

# One Big Union For the International Working Class



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ONE PENNY

## Power of Capitalism

(By A. E. Brown.)

No one can deny that capitalism has had a good innings. For the last hundred years or so, it has had a free course to run and be glorified, with none to say it nay. The efforts of craft unionism to build a bulwark around the interests of the workers have been trifling and nugatory.

The master-class has been enabled to subvert the press, the pulpit, the universities, and school houses, the senate, and too often, by means of bought union leaders, the craft union movement itself.

Capitalism is thus enabled, at the present day, to wield a tremendous weapon for the subjugation of the workers. Not only are "captains of industry" the "masters of bread," but they are also, through their subverted agencies, the controllers of popular sentiment. No book can enter a school-house; no film can be screened in a picture-hall; no play can be produced on any stage, that has not first passed under the censorship of some representative of the masters' interests.

Thousands of magazines, prints, newspapers, and religious and secular, are poured forth in never-ending succession, with the sole object in view of ensuring the preservation and perpetuation of the One Big Union of the master-class.

In the realm of art, the musician must compose capitalist music; the artist must paint capitalist pictures; the litterateur must present every subject from the capitalistic viewpoint.

Powerful as this mass of popular sentiment, created by the master-class in favor of their "right" to extract Surplus Value, would seem, it would be, however, entirely futile but for the working-class among themselves.

Just as, in a prison, a few warders can keep a thousand men in subjection by breaking them up into groups, so, on the industrial field, the great bulwark of Capitalism is this division of the workers. Proletarians never seem to take in the meaning of that old adage: "United we stand, divided we fall." Marx realized this very clearly when he sent his famous cry flashing down the centuries: "Workers of all countries, UNITE!" to lose, you have nothing but your chains; to gain, you have a world."

While the master-class are single-

"We are not divided, we are united," today we, the workers, are dominated by the curse of Sectionalism. Craft union piled against craft union; wrangling with each other for the right to do certain kinds of work; one section "scabbing" on another; and each scabbing on the working class as a whole.

It is interesting to note the outcome of the efforts of the master-class in mentally subjugating the workers. The worker does not believe that "right is right." He believes in "right" and "wrong." He believes in "wages" and "shortage of values." The master-class believes in "profits" and "surplus value." The worker does not know that the capitalist system would fall like a house of cards before a united working class intent on getting the full product of its toil. He wonders that workers are exploited and robbed? One grand asset the workers have, or should have, is his children. Even so, however, the worker cannot refrain from his favorite practice of



CRAFT UNION METHOD

"scabbing." The child must be bullied and bludgeoned; any independence of thought or spirit must be speedily crushed out; he must be taught to be "honest" and "industrious," and "obedient" in order that, at the earliest possible age, he may be sent into mine or mill or workshop to produce Surplus Value for the master-class. This studied coercion of childhood is enough to make one's blood boil. But the worker is too busy putting his few bob on "Peter the Painter" or some other equine contraption, what time he drifts sweetly on to chattel-slavery.

It may be claimed, in reviewing the growth and power of Capitalism, that that growth is due to the energy and initiative of individual capitalists. It must be remembered that in every thing they have had the willing co-operation and assistance of the working class. Nothing has been done in which the latter have not participated.

An interesting query arises: How long can the capitalist system perpetuate itself? We have seen that the master-class is solid; neither is there any factor in the present-day labor movement that can shake that solidity. There is, however, a little cloud in the sky, no bigger at present than a man's hand, which promises to disturb the serenity of capitalism's old age. That is the coming of Industrial Unionism, with the overthrowing of the present wage-slave ideals; and the building up of the One Big Union of the working class.

The capitalist is, of course, using every endeavour, by prohibiting freedom of speech and many other coercive means, to crush this movement in its birth. Whether it will succeed or not cannot yet be predicted.

One thing, however, is clear: With One Big Union of the working class opposing One Big Union of the master class, lively doings may confidently be anticipated, and a clear and definite outcome expected. Then will be the day of the shaking of thrones, principalities and powers, and the opening of many prison doors. We may yet see the boss dealt with all his parasites on the wrong ends of several picks and shovels. To this end, Workers of all countries, Unite and speed the Day!

- ADDRESSES OF I.W.W. LOCALS.**
- Adelaide Local No. 7.—Secretary Treasurer, S. G. Drummond, 43 Charles-street, Uley, Adelaide, S.A.
  - Sydney Local No. 2.—Secretary Treasurer, F. Glynn, 320 Castlereagh-street, Sydney, N.S.W.
  - Broken Hill Local No. 3.—Secretary Treasurer, E. J. Kiely, Palace Building, Balphide-street, Broken Hill, N.S.W.
  - Fremantle Local No. 5.—Secretary Treasurer, C. T. Reeve, 13 South-street, Fremantle, W.A.
  - Boulder Local No. 4.—Secretary Treasurer, P. H. Lunn, Lane-street, Boulder, W.A.
  - Brisbane Local No. 7.—Secretary Treasurer, G. E. Beahm, Redfern-street, West Gabbra, Brisbane, Q.
  - Melbourne Local No. 8.—Secretary Treasurer, R. Power, 243 William-street, Melbourne, V.
  - Tottenham Local No. 9.—Secretary Treasurer, A. S. Graham, Unmag-street, Tottenham, N.S.W.

Every copy of "Direct Action" sold is a kick at the boss. Get subs.

## How Joe Hill Died.

The following is taken from a "Trieco paper"—Salt Lake City, Utah, Nov. 19.—Showing his contempt of the law by a last attack on its constituted representatives, Joe Hillstrom, Industrial Worker of the World, went to his death before the State firing squad in the yard of the State prison at 7.42 a.m. to-day.

