



REVOLT

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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NO. 8.

ACTUAL DIVISIONS

Dangers to the Socialist Movement

By CLARENCE MEILY.

All of us are familiar with the cleavage in the ranks of the capitalist class which divides it into two groups of large and small proprietors, the captains of industry on the one hand and the petty bourgeoisie on the other, and the bitter antagonism between the two which is manifested in the "reform" and "insurgency" movements in current politics. We are not so well acquainted with the fact that a similar cleavage exists in the ranks of the working class in the United States which likewise divides it into two groups between which there is a good deal of surly enmity. On the one hand is the better-placed workingman, the skilled laborer, owning some property, usually, at least, a home, having therefore a fixed place of residence and the residential qualifications necessary to enable him to vote, organized in some craft union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and still pretty thoroughly middle-class in his ideas, habit of mind and point of view. On the other hand is the unskilled worker, the "rough-neck," propertyless, nomadic, without the right to vote, organized, as far as he is organized at all, in the Industrial Workers of the World, and strongly impregnated with a vague, aimless, smoldering anarchism.

As the Socialist party becomes more and more the actual, practical representative of the working class upon the political field, this factional division in the working class is reflected with ever-increasing clearness in the party organization. On the one hand are the "working-class opportunists" whose program of immediate demands, whose enthusiasm for measures of present relief, and whose thinly disguised indifference to the ultimate goal of capitalistic overthrow, correspond fairly well with the hopes and desires of the conservative craft-unionists. On the other hand are the "impossibilists" whose intense revolutionary radicalism and neglect of immediate practical concerns correspond equally well with the temper of the lower stratum of the proletariat. And it can not be denied that certain profound tendencies in modern industrial development, notably, the increasing impotence of the segregated craft unions in the intensifying struggle between capital and labor, and the constant improvement in machine methods of manufacture which render the skilled laborer superfluous, are steadily strengthening the position of the impossibilist wing of the party.

Each of these positions, both that of the opportunist and the impossibilist, has its peculiar danger. On the one hand, opportunism, pushed to an extreme, tends to degenerate into mere bourgeois reformism, to become involved in the questionable practices, the embarrassing compromises and dubious victories of old party politics, and to prove in the end a bitter, heart-breaking disappointment to the whole working class. On the other hand, impossibilism, pushed to a corresponding extreme, tends to fall into a quagmire of semi-violent, futile anarchism, to abandon political action and all persistent, organized, intelligent effort at close emancipation, and to prove equally disappointing and even more dangerous than a degenerate opportunism. It is but fair to say, however, that impossibilities are, as a rule, much more alive to their peculiar danger than are the opportunists to theirs.

As these two wings of the Socialist party, the opportunists and impossibilists, reflect an actual division in the working class, they must be regarded as normal, or, at all events, as likely to persist indefinitely. Theoretically, it seems easy to define an ideal middle course which all intelligent Socialists should take, in which the importance of immediate demands should be fully recognized while the revolutionary goal, the abolition of the wage system of industry, should be the inspiration and final aim of all our efforts, a middle course in which the warmest and closest relations should be maintained with the craft unions while the importance of industrial unionism should be insisted on and an equally friendly attitude shown toward the I. W. W. Practically, such a middle course is difficult to arrive at, owing largely to the antagonism and jealousies between the two factions of the working class itself. But there can be no question that such a course should be approximated as closely as possible, especially by Socialists who have been intrusted with the responsibilities of office within the party. It is of the most crying importance that the Socialist party be made fully representative of all factions and divisions of the proletariat, as well as the effective voice of all the oppressed and exploited everywhere, whether on farm or in factory, and the haven of every rebellious spirit which has revolted against the iniquities and abominations of the capitalist regime. The Socialist party, if it

(Continued on Page 2.)

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

ONCE MORE IN SAN FRANCISCO

Militant Working Class Representative Will Tell "Story of Labor."

