

# Gaol is Not an Argument.



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## News and Notes.

Robert Semple, the well-known miners' organiser of New Zealand, has been sentenced to 12 months on a charge of using seditious words at an anti-conscription meeting in Christchurch.

The seditious laws cover almost everything one may say, do, or think, and are apparently not reserved entirely for the I.W.W.

Labor organisations which are at present apathetic as to the fate of the I.W.W. agitators may ere long have cause to regret their inactivity.

The war between Despotism and Democracy is waging, the I.W.W. being the most dangerous enemies of Despotism, have been attacked first. THAT IS ALL.

Detectives in Salt Lake City, have been "living well" at the expense of the leading citizens of that city for some months.

In return for the clever work they performed in "working up" cases against, and bringing I.W.W. criminals (?) to justice, the sleuths were paid and entertained lavishly by the grateful citizens.

But something went wrong, rumors got abroad, and "big business" refused to pay dividends to the detectives, who set out after new fields to conquer.

They exposed to Gov. Spry, of Utah, an I.W.W. plot to blow up HIS house. The Governor was suspicious; he ordered investigations, and the clever detectives are now behind prison bars.

The Seamen and Firemen's Union (Sydney) did not—as was alleged by the "Sun"—reject a resolution demanding the release of the I.W.W. men, and for financially assisting in the release.

The resolution was not discussed; it was forwarded to the G.E.B. of the Union for discussion by the various branches.

What a remarkable habit the "Sun" has of misrepresenting working class activities!

Members and friends will regret to learn of the tragic death on the 13th inst., of Fellow-Worker Albert Strand, a militant active member of the "Industrial Workers of the World."

He was working on a boat in Farm Cove, when a bar of steel slipped from the crane sling and struck him on the head, killing him instantly.

### DEFENCE AGITATION.

Fellow-Workers Rudolph and Farrall visited the navy camp at Stanwell Park on Thursday, to place the position re the conspiracy charges before the deviation workers.

Four hundred of the lads had just been retired for the Christmas vacation, by a thoughtful government, but nevertheless, the sympathy both moral and financial now being expressed by the workers of this country is nowhere better demonstrated than in the navy camps, and, notwithstanding the fact that they are hitting the road with almost empty pockets, the boys at Stanwell Park stood to us with a splendid hearing, and a good collection for the defence fund.

No doubt the tramping of four hundred men from one job will do a lot to make them realise the real "dignity of Labor," and their position in society; perhaps much more than all we I.W.W. agitators could tell them in a hundred orations.

The absurd social system and the utter cruelty of capitalism is now laid bare to the Stanwell Park lads, and it is to be hoped the necessary fighting spirit will blaze up at this latest injustice done them by a set of political pirates whom we, in our ignorance, raised from positions of slavery to posts of mastery.

Both speakers, F.W.'s Rudolph and Farrall, dealt lengthily with the case for the release of our imprisoned fellow-workers, and exposed the poisoned evidence on which they were convicted. F.W. Jack Brassell ably and sympathetically conducted the meeting, which ended by the hills echoing to the strains of "Tramp, Tramp," and other popular wobbly songs.

R.J.F.



## Domain Protest

ENORMOUS GATHERING.

A record crowd turned up on Sunday afternoon to the big demonstration. The I.W.W. Band was on the scene early, and rendered several selections. Although the platform was six feet above the heads of the crowd, the speakers had a stiff proposition to reach the limit of the audience.

Several showers, of a very useful nature—took place during the afternoon, while "Direct Action" sold exceptionally well after an absence from the inside of the Domain for about ten weeks.

Fellow-Worker Barker was the Chairman. The following resolution was moved and seconded by Comrade Jenkin, of A.S.P., and F. W. Melrose, of the A.M.A., Broken Hill:

"That this meeting of Trade Unionists, Socialists, and members of the Industrial Workers of the World, being convinced of the innocence of the twelve members of the Industrial Workers of the World convicted by a class-biased jury and savagely sentenced by a class-biased Judge, demands their release. Further, this meeting condemns the action of Prime Minister W. M. Hughes, head of the Federal Department of Justice, for repeatedly referring to the I.W.W. as a criminal organisation, and to the men at present unjustly in gaol as guilty before they were tried, therefore, committing contempt of court, and prejudicing the public mind.

This resolution was carried unanimously, with loud applause, and a shower.

Miss Jago recited from Shelley's "Masque of Anarchy":—

"Men of England! Heirs of Glory,  
Heroes of unwritten story,

Rise like lions after slumber  
In unvanquishable number;  
Shake your chains to earth like dew,  
Which in sleep have fallen on you;  
Ye are many, they are few."

Mr. Foran, a representative of the United Laborers' Protective Society, moved the following resolution:—

"This meeting of Sydney citizens, of all shades of political and religious opinion, protests against the carrying out of the death sentences on Frank Franz and Roland Kennedy (the latter only a boy of 20 years), believing this lapse to a barbaric practice, to be due to prejudice and revenge against the organisation to which the unfortunate men belong. That it is also a departure on the part of the present Government, much to be regretted, as during the Labor Party's term of office capital punishment has been practically a dead letter, the carrying out of the death sentence for some of the most brutal crimes, having been refused sanction."

The resolution was seconded by F. W. G. Kerr, A.M.A., Broken Hill, and carried also unanimously.

Other speakers were F. W. Rudolph and J. R. Wilson, of the I.W.W.

All the speakers spoke well, and to the point. The crowd was enthusiastic, and entirely in sympathy with the men in gaol.

Other demonstrations are to be organised in the near future, when other delegates from unions and other organisations will participate.

Our best thanks are due to all who assisted in making this protest so successful.

TOM BARKER.

# Hallo, People.

Fellow-Workers,  
28 railroaded Working Class  
Agitators are waiting for their Class  
to Speak!

Money is Needed for their Defence. WE  
are Organising and Agitating for their Release  
and for Funds.

What are YOU Doing?

## Justice or Tyranny.

WHICH FOR YOU?

Twelve working-class agitators are at this moment lying behind prison bars! As a working-class man or woman it is your duty to dig through and analyse this case to the bottom; if you have not already done so, you are a traitor to your class! If you have done so, you must be convinced that the men are not guilty, and if you think that, and have not raised your voice in protest, why have you not done so?

