between the Russian revolutionaries and the sympathy of the American people. They thought that an equitable social order was little more than a matter of time and education. So the cynicism laid bare by the Palmer raids was a cruel blow. The editorial on the subject is literally dumfoundedness in print. Even if its finances had been sound, it is difficult to imagine *The New Justice* surviving the end of that bizarre year.

- Joseph R. Conlin Eynsham, Oxford, 1969

# THE NEW JUSTICE

A RADICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 1-No. 1

**FEBRUARY** 15, 1919

### INTRODUCTORY NUMBER

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA

DEPARTMENT CONDUCTED BY J. H. RYCKMAN

### STORY OF THE ORANGE PICKERS STRIKE

BY LENA MORROW LEWIS

## RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AN INTERVIEW

PUBLISHED TWICE A MONTH AT LOS ANGELES

10c A COPY



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Sunday, February 23rd—"Where Will We Spend Eternity? In Hell, or at the Peace Conference?" Speaker, Wm. Geo. Henry.

Collection at the door.

## THE NEW JUSTICE

Vol. 1

Los Angeles, Cal., February 15, 1919

No. 1

#### EDITORIAL

"But," said the friendly lady, with a winning smile, "it seems strange to speak of a NEW justice. We like to think of justice as something immutable."

"I suppose," she added, considerately, "you mean a

new conception of justice."

Yes, that's what we mean. Justice means equality of treatment, fairness, giving to everyone exactly what he deserves. But in the present order of the world this is not done, even to the plainest and most fundamental rights. For instance, no right is more obvious than that of a living thing, born into the world, to maintain the life given it. To do this, it must have free and assured access to all the treasures of the earth which it needs for the purpose. The birds of the air, the wild beasts of the field, have such access and such right. But not the human baby. When he opens his eyes upon this singular planet, he finds everything he is going to need already owned by somebody else. If the owner chances to be his parent, all is very well for him. He will be taken care of, in due time he will become an owner himself, he will have all the necessities and even luxuries of life given to him for nothing. But if papa isn't the owner, there is a different story to tell. Then begins a life history of want and privation, of labor and hardship, of servitude and exploitation, of defeat and despair. For then the owners will give him nothing until he has first paid them their grim tribute of toil and misery and tears. THE NEW JUS-TICE shares the ever-nearing vision of a time when all this is going to be changed. When mankind will no longer be divided into the two classes of owners and workers. of "haves" and "have nots." When every human being will be an owner simply by virtue of being born. When all mankind will be comrade workers by virtue of their common needs and aspirations. When every baby is going to have an equal chance.

It is to help in the realization of this vision that THE NEW JUSTICE is here. We are going to fight the battles of that baby.

There is no doubt that the war, with its fearful destruction of wealth, its enforced socialization of industry, and its revolutionary aftermath, has plunged international capitalism into a profound panic. "Never again" has become its motto. The League of Nations to enforce peace is the New Year's resolution which it piously makes to be good in the future. But as the trade rivalries, which caused the war, still continue and will last as long as capitalism itself lasts, this virtuous resolve can amount to nothing more than any other of those praiseworthy intentions that embroider the morning after. As soon as the enhanced productive energies of regenerated capitalism begin to clash in the struggle for the evernarrowing world market, its good resolutions will go the way of all their kind, and the war spirit will flame up redly once more. Then we will have a new orgy of nationalism, patriotism, violence and bloodshed. There is but one secure basis for peace, and that is to supplant private ownership of industry inspired by greed, with public industry inspired by human wants. With the end of capitalism, with its exploitation of labor, its underconsumption, its unsalable surpluses, its exigent need of foreign markets, its greeds, its enmities, and its brutalities, will come the true and automatic end of wars. And the peace which will follow, based upon the world-wide brotherhood of the workers of all lands, will make peace leagues superfluous.

C. M.

The strike of the orange pickers and packers in the San Gabriel valley is worthy of attention in several significant features. It is most striking as an indication that the Social Unrest, to call it by its least terrifying name. has saturated the industry of this part of the country. The walkout in the citrus belt came so suddenly and spontaneously that the "professional agitators," clinging to their ancient opinion that the orange pickers could not be agitated, even yet hesitate to seriously believe that the citrus belt laborers have not waited for "professional" assistance. But the wealthy ranchers of that wealthy valley are taking the situation with the utmost seriousness-so much so that they have already caused wholesale arrests of picketers for disturbing their peace and have conducted a Bisbee deportation in miniature. Their indignation will result in an epidemic of apoplexy if it develops any more warmth. For years they have exchanged their golden fruit for golden coin and kept up to the latest fashions in automobiles and kept down to the oldest fashions in politics, prosperously, peacefully and piously. Now a lot of Russian and Mexican laborers, who have been imported at considerable trouble and expense to replace the costly white labor in the citrus districts, are demanding \$4 a day for eight hours' work from these Sunkist ranchers, and have quit work until they get it. The Russians smile. The Mexicans are grim. The ranchers are sore. And the newspapers terrify a thrill hungry public with stories about Bolshevik agents and secret plots, and fabulous defense funds.

H. H. S.

#### TOM MOONEY

Unique in the troubled history of the labor movement, and—so far as we are aware—in the history of penal proceedure itself, looms the case of Tom Mooney, buried alive for life in the State's prison at San Quentin on a charge of murder in connection with the San Francisco bomb outrage of July, 1916. Not unique, indeed, is the fact that conviction was obtained under circumstances which have aroused the indignation and evoked the protests of justice-lovers the world over. Cases containing this simple element are monotonously plentiful where the victims are labor agitators who have courted the displeasure of the industrial and financial powers that be. The case of Tom Mooney is unique in the fact that although the very judge before whom he was tried has stated in an open letter that the interests of justice require that Mooney be given a new trial no such trial can be had under our present laws as interpreted by the highest court in the land.

Here is a legal anamoly that would be comic if its results were not so ghastly.

R. R. B.

A few years ago, when we were having our little misunderstanding with Huerta, we were much amused to learn how Mexican newspapers were telling their ignorant readers that Mexican troops had captured Chicago and were advancing on Washington. Now, dear reader, just peruse the following news item, which was published recently in the Los Angeles dailies, and get an estimate of the degree of intelligence which your favorite newspaper thinks you possess.