Through William D. Haywood speaks the spirit of protest of the working class of the world against the brutal domination of the master class in world affairs.

In the years of endeavor in Colorado, while his best efforts were being put forth for the organization of a union of mine workers that would present a solid front to the enemy, the events of his life from day to day were making known to him THE STORY OF LABOR.

In the long months of dread, after he had been kidnaped and rushed out of Colorado into the jurisdiction where it was proposed to hang him and his comrades at leisure, sitting in his cell in Boise jail under the shadow of the rope, THE

he did not feel himself fitted to tell in all its terrific significance such a story as that.

In city after city, in continent after continent, as he pursued his way around the world last year, meeting men jailed by the masters for loyalty to working class interests, meeting other men whom the masters long to jail but dare not, studying the condition and the hopes and fears of the workers everywhere, speaking to the vast audiences in different countries, THE STORY OF LABOR was worked out to completion in Haywood's mind.

Haywood had thought to tell this great story at his first meeting in California, held under the auspices of Local San Francisco in Valencia



STORY OF LABOR—the dawning of class-consciousness in the darkened mind of labor; the hopes of the emancipation of labor from wage slavery that were born; the agony of labor under the lash of capitalism wielded fiercely to keep the working class submissive to the masters' rule—began to take form in Haywood's mind.

With the murderous conspiracy of the Mine Owners' Association broken by the manifestation of class solidarity which developed for his defense, and Haywood set free, he triumphed over the effects of the strain which the long months of waiting at the foot of the gallows had caused, and THE STORY OF LABOR came to dominate and drive out the dark thoughts of death which had filled his mind. Still, he would not try to tell it, for, though he was a powerful speaker even then, as working class speakers go,

theatre, July 22, but the decision was to make the occasion a McNamara protest meeting. Haywood, therefore, instead of telling his wonderful story, sketched the development of master class warfare, on the working class in all countries, showing thereby the meaning of the attack on labor in this "free" country by the master class. Most of the readers of REVOLT know how effective, how impressive, he made these word pictures of the class struggle in all lands, and this will help them to form some estimate of the intensity and power he will display next Wednesday night when, at last, he will tell THE STORY OF LABOR to a San Francisco audience.

The meeting will be held where Haywood delivered the other address, in Valencia Theatre, but admission to the balcony has been fixed at 15 cents so that none who wish to hear the great working class champion tell his STORY OF LABOR need be denied.

IN TWO COUNTRIES

Attempted Betrayal of Workers

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

Robert Rives La Monte in last week's REVOLT gave us an excellent article on the case of J. Ramsay MacDonald, the English Labor Party leader who is about to join the Liberal Party and accept a cabinet position. The matter is, however, so important that it should be looked at from another angle, and to enable the casual reader to do this the main facts are recapitulated.

It would appear that MacDonald, after producing a condition of affairs somewhat similar to that which a certain group are endeavoring to produce here has practically sold out. There is nothing new in that. All people with ideas like MacDonald sell out eventually in one way or another; it may be for cash and immediate recognition; it may be for what is called distinction, and it may be, as we in this State are too well aware, for the most sordid considerations of personal gain and immediate pecuniary profit.

MacDonald in order to retire with any appearance of grace was obliged to quarrel with his own party. The opportunity came in the discussion of the National Insurance Bill. The question arose as to whether the insurance should be contributory (that is the employers and employees to contribute to the fund for the insurance), or free, universal, and non-contributory. The former plan which is, of course, Liberal, was championed by MacDonald, the latter by Philip Snowden, a labor leader who had hitherto favored the liberalization of the Labor Party but is now calling a halt.

The whole business is a dispute about nothing, for the working class will have to pay for their own insurance under any conditions. If the employers have to contribute, the contribution will come out of wages; if the State pays, the employers will pay by means of taxation, and recoup themselves out of wages.