Have the capitalist papers stunned you with fear?

Are you afraid to be "in the right with two or three"?

Has the spirit of man decayed within you that you will leave your class brothers to rot in a master class gaol because they have offended that class by agitating?

These men are innocent! They should not be in gaol, and they will be there no longer than the working-class wish!

You should organise and agitate for their release. Let us hear of you!

### THE GAOL ARGUMENT

Funds are very necessary in this FIGHT FOR THE LIVES of our class brothers.

FELLOW-WORKERS, IT IS UP TO YOU! GET BUSY AND KEEP BUSY IN YOUR UNION HALLS AND LEAGUES. Keep the workers alive to the danger that threatens. Arrange monster protests, agitate and organise unceasingly and forward unlimited funds for the Defence to

J. R. WILSON.

Box 98, Haymarket P.O.,  
Sydney.

# Direct Action



WEEKLY  
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of the  
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF  
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## Remarkable!

During the recent I.W.W. prosecutions,  
in the Perth Police Court, the "West"  
used to come out with big headlines:

I.W.W.

ASTOUNDING EVIDENCE!  
MORE REMARKABLE LETTERS!

The remarkable letters referred to by  
the "West" were, of course, letters  
which passed between different members  
of the organisation. It seemed remark-  
able to the master class, or their hire-  
lings, that working men should have such  
fine scorn and contempt for institutions  
like Parliament and Church, etc., that the  
industrially imbecile and corruptly in-  
terested hold in such high esteem and re-  
verence. No doubt to persons who have  
little real education and no self-reliance,  
it is not only remarkable, but positively  
dangerous that a working class organisa-  
tion should flout the law and openly  
preach that the industrially organised  
working class of the world are far great-  
er than any political law, or all the  
Parliaments in the universe.

In the very near future many strange  
and remarkable events will happen, now  
that the workers of Australia are begin-  
ning to suspect, that politicians and Parli-  
aments are unnecessary.

The workers of Australia have been  
long suffering (which is not a credit to  
their intelligence) they have, and are,  
leading now the lives of work beasts, es-  
pecially in the gold mines, an industry  
in which under modern conditions, pre-  
mature death is CERTAIN.

In spite of celebrating eight hours for  
fifty years, capturing the State and Fed-  
eral Parliaments, the coal miners had  
to strike, to take "direct action"—to get  
an eight hour day.

Directly and indirectly due to the con-  
tinuous Industrial Union propaganda of  
the I.W.W. in Australia, the working  
class are at last beginning to move a  
little, and to see the need for an up-to-date  
scientific form of unionism.

That the workers should at last begin  
to think, and show, a little self-reliance,  
is what our masters please to term "RE-  
MARKABLE."

For the proof of this, we only have to  
turn to the English classics. I can scarce-  
ly draw to mind one master of the Eng-  
lish language, who has not condemned  
Parliament and law-making, as a low,  
cheating and a lying occupation, fit for  
fools or knaves. Members of the mas-  
ter class, like Godwin, Shelley, Ruskin,  
Edward Carpenter, William Morris, and  
J. S. Mills have continually denounced  
legalised authority—"the law."

Emerson has finely said, "A wise man  
must not obey the law too well."

But, that common working-men should  
endeavour to put into actual practice,  
for every work-a-day life, the fine and  
true sentiments of the above named great  
writers, seems to our masters, REMARK-  
ABLE. Hypocrites! We workers know  
our historic missions, the overthrow of  
the wage system. The I.W.W. will pro-  
ceed first with education, but where ever  
the tiny beacon of truth has endeavored  
to shine through the stygian darkness,  
the almost impervious gloom of ignorance  
and superstition, Cassandra voices have  
whispered, "Treason," "Sedition or Con-

spiracy," nothing daunted, however, the  
few faithful adherents keep on, until the  
once unpopular doctrine is almost gen-  
erally accepted. This is the history of all  
great movements. Once it was thought  
that no man could be virtuous or happy  
without the aid of some supernatural  
dogma; but folk don't like to be reminded  
of that foolishness now.

With the education of the workers will  
follow as a necessary sequence, their real  
industrial organisation. Not only will the  
workers find they can do without Parli-  
ament, but without a host of other bar-  
barities besides—such unpleasant sur-  
roundings as long hours, high prices, and  
wars, etc. The future Parliaments will  
be at the union meetings, men and wo-  
men will meet to discuss what they are  
all socially and vitally interested in—the  
economic resources of the earth. Such  
questions as divorce, as religion, or bi-  
metallism, can be left to those who are  
mutually interested in such things. The  
I.W.W. conception of what society ought  
to be, judged by present day standards  
is, no doubt, "REMARKABLE," but it is  
good.

M. SAWTELL.

## James McStomachache.

REJECTS THE I.W.W.  
AND WE REJECT HIM.

The above-named, who is better known as  
James McCarthy, President of the N.S.W.  
Tramways' Union, writes tediously to that  
friend of solidarity, "The Daily Telegraph," on  
the questions of Unionism, Hemptre and Law'n  
Hawder. His complaint against the I.W.W. is,  
in brief, that they are a lot of rotters, who  
have no respect for anything in the shop-  
window of modern capitalism. His chief points  
of antagonism to them may be summarised  
thus:—

1—That several of them were recently made  
victims of a capitalistic conspiracy, and con-  
victed of arson.

2—That by their "go-slow" policy they di-  
rectly oppose the interests of the Australian  
manufacturer, and of the Allies.

3—That they are gradually becoming a  
power in the Trades Unions, and in this capac-  
ity are a menace to men like himself.

4—That they believe in Unionism, and dis-  
believe in Craft Unionism.

The Unions—that is, the Craft Unions—says  
he, are strictly law abiding, patriotic, and du-  
tiful in their demeanor towards the powers  
that be. They distrust anarchy and lawless-  
ness. They believe in political action, AND  
IN A FAIR DAY'S WORK. Now, it will be seen  
by the foregoing that McStom is not alone in  
his conception of what the Labor movement  
really ought to be. In fact, he is in absolute  
agreement with such eminent authorities on  
labor economics as "The Argus," "Daily Tele-  
graph," and "Bulletin," as well as with Justice  
Pring, the Chamber of Commerce, and Pro-  
fessor Fitz-Boddeller, of the Senile Decay  
League.

