



THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 1.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., JUNE 17, 1911.

NO. 8.

“GOOD SOCIALISTS”

Encouragement Should Be Given Them

By REGINALD VON ASTORBILT.

Some day I am going to spring a big surprise on my friends down at the Capitalists' Club. I'm going to suggest that our class co-operate with some of these once bothersome Socialists who seem lately to be showing a disposition to behave themselves—to regard themselves, in fact, as practical exponents of reputable reform within the existing social fabric rather than as trouble-makers bent on overthrowing our almost perfect commercial system and setting up a wild and visionary industrial democracy in its place.

I see no reason why my class should not extend to these wise and sane leaders the glad hand of fellowship. In fact I see every reason why we should and must do so for our own good. I have no patience with my old-fashioned colleagues who still pin their faith to the Democratic party as a means of absorbing the floating discontent and thereby serving as a buffer between property interests and the demands of the common herd.

It is, I think, high time that my class waked up to the fact that something labeled “Socialism” is our only hope in our final stand against those aggressive, rebellious Socialists who intend to deprive us of our rightful heritage as rulers and owners of the world. The word “Socialism,” accepted in its hazy, general, humanitarian sense by ever growing bodies of the vaguely discontented public, has lost so much of its earlier menace that my friends and I may well encourage the use of that magic word by those stalwart idealists who, while accepting what they conceive to be its doctrines, are not silly enough to lose themselves in dreams of actual revolt against the established order.

Look at that Los Angeles bunch, for instance. I really like those fellows. I do not, of course, refer to the rank and file—to the roughnecks and trouble-makers who have so shamelessly overcrowded the city jail in their reprehensible fight against Mayor Alexander's salutary and beneficent anti-picketing ordinance. I refer to the properly cautious gentlemen who, as the responsible leaders of the California movement, are exerting such noble efforts to keep that movement in the sedate paths of constructive reformism, and to debar from the California lecture platform such seditious firebrands as Debs, Haywood and Walling. True, they did not try to prevent Charles Edward Russell from speaking in the Golden State; but they doubtless would have done so had they guessed, some months ago, what a bad Socialist he really is.

Obviously my class and I must keep on jailing and hanging obstreperous workmen as long as we can get away with it; and we can, I think, continue to do so with reasonable ease as long as Socialist party leaders can be induced to confine their activities to such things as civic reform, municipal ownership and Asiatic exclusion. The latter I consider a particularly effective sop. In common with all my really thinking associates I realize that Japanese exclusion, while it can do my class not the slightest possible harm, furnishes an excellent means of diverting the energies of race-prejudiced workmen from activities which might actually threaten our position as custodians and directors of the great international industry in which American and Asiatic capital are jointly and harmoniously interested. I don't know which pleased me more—the adoption of that anti-Jap plank by the California Socialists last fall, or the recent efforts of the Los Angeles reformists to keep those pestiferous I. W. W. rebels out of the Socialist party.

On the other hand, I do not at all like what those Socialists did the other day in Vallejo, where they had a splendid opportunity to elect their candidates if only had had sense enough to stand on a conservative, non-subversive platform and to promise to take care of certain small

STAY IN THE PARTY

This Is the Time of Trial

WITHDRAWAL OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS IS DESIRED BY RING

Many comrades, filled with disgust at the lengths to which the State Office is going in its efforts to discourage or prevent all revolutionary Socialist propaganda, are considering withdrawal from the Socialist party. A number of individuals already have withdrawn, and one of the strongest county locals in the State (Santa Clara county) is voting upon a referendum proposing withdrawal from the Socialist Party of California and an appeal to the National organization.

All of which, you may be sure, is exactly what the plotters headed by Harriman, Cantrell and Meriam have counted upon and most desire. If they can drive out of the party a considerable portion of the comrades who stand for the revolutionary Socialist movement, they have just so much better chance of putting through their program of compromise and political trading. The result cannot but be disastrous (not only to the Socialist party, which would end in the oblivion which has swallowed the old People's party, but to the Socialist movement), and in several ways.