The New Age says on this point:

"With the text-books of economics open before us, the statistics of recent production tabulated, and the evidence and arguments of independent workers marshaled in our support, we unhesitatingly say that Mr. Lloyd George's Insurance Bill is the worst measure devised by Parliament since the poll tax acts of 1380. Those acts were followed by Wat Tyler's rebellion. This act, if any spirit is left in our wage slaves, will be followed by a purge of Parliament which will drive out the whole treacherous Labor Party and such bobtails of the unionists as know not their right hands from their left."

We may depend upon it that any activities on the part of the Socialist-Union combination will have precisely the same effect in this State. It might be amusing to sit down and watch destiny play the devil with the tricksters, but life is short and we are really anxious to see something of actual value accomplished.

Still the delay is worth while when the New Age can tell the sleepy old fogies in the Channel fogs the following indubitable truths, which are the concentrated essence of Socialist philosophy:

"Under a capitalist system wages tend to the subsistence level, and if by free, or contributory services, workmen are enabled to subsist on less wages than heretofore, their competitive necessity is reduced and their wages fall in consequence. It is in fact from this very reasoning reinforced as it has been by statistical observation over the last twenty years that we conclude that every scrap of Liberal legislation has actually intensified the impoverishment of labor. Free education, free parks, free libraries, free food, free pensions, and now assisted insurance, have one common economic effect—they enable the working class to demand and receive less and less in wages. What the working man gains on the savings of state charity he loses on the roundabouts of private wages."

In complete and refreshing contrast to the foolishly wicked policy above described we find the industrial unionism of which Tom Mann was the most recent exponent moving along to victory after victory.

The strike now taking place in London is the third strike since Coronation week, and its two predecessors have been entirely successful. As one who saw the beginnings of the "new unionism," the glorious results of which have been described in the preceding paragraph, this later departure is full of promise.

The spirit of the new movement is from a revolutionary point of view very much superior to that of its predecessor. When Ben Tillet, the leader of the present London strike, was told that the strike would interfere with the food of the public he replied: "I care as little for the food of the public as the public cares for our food." That is the new attitude, an independent and manly stand which refuses to place the working class

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FREE SPEECH.

In reports of the arrest of speakers and members of the audience at the Latin-American meeting at Broadway and Grant avenue last Sunday, the capitalist press of this city by implication justifies the assaults of the police upon the gathering, the rough-house arrests and the placing of the prisoners under \$1000 bonds on charges of "conspiracy to incite a riot." The papers carefully explain, however, that the police, in starting the riot which the peaceful audience is accused of "inciting," was actuated by no wish to suppress free speech—it was not, because the soap-boxers were speaking freely that they were clubbed and arrested; it was because of what they were saying.

This has been the defense of the suppressors of free speech from time immemorial. It was the defense of the Jews who crucified Jesus of Nazareth; it was the defense of the Christians who tore Hypatia to pieces; it was the defense of the English who were more than anxious to hang Patrick Henry and his fellows; it was the excuse of the English that did hang so many of the Irish patriots; it was the excuse of Diaz in hounding Magon and his co-workers and seeking their destruction. All these executed or persecuted men spoke against existing governments or existing churches or both.

The only noble and valuable uses which a sensible man can have for free speech is to speak against abuse of power and in advocacy of change in the order of society. Therefore to any sensible man the very phrase "free speech" means the privilege of attacking the government and any religious forms they chance to disapprove of. When blue-coated bullies say to some man, "You can have free speech as long as you don't talk against the government or the church," they are talking at once in the language of tyrants and imbeciles.

The affair last Sunday came about in this wise: It appears that, at the street corner in question, persons who for some reason are devoted to a certain church are wont to pass on their way to worship.

It appears also that at the same street corners other persons, who for some reason are wont to look upon that same church with suspicion and dislike, are wont to congregate to voice their opinions for whatever they may be worth to whoever may consider them worth listening to. It seems that the passing worshipers have filled the speakers with disgust, causing them to give honest opinions of the church which have filled the passing worshipers with holy rage. 'Twas ever thus when citizens who adore and other citizens who hate one certain thing have had the misfortune to be thrown together by circumstances. The best that can be hoped is that such may learn to let each other alone as much as possible.