Of course, we don't think so little of the  
Tramway lads as to imagine for a moment  
that he voices the sentiments of the members  
he represents; or that they will re-elect a man  
who chooses for certain considerations to al-  
low the capitalist press to inspire his publi-  
cations. For McStom represents a decadent age  
in working class organisation, and probably  
only holds his present position because things  
have lately been slack owing to the war. If he  
doesn't realise the truth of this statement now  
it will be forced upon him rather unpleasantly  
next time the Tramway Union wants a presi-  
dent.

But we take this opportunity of saying  
plainly to all those who howl the same absurd  
refrain as he does, that he and his co-thinkers  
must be aware that our views are not having  
justice done to them.

We DO believe in Law, and in Order, and  
in Political Action.

But if by "Law" they mean the statutes  
enacted by the influence of money and privi-  
lege, or dictated by the immediate interests of  
a personally corrupt and politically rotten gov-  
ernment—well, we DON'T believe in Law.

And if by "Order" they mean that a thou-  
sand men shall stand waiting on the pavement,  
until some vagary of the market shall let them  
earn their bread, well we DON'T believe in  
Order either.

And if political action means that a parli-  
ament composed of brewers, pawnbrokers, and  
urgers, is going to let the coal miners how  
much a week they deserve—if that is political  
action, well, we are glad that we disbelieve  
in that, most of all.

And about that Fair Day's Work, etc., we  
believe that, always did, always will.

That's why we always did, and always will  
believe in an Unfair Day's Work for an Un-  
fair Day's Wage.

But to return to McStomachache. He is still  
President of a Union of workmen. These  
workmen follow an occupation that exposes

them to all the heat and the dust and the  
rain that comes to Sydney town. Moreover,  
their jobs are calculated to rack men's nerves  
and tax their patience to the utmost. They  
work long hours; they work on Sundays;  
and they work on holidays. They are work-  
ing in the heat and dust when you and I, and  
other wage slaves are taking our wives or girls  
out for a day in the surf. In short, they have  
about as putrid a life as any set of wage-  
slaves in Sydney.

And what is their reward?—The reward  
gained for them by arbitration by their polit-  
ical aristocrats, by their "leaders" of the type  
of McCarthy, alias Mr. McStomachache?

Why, comrades, they are right down on the  
starvation line—ALL THE TIME.

They know that; so do we; so does every-  
body. Let their brave law-abiding, arbitration-  
trusting President publish their rate of wages in  
the "Daily Telegraph," the paper in which  
his article on respectability appeared. We say  
flatly that HE DARE NOT.

We know, and he knows, too, that the thing  
the married men among them consider all day  
is "How the blazes can I pay up when next  
pay day comes, and keep enough to last till  
the one after?"

So we say to men like McStom: "Sink into  
oblivion, brother, and do it at your earliest  
convenience. It's up to you."

And it IS up to them. Because social ideas  
gradually undergo changes under the stress of  
economic necessity, and this mad old world  
has a habit of coming to its sense in time to  
save itself from absolute catastrophe. The  
McStomachache type of misleader doesn't re-  
present labor much to-day, and will represent  
it increasingly less from now on. For which  
we may thank the I.W.W.—and whatever gods  
there be.

C.M.Z.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

You may say anything you wish against any  
member of the I.W.W.—you may prejudice  
their case, you may say that they are guilty  
of anything with which they are charged, or  
may hereafter be charged.

You must not draw public attention to the  
fact that the treason charges have been with-  
drawn.

You must not draw public attention to the  
fact that the Crown Law authorities refused to  
file a bill of prosecution in the Lockhart  
case.

You must not say that they may yet be  
proved innocent.

You may say that so far as Germany is  
concerned its whole history reveals the in-  
stincts of prey and aggression as the most  
perceptible law of its nature. The noble  
manner in which the cause of Turkey has  
been taken up by the Allies proves that  
England and France will not again suffer a  
bullying despot to destroy the nationality of  
an independent people.

But you must not quote any English paper  
to show that the same thing has been said  
about—

You may say that it is quite right for coal-  
owners to refuse to supply coal except on  
their own terms.

You must not say that it is quite right for  
coal miners to refuse to—

You may call a man (if he is an anti-con-  
scriptionist) a coward, skunk, liar, mongrel.

You must not say that a conscriptionist is  
an "Anti-Australian."

You may say this is a free country.

FRANK ANSTEY.

'Labor Call'

## THE NINETY AND NINE.

(By Rose Elizabeth Smith).

There are ninety and nine that work and die  
In want and hunger and cold,  
That one may revel in luxury

And be lapped in the silken fold!  
And ninety and nine in their hovels bare  
And one in a palace of riches rare.

From the sweat of their brow the desert  
blooms

And the forest before them falls;  
Their labor has builded humble homes  
And cities with lofty halls,  
And the one owns cities and houses and lands,  
And the ninety and nine have empty hands.

But the night so dreary and dark and long  
At last shall the morning bring,

And over the land the victor's song  
Of the ninety and nine shall ring  
And echo afar, from zone to zone,  
"Rejoice! for Labor shall have its own."

## IMPORTANT.

Correspondents sending all important  
communications, or monies, should regis-  
ter their letters. The use of sealing wax  
is recommended on ordinary occasions.

## For Their Class.

All hail, our martyred heroes,  
Ye men of lion heart;  
Ye men of the price of playing  
Emancipators' part.

Ye follow Progress's thorny track,  
The well-worn martyr's trail—  
The curb of Truth, Sincerity,  
Was ever yet The Goal.

What is your crime, what have ye done,  
To merit murderer's fate?  
"Why ask?" we say, "It is enough,  
We merit Masters' hate."

As tyrants base did ye essay,  
To aggravate men's sorrow?  
Of was it this, ye showed the way  
For better things to-morrow.

No selfish end inspired your deed,  
No motive base your aim;  
O freedom, while you frolic in chains,  
Comes nigh akin to shame.

Twelve working-men in fetters,  
For Working-Class ideals!  
Ah, everyone with worker's heart,  
Humiliation feels.

Yet chains can be High Honor's badge,  
And prison walls a palace;  
When brimming o'er with sacrifice,  
A pannikin a chalice.

