PROSPERITY

Mr. Warren Comments on the Republican Brand of Prosperity and Exposes Some Republican Fictions

(This is the second of the series of articles furnished The Independent by Hon. Marvin Warren.—Editor Ind.)

THE EXPORT FICTION.

The national republican platform says, substantially, that no single fact can more strikingly prove the prosperity of our country than the great excess of our exports over our imports. On the contrary, I affirm that no single fact, other than this one, can more strikingly prove our national bankruptcy, and our national bondage.

I admit the fact in question proves the prosperity of the millionaires, both domestic and foreign, with whom we have to do, but it proves with equal clearness the bankruptcy and enslavement of the productive labor interests of the United States.

Strange to say, under the republican order of things our excess of exports over imports is not only an excess of exports of merchandise over imports of merchandise, but it is also an excess of exports of money (gold and silver) over the imports of money; that is, we send abroad vast quantities of merchandise in excess of the imports of merchandise, and instead of getting any money for this excess of merchandise, we send an excess of money over and above the imports of money after the merchandise. So that this boasted excess of exports over imports is nothing else but a vast tribute that the productive labor of the United States is compelled to pay to foreign capitalists, all or nearly all English.

The republican party has been in power since March 4, 1861, forty-one years, except the two terms of Cleveland, and I admit the Cleveland democracy is worse than republicanism, but the principal errors of both are the same.

According to the republican treasury department figures that I have in my possession, in the forty years, commencing June 30, 1861, and ending the 30th of June, 1901, the exports of merchandise over and above the imports of merchandise, were of the value of $3,848,339,837. And in the same time, the exports of money (gold and silver) over and above the imports of the same, amounted to $1,143,866,968. Adding the two excesses together, makes a total excess of exports of merchandise and money over imports of merchandise and money of $4,992,206,823. It will be noticed that this is close to five billion dollars in amount, and it is certain that the total excess of exports of merchandise and money over imports of the same amounted to fully five billion dollars, in less than two months later. This five billion dollars in merchandise and money is a pure tribute paid by the productive labor of the United States to foreigners, for which nothing has ever been received back to this country, or ever will be. I challenge any republican, or anybody else, to show that anything of the value of one dollar, even, has been received back, or ever will be, in return for this five billion dollars excess, so sent abroad to other countries.

THE GOLD STANDARD FICTION.

The national republican platform says, "We renew our allegiance to the principles of the gold standard."

There is no single standard in this country, really. What nonsense it is to talk about the gold standard, when the treasury department every month issues its report of the different kinds of money in the country, in which is specified over five hundred millions of "standard silver dollars," all doing good work as money, all par with gold coin, not redeemable in gold, and not in the least dependent upon gold any more than gold is dependent upon them. The best name I can think of for this so-called gold standard that we have on hand is the clap-trap gold standard.

Republicans boast of making every dollar as good as every other dollar. They do nothing of the kind. By their legislation they make the gold coins legal tender for all debts, public and private, except where otherwise stipulated in the contract. Money is a debt paying power under the law, and money that is not a legal tender to pay all debts, is not as good as any money that is a legal tender to pay all debts.

THE PER CAPITA FICTION.

The republican national platform says, "The Volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is today."

This is an enormous fiction. The monthly report of the treasury department, dated July 1, 1900, only 10 days after the adoption of that platform, states the per capita money circulation then to be only $26.50. And the like treasury department report for the first of the present month, March, 1902, states the per capita money circulation to be only $28.65, which is at least two or three dollars more than it really is. Whereas, in the summer of 1865 the per capita paper money circulation of the country was $57.65, and if the coin money be added in, it will make $67.26 per capita. And I have the items of all that money circulation, and republican authority for it, and for the blessed condition of the masses of the people that was produced by it.

Hon. Hugh McCullough, then republican secretary of the treasury, in his report to congress that year, said:

"The country as a whole, notwithstanding the ravages of war and the draft upon labor, is, by its greatly developed resources, far in advance of what it was in 1857. The people are now comparatively free from debt. There is an immense volume of paper money in circulation.

"It is undoubtedly true that trade is carried on more largely for cash than ever was the case previous to the year 1861, and that there is a much greater demand for money than there would be if sales were made, as heretofore, on credit. So far as individual indebtedness is regarded, it may be remarked, that the people of the United States are much less in debt than in previous years."

