

TOM MANN :
A BIBLIOGRAPHY



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**TOM MANN :
A BIBLIOGRAPHY**

compiled by John Bennett

with an archival note by Alistair Tough

and a foreword by Richard Hyman

edited by Richard Storey

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(Reproduced from *Tom Mann's memoirs*)

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Within each division, arrangement is first chronological, then alphabetical, unless otherwise stated.

PREFACE

By any standard, Tom Mann was one of the most remarkable personalities the British working-class movement has ever produced: notable for the length of his involvement in positions of leadership, the variety of his roles and activities, and the force of his influence. He won respect and affection as an activist who was passionate yet tolerant, flamboyant yet unpretentious, cultured yet down-to-earth.

Mann was born in Coventry in April 1856 - one month after the end of the Crimean War, and with Lord Palmerston at the height of his political ascendancy. He died in March 1941, three months before the Soviet Union entered the Second World War. (For a fervent anti-militarist, the timing was ironical.) His long life bridged the early phase of the dominance of British industry and the British empire, and far more modern patterns of industrial and international relations. For some six decades, he was in the public eye as he strove to articulate and inspire a working-class response to the challenges which these world-historical transformations engendered.

Like so many of his generation, Mann enjoyed minimal schooling and commenced work at the age of nine; but evening classes and the public libraries helped him become a deeply cultivated autodidact, able to deliver spell-binding lectures on a bewildering range of topics. Erudition was combined, however, with oratorical flair and an easy rapport with working-class audiences.

Mann was an outstanding trade union agitator and organiser. A skilled engineer, he challenged the conservative leadership of his own union, almost gained election as general secretary in 1892, and was successful with a much later attempt in 1919. He won far greater fame, however, as one of the leaders of the London dock strike of 1889, becoming president of the Dockers' Union. He also helped found a diversity of other unions during his career, and proclaimed the doctrine of militancy and solidarity across almost every industry.

For Mann, trade union and political activities were inseparable. In 1884 he became a rising star in the newly-formed Social-Democratic Federation, later worked with the Fabian Society, was secretary of the Independent Labour Party for four years in the 1890s, became the most prominent British syndicalist in the turbulent years before the 1914 war, and in 1920 helped found the British Communist Party, remaining a member until his death.

His career was international. In the 1890s he helped establish what is today the International Transport Workers' Federation, serving as its first president. In this role he visited many European countries, more than once spending time in police cells prior to deportation. His trade union and political work took him to America, Africa and Asia. He spent the first decade of the century working and agitating in Australia and New Zealand. As a communist he was prominent in a

number of international committees and gatherings, and made five extended visits to Moscow.

Mann regarded himself as a revolutionary and subversive - and many of those in authority agreed. He was sentenced to terms of imprisonment on several occasions; the last in 1932 (at the age of 75) when he was gaoled for three months, under an obscure act of 1817, for his participation in unemployed demonstrations. Yet in some ways he displayed the deep respectability of the Victorian aristocrat of labour; he was appointed a member of a Royal Commission in 1891; and at one point he was considered for ordination in the Anglican church.

Tom Mann was thus a complex and contradictory figure, in so many respects appearing larger than life. An adequate understanding of his career, and of the transformations which shaped him and which he in turn helped form, requires familiarity with a wide range of historical material. This bibliography - in many ways complementing the two recently published biographies of Mann - is an invaluable aid both to scholars and to those inspired to learn more of Mann's life and times.

John Bennett and Alastair Tough are to be congratulated on this achievement. For assistance with this project, thanks are due to the Modern Records Centre at the University of Warwick, and its archivist Richard Storey; to the staff of the Tom Mann Centre, Coventry; and to Ruth and Edmund Frow, who have done so much to preserve the record of pioneers like Tom Mann.

