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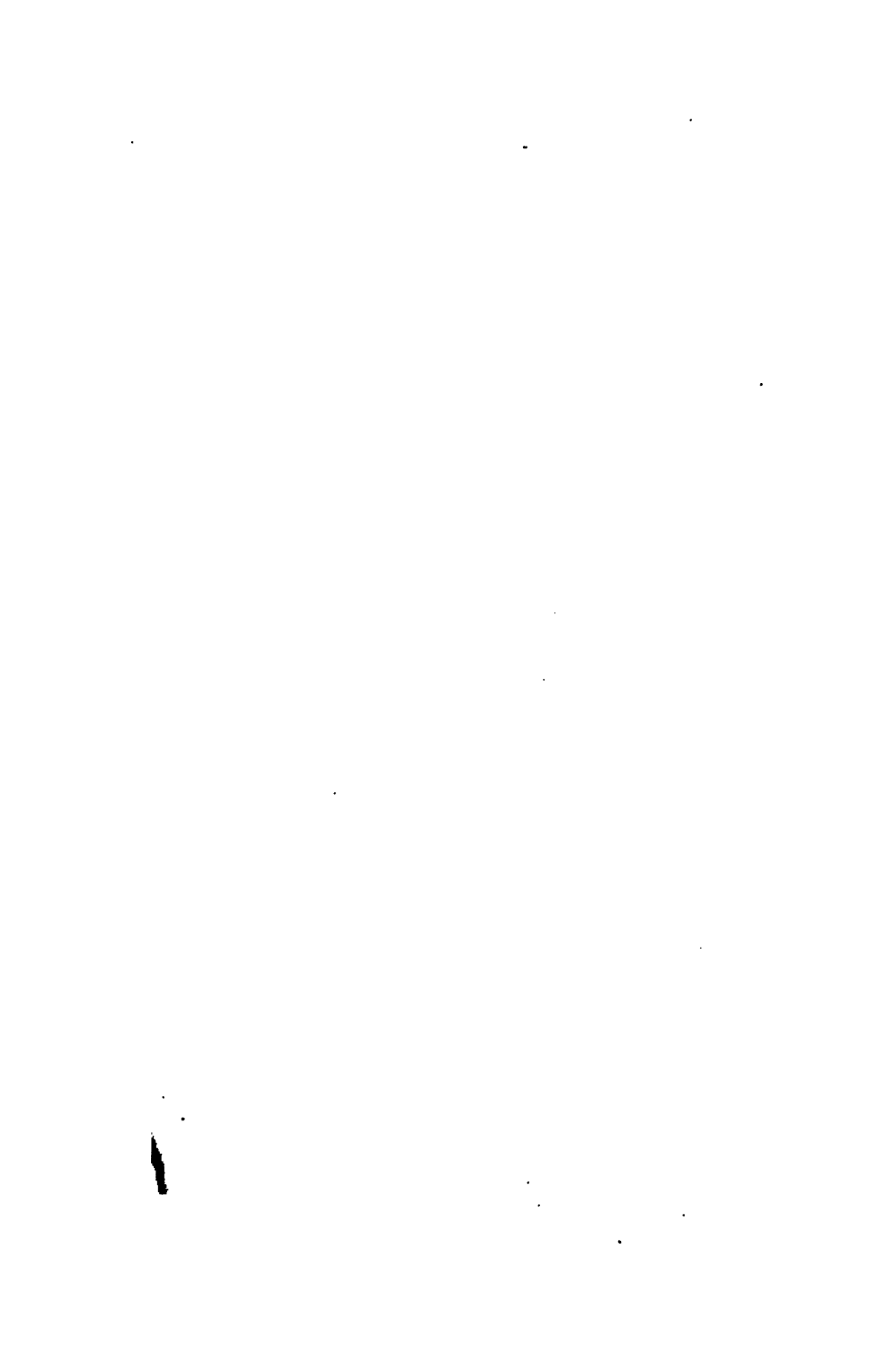
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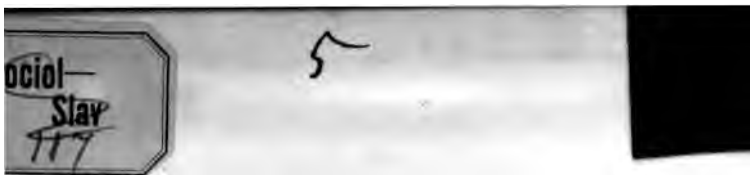
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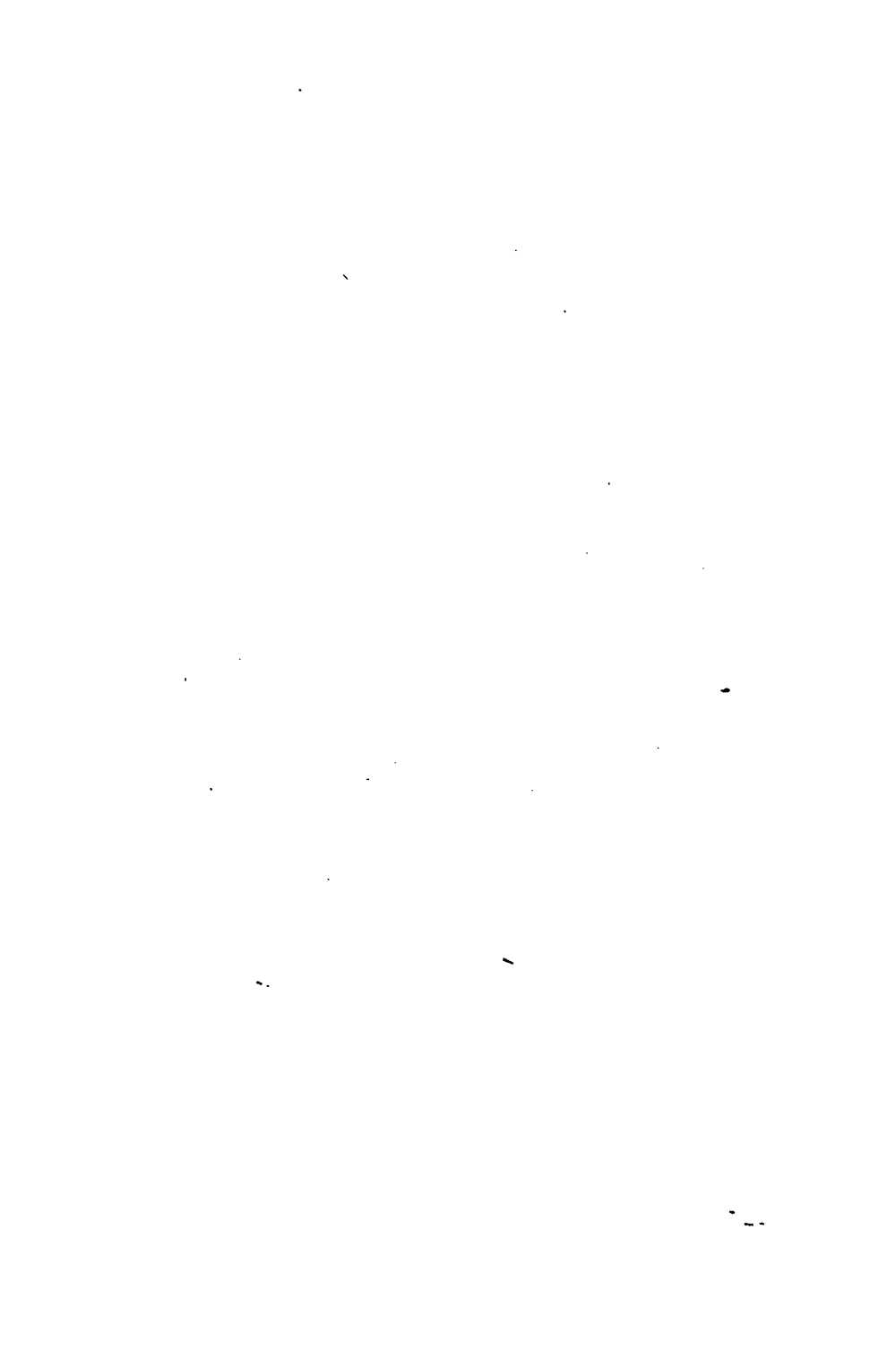
Prof. ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, D.D.

2 November 1893.









TREATISE
ON
SOCIOLOGY,
THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

BY
HENRY HUGHES.

~~~~~  
"Vindicate the ways of God, to man."  
~~~~~

PHILADELPHIA:
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"THE same morning, as we sat by the Dolphin-fountain, and threw barley-bread to the lame swan; he gave us this precept, with its glosses: that for showing the truth, perspicuity is the only ornament of style; that the logical is unfriendly to the rhetorical; and that in the matter of style, oiled and sandy nakedness, (*nuditas palæstrica*) is better, for conviction; and dramatic drapery, for entertainment. This plainness, which, said he again, is logical neatness, is grateful not to the popular many, but to the philosophic few. He then added somewhat abruptly, that public opinion is not the opinion of the public. Seeing some of the younger of us smile, he explained at once. He simply meant, he said, that the popular, changed with the philosophic, opinion; or that in other words, the thinkers rule, and must be first convinced. The conference on the Greek Styles then ended; and we all rose, and left the fountain."

P R E F A C E.

SOME think that the Societary Organization of the United States South, is morally evil, and civilly inexpedient. Others, who understand the working principles of what is called Slavery, do not think so. They think that it is both morally and civilly good. This is their opinion of its great and well-known essentials. These they think, ought to be unchanged and perpetual. This Treatise essays amongst other things, to expound the philosophy of the Perpetualists; or in other words, to express some of the views of the Southern people on the subject of Slavery.

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Society is an Organization.

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BOOK I.

THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY.

SOCIOLOGY.

Sociology is the science of society organization.
It is, 1, Theoretical, and, 2, Practical.

"THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY."

CHAPTER I.

THE first end of society, is the existence of all. Its second end is the progress of all. To realize these ends, its means are Systems. A system is an organ or contrivance. A union of systems is an organization. Society is an organization.

Personal subsistence and personal security are the means of existence. They are prime necessities. But health, education, enjoyment, morality and religion, are the ends of progress. These are not primary. They are secondary and subsequent; because preservation is before progress; being, before well-being, or better being.

The economic system is the organ of subsistence; the political system, the organ of security. These realize the first end of society: that is their function. The beginning or ingress of a society, therefore, is not the political system

only; for, security without subsistence is insufficient: that is not the existence of all. Neither is the ingress of society the economic system alone. Security and subsistence are both necessary; the ingress of a society is therefore both an economic and a political system. The union of these is a political economy. This therefore is the foundation of society; and this, its commencement. The societary organization necessary for the existence of all is a political economy. This is primary. It is for subsistence and security. The essence of every society is, therefore, a political economy.

The secondary ends of society are not its ingress. They are its progress. They are not for existence, but for better existence.

Societary systems are therefore of two kinds. They are either existence-systems, or progress-systems. Those are initial, fundamental, and necessary; they are ingressive. The others are secondary and subsequent; they are progressive. The special ends of these two kinds, are seven. Each is its own organ; the implement of itself, and supplement of the others. A societary organization is therefore a union of seven organs for seven ends. These are:—

1. The economic system, whose organic end is the subsistence of all.
2. The political system, whose organic end is the security of all.
3. The hygienic system, whose organic end is the health of all.
4. The philosophic system, whose organic end is the education of all.

5. The esthetic system, whose organic end is the enjoyment of all.

6. The ethical system, whose organic end is the morality of all.

7. The religious system, whose organic end is the religion of all.

These are the societary ends, and the societary organs. Of an organ, the essence is realization. An organ is not an antecedent, but an immediate, invariable antecedent. It is the means which necessarily realize an end. If there is no realization, there is no organization. If the realization is perfect, the organ is perfect: if imperfect, imperfect.

A society therefore is not its ideality, but its reality; not its intention, but its obtention; not its verballity, but its actuality; not its legislation, but its execution; not its adaptation, but its regulation; not its desire, but its deed; not its conception, but its effect; not its aim, but its accomplishment; not its plan, but its performance; not its theory, but its practice; not its potentiality, but its fact. An organization is therefore its realization. Every system is its actuality.

The existence and progress of all, is the realization of a perfect society. An imperfect society realizes either, (1), the existence of some and the progress of some; or, (2), the existence of all, and the progress of some. It either fails to actualize both its first and second ends, or fails for the second only. If it does not realize the existence of all; either its political or its economic system, is imperfect, for they are the societary organs of subsistence and security. This is an essential imperfection. It is fundamental. It is a failure of the first end. But if the health, education,

enjoyment, and morality of all, are not realized, the hygienic, philosophic, esthetic, or ethical systems are imperfect. Their imperfections are secondary and collateral. They are not of the first end of society. They are not capital imperfections. They are not essential. They are accidental.

In an imperfect society, therefore, good may be essential, and bad, accidental; or good may be accidental, and bad, essential. But no society is in both essentials and accidentals, good totally or totally bad. It is a miscellany; its good and bad are mixed; they are either essential or accidental. Perfection is by progress. This is the development of the good, and the envelopment of the evil; the disclosure of that, and the enclosure of this.

CHAPTER II.

A SOCIETY is its realization. The means of realization are, (1), power, and, (2), order. These constitute a system; they are its elements. Societary wisdom applied to societary power, is order. Its elements are, (1), association, (2), adaptation, and, (3), regulation. Societary power is, (1), orderly mind, and, (2), orderly matter. The association, adaptation, and regulation of mind and matter, are, therefore, the means of realization. They are the substance of society; their modifications, its form. Forms are changeable; substance, unchangeable.

Power is both, (1), animate, and, (2), inanimate. Animate power is, (1), human, or, (2), subhuman. Men are power.

They are both mind and matter : they are compound : they have both hands and minds. Human power is, therefore, either, (1), mental, or, (2), manual, or, (3), both ; and for realization, persons either, (1), simple-mentalists, or, (2), manual-mentalists, or, (3), simple-manualists. These are the three classes of societary realizers, or human agents. Neither mind alone, nor matter alone, is power. They must be such mind and such matter, as are associative, adaptable, and regular. The essence of power is orderliness. If mind and matter are not orderly, they are not powerful. Anarchy is impotence. Men, therefore, must be orderly ; the whole power of society, must be orderly. If not, existence and progress fail ; realization is imperfect ; and starvation, insecurity, ignorance, disease, misery, immorality, and irreligion, are unshunnable.

Association, adaptation, and regulation are order. Adaptation is the making of a rule of action. Association is subjection to the rule. Regulation is the actualization of the rule. A rule is the exhibition of what is fit, and the prohibition of what is unfit. Power in a fit state, is power adapted. Adaptation is the state of fitness ; regulation is the continuation of that state, or the conformation to rule. In all adaptation and regulation, there must be adaptors and regulators. For every action has, as well its agents, as its objects. Those, before they themselves can be adapted or regulated, must be associated ; they must be collected or brought together, otherwise, they are not subject to rule. Such collection is association. It is a condition precedent to adaptation. Association constitutes a system, adaptation legislates, and regulation executes it. Association is not gregation. It is more than that. It is gregation adapted to an end ; it is rational gregation.

Association makes men ruly; adaptation makes their rules, and regulation makes them ruled. Association prepares; adaptation plans; regulation performs. Association is realization begun; adaptation, continued; regulation, ended. This is the perfection of a rule. For the making of a law is not enough: a law is not made until it is executed. Legislation is not law; every law is its execution.

If, therefore, men are orderly, they must be associative, adaptable, and regular. Their order must be sufficient for the existence and progress of all. It must be neither deficient nor superfluous. Superfluousness, as well as deficiency, is disorder. Sufficiency alone is perfection.

And because order is essential to the existence and progress of all, it is that far, always right. Duty is its essence and modulus. But the essence of freedom, is not duty; it is choice. By freedom is meant immunity. Conscience is the faculty of duty; will, of choice. There is no choice in duty; it is without alternative. Freedom chooses. If its choice is duty, that is liberty; if not, license. Freedom is therefore both orderly and disorderly. Orderly freedom is liberty; disorderly, license. Liberty and order, are therefore consistent. Liberty is normal freedom; license, abnormal. Liberty is right; license, wrong. Liberty and order are not consistent only. One is essential to the other. There cannot be perfect order without perfect liberty, nor perfect liberty without perfect order. This is the necessary condition of that. For liberty is not choice merely. It is choice realized. It is the will coupled with the reality. But power is essential to realization; and the essence of power is order. Order alone realizes; it empowers. This is the necessary condition of realizing choice; and choice realized, is the ne-

cessary condition of liberty. Liberty is the right of doing as we please, inside of duty. But the right, without the power to do, is not concrete. It is conceptual only. It is an abstract right. It is not perfect; it is inchoate only. Without power, therefore, there is no liberty; and without order, no power. The perfection of this, is the perfection of that. One comes by the other; the liberty of all, by the order of all. Each is general. Both the one and the other are societary. Liberty is an end; and order, a means of all the societary systems. They must therefore be exhibited; they must be ruled in. But disorder wrongs; one man's license is a another man's loss. These must be prohibited; they must be ruled out. If not, they also may be societary. Societary license is the disorderly freedom; and societary liberty, the orderly freedom of the seven societary systems.