Other facts of history also there are that should never be forgotten by anybody in relation to that great money circulation. While it lasted, there were no labor strikes, or organizations, no necessity of anything of the kind; no enforced idleness of labor; no distress for the necessities of life; no bankruptcies, to speak of: no trusts or monopolies of any kind, and Americans owned the vessels necessary for all our foreign carrying trade.

But all these good results had to be thrown away according to the republican idea, in order to make way for the so-called gold standard. I have the statement of secretary Hugh McCullough, in his own language, to the effect that in two years, from September 1, 1865, to September 1, 1867, he contracted that currency in the sum of $843,508,660, mostly by taking in and issuing government bonds for it, bearing gold interest, and he states what part of the currency he contracted, and how much of each. Immediately the whole order of business and events changed. From an easy dimination of debts, an increase of them set in. Bankruptcies became the order of the day. An era of labor organization and strikes set in that continue to this day. The contraction of the currency was continued the first two years, until the per capita far exceeded the whole per capita circulation as now existing.

From the very beginning of that currency contraction, in 1865, the ownership of our vessels for the foreign carrying trade, passed speedily from the Americans to the British, until now they are nearly or quite all gone, and our railroads are now fast going the same way, and to some extent, our factories also. The great trusts that now rule us largely facilitate this business.

I have the opinion of several experts, some Americans and some English, relative to our foreign debt abroad, investments of foreigners here, expense to us of our international carrying trade, and of the traveling of Americans in other countries, all of which are herein copied later on. From these and other lights that I have, I know that in every year since that great contraction by McCullough was fully entered upon in 1865, the tribute accruing against this country, and in favor of foreigners, by the four causes named, by reason of the clap-trap gold standard, has far exceeded the balance of our exports over our imports, and this solves the problem of what became of that five billion dollars that I hereinbefore discoursed about, and no person can furnish any other reasonable solution of it.

Fairbury, Neb., MARVIN WARREN.

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WHAT IS MONOPOLY

A Definition of the Term for Benefit of Independent Readers

"What is monopoly?" asks S. P. Gibson of Page, Neb. "Henry Gearge included private owenrship of land in monopoly," says Dr. W. P. Cunningham of New York city.

"Monopoly means that substantial unity of action on the part of one or more persons engaged in some kind of business which gives exclusive control, more particularly, although not solely, with respect to price." Prof. Richard T. Ely's "Monopolies and Trusts," page 14. This is the definition of monopoly which The Independent beleives its readers will find best suited to the populist idea of monopoly. It is needless to say that economists differ upon the meaning of this word very widely.

Prof. Ely discusses the definitions of other economists upon this point to some extent, and it may interest Independent readers to note some of the differences. William Nassau Senior's idea is that monopoly is production under circumstances in which competition is not perfectly equal, or in which equal efforts, either subjective or objective, or both together, yield unequal returns to producers, Prof. Ely explains that the term effort is used in a somewhat extended and technical sense. "If two men of equal strength lift unequal weights, their efforts are subjectively unequal. If two men of unequal strength make equal sacrifices, their efforts are objectively unequal. If two men have unequal capacity, the one having talent, the other only normal faculties, equal subjective efforts would yield unequal returns. If two men of equal capacity cultivate ground of unequal fertility, equal objective efforts would produce unequal returns. If our two cultivators of the soil have unequal intellectual capacity and cultivate land of unequal fertility, the inequality in returns would be due both to subjective and objective causes. And in all these cases we would, according to Senior, have to do with monopoly." (Monopolies and Trusts, p. 6.)

John Stuart Mill's idea of monopoly is very similar to Senior's. "A thing which is limited in quantity even though its posessors do no act in concert, is still a monopolized article." But only those things which are limited in quantity have any value whatever, and acording to Mill all commodities must be monopolized articles.

Prof. Henry Sidgwick defines monopolies as "the control exercised by an individual seller or combination of sellers over a comodity that no one else can bring to market."

Prof. Simon N. Patten, John A. Hobson and Dr. Emory R. Johnson "have so enlarged the idea of monopoly as to include all participation in a surplus gain in production or consumption over and above costs. We have this sorplus gain in every part of the economic field. Wages participate in the surplus; profits do likewise, and rent also. Everyone has a monopoly." Mr. Hobson, however, has recently modified his ideas.