Already, among the large and rapidly increasing number of members of craft unions who are coming to feel that the industrial form of labor organization must be developed, a scornful mental attitude is being adopted toward political action. The failure of the so-called “Union Labor party” in San Francisco to do anything to advance the class interests of the workers has had something to do with this drift toward the fascinating but utopian doctrine of anarchism, but not so much as the recent spectacle of the Socialist party turning its chief activities toward supporting a greedy scramble of noted politicians for public office with pay attached, without regard to any question of whether such “victories” would aid in any way in the development of the Socialist movement. The present attitude of Socialist party officialdom in California is having the effect of increasing the adherents of anarchism enormously, and by the driving out of the Socialist party of many men who, while foolish and short-sighted in some respects, are of the finest types of the class conscious proletariat on the Coast.

In local meetings, whenever criticism of the State Office or its local representatives is indulged in, there arises an indignant cackle from the supporters of compromise:

“Why don't you get out of the party?”

That, clearly, is what is expected—and longed for by those who would rather have a dying Socialist party put them into office than see a

vigorous and revolutionary Socialist party working on for the organization and support of the working class in its struggle for emancipation from wage slavery.

The opportunity for trading was presented not alone by the existence of politically powerful craft union leaders who feel their control over the rank and file of the membership to be weakening, but in the encouragement given the exasperated middle class by the triumph of Johnsonism and Insurgency in State politics. In municipal campaigns where Insurgency is not prepared to contest the field with the existing political machines the opportunity for a trading and compromising “Socialist” party is presented. A much larger proportion of the working class than the “Socialist” leaders suppose understand these conditions. The greater part of these men, unfortunately, only consider the Socialist party as it is and as it threatens to become. They are unaccustomed to mass activity, and the field in which they could acquire the practice—the Socialist party—is less and less appealing to their judgment of what stands for the working class. The result is that they feel impelled to take the very course which the plotters have counted on, and remain out of the party after coming nearer and nearer to it for years; or actually withdraw from it after being in: Should the tendency continue, the Socialist party would be left, indeed, a mere political machine for the getting of office for eloquent and self-sacrificing “friends of labor,” who have “devoted years to the cause of Socialism” and want their reward.

If, on the other hand, the unreasoned drift of the awakening workers toward a mere futile class idealism can be stemmed, and the tide turned into the Socialist party to which it logically ought to flow, that party soon will become what it long has been aiming toward but never yet has been—the actual political expression of the revolutionary spirit and movement of the working class.

It is not what some “friends of labor” are trying to do with the party that is of moment (unless it should actually succeed), but what labor itself can do with the party if it will.

Those of us who believe in the revolutionary movement, and that its expression on the political field is essential to success, and the further fact that the Socialist party machinery should be taken possession of and used in the struggle, will remain in the party. Those who withdraw, through bad judgment, in pique or through growing tired of the hard fight, ARE DESERTERS ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

EUGENE V. DEBS CONTRIBUTES TO REVOLT FUND.

Few men in the world today have so much to think of (and think of so much!) as Eugene V. Debs. In the midst of the multitude of duties which he so courageously accepts he took time, a month ago, to prepare for REVOLT one of the most impressive articles which the Socialist movement has called forth. One line in it—“Death to compromise is life to the Revolution”—is destined not to be forgotten while the class struggle lasts.

This morning the editor received the following note inclosed with a dollar bill:

“Here's to REVOLT and the Revolution!

“Your comrade in arms,

“EUGENE V. DEBS.”

business interests in case of election. Really, it makes me shudder. And that San Francisco bunch will bear watching, too, what with their radical platform, their firebrand candidate for mayor, and their refusal to endorse Mr. Calhoun's Union Labor administration. I fear these tactics. Of course, the San Francisco and Vallejo Socialists are crazy. They won't elect anybody for quite a while. But when they do, it will be a case of “danger ahead” for my class.

WHY NOT?

Editor REVOLT:

Being duly impressed by certain recent actions of the State Executive Committee, I respectfully suggest the following amendment to the eligibility rules of the party constitution:

“No person who believes in abolishing the capitalist system shall be eligible for membership in the Socialist party.”

ROSWELL R. BROWNSON.

A SOCIALIST AND A REVOLUTIONIST.

Editor of REVOLT:

Comrade—Although I just subscribed to REVOLT, I've read every copy since its start, but the gem of all that has been printed is in the last issue of June 10, under the heading: “Who Will Be Mayor? Industrial Peace or Industrial War.” The plainest of all present conditions in our city are told therein, and my opinion is that the article would make one of the most powerful campaign circulars that could be put before the workmen and workingwomen of our city.