In some unknown way he had concealed a broomhandle in his cell. When the door was opened he leaped at his guards, swinging the club over their heads fiercely and severely cutting one on the scalp and face. But guards overpowered him in the twinkling of an eye.

Nervous, but Unwavering. Until he came out of his cell, he had shown no signs of resting. He had been nervous, but unwavering, in the cold calmness that had marked him for months. Guards were taken by surprise.

"I'll die fighting," he screamed, "not like a coward." As he continued to struggle, powerful guards pinned his arms to his sides. They urged him to be quiet and take his medicine like a man. When further resistance was useless, he settled suddenly into an apathetic calm.

"Now I can die with a clear conscience," he said.

Dies Unflinchingly. The march of the firing squad then commenced. Warden Pratt and a deputy led. Two physicians followed. Then came Hillstrom between two deputy sheriffs.

He walked to the death chair with a swinging stride. When he came opposite the door of the prison blacksmith shop, behind which were stationed the five riflemen, Hillstrom passed the thirty-three witnesses in their places. He tried to remove the blindfold, but was prevented by the straps which had been drawn around his arms and waist.

In the Death Chair. He was led to the big congress chair, about twenty paces distant from the five holes in the door of the blacksmith shop, from which the glistening bullets of the rifles protruded.

Guards quickly shoved him into the death chair and buckled more straps about his legs and arms, rendering him helpless.

He straightened up and moistened his lips with his tongue. Physicians tested the heart. It was pumping hard. They pinned the white target above his heart and the white mark stood out boldly against his black prison shirt.

Sheriff Corless shouted, "Aim!" The five rifles steadied from the portholes.

"Fire! Let 'er go!" shrieked Hillstrom, mockingly. He was plainly grinning—a hideous death grin. It seemed to witness.

"Fire!" commanded Corless. Five rifles spoke. Hillstrom's body sagged down in the chair, and then straightened out stiffly as the head settled down on his shoulders.

Physicians stepped quickly to Hillstrom's side. They applied the stoppage. In one minute 12 3/6 seconds they raised their hands. "He is dead," they said solemnly.

## Child Labor In England

"London Engineering" of November 6th last, says: The annual meeting of the half-time council of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, was held on Saturday, October 31st, at the Grosvenor Hotel, Manchester. Mr. Bond (Chorley), Manchester, had failed to redeem another pledge to the conference in 1910 at the Berlin Conference in 1909 by Lord Salisbury and Sir John Gorst, who then said, "We can pledge ourselves for Great Britain that our government, faithful to its actions in the past, will conform resolutely in the future (if it does not go beyond them) to the benevolent principles of the conference." This pledge was to raise the age for child workers to 13 years. Germany kept faith and raised the age to 14 years; Great Britain kept the age to 11 years until 1909, then only raised it to 12 years, at which it was still kept in spite of public remonstrances.



DIRECT ACTION Melbourne News. Conscription. Propaganda News



WEEKLY OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. (Australasian Administration). Office:—330 Castlereagh St., Sydney, Australia.

Editor: Tom Glynn. Manager: Tom Barker. Subscriptions: 4/ per year; New Zealand, 6/ per year; Foreign, 8/ per year.

HEADQUARTERS, I.W.W. (Australia) 330 CASTLERAUGH ST., SYDNEY.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS: 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, U.S.A.

The local here is making good headway, considering the trouble one is up against who dares to hold meetings other than for the recruiting of slaves for the European war. Notwithstanding the barriers built by the authorities, the I.W.W. speakers are sticking to their work, and numbers are being enrolled. Prosecutions under the War Precautions Act still continue, and J. Scurie, a lover of liberty and freedom, has been sentenced to three months' hard labor for making statements "prejudicial to recruiting."

Another charge brought against him, that his statements were liable to cause "dissatisfaction" to the King" was withdrawn. Under the regime of Billy Hughes, Labor is indeed coming into its own. One writer wrote that William Morris Hughes, that his political career was so crooked that if he were to hide behind a corkscrew Jesus Christ himself could not find him. There is no doubt about it. Under the New Year the local will on a Friday night, start on an study of the first volume of Marx, when all workers are asked to come along to the rooms. Mr. Ted Turner, recognized as one of the best Marxists in Australia, will conduct the class.

There are strikes and rumors of strikes in Melbourne. The Trades Hall Council is in revolt against conscription, and last week a meeting of opinion condemning the Labor Government for its action towards that end. They are beginning to see the light.

ROLAND FARRALL

STICKERS.

The Press Committee have plenty of I.W.W. stickers on hand. They are in large type, smart, and to the point. Each sticker has an imprint on it, which is identical with the boss's law. We are sending along 1,000 to any address in Australia for 2/9, 5/90 for 12/, and 10,000 for £17/2/6. Please send cash with order. Orders will be sent to New Zealand, provided 4d extra is enclosed per thousand for advalorem postage. Address: Manager, Box 38, Haymarket, N.S.W.

ADELAIDE READERS

Can obtain copies of "Direct Action" and Industrialist Literature from Charlie Russell, bootmaker, Gibson-street, Bowden, Adelaide, S.A.

And, above all, it has built up a press of its own, and enrolled members so rapidly that in every camp in Australia where leaders slave for a master there will be found day robbers carrying on the revolutionary work and hastening the coming of the One Big Union of labor.

Time is on our side; the class war is becoming more intensified; the chasm between the two classes is daily growing wider, and the need is becoming more apparent of an organization that is not merely content with the theory of the class struggle as a subject to philosophise upon, but the co-operative Commonwealth as a distinct and beautiful ideal, and is prepared to accept that struggle as a terrible reality and wage relentless war on those who would perpetuate it.