Richard Hyman

Chair, Tom Mann Centre Trust

Industrial Relations Research Unit, University of Warwick

Primary sources relating to the life of Tom Mann

The two most important sources of information about relevant papers are: the National Register of Archives¹; and Cook, C., *Sources in British Political History, 1900-51*². The entry on Mann in the National Register of Archives refers to two archives: the Herbert Samuel Papers in the House of Lords Record Office³; and, the John Burns Papers in the British Library⁴. The entry on Mann in Cook, C., *Sources in British Political History, 1900-51*, vol.5 'A Guide to the Private Papers of Selected Writers, Intellectuals and Publicists', 1978, in addition to mentioning these archives, notes the existence of relevant papers in the State Library of Victoria, Australia.

Secondary sources were very useful in suggesting possible locations of additional primary source material for a study of Mann's long and eventful career. Torr, D., *Tom Mann*, Lawrence and Wishart, 1944, contains a chronological summary of Mann's life from which an outline was prepared with a view to searching out relevant archives. This seemed a particularly appropriate search strategy in view of the episodic nature of Mann's life. Those enquiries which proved fruitless are included in the hope that researchers may be saved from wasting their time.

1888 Mann assisted in the formation of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers.

Cook, C., *op. cit.* (vol.1), states that reports and balance sheets of this union have survived from 1889 onwards. Mann's contribution may, therefore, not be recorded. Both the name of the union and the address for enquiries about its archives have changed since Cook's book appeared. These are now: General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union; and, Director of Studies, GMB National College, College Road, Manchester M16 8BP.

1889 Mann was a leading organiser of the great London Dock Strike and subsequently became President of the newly formed Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers Union (the 'Dockers' Union').

Correspondence in the Burns papers, mentioned above as featuring in the NRA, relates to this episode. In addition, the surviving records of the Dockers' Union which were deposited in the Modern Records Centre by the TGWU are relevant. The early records consist entirely of printed materials but these include Mann's presidential addresses to the Union's annual congresses in 1890-2 and 1895⁵. Letters from Mann to Hon. Sydney Holland re the Dockers' Union and the former's candidature for the General Secretaryship of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers are preserved in the Tom Mann Centre, Coventry.

1890 Mann was active (and successful) in pressing for the participation of the London Trades Council in the first London May Day demonstration. Cook, C., *op. cit.* (vol.1), states that records of the Trades Council including its minute

books for this period are deposited in the TUC Library. A microform edition of these records was published by World Microfilms in 1970.

1891-4 Mann served on the Royal Commission on Labour.

As well as the Commission's reports, a considerable quantity of oral and written evidence was published contemporaneously in the form of Command papers. These and contemporary publications regarding the Royal Commission are listed in Bain, G. and Woolven, G.B., *Bibliography of British industrial relations*⁶. Unpublished evidence and the correspondence of its secretary should be available in the Public Record Office.

1894-6 General Secretary/organiser of the Independent Labour Party.

The ILP's archives have been published in microform by Harvester Press Microform Publications Ltd. Series 3 'The correspondence of Francis Johnson, 1888-1950' includes incoming letters addressed to Tom Mann as General Secretary. The archive has been deposited in the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the London School of Economics.⁷

1896-8 Founder, organiser and President of the International Federation of Ship, Dock and Riverside Workers: banned and/or deported from a number of European countries for trade union organising activities.

This federation was the predecessor of the International Transport Workers Federation [ITWF], which has deposited its archives in the Modern Records Centre. Surviving records relevant to Mann's involvement include: copies of letters sent by Mann to Samuel Gompers⁸; letters from Mann received by Charles Lindley in Sweden⁹; and printed conference reports and ephemera¹⁰. The archives of several nations may contain files on Mann's activities and deportations.

1898 Leading founder-organiser of the Workers' Union.

The surviving records of the Workers' Union have been deposited in the Modern Records Centre by the TGWU. They contain nothing relating to the Union's foundation and early development. However, the ITWF archive contains one letter written by Mann as Vice-President of the WU re organisation of clay workers, 1912¹¹.

