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from that of exploitation in the individual consumption of the laborer. In analyzing the genesis of surplus value, Marx explicitly states that he is dealing with the circulation of CAPITAL. It is only the PRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION of the laborer which enters into this problem. It shows the shallowness of Comrade La Monte's economics, that he flatters himself with having refuted my position relative to the laborer's exploitation in INDIVIDUAL CONSUMPTION, when he quotes passages from Marx which deal only with the laborer's PRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION. In order to understand my position, we must analyze the circulation of LABOR POWER, not that of CAPITAL. But this circulation does not fall under the head of the Marxian analysis of capitalist production, and Marx has, therefore, no reason at all for analyzing the circulation of labor power in any other way than so far as it enters into the circulation of capital. This alone is sufficient to demonstrate the baseness of Comrade La Monte's claim that I am citing Marx as an authority on exploitation in consumption. In order to show the nature of this exploitation, we must analyze a circulation, which Marx had no reason to take into more than passing consideration. But this does not prevent me from drawing the logical conclusions following from a consistent analysis of the circulation of labor power. That Marx knew of this circulation, and that it is a legitimate field for Socialist analysis, is shown by the following quotation from Vol. III, Section L, Chapter IV, "Considered in its complete form, the circulation of money capital expresses simply the process of utilization and accumulation of capital. E. V. The consumption in it is productive consumption, as shown by the formula M—C smaller than L plus Pm, and it is only this which is included in this circulation of individual capital. M—L means L—M, as M, on the part of the laborer, is the first phase of circulation which promotes his individual consumption, thus L—M—C (means of subsistence). The second phase, M—C, no longer falls within the circulation of individual capital, but it is initiated by individual capital and an indispensable premise for it, since the laborer must, above all, live and maintain himself by individual consumption, in order to be always on the market for exploitation by the capitalist. But this consumption is here only assumed as the condition for the productive consumption of labor power by capital; in other words, it is considered only in so far as the laborer produces and reproduces his labor power by his individual consumption."  
The further circulation of labor power through its second phase, M—C, must be analyzed in order to understand the question of the laborer's exploitation in consumption. In my series of articles, this analysis is scheduled to appear as the conclusion of the chapter on "Production and Distribution." I have no reason to change my plans, simply because Comrade La Monte is so anxious to rush into print and demonstrate his ignorance and cock-sureness, even before he has read the remaining volumes of "CAPITAL." I shall not waste any time trying to discuss this matter with him now. If he has any more to say on this point, he will have to wait for my reply until I have completed my series of articles.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

**THE NEW SLAVERY.**  
Under the feudal system the serf worked three days for the baron, the other three days for himself on the baron's land. Under capitalism the working-man works five days for the boss in return for permission to work one day for himself with the tools of production and distribution owned by the master class. Under chattel slavery the negro, once he had a master, need worry no more as to having sufficient food, clothing or shelter. The master, who had invested \$1,200 to \$1,800 in him, would see to that. It made no difference to the slave if the master had no work for him. That meant a holiday with plenty to eat. To-day when the master cannot make a profit by giving permission to work, it means a holiday—and starvation. When the slave was feeble and old he was given easy tasks. To-day the workman with a few gray hairs or who has reached thirty-five years is no longer wanted. Then the master sought the slave. Now the workingman seeks a master—and worries for fear he will lose him. Socialists say no man is free until he owns his job—until he can rise in the morning needing to take no more thought about opportunity to work and earn a living than he does about drawing his breath. Socialism would make this sure by having the government own and operate all the means of production and distribution.—Newark Clarion Call.

**SOCIALISM WELDS HOSTILE RACES.**  
Berlin "Vorwaerts" publishes a letter from a correspondent in the Caucasus on the civil war which has broken out there. One of the most interesting communications is that the Social Democratic agitation has taken hold of the mixed proletariat of that region—a proletariat consisting of Armenian Christians and Turkish Mohammedans—and is trying to join these heterogeneous elements in a compact movement. In this, as in so many other respects, there seems little doubt that the Russian proletariat is destined to give a valuable lead to the International Social Democracy.—New York Worker.

**A HORSE OF ANOTHER COLOR.**  
It is interesting to see how the capitalist only remembers his devotion to the principle of individual liberty when it comes to an argument upon the subject of the open shop. When the Socialist talks of the liberty of the individual being curtailed by the present system of private ownership of property, the capitalist will refuse to discuss abstract questions. But when the capitalist argues for the open shop, then the abstraction of "liberty" is his shibboleth.—Wilshire's Magazine.