This, it appears, is the course taken by the Latin-American "reds" in the main. They never complained to the police that the church members disturbed their meeting by flaunting their hated sanctity past it. They contented themselves with giving their opinions of that certain church organization to which these objectionable pedestrians belonged, and this they had a perfect "free speech" right to do.

The religionists, however, showed themselves more vindictive. They were not content to harass the "reds" with displays of piety, but invoked the aid of the police. Hence the riot which the "reds" are accused of inciting.

It seems the police and their courts have lost sight of the facts altogether. "The reds" did not want any riot. They wanted free speech, to criticize the church and damn the government, which all sensible men and women must recognize as a right which they should have. The religionists, on the other hand, did want a riot, but not for themselves. They wanted a riot for the "reds," else they would not have called on the police. The police, for some reason, yielded to the desire of the religious citizens that they club the irreligious citizens. The riot was incited by the religious citizens and started by the police, but the irreligious free speech champions are in jail under \$1000 bonds.

There's only one rational explanation—the cops or their bosses must belong to that church. The free speech champions were unfortunate in

that their minds did not run to criticism of some larger religion, as Mohammedanism, and some greater government, as that of Russia, or that they did not go to Persia to criticize the American Government and the Roman Pope. However, society as a whole is fortunate indeed in the existence of men who will insist upon the rights of free speech under conditions which lead to jail. Every free speech champion jailed means more free speech.

DID THE M'NAMARAS DO THIS?

The following is a press dispatch which appeared in the capitalist newspapers. Detective Burns must be asleep. He should not pass up a chance like this. He should "find" a fuse, or "evidences" of such, extending across the continent from the Los Angeles county jail.

When Burns blows up, as it seems he is about to do, who will there be to try and persuade the public that it was dynamite instead of a gas explosion?

Here is the press report of the destruction of a newspaper plant not owned by Otis: LOUISVILLE, Ky., Aug. 11.—Fire believed to have been caused by an explosion in the engraving department this morning wrecked the building of the Louisville Herald and destroyed the plant. The explosion occurred after all editions had been published and comparatively few persons were in the building at the time.

The loss, including the damage to the building, will amount to about \$125,000.

Pending the completion of the Herald's new building, started several months ago, the Herald will be published from the plant of the Evening Post.

WALLING AND BOHN TO WRITE.

William English Walling and Frank Bohn will be among the contributors of special articles to the Labor Day issue of REVOLT, published September 2. Every friend of Revolutionary Socialism should try to secure as many subscribers as possible before that date.

DETECTIVE BURNS EVERYWHERE DISCREDITED.

(By National Socialist Press.)

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 19.—Stung to the quick by the widespread publicity that has been given to his questionable methods in dealing with those who fall into his clutches, William J. Burns is emitting a most pitiful whine.

Newspapers all over the country have taken up the case since the first exposures by the National Socialist Press and have shown how the brutal "operatives" have tortured prisoners and witnesses. It has been repeatedly said that Burns was a bloodhound and wanted the men convicted whether they were guilty or not guilty. He denies this and declares he will do all he can to help them "prove their innocence."

"I will run down any clue the union men may give me, make any investigation. The men are going to have a fair trial."

Burns is under indictment in Indianapolis on a felony charge of kidnaping John H. McNamara. The preliminaries to the trial have been a series of kidnapings, perjuries, lies, force, fraud and persecutions. Yet Burns, who is controlling the actions of the district attorney's office, is declaring that a fair trial is a certainty.

Police Detective Guy Biddinger of Chicago is competing with Burns in boasting of his exploits. Biddinger declares that the people here are only half awake or they would have met the McNamaras at the train and torn them limb from limb.

Detective Burns has made a futile attempt to secure the discharge of a newspaper man who, he declares, misquoted him. Burns said the Employers' Association would send attorneys here to assist him in the prosecution.