1901-10 During this period Tom Mann was in Australasia. He was founder member of the Socialist Party of Australia and organised a major strike at the Broken Hill mine.

Primary sources in Australia relating to this episode may be traced in the *Guide to Collections of Manuscripts relating to Australia*, National Library of Australia, Canberra. A copy of this multi-volume, loose-leaf format *Guide* is available for consultation in London at the National Register of Archives. It indicates the existence of correspondence with Mann in the papers of John Jones¹² and Robert Ross¹³ and in the archives of the Industrial Workers of the World Club of Sydney¹⁴.

The archives of the International Transport Workers Federation contain a letter from Mann re his Australian activities¹⁵.

1910-11 Mann played a leading role in the foundation of the National Transport Workers' Federation [NTWF]. He became a NTWF organiser in Liverpool and was a leading figure in the 1911 transport workers' strike there. A series of printed reports of this Federation from 1911 onwards forms part of the TGWU archives in the Modern Records Centre. These, however, contain no major references to Mann. Likewise, duplicated copies of the Federation's Executive Council minutes from 1912 onwards, which are preserved in the ITWF archives, contain no major references to Mann. An ITWF file of correspondence with the NTWF does, however, contain a handbill issued in Liverpool during the 1911 strike, bearing marginalia by Mann¹⁶.

1914 Following a bitter industrial dispute between the South African mining companies and the predominantly British unions of their white employees, Mann returned to South Africa, which he had visited in 1910. It is understood that the Government Archive Service in Pretoria holds some relevant files.

1914-17 Organiser for the National Sailors and Firemen's Union in Liverpool. The archives of this union have been deposited by its successor, the National Union of Seamen, in the Modern Records Centre. The minute books show that Mann attended meetings of the Union's national executive committee during this period¹⁷. He was present for the last time when the action of the Union in refusing to allow peace delegates to embark en route for Petrograd was discussed.

1916 & 1920 In 1916 Mann joined the British Socialist Party and in 1920 he joined the newly-formed Communist Party, of which the former was a major constituent. The entries on the Communist Party and the Marx Memorial Library in Cook, C., *op. cit* (vol.1), indicate the nature of the surviving source material on these two political parties.

1919-21 General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers: major role in the creation of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. The archives of the ASE/AEU have been deposited in the Modern Records Centre. For the period in question they consist principally of Executive Council minutes. These record Tom Mann's presence at AEU meetings from July 1920 to April 1921¹⁸. Unfortunately the last minute books of the ASE, for the period from January 1918 to June 1920, appear to have been lost before the archive was deposited at Warwick University. Conference proceedings and other printed items have been retained by the union. The John Burns papers mentioned above also contain relevant correspondence.

1924-32 Chairman of the National Minority Movement.

Cook, C., *op.cit.* (vols. 1 & 6), gives details of surviving primary source material.

1891-1938 Some postcards and five letters written by Tom Mann form the "Tom Mann collection" in the Working Class Movement Library¹⁹. These have no common subject matter and many consist of brief greetings and/or good wishes.

1893-1904 Six letters from Mann to Ben Tillett survive in a small group of Tillett papers in the Modern Records Centre. Topics include Mann's interest in the church and differences of opinion between him and Tillett²⁰.

Footnotes

1. National Register of Archives, Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1HP.
2. Cook, C., *Sources in British Political History, 1900-51*, Macmillan: vol.1 'Guide to Archives of Selected Organisations and Societies' (1975); vol.5 'Guide to Private Papers of Selected Writers, Intellectuals and Publicists' (1978); and vol.6 'First Consolidated Supplement' (1985).
3. House of Lords Record Office, *Memorandum* no.35, file A/155 (1): political correspondence of Herbert Samuel, 1888-95.
4. British Library Dept. of Manuscripts, ref: Add. MS. 46285 vols. v-vii.
5. MRC [Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick Library] ref: MSS.126/DWR/4/2.
6. Bain, G.S. and Woolven, G.B., *Bibliography of British industrial relations*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.
7. BLPES ref: Coll. Misc. 464.
8. MRC ref: MSS.159/3/A/2.
9. MRC ref: MSS.159/3/A/3,5-7, 10 and 14.
10. MRC ref: MSS.159/1/1/1-2.
11. MRC ref: MSS.159/3/B/64.
12. State Library of Victoria ref: MS.9547.
13. National Library of Australia ref: NLA MS. 3222.
14. National Library of Australia ref: NLA MS. 3516.
15. MRC ref: MSS.159/3/B/13.
16. MRC ref: MSS.159/3/B/87.
17. MRC ref: MSS.175/1/1/2-3.
18. MRC ref: MSS.259/1/2/1-3.