O History shall less harshly judge,  
Less harshly, aye, more true,  
And garlanding her heroes,  
Delight to honor you.

As bursting beams of a clouded sun,  
Athwart a troubled sea,  
Give their eerie warning,  
Of the tempest soon to be.

The gleam of your golden sacrifice,  
Through iniquity's shadowing gloom,  
O'er Labor's restless ocean,  
Is herald of Capital's doom.

When the storm arisen from words ye spake,  
With the might of a tempest's waves,  
Will wreck our masters of tyrant make,  
On the rocks of the wrongs of slaves.

W. H. LEVEY.

## THEIR LIBERTY.

Oh, who can idly stand  
While human hearts demand  
Their liberty.

Humanity our only plea;  
Justice our only cry.  
We'll strive until we die  
For their liberty.

Their liberty to stand  
With all men hand in hand  
As man to man.

'Tis but their right we claim,  
Down with these laws of shame.  
Let this be our only aim—  
Their Liberty.

Our brothers must be free  
From jails and tyranny  
Ere peace abounds.

Help us their cause defend;  
Oh, who a hand will lend,  
And unto these extend  
Their Liberty.

ETHEL CUTHBERTON.

## WHY YOU SHOULD READ "DIRECT ACTION."

1. Because it prints the latest indus-  
trial news (both foreign and local).  
Critical articles dealing with all phases  
of Industrialism are a speciality.

2. D.A. prints cartoons and poems that  
no other paper in Australia publishes.

3. D.A. panders to no political party.  
Being non-political, it exposes political  
piffle.

4. D.A. has no space for sentimental  
stories, or racy gossip. It is out to de-  
liver the goods that is, the scientific  
knowledge.

5. The fact that D.A. has been more  
abused and persecuted than any other  
paper in Australia is sufficient testimony  
to the esteem in which it is held by pluto-  
crats. This is because plutocracy knows  
that D.A. knows and will let the workers  
know those things plutocracy does not  
wish them to know.



# The I. W. W. Cases in W. A. Among the Camps War, What For?

SOUTHERN LINE DEVIATION MEETINGS.

## CONSPIRACY CHARGES.

Eleven fellow-workers, among them the old Eureka warrior, Monty Miller, were recently, in Perth, charged with conspiring together "to carry into execution an enterprise having for its object to raise discontent and dissatisfaction amongst the subjects of our Lord, the King, to promote feelings of ill-will and enmity between different classes of the subjects of our said Lord, the King."

The hearing of the case lasted seven days, and resulted in eight fellow-workers—Sawtell, Miller, Anwert, Johnson, Horrocks, Lunn, Hanscombe and Goller being committed for trial to the Quarter Sessions. All were, however, allowed bail. The other three fellow-workers, O'Neill, Siddott, and Sarr, were discharged.

The I.W.W. organisation, its preamble and its methods were again apparently on trial, as the clever, defiant speeches—here reproduced from "The West Australian"—of Fellow-Workers Mick Sawtell and Monty Miller will indicate:—

## Sawtell's Speech.

Sawtell was the first man addressed by the Bench, and in reply, he said that now that the decision of the Court had been delivered, he desired to make a few observations. "I would not feel called upon," he said, "to say anything at this stage were it not for the fact that this is the first great working class case in the history of Western Australia. As you yourself have admitted, a good deal of the case revolved round the word 'sabotage.' You will understand that the word sabotage does not appear in any English dictionary, and consequently persons who are unacquainted with the Labour movement and terminology are likely to place a sinister construction upon it. Another word of which but little is known is 'anarchy.' I would like to make special reference to the word 'sabotage,' however. It means, as you have seen in our pamphlets, the conscious withdrawal of the workers' industrial efficiency. Labour is a commodity, and the employing class use sabotage to suit their ends. Remember the trusts and the rings! The employing class would restrict the output of sugar and put up the price of beef, and we workers are forced to organise our labour power to make it scarce so that the price of labour will increase. That is what I desire to call the attention of the public to, so that the erroneous impressions regarding the I.W.W. may be removed. Were the workers of the world, organised on the I.W.W. plan, there would be no such thing as a down tools' strike. Such a strike as the present coal strike is regarded by the I.W.W. as a craft union move. The I.W.W. never cause a hunger strike, because they know that the women and children are the greatest sufferers and there is misery all round. We would proceed in a different fashion. We would organise the workers on our lines—that is, sabotage. We would

GET THE MEN TO GO LOW, and the output of coal would be less, making supplies less, and the workers' object would be soon achieved. It was stated that they were endeavoring to stir up discontent. The I.W.W. did not cause discontent. There was sufficient discontent consequent upon the high cost of living, which, during the last three years had gone up 30 per cent.

## THE I.W.W. DESIRE TO RECTIFY THE POSITION BY EDUCATION.

These are our three objects—education, organisation and emancipation. Education in the laws of life make for enterprise and happiness. I do not think that even counsel for the prosecution would deny that fact. We intelligent and revolutionary workers are doing much to relieve the economic discontent today. Another word—revolution—has occurred often in the case. By revolution we do not mean bloodshed. We workers have seen enough of that business in the French Revolution and in the Commune. We want a revolution of thought, consequent upon the better education of the workers to-day. Mr. Walker has anticipated me in one argument.

## IF OUR DOCTRINES ARE WRONG, WHY NOT COME INTO THE OPEN AND REFUTE THEM?

At every meeting we have had there has been the utmost publicity. We have asked for debate and questions. Our objects have never meant violence or personal animosity against any particular capitalists. I and some of my fellow-workers have intimate friends in the capitalistic class, but that does not mean that we intend to differentiate in the present conflict with their class. We realise the conflict between our interests and theirs, and if the I.W.W. is guilty of conspiracy, then the Employers' Federation is equally guilty of the same offence."

## Miller's Address.

In reply to the formal intimation from the

Bench, the accused Miller made an emotional speech, in which he said that no man desired more than he to vindicate the position in which he stood that day. "I am no party," he continued, "to quibbles or follies. I say it with pride, with no loss of personal dignity, and with no sense of loss of self-respect, or of any feeling derogatory to myself—

I AM A MEMBER OF THE I.W.W. If I am not a member by right of payment of subscription, I am a member in heart, in brain, and in power of spirit in righting, during the short span of life left to me, after long years of suffering born in toil and hardship, wrongs which exist. I feel elated here to stand or fall by the side of such comrades as these."