Prof. Ely calls attention to the fact that we must distinguish sharply between competitive businesses on a large scale and monopolies. "Department stores," he says, "in no city in the world enjoy monopolies, but are subjected to the steady, permanent pressure of competition. There are those who call every business operating on a vast scale monopoly, and would put in the same economic category a gas works without a competitor and a huge retail dry goods establishment with rivals at every hand, ready to seize every oportunity for advantage over it and certain to ruin it if its managers relax their intense activity and watchfulness."

He confesses that in his earlier writing he followed Mill in the mistake of calling land a natural monpoly. This was in his "Problems of Today" (1888), but the next year in his "Introduction to Political Economy" he held that land "is a limited factor, but in the ownership or management of land there is no inevitable tendency to monopoly." In other words, no inevitable tendency to "substantial unity of action" on the part of one or more persons engaged in some kind of business which gives exclusive control, more particularly, although not solely, with respect to price. Land exists in quantities to which physical nature has assigned limits, and the supply of land exists in grades varying in fertility and desirability of situation, and as a consequence of this gradation we have the rent of land. Land is not, however, a monopoly, and is misleading to speak of it as a natural monopoly. Nowhere do we find monopoly either in the ownership or in the cultivation of land, but everywhere competition—competition among unequals to be sure, but still competition. Land rent is gain due to the superiority of the land owned by rent receivers over that cultivated by those who are making use of land which affords nothing beyond returns to labor and to capital. Now we must distinguish between the broad concept of differential gains enjoyed by those in competitive pursuits, and the monopolistic gains which are based on the absence of competition." (Monopolies and Trusts, p. 34.)

PROTECTIONISM

Mr. Freeland Comments on the Cuban Sugar Question.

Editor Independent: The Independent makes the following pertinent observations: "The United States has more flour than the people can use and less sugar than the people want. The Cubans have more sugar than they can use and not enough flour to feed their families. Remedy: Put up a tariff wall to prevent our people from swapping flour for sugar and the Cubans from trading sugar for flour. That is the fundamental principle of the political economy of all protectionism."

This reminds us of Louis F. Post's illustration of the Mainland and the Island. Under our present tariff system a given amount of effort yields:

	Wheat.	Sugar.	Total.
Mainland	10	1	11
Island	1	10	11
Total	11	11	22

Under natural conditions the result of the same effort would be:

	Wheat.	Sugar.	Total.
Mainland	20	0	20
Island	0	20	20
Total	20	20	40

With absolute free trade these products would be distributed:

	Wheat.	Sugar.	Total.
Mainland	10	10	20
Island	10	10	20
Total	20	20	40

Both the United States and Cuba would be benefitted if trade were made as free between the two countries as it is now among the several states of the union.

That a tariff is not essential to progress the recent history of New South Wales proves. In 1896 the colonly adopted the policy of progressive free trade. Duties were to be gradually reduced over a period of five years, at the expiration of which time, in 1901, only those on tobacco and liquor should remain. The deficiency in revenue was met by a land tax, a crude and partial application of Henry George's system, supplemented by an income tax. The effect was startling. The decennial census taken in 1901 showed great gains in population for the free trade colony, while protectionist Victoria, separated only by a river, had actually lost. During a period of years 5,180 more people left Victoria than arrived, while New South Wales attracted 192,184 more than the number that left. Sydney, the capital of the latter colony, gained 102,000, or 30 per cent, while Victoria's capital, Melbourne, gained but 3,000, or little more than one-half of one per cent.

A. FREELAND.

Mt. Pleasant, Tenn.

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An Historic Old Homestead

Nestling among the "hills of sunny Tennessee," about a dozen miles east of its capital city, lies the historic old homestead of Andrew Jackson, "The Hermitage." And it would be hard to find a more beautiful trip for a day's pleasuring than a visit to this spot.

The house is approached through a driveway bordered by interlacing cedar trees, and stands in the midst of a beautiful, shady lawn, carpeted with grass and myrtle. It fronts the south and is a two-story brick structure of the old colonial type. Across the entire front stretches a double piazza, wooden and painted white, supported by thick, grooved pillars, and with floors of stone. Each end of this piazza terminates in a wing of the house. A similar porch reaches across the back of the house, and near it is an old rock walled well, furnished with the old-time curb, chain and bucket.