The workers must not be content with merely acting on the defensive, and resisting the encroachments of capitalism. As in military warfare, the best method of defence is attack. Trade unions have miserably failed to show any aggressive political action. The workers must socially feel that it is a rotten road. Capitalism must be attacked at its foundation; that foundation is Surplus Value. Surplus value is produced on the job, the point of exploitation. Let the I.W.W. pledge itself to redouble its efforts during the coming year, by pointing out this simple fact, and 1916 will tell the brightest tale in its stormy history.

T.G.

The announcement that the British Government had at last decided to hold conscription will come as no surprise. There never was a difference between militarism as it existed in England, and militarism elsewhere in Europe. It was not necessitated a large army which could not be produced by so-called "voluntary" methods, while the size of the army required, up to the present by the other, did not call for conscription.

It was, therefore, a matter of expediency with the ruling class of England, and not a matter of principle, and the absence of conscription hitherto in Great Britain had no more to do with what is sometimes euphemistically called "advanced democratic opinion" in that country, than the assumed "ignorance" of the German worker had to do with its presence in Germany.

Many of the so-called "democrats" in England—and in Australia too—are howling as loud for conscription as any British or German Junker. Neither is this any cause for surprise, for recent and ancient history tells us that the demagogue "dressed in a little bit of authority," can be as great a tyrant as any Nero or Napoleon.

The workers of England, one of the best as well as those of Australia, will accept conscription with the same servile obedience to authority which their continental fellow-workers have shown in the past, and in the teaching of the demagogue, long indicated, that whatever is handed out to them by their "saviours," whether they be Liberal, Labor, or Socialist, must necessarily be for their benefit.

How long will the workers continue to believe in this centuries old superstition?

With an industrially organized working-class conscription would be impossible, because wars would be impossible, because the workers would refuse to manufacture the munitions of war.

But an industrially-organized working-class will never materialize until the workers are taught to think, decide, and act for themselves, and throw overboard the idea that there is a superior set of people to think, decide, and act for them.

The war, and its consequences yet to come, may assist along this direction. Every happening in connection with the war is, at every stage, being vividly demonstrating the soundness of the I.W.W. position, that until the workers are organized along the lines of industrial Unionism on an international basis, the workers will be in the military as in the industrial field.

Time is ever increasing; minority of rebels, who have made up their minds to refuse to place their destiny or lives in the hands of any brand of rulers; and it is up to every trade rebel in the I.W.W. or out of it, right now to resolve that they will see the capitalist class and their hangers-on, the whole gang of plunderers and murderers, in the furthestmost corner of the globe, rather than take a rifle in defence of their interests.

T.G.

MELBOURNE ACTIVITIES

Local No. 8, 214 William Street, Monday, 8 p.m.: Business Meeting. Thursday, 8 p.m.: Educational Class. Working Class Economics—T. Turner, instructor.

Friday, 8:30 p.m.: Propaganda Meeting, Brunswick, corner Sydney Road and Victoria Street.

Sunday: Propaganda Meeting, Yorkers Bank.

The rooms are open to all workers every night. All working class papers free of charge. A welcome to all the "disobedient ones."

SUBSCRIBERS.

Subscribers who do not receive their "Direct Action" regularly and promptly, are requested to write to the Manager, and give particulars, so that he may take steps to get the matter rectified.

We are pleased to inform the membership that two new locals have recently chartered in Perth, W.A., and in Mount Morgan, in Queensland. We hope that these two new locals will make their influence felt, in the propaganda of the One Big Union principles.

A letter from Denny Foley, accompanied by twenty-one half-yearly mags, has come to hand. It reports plenty of I.W.W. activity around the mill employees and the railway navies in the vicinity of Inisfail. In his letter he mentions that a sugar-cane cutting machine has proved satisfactory after experiments, and states "Poor old A.W.U.'s trouble for the sugar slaves, and more for Spence and Co." Foley is at Cairns now.

Fellow-worker Geo. Henry reports big meetings in Inisfail, N.Q., against conscription. The boys applied for a permit for an outdoor meeting, which was refused. They decided to test the authorities and fellow-workers Foley, Henry, Petroff, and Healy, of the I.W.W., and Morrison, Mole, and Quilty, of the A.W.U., took out a box and held a large meeting. The meeting was very rowdy, some of the parasites of the town asking silly questions. With very few exceptions, the slaves in Queensland behave in accord with the sentiments of the propagandists.

Good progress is reported among the Italian fellow-workers in Broken Hill. Several fellow-workers are returning to the Hill, which will live up again for the O.D.U.

Fellow-workers Vlask and Goller have been released from the concentration camp at Rottnest Island, W.A., after hunting for an exploiter in the Western States, which was reported in a recent letter. "When lying on the sunny beach at Rottnest we could not detect a boss between us and heaven. It is different here—we have to face him tomorrow morning."

The Boulder local is showing signs of renewed activity, and is calling for Russian and Italian papers. Most of the old members are over at Corinthian, where they have got about four-fifths of the workers interested in the I.W.W. Dept. F. W. McGurn writing very optimistically of the progress made. The Italian party of "Il Proletario," is especially welcome to the Italian membership.

A detachment of the boys left Sydney on route for Mildura, Victoria, where they will be in the next few days. The governments won't get too much in the way of fares, as they are travelling in the "Kitchen" fashion, so successfully adopted recently by the soldiers at Liverpool camp. Another bunch have

left Broken Hill for the same destination. The Mildura fruit cookies are in for a hell of a time this season.

Fellow-worker Reeve sends along a very inspiring report of activities in the Perth and Fremantle districts in West Australia. The excellent sale of "Direct Action" and literature continue, while the membership of both locals are on the increase. The Fremantle local have now a foot in the hall at 53 Phillimore-street, where all who have got cold feet and woe in shoes are welcome.

Fellow-worker McCormack is busy sub-setting at the Naval Base, Victoria, where the dope is sinking in. There is a demand for "Solidarity" down there, also that speaks well for the future. The surest way to get a man thinking is to let him get "Direct Action" for a half-year. What about a couple of hundred McCormacks?