Miller accompanied his expression of elation with a resounding pat on Sawtell's back, and proceeding with feeling, said: "I would sacrifice the little character and reputation I have gained through my long life of over three-quarters of a century for such a cause. In my long life I have known the hardships, the adversity and the struggles of the present system, with sometimes only a thin tissue paper between me and the lives of those I love for want of bread in times of poverty and want of employment. I would go through that misery ten times over rather than shrink from the position I am placed in to-day, when I know that the noble principles we hold dear have only been maintained by the sacrifice of other's liberty. I would be a traitor to those who paid that price in the past if I did not stand for that now, and through the remaining little space left for me in life. I shall repeat what I say here in the Higher Court, as well as everywhere else. I

## DO NOT WISH TO SHIRK

the slightest responsibility attaching to being a member of the I.W.W. As for the learned counsel for the prosecution, I am quite well aware that I could have secured his services before the Crown had I been able to place a few more sovereigns on his brief than the Crown, in which case he would have pleaded my cause as earnestly as he has urged it against me in this Court. He has tried to prove that I am a member of the I.W.W.

I GIVE HIM THAT INFORMATION FREELY—I AM A MEMBER.

He must, with his trained and educated mind, however, know that a nadmission of one fact of an entirely different character to another, does not necessarily prove the existence of that other fact. Membership of the I.W.W. does not go to prove that I am guilty of conspiracy of any type. I have never conspired. That is secret; it is mean; it is detestable. I and my colleagues have taken the open path before the whole world.

WE WANT EVERYTHING TO BE KNOWN, we want the people to know what manner of men we are, and what trend of thought we hold. If this could be done, and if the world understood, instead of misunderstanding our aim, we would not be here to-day. Personally, I do hope that there will be no counsel at the Higher Court. These gentlemen are trained in the point of view of the law. I know nothing—less than nothing, if that be possible, of the law, but I do know, as one of the founders of I.W.W.-ism in Australia, as one of the members of the first I.W.W. Club formed in Chicago to secure a charter in which respect we were unsuccessful, and as one of the foundation members of the I.W.W. in this State, what is objects are. I do not wish to absolve myself of any complicity whatever in the foundation and institution of the I.W.W. I say again with pride that

I ESTEEM IT THE HIGHEST HONOR AS AN OLD BATTLER IN THE CAUSE OF LABOUR,

to be permitted an opportunity to advocate on the platform, and as a writer for our little paper, the principles we hold, and to stress in public our object of improving the position of the working class."

It is reported that while the old man—the 85 years old working class warrior, Monty Miller—was speaking, his comrades in the dock several times broke into applause.

The man who can look back and connect two remarkable events in Australian history by 62 years of agitation deserves a cheer!

The man who can clasp Eureka of 1854 in one hand, and the conspiracy charges of 1916 in the other, is worth a cheer!

He does not deserve "the cell," and with a live working class he will not get it!

Sawtell, one of the I.W.W. accused, is no slouch as a cross-examiner. His merciless inquisition of a burly "demon" whose acquaintance with literature is limited to the sporting columns, would have made a hyena laugh.

—W.A. paper.

## WANTED

A file of Volume I. of "Direct Action" is wanted at this office. Forward price of same.

Fellow-Workers Farrall and Rudolph, of Sydney Local, assisted by Comrade Webster, of Alpine Camp, held large successful meetings at the "Five Mile Camp," "Seven Mile," and the "Eleven Mile" on Sunday, December 10th.

All the men in these camps gave attentive hearings on the position of the Industrial Workers of the World, in reference to its members who are now lying in jail under sentence.

The following resolution was carried without dissent, viz:—

"That we, the workers of these camps, emphatically protest against the imprisonment of the twelve members of the working class, on trumped up charges of conspiracy and arson; we demand the immediate release of these men."

Further, we pledge ourselves to support these men financially and morally in their fight for justice and the rights of the workers."

There was a remarkable spirit of solidarity amongst the navvies of the Southern line, and at every meeting there was marked enthusiasm, and the hope is more than just a "glimmer"—in fact we see the "light" that little Billy Hughes was chasing.

Fellow-Workers Farrall and Rudolph wish to thank each one of those in the camps for their great hospitality, and untiring energy, that made the tour such an unexpected success.

Yours in the fight for freedom,

RUDOLPH.

## "DIRECT ACTION" WINS OUT.

Workers in the coal mining industry have at last been given the privilege of working eight hours a day. For many years these workers have been celebrating Eight Hour Days, and for seven years they have waited patiently for the Arbitration Court to come along with the concession of an eight hour day in the coal industry. The "go slow" methods of the Arbitration Court occasioned no surprise to those who understood the purpose and the make-up of the Court, but the majority of the miners, being good Labor Party men and strict constitutionalists, persevered with the Labor Party's scheme, and patiently awaited the desired result. It never came through the Arbitration Court, and the odds are that if they had waited another century the eight hour bank-to-bank day would not have materialised through that channel. The miners, or perhaps only a majority of them, are slow thinkers, but they do wake up, their brain fabrics do at last become ripe to receive the imprint of experience: that is more than can be said of the workers in many other industries, where they are still being duped by the craft union pseudo-politician and his arbitration net. We have said that the coal workers "won out" by Direct Action, and when we of the Industrial Workers of the World speak of Direct Action we mean intelligent Direct Action—not the stupidities called Direct Action by people who either don't know any better or are "out" to misrepresent—that is, concerted determined action by the workers or industrial section of the workers, to attain a definite purpose. The industrial strike is the form advocated by the I.W.W., and the recent coal struggle was the first on these lines yet attempted in Australia. Never before have the coal miners and wheelers, etc., of the entire continent "walked out" and folded their arm simultaneously. To "tie up" an industry throughout a continent is a big task, and would have been impossible a few years back, and those responsible for organising this "vacation" are to be congratulated upon the success; the fact that this was possible shows that an appreciable advance has been made in the psychological "make-up" of the coal workers. We are not pretending that the arrangements made for the carrying out of the strike for perfection can only be neatly reached through experience. The industrial strike has been "tried out," and it "got the goods." The next move is to build up industrial unions: the captains of industry live in terror of the day when the workers shall come to such a decision; they know the power that can then be wielded against them. It only remains for the working class to realise their power and necessity, and when they do so, they will have taken the first step towards reaching out and making the world their own.