CHAPTER III.

ORDER is the essence of an organization. In every society there must therefore be both orderers and orderees. Some must order; some, be ordered. These are subordinates; those, superordinates. The supreme orderer of the society, is the sovereign power. This power associates, adapts, and regulates. It may be either monarchical, oligarchical, aristocratic, republican, or democratic. It may be delegated. It may be limited or unlimited; divided or undivided; universal or partial; active or potential. It may extend to the whole order of society, or to parts only.

The sovereign may be universal proprietor and universal administrator; or universal proprietor and partial administrator; or partial proprietor and partial administrator. It may associate, adapt and regulate either all societary power, or a part only. In a society of partial power, order is therefore of two kinds. One is that which issues from the sovereign; the other, that which does not. Sovereign order is that kind which is realized by sovereign power. The other kind is that which is free from the sovereign. This is free order.

Sovereign order is warranted. It is realized. The supreme power in the state legislates and executes it. The degree of its realization is the degree of its sovereignty. If not realized, it is not supreme. It is the sovereign will, and the essence of this is realization; for will, if not self-executing, is not sovereign, because the expression of such will is law; and law is not its intention, but its obtention; not its expression, but its impression, execution, or realization. Sovereign order is therefore warranted. It is not natural or accidental; it is necessary or certain. It is not from choice, but from duty. It is ordained and established. It is authoritative. It is magisterial. It is not private; it is publicly organized; it is municipal.

Free order is that which is not ordained and established. If the sovereign is not the universal orderer, that part not sovereign, is free order. This is that which is left with the orderers of society. It is not delegated; it is reserved. It is private. It is not publicly organized. It is popular only, not magisterial. It is not authoritative, or municipal. Its adaptation, association, and regulation are voluntary; they may or may not be chosen; they are free.

If order is either free or warranted, its means must be

either free or warranted. Freedom or warranty of one, is freedom or warranty of the other. For certainty or uncertainty of cause, is certainty or uncertainty of effect. If the order is warranted, the means must be warranted. Without this, that is impossible. But if order is free the means are not warranted. As thus, choice is not a warranted means of either association, adaptation, or regulation. Order from choice is, therefore, free and uncertain. It is contingent and alternative. It is not a necessity; it is either natural or accidental. For a certain end, choice, therefore, is not a certain means. If that end is order; order from choice is not certain. Order is a variable, if choice is its function.

Desire and fear are the springs of human action. By ordering these, men are ordered. By these, they are associated, adapted, and regulated. Desires are economic, political, hygienic, esthetic, philosophic, moral and religious. This is their objective nature. Their modifications are appetites, sentiments, and affections. Fear is a modification of desire. It is desire of a better in a worse state. Some desires and fears are certain springs of action. They warrant action. Some do not. They are free or accidental. They are not necessary springs of action. Thus, desire of better condition does not warrant action. Some have such a desire; some have not. In some it is sufficiently active; in others, deficiently. This, therefore, is not a warranted means of ordering men, because it is neither universal, apt, nor regular. It is a means of free, but not of warranted order. The fear of adequate punishment is a certain spring; it warrants action. It is universal, adaptable, and regular. For realization, the sovereign will has, therefore,

both free and warranted means of action. It orders by both deficient desire and sufficient fear. It rewards and punishes. It has the power of both gratification and privation. If that fails, this follows. It compels. It civilly enforces the civil obligations of all. If not, it is so far, not sovereign. It realizes by all necessary means, its order. This is its power and its duty. For in a society, such warranted association, adaptation, and regulation, as are sufficient to realize the existence and progress of all, are morally necessary. They are morally necessary, because actually necessary. Duty of the ends, is duty of the means. Such sovereign power, not deficient nor superficial, but sufficient, only, is morally necessary; because the existence and progress of all, are morally and actually necessary.

In a society, desires may be antagonistic, syntagonistic, or anagonistic. If their desires are antagonistic, men act against each other; if syntagonistic, with each other; if anagonistic, they do not act at all. Syntagonism is co-operation; anagonism, inoperation. Antagonism is antipathetic; syntagonism, sympathetic; anagonism apathetic. Both antagonism and syntagonism may be either immediate and efficient, or ulterior and deficient.

CHAPTER IV.

SYSTEMS compose an organization ; power and order, compose a system ; orderly mind and orderly matter, compose power ; association, adaptation, and regulation, compose order : in all order, is a supreme orderer : this is the sovereign of the system : and order is either free or sovereign : sovereign order is warranted order.

Of adaptation, a fundamental law is that of the division of labor, or decomposition of power. By this law, a compound realization, act, effect, execution, or operation is decomposed. The power for these, is then correspondingly decomposed, or separated into its simple parts or means ; then a simple agent is associated or distributed to every simple act ; a simple efficient, to every simple effect ; a simple executive, to every simple execution ; an operative, to every operation ; a producer, to every product ; an implement, to every object ; a special organ, to every special end. This law governs all human power. It is nothing more than the principle of rational gregation. It is adapted association. It is the multiplication of production by the division of producers. Such division is essential to adaptation. If the power is divisible, and the end is compound, there cannot be perfect adaptation without perfect division. Perfection of this, is perfection of that. For realization, therefore, division is necessary, because adaptation is necessary. What is compound must be decomposed ; and perfect special organs must realize special ends.

Sovereign power is compound. It may be divided into parts. These are the legislative, the judicial, and the

executive departments. The division, if not into three, may be into two; one department may be both judicial and executive. The other may be legislative. If not thus, the legislative and the judicial departments may be one; or the legislative and the executive. The component powers may be either consolidated into one, or divided into three or two departments. Division may be more or less; but if more, the adaptation is more; if less, less. This is division of the sovereign power of a system only. But systems compose an organization. The supreme power not of a single system, but of the whole societary organization, may be divided.

The organic ends of society are seven. Of each end, the organ is a system. The societary sovereignty may, therefore, be divided into seven organic sovereignties; and to each organic end, an organic sovereignty, be adapted. Each system would then be a municipality. The number of these municipalities or sovereign systems, would be seven. Their order would be warranted, because that is the essence of sovereignty. For its seven special ends, the society would then be divided into seven different governments; each, a special organ, for its special end. This is the form of a societary warranted heptarchy. It is a seven-fold government; a society of seven municipalities; an organization of seven sovereign systems.

In respect to each other, these municipalities may be either united or independent. If united, they may be respectively coördinate, subordinate, or superordinate. The sovereign power in each may be either consolidated or divided. If divided, the division may be into three or two separate departments. In an unconsolidated warranted heptarchy, there are, therefore, seven municipalities, public

bodies, or sovereign systems; and seven legislative, seven judicial, and seven executive departments. This is the form of the total division of societary power. It is an organization composed of a sovereign body politic, a sovereign body economic, a sovereign body hygienic, a sovereign body philosophic, a sovereign body esthetic, a sovereign body ethical, and a sovereign body religious; each having a separate legislature, judiciary, and executive. Such, an unconsolidated warranted heptarchy.

In a system, order may be either free or warranted. Sovereign order is warranted. A society may therefore, be an organization in which all the systems, are not sovereign. The order in some only, may be warranted. The others may be free. The ingressive or necessary systems, alone, may be warranted. They only, may be municipalities or public bodies. But the progressive systems may be free. Their order may be private; they may not be publicly ordained and established. This organization is the form of two municipalities for existence. If the hygienic and philosophic systems are municipalized and incorporated into this organization; that will be the form of four municipalities; two for existence, and two for health and education. Such societies are composed not of warranted systems only; but of systems, some only warranted, and the others, free. In this mixed form, the sovereign power of the warranted systems may be either consolidated or divided. If divided, the departments may be either independent, or related to each other. One department may act for two or more systems. Thus, the legislature of the body politic, may make laws for the economic, the hygienic, and the educational systems. The division of these will then be partial only, and their public organization imper-

fect. So, the hygienic body may have jurisdiction of matters philosophic. There may be one sovereign or municipal council, legislating on health and education. To this legislature may be either one undivided, or there may be two separate, executive departments. These, the one, a hygienic executive, and the other, an educational or philosophic executive.

But neither the hygienic, the philosophic, nor the educational systems, may be ordained and established. They may be private, and accidental. The political system only may be public. A society may not warrant the existence of all. It may warrant that part only which depends on personal security. There may be no warranted organs for the subsistence, the health, education, enjoyment, morality or religion of all. Power and order, for these, may be free, and accidental. This is the form of one municipality for security, and six free systems for subsistence and progress.

CHAPTER V.

WHEREFORE:—What is the best form of society? What organization is most adapted, to actualize the existence and progress of all? How can the first and second ends of society, be best realized? This realization must not be potential. It must be absolute—it must be certain and necessary. It must be, not intention, but obtention; not plan, but performance; not legislation, but execution; the warranted effect of warranted causes.

For realization of any kind, the power must always be

adapted; for perfect realization, the adaptation must be perfect. This perfect adaptation is, amongst other things, the perfect division of power. Division is the essence of adaptation; one cannot be without the other. The best adapted organization of society must, therefore, be the best divided. This, in the respect of adaptation. But association is essential to adaptation. It is a condition precedent. In a perfect society, therefore, this, likewise, must be perfect. Regulation is the third element of order. It is either free or warranted. If therefore perfect realization is warranted; both perfect association and perfect regulation, must be warranted; for they are the causes; that, the effect.

Hence; — The best form of society, to realize the existence and progress of all, is that in which the societal power is perfectly associated, perfectly adapted, and perfectly regulated. Perfect adaptation is perfect division of power. Perfect association, division and regulation, must therefore be warranted. They must not be free; they must be sovereign.

In an unconsolidated heptarchy, the division of power is perfect. In this form, there is a special organ for each special end; seven systems for the seven societal objects. Each system's sovereign power, is divided into a separate legislative, judiciary, and executive department. Each system's order, is warranted. The whole societal wisdom, is applied to the whole societal power. Its realization is therefore, as perfect as societal wisdom and societal power, can make it.

The jurisdiction of the systems of the heptarchy, should be such only as is strictly necessary and proper, to realize the existence and progress of all. And because liberty is

an end of progress, the normal freedom of the orderers, would not be violated. The sovereign would conserve that; because too little as well as too much immunity, disorders and therefore, enfeebles. Too little freedom is as abnormal as license. Both are disorderly, and therefore, inexpedient. This, in a republican heptarchy.

But in practical society, the revealed law of God, either develops or qualifies, the systemization of religion. The ethical system also, issues from the religious system. What, therefore, ought to be the association, adaptation, or regulation of these, will not be developed. They may or may not, be free or warranted; public or private; consolidated or divided; independent or united; coördinate, subordinate, or superordinate.

The five other systems are the body politic, the body economic, the body hygienic, the body philosophic, and the body esthetic. The first two are for the existence of all; the others, for the progress of all. These systems ought to be warranted. They ought to be municipalities or public bodies. The societary wisdom ought to be applied to realize their ends.

Of these five municipalities, the sovereign power in each, may be divided or consolidated. It may be partly divided or totally. There may be for all the systems, one common legislature, one common executive, and one common judiciary. If not one, there may be five or less. The division may be either perfect or imperfect. The systems may have either, (1), proper, or, (2), common departments.

But if each system has its separate legislature, this may be divided into two branches. One branch may be a senate or upper house; the other, a lower house. For all the systems, there may then be, one branch common, and several branches, proper. There may be a senate common

to two or more systems; and a lower house, proper to each.

Judiciaries are either superior or inferior; original or appellate. If each municipality has not a separate judiciary entire; it may have separate inferior or original tribunals proper to itself; and appellate tribunals, common to itself and other systems. The executive departments may be either separate or united. If united, the union may be total or partial. If partial; the systems may be united in a common superordinate executive; and separate, in the subordinate.

A heptarchy of five municipalities is therefore, the best form of society; because it is most adapted to realize the existence and progress of all. Its division is perfect. For each special end, there is a special organ. This organ is a warranted system. It is a public body, in which the supreme orderer is the societary wisdom. In these municipalities, the sovereign power is as much divided as is necessary. Its divisions are separate and proper executive, legislative, and judicial, departments; or departments in sufficient adaptation to the need; and so more or less consolidated, and more or less common. This, of five systems. The other two are the ethical and the religious. These may be municipal, if they ought to be municipal; and free, if they ought to be free.

The heptarchy is the form of the total division of societary power. This organization is not the best for every society. It is best for those only, in which members and other wealth, are sufficient. For the societary power's division, must be adapted to the societary power's quantity; one must progress with the other. If the power of the society, is sufficient for the separation or independence of

the hygienic system, or the economic system, or the educational system, from the political system; they ought to be separated. If the power is sufficient, this separation ought to be total; if deficient, partial; and progressive with the progress of the power. This is the law of adaptation, because the law of division.

CHAPTER VI.

IN a heptarchy, the five municipalities may be either coördinate, subordinate, or superordinate. If not co-sovereigns; some may be subordinate in their exterior, and sovereign, in only their interior relations. Each system would be the implement of its own, and supplement of the others' ends. The powers, rights, duties, and responsibilities of the municipalities, would be such only, as are strictly adapted to their organic objects. This power and order, would be sufficient; but not deficient, any more than superfluous; for this, is as bad as that.

The ends of each system are general or special. Special ends are immediate. They are both capital and collateral. General ends are either ulterior or ultimate. The ultimate ends of all the systems, are the existence and progress of all. Justice to all, is an ulterior end; and special are organic, ends.

The body economic, in a society of five municipalities, shall have jurisdiction over matters economic. Its special end is the personal subsistence of all. It is the societary organ of that. That must be its realization.

The body economic shall therefore have power:—

To realize economic association, adaptation, and regulation, in order to the subsistence of all :

To order or regulate commerce, agriculture, and manufactures :

To coin money ; regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin :

To order exchange, and the mediums of it :

To establish post offices, and post roads ; to regulate telegraphs, and mail carrying of all kinds :

To order internal improvements and public works ; to have jurisdiction of levees, harbors, breakwaters, light-houses, and landings ; of railroads, canals, rivers, watercraft, and all common carriers ; and to regulate navigation :

To regulate insurance :

To pass inspection laws :

To regulate cultivation ; and to prohibit waste or idleness of land or other capital ; provided this waste or idleness, be manifestly and perniciously in derogation of the public subsistence :

To prohibit idleness, vagrancy, and mendicancy :

To administer poor-laws, pauper establishments ; and industrial penitentiaries :

To define and regulate the powers, rights, duties, qualifications and responsibilities, of landlords and other capitalists, skilled-laborers, and simple-laborers :

To adjudicate wages, interest, rent, prices, and other parts of economic distribution ; to fix the standard of subsistence ; to order migration, and to actualize the systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers, labor, and capital :

To have all powers necessary and proper to carry into effect the foregoing.

The body hygienic shall have jurisdiction over hygienic matters. Of this system, the special end is health, or the normal conservation and progress of the human body.

It shall have power:—

To establish quarantines; and pass all laws necessary and proper, for the prevention of infections, and contagions:

To order sanitary inspections, or surveys; sanitary scavenging, draining, and purifications; to establish sanitary police, watchmen, and surveyors:

To declare and establish hygienic districts and sub-districts:

To order hygienic statistics or censuses; to keep records of births, deaths, and marriages; and to keep public hygienic registers:

To declare and abate hygienic nuisances:

To interdict food, raiment, and habitation, grossly and manifestly pernicious to health:

To regulate the structure of all habitations and houses; of all tenements, whether on land or water; and to issue hygienic certificates, probating all architectural plans:

To regulate the number and hygienic disposal, of all tenants whether of houses, water-craft or other tenements:

To order vaccination and other necessary precautions:

To enforce ventilation of public and private buildings and places:

To provide for the inspection, and prohibit the adulteration, of food, and of drugs and medicines:

To provide for the care, and to regulate the use, of poisons, explosives, combustibles, and other materials, dangerous to the unskilled or incautious:

To have jurisdiction of public baths, dispensaries,

warming-fires, and life-preservers ; and of hygienic asylums and hospitals :

To make laws for the conservation and progress of the race ; and for this to prevent degeneration, by prohibiting intermarriages manifestly and perniciously degenerative :

To order the qualifications, rights, duties, powers, and responsibilities of medical doctors, surgeons, druggists and apothecaries :

To have all powers incidental to the foregoing.

The body philosophic shall have jurisdiction over matters philosophic. Its special end is the education of all ; or the conservation and progress of societary wisdom and knowledge.

It shall have power : —

To order public schools :

To regulate the powers, rights, duties, responsibilities, and qualifications of scholars, teachers, and other philosophic orderers :

To promote the progress, of science and the useful arts :

To order patents, censuses, copyrights, and statistics :

To order fellowships, scientific surveys, and scientific commissions ; coast-surveys, soundings, observatories, and metres :

To have jurisdiction of weights and measures ; and to fix their standards :

To have jurisdiction of institutions for the increase, or the diffusion, of knowledge :

To order within due limits, scientific inquiry and experimentation ; and to make laws for the preservation and progress of language :

To regulate scientific interchanges :

To arrange, codify, digest or classify public laws :

To have all powers incidental to the foregoing.