#### OMSK FORCES RETAKE POLTAVA FROM REDS.

Washington.—Loyal Russians operating under direction of the government at Omsk have recaptured Poltava, in European Russia, and the capture of Kharkov is imminent, according to information reaching the state department today from Stockholm.

Poltava and Kharkof, the latter having 200,000 inhabitants, are cities of the Ukraine, some 400 miles south of Moscow. They are about 1700 miles as the crow flies from Omsk, and 1000 miles from Perm, the furthest westward point which the black hundreds of the Omsk government have ever reached. The armies of that bizarre product of allied intervention have about as much chance of capturing them as Villa has of capturing New York City. Yet this is a typical instance of the incredible nonsense which is flooding the daily press under the guise of "news" from Russia. And, with quite characteristic inconsistency dispatches a few days later announced the capture of Kharkof by the Bolsheviki.

That protege of allied bayonets, the Omsk government, in an effort to extend its precarious tenure of existence, has restored the liquor traffic in Siberia. The Anti-Saloon League might do a little profitable missionary work in the office of Secretary of State Lansing at Washington.

If capitalism is to survive even for a space of years in the United States it must have foreign trade. This is true of all the allied countries. But England, with her enormous and now greatly enlarged colonial empire, has no need to worry. France has a market in Africa and the Levant that will keep her safely busy for a generation. If revolution comes to France it will come from other causes than commercial suffocation. Japan, too, has made certain of the markets of China and the Pacific Islands, and is invading Latin America. The United States alone has nothing in sight except such shreds of business as may be snatched in South America from the general melee. There was a market, one of the richest and most inexhaustible in the world, which belonged almost of right to the United States, which was begging for American goods, and glorying in what it thought was American friendship. That market was Russia. Today, owing to the blind and disastrous policy of intervention which our administration has followed, that market is lost to us and has been cast, a luscious prize, into the lap of Germany. Radicals may view this result with equanimity, for they are not interested in preserving capitalism in America. But what does that complacent egotist, the American C. M. business man, think about it all?

There are enough political prisoners in jail in the BUSINESS ADDRESS, 921 HIGGINS BLDG., LOS ANGELES United States to make democracy safe for Wall Street,

Gompers has asked the Peace Conference to give the working class the rights of free speech and free press, the eight-hour day, and the prohibition of child labor. No one can bring up the rear with quite such eager enthusiasm as Samuel. But this time he is so far in the rear that by the time he reaches the reviewing stand everybody else will have gone home.

#### THE MARMORA CONFERENCE

Representatives of the Russian Soviet Republic will meet representatives of the Allied Powers and delegates from other Russian factions in conference on an island in the Sea of Marmora. The site is perhaps an odd one, being a couple of thousand miles or so from the respective domiciles of most of the contracting parties-but let that pass. The point is that the Bolshevik delegates have been invited to attend the pow-wow and have accepted the

Credit for including the soviet envoys in a gathering from which it at first looked as if they would be debarred belongs unquestionably to President Wilson, who cannot be too highly praised for his success in putting over this piece of progressive statesmanship against the opposition of the Tory elements which strove to limit Russia's representation to anti-soviet cliques. With the air thus cleared it will surely become more and more difficult for newspaper fiction writers to continue to get away with the more vicious of the charges which they have so recklessly been hurling at the heads of the Russian Socialists for the past year and a half.

The British government half-heartedly fell in line with the movement to include the Bolsheviki several weeks ago. Oswald Garrison Villard, writing from Over There. says that the censor twice prevented him from giving the reasons for this change of heart. We wonder whether the British Labor Party could supply the information which Villard failed to get across. R. R. B.

#### THE NEW JUSTICE

A Radical Magazine

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST AND FIFTEENTH OF EACH MONTH AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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Yearly Subscription, \$1.50. Six Months, 85c. Single Copies, 10c. Club, Bundle and Newsdealer Rates on Application.



## THE STRIKE IN THE SUNKIST GROVES

#### A STORY OF A SPONTANEOUS WALKOUT

The mere mention of orange groves brings to one's vision scenes of rich green and brilliant yellow and golden colors mingling together in harmonious beauty. The white blossoms quite naturally relate themselves to wedding festivities and it takes no stretch of the imagination to appreciate the more material food value of the orange itself.

This is the bright side of humanity's relation to the orange grove and its products, and poets and artists have found it a fitting subject for their skill.

But if one sees the orange grove only as a thing of beauty to call forth the genius of gifted writers and painters, and merely thinks of the ripened fruit as a food to satisfy those who have the coin to purchase it, then he has failed to appreciate fully man's entire relation to the orange grove.

There is another side to the question. The citrus industry is not immune from the conflicts and antagonisms that prevail in our present-day capitalist society and to give our readers the story of the conditions under which the orange-pickers worked in the Covina district and to describe as accurately as possible the circumstances under which many of the laborers now on strike, were compelled to live and labor, is the purpose of this article.

It is not a pleasant subject upon which to write. At best, strikes are ugly things. They grow out of unjust conditions and the orange growers strike is no different from the thousands of other strikes that society has experienced ever since the owners of property hired laborers for exploitation.

Defenders of the present capitalist system define this citrus strike as the work of Bolsheviki agitators, but the spread of Bolshevik ideas can never in itself alone produce a strike. Dr. J. L. Pomeroy, the county health officer, cites one of the principal reasons for the strike when he says, "Bad housing conditions are at the bottom of ranch labor troubles in my opinion." The doctor is not speaking from a distorted imagination. When he says that "housing conditions among ranch hands in many parts of this country are an outrage," he is relating a fact that can be verified by any fair-minded person seeking to know the truth in the case.

In one place we found 12 persons living in four rooms, three sleeping in a narrow, small-sized bed. A house occupied by Mexicans emitted an odor so obnoxious that strong men sickened as they approached the house and refused to enter, while others in the investigating party summed sufficient will-power to endure the ordeal of seeing how things were on the inside.