Fellow-worker Reeve visited Leederville, W.A., on the 1st December, and lectured on the New Unionist A.L.P. He had a reply to a question recently delivered by Ferguson, who passed strictures on the I.W.W. The meeting was highly successful in every sense of the word. It was the first time that a "Western" worker appeared in the hall. Fellow-worker Reeve is taking a week leave from A.L.E. at Midland before he is to lecture in Ball, in response to an invitation issued by that body.

For the information of locals and the membership, the G.E.B. has a large order of I.W.W. buttons to arrive at an early date. An order of Italian literature will also arrive from "Il Proletario."

An incident involving is impending at Mount Morgan, Q., where the I.W.W. is beginning to take a growing interest in the mine-workers' strike games, and the impotency of the A.W.U. The new local should grow quickly, and make the wooden shoe philosophy find a lasting and enduring home. As an early date we will discuss some of the capers and antics of the officials of the local organization, who are suffering from "Empiritis," but take great care not to get into khatki.

Say, boys, we have left 1915 behind us. Good big boot-prints, too. Newcastle free speech, Sydney free speech, the release of Cart, Barker, and the strikers, and best of all, a weekly "Direct Action" 1915 is something to smile over. And now we are in 1916. Let us get busy with the industrial spring cleaning, and buy home. As an early date we will discuss some of the capers and antics of the officials of the local organization, who are suffering from "Empiritis," but take great care not to get into khatki.

Are you some dynamite? Or merely driftwood? Seeing's believing. TOM BARKER

I. W. W. Preamble.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the goods.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means and machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centreing of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thus helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working-class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working-class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working-class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalism, but for the overthrow of production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially, we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



American News

Sydney News

Bill Magee

"As Others See Us"

Fellow-worker Jack Daly, of San Francisco, writes interestingly, under date December 3rd:

pellow-worker,— I have just finished reading "Direct Action" of October 30th. It is the kind of work it has been my good fortune to get hold of, as I have been out in the country a great deal, and out of touch with the movement actively. By doing my little bit, nevertheless, by sowing the seeds of discontent on the job.

I can see from the tone of your little fighting paper that you are up against the same enemy that we are—judicial, ignorance, and the stupidity of our own class, plus the capitalist press, the pulpit, and labor exploiting politicians. Thirty-five years' experience with labor leaders has convinced me that there is no man, or set of men, big enough or great enough to lead the working class. To be led at all is to be misled. Every struggle in the country in the last decade has revealed the trickery and incompetence of labor leaders who in times of peace, was fat on the sweet and plenary of the men, women and children of their respective jurisdictions, and when conditions became unbearable they try their damndest to bring about a compromise that will keep the yoke of slavery on the workers' necks.

It is enough to make the blood boil in a wooden Indian, but, mark my words, the day is coming when they workers shall awake. The American Federation of Labor has just closed its 15th annual convention here. I attended every session. E. Bevens of the Dock Workers' Union of Great Britain, attended as a delegate, and so did E. G. Ammons of the British Postal Service. They were both vigorously applauded when they told of the militant spirit of the English workers. I don't think they got a wink of sleep while here, as I noticed Bevens' head drop one afternoon as he sat behind President Gompers during a heated juridical dispute.

This dispute the labor factors were shown up to advantage. The Operating and Stationary Engineers and Firemen were the disputants, and perhaps hurled the truth at each other when they used such words as "scabs," "blacklegs," "blacklisters," and "outlaws." The international presidents did not deny any of the accusations, but sunk further down into their seats like rats.

This resolution was introduced by Fellow-worker Bourne, of Oregon, to have a committee of twelve appointed to investigate the merits of Industrial Unionism and report to the next better force of unionism than the present craft organization. Here is where the "pie carders" showed up.

President Duncan, 35 years an officer of the A. F. of L., vigorously opposed the resolution. Several radicals, mostly young bloods, just as vigorously upheld it; also, some who in the past have been considered conservative, fought like a bear with cubs. A heated debate lasting all afternoon, Gompers, the 7,000 dollars a year president, jumped to the rescue—not of the workers, bless his soul, but to the rescue of his own high-priced gods. After a long and dramatic appeal for the support of the present administration, in crushing "this undignified and unbecoming" motion, he said that could be adopted with the same results, but without decreasing our power or disturbing the "happy relations" between masters and slaves, a vote was ultimately taken, after several delegates were refused the privilege of speaking, which resulted in 171 against and 31 for the resolution.

The small vote in favor may seem insignificant to the casual observer, but it was not so, for the reason that five years ago this resolution would have been unanimously turned down. The fact that out of 400 delegates present, only 171 voted against it, shows that the majority are disintegrating. The A. F. of L. want to be free, but they want the low heels, inside and outside the I.W.W., to do their fighting for them. These many trade unionists carrying I.W.W. cards, but our strength

Sydney Local had a field day on the Domain on the 26th December. The Black-Cloak fraternity, who included the Starvation Army, and a hunky archbishop of the Anglican persuasion, came out from the robes of the slothful factories, to have a few words with Jehovah, about his coming on the side of Australia in the present struggle. This choice collection of rascality and workaholic took up their pitch alongside the I.W.W.

The Wobblies rendered "The Preacher and the Slave" with disastrous results to the "pie in the sky" friends, whose meeting closed with PRAYER, and Gorsava at four o'clock. After the politicos departed, the dimensions of the crowd grew steadily larger. Fellow-worker Grant held an extremely large audience, who were deeply interested.

The collection taken up amounted to £6 12s 6d, the sales of "Direct Action," £1 19s 7d, and the sales of literature, £5 13s. The meeting in the hall was very successful, all the seating accommodation being taken up. The subject was "The I.W.W. in 1915," and the lecturer T. Barker. The collection came to over £12. Things WILL boom, with the Wobly Band being to circulate the atmosphere.