The body esthetic shall have jurisdiction of matters esthetic. The special end of this system is the enjoyment of all, or the production of societary pleasure, and the reduction of societary pain.

It shall have power : —

To regulate esthetic associations :

To have jurisdiction of matters pertaining to fine-arts :

To regulate common entertainments : as theatres, operas, concerts, circuses, fireworks, and other exhibitions :

To order public museums and galleries :

To order pageants, public honors, public feasts, and games and sports :

To order public cemeteries :

To order public parks, gardens, and squares ; public arbors, seats, recesses, groves, grounds, and promenades ; public fountains, statues, columns, monuments, and decorations :

To have all powers incidental to the foregoing.

The body politic shall have jurisdiction over all matters political. Its special and capital object, is the personal security of all. Justice is its ulterior, and the existence and progress of all, its ultimate end. The power of the other systems, is carved out of the mass of societary power. Political power is that which is then residuary, and neither ethical nor religious.

The body politic shall have power : —

To insure domestic tranquillity ; and to provide for the common defence :

To declare and wage war ; to raise and support armies ; and to provide and maintain a navy :

To conserve the peace ; to prevent and punish crimes

and misdemeanors against its laws ; and do generally whatever is necessary and proper, for the security of all.

To have all powers incidental to the foregoing.

Among incidental powers, that of taxation is eminent and essential. In a heptarchy, each system may have the power of limited or unlimited taxation. Some may have it for all. The qualified or unqualified concurrence of all, or of a part of the systems' legislatures, may be made necessary. If these legislatures are divided ; the concurrence of either all or a majority, of the upper or lower branches, may be made necessary. If there is one upper branch or senate, common ; and more than one lower branch, proper to all the systems : the taxes of each, may be decreed by its proper lower branch, by and with the advice and consent of the common senate, in joint or separate sessions, assembled.

CHAPTER VII.

EVERY imperfect society ought to progress. This is its duty. Its ends ought to be perfectly realized. It must go on to perfection. It must not deteriorate ; every movement must be a melioration. Because the essence of progress is order, every movement ought to be normal ; abnormal, is regressive. To progress, a society must therefore, move according to the laws of progress. It must not merely change ; it must change for the better. What, therefore, are the laws of societary progress ? What, the canons of normal movement ? What do they exhibit ?

What, prohibit? States as well as sequences; coexistences as well as successions, must be shown; because law is as well modal, as causal.

1. Progress ought to be universal. That is its first law. Realization must be perfect. There must be no inefficients. Every thing must be considered. If imperfect, it must be bettered. Nothing must be overlooked. Society must watch itself.

2. Societary progress is that of either the societary organization, or the societary organs. Progress of the organization, is that of its domestic, or its foreign, relations; its relation to its own organs, or to other organizations.

3. Progress of a societary organ or system, is that of either its power, or its order. Progress of order, is that of association, adaptation, or regulation. Progress of adaptation is that of division, and of other fitnesses.

4. All artificials not perfect, ought to progress. The form of society is artificial; its substance, natural. That is changeable; this unchangeable. God made the substance; man made the form. Progress therefore, is not the substantiation; but either the formation, or the reformation of society.

5. In every progress, there are two forms. These are the old form, and the new form.

6. The motives of a progress, may be moral, religious, economic, political, hygienic, esthetic, or philosophical. They may be either pure or mixed. They may be also antagonistic, syntagonistic, or anagonistic. The motives may be good; and the movement, bad; or the movement, good; and the motive, bad.

7. Progress is either by antagonisms, or syntagonisms. If by antagonism, the form ought to be changed. Every

society ought to have a form in which progress is by syntagonisms. This syntagonism ought to be political, economic, hygienic, philosophical, esthetic, ethical and religious.

8. A movement in society, must be either progressive, digressive, aggressive, or regressive. Digression is not progression; change, not reform; motion, not promotion.

9. Progress is either constructive or destructive.

10. Destruction and construction ought to be complementary. The egression of the old form, must be by the ingression of the new form. There must be no lapse. Lapse is anarchy. Realization must be continuous. It must not intermit. Intermission is regression; it is failure. The better succedaneum must be instant. Its inauguration must be immediate. Complement must be kept. If one institution is put down, a better must at the same time, be put up. Constructive progress must, therefore, be conceptual, and certain, before destructive progress is real.

11. Progress is the destruction of the bad, and the construction of the good. The destruction of the good, is not progress. That is regress. The good must never be destroyed. It must be retained. We must hold fast that which is good. For, every imperfect system, is mixed. It is neither totally bad, nor totally good. Total destruction is destruction of both bad and good. This is abolition. It can never be progress; because the good's destruction necessitates the good's reconstruction. That is not wise; for two movements are superfluous, when one is sufficient. Reformation is modification. Progress modifies; it never abolishes. It loses the bad, and gains the good. It cures that, without killing this. Every movement ought, there-

fore, to be conservative of the good, and progressive from the bad.

12. If a system is perfect in its essentials, it must progress in its accidentals.

13. A society must be founded on fact. The fact qualifies the adaptation. This fact is political, economic, hygienic, philosophic, esthetic, ethical, or religious. Every fact works; it operates. The societal fact ought never to be ignored. Ignorance makes anarchy. The fact is not adaptable; it is the object of adaptation, and unchangeable. A society as it is, is its fact, not its abstract ideal. Progress is the creation of better facts; the concretion of abstractions; the realization of ideals. The hygienic and the historic status, are both facts. They qualify a society.

14. Progress by substitution of springs of action, ought first to be either experimental or demonstrative.

15. Progress ought to be experimental in minima, before experimental in maxima.

16. For certain actions, must be certain springs; for necessary effects, necessary causes; for warranted ends, warranted organs. Therefore, collateral must not be substituted for capital means; nor supplements, for implements.

17. Conception precedes realization. Everybody must understand what they ought to do. There ought, therefore, to be information before reformation; instruction before destruction, or construction; statistics, before legislation.

18. Every progress has an excess. This excess, if realized, is regress. It is fallacy that if sufficiency is good, superfluency is better; superfluency may be worse than deficiency. Both are out of order.

19. The access and excess of a progress, are unpopular.

The one, from error of agitators; the other, from error of agitators; this, from misconception; that, from nonconception.

20. Progress turns on excess. Excess makes opposition; opposition checks and changes the movement. Progress is thus consummated; sufficient demand makes sufficient supply; ideality pluperfect, makes reality perfect.

21. Societary progress must be consistent with itself. If a progress is normal in one system; it cannot be abnormal in another. If the movement is abnormal; it is not progress. Order never makes disorder. The perfection of one system, is compatible with the perfection of all the systems. If they are antagonistic; the systemization or organization, is imperfect, and to be amended. There is no melioration in one system, by deterioration in another; no progress, by regress. Progress is consistent. Every movement, therefore, must be moral. It must be compatible with the ethical system. It must not be antagonistic to humanity, justice, truth, purity, or order.

22. Progress must be humane. Crime or cruelty is regress. Wrong to one, cannot be right to another; inhumanity to some, cannot be humanity to others. Evil ought not to be done, that good may come. There ought to be no tears. No blood: if betterment without blood, is possible. Progress loves peace; olive is its laurel. The spirit of progress is the spirit of love.

23. Progress must be just. Conservatism is justice to those who have: progress, justice to those who have not. Injustice to one class, cannot be justice to another class. Justice is consistent with itself. Progress is conservative of justice; for justice is one of its ends. Aggression can never be progression.

24. If interests are immediately and sufficiently syntagonistic; progress and conservatism are immediately and sufficiently consistent. If interests are ultimately and deficiently syntagonistic; progress and conservatism are ultimately and deficiently consistent. If immediately consistent progress of one class is the progress of another class.

25. Those outside of a progress, may be indicative: they may suggest. Those inside, must be imperative. These must judge; those may advocate. Those in a movement, must govern the movement. Those who are not sufferers, must not be agents; those who are not objective, must not be subjective. Legislators ought to be legislatees. Nobody ought to meddle; meddling is immorality.

26. Charity ought to begin at home. As long as it can find there, any thing to do; it ought to stay and do it. It may travel when its work is done; it may use its feet, when its hands are idle. The whole power of the society, ought to be applied to its ends. After they are perfectly realized, it may help other societies. It must not be generous to others; while unjust to itself. It must perfect itself, before it perfects others. There is little room for charity abroad; if there is much room for charity at home. Home duties are highest. If one community tries to better another before it betters itself; it worsts both. It does a wrong. It wrongs those who are nearer and dearer. That wrong is atrocious. If our state or family are not perfect; they need our means. They must have preference. If there is any giving or helping; it must be for them. Everything must go to them. If they have no needs, the surplus may go to others; but the first needs must be first answered.

27. Progress must be truthful. More ought not to be placarded, to procure less. What the placard is; the principles ought to be: what the principles, the practice. Progress does not lie. It does not plead right to one, to practice wrong to another. False charges ought not to be made. A progress ought not to be perverted to false ends.

28. Progress ought to be pure. It must not be vicious. It must not sacrifice the greater to the less good. It must be rather from higher than lower motives. It must prefer those who are preferable.

29. Progress must be orderly. It obeys positive laws as the necessary condition of morality. It is not both in the law and out of the law. It is law-abiding. It never breaks, it makes laws, and keeps laws. Progress deliberates. It must be patient. It is slow. Agents must be habituated, before actions can be habitual. Hurry disorders: it is not wise: haste is anarchy. Progress does not sweat; it does not run; it walks with a lame heel, and handles with a sore hand. It hastens slowly.

BOOK II.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY.

ECONOMICS; PRODUCTION.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY.

THERE are in practice, two forms of society. Neither is perfect. One form realizes totally the first end of society; and partially, the second. The other realizes partially the first; and partially, the second. In one, the existence of all, is essentially perfect; and progress, imperfect. In the other, the existence of all is not essentially perfect. The realization both of it and of progress, is imperfect.

These forms essentially differ. The difference is in their economic system, whose order qualifies all the other systems. Economic order in one form, is warranted. It is not free or accidental. It is decreed. It is ordained and established. It is municipal. This form is called slavery. In the other form's economic system, order is not warranted: it is free. It is not essential; it is either natural or accidental. It is voluntary. It is not ordained and established. It is not public. It is not municipal. It is private. This is the form called free labor. Neither of these organizations, is a form of total division. The division in both, is incomplete. The political system in each, is warranted. Its order is not free: it is a municipality. But one organization has this municipality alone. All its other systems are essentially free. They are not divided and municipalized; they are private. The political system is

their collateral public organ. The other organization is a society of three municipalities, This, the form called slavery. Its municipalities are the economic, the political, and the hygienic. It has three warranted systems for personal subsistence, personal health, and personal security. These systems are sovereign. They have a common legislature, and a common appellate judiciary. The political system has its proper executive. The other two municipalities have together, a common executive; and a common inferior judiciary. These are proper to them, and accidental to the political system. This is the form called slavery.

SOCIETY IS FOR

I. EXISTENCE OF
ALL, BY

1. PERSONAL SECUR-
ITY.

2. PERSONAL SUBSIST-
ENCE, BY MEANS
OF.....

1. General societal
organisation
which is.....

2. Special Economic
System, whose
Parts are.....

II. PROGRESS OF
ALL, BY

1. HEALTH.
2. EDUCATION.
3. ENJOYMENT.
4. MORALITY.
5. RELIGION.



ECONOMICS.

THE subsistence of all, is the organic end of the economic system. This end is primary, capital, necessary, overriding and supreme. All other ends are secondary, subordinate, and collateral. Subsistence ought to be warranted to all. Everything ought to be stopped, till that is done. None ought to want the necessities of life. The means of earning them, ought never to be potential or precarious. They ought to be certain, unvarying, positive, absolute, and unconditional. Want is a high wrong; and starvation, murder to which every man in the community is accessory. Existence is the right of all. It is the great end of society. It is its first object; and the chief reason of its formation. If, therefore, the subsistence of every one, is not realized; society wrongs. It fails in its first end. This wrong is atrocious. It is revolting. It is supreme and horrible. Society has no choice; it must progress over every lesser thing, to right such a bottom wrong. That way alone is progress. It is no other way. The subsistence of all, ought to be, must be, a perfect reality.

In the two forms of practical society, the economic systems differ in their power, and their order. They differ in their means of association, adaptation, and regulation. They differ in their departments. These comprise production, distribution, exchange, and consumption. In these, the methods of the two systems, are essentially different.

One system realizes the subsistence of all. It warrants to simple-laborers, themselves and their families, during ability and disability, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. It warrants hygienic necessities. It warrants political necessities. It warrants economic necessities. It warrants economic order. That is the essence of the system. It warrants economic association, adaptation and regulation. It warrants work to all. It warrants capital to labor, and labor to capital. It warrants a uniform sufficiency of both. Deficiency or superfluency of either, is accidental. It warrants against irregularities. It warrants against idleness, mendicancy, and want. It warrants against either excess or scarcity of population. It warrants against the depreciation of laborers. It warrants their just appreciation. It warrants all their values; because it warrants their freedom to the laws of economy.

The other economic system does not warrant. It is free. Its order is not necessary. Subsistence is not warranted. Disorder is natural. Want, idleness, vagrancy, mendicancy, and other economic irregularities, are not eliminated. The laborer is free, both to the laws and against the laws of economy.

One is a complete warranted system, perfect in its essentials; imperfect, in its accidentals; and regulated, by the indisputable and fundamental laws of economic necessity. This system was in practice in the Hebrew Theocracy. God ordained it. It is now in practice in the United States South. It is not slavery. It is warranteeism. It is mis-called slavery. This, from misconception.

What is slavery? It is want, oppression, hatred, outrage, cruelty, and injustice. That is its realization. It is

odious. It is a moral evil. It is abhorred by God and man. "A slave is a person who has no rights."

The warranted economic system of the United States South, is not slavery. Its placard errs. The simple-laborer in that system, is not a slave; he is a warrantee. He has essentially all his rights. There are no slaves in the United States South. There are warrantees, only. The system miscalled slavery, is warranteeism, economically; and Ebedism, religiously.

PRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

IF an economic system is not perfect; it must be made perfect. It must progress. If it is perfect; that is the perfection of its parts. These are the departments of PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, EXCHANGE, and CONSUMPTION. The perfection of the parts, is the perfection of the whole. In a perfect economic system, therefore, production must be perfect. This is the perfection of its essentials first; and then, its accidentals.

The means of production, are power and order. They both, ought to be perfect. Power ought not to be unproductive. It ought never to be idle. Neither ought it to be wasted. It ought to be preserved. It ought to progress. It ought to be free to its highest action. It ought to be perfectly ordered. It ought to be perfectly associative, adaptable, and regular. It ought to be neither deficient nor superfluous: neither too much, nor too little. It ought always to be sufficient. It ought not to be needlessly inactive; neither ought its action to be excessive. For if an economic system is perfect; its production must be perfect: if its production is perfect; its power and order must be perfect: if its order is perfect; its association, adaptation, and regulation, must be perfect.

Mind and matter, are power. Production of matter is by changing it. These changes must be either, (1), atomic, (2), aggregate, or, (3), local. Atomic change is that of the

elements; aggregate, of the shape or aggregation; and local, of the place or locality. There are no other modes of qualifying matter.

The production of mind, is by changing either its powers, faculties, or intellect; or its motives, desires or springs of action. This is the production of either, (1), skill, or, (2), will. These must be duly qualified. They must be orderly; they must be associative, apt, and regular. Before mental power therefore, can produce; it must itself, be produced.

Man is by nature economic. He is not moral, political, or religious, only. He is also useful. He is as much a utility, as a citizen, well-doer, or worshipper. He is an economic power. This is his nature. He is both a producer and a product; a consumer and a consumable. And because persons thus, are productive power; they are valuable. Labor is capital. Men are values. This, because it is fact; must never be ignored. They are capital. They are substances on which industry has been exerted; or on which it may be about to be exerted. They are instruments used for conferring values. They undergo changes. They derive values from industry exerted on them. They may be retained or parted with. They are a portion of the possessions of a country, employed with a view to the profit of themselves and others. They are employed as a means towards further production. They are objects on which labor has been bestowed; and which are destined not for the immediate supply of our wants, but to aid us in obtaining other articles of utility. Persons are in all respects, capital.

Law is the exhibition of what is right, and the prohibition of what is wrong. The realization of law is order.