The door was open and no evidence of any attempt to safeguard any property, for as a matter of fact there was nothing in the house that was worth while carrying away. In this place there was not even a bed, the bare floor furnished the place upon which the weary worker stretched his tired body, eased somewhat by dirty quilts and blankets. Under the same roof was a stable and one could look from the place where the men slept through the big cracks between the boards into the stable which had a goodly quantity of manure therein. That poor downtrodden Mexicans would submit to such conditions was

decent standard of life is, should permit these people to live as they are, was the wonder of some of the party.

The story of the strike of the orange pickers is much like the story of other strikers' experiences, and yet there are certain details and incidents in every strike that gives it distinction.

The wage paid the laborers in the citrus industry was \$3 for a nine-hour day. On the face of things this does not look so badly, but when one finds that they received no pay for the time they did not work because of the rain. or there were no boxes in which to place the fruit, or for any other reason it suited the manager's convenience to lay the workers off for a part of a day, then the situation looks quite differently, and we learned that for a period of some eight weeks prior to the strike, the average wage of the laborers was between \$8 and \$9 a week. In order to improve the standard of life the workers began to talk among themselves about trying to get more wages. Rumors of this unrest reached the ears of the manager and he proceeded at once to discharge a few whom he suspected as being responsible for this agitation. The rest refused to submit to their brother workers being arrested and thereupon left the orange grove and went to a house nearby where some of them were living and held a meeting and decided to demand the reinstatemnt of their comrades who had been dismissed. This was done. On returning to work the following Wednesday (there being no work on Monday and Tuesday because of the rain) the foreman came into the grove and tried to discharge three or four of the workers. The others at once protested and said, "We are not cattle and we will not let you pick out any one whom you choose to discharge like this; if they go, we will go.'

Thereupon some 35 or 40 left the grove and went over to a house occupied by some of the workers and proceeded to draw up a statement of their demands asking for an eight-hour day and a wage of \$4 a day. The committee commissioned to present these demands did not receive a very gracious reception from the manager and they knew right away from his behavior and talk that it would take a bitter fight to secure better conditions and higher wages. From then on it has been a battle royal. To know just what was going on in the house where several of the strikers were living, spies were stationed all round and when asked by the inmates what they were doing around there, they replied, "getting \$5 a day for this work." To this one of the girls, who was striking only for a \$4 a day wage, replied, "Well, then, you have a good job, for it looks as if it will continue for a long time." And this remark revealed the spirit and determination of the orange pickers.

Six men and one woman were arrested for picketing on January 25, and during the past two weeks their trials have proceeded in the justice court of Covina. Up to date, notwithstanding, the preponderance of evidence has shown that the strikers used no violence nor coercive methods to compel the other workers to join them in the strike, yet the juries have up to the time this article goes to the printer rendered a verdict of guilty in every case. This is what might be expected when one learns that ten out of the twelve of the jurors in one of the trials were orange or walnut growers and the rest not so surprising, but that white men, knowing what a were real estate and business men. Attempts by the

counsel for the defendants to secure a change of venue hold of their arms and compelling them to walk out. The proved futile, and the right of trial by a jury of one's peers was once more reduced to a farce.

Not content with arresting the strikers on the charge of peacefully picketing the groves, the indignant farmers decided that more aggressive measures should be used and therewith proceeded to take things in their own

Last Tuesday, a week ago, some 75 or more men surrounded the house occupied by some of the strikers near Charter Oak, opened the door and told the inmates to come out. Fearing lest it might be for the purpose of locking the doors so that they could not enter again, they refused to go out. These invaders took counsel among themselves as to what course to pursue. In a short while they returned and served notice on the strikers that they would have to leave the place within 24 hours.

"We have a legal right to remain in this house until the 25th day of February," was the answer of the strikers and the basis of this claim grows out of the following cir-

At the beginning of the strike trouble the manager ordered the strikers to vacate the house in which some of them were living. Knowing that the law of the State of California requires a 30-day notice for removal of tenants they demanded that notice be duly served them and claimed the protection of the law in this respect. The manager complied with their request and it was with this document that they claimed their legal right to occupy the house until February 25.

But law was a small matter when it got in the way of angry farmers determined not to pay higher wages to their employes, and so with menancing glances and threatening words as to what would happen if the strikers dared stay another 24 hours in the house, they left.

The next day several hundred gathered about the house and while the leaders of the group were consulted as to the line of action, the manager and a reporter from one of the daily papers supporting the side of the orange growers, drove up in a machine and called out to the occupants of the house that they had better leave peacefully, for if they did not, the farmers would resort to violence, if necessary. Once more the strikers claimed the right to remain in the house until the 25th, according to the law of the State and the action of the manager himself. To all of which the manager replied:

"We do not care anything about the law, we are taking things in our own hands.'

Shortly after this some hundred and fifty machines gathered about the place and from four to six hundred assembled. The strikers were just ready to sit down to dinner and two of their comrades were out in the kitchen bringing the food into the table. Having been warned that attempts would be made to remove them from the house the strikers discussed the situation among themselves and decided to follow the policy of non-resistance and to refrain from all violence. They would refuse to walk voluntarily out of the house, but would not resist if the others attempted to remove them by bodily

and the place they proceeded to take out the inmates of the house. Three of the boys lay down on the floor and remained in a perfectly passive condition. They were lifted up by the legs and arms and carried out. Others

girls, realizing the inability to escape the same fate that was being meted out to their brothers, decided to take no chance on any indecencies being inflicted on their persons, and walked out themselves. They reasoned that men, who had no respect for the law, could hardly be expected to have very much respect for women.

It was not enough to remove these workers from their places of abode, they did not even let them eat the meal that they had just prepared, but brutally proceeded to carry out their program. The strikers were ordered to pack up their things and take them along, but again they refused to move their belongings even as they had their bodies. When they were loaded on the truck ready to be driven away the driver of the truck appeared on the scene and at once protested to haul them away, remarking that he had nothing against the strikers and did not see any reason why they should be deported. At this the strikers were carried bodily from the truck, and as the man drove away, he waved his hand saying, "Goodbye fellows, I haven't anything against you, I am with

For some half hour or more the crowd lingered around and during the while one of the strikers made a speech to the group, pointing out that all they were trying to do was to improve their conditions by persuading the boss to give them more wages, and in a mild and reasoning manner, tried to tell them that they would see things differently and some day would be with the workers in their efforts to better conditions.