Wishing you and REVOLT all the possible success, I remain,

Yours a Socialist and a Revolutionist,

CHAS. J. DANIELSON.

NOT REVOLUTIONARY

Petit-Bourgeois Is Loyal To Capitalism

BY AUSTIN LEWIS.

Marxian Socialism predicates the formation of what is called the proletarian class. The process of the organization and development of that class is, in fact, the most striking phenomenon of the present industrial age, for on its organization and development depend the break-up of the existing system, and the substitution for it, as a successor, of another industrial system, which for want of a better name is called socialism.

The term socialism at the present time has two distinct concepts, the one standing for the process by which the proletariat develops its political and industrial independence of the existing capitalistic regime, and the other a more or less hazy objective, which is sometimes called socialism and often the co-operative commonwealth.

We may ignore this latter as being a sort of apocalyptic vision.

How is the proletariat to obtain the supremacy?

According to Marx by the operation of two distinct processes—one, the growth of the proletariat itself, the rise and progress of class consciousness, with all the industrial and political manifestations flowing therefrom; the other, the automatic process of capitalism which necessitates ever more involved and complex industrial machinery, the coming into being, the development and the perpetuation of combinations.

This process of necessity implies the extinction of very large numbers of small competing capitalists, industrialists, and merchants, who formed the backbone of the present system in its earlier stages.

There can be no real doubt as to the correctness of the Marxian predictions with respect to capitalistic development, for we have now unquestionably the greater capitalism with all the legal and political problems which it involves. As a counterpart also we see the decline in importance of the smaller capitalism which in its turn has in all modern communities given rise to certain very distinct and easily differentiated political manifestations.

The question thereon occurs: Is the Marxian theory of the rise of a revolutionary proletariat correct?

Unless this can be shown the whole of the revolutionary theory topples, at least as far as the socialist propaganda is concerned.

So we are brought to an examination of the proletariat itself and to a somewhat close analysis of its component parts, that we may the better appreciate the substantial power which it actually possesses, with a view of determining its possible effectiveness in a revolutionary struggle.

It will be observed that the term “revolutionary” is used in the broadest possible sense and is not confined to those physical manifestations and ebullitions which are generally the concomitants and transitory expressions of politico-social movements but which are not to be confused with the movements themselves.

The Marxian classification broadly and very satisfactorily divides modern industrial communities into three broad sections—the greater and dominant capitalism, which is practically in control; the smaller capitalism which has lost control but which stubbornly and incessantly maintains the fight against the greater capitalism, and the proletariat which is practically, so far, a negligible quantity.

The Marxian theory predicates the destruction of the petit bourgeois and the forcible thrusting of that somewhat unpleasant individual into the pit of proletarianism whence he is to come forth as an avenging angel and to repay his sufferings at the hands of the greater capitalism by the destruction of the latter.

But here we encounter somewhat of a check for the beaten petit bourgeois does not to any extent take sides with the proletariat and does not furnish that leadership and brains to the proletarian movement which it was confidently expected that he would. On the other hand the later decades have been marked by the growth of what is called “the new middle class” which is not revolutionary. Indeed, the whole Bernstein controversy which has occupied so much space and generated so much heat rests precisely on this undeniable fact.

If we look at the matter from a practical and concrete standpoint it is easily understood why this is so.

When a trust takes over the field of an industry it disposes of its opponents two ways. It buys them out and takes the best brains of the

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM.

SAN FRANCISCO.

We, the members of the Socialist Party of San Francisco, in convention assembled, proclaim ourselves an integral part of the International Socialist movement.

We call attention to the failure and neglect of the McCarthy administration to advance the interests of the working class in San Francisco.

We realize that in society there rages a conflict between the working class and the capitalist class and that this conflict finds expression on the POLITICAL as on the INDUSTRIAL field.

The capitalist class grows ever more dominant by taking possession of the product of the working class and entrenching itself behind governmental power.

The working class has been reduced to a condition where it is allowed a wage only sufficient to keep it alive and reproduce its kind.

Government, whether it be national, state or municipal, has in the past been only an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class to keep the workers in subjection.

The Socialist Party is alone capable of administering government in the interest of the workers, as its historic mission is to further the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

The freedom of the working class is possible only when the instruments of labor are transferred to the control of the worker and the product is justly and equitably distributed.