If men are by nature, and in fact, economic power; they are subject to economic law. That therefore, which exhibits what is economically right; must in a perfect system, be executed. Men must be orderly. They must progress to complete obedience. They must be free to the law; for this is economic liberty. They must not be free against the law; for that is economic license; and one man's license, is another man's loss; too much freedom for one, is too little, for another. Because man therefore is a utility or value; he must be amenable to the laws which exhibit what is right for the preservation and increase of values or utilities. Because he is both a producer and a product; he must be subject to the rules of producers and of products. Subjection to those and not to these, is an imperfection. So, of consumers and of consumables. Persons are, and must be, perfectly amenable to economic laws. If not; economic suffering, is consequent. For persons are in fact capital by nature, and in fact subject to its laws.

CHAPTER II.

THERE are three classes of producers. One is the class of capitalists. They are mentalists. The other is the class of skilled-laborers. They are manual-mentalists. The third class are simple-laborers. They are manualists. Each is a class of economic power. It must therefore be produced.

What is the best system for producing a simple-labor

class? Nor must they be produced merely. They must be produced in an orderly state: for without order, there is no power; and without power, no production; and without production, no realization.

Simple-laborers are both mind and body. They must therefore, be produced both mentally and materially. Material production is by qualifying matter either atomically, aggregately or locally. Laborers therefore, must be produced atomically and aggregately. This is nothing more than the simple production of their bodies. But their bodies must not be simply produced. They must be produced in the right place. They must be produced to the place where they are useful: otherwise they are useless. This is local production.

But a simple-laborer is not matter only. He is mind. He must therefore be produced mentally. This is not the production of his intellectual faculties or his skill. His power is not intellectual; his labor is not skilled; it is simple. His mental production is therefore that of his motives, his will, desires, or springs of action. Because before he can work, his mind must move him to work. He must desire or will to work. His will must be influenced; his springs of action or motives, must be produced. The simple-laborer's mental production, therefore, is not that of his intellectual faculties or his skill. It is that of his will or motives only. This is essential, that is not.

A simple-laborer is hence a three-fold product. He is produced atomically and aggregately. This is his bodily production. He is produced to the locality where he is useful. This is his local production. He is produced mentally. This is his motive production. A skilled-laborer is a fourfold product; he is produced intellectually

also. He has therefore four values; and a simple-laborer, three only. These are his bodily value, local value, and motive value. To produce a simple-laborer, all these must, at whatever cost, be bestowed. They are his full value. They are necessary to his just appreciation. They are elemental. Any deficiency depreciates. If his production is perfect; his value is perfect: if his value is perfect; his production is perfect. Whatever, therefore, betters his production; betters his values: whatever betters one value, betters all. Appreciation is a variable; these are its functions.

If in an economic system, therefore, the production of the simple-labor class, is perfect; it must bestow in full the three elemental values. The power of the class is perfect then only. To produce simple-laborers bodily, but not locally; is an imperfection; That is a loss of power; because every man is needless, if not where he is needed. He and his work must be brought together. Otherwise there is idleness; idleness is unshunable. But the simple-laborer, if in the right place, is not productive, unless he is moved to produce. That is another necessary condition. Nobody, in any place, can work, without a motive to work. Motives to work, must therefore be produced. If this production is not perfect; no other systematic production can be. If these are deficient; the economic system is deficient: if they fail; the system fails: if they are imperfect; this is. Motives are the springs of all action. They are the very foundation of any system. Motive production must therefore be perfect. It must not be deficient. It must be such, that the product shall be an orderly class of simple-laborers.

CHAPTER III.

IF production is perfect, power and order must be perfect; for these are its elements. Simple-laborers are power. How, therefore, can their order be made perfect? That is the end. It is necessary. The necessity is absolute. For, perfect order is essential to perfect production; perfect production, to perfect subsistence; and this is one of the first objects of society.

For a necessary end, the means must be necessary: if one is warranted; the others must be: if the effect is certain; the causes must be certain. If, therefore, order is perfect; if it is necessary, warranted, and certain; the means must be perfect; they must be necessary, warranted, and certain.

The first means of order, is association. If powers do not associate; they do not produce. If labor and capital do not unite; there is labor lost. They must associate. This is an economic necessity; because, labor without capital, and capital without labor, are alike unproductive. Singleness is barrenness. Dissociation, even if temporary or accidental, is a loss, and against economic law. If order is perfect; association must be perfect: if one is necessary; the other is necessary: if order is warranted; association must be warranted: for the perfection of one, is the perfection of the other; the perfection of the end, the perfection of the means.

How can perfect association be produced? Its production must be mental; because the product or producee, is human power. Of this, the springs of action are the

motives. These must therefore, be produced. Their production must be perfect. It should not err, from either excess or deficiency. Its means also, ought to be necessary and general, because the end is necessary and general.

Human motives or springs of action are, (1). Desire of bettered condition; (2). Fear of worse condition; (3). Affections; and (4). Duty. Duty is executed or enforced morally alone; or both morally and civilly. By combining these springs, all human action is obtained. Production may be from desire of bettered condition, alone. It may be from fear of worse condition, alone. It may be from the affections, alone. It may be from duty, alone. This duty may be enforced either morally, alone; or both morally and civilly. Production may be, from one of these motives in combination with some or all, of the others. One motive may be the implement. It is then the capital cause. The others may be supplements. They are then collateral causes. The fear of want or worse condition, may be the implement of production. Desire of bettered condition, and duty, may be its supplements. If not thus, the implement may be duty civilly enforced. Desire of bettered condition, and the affections, may be supplemental motives. They may be collateral, coefficient, and in cumulation.

The warrantee system called slavery, and the free-labor system, produce association by means of these motives. But the motives, which are implemental in one system; are in the other, supplemental. Springs of action which in one system are collateral; are in the other, capital. What is direct and immediate, in one; is in the other, indirect, and ultimate.

In the free-labor system, the implements of association, are the desire of bettered condition, and the fear of want

or worse condition. Supplemental to these, is duty civilly enforced. This enforcement is the civil prohibition or punishment of vagrancy, idleness, or mendicancy. Both systems may employ supplementally, the moral sentiments and affections.

The warrantee system employs, supplementally, the desire of bettered condition. It does not employ either supplementally or implementally, the fear of want. It has not, either by its essence or its nature, this means. In this system, the implement of association, is moral duty civilly enforced. It produces association not by negative prohibition of idleness, vagrancy, or mendicancy; but by direct and positive command of association. It civilly enforces the moral obligation of all, to associate. It publicly organizes association. It ordains and establishes it. It municipalizes it. Its association is not accidental or uncertain. It is necessary. It is decreed. It is warranted. Every simple-laborer is ascribed to capital. This ascription is warranted to him; his right of association is realized. Warrantee laborers are not adscripts of the soil; that is not sufficient. They are more than this. They are adscripts of capital: so that while life lasts; they are warranted the means of livelihood. Association in this system is essentially perfect. Production therefore, is so far perfect.

The free-labor system is different. It is essentially imperfect; because its association is imperfect. Fear of want and desire of bettered condition, are imperfect implements of order. They are neither necessary nor universal means of association.

CHAPTER IV.

FEAR of want and desire of bettered condition, are not necessary or universal implements of association. Association is an end which must be certain. For this end, those are not certain means. They do not necessitate order; they do not warrant association. An economic system with these implements, must therefore be essentially imperfect.

Necessary subsistence is a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. These necessities are food, raiment, and habitation. Habitation is for shelter; raiment, for warmth and decency. Food is animal or vegetable. These all are products of nature and of art. In the warm regions of the earth, nature produces more; and art, less: in the cold; nature, less: art, more. For, the soil in warm regions is fertile; and the climate, genial. Vegetation is abundant and diversified. Its growth is quick; and fruitfulness, plentiful. Useful animals also, are of long life, and rapid increase. For nourishment or protection, their young and old, need but little help of man. Clothing not for decency, but for warmth only, is either wholly superfluous, or cheaply needed. Habitations are, in the summer, best if open to the air; and for shelter in the winter, even a rude building where fuel is plentiful, is not uncomfortable.

Wherefore, in some climates, a comfortable sufficiency of food, raiment, and habitation, may be produced by the labor of a season only; in others, of two seasons; in others, of three; and in cold and barren countries, by the

labor of the whole year. In such countries, labor of the whole day therefore, is necessary for subsistence : in others, the labor of a half day ; in others, of a quarter day.

Fear of want is hence neither a universal, nor a necessary implement of order. In some countries, it is better ; in others, worse. The necessity is a variable. It is irregular, and inadapttable. The fear is, in some countries, intermittent ; in others, occasional. It does not universally necessitate association. The cause is variable ; therefore, the effect is variable ; and the implement, imperfect.

Neither is the desire of a bettered condition, a universal and necessary implement of order. It does not warrant association. Because by nature, it is variable, special, and inconstant. It is not regular. Order from it, cannot be uniform ; because it is not uniform. In one man it is more ; in another, less. Idiosyncrasy modifies it. In one, it is a good implement ; in another, a bad implement. In one, it may be sufficient at one time ; and, at another, deficient. It is not systematic.

The gratification of the desire of bettered condition, is a variable. A condition better to one, is worse to another. A condition better at one time, is worse at another. A condition worse at one place, is better at another.

Desires are those of either the body or the mind. Bodily desires are appetites. Bettered condition is therefore a gratification of either of these kinds of motives. Of simple bodily laborers, the desires are those more of the body and less of the mind. Their capital motives are the appetites. For their calling does not cultivate the mind. They exercise the mind less ; the body, more. Bodily comfort is therefore a condition more desirable by

them than mental gratification. Bodily discomfort is to them as a class, more repulsive than mental comfort, is attractive. They as a class, will not pass through that to this. This does not universally necessitate them. The motive is deficient.

The temperature of the atmosphere is in some climates, above; and in some, below that of the body. The difference may be large or small. Labor increases, and cold atmosphere decreases, the sensible warmth of the body. Neither increase nor decrease is comfortable. Natural temperature is the best condition. But labor in cold climates, prevents decrease; and in warm climates, produces increase of sensible warmth. That makes bodily comfort; this, bodily discomfort. One keeps the body at a natural; the other, at an unnatural, temperature. One makes a better; the other, a worse condition. Labor therefore, in cold climates, is bodily comfort, and more or less desirable. Labor and warmth are a better condition than cold and idleness. Idleness is repulsive; and industry, attractive. But in warm climates, the condition is reversed. There, industry is repulsive, and idleness, attractive. Idleness is cool and comfortable. Industry, hot and uncomfortable. This is the worse; that, the better bodily condition. The labor motive is hence deficient. Comforts from idleness, counterbalance comforts from industry. The desire of one is antagonistic to the desire of the other. This antagonism may, in persons or places, be more or less.

Desire of bettered condition is therefore, not a universal and necessary implement of order. It does not necessitate association. It does not warrant it.

CHAPTER V.

EVERYBODY ought to work. Labor whether of mind or body, is a duty. We are morally obliged to contribute to the subsistence and progress of society. The obligation is universal. To consume, and not to produce either directly or remotely, is wrong. Idleness is a crime. It is unjust. Every class of society has its economic duty. If it does not do it; if it positively or negatively, violates its duty; that is criminal. It may be a misdemeanor, so high as to be heinous. Production is a societary obligation. Its performance is therefore, perfect, when the product is perfect. But labor without capital, and capital without labor, are alike unproductive. Association is therefore, a right of society; and its perfection, a duty.

The obligation of every consumer to produce, may, as any other moral obligation, be if necessary, civilly enforced. Power and order both perfect, constitute perfect production. If this cannot be perfectly realized, without enforcing civilly, the three economic classes to their work; they ought, all, to be enforced. Whatever is necessary, ought to be done. There should be no hesitancy. Hesitancy is regress.

The three economic classes are simple-laborers, skilled-laborers, and capitalists. These three classes may, in a system, be civilly enforced to work, or do their economic duty. Two classes only, may be enforced; and if not two, one only. Capitalists, skilled-laborers, and simple-laborers, may be enforced; capitalists and skilled-laborers only; or capitalists and simple-laborers only; or skilled and simple-laborers only. The need qualifies the enforcement. What

classes, how many, shall be civilly enforced; what and how many, morally, only; this is matter of mere expediency. If moral means are sufficient, civil means are superfluous, and therefore inexpedient. If desire of bettered condition, or fear of worse, obtains sufficient power and order for one class; civil enforcement in cumulation of these, is not needed, or desirable.

Warranteeism recognizes the moral obligation of all classes to produce. This is fundamental to it; it is the bottom of the system. This obligation, it civilly enforces on the class of simple-laborers. Their labor-obligation is capitalized. By enforcing this class, it enforces both the other classes. Idleness is thus eliminated. For simple-labor is an element of all perfect production. It begins it. It bestows on materials, their first values. Its product is precedent and introductory to that of the other classes. It is raw. It is the crude material. It is unfinished. It is imperfect.

Raw produce; material in its crude state; is not the means of subsistence. It is not fit to gratify desire. Further modifications, other products, are necessary. Capitalists and skilled-laborers, are essential to perfect production. They must bestow their values. These are elemental. The class of simple-laborers may begin production; but capitalists and skilled-laborers must continue and finish it. They mature the raw material. All therefore must contribute to the perfect product. If simple-laborers produce; the capitalists and skilled-laborers must produce. Otherwise, the product is wasted. The raw material is lost. This is a loss of property.

The necessitation of the simple-labor class to produce, is therefore, the necessitation of all classes; the association

of one, the association of the others. Because, if simple-laborers violate their labor-obligation; that is against law. It is a violation of economic ordinances. It is a misdemeanor. For this, they suffer as for vagrancy or any other civil misdemeanor. They are punishable in person. If the class of capitalists violate their labor-obligation; that also, is a misdemeanor. But the punishment of this, is not forensic or formally civil; because it is a misdemeanor which punishes itself. It is a self-remedying wrong. For if when the simple laborer has begun production; the other classes do not continue and finish it; the raw produce is lost. That is the loss of the capitalists and skilled-laborers. Thus they are punished in their property. They are mulcted in property-damages. Their labor-obligation is thus enforced. But punishment must be that, either of the person or of the property. In warranteeism, two classes are punishable in their property; and one, in their person. This class cannot be punished in their property; because they do not have it. They are the poorest of the three classes. The property of society is in the possession of the skilled-laborers and capitalists. They order it. As a class, the simple-laborers' property is their necessities. These are their food, raiment, and habitation. Enforcement, or punishment by privation of these, is punishment in person, or direct bodily pain; and for obvious reasons, inexpedient.

CHAPTER VI.

ECONOMIC association alone, is not economic order. Adaptation and regulation are essential. These in a perfect system, must be perfect. If power whether human or inanimate, is not adapted; it is not productive. It is lost. If, therefore, production is a general duty; if everybody ought to work; adaptation is a general duty; everybody ought to be adaptable; because association alone, is insufficient.

The fitness of means to ends, is adaptation. Its function is wisdom. In both the free-labor and the warrantee systems, the adapter is the capitalist. He is the orderer; he makes the rule of action; he superintends. This is the mental production, of which he is the producer.

Associations compose systems; systems compose organizations. Adaptation in an economy, is therefore both associational and systematic. When that of each component association is perfect; systematic adaptation is perfect. The perfection of the compound, is by the perfection of the components.

Adaptation of any kind, is either quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative adaptation is sufficiency. In a perfect system, power must be sufficient only. It must not be, either deficient or superfluous. Excess is error; superfluousness and deficiency alike, loss. If a system realizes either; it is imperfect. Sufficiency alone is perfection. That ought to be the obtention.

Production is by the association of labor and capital. Both are elemental to it. Laborers cannot produce, with-

out capital; nor capital, without laborers. Their association is essential. It is a condition precedent. Adaptation is a condition subsequent, but equally indispensable. In every system, in all its associations, and in every place, the quantity of laborers, and the quantity of capital, must be adapted to each other. If the quantity of capital, is fixed; the quantity of laborers, must be neither deficient nor superfluous. They must be not too many, nor too few. They must be just enough. That must be the economic system's realization. Because, if there is more capital, than there are laborers, to associate with it; the excess is from necessity, idle. It does not produce, for want of producers. But if the laborers are in excess; they are idle. They do not work, and cannot work, because they have no capital to work on. Either all or part of their time must be without employment. This is labor lost; and that is wrong. Loss makes lacking. Nothing ought to be wasted. Labor ought to be saved, not squandered. The realization of the economic system, ought to be such that the quantity of labor and of capital, should be perfectly adapted to each other; because deficiency of one, is loss to capitalists; and superfluency, is loss to laborers. Sufficiency only, ought to be the obtention.

There are only two methods of realizing the systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital. One method is to increase or decrease, the quantity of capital; the other method, to increase or decrease, the quantity of laborers. There are no other means. These only, one or the other, must be systemized.

Capital is not systematically adaptable. Its adaptability is imperfect. It is partial, and precarious. The

quantity of capital, is a variable, whose variations are not governable. They are more or less independent of man. It is a quantity which cannot be systematically increased or decreased artificially. For capital is a product, whose factors are both nature and art. Its construction and destruction therefore, depend on natural causes and conditions. These are not governable. They are not artificially changeable. They are above man. Their changes can neither be predicted nor prevented. Man follows; he does not lead nature. He must adapt himself to her; because he cannot adapt her to himself. Not nature but man, is adaptable.