N. J. Glent's "Mass and Class" is now out in a cheap edition, 25c. This is a splendid book. Every Socialist should have a copy of it.

Every party member should see that he gets a copy of the "Official Bulletin" each month. State and local secretaries should distribute copies liberally.

**FORTY DIE IN LEITER MINE.**

**Catastrophe at Scene of Long and Bitter Labor Troubles Snuffs Out Many Lives.**

**Men Taken from Mine Only Known by Numbers.**

Once more a large number of human lives have been sacrificed to the god of profits. This time it is at Zeigler, Ill., the scene of a long and bitter labor struggle between the miners' union and Joseph Leiter, who owns eleven square miles of mining land, which for months has been ruled like a Russian fortified camp by the will of one man whose only aim in life is to pile up more millions' worth of property.

Perhaps few working men realize what is going on right here in Illinois. The capitalist papers are so busy telling of the despotism in Russia.

THE STORY OF ZEIGLER.

Two years ago it was discovered that there was coal in Franklin county, Mr. Joseph Leiter, who is in possession of many millions of the surplus values of American workmen, at once got interested. He organized a company and secured options on eleven square miles of this coal land. Like magic a town grew up in almost no time. Hundreds of men were put to work sinking shafts, putting in mining machinery, building houses, installing water works, electric plants, etc. In a short time the mines were in operation, working with union miners. Mr. Leiter then discovered that he would make more profits if he cut the wages of the miners. A notice of wage reduction was posted. The miners refused to work for the reduced scale and on July 7, 1904, went on strike.

On the following day a notice was posted, by order of Leiter, commanding that all persons who had been connected with the mines, and were not at work, should vacate the houses and leave the town. Four days was given as the limit for them to be gone. As a result of this order two-thirds of the miners' families were out of Zeigler at the expiration of the specified time. The others were permitted to go at their leisure.

Extensive labor troubles followed the dispute between Leiter and the union men. Armed guards were placed in the town and State militia was sent there by order of the Governor.

Joseph Leiter and Henry R. Platt, his attorney, were indicted Nov. 12, 1904, by the grand jury of Perry county, sitting at Pinckneyville, for bringing armed men into the State in violation of law. On one count it was charged that men were taken under guard to Zeigler, and on another that armed guards were hired for the purpose.

Zeigler was made a stockade camp, hemmed in by armed guards and State troops for months.

MADE A FORTIFIED CAMP.

Eleven square miles was to all intents and purposes made a fortified camp. It was surrounded by guards day and night, and no one was permitted to enter who was not provided with a pass. The passes were all dated and limited, and the guard was so strict that a pass which was limited to expire at noon would not be honored two minutes after the meridian.

The Illinois Central train which runs from Du Quoin to Zeigler no longer entered the town, but stopped at the outer limits, about two and a half miles from the station, and passengers were set down in the middle of a boggy prairie, where they were met by armed guards. If they had no passes they were sent to a farm house about half a mile away, which was used as a guard station, being one of six connected by telephone with one another and which were also in telephonic connection with the office of the superintendent. Here the passengers were detained practically under arrest until they had satisfied the man at the other end of the telephone that they were desirable people to have in Zeigler.

Joseph Leiter, the owner of the mine, is the son of the late Levi Z. Leiter and brother of Lady Curzon of India.

Mr. Workingman, this is not a story of despotic Russia. All this has happened right under the Stars and Stripes in the good "commonwealth of Illinois."

The dispatches tell us that the bodies taken out of the mines could not be identified, as the men working in the mines were only known by numbers. This horrible sacrifice of human life is only one of a long series of similar catastrophes that have been reported the past few weeks from all over the country.

Mining engineers all agree that the great part of the loss of life in mine explosions could be avoided by scientific ventilation. Proper ventilation costs money and reduces profits. Human life is cheap, therefore it is more profitable to sacrifice it than to protect it.

All this will be changed only when the profit system is abolished.

The Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines has lately issued a partial report on this subject for 1903. It states that: "During the year named 538 men and boys were killed and 1,325 injured in the anthracite mines. This means that of every thousand miners five or six were killed and of every thousand miners' laborers four were killed. The chances are about three to one against a mine worker getting through an ordinary working lifetime in the mines without injury and there is at least one chance in five that he will be killed in his work."

"This makes anthracite mining an even more hazardous occupation than railroading, which is more perilous than military service in the Philippines has been for the whole period since the battle of Manila. Each year three

**WHO CAN GUESS THE NAME OF THIS FAMOUS REVOLUTIONIST**

For the first correct guess we will send the Chicago Socialist for 1 year free.