The Christmas holidays have brought a great bunch of the old warriors into Sydney, and an even greater bunch of new warriors, who have come into the ranks of the local here. It broke a tough nut for the craft union secretaries in 1916. We are firmly established, and we have made in every corner of this Big Island. There are I.W.W. stickers right from the Premier's office to the last hut outcrop.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

For "DIRECT ACTION," Enclosed please find P.O. for 4s, for which please send "Direct Action" for one year to the following address:—

Name..... Address..... Fill it in NOW!

can not be measured by our membership; we have millions of friends in the country, who are only afraid of being victimized, as we are by the master-class on every opportunity.

Another incident at the convention which may be of interest to the "political wing" of the laboring class, was a resolution to petition Congress to enact by law a universal 8-hour day. This brought on a long and heated debate, between the old officers of the A. F. of L. and the socialist comrades on the floor, the latter contending that the ballot-box was the only logical means of securing it. After several hours of argument, Gompers got up and waving both arms at the comrades, said: "Perpetuate it, forget it! We have been voting for labor legislation for the last thirty-five years, and what have we got? Nothing!" Pointing his finger at the Socialists, who were sitting together, he said, "You want an 8-hour day, but you want to get it easy. You fear the struggle, but you will never emancipate the workaholic by dropping a piece of paper into a beautifully-cared ballot-box. The sooner you give up that notion, the better it will be for the workers."

Gompers, continuing, said the struggle is rapidly turning from the political to the industrial, and said the industrial battles of the future will be fought out on that which will have the most effect on that which is which is the I.W.W. has been trying to pound into the heads of the workers for the past eight or nine years. The A. F. of L. after years of law and law has arrived finally at the same conclusion, which gives one the impression that "civilization is advancing."

From early dawn till twilight gray, Bill Magee, a working pig, Totted for his boss, and off he'd say— He was that sort of silly mug, "At honest work I feel I'm free"; Some capital ideas had Bill Magee.

With barren brain and muscles strong, By sweat and blood his hard head's earned; But why he worked so crust he knew, He never asked, nor tried to learn; For what the hell," said Bill Magee, "Do I know of philosophy?" And joy and gladness, light and love, Or music, pictures, books or songs, These gracious gifts from gods above, Belong to the rebel clan; "Such things as these," said Bill Magee, "Were meant for better folk than me."

And when a man whose blood was red, Belonging to the rebel clan, Explained the way the bosses bled, "I leave such things," said Bill Magee, "To blokes with wiser heads than me."

He thought that all Magee's were born And placed upon this sinful earth For people of superior birth, "This rebel folk's no good to me, A man must work," said Bill Magee. Yet if a man should buy a gun, And blow Magee to smithereens, 'Twould do no good—be's only one, And not the worth, by any means, For in this world the Bill Magee's Swarm thick, like magpies do in cheese. —CHESSET.

MINISTERIAL APPEAL TO BRITISH WORKERS.

ECONOMY URGED; NECESSITY FOR SACRIFICES. Economy by the sacrifice of all non-essentials was the keynote of a speech made yesterday by Mr. Asquith to a conference of Labor delegates in London, Dec. 2nd.

The wedding of Miss Violet Asquith, daughter of the Imperial Prime Minister, to Captain Bonham-Carter was celebrated on Nov. 30th. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the ceremony. Among the presents was a brooch presented by the King and Queen. A gold inkstand and a brooch was presented by the Speaker of the House of Commons on behalf of all parties in the Imperial Parliament.

Following the ceremony of His Majesty the King, the clergy and aristocracy have decided to abstain, as far as possible, from intoxicating liquors during the war.

His Grace has blessed the happy pair. That's what His Grace is for, We may be sure his Nibs will share Our hardships through the war. He signs a thousand quid per year. His Grace has sworn off drinking beer.

The father, care-free for a day, He'd be a millionaire in state, And gave his bonny girl a ring, And her chosen mate. Undo then with a sardonic grin, He bids the workers save their tin.

The blushing bride, we do not doubt, Had on a cotton frock, And 'praps her rose lips would pout Should other damzels mock. The wedding duds of modest price, She purchased on her Pa's advice. And the politician and the priest, And happy bridal pair, Will take care that they have at least Enough to eat and wear. When on the workers' impress Economy in food and dress. Old Asquith's counsel we reject, We see with what a goodly eye Economy does not affect. His charming daughter Vy, And so, to look with loads of pelf We say: "Physician, heal thyself." —CHESSET.

(To the Editor), Fellow-worker,— Allow me space to make a few remarks upon the points raised in the letter published in last week's issue of "Direct Action" under above heading.

In the first place, the writer of the letter acknowledges the illogical position which is held by the working-class today and lays particular emphasis upon the fact that the workers, who, alone, by their labor, provide the boss with the good things of life, are yet compelled to beg from these same bosses for work that they may live.

He then asserts that the working-class must unite, "for their own preservation" and infers that this is the only use of organization on the economic field. This policy of "preservation" may be all very well for small craft unions which aim at establishing friendly relations between the slaves and their masters, but is quite foreign to the spirit which animates the I.W.W., as I shall try to show hereafter.

Your correspondent asserts that the I.W.W. policy of reducing the hours of labor is un sound; and in support of this assertion he brings forward three main arguments. The first is that the I.W.W. policy can counter any move in the direction of shorter hours by introducing labor-saving machinery and speed-up methods.

As to the second argument, consequent on the introduction of the six-hour day, would be so intense as to render the extra leisure thus gained of no benefit to the working-class, as education and recreation would be curtailed.

(3) If a six-hour day were introduced into Australia, it would place Australia outside the bounds of successful competition with other countries, and thereby, cause a creation of capitalist production in Australia.