The quantity of capital therefore, is not perfectly adaptable; because it is a product, of one inadaptable factor. This factor is nature. Men cannot systematically control the quantity of capital, any more than they can control earthquakes, and volcanoes; fire and flood; wind and hail; frosts and rain; blight, rot, caterpillars, locusts, short crops or famine. The method of adaptation by changing the quantity of capital therefore, fails; it is a quantity which is not artificially adaptable and changeable. Its artificial mutability is imperfect. Capital cannot be systematically adapted, because it is not systematically adaptable. This method is imperfect; its realization fails. Progress from it, is therefore, necessary.

CHAPTER VII.

CHANGING the quantity of capital, is one method of systematic quantitative adaptation. Changing the quantity of laborers, is the other. These are all. If systematic quantitative adaptation is a primary and absolute necessity; one or the other of these methods, must be perfectly realized. There is no choice. Without it, no economic system can be perfect; and without systematic perfection, systematic subsistence is essentially imperfect.

The method of changing the quantity of capital fails; because that quantity is not systematically changeable. It is a product of one inadaptable factor. Its destruction and construction are controllable so far only, as they are artificial: and their artificiality is partial only. This method therefore, cannot be implemental. It must, from its nature, be supplemental only. The other method must be the implement of systematic quantitative adaptation. The quantity of laborers, must be adapted to the quantity of capital; because the quantity of capital, cannot be adapted to it. One method must be chief; because the other can be collateral only. That method must be systemized. It must be free to realize itself. This realization must be perfect systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital.

The quantity of laborers, is changeable. They may be increased or decreased. Their adaptability is perfect. Nothing is wanting. Sufficiency may be actualized. Excess and scarcity may, both, be relieved.

A simple-laborer is a threefold product. He is produced bodily, motively, and locally. Breeding is bodily production; circulation, local production. This if to a distance, is migration. These three products, constitute a simple-laborer's value. They are his qualifications. He is thus modified. They are his economic changes. By producing these; he is produced: if they are not; he is not.

If therefore, the quantity of laborers, is changed; these changes must be either bodily, motive, or local. For, he is subject to these only. Motives ought not to be changed because everybody ought to work. That is their right and duty. For this, their motives ought in reality, to be neither deficient nor superficient. If sufficient, they ought not to be changed but let alone; because sufficiency is perfection. The other two changes are bodily and local. Laborers may be increased or decreased bodily. Increase is constructive. This is by breeding. Decrease is destructive; that is by death. The quantity of laborers is changeable locally, also. They may be circulated from where they are needless, to where they are needed.

If breeding is free; circulation ought to be free. If bodily production of laborers is free; their local production ought to be free. If it is not; they do not get their three values. This is depreciation; and depreciation is damage to them. Depreciation wrongs them. Laborers ought to have their just appreciation. That is their right. They ought to be taken from the place of excess to the place of scarcity. Relief of superficiency ought to be a relief of deficiency. One man too many in a community, ought to go where there is one man too few. If work cannot be brought to workmen; workmen ought to be brought to work. They ought as soon as possible to come together.

Work and workmen, ought to hunt and find, each other; and rather than not meet, ransack the world. There ought never to be an excess of population. If that is a system's obtention; the system is imperfect. This imperfection is gross. Surplus population is a waste of life, because it is a waste of labor. This is the laborer's means of living. The supply of laborers in a state, ought to be sufficient. If there are more than enough; they ought to emigrate. If less than enough; they ought to immigrate. If valueless in one place; they ought to circulate to where they are valuable. They ought to journey from uselessness to usefulness: wherever the place is; they ought to go there. That is their best place. There, they get their highest estimate, their full value, their just appreciation. They ought not therefore, to be denied, their local production. Restraint is wrong. Circulation ought to be free.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE means of production are capital and labor. Capital is essential. Whatever be the nature of the production; it must be supplied. This supply must be sufficient and associative. For labor alone, is barren. It is inoperative. Capital and labor, must coöperate. If both are not coöperative; each is inoperative.

The circulation of laborers is local production. Capital therefore, must be supplied for this. One is essential to the other. In a perfect economic system, the supply for

necessary circulation ought to be sufficient and necessary. It ought to be warranted or certain. It ought not to be accidental.

The class of simple-laborers cannot circulate themselves; because they have not the capital. There must be a special contrivance for their circulation. For, capital is in the other classes. Simple-laborers have their wages only. If these are not sufficient; they cannot circulate. If they are variable; circulation is variable. If their sufficiency is not systematic; circulation is not systematic. If one is accidental; the other is. If circulation is warranted; capital must be warranted. If one is ordered; the other must be. For simple-laborers are not a self-circulating class. If circulation is not ordered; some only, circulate. These are the intelligent, the energetic, or the thrifty; and their circulation, if voluntary; is accidental and contingent. It is not systematic.

If, therefore, systematic quantitative adaptation is realized; the chief method must be the changing of the quantity of laborers. If under this method, breeding is free; circulation must be free. If the circulation of laborers is free; capital must be supplied. If it is systematic; the supply must be systematic: if warranted; warranted. There must be adaptation by circulation; circulation by capital; and capital by systemization.

The warrantee system realizes systematic quantitative adaptation of labor and capital. Its realization is essentially perfect. The method is that of changing the quantity of laborers. It systemizes it. Labor-circulation is its implement. The free-labor system does not realize systematic adaptation. Its method of labor-circulation is imperfect. It has no certain or warranted systematic imple-

ment for changing the quantity of laborers. It is essentially imperfect. The other method is common to both systems. But that is from necessity supplemental only.

Labor-circulation is a variable. Its functions are (1), Motive and, (2), Means. Both these are necessary. Means are capital. Knowledge or intelligence is a means, and one function of motive. Before laborers can circulate; they must know where to go; when to go; and how to go. They must have the means to go, and the desire to go. Circulation is then realized. And because subsistence is one of the first ends of society; and there cannot be subsistence without systematic quantitative adaptation of labor and capital; nor systematic quantitative adaptation, without a free labor-circulation; an economic system must in this, be essentially perfect. Otherwise, there is starvation. Perfection there, is paramount, vital, and distinctive.

The realization of the warrantee system, is essentially perfect. It recognizes the obligation of all to labor. That is the bottom of the system. It associates every warrantee laborer to a capitalist. This association is permanent. Labor has a claim for life on capital; and capital, on labor. Both are tied together. The means of this association are municipal. It is ordained and established. The interest of the capitalist in the laborer, is publicly ordained. It is civilly constituted. It is ruled and realized. It is not a moral interest only; nor a political, nor a religious interest only. It is an economic interest. This is in cumulation of those. It is a necessitating interest. It is an enforcing interest. This coercion, in effect, differs nowise from formal statutory coercion. It economically constrains the capitalist to do right: the penalty is damage not in his person but his property. The contrivance is complete.

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The warrantee system capitalizes labor-obligations. It institutes their capitalization. Out of that general natural allegiance due from all, for the existence and progress of all; the state specially retains, and publicly substantiates, the labor-obligations of the class of simple-laborers. It makes them civil obligations. It inaugurates their valuation. To this obligation the state is a party. It is the party to whom it is due. It is the lord-paramount. The obligee is a liege-laborer. He owes to the state an economic allegiance. This is civilly administered and enforced. The state warrants its execution. It makes it transferable. It deposes it. The capitalist is a deputy warrantor of the state. That is an office. In the system miscalled slavery; the master is a magistrate. He is a public officer.

By capitalizing labor-obligations, the economic association of the capitalist, is realized. His interest is systemized. Labor is made capital: laborers are treasured. Whatever therefore is needful for their perfect productiveness; the capitalist is economically enforced to supply. The laboring class, thus become self-circulating; for labor is capital, and capital circulates itself. It finds its highest value. By capitalizing the obligation, labor thus finds its highest appreciation. It gets its three products. For the obligee follows the obligation. That is a value. It goes from where it is low, to where it is high. The laborer follows it. He journeys thus from uselessness to usefulness; from excess to scarcity; from where he is not wanted, to where he is. Superfluity of laborers is relieved; because, it is profitable to relieve it; and deficiency; because it is profitable to relieve it.

Warranteeism thus realizes perfect systematic quantitative adaptation. It unites by the only possible contrivance,

the interests, intelligence, and ability of the class of capitalists, with those of the class of simple-laborers. In this, the perfection of the warrantee system is exquisite. Its contrivance is complete.

CHAPTER IX.

REGULARITY is conformity to rule. It is the third element of order. It completes it. Adaptation is legislative; regulation, executive. That is the beginning of order; this, the end of it. If, therefore, a system is nothing more than what it realizes; regularity must be perfect, if realization is perfect. If order is certain, regularity must be certain. If this is accidental; that is. There can be no realization, without regularity. The degree of one, is that of the other. For a rule is not its prescription, but its performance; and regularity is performance. Power, therefore, must perform. It must be regular. For there cannot be production without power; nor power without regulation.

The irregularities of simple-laborers, are either in diminution or in cessation of labor. Cessation is either accidental or designed. Diminution may be accidental, and is either quantitative or qualitative. That kind is a decrease in the quantity; this, in the quality, of a laborer's production. All these irregularities are from affections either of the (1), Body or the (2), Mind. Those from affections of body, are, (1), Sickness, (2), Debility, (3), Bodily hurt, and, (4), Intemperance. Those from affections of mind

are, (1), Strikes, (2), Absconding, (3), Idleness, and, (4), Heedlessness. But idleness, if not designed, may be a necessity, and unshunnable. It may result from the nature of the economic system. The laborer in some economies, may be both willing and able, yet idle. He may have no choice. He may be necessarily unproductive. Because in a system, the quantity of capital must be adapted to the quantity of laborers. If the system does not realize this adaptation; if there are too many laborers in a place, some must be idle. This is not the workman's fault. He cannot help it; nobody can work without something to work on; and without adaptation, there is nothing for surplus workmen to work on. The warrantee system eliminates this idleness from excess of population. Capital is warranted to laborers; and laborers, to capital. In this system, laborers and capitalists are welded together. Idleness of the laborer, is a loss to the capitalist. He is bound to keep up the productiveness of his capital; and this capital is labor. Laborers are never idle from excess of population.

The free labor system does not warrant systematic quantitative adaptation. It therefore cannot eliminate idleness from excess of laborers. It does not warrant work to the workmen. It must therefore progress. It must install new contrivances. It must not continue imperfect. For, imperfection is immoral. It is against duty to God and man.

The warrantee system eliminates, idleness and heedlessness from design or affection of the mind. In this system, the supreme orderer is the State. It is the economic sovereign. It publicly prescribes the quantity of labor, due. That is its function. It fixes the standard of work. This is matter of legislation. The public statutes order the

hours of work and of rest. Breach of the statute is punishable. Idleness is a crime. In warranteeism, its criminality is publicly instituted. The idea is made fact. And as of idleness, so also of heedlessness. But its perfection is matter of progress.

In the free-labor system, the implements to eliminate idleness, are desire of bettered condition, and fear of worse. These are deficient; because, not necessitating or universal. In this system, the worse condition feared, is either the decrease of wages, or the discharge of the laborer. But decrease of wages, if below the standard of health and strength; is contrary to order. It is imperfect. So is the other. For discharge is dissociation; and dissociation, idleness. In the other system, the simple-laborer is not free to be idle. His wages are not decreased for it; neither is he discharged. Disorder is not cured by disorder; nor idleness, by idleness. What is orderly, is first decreed, and then executed. What is right is determined beforehand. Any infringement, afterwards, any wrong, is duly punished, as it ought to be. In warranteeism, the State warrants the orderliness of both laborer, and capitalist. Idleness is a disorder; and therefore warranted against. This warranty is realized, by the contrivances peculiar to warranteeism alone; and in their essentials, necessary to any perfect system.

CHAPTER X.

A STRIKE is an association of laborers who stop work, for the purpose of enforcing a new adaptation or regulation of production or distribution. It may or may not be in violation of the labor-obligation. Whether morally right or wrong, it is always an economic irregularity. It stops work. In a perfect system, therefore, there are no strikes. Because the necessity of them, is eliminated.

In an economic system, the orderer must be either the class of, (1), Capitalists, the class of, (2), Laborers, or the, (3), State. If not the State, either one of these classes, or both concurrently, must adapt and regulate production and distribution.

In the warrantee system, the State is the economic sovereign. It is the supreme orderer. The capitalist is its deputy orderer. By the municipal power in him vested, he executes the State's commands. Strikes in this system are therefore eliminated. Because, the State orders production and distribution. It adapts and regulates. This regulation and adaptation, are not private, arbitrary, or conventional. They are laws. They are solemn expressions of legislative will. A strike for reform is in this system, therefore, not the remedy. The remedy is legislative. It is the amendment of the statutes. Progress is that way, but not by labor-irregularities; because they are against law. A strike in warranteeism is a revolt. It is a rebellion against the State. It is the attempt if there be any wrong, to right it by wrong means. The true remedy

is by the ballot-box, not by stopping work, and so, stopping subsistence. Not strikes but ballot-boxes; these are the means of progress, in warranteeism. It eliminates strikes by a better succedaneum.

The free-labor system prevents the irregularity of absconding, by pecuniary damages or responsibility in property, for breach of labor-obligation. This method is deficient; because simple-laborers are the poor-class. As such they are not responsible in property-damages; because they have not the means of satisfying damages. If punished as a class, they are punishable in their person only. The thrifty and honest may accumulate property; but they are not such as abscond. They are orderly. This system, also, prevents absconding by the want of means to abscond. The laborer's wages may be deficient in quantity. He cannot abscond then, because he has no money to abscond with. This prevents the irregularity in the free-labor system. It is nothing more than the free-laborer's inability to circulate. But this, in an economic system, is an essential imperfection.

Both systems have the capacity to eliminate absconding by eliminating its causes. This is the only method whose realization can be perfect.

The warrantee system specially provides against absconding, not by disability from want of wages, but by payment of wages in necessities, instead of currency. It thus checks the laborer, not because his wages are not enough but because they are not of the right kind. In this system, he is disabled qualitatively; in the other, quantitatively. The method of civil prevention by arrest of the fugitive, is common to both systems.

Intemperance is a greater irregularity than the abscond-

ing of simple-laborers. An economic system is imperfect, until that is eliminated. The method of elimination by civil prohibition, is common to both systems. In the free-labor system, it is implemental; in the warrantee system, supplemental. In this system, the implement for the suppression of intemperance, is the payment of wages in necessaries, instead of currency. This implement is complete. Any intemperance of warrantees is from a relaxation of the system. That relaxation is accidental. Laborers in warranteeism, cannot buy drink; because they have no money: they cannot barter for it; because that is against the law. The capitalist also, is economically enforced to prevent esthetically, the intemperance of the simple-labor class. He loses by it: it is against his interest. This, in the warrantee system. In the free-labor system, both classes are, in this respect, independent of each other. They are not syntonistic.

CHAPTER XI.

IN warranteeism, the warrantees are naturally simple-laborers; and accidentally, skilled-laborers. They are substantially and generally, simple-laborers; and occasionally and specially, skilled-laborers. This is an economic peculiarity of warranteeism. It is not, but may be, civil also; if necessary and proper.

Laborers are both material and mental products. Their mental production is in the case of skilled-laborers, two-

fold. It is that of the motives, and of the skill or intellectual faculties. They are educated to their calling. Simple-laborers need for their business, no education. Their labor is manual simply. They are brute-laborers. Their mental production is not two-fold. It is that of the motive only. They are bodily and mental products of three values; and skilled-laborers, of four. Their cost, or the labor bestowed on them, is therefore, proportionate. All production is by labor associated with capital. If therefore, the material and mental production of laborers is systematic; the association of capital for it, must be systematic. If capital is deficient; the production is deficient. A perfection of the warrantee system is, that in it, capital for the production of the warrantee laborers, is systematically warranted. The capitalist and the laborers are economically, affiliated. The State consists of Families; Families, of (1), Warrantors and (2), Warrantees; Warrantees, of (1), children and (2), servants. The laborer and capitalist belong to the same family. They have a home-association. The household is instituted. The head of the family is the capitalist. He warrants subsistence to all. This is his civil duty. He insures to all, a comfortable sufficiency of necessaries for health and strength. This insurance is during both the efficiency and the inefficiency, of the laborer. If he is disabled; if he is too old, or too young; if he is sick, or hurt in body; that makes no difference. The capital of the association is answerable for his comfortable sufficiency of necessaries. In this system, the children of the laborer, are not dependent on the wages of their father or mother. They are dependent on the capital of the association. That feeds, clothes, and houses them. Capital for the maintenance of all, is systematically supplied.

In the free-labor system, it is not so. There, the laborer and capitalist are free from each other. They have no necessary association for necessary good. Laborers divide their wages with their children; and support them, the best way they can. Capital is free from those of a tender age. Their production is not systematic. It is accidental and precarious. Capitalists and laborers are not affamiliated. The economic household is not instituted. In default of parents, or in their place, the continued production or subsistence of the young, may be by apprenticeship. The apprentice is a warrantee, not for life, but for years. He is an economic obligee. The obligation may be either legal or conventional, public or private. The consideration on one side, is subsistence and instruction. This is material and mental production. The consideration on the other side, is orderly labor or good and faithful service.