"You are ready to kill us, but we will not give you any excuse to use whatever weapons or arms you may have with you."

As the worker finished his talk and the driver started up the machine, the victims of the orange growers' wrath, laughed and sang songs inspired with hope and courage, and told the farmers they would have to ask the strikers to come back for they would not be able to get any one to pick oranges.

It was after dark when they reached Boyle Heights in Los Angeles and when asked where the Russian territory was, refused to claim any part of the city as being distinctly Russian territory, and were thereupon dumped down in the street.

Failing to secure the services of a transfer company to move their belongings from the street, a kindly disposed lady in the neighborhood some five or six blocks away offered to shelter their goods until they could find a place to take them. With this attended to they proceeded to look up lodging places for the night. Many of these workers have been living around with their friends and getting along with the meagerest of food and fare, sharing their poverty with one another and learning the lesson of solidarity that such conditions always force upon

Like every other strike that has ever taken place the big capitalist dailies, whose function it is to misrepresent the workers' side and create sentiment on behalf of the profiteering class, all sorts of stories have been published to terrorize the community, and out of the arrest of seven After a short time spent in photographing the people Mexicans and one American at Azusa a few days ago, the newspapers had a big story of the arrest of 40 Russian Bolsheviki and I. W. W.

It has been claimed by the daily press that the Russians took their jobs only to create trouble, and not to of the men stood upright and were lead out by men taking work. Over against this the workers themselves have the statement of the manager himself, who on more than one portation is being talked very generously in some circles occasion, expressed himself as being satisfied with their and everything is being done to intimidate the workers work.

Last Saturday at Uplands the police arrested three of the strikers and they were told that if they were taken | agitator or the Russian Bolsheviki is absolutely without to jail there would be 200 Mexicans follow them into the jail. We are informed that the three men were turned

went through the orange groves and took hold of the groves themselves, and it is merely an uprising of the scabs and forced them to quit work.

stone unturned to break the strike is seen in the fact that the strikers justly merit. they have called even the Catholic priest into their srvies. We are told upon the authority of those who are in ditions have much to do with the strike troubles and we a position to know that the Mexicans are threatened with | add that the low wages is also a strong accompanying ex-communication if they do not go back to work. De- factor.

and drive them back to unjust conditions.

The story that the strike is the result of the I. W. W. any foundation.

The workers, whether they are Russians or Mexicans or natives of the United States itself, have gone out on At La Verne the women folks of the striking Mexicans | strike because of the conditions that prevail in the orange workers and whoever brands it as anything else is doing That the orange growers are not going to leave a single so in order to alienate the sympathy of the public, which

Dr. Pomeroy is correct when he says the housing con-LENA MORROW LEWIS.

#### TWO POEMS.

I have crumbled my heart into seed. I have sown it in many a furrow.

All day long I work in the burning sun. My body aches; the sweat pours from my face.

I will never sit in the shade of the trees I have planted. I will never eat of their fruit.

Perhaps the seed will not come up-but I have faith to believe it will. Perhaps I will never know the joy of the first green leaf.

I have crumbled my heart into seed. I have sown it in many a furrow.

All day long I work in the burning sun. My body aches; the sweat pours from my face.

I will never sit in the shade of the trees I have planted. I will never eat of their fruit!

In future years they will sit in the shade of the trees that we planted. They will gather their children around them and joyfully eat of the fruit.

They will not think of those who planted the trees, who were broken in digging the ground and lifting the stones. They will not know of those who watered them with their tears, sprayed them with their heart's blood, and fertilized them with their bodies. Who loved them into life —giving their all.

In future years they will sit in the shade of the trees that we planted. They will gather their children around them and joyfully eat of the fruit.

But the joy that was ours, beloved, they will never know!

RUTH LE PRADE.

## The Truth About

#### RUSSIA TO BRITAIN

The London Herald of January 11th contains the following interesting communication from the Russian republic to the British government:

In order to obtain the consent of the workers of Britain to the unwarranted act of aggresion against us, your government gives the following as their reason for landing troops in our country:

1. That they have to stamp out anarchy and restore

It is not true. Your government and the French government are themselves responsible for what disorder there is in Russia. Ever since the revolution the agents of the French and British governments have been conspiring with the counter-revolutionaries, giving them moral encouragement and financial assistance for the purpose of undermining the power of our Workmen's government and to bring about its downfall. Your government and the French government are cooperating with the Czecho-Slovaks, who have blocked the access to our food supplies. The serious food shortage in our country is aggravating the disorganization. If there is disorder your governments are responsible for it. Remember, when a capitalist government enters a country where there has been a revolution for the purpose of restoring "order," it always means that they intend to crush the revolution. That is what the German government did in Poland, in the Ukraine, in the Baltic provinces and in Finland. That is what your government wants to do in Russia. They do not want to restore order. They want to restore the

2. That they have come to help the Russian people.

In the first place, is it helping to bring war amongst a people already exhausted by war? We do not want war. We want peace. We want to be left alone to consolidate the gains of our revolution, to reorganize our social and economic life in such a manner to secure to the workers the products of their labor. Your government is not helping to do this. It has sent you here to prevent our doing it. Your government is cooperating with the Czecho-Slovaks, who are suppressing the workers wherever they go. In Samara the workers obtained an eight-hour day. It has been abolished. All workingclass organizations, trades unions and such like are suppressed. Wherever the Czecho-Slovaks go they suppress our Workmen's Councils, and establish in their stead an oligarchy of speculators, capitalists and ex-Czar officers. Your government will use you to do the same in North and Central Russia. If your government wanted to help the Russian people, it would recognize the Soviet government of the workers and peasants and assist us to reorganize our railways and industries. We, in fact invited your government to enter into business relations with us that would have been to our mutual advantage. But your government made no reply. No. Your government does not want to help the Russian people. It is helping to fasten the yoke of capitalism and Czarism on them again.