19. Working Class Movement Library, Jubilee House, Acton Square, The Crescent, Salford M5 4NY.
20. MRC ref: MSS.74/3/1/44-8.

PART I: Archival sources

1. BEN TILLET. *Papers*. University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre. MSS. 74. [Coventry]. (Some letters)
2. DOCK COMPANIES' JOINT COMMITTEE. *Documents*. National Museum of Labour History. [Manchester]
3. DONA TORR. *Papers*. Former CPGB. Due to be transferred to NMLH 1994. (Papers for biography of Mann)
4. EUGENE V. DEBS. Collection. Cunningham Library, Indiana State University. (Correspondence between Mann, Debs and F.W. Taylor)
5. HERBERT SAMUEL. *Papers*. House of Lords Record Office. [London]. (Letters)
6. INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY. *Papers*. British Library of Political and Economic Science. [London]. (Letters to Mann as General Secretary). Published in microform by Harvester Press.
7. INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD CLUB. *Archive*. National Library of Australia. (Correspondence)
8. INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION. *Archives*. University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre. MSS 159. [Coventry]
9. J. BRUCE GLASIER. *Diary*. Liverpool University Library.
10. J.P. JONES. *Papers*. State Library of Victoria, Australia. [Melbourne]. (Correspondence and photographs)
11. JOHN BURNS. *Papers*. British Library. [London]. (Correspondence, 1887-1939)
12. PASSFIELD (SIDNEY WEBB). *Papers*. British Library of Political and Economic Science. [London]
13. ROBERT ROSS. *Papers*. National Library of Australia. (Correspondence)
14. W.H. STOKES. *Papers*. University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre. MSS.289/6/3. (8 items of Tom Mann correspondence with Stokes, 1925-8; arrangements for meetings, local situation)
15. TOM MANN. *Papers*. Tom Mann Centre, Coventry City Libraries. [Transfer to Modern Records Centre agreed] (Corres., ephemera)

16. TRADES UNION CONGRESS. *Registry deposit*. University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre. MSS.292/771.21. (File on protest against imprisonment of Tom Mann and Emrhys Llewellyn, and charges against Pollitt and Mann, 1932-4)
17. WEBB TRADE UNION COLLECTION. British Library of Political and Economic Science. [London]
18. WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT LIBRARY. *Tom Mann Collection*. [Salford]. (Letters and postcards, in addition to a substantial library). Listed in *Tom Mann 1856-1941: Tom Mann Collection in the Working Class Movement Library*. W.C.M.L., 1983. 12pp.

PART II: Works by Tom Mann

A. Monographs

19. *The eight hours movement*. London, [Publisher not known], [188?]. 20p.
 Second edition. London, Labour Elector, 1889. 20p.
 Third edition. London, William Reeves, 1891. 20p.
20. *What a compulsory eight hour working day means to the workers*. London, Modern Press, 1886. 24p.
 [Another edition]. London, Pluto Press, 1972. 32p. (With a new introduction by Richard Hyman)
21. *The eight hour day: how to get it by trade and local option*. London, [Publisher not known], 1891.
22. *The regulation of working hours: as submitted to the Royal Commission on Labour*. [Publisher not known], 1891. 16p.
 Second edition. Manchester, Manchester Labour Press Society, 1891. 16p.
23. *The duties of co-operators in regard to the hours and conditions of labour*. Manchester, Co-operative Union Ltd., 1892. 11p. (Paper read at the 24th Annual Congress of the Co-operative Societies, Rochdale, June 1892)