A. MACK.

## SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

For

## "DIRECT ACTION."

Enclosed please find P.O. for 4/ for which please send "Direct Action" for one year to the following address:—

Name .....

Address .....

FILL IT IN NOW!

War! Just pause a moment, ye patriots, before you shout with excitement, before your brain whirls with patriotic fervor. Yes, pause! and look at the war from every aspect which it creates. The call to arms has gone forth—men flock to the colors. War is on, grim, horrible, bloodthirsty, but, above all, useless war. War which pits one set of human beings against another set of human beings. Lives are shattered, morals crushed, reason flung to the winds. The nation which possesses the stronger armies, the heavy artillery or the best officers will triumph. Triumph! At the cost of innumerable lives and stupendous sums of money. The chief and heavier burdens of war falls on the bottom dog—the working class. It is the tollers who make munitions, the tollers who, in overwhelming numbers in comparison to the opposite class fight on the fields of carnage; it is the tollers who pay the supreme cost of the war! Who are the tollers? Why, the poorer class who toll in factories from early morn till dewy eve to satisfy the inhuman demands of war. The richer folk can afford to pay what little levy they are called on to make; some of the top dogs make sacrifices, but on the average the worker is the person who does it all. The rich folk cannot be blamed. It is only human nature for them to pass their time in pleasure and luxury when it is within their means to possess or indulge in them. The worker has no such means whereby he can indulge in the best things of life, so he is forced to sell his labor power to the richer folk who pay him, of course, as little as they can. There is not enough work for all the tollers, so competition for employment springs up. The employee as a rule receives just enough money to buy the food to go to work. But when war comes he is still more jeopardised, and so goes to the slaughter. After the war, one side may gain the victory, but all warring nations have been drained of their best resources in the process of war and so the workers, as a matter of course, go back to the factories. No gain is made by the workers. The workers of both nations are in an awful plight, as a result of the slaughter. After a few years the conditions under which they formerly lived again prevail. They toil on, until another situation of commercial supremacy arrives, and perhaps they will go to the war united with their former foes. War will fetch no good whatever to the working masses. It is a good remover, it removes lives and material from a country and leaves hunger, poverty and dirt. War is the enemy of the workers of every nation. The only fight they should take part in is a fight for their rights!

"Not the right to work," but more of the things their works creates—with leisure to enjoy them. That is what the intelligent workers should demand."—Lefargue.

SEJAM.

## POLITICS AND CRIME.

The practice of announcing the political views of SOME persons charged with criminal offences has apparently become the custom with the daily press, at least so far as alleged members of the I.W.W. are concerned. But what we do not see is the political predilections of the large army of debarred solicitors, wife poisoners, embezzlers, murderers, incendiaries, bigamists and divorcees who daily figure in our courts.

Why should alleged members of the I.W.W. be marked out for special mention? We did not see any reference to the political or industrial views of the Waverley Aldermen who are at present the subject of so much press comment nor do we know the politics of 999 out of every thousand persons charged with grave offences.

What inference is to be drawn from the silence in the case of the 999? Are we to assume that they are members of the Employers' Federation, or the Pastoralists' Association?

We hardly think so; but the public will at least conclude that they are not associated with the I.W.W. or the fact would have been proclaimed from the columns of every news sheet in Australia.

## I.W.W.-ISM AND CRIME ARE NOT ALLIES.

That was clearly shown in the famous case tried the other day, when out of twelve men convicted of conspiracy, only one had ever before been charged with any offence.

And yet those men, simply because they were workers and members of the I.W.W. received heavier punishment than is inflicted on the average criminal with a long record of crime against his name.

If there is any justice and humanity left in the community our fellow-workers should be at once liberated pending the investigation of the whole case by an impartial Royal Commission.

C.R.



## Defence Agitation.

### SYMPATHY IN BRISBANE.

At Sunday's meeting of the Water and Sewerage Section of the A.W.U., the following resolutions were carried:

"That this Water and Sewerage Section of the A.W.U. records an emphatic protest against the unduly harsh sentence imposed upon the members of the I.W.W. in Sydney."

"The above resolution to be forwarded to the Branch Executive of the A.W.U., asking them to make every effort to secure a mitigation of the sentence with the co-operation of all members."

"Queensland Worker."

### I.W.W. SENTENCES

At a largely attended public meeting under the auspices of the Socialist party, held in the Guild Hall on Sunday night, the following resolution was moved by Mr. J. Swiebes, seconded by Cr. J. L. Cavanagh (the latter a delegate from Adelaide to the Inter-State Labor Conference), and carried:

"That this meeting protests against the harsh sentences upon members of the Sydney I.W.W., as showing class bias and as excessive and vindictive; and, in stressing the fact that, in the severer counts, the evidence against the accused was merely circumstantial; and it is, therefore, urged that the organisations of Labor conduct an agitation to have justice done."

"Labor Call."

The postponed meeting of the City Section A.W.U., Railway Workers' Branch, was held in Room 34, Trades Hall, City, at 8 p.m., on Thursday, 7th December. Tom Stewart presided.

The following resolutions were carried without dissent:

"That this meeting emphatically protests against the severe and extreme sentences passed upon members of the I.W.W., recently tried, and that we render all assistance possible to help to secure the release of these men."

"That this meeting also emphatically protests against the carrying out of the death sentence passed upon the accused in the Tottenham shooting case; and that a copy of both the foregoing resolutions be sent to the daily press."

"Australian Worker."

The Victorian branch of the Builders' Labourers' Federation decided to give financial assistance to the I.W.W., and also agreed to ask representatives of the I.W.W. to address a meeting of the members to explain the objects of the organisation. The Melbourne branch of the Implement Workers' Union agreed to a motion: "That, in the opinion of the branch, there should be another trial before a new jury of the men convicted, and that this union grant the I.W.W. moral and financial help."