"The detective declares his belief that the workers have deserted the McNamara brothers.

"I don't think the working people are backing the McNamaras. We have about fixed that. Why, my magazine story must have convinced them that I am all right," said Burns to a group of newspapermen. When he was told that the working people of Los Angeles were a unit in their belief in the men the detective became angry and expressed his contempt for the union men and the Socialists of California who are standing so firmly on the side of the imprisoned workers.

The detectives seem determined to still further prejudice the people against the men now in jail. It is known that it will be difficult to obtain a jury and the detectives are hourly making it more difficult. District Attorney Fredericks has written a newspaper story in which he expressed his belief in the guilt of the men and his belief that they will be convicted.

George Behm, the old locomotive engineer of Portage, Wis., uncle of Ortie McManigal, defied the grand jury and refused to answer certain questions propounded to him. All the bluffs about sending him to jail were of no avail and there was no citation for contempt. Behm merely stood pat and the court could not force him to answer.

The daily press made itself ridiculous by suddenly discovering that the earth surrounding the hole made by the exploding of a so-called infernal machine near General Otis' home last October had been removed by the defense. The "hole" was captured a week before the Burns people knew of it. The attorneys for the defense had the evidence gathered to show the character of the explosion. The hole made was only a few inches deep and resembled a hole made by the explosion of a cannon cracker or a small amount of some powder. It shows at any rate that the "infernal machine" could not possibly have done any harm at the point where it was "found" by the authorized "bomb finder" who was sent out on the job.

RESPECT FOR THE UNIFORM.

By DAVID MILDNER.

The San Francisco Call states that President Taft has been compelled again to institute measures to prevent insults to the uniform of "our" army and navy. Then it comments further that the enlisted men of the army and navy have not infrequently been subjected to humiliation because of their uniform.

The resentment against the uniform is quite natural. But it comes in a different manner from two distinct classes in society. I can fully sympathize with the enlisted men, having been wearing the uniform myself for a number of years. The working class despises the uniform because it recognizes in it the garb of a traitor to the class; an instrument in the hands of the master class, to thwart the efforts of the workers to obtain better conditions in the shops, or obtaining a greater share of the products of their own labor.

Whenever the workers strike for better wages or shorter hours it is the police, the militia, the army or the navy that they have to encounter. The master class, being too cowardly to oppose the workers in their struggle, dresses part of the working class, recruited from the standing army of the unemployed, in uniform to fight for the masters' interests. One can readily understand the feeling of a working man, who in order to have enough clothing, food and shelter, for himself, wife and children is confronted by his brother worker in a uniform, sent by his master to drive him back to work, often under worse conditions than before the strike. I can imagine the feeling of the dock workers and the freight handlers in England at present against the enlisted men in England, who are feeding them lead when they demand bread.

But says the Call, "The American soldier can never be made into a Tommy Atkins, he is not built of that stuff, he is an American. His uniform stands for the flag of his country." But the Call had forgotten to add that the American flag and the American country belong to the Master class; because the working class is a disinherited class and has neither country nor flag.

Yet the workers in the American uniform have been used at Homestead, in Coeur d'Alene, in Chicago, in Telluride and other places too numerous to mention, against the workers in overalls.

The hatred of the soldiers by the master class is an entirely different proposition. Theirs is the contempt of all masters for those they hire to do their dirty work. For what is more contemptible than the traitor who sells himself for thirteen pieces of silver per month, to betray and shoot his fellow workers? That the masters are stupid enough to show their contempt, is the only thing the Call is kicking about. The Call has no more love for the soldiers and sailors than President Taft, who said in the Philippines that the American soldiers and sailors are the scum of American society, and not to judge the Americans by that standard. Of course Mr. Taft did not expect to be the commander-in-chief of the American Army and Navy at that time.