3. That the Allied invasion of Russia is welcomed by the Russian people.

It is not true. Who is welcoming your landing. A few starving peasants, whom your government bribed

with promises of food. These poor people are not glad to see you. They are only eager for the food you will bring. Who else is welcoming you? The ex-landlords of Russia, who are expecting you to restore to them the land, forests and mines, which are now the property of the whole Russian people. The capitalists who want you to overthrow our Workmen's governments and compel us to become their wage slaves again. The Tchinovniks, the ex-officials of the Czarist government, who want you to restore to them their soft jobs, to resume their old game of bribery and corruption for which Russia in the past was notorious. Yes, this crowd, with their hangerson, are very pleased to see you here. They will flatter you and make a fuss of you; all the while they have supreme contempt for you, for you are only workingmen whom they are using as their tools. The Russian command at your head, General Gurko, is a reactionary of the worst description. He was arrested by Kerenski for his monarchist propaganda. The agents of your government helped him to escape. His only object in joining you is to use you to restore the Czar.

Comrades! Do not put your trust in this reactionary gang. Do not permit yourselves to be used as the tools of the enemies of liberty. Never let the shameful thing be said that the English workers permitted themselves to be used to crush the Russian revolution.

Fellow workers! Be loyal to your class and refuse to do the dirty work of your masters.

(Signed) LENINE. President of the Council of People's Commissary. (Signed) TCHITCHERINE. People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

#### THE COOPERATION OF THE BOLSHEVIKI WITH THE RED CROSS, Y. W. C. A. AND Y. M. C. A.

An instructive and interesting article in The Survey for February 8th by Jerome Davis throws much light on the methods by which the Russian republic has been aiding the Red Cross and Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. in their efforts to alleviate the hunger and destitution that the war entailed upon the Russian people. He says:

"In July and August, 1917, when the American Red Cross came from Vladivostok to Petrograd they were cordially welcomed along the way by the soviets of Soldiers and Workingmen's Deputies, who were exercising power all through Siberia. When the Bolsheviki took over the government the Red Cross had already ordered large quantities of medicines and food from abroad. Soon afterwards they received a cable stating, in substance, that in view of reports regarding the chaotic conditions it was considered unwise to ship the goods to Northern Russia and extremely difficult to send via Vladivostok, as it would take constant bribing of officials to get them through on the Siberian railway. The American Red Cross officials in Russia cabled back that unless they wanted America to be discredited in the eyes of the Russians, they would send the promised supplies. In spite of warnings from foreign officials about the danger from the 'mutinous' Russian sailors at the port of arrival, the supplies arrived and were landed safely even without the presence of a Red Cross representative. The Red Cross

## Russia

DEPARTMENT CONDUCTED BY ... J. H. RYCKMAN

mansk and half a dozen cars from Archangel in perfect safety. They were under the protection of the soviet government and bore the mark of the American Red Cross. In Petrograd they were stored in a warehouse with no more watchman than a careful business man would consider necessary in America. Yet in Petrograd thousands needed food, and it was no secret that these supplies con-

"During the period of civil war between the Bolsheviki and the Ukraine the Red Cross sent a train of 31 cars with supplies to Rumania."

The train was in charge of an American agent of the Red Cross, armed with credentials from Premier Lenine.

"The supplies arrived in Rumania intact and quicker than an ordinary passenger train went at that time.

"The American Red Cross in Petrograd gave out enough condensed milk to feed 25,000 babies for three months. This was distributed under the 17 local soviets controlled by the Bolsheviki. In the entire distribution, lasting over a period of several months, there was only one instance of irregularity, and then Lenine sent word that if it happened again those responsible would be shot. This distribution was done by elected Bolsheviki and common working people of that city. Yet the American major, who worked with them, testifies that he never worked with a more sincere group of social workers. Their one aim was that the milk should go to the babies of the poor honestly and by a fair distribution. Throughout the entire period the American Red Cross was in Russia, the soviet government, represented by its national leaders. gave it every cooperation and support. During this period millions of roubles' worth of supplies were purchased with cooperation from the Bolsheviki, even after American officials had left Petrograd. Representatives of the Red Cross remained in soviet Russia until October in perfect safety and comparative comfort even after American soldiers were fighting the soldiers of the Bolshevik government. During their stay in Russia, the Red Cross had not paid one cent in freight charges or for bribes. The Bolsheviki gladly gave them cars and transportation free because they were trying to help the Russian people.

"As the American people read the items in our American papers, it must have seemed to them very dangerous for women from the Young Women's Christian Associations to be working under the Bolshevik authorities. Yet after the Bolsheviki took the power of government, the Y. W. C. A. was able to open and keep running clubs for women and girls in both Petrograd and Moscow. These clubs helped the rich as well as the poor. A recent War Work Bulletin says, Day after day princesses used to work side by side with peasant girls and wives of Russian officials, cutting dresses or trimming hats at long tables at the first women's cooperative association in Russia, established as a branch of the Y. W. C. A. Suitable work was found just in time to keep the wife of one of Russia's greatest generals from going out as a charwoman to earn bread for her husband who was ill.

"In all the Y. W. C. A. activities they were able to help women of every class, those in the soviets as well

brought through three trainloads of supplies from Mur- as those who had been the privileged under the Czar. When the Americans were ordered out of Petrograd on account of the German menace, no American Y. W. C. A. secretary was left in charge. When, several months later, one of the secretaries came back she found the work going on with no hindrances from the Bolsheviki. Instead of finding Petrograd in sad abandon she found everything very gay, a city without care or fear. There were officers everywhere in their best coats and gold

"While the Czar was in power the Y. M. C. A. had been unable to start special work for the Russian soldier except in Turkestan. This one permission had been granted by General Kuropatkin, but it specifically prohibited books, newspapers and magazines. In other words, under the Czar there was little cooperation and general prohibition of Y. M. C. A. war work. After the first revolution the soviets were the real power. The quickly rallied to the support of the association work.

"When the Bolsheviki came into power we worked on for over a month without going to the People's Commissars. Then, with the approval of the American ambassador, we went to Mr. Lunacharsky, the commissar of education. He told us warmly how much he appreciated all we were trying to do for the people. He asked us to enlarge our work and signed our Kerensky document reaffirming on behalf of the Bolsheviki all the permissions of the previous temporary government.

"When in the course of my trips along the fronts we started Y. M. C. A. huts on the northern front, the soldier committees would requisition the buildings for us within two days. At Dvinsk they requisitioned a moving picture house, and it was altered and equipped for a Y. M. C. A. hut inside of a week. At Valk they ordered the entire supply department evacuated, which gave us the finest building in town.