The following resolution was carried at a meeting of the Anti-Conscription League, held in the Trades Hall, Wednesday night, 13th December: "That the Anti-Conscription League deprecates violent methods in every form, and emphatically protests against the illegal procedure resulting in the outrageous sentences imposed upon the I.W.W. members, due in a great measure to the attacks upon the accused by conscriptionists, politicians, and newspapers prior to their trial."

The following resolution was carried at a general meeting of the Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union of Australia, held in the Trades Hall, Sydney, on Tuesday, the 12th December, 1916: "That this Union enters its emphatic protest against the savage sentences inflicted upon members of the I.W.W., and demands their release."

The N.S.W. branch of the Federated Ironworkers of Australia, at its annual summons meeting on Wednesday night, 13th December, carried the following resolutions:

"That the branch protests against the harsh and unjust sentences meted out to the twelve members of the I.W.W. by a biased-minded Judge, and demands that the men be released immediately."

"That a protest be entered against the penal clause of the War Precautions Act, which clause virtually Prussianises the Press, saps the voice of Democracy, and stifles legitimate comment and criticism on questions of national policy and progress."

"That an emphatic protest be entered against the Federal and State Governments, and also various Employers' Federations, for their introduction of sabotage upon the working class, by throwing so many out of employment, including married men with large families, and so trying to introduce systematic conscription by starvation."

### FOR JUSTICE.

As the truth about the conspiracy trials slowly trickles through Australia, resolutions

of protest and demands for justice spring from the union bodies. We are printing several of these resolutions to show the spirit that is now permeating the working class movements.

"At a well attended meeting in the Trades Hall, Brisbane, a committee was formed for the purpose of developing the agitation for the release of the I.W.W. men convicted on the conspiracy charges."

It was agreed to approach the various unions with a view of obtaining representation and support from each body."

"Daily Standard."

"The Queensland Industrial Council, which represents the Q.R.U., A.W.U., A.M.I.E.U., Waterworks Workers, Moulders, Plumbers, Carters, Carpenters and Joiners, Shop Assistants, Clothing Trade, and F.E.D. and F. Association, have decided to send two delegates to represent the Council at the I.W.W. Release Committee."

"Mr. Wallace, supporting the motion to send the delegates to the committee, said he held no brief for the I.W.W., but the fact remains that the men had not had a fair trial, since they were tried by class enemies of the workers, prejudiced by the press and by the denunciations of Hughes, Holman, etc."

Mr. Colborne also supported the motion, and he expressed the opinion that the men were the victims of capitalistic bitterness, and were sentenced before entering the court."

"Daily Standard."

### OTHERS' VIEWS.

Years ago, when the Labor movement in Australia was not so infernally respectable, didn't wear so much paunch, and had more punch than it now has, its members were accused of having committed every crime in the calendar just as the I.W.W. men are charged to-day. The only actual difference that exists between the I.W.W. of to-day and the Labor movement of 20 years ago is that the former does not believe that the political machine is of any value or can be used to effect the revolution that must take place in our industrial system or the person who works receives the full result of his or her labor. In that contention, and notwithstanding the ever-increasing horde of political rats that the Labor movement has produced and will continue to produce, we disagree; otherwise with the objective of that much maligned organisation we are in full accord. . . . We hold no brief for the I.W.W. men who advocate the employment of barbaric methods in the hope of overthrowing the capitalist system, but we conscientiously believe they are gentlemen compared with those who take and make every opportunity to exploit the people.—Townsville "Federal."

"The recent sensational trial and conviction of many of the exponents of I.W.W.-ism in Sydney and elsewhere has caused the force field of publicity to beat upon this much-misunderstood, slandered and persecuted organisation."

Playing ruthlessly upon the credulity, hysteria and ignorance of the general public of Australia, in regard to the popular misconception of the I.W.W., Hughes abandoned every principle of fairness and truth in order to use the terrible bogey of the I.W.W. to further his own base conscription ends.

"Owing to the outrageous tactics of Hughes, ably seconded by the shrieking Tory press of Australia, these unfortunate victims of Yankee police methods were condemned as criminals before they were tried."

"It has been a sorry spectacle of the application of so-called British justice, and the whole smelly circumstances surrounding the trial and conviction of the I.W.W. members demands, AND WILL OBTAIN, FROM THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA, a searching and pitiless review."

"Brisbane Daily Standard."

At an anti-conscription celebration at Gympie last Saturday, Mr. Jim Quinton (Ipswich) proposed the toast of "The Boys Behind the Bars." He spoke as one who had served in gaol both in Queensland and New South Wales, for expressing his convictions. In the British Isles boys were being put behind the bars to-day for standing up for their convictions. His experience of the police of New South Wales convinced him that the so-called I.W.W. fires had not been caused by the men recently convicted, but by the paid agents of the ruling class. W. M. Hughes had burnt his own effigy by abusing the I.W.W. He (the speaker) was not a member of the I.W.W., because he was a Socialist, who believed in political and industrial action. Nevertheless, the convicted I.W.W. members were men, and they had his sympathy in their present plight.

"Daily Standard."

Our inequality materialises our upper class, vulgarises our middle class, brutalises our lower class.—Matthew Arnold.

There is only ONE working class, logically there should be only ONE union, That is the I.W.W.

## Exit Arbitration.

"Is it to be proved once again that the resources of arbitration for settling disputes are bankrupt, and that labor, where it can, will enforce concession by compulsion."

—S. M. Hérard."

This wall is inspired by the recent action of the coal miners, and by the more recent defiance of the coal lumpers at Mortlake gasworks that unless their desire be granted, they would come out on strike.

The one promising feature about modern labor in Australia is the decaying reverence among the rank and file towards the Arbitration Court, and the growth of the Direct Action psychology.

Labor never had, NEVER WILL HAVE, anything to arbitrate about with the masters. We wonder how sane workers ever could be entangled in such a net.

Arbitration Courts, anyway, from their very structure, being arranged and manned by the agents of "fat," could not be expected to decide disputes in favor of the workers.

No worker ever went into an Arbitration Court but he came out degraded, and no group of workers ever submitted a case to the court but came away defeated.

Economic events move so fast to-day that a Union "tied up" under the usual three years' agreement, suffers heavy loss through the last two and a half years of that agreement.

The workers of this continent have had the scales rudely peeled from their eyes of late; they are commencing to see through the various schemes and tricks of capitalism, and labor is growing tired.