The above appears to me to be the chief objections which the writer brings to bear on our advocacy of the six-hour working day.

In reply to objection No. 1: It is not only possible, but very probable that the capitalist would introduce such methods; but, insofar as speed-up is concerned, it appears to me that a working-class militancy awakened and enlightened to demand and take the six-hour day would be militant enough to resist any system of speed-up which would be derogatory to their interests.

Regarding the introduction of a shorter day, the writer's contention would be one of the greatest incentives to the working-class to demand shorter and yet shorter hours, thereby increasing their own power and decreasing the economic power of the capitalist class.

The I.W.W. does not claim that a six-hour day will solve the unemployed problem for ever and a day; it merely states that the accomplishment of this object would be of great material benefit to the working-class, and would bring the day of labor's emancipation appreciably nearer. The struggle for and attainment of the six-hour day would also produce in the ranks of the working-class an understanding of class-consciousness and a solidarity as an amount of ballot-box enthusiasm and the resultant disappointments can ever do.

The second argument is simply an elaboration of the first, and is answered in the same way. When the working-class are militant enough to take a six-hour day, they will also be able to prevent their bosses from sweating them into inability and disease to anything like the extent which prevails today.

As regards objection No. 3, it is only necessary to say that the I.W.W. rebels outside Australia as well as in it; and that when the workers have gained a six-hour day the boss will still be getting sufficient surplus value to pocket the spoils, the robbery of the working-class will not be ended, but only alleviated by the institution of the six-hour day.

The four main arguments advanced against the case of the Ford Motor

Co., who, after increasing the wages of their employees to a minimum of 21 p. per day, discharged 10 per cent of their employees, and, by virtue of efficiency methods and superior machinery, continued to increase the producing capacity of the company's plant. Mr. Ford did not go to Congress to introduce his pro-protector scheme. He did it by direct action on the job—by playing off his power as employer against the ignorance and credulity of his wage-slaves. By spurious pretences he directed the efforts of his employees towards the cause of prototyping thereby increasing the output per man of the Ford Motor Co. plant by about 50 per cent, with healthy results as far as the pocket-books of himself and his fellow-directors were concerned. When the workers aware of the real nature of Mr. Ford's benevolent feudalism, they will systematically reduce the output of plant, and at the same time hang on to the high wages.

Commenting upon the situation in England, your correspondent omits to mention the most striking demonstration of the policy of direct action, which has happened for some time—the Welsh coal-miners' strike. In this strike 200,000 miners, at the risk of their lives, in spite of their leaders, defied and defeated the will of the Industrial rulers of Great Britain as manifested through their servants, the politicians, in the Municipal Council.

"Only one thing matters," concludes the writer, "and that is the attainment of socialism." If the attainment of socialism consists of securing the right to work, the right of their labor, by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, then he is right; but this desirable state of affairs will not be the result of the struggle for emancipation of Socialists who only economic back is a working-class disorganized into craft unions, who are only concerned in quarrelling inter se over jurisdiction of their respective spheres of worship at the feet of that great fetish of craft unionism, "the Dignity of Labor."

The whole difference between the I.W.W. on the one hand, and the P.L.L., etc. on the other, is that the I.W.W. is out to seize that power which alone is left to the working-class, the struggle for emancipation—economic power.

The I.W.W. preaches the gospel of job control; knowing that when the workers are sufficiently educated and organized to demand work, they will wherever they live, they need not trouble about the edicts of any parliament be it Liberal, Labor, or Socialist.

The Socialists would lead the working-class through the sweet groves of Political Action into the realms of a somewhat hazy millennium, but the function of the I.W.W. is to stir up our fellow members of the working-class to a full realization of our present position in society; and to point out that the working-class are not only entitled to all power, and that their power lies not alone in saying, but in doing or refusing to do, as circumstances may dictate.

The power of the working-class is the basic power of society—the power to produce the necessities of life. By a conscious withdrawal or diminution of that power, through industrial organization, the working-class can force from the master class any concession they wish to take; and when sufficiently organized to carry on production, can obtain complete command and possession of industry by the same means. The I.W.W. is today, even in its present embryonic condition, the nucleus of the future society that will follow the fall of Capitalism—the gradually growing form of the Industrial Commonwealth.

The great power of the capitalist class lies in their scientific organization, and that whoever sets out to destroy it, can do so only by virtue of superior and more economically powerful organization.

To agitate, educate, and organize up to this end is the work of the Industrial Workers of the World. FRANK F. WARD.



# Christmas.

(By Ajax).

As the old year wears Christmas festivities and new year celebrations loom large in the minds of men, on this festive and religious festival is the ancient custom for men attired in elaborate costumes to deliver from pulpits sermons aimed at the moral uplift of a congregation who is reported to have wept somewhat in Judea. Under similar conditions shining angels herald the birth of other men gods, five centuries ago, and the hosts of heaven with joy and song ministered at the nativity of Buddha. The story of these two saviours so closely coincides that the story is simply a copy of the other adapted to time and place. All Christian theologians are agreed that the tale that was written first was copied from the story written last. Even if Jesus lived and preached, clericalism has found it expedient to ignore the sermon on the mount, discard economic doctrine, and substitute superstition for social service, ritualism for righteousness, mysticism for morals and generally pervert the master's teaching to base ends.

In the twentieth century the church has lost its religious significance. Today decaying sacerdotalism has degenerated into a political instrument, the priest class first serve ruling class interests, endeavoring in return for certain privileges to guarantee to rulers a slavish and superstitious population, doped with dogma for purposes of exploitation. The wages of sin are the souls of clergy acting as recruiting agents preaching the gospel of "Peace on earth and good will to all men," while the wages of the cables tell of the fearful fighting going on for the anniversary of Christmas when Christian soldiers, many of whom were enlisted to enlist by the same man who unctuously proclaims from his tabernacle, "The glad tidings of great joy."