Guessing contest of March 25 was guessed by Comrade Jerry Baumele. St. Just was one of the youngest influential members of the National Assembly during the Great Revolution in France. He together with Robespierre believed that the French people could not get a good government until the King was destroyed.

or four out of every thousand railway workers are killed.

"In the titanic struggle conditions are in many respects still worse."

**OFFICIAL PARTY NEWS.**

D. Burgess, 906 N. M. street, and Irene M. Smith, 1115 N. Fifth street, Tacoma, have been elected members of the National Committee by the State of Washington.

Ben Hauford, 781 Marey avenue, Brooklyn; John Spargo, 23 Belmont terrace, Yonkers-on-Hudson, and Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York, are reported as National Committeemen from New York.

Charter has been granted Newbern, Va., eight members.

By a referendum in Pennsylvania, Reading has been chosen the seat of the State committee, and Robert B. Ringler, 347 Spruce street, Reading, a member of the National Committee. Comrade Ringler is temporarily acting as State Secretary until the organization of the State committee.

Joseph Gilbert, National Committeeman of Utah, has been recommended by the State Committee for the reserve list of national speakers and organizers.

Comrade C. F. Foley of Pottsville, Pa., is trying to bring State officials to time for using railroad passes in violation of the law. As usual, the corruption denouncing so called radical papers ignore the issue.

No Democrats or Republicans appeared in the recent election in Waterloo, Iowa. Just capitalists under the name of "People's" and workmen "Socialist." People's candidate for Mayor received 1,908 and Socialists \$20 votes, Socialists cast for Debs in November, 419 votes.

Dates for the German organizer, Robert Salliel, for the coming weeks are as follows: April 9, Evansville, Ind.; 10 and 11, Louisville, Ky.; 12, Covington; 13, Newport; 14 and 15, Cincinnati, Ohio; 16, Dayton, Ohio; 17, Bellefontaine; 18 and 19, Toledo; 20, Cleveland; 21, Canton.

"The Social Democratic (Socialist) members of the Wisconsin Legislature have introduced during the present session 57 bills, some of which are purely labor and some are Socialist measures. Fifteen of these have already come before the Legislature. Of these fifteen all have been killed except one bill not allowing workmen to sign away their wages without the consent of the wife. For some of these, substitutes have been offered as a compromise between workmen's and capitalistic interests. Among these is a bill giving tenant farmers power to inspect factories in cases of child labor. Of the bills hopelessly killed, the most important are the bills for annulling all exclusive or unlimited franchises, giving cities the power to acquire property covered by franchises, referendum and initiative, making election day a legal holiday, ten hours working day for bakers, eight hours for employes on city work, eight hours for workmen in unsanitary employments, etc. The reform element in the Legislature has clearly indicated that it has no interest in the working class. As one committeeman frankly said, 'We won't get the workingmen's vote anyway.' But the agitation in favor of these measures has been by no means wasted. It has been splendid propaganda."

The March issue of the Official Monthly Bulletin will be mailed from this office on or before April 10.

State Committee,  
Social Democratic Party,  
64 East Fourth Street,  
New York, March 29, 1905.

J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary:

Dear Comrade—Having noticed that one J. Carlos Becker has come into rather unsavory prominence within the past few weeks, the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party in New York State deems it its duty at this time to add its warning to those already

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Requests have been received from several locals in Tennessee for the formation of a State organization. The number of locals and members does not warrant such organization under the party rules. But a little agitation on the part of each local will put them in a position for organization.

J. MAHLON BARNES,  
National Secretary.

**THE DIFFERENCE.**

A thousand men as one are slain—'tis naught;  
No human brother must by thee be slain.  
'Tis well, 'tis ill! It is as we are taught;  
This act is Glorious War; that, Murder plain.

A thousand men each side—they meet, they clash,  
They kill—for private vengeance all unfeign;  
Thou diest—if thou slay in anger rash!—  
One act is Glorious War; one, Murder plain!

—Edith M. Thomas, in Collier's Weekly.

"50,000 ON VERGE OF PAUPERISM

In the Chicago stock yards there are 50,000 on the verge of pauperism. I have seen children ten years of age working all day in great vats of blood. Incurable rheumatism before the age of twenty-five is a common result. When a girl is made incurable by consumption contracted in his service, she is presented with a five-dollar gold piece by Mr. Armour under the guise of charity and turned adrift. This for her last health.—Robert Hunter, of New York, chairman of the Child Labor Committee. In a speech before the Twentieth Century Club, Boston.

Friedman, for wines and liquors, corner Grand and Western Avenues, Chicago. Hats to rent.