24. *Waterside labour in the Port of London: an interview with Mr. Tom Mann.* London, [Publisher not known], 1892. 4p. (London reform leaflets, 3)
25. *An appeal to the Yorkshire textile workers.* London, George Reynolds, 1893. 15p.
26. *What the ILP is driving at.* Manchester, Manchester Labour Press Society, 1894. 16p. (MLPS pamphlet, 6)
27. *The programme of the I.L.P. and the unemployed.* London, Clarion, 1895. 16p. (Clarion pamphlets, 6)
28. *The socialists' programme: speech delivered at North Aberdeen, April 25th 1896.* Manchester, Manchester Labour Press Society, 1896. 16p.
29. *A socialist's view of religion and the churches.* London, Clarion, 1896. 16p. (Clarion pamphlets, 10)
Another edition. New York, International Publishing Company, [19-?]. 26p.
30. *The international labour movement (socialist and trade unionist).* London, Clarion, 1897. 19p. Manchester, Manchester Labour Press Society, 1897. 14p.
31. *The position of the seamen and dockers in 1897 and the International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers.* London, Clarion, 1897. 14p. (Clarion pamphlets, 18). (Cover title: *The position of dockers and sailors...*)
32. *Why I joined the National Democratic League.* London, National Democratic League, 1901. 14p.
33. *What is socialism? Does New Zealand stand in need of it?* Wellington, New Zealand, Wright and Carman, 1902. 12p.
34. *The labour movement in both hemispheres.* Melbourne, J.J. Miller Printing Co., 1903. 32p.
35. *Socialism.* Melbourne, Tocsin, 1905. 60p.
36. *All hail, industrial solidarity: Bravo! Bravo! Comrades of France.* Walthamstow, Guy Bowman, 1910. 24p. Reprinted from the *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1910. [q.v.]
37. *Forging the weapon.* London, [Publisher not known], 1910. 25p. Reprinted from the *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1910. [q.v.]

38. *Miners, wake up!* London, Bush Brothers, 1911. 35p. Reprinted from the *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1911. [q.v.]
39. *Labour's minimum wage*. Manchester, [Publisher not known], 1912.
40. *From single tax to syndicalism*. London, G. Bowman, 1913. 112p. (Syndicalist library, 1)
41. *The labourer's minimum wage*. Manchester, [Publisher not known], 1913.
42. *Get ready for demobilisation*. Manchester, The author, 1917. 6p. (Solidarity pamphlets, 2)
43. *Payment by results: piece work and time work*. London, Co-operative Printing Society, 1920. 15p.
44. *Required now! One big union of boiler makers, foundry men, engineers and steel workers*. London, Co-operative Printing Society, 1920. 14p.
45. *Russia in 1921*. London, British Bureau, Red International of Labour Unions, 1921. 54p. (Delegate's report on RILU meeting in Moscow, July 1921)
46. *Tom Mann's message to the workers of South Africa*. Johannesburg, I.S.L. Press, 1922. 8p.
47. *Power through the general strike: a call to action*. London and Manchester, Co-operative Printing Society for the author, 1923. 11p.
Second edition. London and Manchester, Co-operative Printing Society, 1923. 12p.
48. *Tom Mann's memoirs*. London, Labour Publishing Co., 1923. 334p.
Another edition. London, McGibbon and Kee, 1967. 278p. (Preface by Ken Coates)
49. *What I saw in China*. London, National Minority Movement, 1927. 32p.

B. Contributions to multi-authored books

50. With Ben Tillett. *The new trades unionism: a reply to Mr. George Shipton*. Green and McAllen, 1890. 16p.
51. *Memorandum [to the Royal Commission on Labour] by Mr Tom Mann on state and municipal control of industry*. HMSO, 1891. (Appendix VI to the Report of the Commission, p.178-85.)