"When it was extremely difficult to get money and even the Danish legislature could get little, the Bolsheviki authorities gave me permission to draw out two millions and a half from the State Bank.

"When the agricultural unit of the Y. M. C. A. arrived in Russia we determined to give help to the peasants along the Volga river. We went to the foreign commissar, Mr. Tchicherin, who promised us every aid and cooperation, and gave us three letters to other departments. As a result, the Bolshevik government not only gave us a large passenger steamer free but paid the salary of the crew, about 40 men, and furnished all the fuel and financed the alterations in the boat. This boat was equipped with exhibits, agricultural machinery, moving pictures, a department of sanitation under the American Red Cross and a women's department under the Y. W. C. A. Operating on the Volga river for three months, it exhibited at 44 places and had an attendance of over 50,-000. It had on its staff a Russian priest and several 'cooperative' men who were opposed to the Bolshevik government. Yet the American director of the exhibition, who was with it all summer, in speaking of the cooperation received, says, 'The local soviets, as freely and gladly as the central bodies, gave their whole-hearted support and assisted greatly from a local standpoint in making the expedition a success.'

"Not only did the national leaders in the soviet give secret treaties are broken and repudiated. every assistance to the various welfare activities of the association, but when Samara was taken by the Czecho-Slovaks they gave me a paper permitting us to send an American through the fighting lines and bring back all our supplies and secretaries. This was successfully accomplished, including the bringing in of a large shipment of flour. We were usually allowed to ship goods free on the railroads and were given freight and passenger cars when we needed them.

"National soviet leaders at almost every interview emphasized their desire for the continuance of our work. their wish that America would send more men and other experts to help in all phases of educational, economic and relief work. Time after time they spoke of how much they wished an American Railroad Commission had come to Russia. My personal experience justifies me in stating that we always received cooperation from the national soviet government.

"The English Friends' Relief Mission representatives were still working when I left and probably are still. They have received equal, if not more, cooperation from the government than we did: this in spite of the fact that English soldiers were fighting the Bolsheviki."

#### CRIMES OF A SOVIET REPUBLIC

- 1. They have organized and carried out a successful revolution, dethroning political and industrial autocracy and establishing a government for and by the useful workers.
- 2. They have resisted and have overcome those who believe in the exploitation of a majority by a minority.
- 3. They have publicly and vehemently declared that the earth and the treasures thereof, either developed or undeveloped, are properties to be used in common by all of the inhabitants of the earth and to be held in trust for future generations.
- 4. They believe that life is only justified by useful la-
- 5. They believe that military organization is so great a menace to peace and happiness that it should be entrusted to those who are anxious to maintain peace and
- 6. They believe that those who profit by war should be disarmed and disfranchised.

- 7. They have declared that contracts made without their knowledge, but in their names, are void; that all
- 8. As a nation they have embarked on a voyage of discovery guided by a compass which points neither north, south, east, nor west-but upward.
- 9. They have declared that the fundamentals of life are land, labor and love; that freedom means an equal opportunity for all to live; that that which promotes universal happiness is good; and that that which causes universal suffering is bad.
- 10. They have invited the world to participate in their beliefs. CHARLES BRUCE.

#### A LESSON IN ECONOMICS

Mars unwittingly has given a lot of young radicals and yet-to-be-radicals an important lesson in the tremendous available labor energy in this world, when he has shown them in the military training camps what force society is able to concentrate for a given purpose, once it takes the notion. If such human power can be amassed and such expenditure made for destructive purposes, it can be done for constructive purposes, is the reasoning of one who has seen the vast military machines in operation. At a certain camp in a semi-arid valley of the Southwest 40,000 men have been assembled for a year and a half. It has cost not less than \$18,000 a day to feed them, and it is safe to say that the board bill for that camp has been something more than \$7,000,000 since it was established. Perhaps \$6,000,000 will not more than cover the cost of equipping the men who have been in that camp to go forth as soldiers. So in two items, not considering the cost of constructing the camp in the first place, the tremendous expense of training the men, and the incalculable loss of wealth producing energy withdrawn from the world when they were transformed from civilian laborers to soldiers, we have a neat little bill of \$13,000,000. Remember, this all happened in a thirsty little valley of sagebrush and cactus and horned toads. The cost of the Salt River Irrigation project, by the way. was something like \$6,300,000, and it put 210,000 acres of horned toad country in a condition to feed 100,000 people if necessary. And that little Gunnison tunnel up in Colorado, which made 150,000 acres arable cost, \$2.-H. H. S.



## Some Recollections of Lincoln--An Interview

"Tell us something about President Wilson," we asked Mrs. Amy D. Winship, the 87-year-old university student here in Los Angeles, "something that has not grown stale with repetition, something with a new and personal flavor to it."

And her eyes flashed as her thoughts traveled back to the days of the '50s, when she spent some of the winters in Springfield, Ill. In company with her first husband, John A. Davis, a member of the state legislature.

"Why, yes," she said, "You know, Mr. Lincoln was a great joker. His sense of humor always served him a good turn. I remember one time at the governor's reception he asked me to promenade with him (that was a more popular way of entertaining than dancing), and you know he was so very tall and I am so short that I had to stretch my arm to take hold of his, and as I did so he said: "You short folks have an advantage over us tall people, because when you stub your toe and fall you don't have so far to go as we do."

And before we had time to ask her something else she said in a most earnest tone of voice, "Do you know that the 12th of February never rolls by that I do not recall that lone figure standing there in the room in the

hotel at Jonesboro, Ill."

"You see," she went on to explain, "Lincoln and Douglas were holding a series of debates over the state, and they had come down to southern Illinois for one of them. In an adjoining room in the hotel the crowd was gathering and making great ado over Mr. Douglas. Everybody was flocking around him, and he was the lion of the hour. I passed on by and came into another room, where Mr. Lincoln stood looking out of the window. He was alone. No adoring multitude to pay homage to him. I went in and spoke to him, and we chatted a while together. And as we talked over conditions, Senator Anderson came in and asked me to let him present me to Mr. Douglas. Well, I very politely refused to be introduced to Mr. Douglas, and I gave Mr. Anderson a piece of my mind. When he left the room I turned around, and Mr. Lincoln was fairly bending double with laughter."