In both the free-labor and the warrantee systems, the production of simple-laborers if not profitable, will not be undertaken. This, in an economic point of view. If it is profitable, it will be undertaken. Profit of capital is a variable. Its functions are interest, risk, and superintendence. Of education instruction or intellectual production, by a capitalist, the means are, (1), Price of instruction; (2), Subsistence during instruction; and, (3), Loss of service or Time. If in the case of a skilled-laborer, the capitalist is his producer; he must warrant all these. Their supply is necessary. For the laborer cannot be produced unless the time, the instruction, and the livelihood are bestowed.

Crafts and professions, or skilled-labor callings, are in their continuity, either constant, or intermittent; and in

their locality, either stationary, or itinerant. Risk in production, is not that of capital only: the interest, as well as the principal, is subject to it. If the hazard is the same, this risk is greater, if the capital is greater; and less, if less.

In warranteeism, the risk for the production of a skilled-laborer, is that of both capital and its interest. This risk is greater than that for the production of a simple-laborer. Because, he is a product of three values only; and the other, of four. Irregularities from affections of either mind or body, are causes of such risk. Of this kind are absconding, idleness, heedlessness, sickness, intemperance, accidental injury, punishment for crime, and death.

Of absconding, the checks are, (1), Inability, (2), Content, or want of either means or desire. But in the warrantee system, currency-payment of skilled-laborers' wages is more or less unavoidable. Want of pecuniary means, cannot be completely actualized. Risk on this account, is therefore, greater. If the craft is itinerant; the risk is increased; and if intermittent, the facilities of absconding are still more numerous. Craftsmen also, are more valuable than simple-laborers. Their wages therefore ought to be higher. If necessities are not just wages; there must be more or less, currency payments. But this makes the ability to abscond. If there is no currency-payment; there is discontent. This makes the desire to abscond. Risk is therefore greater.

From idleness, heedlessness, sickness, intemperance, crime, and death, the risk of capital invested in a craftsman's labor-obligation, is less where the warrantor is superintendent. He is then master of both the instruction and the instructee. He so, may diminish irregularities. The

risk, also, is less in crafts stationary, than in crafts itinerant; and in crafts constant, than in crafts intermittent. Such being the greater risk of capital, invested in the production of a skilled-laborer; capitalists naturally invest in the production of simple-laborers; because they are lesser values, and less risked. This investment is natural only. It is not essential. Exceptions may be abundant. Civil legislation also, may qualify the warrantees' economic character. It may limit them to one class: or their classification may be civilly free and unqualified.

BOOK III.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY.

ECONOMICS; DISTRIBUTION.



- { 1. Existence.
- { 2. Progress.

- { 1. Existence, by variation of.....
 - { 1. Prices.....
 - { 1. High.
 - { 2. Low.
 - { 2. Wages.....
 - { 1. Better.
 - { 2. Worse
- { 2. Progress.

- .. { 1. Numerous.
- .. { 2. Poor

- .. { 1. Rich.
- .. { 2. Few.

- .. { 1. Laborers.
- .. { 2. Labor.
- .. { 3. Capital.

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DISTRIBUTION.

CHAPTER I.

ONE of the first ends of society, is the subsistence of it. Its societary organ is the economic system. Production is only a part of this system. The other parts are DISTRIBUTION, EXCHANGE, and CONSUMPTION. If therefore, the whole is perfect in its essentials and accidentals, the parts must be. Perfect production is insufficient. That is initiatory only. The economic DISTRIBUTION must, in a perfect system, be perfect. This is essential. Its perfection is as important as that of any other part.

Consumption is the immediate means of subsistence; production, the ultimate. Distribution is intermediate. The perfection of any one of these, is the perfection of all. There cannot be perfect production, without perfect distribution; nor perfect consumption, without both. For, distribution and consumption, are not ends only of production; they are means of it. They are motives of production. Unless the motives therefore, are perfect; the product never can be. Men will not work, without they have a good inducement. The better they are induced, the better they produce. Necessary authority can warrant necessary production. Its motive is duty enforced by fear of punishment. But these are not the only motives. Positive desire of bettered condition, is a supplement to these. It is

not an implement; because it is not a uniform, universal, nor necessary motive. But so far as it goes, it is good. It perfects the others. If a system therefore, is perfect; its motives must be perfect; if its motives are perfect; interest or the desire of bettered condition, must be supplemental to authority or duty civilly enforced. That must corroborate these. It must reinforce them.

In all production, there must be producers and producees or products. In all distribution, there must be, (1), Distributors, (2), Distributees, and, (3), Distributables. Those are persons; and these, things. These are the objects of interest; distributables are desirables. They are divided into two kinds: one kind is, (1), Necessaries; the other, (2), Luxuries. Both these are motives to labor. If therefore production is perfect; distribution must be perfect. They harmonize. If one is bettered; the other is bettered. If interest is joined with duty; if desires are in cumulation of necessary fears; the motives will be better: they will be more productive. The best method of distribution therefore, is that which makes the best motives: that is best distributively, which is best productively. But the end of distribution is not economic only. This is inferior and collateral. Its supreme and capital end, is the subsistence of all. This is ethical. For, subsistence is the right of all. Economic justice is the moral end of distribution. Its best method therefore is that in which the moral and the economic; the pleasurable and the productive; the desirable and the dutiful, coincide. Power and order are the ends of production; but the end of distribution is justice. This, while it is moral, is economic. For justice is productive. That is its nature. The economic system hence, ought to be such, that by justice, everything would be gained and

nothing lost. This is possible. It is therefore an object of progress. What is unjust ought to be unprofitable; what is just, profitable, or desirable. This desire ought not to be ulterior, and inefficient or accidental. It ought to be immediate and effective.

CHAPTER II.

IN a society, the product of labor and capital, is distributed into three shares. One share is the tribute of the (1), Laborer; one, of the, (2), Capitalist; and one, of the, (3), State. The tribute to the State, is, (1), Taxes; to the laborer, (2), Wages; to the capitalist, Rent or (3), Interest. Taxes, wages, and interest vary. They may be more or less, and better or worse: for both their quantity and quality, are variable. Whatever these variations are; they must never be unjust. The economic system must be such, that injustice in distribution shall be eliminated. This elimination must be total. It must be perfect. Wages must be perfectly just: rent and interest, must be perfectly just; taxes must be perfectly just. This must be a systematic reality. It must not be intention; it must be obtention. In fact, nobody must be economically wronged. An economic system must be such as to envelop economic wrong, and develop economic right. This is the end of progress. When that is realized, progress is closed and perfect.

The subsistence of all is the systematic end; and justice, the societary end of distribution. Justice is fixed; but distribution is variable. One is the means of the other.

If the standard of justice is set; the variations of distribution may be three. They may be, (1), At justice; (2), Under justice; or, (3), Over justice. If at the standard of justice; distribution is as it ought to be. This kind should be realized. It is the perfection of distribution. Without it, a system is essentially imperfect. The other variations are two. They are those above and those below, the standard: those over, and those under, justice. Of these, one is the immediate invariable consequence of the other. One makes the other. If the distribution of one class, is above; that to the other, is below the standard of justice. For when the sum total of products, is fixed; if one party gets more, another must get less. One man's license is another man's loss. Over justice makes under-justice. If the State takes all; nothing for the capitalists and laborers, is left. If the laborers take too much; too little for the State and the capitalists, is left. If the capitalists get more than their share; the laborers and the State, get less than theirs.

The tribute to the laboring class, is their wages. These are their share of the produce of labor and capital. It is also their means of livelihood. For, a laborer lives by his labor. His wages are his only means of subsistence. These are by nature variable. Their variations are quantitative and qualitative. For, subsistence is a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. If the standard be fixed; wages may be either, (1), Sufficient, (2), Deficient, or, (3), Superficient, for subsistence. They may be enough; more than enough, or less than enough. If wages are less than enough; that is deficiency. Deficient wages are want. It is less than enough necessities for health and strength. There are three kinds of want. Each kind is a cause; each effective; each realizes or makes

facts. (1), Unhealthy Want is that which causes unhealthiness. That is the first kind. It is from a deficiency of necessities for health of body. (2), Criminal Want is that which causes crime. This is the second kind. It is from a deficiency of necessities for health and strength of mind. (3), Mortal Want is that which causes mortality. Of these three kinds, the consequences are (1), Crime, (2), Disease, and, (3), Death. They are the realization. They are the fact. An economic system which does not, as far as a system can, eliminate such want, is therefore, imperfect. It is the organ of this elimination. This is its duty. For, want wrongs. It is licentious. It is against liberty. It is disorderly. It is less than justice to some; and more than justice to others. Subsistence is what is always just. The moral theory of any economic system, is the ASSISTANCE of all for the SUBSISTENCE of all. Subsistence is fixed by nature; assistance is variable by art. Its variation; its adaptation, must be sufficient; because, it is a matter not of choice but of duty. It is the duty of society. Its powers therefore are correspondent to it; they are necessarily sufficient. Subsistence is the right; whatever be the duty, of all.

In economic systems, are therefore three standards. The first is (1), the standard of Justice. Its end is societary. The second is (2), the standard of Subsistence. Its end is systematic. The third is (3), the standard of Wages. Its end is departmental or distributional. The standard of justice is never below the standard of subsistence; because all have a right to live; and society is the executor of the right. The standard of wages may or may not be the standard of justice. In a perfect economy, it must be; because wages ought to be just. Justice ought to govern

distribution ; and the tribute to a class ought never to be less than a comfortable sufficiency of necessaries for health and strength. Whatever is the maximum, that is the minimum.

CHAPTER III.

THE persons of a distribution, are two. They are the (1), Distributors and the (2), Distributees. The distributees are the class of (1), Capitalists, the class of (2), Laborers, and the (3), State, or function of justice. In any economy, these each receive a tribute of the produce. This tribute may be either just or unjust. If it is perfectly just ; the distribution is perfect. If it is not just, it must progress. For justice is its rule.

In a systematic distribution, the distributor may be either, (1), the class of capitalists and of laborers, concurrently ; or, (2), the class of capitalists exclusively ; or, (3), the class of laborers exclusively, Both of these classes are distributees : and may be distributors. If distribution by these classes either concurrently or exclusively, realizes systematic economic justice ; an economic system with such methods, is so far good. If justice is not the realization ; the system is so far bad ; and progress is a duty.

If the distribution is by neither the laborer nor the capitalist ; it may be by the State or fountain of justice. The State is a distributee ; it may therefore, be a distributor. It decrees its own tribute ; it may decree the tribute of the other distributees. The State may adjudicate wages. It may act upon this, as upon any other

atter of justice. It may have jurisdiction, as well over
 baistence, as over any other right of life. There are
 erefore, two general methods of distribution. One is
), Public: the other, (2), Private. Public distribution is
 at by the State. This is not free. It is ordered; it is
 incipal. Private distribution is that by the capitalists or
 e laborers, either one class or both, equally or unequally.
 is is free. It is not ordained and established. It is not
 incipal.

Which therefore is better: public, or private distribu-
 n? That is better which is juster. Justice is the test
 distribution. But these are not the only methods. For
 ay though distinct and simple, are not incompatible.
 ay may be (3), Mixed or compounded. Out of the two
 ay be composed a third method. For, distributables are
 ided into two kinds. One kind are necessities. These
 e for subsistence. The other kind are luxuries. These
 e for progress. The necessities are for well-being; the
 uries, for better-being. There may therefore be a third
 ethod in which the distribution of necessities, may be
 blic; and the distribution of luxuries, private. Subsist-
 ce-wages may be civilly warranted. They may be or-
 ined and established. They may be decreed. But pro-
 ess-wages may not be publicly ordered. They may not
 municipal. They may be free and private. This is the
 xed method; or public distribution for subsistence; and
 ivate distribution for progress. In this method there is
 edom for progress; and order for subsistence. That is
 tural; and this, essential. Livelihood is certain, and lux-
 ies, possible. That is compulsive; this, conventional.
 at is by law; this, by contract. That is statutory and
 ril; this, social and consensual.

In the public method, the state adjudicates the wages. This is the laborer's share of the produce. It is what justly belongs to him. But to adjudicate wages, is also to adjudicate labor. For labor comes before wages. When the State decrees the wages, it must decree the work ; the quantity of one that justifies the quantity of the other ; how much work is entitled to how much wages. An ordinance of wages is therefore an ordinance of work. If the state adjudicates distribution, it must of necessity, adjudicate production. One adjudication necessitates the other. In the public method therefore, the state decrees both distributively and productively. In the mixed method, it only adjudicates how much work must be done for subsistence. Its jurisdiction is limited to this. It ordains publicly, the necessary work for necessities. It sets the standard both of work and of wages ; because one cannot be set without the other. In the mixed method, all work above the standard of subsistence ; all over what entitles to necessities, is not commanded by law. It is free. After the laborer has earned his subsistence, he has freedom to work or not to work for his progress. There is a warranty for necessary industry ; but not against unnecessary idleness. There are both order and liberty. This is the mixed method : or a limited public distribution, free for progress, and ordered for subsistence.

CHAPTER IV.

DISTRIBUTION in the free-labor system, is not public. The state is not the distributor. It adjudicates taxes only. It does not adjudicate wages. The distribution in this system, is private. It is not systematically by the class of capitalists alone, nor by the class of laborers alone. It is neither systematically concurrent; nor systematically exclusive. It is free. It is accidentally, (1), by one class exclusively, or, (2), by the other exclusively, or, (3), by both concurrently. These three kinds of private distribution are the system's fact or realization.

If in any place, the quantity of capital is fixed; the quantity of laborers either may or may not be adapted to it. If adapted; they are sufficient. If not adapted; they are either deficient or superfluous. This is excess; that, scarcity. The demand for labor varies inversely as this excess or superfluity. If the supply is superfluous; the demand is deficient; if deficient, superfluous. As the quantity of laborers increases; the quantity of wages decreases. As one gets more or less; the other gets less or more: as one goes up; the other, goes down.

If therefore laborers are deficient; they are distributors. They can choose whom they will work for, and what shall be their wages. Scarcity strengthens them. They are more valued; their appreciation is higher: they are more desirable. Their power is greater. For in the free labor system, association and industry are free. The laborer has choice; he may or may not, associate: he may, as he pleases, work or be idle; he may economically assist or

desist. He has choice. If laborers therefore are deficient; capital is superficient. Its excess is unproductive; it is necessarily idle. Because, production is by labor and capital, associated. If the quantity of laborers is not sufficient for association with capital; as much of it as has no labor, is idle. It cannot produce, because it has nobody to work it. It therefore wastes. That is loss. This falls on the capitalist; it is his property that is idle. If therefore the laborers in any place, are deficient; some capitalists must lose on account of the deficiency. Some capital must be unproductive for want of producers. To save themselves from this loss, capitalists compete with each other. The highest wages buy the labor. Those who cannot purchase, lose. Labor is in demand. Wages are increased. The laborer is better appreciated; his value is higher. He has the power to choose an employer amongst those who desire him. He has the power to increase his wages. His loss is felt by capitalists.

If breeding is free; scarcity of laborers may be either from (1), Restricted Circulation, or from (2), Dissociation. Circulation is both (1), Accessive and (2), Recessive: that which adds, and that which subtracts. If the accession of laborers is not free; there will be a deficiency: for free circulation makes sufficiency. The free-labor system has no free circulation of laborers. It does not warrant it. Its circulation, is not systematic. It depends on accidents. These are the (1), Desire, (2), Intelligence, and (3), Ability of laborers. It has no sufficient systematic method for their local production. Deficiency from restricted circulation is incidental to the system. Therefore the distribution so far forth as to this deficiency and its effects; is in favor of the class of laborers, and against the class of capitalists. But if

laborers strike; that makes deficiency from dissociation. They stop work, until wages are raised; or until a new regulation is enacted or an old one, abolished. Strikes in the free-labor system, may be right or wrong. They may be for a cause good and sufficient, or bad and deficient. The power of laborers to strike, is the power to make a scarcity. This increases the distributional power under the method of private distribution.

But, in the free-labor system, laborers may not be deficient. They may be superfluous. That qualifies the distribution. Because if laborers are in excess, capitalists distribute. They choose who shall work for them, and what shall be their wages. In a deficiency of labor; the power of distribution, is more or less, in the hands of the laborers: in a superfluity; it is more or less, in the hands of the capitalists. The power changes; it shifts. For the quantity of laborers is then greater than the quantity of capital. They are not adapted to each other. The surplus of laborers is therefore idle. They cannot work; because they have nothing to work on. Idleness is necessitated. Some must be either wholly or partially without labor. If all cannot get a day's work, some must take a half-day's work. If not; they may stand all the day idle. But a laborer lives by his labor. Work makes wages. His idleness is his loss. To prevent this loss, laborers in case of excess, compete for employment. Amongst the competitors, such get work, as are chosen by the capitalists. All others are supernumeraries. They are more or less idle, as they are less or more needed.

