Ministry of Munitions or other authorities were published as issued. The Trade Union Journals, particularly the Monthly Journal of the A.S.E. and the British Trade Union Review, supply valuable detail; and the official *Labour Gazette* contains statistics and reviews of labour legislation, important disputes, etc.

A note may be added on the Labour Press. The *Daily Citizen* was published from October, 1912, to June, 1915. Its pre-war circulation reached at one time 300,000, but it declined from the close of 1913. It represented moderate opinion and was not sufficiently individual to compete with the popular newspapers. The *Herald* commenced publication as a daily early in 1912; it was published weekly during the war, and was restarted as a daily on March 31st, 1919. It took up a decidedly left wing attitude and latterly became an organ of extremist opinion, supporting the "direct action" policy. Its principal financial support comes from the Miners' Federation and the N.U.R. Its circulation in the years 1918-1921 has varied from about 230,000 to 330,000; during the railway strike of 1919 the circulation rose to nearly 500,000. The I.L.P. has been represented throughout by the *Labour Leader* (weekly), which during the war was extreme Socialist and pacifist. The *Labour Leader* republished the account of the Clydeside meetings of December, 1915, after *Forward* (Clyde Workers' Committee organ) was suppressed. Other left-wing organs to which reference should be made are :

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The Call, *Solidarity*, and *Workers' Dreadnought* (the last originally a women's suffrage paper). *The Call*, formerly the organ of the British Socialist Party, was amalgamated with the *Communist* in the autumn of 1920. The circulation of the latter averaged 49,000 weekly during April, 1921, and over the Triple Alliance crisis rose to 60,000.

Among books of general reference the following may be mentioned :

Annual Registers, 1914-1920.
Labour Year Books, 1916 and 1919.
Webb : *History of Trade Unionism*.
Askwith : *Industrial Disputes*.
Gray : *War-time Control of Industry*.
Burns : *Government and Industry*.
Money : *The Case for Nationalisation*.
Dewar : *The Great Munition Feat*.
Ministry of Labour : *Reports on Conciliation and Arbitration for 1914-1918 and 1919*.

Reference is also made to reports of Trade Union and Labour Party Conferences, etc., Acts of Parliament and Hansard. The following are among the authorities relating to special periods or aspects :

PART ONE.

Cole : *Labour in War-time*.
Report of Workers War Emergency Committee, 1914-1916.
Special Reports of Board of Trade on the State of Employment in October, 1914, December, 1914, February, 1915. (Cd. 7703, 7755, 7850.)
Reports of Local Government Board on Distress Committees, etc. (Cd. 7603, 7763, 7756.)
Drake : *Women in the Engineering Trades*.
Report on Bad Time-keeping. (H.C. 220.)
On the munitions supply question, see (inter alia) :
Repington : *The Great European War*.
Caldwell : *Experiences of a Dug-out*.
Arthur : *Life of Lord Kitchener* (Vol. III).
Hansard : H.C., LXX, 1277 ; LXXI, 277-329, 1642 seq. ; LXXII, 18, 1221-22 ; LXXVII, 96 seq.

270 SELECTED AUTHORITIES, ETC.

On the influence and work of the Press, see especially :

Cook : The Press in War-time.

Ch. XVII of Caldwell, *op. cit.*, is particularly valuable ; see also the Debate in H.C., March 11th, 1918 ; Hd. 104, 73 *seq.*

On recruitment :

Labour Year Book, 1916, and Cole, *op. cit.* (details relating to various industries).

Repington, *op. cit.*

War Cabinet Report, 1918, p. 95.

PART TWO.

Goodrich : The Frontier of Control (valuable bibliography).

War Cabinet Report, 1917.

Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest : Reports.
(Cd. 8662-9 ; 8696.)

Labour Memorandum on War-aims.

Union of Democratic Control : pamphlets—

The National Policy.

War and the Workers.

The Morrow of the War, etc.

Labour Press as indicated.

PART THREE.

War Cabinet Report, 1918.

Report on Clyde Munition Workers. (Cd. 8136.)

Reports of the Whitley Committee. (Cd. 8606, 9085, 9099, 9153.)

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Party, Labour Party, Communist Party, etc.

STATISTICS OF LABOUR ORGANISATION.

1913-1920.