Then, as if weaving the past with the present, she said: "But where are these men today? Douglas is forgotten, only remembered because of his association with Lincoln; while Lincoln' (and her voice lingered reverently as she spoke his name) "Lincoln's name grows brighter as the years go by. And that is the way it will be with Debs and the rest of the vanguards of human liberty who are being persecuted today.

"At the time of the Jonesboro debate, Douglas opened the discussion and Lincoln followed. When the latter arose he took out of his pocket a local paper and very slowly opened it up; then read an item to the effect 'that when Mr. Lincoln heard that he was going to have to meet Mr. Douglas in the town of Jonesboro, it made him sick and he had to go to bed, but probably his political doctors would get him in shape to meet Mr. Douglas; but when Douglas got through with him his knees would shake so he could not get off the platform!'

"Then he folded the paper, turned around and looked

at Douglas, and then swept his eye across the audience and said: 'I do not know what to think of this man Douglas. I do not want to say he would tell an untruth, yet he very well knows that it was my suggestion that we have this debate here, just as if he took hold of me giantlike and forced me down here, when he very well knows that it was my suggestion. I am not afraid of this people; I was born right over here in Kentucky, but Stephen A. came from the Green Mountains of Vermont, and he does not know what this people might do. Now, if I am not able to walk off this platform when Mr. Douglas gets through with me, I want my friends to let me stay here until I rot.' "

When they left the place, Mrs. Winship says the only carriage that Jonesboro possessed was used to 'tote' Douglas to the station, a mile and one-half from the town, and Mr. Lincoln and Mrs. Winship and her husband and a newspaper man from Springfield walked to the depot.

"It was the Freeport debate that won Lincoln the presidency," said Mrs. Winship. "You see, it was like this: Douglas was a politician, and like all of them, he had a catch-word. His catch-word was 'Popular Sovereignty.' Mr. Lincoln knew that Douglas was trying to get the votes of the northern Democrats and that he would take a different stand in the north than he had in the south on the slavery question. So he fixed up a series of questions which Douglas would have to answer a certain way in order to please the Freeport people. The answers were published in the Chicago paper, and when they were read in the south, the southern Democrats got together and said: 'We cannot trust this man Douglas,' and as a result the Democrats split, and one wing nominated Breckenridge and thus divided the vote, and Lincoln

"My heart almost stands still even now as I think of those terrible days when Mr. Lincoln was elected to the presidency. His enemies had threatened to mob and kill him, and it was dangerous for him to go to Washington,' and the intensity with which she detailed the occasion made one feel as though she were living over again those strenuous times.

"I tell you we were glad when we heard that our president had reached the White House safely. You see, he had to change his dates so as to throw his enemies off their guard, and his friends smuggled him through Maryland in disguise.

"Douglas was elected to the senate when he ran against Lincoln, but his triumph was the forerunner of a terrible defeat. And there are politicians today who will be just where Douglas is now. Their victories will be turned into defeats.

"I read the future in the light of the past, and I want to say," continued Mrs. W., "that there is nothing more blinding than the white light of passing events, but when they are caught up and dissected in the spectrescope of the future, then we will see things as they really are and in their true view. In the light of future generations the defenders of liberty today will be honored then, even as LENA MORROW LEWIS. Lincoln is today."

## Some Family Affairs

provided the human species with so insistent and troublesome an organ as the stomach, she seems determined to justify herself by keeping up an eternal, and one is tempted to say, an infernal row unless it is kept properly filled.

Just when we have had a surfeit of strife and substitutes and with tired eyes are scanning the horizon for signs of peace and rest, the troubles of the seasonal worker bubbles to the surface again. It appears from his complaints that with all the investigations and official reports in his behalf and with all the numbers of him that have been sent to prison—they have a shelter and something to eat at least—he is in about as bad a case as ever in regard to the subtleties by which an apparent wage is not a real wage and with reference to indecencies of surroundings.

He is not only in trouble but he is troublesome. The thought of him and the harangueing of him disturb our believe that. But the work of the revolution was done in comfort. I will admit he sometimes has bad manners and that they sometimes injure his cause. He blatantly disturbs perfectly decorous persons in their calm consideration of the illusions of ideas, and their desire to assume the attitude of the humorous onlooker at life. No doubt, belligerent as he is, he would, with favoring training and environment, be glad to take up the onlooker pose. The difficulty with him seems to be that he is such a very real part of the life at which the onlooker looks. And the onlooker, especially the jocose onlooker, presupposes a stomach comfortably filled and in good working order. Then, too, the cold body and empty stomach of the seasonal worker are not so much of an illusion as you might think. They are apt to be considered by him as of equal or superior importance to ideas, illusory or otherwise. The fact is, his case is urgent and he finds it inconvenient even to wait for the next election for a meal and a bed.

It being so much easier to give advice than to act upon it, one might suggest to the strikers that, since they are in a minority at present and must at this time appeal for help and sympathy to somebody; and since the Socialists, bourgeois and otherwise, are the element to whom they naturally, inevitably and properly turn, and further, since they really cannot call out the police to compel the Socialists to act as they want them to, that their cause would be promoted to a greater degree perhaps if they approached said Socialists with as much suavity and patience as the exigencies of the situation

To the Socialists it might be suggested that prompt and practical are about the only words in the vocabulary in condemning the seasonal worker when the despera-

Nature's persistence is something remarkable. Having tion of his circumstances develops language upon his part which form material for the imagination of the headline writer? There are capitalist minded individuals and organizations which are glad to drive the seasonal worker to desperation in order to promote law and order and exterminate him. How the oranges are to be picked then and the other seasonal work done I do not know. Perhaps they do, being wise people.

The Socialists and strikers might both be reminded that they are blood brothers in the labor movement. And blood brotherhood cannot be abrogated by proclamation. It is generally conceded that laundering the family flatwork on the courthouse steps is not good form. A little consultation and understanding previous to meetings would tend to conserve the social standing of both

I read somewhere of the Russian revolution that in the great meetings all the people talked all night. I can committees. Not so idealistically democratic perhaps as efficient. Efficiency always loses something of the spectacular, but is rather an advantage in getting results.

GEORGIA KOTSCH.