Through ages of slavery and despoliation the slave class wished for a leader. The priest class cunningly take advantage of this desire and have repeatedly preached the dream of a saviour, while taking care to kill any individual of ability who tries to help the masses. From Christ to Ferris comes nearly a dozen centuries of clerical cruelty, during which time thousands of humanity's highest types were brutally bloodied by clerics wherever they tried to power the dream of Christ's death lies in the fact that, if Christian churches are true, he could not save himself, let alone anybody else. Possibly trading on his name saved a few workers from work, but that is all.

Commercially, Xmas provides a market for various edibles, presents, drinks and what not. Doubtless many overworked politicians, lawyers, bosses and members of the smart set welcome the holidays, but few earned rest from their heavy responsibilities and laborous duties. Everybody takes a holiday, or at least is temporarily relieved of his ancient Day on December 25th (Jesus' Day) slaves fought in the arena for the amusement of their masters. It is true this year many of the slaves are being treated by masters' profit in the trenches, but generally speaking the capitalists find it better policy to "knock off their hands." This does not mean that they propose to let the slaves work through a sausage machine; it's just a polite expression meaning: "Turning the workers out to feed with their own hands." Being refreshed with a rest, they will go back with empty pockets to work with renewed vigor.

A certain amount of song and dance is encouraged, and this is in evidence at this time. The political press group eloquently over the Christmas cheer doped out parades and songs at this festive season. Doubtless the political press quite represent the "glad tidings of great joy" for which the poor are grateful to be truly thankful to the Lord, that is, to be content that there

is so much poverty in the midst of plenty.

Looking beneath the surface of all this blithe bantering, sentimental shenanigans, Christian charity and anti-labor fakery, we find that Christian countries are busy dealing out "Peace and Goodwill" to the accompaniment of heavy taxation, and that national, industrial and class war, nowhere can one see the "glad tidings of great joy," unless it be that this is meant in an allegorical sense, and theologians imply a large congregation and a larger collection.

There is little of importance concerning the workers in connection with Xmas, except in a short paragraph from work for year and year out capitalism, despite its Xmas cant, has nothing better to offer the slavish ideal of "Work" to offer the workers. Even Xmas is looked upon by many of the sweating fraternity as a waste of valuable time and a useless interference with the work. The "Glad New Year" probably means the already longed-for rest and was for the workers egged on by the fetish of industrial efficiency.

The past year has witnessed the impotence of arbitration, the futility of politics, the almost total lack of progress in an insane enterprise. It is about time the workers woke up to the fact that all the hopes of saviours, whether religious, political or social, are dead. It is high time the slaves gave up the idea of "the right to work" and aspired to "the right to be lazy." A new era of economic salvation should be the goal and not the mere conventionalism of the new year, which in the majority of cases does not exist. There is no reason except their own ignorance why the workers should not enjoy Xmas holidays and rest for the rest of the year. The future for the masses will be what they choose to make it. No happy new year will be their portion until they are antagonistic to a new hope and a new ideal. The hope that is born of "knowledge," and the ideal that is begotten of the "will" to economic salvation.

## A Peace Meeting.

MISS PANKHURST AND THE SOLDIERS.

Granny "Argus" is an unconscious humanist and a peace-loving woman. Miss Pankhurst was going to lecture on "Shall Men Enlist?" Whether she meant the owners of the "Race" and "Arpoothe," or the politicians, the bourgeois soldiers, protectors of the bloodthirsty audience, from finding out, by making a noise quietly in order not to wake granny from her slumbers, or annoy the natives of "this little island," with their dinners, wine and cigars, and family brottons.

We are told Miss Pankhurst is a pro-German. I remember Lloyd George being a pro-Ber. Lloyd George was ill after the fever was poured, and the Boers had been wiped off the map (by being caught over). Coming events cast their shadows before, and after the Polly Priggin's and the Boers have wiped out the Germans in Holland, an ungrateful public will rush to hear this one-time pro-German woman, and snub the heroic Wilkes, notwithstanding that the soldiers protectors of the fish chawing on the recruiting platform.

I thought several times at this meeting I had strayed into a farm-yard among the cattle, but it was only my haste before they reached the abattoirs (trenches, I mean). A rounded soldier objected, being told to get off the stage, by saying he had just returned from doing his best to get off the cart. You have my sympathy, old sweet, you'll have to "back" next time you go to Europe.

A soldier obliged us with "Antralla" will be there," so it puzzles me a bit: if that's the case, the Kaiser won't need to come here, or if he does, these here won't need to be there.

Unkind of the "Argus" to suggest that our "soldiers" had their arms

# 'Hunism' in Melbourne.

A Melbourne correspondent writes:

The Prussians are to Melbourne—and in khaki. Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, the safety of the person—these sacred rights that the workers have fought for, allow the agents, through a mist of blood and tears, have melted away as snow before the summer sun!

"British Freedom" has become a mockery. The Hun is in possession of the citadel! And the authorities are working night and day to drive them out! Not a bit of it!—watch the sly closing of the eyes!

For freedom of expression a working class orator is to languish three months behind prison bars—so decreed the Hun!

And the result? A fresh routing of the followers of the Red Flag—and many tongues strangely loosened by the stimulus of persecution. Was it not always, so, fellow-workers—where would the I.W.W. be if a license patch beneath the barrow—or a walnut tree through the culling?

And so the Prussians have changed their tactics. Unable to meet intellect with intellect, they resort to force, with brute force, and so have resorted to the disgraceful occurrences of the last week.

On the night of Sunday, 9th inst., Miss Pankhurst was to delight the I.W.W. audience, when a gang of hoodlums in khaki carried out an organized plan for the suppression of free speech.