Realizing that the emancipation of the toiler must be by the efforts of his own class, we call upon the San Francisco workers to unite as one in the Socialist Party, the only party financed and controlled by the working class.

Program.

Pledging ourselves to a real working class administration in this city, the Socialist Party presents to the workers the following program as measures to defend or advance the interests of labor.

1. A universal maximum work day of not more than eight hours.

2. Immediate relief for the unemployed by giving them employment on useful public work at union wages for union hours.

3. The most improved sanitary shop and housing conditions.

4. The strict enforcement of adequate child labor legislation.

5. Adequate provisions for free public employment agencies and the abolition of private employment agencies and kindred forms of grafting on the workers.

6. Adequate provisions for the education of all children. This to include free text books and free mid-day meals.

7. The abolition of the "third degree" and similar forms of police outrages.

8. The collective municipal ownership of all public utilities as an inevitable part of the general Socialist program to transfer the ownership of the means of production to the working class.

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

Primary Municipal Election, September 26, 1911. Mayor—William McDevitt. Police Judges—W. E. Dillon, David Henderson.

District Attorney—Emil Liess. City Attorney—W. H. Sigourney. Assessor—H. F. Sahlender. Auditor—A. K. Gifford. Treasurer—Oliver Everett. Tax Collector—David Milder. Recorder—Henry Warnecke. Public Administrator—W. A. Pfeiffer.

County Clerk—M. H. Morris. Sheriff—Thos. J. Mooney. Coroner—Dr. M. B. Ryer.

Supervisors—Rollar Allen, Edward W. Bender, George Bostel, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogue, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehman, Joe Moore, Olaf Mork, Chas. Preston, Ernest L. Reguin, John M. Reynolds, William Schafer, S. Schulberg, George Styche, Lynus Vanalstine, Walter E. Walker.

To vote for Socialism, vote this ticket and Vote It Straight!

NOTED SPEAKER HERE.

James P. Thompson will deliver two addresses in Jefferson Square Hall under the auspices of the I. W. W., Friday night, June 23, and Sunday night, June 25.

JOINT PICNIC FOR BENEFIT OF REVOLT AND YOUNG SOCIALISTS OF SAN FRANCISCO AT GLEN PARK SUNDAY, JULY 30, 1911

Take Guerrero Street Car Direct to Glen Park Tickets, 25 Cents

SIMMERS AND SIZZLERS.

Every person joining the American Federation of Labor takes an obligation to the effect, "that they will not discriminate against a man because of race, creed, or color."

Now that the harvest season is here, the traveling worker called "The Hobo" is risking his very life riding the brake beams, decking a freight or passenger, riding on the rods underneath the cars, stealing in among the cattle that go to slaughter houses—yea verily risking his life to reach the harvest fields, so that he can work a sixteen-hour shift, sleep in a barn with the mules and horses, and get about \$2.00 a day, and sometimes \$1.00 a day.

In these days the Socialist movement calls for men of action, men of courage, men who can understand what the defeats of to-day mean; men who will not have their heads turned by allurements of political success for themselves at the sacrifice of the ideals of Socialism.

The dogs and cats of the bourgeois receive more and better attention than the children of the working class; they get grub without rustling for it.

Even in old China, the grand philosophy and science of Socialism has crowded its way in, and is disturbing the peace of mind of the nobles, who have ground down and exploited the millions of suffering serfs.

A Congressman from California called Hayes has introduced a law that would prevent all but members of the Aryan race from becoming citizens of the United States.

A "Labor Party" that does not aim at the abolition of capitalism, and for the establishment of Socialism is not a labor, but a capitalist party.

Many of the proletariat are deprived of their political privileges already by vicious election laws and other means. Those that still possess political advantage should use it for the best interests of their class.

Once again a gigantic struggle is raging between the wage workers and their employers in the city of Philadelphia. This time the struggle is in the Baldwin Locomotive Works, recently acquired by the Morgan gang of industrial pirates.

The strikers in Philadelphia are up against a hard proposition, but they can not lose, as every struggle is a milestone in the road to our emancipation.