There never will be any respect for the uniform, laws and Call editorials notwithstanding. The time when men will be respected will be when they understand that the uniform is really degrading, that the uniform makes a man an automaton, and disgraces both the wearer and the class he belongs to.

When no man will don a uniform to retard the progress of his fellow men, "thou shalt not kill thy fellow worker" will be the supreme command of his conscience, no matter what race, religion or nationality his fellow worker might belong to; then the only army in existence will be the army of Militant Workers for the benefit of the working class primarily, and humanity in general. Then laws and editorials will not be necessary to compel respect, because self-respect and the love of humanity will command respect.

A DILEMMA.

(Continued from Page 2.)

to which the working class has raised him gives such advice as that? There is a people, millions of working people, tens of thousands of them in peonage, a peonage often worse than chattel slavery; for when the peon's master lashes him to death it costs the master nothing. We are class conscious. We are world's patriots. We did not make that imaginary line. Our enemy made it. Seeing these peons fighting for their liberty, for some bread, and a piece of land, men like William Stanley and Simon Berthold cross that imaginary line to help their own class, their own nation, in the true sense; they cross that line, and give their lives fighting against fearful odds for their class—for human liberty in Mexico. Then the man we have trusted tells us to "waste no sympathy upon them." A dilemma!

Concerning the actual condition across that imaginary line, our enemy's press has entered into a conspiracy of silence. A large portion of our own press join in the conspiracy.

What shall we do? We have remonstrated, and our remonstrances have been tossed aside with indifference if not contempt. What shall we do? A dilemma!

We find right here in Los Angeles such utter disregard of the one thing most dear to our hearts—the International Solidarity of the Working Class. We find such cowardice in face of the enemy, that we are in a dilemma. From the bottom of our troubled hearts, we ask ourselves, What shall we do?

To sustain such a situation by giving it our votes would seem to strengthen this criminal indifference to the interests of the International Working Class.

On the other hand, we do not intend to be indifferent to our comrades in prison here. We are not forgetful of local class interests. We are not forgetful of our countrymen right here—oppressed by the same enemy that is oppressing our countrymen on the other side of Morgan's line. But we do fear that they are trusting some who will utterly fail them when the hour of their greatest need shall come.

All over the world, many, many faithful ones like Tom Mann, heartsick and saddened, are folding their tents. To attempt to hide this condition is cowardice and in the end will bring ruin. For myself, all other matters are as chaff in comparison with the One International Solidarity of the Working Class. "No man can serve two masters." The brotherhood of man can come only when there be on this earth but one nation—a nation in which everyone works, and no one can live by exploiting another.

Now, frankly, my dilemma: I do not know whether to do like Tom Mann—fold my tent, or not.

(Editorial Note: Don't do it, Bond! We'll win the Socialist party to Socialism and then go on to win the world for the working-class.)

RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS' BALL.

A concert and ball for the benefit of the Russian political prisoners and the Socialist press of America will be given Sunday evening, September 3, by the Russian Branch of Local San Francisco, Socialist party, in Workers' Hall, 20 Flint street. The Finnish band will furnish music. Refreshments served. The admission price will be 25 cents. Take Market street cars to Sixteenth street.

POLICE UNDERSTANDING.

One of the speakers arrested in the "riot" on Sunday was reading a passage from Ernst Haeckel's great book, The Riddle of the Universe. The passage was quoted in Italian. Attorney Sur asked the policeman who was on the witness stand if he understood either Italian or Haeckel. Of course the cop knew nothing about either; all he knew was that the book was some atheist dope read by a foreigner at a street meeting; and so the bull saw his duty as "a dead sure thing," and he went for the foreigner there and then. The average policeman is certainly a lover of enlightenment—with a club.

HAYWOOD DATES IN CALIFORNIA.

August 21, High School Auditorium, Berkeley; auspices of the Branch.

August 23, San Francisco; for benefit of REVOLT.

August 26, Sacramento.
(Other dates from July 22 to August 25 are open. Apply to REVOLT.)

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