In the free-labor system therefore, the distribution in case of either deficiency or superfluity of labor; is accidentally by the laborers or the capitalists. Excess of

laborers is a gain to capitalists, and a loss to laborers. It is therefore, to the immediate interest of the capitalists; and against the immediate interest of the laborers. Restricted recessive circulation is against the immediate interest of the capitalist, and for the immediate interest of the laborer. Free accessive circulation is against the immediate interest of the laborer, and for the immediate interest of the capitalist. The interests of the two classes, are immediately antagonistic. Distribution in the contingency of a deficiency or superficiency of laborers, may be just. It may not be just. Whether it is just or unjust, is accidental.

CHAPTER V.

IN an economic system, sufficiency of simple-laborers, is immediately and ultimately best for them; superficiency, immediately and ultimately worst; deficiency, immediately good and ultimately bad. A superficiency of laborers, decreases wages; a deficiency, increases temporarily, and decreases permanently: it raises present, and lowers future wages.

For, if the standard of prices is fixed; consumers may be classed according to their ability to consume or purchase. These classes are three. They correspond more or less to the three classes of producers. They all have the natural capacity; but some only, the economic ability to consume. The first class are those who have sufficient ability to purchase products at a fixed price. These correspond to the class of capitalists. They are the

wealthy class. The second class have sufficient ability only. They can consume at a fixed price; but not at a higher one. They are the middle class. In this are more or less, the skilled-laborers. The third class are those, whose ability to consume at the fixed price, is deficient. They cannot buy, because they have not the power; they have the motive but not the means. In this class are more or less, the simple-laborers. They are poor: property is in the other classes; but not in theirs; they work for their living; and their work is the simplest or least intellectual of all. They have the economic power of their bodies only; but the skilled-laborer, that of both his mind and body.

In the three classes of those who are naturally adapted to consume; two only, are real consumers. These are the classes of superficient and of sufficient ability. They are competent. The class of deficient ability, are incompetent. They have the natural capability but not the artificial ability. The class of superficient ability, is numerically the smallest: the class of deficient ability, numerically the largest: the class of sufficient ability, numerically, neither the largest nor the smallest. This is the middle class. The others are the wealthier class and the poorer class. All of these are as well producers as consumers. All as such, are governed by economic laws.

If producers are deficient; products will be deficient: Scarcity of one, makes scarcity of the other. If this deficiency raises the standard of prices; if the value of products is increased; the standard of ability is raised. Those who under first prices were of sufficient ability to purchase; are, under the raised prices, of deficient ability. This lessens the number of consumers. For, under the first prices, two classes were able to consume: under the second, one,

only. Under the first prices, the purchasers were the wealthy class, and the competent class. Under the second prices, the competent class become incompetent. But if the consumers are lessened; the consumption is lessened. When therefore, prices are raised and consumers lessened; the quantity of products or consumables, will be lessened. Enough only, for diminished consumption is demanded. That only will be supplied. Production, which under the first prices, was sufficient; will, under the raised prices, be deficient. Diminished demand makes diminished supply; diminished consumption, diminished production.

But if the quantity of production, is diminished; the quantity of producers is diminished. One cannot be lessened, without lessening the other. These producers are the laborers and capitalists. To diminish production is to diminish them. That is the only way. When laborers therefore, are deficient; their wages are increased. When wages are increased; the price of their product must be increased. If not, the capitalist loses; for the laborer's share is increased; and his, decreased. When prices are raised; consumption is lessened. Those who under first prices were of sufficient ability; are under the raised prices, of deficient ability. When consumption is lessened; production is lessened. Because the supply adapts itself to the demand. If one decreases; the other decreases. Capitalists produce to the need only. When production is lessened; producers are lessened, and when these are lessened; laborers are lessened. So many under the raised prices, are not needed. Some are superfluous: there is a surplus. The demand for labor, is diminished. But when the demand for labor, is diminished; wages decrease. When laborers are superfluous; wages are deficient. When one goes up, the other goes down.

Wherefore;—if laborers are deficient; the deficiency, though immediately good, is ultimately bad for them. It increases their wages; but this increases prices. This diminishes consumption. This in its turn, diminishes production; and this throws laborers out of employment; or diminishes demand. High wages from deficiency, make high prices from deficiency: these react; high prices from deficiency make ultimately low wages from superfluency. If laborers are at first deficient, and the deficiency is not relieved, or compensated; they become at last superfluous. Lessened demand for products, makes a lessened demand for producers; and this makes lessened wages. A deficiency which therefore, was immediately good; is ultimately bad for the laborer. In the free-labor system, superfluency is best economically for the capitalist; but permanent sufficiency or a systematic quantitative adaptation of labor to capital, is best for the laborer.

CHAPTER VI.

If in the free-labor system, there is a systematic sufficiency of laborers; the distributors are the laborers and capitalists concurrently. But in this concurrence, they are not equivalent. Their powers are not equal. Systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital, although the necessary condition of a perfect-economy, does not, in the free-labor system, realize just distribution. Justice is not its fact. It is not the obtention. It is not the certain, and systematic reality.

In distribution, there are three shares. The whole produce is a sum-total divided into three parts. These are variable. One part is for each of the share-holders. These are the State, the class of capitalists, and the class of laborers. They are the systematic distributees. Of their three shares, if that of the state be fixed; one of the other two shares must be greater, as the other is less. One must decrease to increase the other. For, they are variable dividends of a fixed sum-total. If therefore, the laborers get more; the capitalist gets less. If the dividend of one, is larger; that of the others is smaller. Their interests in the distribution, are immediately antagonistic. Both parties are each immediately interested to obtain as much as they can. Both parties are each immediately interested in a distribution more favorable to themselves and less favorable to the others. Both are immediately interested to gain by a loss to the other; both to profit at the expense of the other. What they take, they make. To take as much as they can, is the immediate economic interest of the capitalists. If they take more than justice; that injures the laborers; but it does not economically injure the capitalist. It is his profit. Prices being fixed; the lower the wages, the higher his profit; the higher the wages, the higher the laborers' profit. High wages are the interest of one. The interest of the other is immediately, directly, and effectively antagonistic. These interests are, in private distribution, the springs of action. They are not limited, or qualified. They have not simple liberty of action. They are free. They are not restricted to justice. They have both liberty and license of action. There is an unqualified freedom of antagonism in the distribution.

There are, in adjudication of any kind, three conditions only, of realizing justice. Adjudicators may be parties either interested or disinterested. If interested; their interests may be either antagonistic or syntagonistic. When the adjudicators are antagonistic; (1), equipollency of antagonisms, is essential to just adjudication. When the adjudicators are syntagonistic; (2), equipollency of syntagonisms, is essential. Such are two kinds of conditions for two kinds of adjudicators. These are the persons in interest, syntagonistically, or antagonistically adjudicating concurrently. But these may not act in the adjudication. They may be adjudicatees only; and not adjudicators. A third party may adjudicate. The first and second parties, may operate neither antagonistically, nor syntagonistically. Their operation may be checked. This is their anagonism. It is nothing more than their inaction. This may not be complete. The action of the parties may not be equally checked. When the adjudicatees are not also the adjudicators; (3), equipollency of anagonism and adjudication by a disinterested or just third party, are essential to realize justice.

If therefore, distribution ought to be just; the economic system ought to be adapted to realize it. To this adaptation, whatever its nature; one of these three conditions is essential. Justice cannot be systematically realized, without one of them. There must be an equipollency either of (1), Antagonisms, of (2), Syntagonisms or of (3), Anagonisms, and distribution by a disinterested third party. If wages ought to be adjudicated, one of these three conditions is necessary to a perfect adjudication. One of them, must be actualized. The degree of perfection is the degree of its actualization. There are no other ways of systematic

justice. To make equal rights, there must be concurrent equal might. There must be a check to every power. Power must counterbalance power. If the check is not equal to the power; abuse cannot be prevented: if powers do not countervail; the greater will avail: if they are not equivalent; one will be prevalent. Powers therefore ought to be peers. If not; concurrence is imperfect.

CHAPTER VII.

SYSTEMATIC quantitative adaptation of labor to capital, although the necessary condition of a perfect economy; does not, in the free-labor system, realize just distribution; because there is not an equipollency of antagonisms, between the class of laborers and the class of capitalists. The distribution of the system is private. In the contingency of a sufficiency of labor; the distributors are the laborers and capitalists concurrently. Both act in the adjudication. But in this action, the agents are not equal. In the case of systematic quantitative adaptation, the class of laborers and the class of capitalists are not peers in power. One class is economically mightier. Justice in the distribution therefore, cannot be systematically realized: It cannot be the systematic fact. It may be the sincere intention, but cannot be the sure obtention. Because in the distribution, there are not concurrent equal mights; there will not be equal rights, for a right is only its execution; and executions cannot be equal, when executives are unequal. Because the necessary condition of justice is not

realized; the necessary substance of justice will not be realized. Because an equipollency of antagonisms is not realized; a just adjudication will not be realized.

What therefore, is the fact? Are the class of capitalists and the class of laborers, equipollent in economic distribution? In the case of systematic quantitative adaptation, are they equivalent against each other, or is one class prevalent? If their action is free, is one class economically mightier than the other.

Of a class, the powers of antagonism are, (1), its Capital, (2), its Intelligence, and, (3), its Associativeness. These move the springs of action. They are means of ordering. They make the better conditions, which are desired; or the worse, which are feared. These are the means of enforcing concurrence. If therefore two classes, are in their powers of antagonism, equal; they must be equal in their capital, their intelligence, and their associativeness. If one class is superior, the superiority is in these. If inferior, the inferiority is in these. If equal; the equality is in these. But if not a peer in power; its disparity is still in these.

In the free-labor system, the distribution between the class of laborers and the class of capitalists, is antagonistic. This antagonism in the case of a sufficiency of labor, cannot be equipollent. The class of capitalists, have more capital; because they are a wealthy class; more intelligence; because, a thinking class; and more associativeness; because a smaller class. The essence of concurrence, is consent. This is either free or constrained. Free consent is that from free desire; constrained consent, that from fear. Consent from duress is not free. Neither is consent from any other bodily suffering. Constraint or enforce-

ment may be either private or public. If in the free-labor system, the capitalist, in case of a sufficiency of labor, fixes the rate of wages; the consent of the laborers is necessary. They must concur. If not, the fixation is unconfirmed. A contract express or implied, is essential. It must be realized. If not, the laborers are idle. They will not work, unless they privately agree to work. Neither will the capitalist employ them, without first agreeing. Private consent precedes production. This is essential to the free-labor system. If the capitalist fixes the rate of wages; the laborers must consent. But if the laborers fix; the capitalist must consent. Mutual concurrence is necessary. Otherwise they do not associate. Production stops. If the concurrence is not free; it will be constrained. Consent will be enforced. Because not to concur is to be idle; and to be idle, is to lose. This loss is mutual. The capitalist loses labor; laborers lose wages; and both lose their products; because neither produce. If laborers fix the rate of wages; the capitalist must concur. If he does not, his capital is idle. It stops production, and he loses. This loss is his alternative. He must either concur, or lose. The ability to lose, is his power of antagonism in distribution. As the ability is superior; the power is superior. All such economic losses are those of either necessities or luxuries. The capitalist's loss, is not that of necessities. Such a loss is to him, potential only and extreme. He cannot be starved-out.

But if the capitalists fix the rate of wages, the laborers must concur. If not, they are idle. They, lose their wages. This loss is their alternative. The ability to bear it, or the ability to lose; is their power of antagonism in distribution. But this power of antagonism is not equal to that of the capitalist: because their ability to lose is

less. For laborers, when they stop work; stop wages. These are their necessities. Loss of labor is loss of livelihood. The laborer therefore, has no choice. He is not free to disagree to his wages. Loss of livelihood or fear of want, constrains him. His ability is less than that of the capitalist. Their alternatives are not equal. One is enforced by the loss of necessities; the other, by the loss of luxuries. Loss of wages is more cogent than loss of profits. That is more coercive. It constrains more. The capitalist can bear his loss better than the laborer. Both fear a worse condition from refusing to concur. But the capitalist fears less, his worse condition. He does not dread want: he has not that constraint. The laborer does; he is constrained. Dissociation whether just or unjust, jeopardizes his subsistence. His ability to lose is less.

By the association of laborers, this ability may be increased. They may make a fund of capital. This may be the contributions from their previous earnings. Its object may be the purchase of necessities during idleness or intermission of wages. The fund may be greater or less, and last for a time longer or shorter. But the capitalists also, may associate. They may balance association by association. They too, may create a fund. Its objects may be the introduction of other labor; the increase of the price of necessities; and insurance against loss. In this respect, their power is superior to the other class. Their associativeness is greater; because their numbers are smaller than those of laborers, and associativeness varies inversely as numbers. Their power to create a fund, is greater than that of the laborers; because they have more wealth. One class hence, has a greater ability to stand-out than the other. One cannot be starved; the other can.

The class of laborers therefore, are not equipollent in distribution. In the case of a sufficiency of labor; the power of the class of capitalists, is superior. They are economically the mightier class. In the free-labor system therefore, a systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital, does not realize just distribution; because, there is not an equipollency of antagonisms, between the class of capitalists, and the class of laborers. The two classes are not peers in power. There is an antagonistic disparity in capital, intelligence, and associativeness. In this respect therefore, the free-labor system is essentially imperfect.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUBSISTENCE is the first end of society. This is the subsistence of every member of society. It is not the subsistence of a part. It is not the subsistence of a class. It is the subsistence of every class; or a comfortable livelihood for everybody. Members of society are divided into two classes. This division is economic. One class are those who can earn their subsistence: the other, those who cannot. In the economic system there is therefore, a class of (1), *Efficients*. These are such as can labor. They either manualize, or mentalize. There is also, a class of (2), *Inefficients*. These do not work. They are disabled. This disability may be accidental or essential; temporary or permanent. Inefficients are those disabled by youth, age, sickness, infirmity of mind, bodily-hurt or deformity, and absolute want of work.

The due of all is necessary subsistence. This is a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. It is the right of every member of society. It is not the right of efficient only. It is the right of both efficient and inefficient. For, the obligation of all classes to labor is not unilateral; it is not one-sided, only. The laborer is an obligee to society; but society also, is an obligee to the laborer. The duty of the laborer, is labor; the duty of society, subsistence. One is the consideration of the other: and both are obligatory. Labor is due to society: and is the consideration, which issues from the laborer. Subsistence is due to the laborer, and is the consideration, which issues from the society. This reciprocal obligation is nothing more than economic allegiance. Its construction and interpretation are in everything, like that of the other societary allegiances.

But the laborer's consideration, is not the subsistence of himself, alone. It is the subsistence of himself and family. These, first. Nor of these alone. He works for the subsistence both of himself, his family, and his class. For everybody owes a duty to his class. Each laborer is bound to his classmates: there is more or less, a class-fellowship. Nor is this all. Every laborer works not only for himself, his family, and class; but for society. Life is the right of all and the duty of all. There must therefore, be mutual assistance for mutual subsistence. Everybody must help. Men must be so far bound together, as to warrant a comfortable livelihood to all.

The distribution therefore, to a class ought to be, in the minimum, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities. Whatever is its maximum; this ought to be its minimum. However the tribute to the class may vary above this; however

large it may be; it ought never to vary below: it ought never to be less. All should be warranted their minimum. It should be realized for the whole class; not for efficient only; but for both efficient and inefficient. Each class ought to have for all in it; food of sufficient quantity and quality, raiment for warmth or decency, and habitations fitted to the seasons. The sufficiency of these, should be comfortable: for less than comfort in them, is want. Such a comfortable sufficiency is the minimum tribute to any class. That is its least share. It ought to be realized to all. Otherwise, the first end of society is not realized. But this is wrong. It is injustice: it must not be.

In the distribution of wages, by the standard of justice; there is therefore a minimum. The realization of society, must never be below this. The standard of wages, may vary; but it must be invariable below the minimum. Its variations must not be free. They must be restricted. The restriction must be justice. There must be liberty in the variation of wages, but not license; for license wrongs. In an economic system, therefore, the realization must in the minimum, be a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for the health and strength of all. This must be the least share of each person. If such is not the realization of the system; it is unjust; it is morally evil; and must progress, destructively and constructively, until its realization is perfect.

CHAPTER IX.

THE subsistence of all, is one of the first ends of society. That is the duty of society to all, whatever is the duty of all to society. It must be realized. Duty must be done. There is no choice. Society's latent power must be patent power; its passive economic sovereignty must become active economic sovereignty. It must make its might equal to its duty. For society is the economic suzerain of all. It is the economic lord-paramount. It is the economic liege-lord of all; and all are its economic liege-laborers. This economic allegiance is reciprocal. It makes mutual duties. That of society, is to so order all, that the subsistence of all shall be the reality. The duty of one, is that of supreme orderer; the duty of the others, that of subordinate orderers. The minimum degree of order, must be that which warrants subsistence to all. If societies have not power for this; they must take power. They must make their might equal to their duty.