52. [with William Abraham, Michael Austin and James Mawdsley.] *The minority report of the Royal Commission on Labour*. Manchester, Manchester Labour Press Society, 1894. 30p. (MLPS pamphlet, 5)
53. 'Preachers and churches.' *Vox clamantium*. Edited by Andrew Reid. London, [Publisher not known], 1894. Reprinted as *A socialist's view of religion and the churches*. 1896. [q.v.]
54. 'Trade unionism and co-operation in the future.' *Forecasts of the coming century by a decade of writers*. Edited by Edward Carpenter. London, W. Scott; Manchester, Manchester Labour Press Society, 1897. p.27-41.
55. 'How I became a socialist.' *How I became a socialist: a series of biographical sketches*. Twentieth Century Press, [1902?] 81p.
56. *Debate between Tom Mann and Arthur M. Lewis*. Chicago, C.H. Kerr and Co., 1914. 77p. (At the Garrick Theatre, Chicago, 16th November 1913)
57. 'Foreign policy.' Council of Workers' and Soldiers' delegates. *What Happened at Leeds*. London, 1917. p.27. (Contribution to a debate.)
58. 'Foreword.' *The Labour Abstentionist Party*. Edited by Edgar T. Whitehead. London, [Publisher not known], 1921.
59. 'Rede des Genossen Tom Mann über die Beziehungen der Roten Gewerkschafts-internationale und der Kommunist-internationale.' *Die Beziehungen zwischen der Roten Gewerkschafts-internationale und der Kommunist-internationale*. Edited by Frankreich Rosmer. 1921.
60. With Mrs. Philip Snowden, J.H. Thomas, Robert Williams, J. Bromley and Noah Ablett. *What we want and why: the case for the engineers*. London, Collins, 1922. 263p.

C. Periodicals edited by Tom Mann (Alphabetical order)

61. *British Socialist News*. 27th October 1899. (With Ben Tillet.)
62. *Industrial Syndicalist*. 'A series of 12 monthly pamphlets, edited by Tom Mann, published from July, 1910 to June, 1911.' London, G. Bowman. (Articles by Mann separately listed)
63. *Militant Trade Unionist*. 1st May 1933-.
64. *Monthly Journal and Report* (Associated Society of Engineers, later Amalgamated Engineering Union), November 1919-April 1921.

65. *Report Sheet*. (Central Office of the International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers). April-June 1897.
66. *Socialist*. (Melbourne). April 1906-October 1908.
67. *Trade Unionist*. 4th April-22nd August 1891. (Continued as *Trade Unionist and Trades Council Record*, q.v.)
68. *Trade Unionist*. November 1915-November 1916. (With W.F. Watson and E.C. Pratt.)
69. *Trade Unionist and Trades Council Record*. 29th August 1891-19th March 1892. (Continuation of *Trade Unionist*, q.v.)
70. *Transport Worker*. August 1911-March 1912.

D. Periodical articles

71. 'Labour organization in America.' *Justice*, 4th April 1886.
72. 'The development of the labour movement.' *Nineteenth Century*, 27,159, May 1890, p.709-20.
73. 'The labour movement: is it inspired by an ethical principle?' *Labour Prophet*, January 1892.
74. 'The labour platform: new style.' *New Review*, 6,33, February 1892, p.166-72. (Provoked a reply from George Howell in 6,35, April 1892, p.472-83)
75. 'The workman's wife.' *Labour Prophet*, February 1892.
76. 'The representation of labour.' *Labour Prophet*, March 1892.
77. 'The payment of members: democratising of Parliament.' *Contemporary Review*, 63, 1893, p.485-90.
78. 'The labour problem II: the new unionism.' *New Review*, 8,46, March 1893, p.272-80.
79. 'The I.L.P.' *Labour Annual*, 1894 [i.e.1895].
80. 'The reform of parliamentary representation.' *Labour Annual*, 1895.
81. 'The socialist party.' *Clarion*, 26th January 1895.
82. 'A socialist view of co-partnership.' *Labour Co-partnership*, December 1895.
83. 'The Independent Labour Party in 1895.' *Labour Annual*, 1896.