Ten Cent Books on Socialism

How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society, by William Thurston Brown (just ready). Socialism Made Easy, Connolly. Crime and Criminals, Darrow. The Open Shop, Darrow. Unionism and Socialism, Debs. The State and Socialism, Deville. Socialism, Revolution, Internationalism, Deville. The Detective Business, Dunbar. The Question Box, Eastwood. Suppressed Information, Warren. Socialism, What It Is, Liebknecht. The Right to Be Lazy, Lafargue. Class Struggles in America, Simons. Our Mental Enslavement, Caldwell. The Socialist Movement, Vall. One Big Union, Trautmann. The Wolves, Wason. The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels. The Social Evil, Greer. Value, Price and Profit, Marx.

One each of these twenty books or twenty copies of any one of them will be mailed to any address for \$1.00. In smaller lots, 10c a copy, postpaid. Address: Charles H. Kerr & Company 118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago

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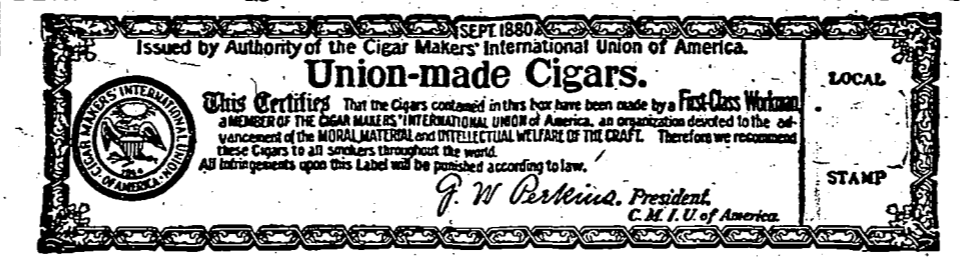
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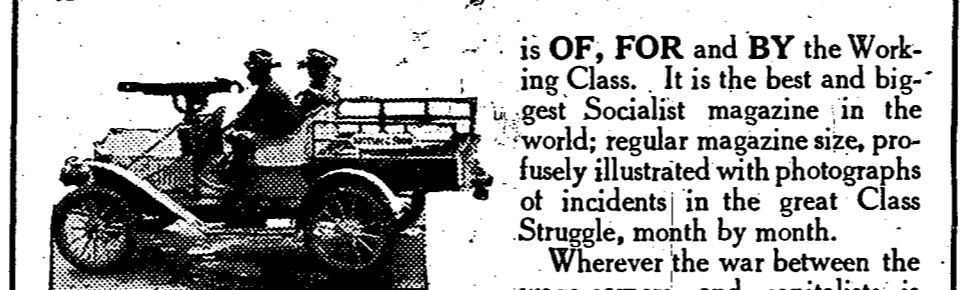
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Previously reported Eugene V. Debs 1.00 Mrs. Pena Hermann 6.00 Mrs. A. Sorensen (second donation) 1.00 Total to date \$93.50

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COME AND HEAR JAMES P. THOMPSON (Lecturer and orator), the foremost expounder of Revolutionary Industrial unionism on the Pacific Coast, will speak under the auspices of the I. W. W. at Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue.

DEBATE. "Resolved: That the workmen of San Francisco should support the Union Labor party in the coming elections," is the subject of a debate to be held in Valencia Theatre Sunday evening, June 25, under the auspices of the Open Forum.

During the World's Fair, let us see to it that every visitor goes away with the knowledge that there is a big fighting Socialist movement in San Francisco.

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MISSING OR DELAYED PAPERS. Any subscriber to REVOLT failing to receive the paper in due course (it should be delivered in San Francisco and the bay cities on Monday following the date of issue), will confer a favor upon the board of directors by sending notice of the failure.

WHERE TO GO. Regular mass meeting of Local San Francisco at Fifteenth and Mission streets, the first Monday in each month, 8:15 p. m. Educational meetings on all other Monday nights.

Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, every Tuesday night in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue.

Liberal League for Mexican Freedom, second and fourth Tuesdays in each month, 8 p. m., in Jefferson Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue.

Socialist dance every Saturday evening, Puckett's Maple Hall, Polk and California streets.

Open Forum meets in Jefferson Square Hall every Thursday night. Street meetings of the Socialist Party every Saturday night at Grant avenue and Market street.

"LIBERTY GROUP" MEETINGS. The following program has been arranged by the "Liberty Group" for Sunday night meetings in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue: June 18, E. B. Morton. Subject: "Stray Thoughts of a Kicker." June 25, Cloudesley Johns. Subject: "The Spirit of Revolt."

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