The dwelling was built in 1819 as a gift from the general to his wife, who selected the site. The mansion, commodious even at the present time, was palatial in that day, and a great contrast to the first dwelling of the Jacksons, which is still standing, in a modified form, on a slight rise of ground across a little ravine. This is an old-fashioned log house, built in 1804, and was also quite a pretentious dwelling story structure with one large room below and two smaller ones above, but after the removal of the family it was cut down to one story and for many years did service as a negro cabin. At present there are two small rooms, each boasting a front door and immense firepace, leading out through huge chimneys of rough stone. The ceilings are low, and the interior is unceiled and blackened with the smoke of many years. The cabin is still in a good state of preservation, and shows that substantially, rather than show, was the aim of the early architects.

Within speaking distance of the log house is the servants' quarters. This is a smaller cabin, with but one door and one chimney, and was originally connected with the "big house" by a covered passageway.

To the east of the present mansion is the garden with its graveled paths and brick-bordered beds, wherein grow and bloom and die the old-time flowers, all as arranged by the hand of Mrs. Jackson herself. When a plant dies it is replaced by another of the same kind, so the garden presents the same appearance it did three-quarters of a century ago. In the lower end of this garden is the family burying ground, where a neat marble tomb, in the shape of a summer house, encloses the remains of Jackson and his wife. The graves of a dozen or so of the members and intimate friends of the family are near.

The estate at the time of Jackson's death comprised 1,800 acres of the most fertile farm land of the Cumberland valley, and of this 1,300 acres is still in the possession of the heirs. Of the balance, 475 acres was sold to the state of Tennessee a few years ago as the site for the erection of a confederate soldiers' home, and the other 25 acres, including the mansion, the log cabin, the garden and immediate surroundings, is the property of the "Ladies' Hermitage Association." This is an organization of Nashville ladies whose object is to preserve the haunts of "Old Hickory" as nearly as possible as they were during his life. To this end they have one room of the house—Jackson's bedroom—just as it was in his life time, the balance of the house being occupied by the family who are in charge of the place. The ladies are collecting all the Jacksonian relics they can procure as fast as they have the means, and every year sees additions to the collection which is viewed by a rapidly increasing number of tourists.—Farm, Field and Fireside.

Satanic War

Satanic war waged by enlightened men
Beyond portrayal by the graphic pen.
A truthful tongue might tell of millions, slain,
Or, fiend, incarnate, paint the hosts of Cain.

Foul, Godless deeds, revolting and unclean,
Make worldlings wonder what the gospels mean.
Fraternal love which Christ commanded, taught—
See, Christian rulers chalk it down as nought.

Though, peace on earth, good will to men, indeed,
Sound sweet—ideal, both in anthem—creed;
Yet practice! Ah, that's quite another thing,
To robber nations, or to robber king!

Each looting nation in their pagan greed,
Outrage the gospel and profane the Creed,
Bend church and state to their unholy use—
Who dares protest—they silence by abuse.

Henceforth, the warrior with his traps and gauds,
May swagger, strut, while he, himself, applauds.
Mute—the poet and all the righteous host;
Such silent scorn will tame these blood-sons, most.

Eternal scorn befits each robber state,
Of conquest, bent, while rousing selfish hate.
Eternal scorn—the weakest pen may wield
And it will smite, or pierce the warrior's shield.

Still, robber nations prate of Christian zeal,
While sending armies forth to slaughter—steal.
Aye, more—they call it "Glory, grand and great."
To kill God's children and to swipe their state.

—Lydia Platt Richards.

Modern Fawning Before Wealth.

The chief evil, nowadays, lies in the well-nigh universal fawning and cowering before wealth, in the blind scramble for fortune or favor. We are taught to act a part, when we should embody a principle. We stoop over and walk on all fours, when we should stand erect, remembering the stars above us.

Many of the hangers-on of the millionaire are mere fawners and flatterers seeking to push their way into the social swim. Other classes who bend at his feet are working people, who are dependent on him for food and shelter.