84. 'The Workers' Union.' *Clarion*, 7th May 1898.
85. 'The attitude of the workers in Europe and America.' *Forum*, November 1899, p.325-33.
86. 'A co-operative settlement in Australia.' *Clarion*, 21st August 1903.
87. 'Socialism in Australia.' *Clarion*, 14th April 1905.
88. 'A Liberal-Labour alliance.' *Clarion*, 9th June 1905.
89. 'Slavery in Queensland.' *Clarion*, 30th June 1905.
90. 'Two years' work.' *Socialist*, 31st August 1907.
91. 'All hail solidarity.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, October 1910.
92. 'Prepare for action.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,1, July 1910, p.1-2.
93. 'The need for a federation of all the workers in the transport industry.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,2, August 1910, p.1-12.
94. 'Forging the weapon.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,3, September 1910, p.1-14. Reprinted as a pamphlet, London, 1910. 28p. [q.v.]
95. 'All hail, industrial solidarity: Bravo! Bravo! Comrades of France.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,4, October 1910, p.1-23. Reprinted as a pamphlet, 1910. [q.v.]
96. 'Symposium on syndicalism by active workers: editorial notes.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,5, November 1910, p.1-7.
97. 'Skilled versus unskilled.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,6, December 1910, p.13-19, 25-6, 38-40, 42-3. (Contributions to the First Conference on Industrial Syndicalism, 1910, Manchester)
98. 'Class war in Wales.' *Justice*, 10th December 1910.
99. With Frank Rose. 'Debate on industrial unionism.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,7, January 1911, p.1-60.
100. 'Miners, wake up!' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,8, February 1911, p.1-8. Reprinted as a pamphlet, 1911. [q.v.]
101. 'The weapon shaping.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,9, March 1911, p.1-9.
102. 'A twofold warning: who is to control industry?' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,10, April 1911, p.1-11.
103. 'The railwaymen.' *Industrial Syndicalist*, 1,11, May 1911, p.1-2.

104. 'Bravo railwaymen.' *Transport Worker*, August 1911.
105. 'Looking backward and forward.' *Transport Worker*, January 1912.
106. 'The eight hour day: get ready for the fray.' *Transport Worker*, February 1912.
107. 'The uprising of the British miners.' *International Socialist Review*, 12,11, May 1912, p.711-16.
108. 'A plea for solidarity.' *International Socialist Review*, January 1914.
109. 'Latest news from South Africa.' *International Socialist Review*, September 1914.
110. 'The Workers' Union.' *Workers' Union Record*, 29, March 1916, p.1-2; 30, April 1916, p.1-2; 31, May 1916, p.1.
111. 'Where are we with the wage system?' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Society of Engineers), February 1920.
112. 'The six hour day.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Society of Engineers), March 1920.
113. 'The Trades Union Congress and direct action.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Society of Engineers), April 1920.
114. 'The Amalgamated Engineering Union.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Engineering Union), May 1920.
115. 'Thomas Paine (1737-1809).' *Monthly Journal and Report*(Amalgamated Engineering Union), May 1920.
116. 'Matthew Arnold.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Engineering Union), July 1920.
117. 'The work that matters.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Engineering Union), July 1920.
118. 'Men who have changed the world's thought.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Engineering Union), January 1921.
119. 'To the young members of the AEU.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Engineering Union), January 1921.
120. 'Engineers attention!' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Engineering Union), February 1921.

121. 'Men who have changed the world.' *Monthly Journal and Report* (Amalgamated Engineering Union), February 1921.
122. 'The lock-out: now for solidarity.' *All Power* (Red International of Labour Unions), Special lock-out edition, 1922.
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