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|----------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--|---------------|---------------|--|
| | <i>Men.</i> | <i>Women.</i> | <i>Total Adults.</i> | <i>Men.</i> | <i>Women.</i> | <i>Total.</i> | |
| 1913 ... | — | — | — | 3,630,152 | 356,963 | 3,987,115 | 2,217,836 |
| 1914 ... | 10,600,000* | 3,287,000 | 13,887,000 | — | — | 4,199,000 | 2,866,077 |
| 1915 ... | — | — | — | 3,896,000 | 492,000 | 4,388,000 | 2,677,357 |
| 1916 ... | — | — | — | 4,043,000 | 626,000 | 4,669,000 | 2,850,547 |
| 1917 ... | 8,232,000† | 4,713,000 | 12,945,000 | 4,660,000 | 880,000 | 5,540,000 | 3,082,352 |
| 1918 ... | 8,163,000‡ | 4,940,000 | 13,103,000 | 5,423,000 | 1,222,000 | 6,645,000 | 4,532,085 |
| 1919 ... | — | — | — | 6,695,000 | 1,329,000 | 8,024,000 | 5,265,426 |
| 1920 ... | 10,739,000 | 4,146,000 | 14,885,000 | — | — | — | 6,494,707 |
| 1921 ... | — | — | — | — | — | — | 6,389,123 |

* Figures relate to July, 1914.

† " " October, 1917.

‡ " " November, 1918.

|| " " April, 1920.

Compiled from 17th Abstract of Labour Statistics, Labour Gazette, Board of Trade Employment Statistics,
Labour Year Book, 1919, British Trade Union Review

STATISTICS

PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT
AMONG INSURED WORKPEOPLE AND TRADE
UNIONISTS AFTER THE WAR.

| End of | 1919. 1 | | 1920. | | 1921. | |
|------------------|---------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | U.I.A. | T.U. | U.I.A. | T.U. | U.I.A. | T.U. |
| January | 9.93 | 2.5 | 6.10 | 2.9 | 8.2 | 6.9 |
| February | 10.71 | 2.8 | 4.42 | 1.6 | 9.5 | 8.5 |
| March | * | 2.9 | 3.63 | 1.1 | 11.3 | 10.0 |
| April | * | 2.7 | 2.8 | .9 | 15.0 | 17.6 |
| May | * | 2.1 | 2.68 | 1.1 | 17.31 | 22.2 |
| June | * | 1.7 | 2.62 | 1.2 | 17.81 | 23.1 |
| July | * | 2.0 | 2.73 | 1.4 | 14.80 | 16.7 |
| August | * | 2.2 | 2.88 | 1.6 | 13.15 | 16.5 |
| September | * | 1.6 | 3.80 | 2.2 | — | — |
| October | * | 2.6 | 4.10† | 5.3 | — | — |
| November | 8.32 | 2.9 | 3.7 | 3.7 | — | — |
| December | 6.58 | 3.2 | 5.8 | 6.1 | — | — |

* Percentages not available.

† On 15th October, after which date no further statistics under the Acts of 1911-16 are available. The November figure relates to the Act of 1920.

The Trade Union percentages relate to from 3½ to 4 million workers, mainly of skilled workpeople; they understate the proportion of general unemployment, but are on a more constant basis than the Insurance figures. The latter up to November 8th, 1920, cover from 3½ to 4 million workers, skilled and unskilled, among whom the liability to unemployment was on the whole greater than the average among the 11,900,000 workers to whom since November 8th the figures refer. In the former period from two-thirds to three-quarters of the insured workpeople were demobilised men and women; and throughout 1919 an absolute majority of those registered were women. (*Labour Gazette*, 1919-1921.)

RISE IN THE COST OF MAINTAINING THE AVERAGE PRE-WAR WORKING CLASS STANDARD OF LIVING.

*Weighted Percentage increase in cost of all items at beginning of month
(July, 1914 = 100).*

| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 | 1921 |
|----------------|------|-------|-------|-------|---------|---------|------|------|
| January | — | 10-15 | 35 | 65 | 85-90 | 120 | 125 | 165 |
| April | — | 15-20 | 35-40 | 70-75 | 90-95 | 110 | 132 | 133 |
| July | — | 25 | 45-50 | 80 | 100-105 | 105-110 | 152 | 119 |
| October | 10 | 30 | 50-55 | 75-80 | 115-120 | 120 | 164 | — |

From *Labour Gazette*, August, 1919, April, 1921 (q.v. for further detail).

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