What is the way out of this social tangle? The answer is not clear. But one thing is certain: we all need a keener sense of values. We need to set up character (not money) as the one ideal of life that is best worth while.

Thomas Hughes said, long ago, that we may not be able to hinder people in general from being helpless and vulgar—from letting themselves fall into slavery to things about them, if they are rich, or from aping the habits and vices of the rich, if they are poor. But, as he says, we may live simple, manly lives, ourselves, speaking our own thoughts, paying our own way, and doing our own work, whatever that may be. We shall remain gentlemen as long as we follow these rules, even if we have to sweep a crossing for a livelihood. But we shall not remain gentlemen, in anything but the name, if we depart from these rules, kingdom.

The mortal bane in all this money-worship, this toadyism, and timeserving, is the effect it has on the soul of the toady and timeserver. It calls his attention away from the real and the permanent in life to the false and the fleeting. It robs him of the idea that character is the chief glory of man. Character is the one thing whose foundations go down to the world's granite; and when to character we add culture, we come into an inheritance more durable than time and richer than the kingdoms of this world.—Edwin Markham, in April "Success."

An Incendiary Document.

Jos. K. Ohl, special correspondent of the Atlanta Constitution, under date of December 27, 1901, writes his paper from Manila: "It was discovered that there were being circulated among the Filipinos copies of the American Declaration of Indepndence, done in English and Spanish in parallel columns. One of the best officers, a man regarded as conservative and no extremist, to us this was promptly suppressed and gave it as his opinion that the Declaration of Independence is 'A DAMNED INCENDIARY DOCUMENT.'"

The Boer Question

The democrats in the house held a caucus and unanimously adopted resolutions declaring that congress should express the sympathy of the American people with the Boer republics. The resolution offered by Mr. Randall is as follows: "Resolved, By the democratic members of the house of representatives of the United States of America, in caucus assembled, that the congress of the United States should, by resolution, express the sympathy of the people of the United States for the peoples of the South African republics in their heroic struggle to maintain their liberty and dependence. Resolved, That the congress should in the spirt of amity and friendship, appeal to the British government in the interest of humanity to accept overtures for peace, cease hostilities and endeavor to bring about a just and honorable settlement of existing differences, to the end that peace may be established. Resolved, That the United States should fairly and honorably maintain a position of strict neutrality in this contest between nations friendly to us, and see to it that the neutrality laws are vigorously and impartially enforced. Resolver, That we, as democrats and representatives of the people, will use our utmost endeavor to force the committee now dominated by the republican party, having in their charge a resolution similar to this, to report the same back to the house so that the congress may give expression thereon, declaring the sentiments and will of the

"It's Morgan's!"

("The earth, and the fullness thereof; the sea, and all that therein is"—and all the hereafter—nothing too big for the trusts.)

I came to a mill by the river side,
A half mile long and nearly as wide,
With a forest of stacks and an army of men,
Toiling at furnace and shovel and pen.
"What a most magnificent plant!" I cried;
And a man with a smudge on his face replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I entered a train and rode all day,
On a regal coach and a right-of-way
Which reached its arms all over the land,
In a system too large to understand.
"A splendid property, this!" I cried;
And a man with a plate on his hat replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I sailed on a great ship, trim and true,
From pennant to keel, from cabin to crew;
And the ship was one of a monster fleet,
A first-class navy could scarce compete.
"What a beautiful craft she is!" I cried;
And a man with akimbo legs replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I dwelt in a nation filled with pride;
Her people were many, her lands were wide;
Her record in war and science and art
Proved greatness of muscle and mind and heart.
"What a grand old country it is!" I cried;
And a man with his chest in the air replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I went to Heaven. The jasper walls
Towered high and wide, and the golden halls
Shone bright beyond. But a strange new mark
Was over the gate, viz.: "Private Park."
"Why, what is the meaning of this?" I cried:
And a saint with a livery on replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I went to the only place left. "I'll take
A chance on the boat on the brimstone lake,
Or perhaps I may be allowed to sit
On the griddled floor of the bottomless pit;"
But a leering lout with horns on his face,
Cried out as he forked me off the place:
"It's Morgan's."

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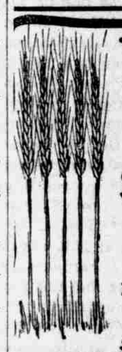
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