#### RAYS OF HOPE

The editors of The Nation, The Dial, The New Republic and The Survey deserve the hearty commendation of all lovers of human freedom on their courageous stand in behalf of fair play in the treatment of internal Russian affairs. These men, flanked by other humanists of the calibre of Frank P. Walsh, Amos Pinchot, Jane Addams. Lincoln Colcord and John Havnes Holmes, have formed themselves into a Truth About Russia Committee, the purpose of which can be read in the name itself. None of these people are Bolsheviks. They are simply persons who distrust the lie as a medium of political enlightenment.

Equal commendation is due to Hiram Johnson, William Borah and Robert M. La Follette, who, from the floor of the United States Senate, have demanded that the American people be given the facts concerning conditions in Russia and the reasons, if there be such, for longer maintaining American troops in that picturesque and restive land. With portents such as these the more optimistic of us may indulge ourselves in the hope that the day is not far distant when the rays of Truth shall speak through the clouds of falsehood and misrepresentation which reactionary press correspondents have thrown about a sitneeded in extending sympathy to men and women on uation whose correct understanding is an obviously esstrike and if these be not acted upon where is the logic sential basis for the solving of as vital a social problem as exists in the world today. R. R. B.

## A "Revolt of Islam"

There is something new in women's clubs. The radical women of Los Angeles have set Shakespeare aside and shelved Browning for the time being and gone in for Shelley, with interesting results.

The Woman's Shelley Club is a group of women who united about a year ago with an avowed purpose of helping social progress. Such an aim sounds commonplace and harmless enough: most other organizations announce a like purpose. But there is a difference. This club holds that society must be reconstructed and put on a basis of cooperation and mutual helpfulness, if we would spare the future what our own generation has suffered.

The club holds that this great change is part of the evolution of the human race, that it will come, that it is coming. History, and even the prehistoric records of biology and geology confirm the belief. Society is traveling in the direction of cooperation and conservation of all that is

What can we do? Help the change. Progress has always been attained by the cruel suffering and sacrifice of the best and bravest of the whole human race. These greatest and tenderest have always suffered because the world did not understand them. Malignity and misrepresentation would stand for little if people understood. This club seeks to arouse the indifferent and to sustain the viligant. It will be a factor in clearing the road of progress from thorns.

But this great educational aim can only be accomplished by concrete work. Mrs. Mary Garbutt formed a plan for a reading room where the best literature can be assembled and circulated and which would be a meeting place for further and more extended work.

The club hopes to found and maintain such a center. It desires to gather together all women who are interested. It sees historical opportunity today which to miss were tragical indeed.

The name of this club is not an accident. The sweet faith of Shelley, his indignation at social wrongs, his clear insight into the future, and his courage in proclaiming his message, all make of him a norm that it is good to follow. It is just one hundred years ago this very year, on the occasion of the shooting of workingmen by the military during a strike at Manchester, England, that Shelley wrote an impassioned call; in it he defined slavery

> "Tis to work, and have such pay As just keeps life from day to day In your limbs, as in a cell, For the tyrants' use to dwell,

So that ye for them are made Loom, and plough, and sword, and spade-With or without your own will bent To their defence and nourishment.

'Tis to hunger for such diet. As the rich man in his riot Casts to the fat dogs that lie Surfeiting beneath his eye.'

and again,

"Tis to be a slave in soul, And to hold no strong control Over your own will, but be All that others make of ye."

There we have poetic insight that clearly defined the conditions of the working people twenty years before the Communist Manifesto was written. And again in the same poem, "The Mask of Anarchy," he said of freedom:

13

"Thou art not, as impostors say, A shadow soon to pass away A superstition and a name Echoing from the cave of Fame.

For the laborer thou art bread And a comely table spread, From his daily labor come In a neat and happy home.

Thou art clothes, and fire, and food, For the trampled multitude: No-in countries that are free Such starvation can not be As in England now we see."

And the refrain of this noble poem is the well-known

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

Thirteen years went by before even Shelley's friend dared to publish that poem. A hundred years, and Freedom is but an echo yet to many. But the echo is growing louder and more articulate. A purpose of the Woman's Shelley Club is to teach that freedom means clothes and fire and food and development to the full possibilities for each human life.

AGNES DOWNING.

#### WOMAN AND REVOLUTION

The work of changing the class strata of society and organization of all activities on a basis of cooperation. where love and good fellowship will be the bonds, is woman's work. The great men who have analyzed this change, who have foreseen and foretold its coming, who struggled so faithfully to make the change understood, were all doing woman's work. They are all the more entitled to our veneration in that, though they were only men, yet they willingly suffered and sacrificed for the good of others. They had the souls of women.

Engel put more research on woman's place in society than he did on all other questions. Bebel's great work is "Woman." Ruskin drew from the classics, from

THE NEW JUSTICE

Shakespeare, from all who went before him to focus the hopes of the world on woman's part in making a better civilization. Benjamin Kidd, with his fascinating, almost mystical "emotion of the ideal" holds that the qualities necessary to change from individual evolution to universal standards are entirely feminine qualities.

To be sure a proper sense of the fitness of things keeps women from dwelling on this theory, which comes from the greatest men and is very flattering to women in one sense. Yet, remember, if it ascribes to woman inherent power, it also places on her great responsibility.

Hence, it is with no sense of self-adulation, but rather with a deep conviction of a big duty that women accept the doctrine that it is woman's work to remake society. Woman has had many unwelcome duties that she accepted and in some way performed. She is now offered one which transcends all others. AGNES DOWNING.

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A RADICAL MAGAZINE

Vol 1-No. 2

**MARCH 1, 1919** 

#### JUSTICE

(Written for The New Justice)

"Justice is all we ask, and all we need!" The people cry it with a voice long drowned, The people shout it, and the swelling sound Shall smite upon the ears of fattening Greed Until the dullest shall at length give heed And, startled, terror-stricken, gaze around Upon the acres of his slave-tilled ground To ask who sowed this wild and lawless seed.

Aye, wild and lawless to the hardened heart, But to the Man of Thorns a holy song To make His poor lips smile, His slow tears start, Beholding in one vast and endless throng His children marching to their destined goal, The realization of each human soul! WALTER PRICHARD EATON.

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