Of course, the capitalist papers regret that declining influence of the Arbitration Court, solely because of the public convenience.

Whenever any dispute arises between employers and employees the papers "put" the case for the public; they never bother about the case for the workers directly interested or that for the employers.

Apparently, they are not troubled whether the workers get small wages or none at all, and most decidedly they are not concerned whether the profits are big or whether there are none at all.

Their sole worry is the public; THEY must not be inconvenienced on any pretext whatever!

Now, we know the one thought uppermost in "plute's" mind is "dividends," and we suspect he deplores the passing of the Arbitration Court purely because it has been a good friend to him in the past.

He views with horror the advance of the working class from arbitration method of begging for what they want to the more scientific method of taking what they want by scientific Direct Action.

Arbitration always was, and always must be in the interests of the masters, and that's the only reason they regret to see it disappear.

A.M.

### THE CASE OF GRANT.

One of the I.W.W. prisoners is named Donald Grant. I am deeply interested in his case.

He got fifteen years for saying fifteen words. That is a record for Australia. I don't believe it can be beaten in any part of the world.

On April the second of this year Donald Grant remarked, in the presence of a policeman: "For every day Barker is in jail it will cost the capitalists ten thousand pounds."

It was in the Sydney Domain, and as the people are in the habit of making remarks about that spot the policemen didn't get greatly excited about it.

BUT SEVEN MONTHS AFTERWARDS it occurred to a Judge and jury that this observation, thrown off at an open-air meeting, with the Law listening, and the public shouting hurrah, was saturated with criminality.

Three separate and distinct crimes were discovered to be embodied in those fifteen words; and the Judge, protesting it was the dearest wish of his heart to be merciful, imposed a sentence of fifteen years with hard labor, which works out, you will find, at exactly ONE YEAR FOR EVERY WORD.

If that is Judge Fring's idea of mercifulness, heaven keep me out of his clutches. If that is a sample of what is known as "British justice," God help us all.

I have no idea of what Grant meant when he said, "For every day Barker is in jail it will cost the capitalists ten thousand pounds."

Perhaps he had no idea himself. Let any man get up on the stump in the Sydney Domain, and if he's worth his salt he will start saying all sorts of things he couldn't explain afterwards.

Probably Grant intended to intimate his belief that the working class would be so incensed at Barker's unjust incarceration that there'd be industrial trouble over it, which wouldn't be to the benefit of those by whom the working class is exploited.

I don't know, and I don't much care.

But only a jury as stupid as it was vindictive could possibly have found that those words proved that the person who used them was guilty of a three-fold crime—

- (1) Conspiring to burn down buildings;
- (2) Conspiring to obtain the release of Barker by unlawful means;
- (3) Conspiring to excite sedition amongst his Majesty's subjects.

And only a Judge as insolent as he was bitterly biased could have handed out fifteen years for that; and pretended he was dealing lightly with the prisoner at the bar.

Nothing else was alleged against Grant by the prosecution, but the Domain statement here recorded. No evidence was tendered to show that he conspired with any person, at any time, for any purpose whatsoever.

It was not shown that he was seen under suspicious circumstances in company with any of the other accused, with whom he is supposed to have acted in conspiracy.

No serious attempt was made to connect him with any fire, or to link him up with inflammable cotton waste, or anything of that sort.

It was even admitted that at Broken Hill, during a period of great industrial excitement he had counselled the crowd to be calm, and abstain from violence.

But there is the verdict, all the same. And there is the sentence.

It is one of the most ghastly atrocities that the Law has ever been guilty of, and that is saying something.

I feel dizzy with amazement when I think of it. It turns me hot and cold with indignation.

Grant is a young man. He is able, eloquent, earnest, fearless, devoted to the service of the class to which he belongs.

It is horrible to think that fifteen years of his valuable life should be wasted in jail, while that brainless and brutal jury goes about pluming itself on what it has done, and that class-biased and bitter Judge sits in the seat of Justice with loaded scales.

H.E.B., in the "Worker."

### DEFENCE FUND.

#### WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 13th.

Balance previous Defence Fund, £8 16s 6d. Collection, Bathurst St., £3 3s 7d; collection Balmain, 3s 11d; donation, Bookbinders' Union, Melbourne, £2; Shearers' Strike Committee, £20; Sympathisers, £1; donation, McDermott, £2 8s; Sympathiser, £1; J. Morris, 10s; W. Alma 2s 6d; per G. Dunn, Five Mile Camp, £1 0s 6d; F. Winsor, Five Mile Camp, 16s; per J. Dillon, Seven Mile Camp, £1 4s; Carpenters and Joiners, Broken Hill, £2 2s; Clerks' Union, Melbourne, £5; Donation, Lawrence, 1s; J. Wynne, 6s; G. Wills, 1s.

Total, £49 17s 0d.

J. R. WILSON.

Sec. Defence and Release Committee.

### CORRECTIONS.

T. Smith should read F. Smith.  
Shearers and Shed Hands, Mangandine, per L. Borden, should read Shearers and Shed Hands, Urundangi, per Spencer Barden, £5 15s 6d; Amal. Society Engineers should read £2; A. S. Graham, per P. J. E., should read A. S. Graham, per J.C. 5s; H. J. Smith should read H. J. Smyth, 2s; Pedler Wells should read Dealer Wells 1s; W. Obeson should read W. Olsen 2s 6d. W. W. Murphy should read G. Walma should read W. Alma.

### CRIMINALS

W. B. Barnett, General Secretary of Broken Hill A.M.A., has been sent to gaol for three months for publishing in "Barrier Daily Truth," some months ago, an article which, in the opinion of the authorities, contained something likely to be prejudicial to recruiting.

This is another instance which gives added proof that a systematic smash is being aimed at the organised labor movement throughout Australasia. Seven A.M.A. and I.W.W. men are now "doing time" in the "Hill," and twenty-one others are doing likewise in other parts of the Commonwealth and New Zealand, for voicing the claims of Unionism and the working class.

### ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

F.S.S.—Held over.  
F.A.G.—I wonder why the pencil?  
Reliot.—Unsuitable.  
Pete.—Unsuitable.  
Darius.—Held over.

### EDITORIAL.

The Editor of this paper is now A. Mack, who edited also Nos. 99 and 100.

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