Having kicked the door-keeper in the stomach, he brooked no further of their own nurses, by the way) for having the audacity to draw their attention to the collection-box, rushed into the already over-crowded room, and, armed with a club, tramping on civilians and smashing windows. One man, flying before the brutal mob, fell downwards and fractured an arm in three places.

Meanwhile, during the pandemonium of noise, Miss Pankhurst endeavored to speak.

The soldiers rushed the stage doors from the street, and swarmed on to the platform, their intention being to sweep forward and throw the speakers down upon the audience. They were only prevented by the police. The police were few in number, as also were the I.W.W. police. These latter were unquestionably sympathetic to the soldiers.

A strong cordon of Socialists formed around Miss Pankhurst, also police, and she spoke on, although her voice was scarcely audible to those beside her.

A returned soldier who was not in uniform, and who defended a lady when the drunken upholders of liberty attacked, was mobbed, dragged behind the curtain, and almost

round Miss V.G.'s waist. It's only the German huns that are so fanatical, they even surround a returned soldier talked about sending some to the front in legions. I presume he meant Hughes, Pearce, and a few of that crowd who believe and advocate that the I.W.W. should also to practice it. One soldier asked, "What would you do in this hall if the Prussians came?" and another answered, "His question by saying, 'They are here now.' I always had my suspicions, but now there's no doubt at all about it, seeing another soldier said 'the hall was full of soldiers.' Seeing that it took seven German to lay out one I.W.W. member on crutches—at a Richmond N.C.F. meeting, the war should soon be over; there will be no need for conscription or fifty thousand more men, we have got about two million more than the Germans already in Europe.

The "peace" meeting closed with the singing of the hymn "The Wounded Soldier." It would not be surprising, and the audience, having in Buenos, remained silent and with their hats in their proper places.

R. M. ROSE.

# Women's Peace Army.

(No Editor).

Since Mrs. Paul had left the I.W.W. platform on Sunday night last to attend the Women's Peace Army, formed by Miss Fanny Pankhurst, I take it for granted that you'll give me the opportunity to give my reply to that attack in your paper.

Miss Pankhurst, as Mrs. Paul recognized and stated, understands clearly the economic cause of the war. She also understands the class struggle, and since I am an International Socialist, and President pro-tem of the Sydney branch of the W.P.A., am also awakened to these causes, there is no room for discussion, or causes, since all sides agree.

Mrs. Paul caused some laughter by presuming that the "Jesus story and the Hun of a God in the skies, and the war of the W.P.A. by the way, there is no "impotent noise." My reply to that impotent presumption, is that I kicked to blazes all church arguments twenty years ago.

The women, and fired by Mrs. Paul at our only I.W.W. meeting last Tuesday (December 7th) in the I.W.W. rooms, told Mrs. Paul that if we got together a band of women of all nations, religious creeds, there is no room for thought, or hate for spilling blood, that it would be a splendid opportunity for Mrs. Paul to expound to these women, her sisters, their true economic conditions, and this, from their minds the bogies of superstition. But Mrs. Paul, with an emotional shak of her head, gave the intelligent (?) reply (so like a woman), "Oh, no! I've got something else to do—more important."

Mrs. Paul made the statement that all the women were in the churches. If that is so, it is no use going to the churches, and asking the sisters, that if for the I.W.W. organizations, it is about one woman to one hundred men. We will have to go to the churches to get them out.

Mrs. Paul also stated that women were hysterical and emotional, and that the capitalist's daughter and the worker's daughter had no bond in common, and were two distinct classes, and that both classes should not be admitted into the W.P.A. organization.

True the capitalist's and worker's daughters are distinct, but not 100 capitalist women on one side, and 100,000 working women on the other side, and I guarantee that both sides will take hysterics when it comes to handling a gun or a bayonet.

Women never wantonly waste life for material results. Silly as we women are supposed to be, we are not bayoneting and exploding each other's brains and stomachs out like the bone-headed, micro-bred, working class of the world.

The W.P.A. wants the spilling of workmen's blood to quit right now, or there'll be no workmen left to discuss the industrial problems.

Let's co-operate and unite, and be sensible, and Mrs. Paul wants to realize that, if women are hysterical and emotional, being at least as hysterical and emotional as to keep out of the war when shover of bullets come.

We all fall because we divide; we all fall because our very own attack on the "Jesus" story, and our own efforts—all fall, because we misunderstand each other's motives.

The W.P.A. consider the spilling of blood far more than the class struggle, and since I say "I want the war to stop right now!" Plus the blood-spilling now! We are searching for the means to kill the cancer—the class struggle. We have the medicine to cure the cancer—a classism, but though our patients won't swallow it, we'll endeavor to keep them alive, till they are swallowed.

Yours for peace and intelligent revolution.

(Mrs.) BETSY HAMILTON-MATTHIAS.

Word was passed round that the police had phoned to the Victoria-street barracks for an armed guard, and when the regiment arrived, the soldiers were quiet, of course, and the meeting closed.

Only those present at these meetings could credit the brutality of the police.

If the authorities permit the present state of affairs to continue, and the plots now in hatching against pacifists and non-conscriptionists be carried out, they cannot wonder if the people begin to welcome a German invasion—a change of tyrants might be looked forward to as a rest.

One of the most sinister occurrences was the attack of two military police, stationed behind the speakers, on Mrs. Grant. The moment the stare was raised by Herwit they left their posts, and throwing themselves upon the man they were presumed to defend, dragged him to the stage and, with a bayonet, commenced a savage assault, and was only dragged off by the civil police, who angrily ordered them to their posts and reminded them they were not to be the speakers.

There is the prospect of more serious trouble if the authorities do not keep the soldiers in hand.

I.W.W. tactics may then be the only hope of the non-conscriptionists.

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