In the free-labor system, the subsistence of all is not the systematic realization. It may be potential; but it is not actual. It may be the intention; but it is not the obtention. In this system, the laborer lives by his labor. That is just. Everybody ought to work with body or mind. All distributees ought to be contributors. Helpless inefficients alone, ought to be excused. Efficients ought, in every economy, to labor for their livelihood. But this, ought always to be the certain reward of that. Society ought not to take the labor only. It ought to both take and give. It ought to take the labor and give the livelihood: and the taking and giving, ought to be warranted; for that is the minimum of justice.

In the free-labor system, the laborer lives by his wages. They are the reward of his work; and the means of his subsistence. These wages in every system, vary. They ought to vary. Justice bids it. It is not wrong; it is right. But the variations of wages in the free-labor system, are free. This is wrong; it is not right. Justice forbids it. The variations of wages, ought not to be free. They ought to be limited. Necessary subsistence ought to be their lowest limit. Wages ought never to be below that. Laborers ought always to get a living. But, in the free-labor system, there is no limit to the variations. They are not regulated by the standard of justice. They are just, not essentially, but accidentally. They may be superfluous, sufficient, or deficient; over-just, just, or under-just. The system has no special contrivance for just distribution. It has warranties, neither for liberty in distribution, nor against license. The system is without warranties. It is free. Its wages may accidentally be so high that capitalists will strike, fail, or circulate; or so low that laborers will strike, starve, or migrate. Laborers, working, able to work, and willing to work, may in this system, be reduced to want. This may be unhealthy want. They may not have sufficient necessities to either prevent or cure sickness. They may catch disease, and starve for medicine. Nor this alone. They may be subject to criminal want. The obtention of their necessities, may be crimes and misdemeanors. Lean laborers may turn to fat felons. Workmen in want, may make peace-breakers in plenty. Nor this alone. Wages may vary below both unhealthy and criminal want. Laborers may suffer mortal want. This is simple starvation. It is an atrocious wrong. To permit one, is to commit the other. When society permits

a man to starve ; it commits the foulest possible crime. In this respect such a society is then, not morally evil merely : it is morally heinous. It is a live murder-machine. It is an organized homicide. It kills its own children. That is its effect. Mortality is its reality ; and homicide, its crime.

The free-labor system therefore, is in its distribution, imperfect. This imperfection produces crime, disease, and death. Such is its realization.



CHAPTER X.

THE laborer's means of subsistence, are his wages. These may be paid in currency. But currency is not the immediate means of subsistence ; it is intermediate only. If therefore the laborer is paid in currency, he must exchange it, for consumables ; he must buy what he needs. The process of exchange, is necessary. That is one of the conditions precedent to his subsistence. But currency wages are not the only kind. Wages in an economic system, may be paid in consumables. The process of exchange by the laborer, may be eliminated. He may not buy ; he may earn and receive the immediate means of living. These are either necessities for subsistence, or luxuries for progress. There are therefore two simple kinds of wages. These are payments in (1), Currency, and payments in (2), Consumables. Out of these may be compounded a third. The two may be (3), Mixed. For since consumables are both necessities and luxuries ; a part of the wages may be paid directly in necessities ; and a part, in currency. The currency

would be what was, in justice due, over and above subsistence: for that must always be assured. In an economic system therefore, there may be either wages in consumables only; wages in currency only; or wages in currency and necessities, when justice authorizes it.

In the free-labor system, wages are paid in currency. This is exchanged for consumables. The currency of the wages, is the price of the consumables: one, the medium of buying the others. Prices vary. They may be higher or lower. Wages also vary. In this system, they are free. They may increase or decrease. Both the increment and decrement, are unlimited, and accidental. The free laborer's means of subsistence have therefore, four variations. If the standard of prices is fixed; wages may be either higher or lower. This makes two variations. One is up; the other down. But if the standard of wages be fixed; prices may be higher or lower. They also have two variations. The free laborer's means of subsistence, are therefore subject to these four changes; two, of Wages; and two of Prices.

Of these variations, some are better for the laborer; some, worse; and some, neither better nor worse. If prices are unchanged; increase of wages, is better. If wages are unchanged; decrease of prices, is better. But prices and wages may change together. Their variations may be co-existent. If prices and wages therefore, increase together; that is neither better nor worse, for the laborer. He only gives more currency for more consumables; increase balances increase. But if prices and wages decrease together; that also is neither better nor worse. Co-existent co-ordinate changes do not qualify exchange. But the co-existent variations may not be co-ordinate.

Wages may increase. At the same time, prices may decrease. This variation is the best for the laborer. By this, he gets for the same work, the most consumables. But if wages decrease, and at the same time, prices increase, this is the worst. For the same work, he gets then the least consumables. This variation may produce mortal want. It is incidental to excess of population. For superfluency of laborers, makes high prices from excess of demand; and low wages, from excess of supply. Only systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital, can eliminate this variation.

The circulating medium may be either a metallic or a paper currency. Payments by such mediums, are therefore, liable to a variation. Paper currency may depreciate. Metallic currency may be more or less valuable. It may fluctuate. Currency wages are therefore, subject to the variations of the currency. These may be more or less in derogation of subsistence: and a warranty of subsistence, must be, more or less a warranty against them. Prices are either wholesale or retail. Increase of wholesale, makes increase of retail prices. This increase is not correspondent. It is greater in retail. But decrease in wholesale, does not make a corresponding change in retail prices. The change is magnified in the case of increase, and diminished in the case of decrease. These variations therefore are against the free laborer, for he purchases at retail.

The free laborer's means of subsistence, are subject to all these changes. The system is free. It does not warrant against them. It has no special contrivance for their prevention. It does not insure a livelihood to an efficient man, who labors for his living. It has no essential systematic warranties.

CHAPTER XI.

MEN of all classes, are produced materially and mentally. This production is not casual, intermittent, or determinate. It is continuous, indefinite, and regular. It is not growth only. It is both growth and maintenance. It is not the cultivation of men to the state of laborers only. That is determinate. It is the cultivation of men to the state of laborers, and their continuation in that state. They are a harvest for life; their cropping is therefore for life: men are never laid-by. They are tilled all the time. Their continuous production is their continuous existence.

The production of a class, is therefore the end of distribution to a class. If the end is perfect; the means must be. Perfection of the production is only by perfection of the distribution. If this is not perfect; that cannot be. In an economic system, therefore, the distribution to a class ought to be sufficient for its continuous production. This should be its minimum share. Less than this, is want. That is not economic. If a class is not continually produced; it is continually consumed. Want in men makes waste in men.

A class is composed of those who earn their living, and those who do not. These are the efficient and the inefficient. The tribute to the class, is for the subsistence of both. It is for their subsistence not temporarily, contingently, or determinately; but continuously, regularly and unfailingly. A class' share of the produce of society therefore, must always and forever; be, in the minimum, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for the health and

strength of both the efficient, and the children, dotards, imbeciles, sick, and other inefficient. All must always share. This is justice; the first end of society.

In the free-labor system; the distribution to a class, is through the efficient. What the inefficient get; comes through them. This is payment to a part, for the whole of the class. It is first-hand distribution to efficient; and second-hand, to inefficient. The share of those is again divided; and distributed to these. This distribution is free and private. In this system, there is an economic Representation and Constituency. The inefficient in a simple-labor class, are economic constituents of the efficient; and these are economic constituents of the capitalist. This, proximately. The capitalist distributes on contract to the laborer: the laborer; to those whom he represents, or works for. These are his family. The free laborer's economic constituency, may be his wife, children and inefficient parents. What he earns he divides with them. These are not his co-distributees, but his sub-distributees. Their share from society, comes through him. Its receipt is not immediate and absolute; it is intermediate and contingent.

The economic representation and constituency in the distribution of the free-labor system, are free. They are not essentially systematic. They are private, unadapted, and irregular. They necessarily warrant the subsistence of neither efficient nor inefficient. More than this; the distribution is unjust. The share of a representative with a large inefficient constituency, may be the same as that of a representative with a smaller constituency. A free laborer with a large and helpless family, gets no more for himself and them; than a laborer with a small family or no

family. This is not just; it is wrong. It is not mutual assistance for mutual subsistence. It makes the lieg-laborer's allegiance stronger against him than for him. It does not discriminate. It is blind sharing. It is a distribution in derogation of subsistence.

For, if, in this system, the undivided wages of two laborers, a man and his wife; are simply sufficient for health and strength; division of these wages, is less than sufficient. Such a division is natural to the system. It may be realized. Laborers, on sufficiency, may marry, breed, and make deficiency. This is to make disease. It may likewise make crime and death. If a free-laborer's wages during employment, are sufficient for health and strength; loss of employment, is deficiency for health and strength. This may actualize disease, crime, or death. If a free-laborer's wages during employment are sufficient for subsistence; sickness is loss of the means of both subsistence and cure. If inefficient children divide with parents, wages sufficient for the health and strength of them only; this is to all of them, the want of health and strength. If a laborer's wages during temperance, are sufficient for the subsistence of himself and dependents; intemperance is want, unhealthy, criminal or mortal. If laborers' wages during years of efficiency, are simply sufficient; or if not saved; or if from imprudence or accident, the savings are lost; this is want during inefficiency from old-age.

Wherefore, the free-labor system in its distribution, does not warrant the subsistence of all. It does not necessitate it. It fails in the first end of society.

CHAPTER XII.

THE function of justice, is the State. One is a union of organs to realize the other. In the warrantee economic system, the distribution is by neither the class of capitalists, exclusively; nor the class of laborers, exclusively; nor by both classes concurrently. The distribution of this system, is not private; neither is it free. It is public. Its adaptation and regulation, are civil. They are not accidental; they are ordered. This order is municipal. In warranteeism, the state or function of justice, distributes. It does not adjudicate the tributes to itself only. These are taxes; but there are two other shares. The State decrees them also. It adjudicates the tributes to itself; the tributes to the class of capitalists; and the tributes to the class of laborers. These are their wages. In this distribution, laborers and capitalists are neither immediately antagonistic, nor immediately syntagonistic. They do not act. They are immediately anagonistic. They realize not sympathy nor antipathy, but apathy. The State governs the distribution; wages flow from the fountain of justice. The State is the economic sovereign. Economic rights issue from it.

Of the three methods of distribution, one is private; one, public; and one, both public and private. This is the compound method: or limited public distribution. In this, necessities for subsistence, are publicly decreed. They are ordained. But luxuries for progress, are free. They are not publicly ordered. They are from private contract. Distributables are either currency or consumables: con-

sumables, either necessities or luxuries. In the warrantee system now, the method of distribution is public, by practical obtention; and by theoretical intention, both public and private: but by neither intention nor obtention, private simply. The simple private method, or free distribution, is not of the system. Its method by practice, is that of public distribution of necessities. There are no public currency wages in this system. They are exceptional and accidental. Payments to the class of warrantee simple-laborers, are in consumables. These now are not luxuries for progress. They are necessities for subsistence. The State makes the ordinances of work and wages. Justice is the standard of both. They are not free. They must conform to law, and not vary below the standard. For the quantity of work now civilly ordained, the wages civilly ordained, are a warranted comfortable sufficiency of necessities for the health and strength of the whole class, during the efficiency and inefficiency of all. Justice authorizes, and the system realizes, this. The subsistence of all, is the reality. That is the fact. The standard of wages is never below this. There is plenty for everybody. There is never a deficiency of necessities. Want, unhealthy, criminal, and mortal, is eliminated. Poverty is comparative only. It is not privation. It is a comfortable livelihood. It is plain plenty; but not luxury.

An ordinance of wages, is an ordinance of work. This, by necessity; for, the adjudication of one, is the adjudication of the other. In the warrantee system, the present ordinance work of the simple-labor class, authorizes the present ordinance wages. When the interests of the warrantors, or, what is the same, the productiveness of the warrantees, justifies it; these wages may be increased.

The increment may be publicly distributed in either currency or luxuries. If not publicly; it may be privately distributed. This will be by publicly ordaining work for necessities only: and requiring work over and above this, to be paid in currency or consumables by private agreement. This is the method of limited public distribution; over the public limit; it becomes private. It is not civilly enforced. It is free. This is the method of order, for subsistence; and freedom for progress; or necessities, from public law; and luxuries, from private contract. Some conditions of the world's wealth, will justify this mixed method. But now, it is not the practice of the system. The societary fact does not authorize it. It is only theoretical to warranteeism. It is matter of the remotest progress, and to be judged and governed, by the laws of progress.

CHAPTER XIII.

In the distribution of the warrantee system, the capitalist is the economic representative of the simple-laborer. The two classes are associated. They are bound together: they are united. Of this union, the bond or ligamen, is not law only. That is insufficient. Interest direct, implemental, and efficient, is in cumulation of law. The law, only methodizes what men, otherwise, would immethodically do from interest. That supplies the accidental deficiencies of this.

In a warrantee association, the capitalist is the war-

rantor. He insures. The laborers are the warrantees. They are insured. A distribution which in the minimum, shall never be less than a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength, is the warranty. This is not for the benefit of efficient laborers only. The warrantee association is composed of both efficient and inefficient. All are warranted. Every warrantee is an economic constituent of the capitalist. In the distribution, efficient and inefficient are coördinate. They both receive directly, their share of the produce. Payment is first-hand, to all; and second-hand, to none. The wages of the sick, run during sickness. Nor this only. They are increased. The necessities of health, medical materials, diet, and skill are provided. This is an increase of wages, during inefficiency. The aged are warranted their comforts to the end of life. When too old to work; their wages do not stop. During efficiency they have a prospective effect. They look forward to old age. Work during ability earns also, subsistence during disability. One warrants the other. This is a peculiarity of warranteeism. The aged laborer becomes an economic pensioner on capital. During efficiency, he is systematically the creditor of the capitalist. During subsequent inefficiency, the capitalist pays the debt. This debt, is an element of wages. It is essential to them.

What warrantee parents earn; they keep. They do not share bread with their sons and daughters. Children have plenty without that. Their wages run from birth. A part of what they may earn during future efficiency is advanced during present inefficiency. Every child supports himself. This is warranted. It is not precarious. It is certain and systematic. In warranteeism, the rela-

tion of parent and child, is not economic. It is relieved from that. The father does not sustain the child: the child sustains himself. He gets his livelihood in infancy and youth. In manhood, he pays for it. Children thus, are no privation to parents. The father in nature, is not also the father in art. Sons share their parents' affections, but not their parents' earnings. The filial and parental relations are not economic. They have no economic qualification: they are separated; they are disencumbered of that. For the warrantee association is an economic family. It is a component of the State. The associates, efficient and inefficient, are civilly affamiliated. The capitalist is the economic head of the family. He is the economic father of all the children. He maintains and protects them. His capital is answerable for their livelihood. He represents them; they are his economic constituents.

Warrantees may be out of work, but never out of wages. If thrown out of employment; this does not reduce their pay below the standard of comfort. Their wages do not stop. They are warranted for better and for worse. Loss of work is not loss of wages. The laborer does not suffer. He earns during industry, subsistence during idleness. What belongs to him is his wages; his work is what belongs to the capitalist. Loss of work, therefore, falls on the warrantor. That risk, he takes.

If work cannot be procured by a warrantee-laborer; if capital in one locality, is deficient; if the laborer is not needed or can earn nothing; if he is superfluous; he is supplied with the means of circulation. He is transported from where he is useless, to where he is useful. This circulation is systematic. It is warranted; the expenses of transportation are a part of his wages. They are not de-

ducted. They are additional. The supernumerary warrantee-laborer has not only the benefit of circulation to the locality of demand; but the cost is defrayed, and advanced, by the capitalist. Circulation does not make a decrease but an increase, of wages. There is no privation of comfort. The laborer migrates at the time of necessity; before its pressure is felt; and pays nothing. The capitalist warrants all. He associates with the laborer for the laborer's necessary local production; and supplies the capital. This supply is certain and systematic.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF the three shares, into which the product of labor and capital, is distributed; that of the State may according to assessment or other accident, be more or less. The share of the capitalist may vary according to supply and demand, or other accident. These variations are common to all economies. But the laborer also has one of the three shares. This is by nature, variable. It may if free, be at, above, or below, the standard of subsistence. It may be such as realizes crime, disease, or death. This reality is incidental to free-labor economies. But in the warrantee system, the share of the simple-labor class, is invariable to the minimum for subsistence. It never varies below this. The variation is warranted against; and the warranty, executed. But subsistence, while it is the minimum of wages, is not the maximum. The simple-labor class is warranted against variations below a comfortable sufficiency

of necessities; but it is not warranted against variations above. Wages in the warranted system, are free above the standard of subsistence. They are only not free, below. They are restricted in the minimum but not in the maximum. Justice makes the limit; it varies the wages; this is the theory of the system: justice distributing by the State. The tribute to the simple-labor class, therefore, is in its variations, not arbitrary or accidental. Neither are the variations by combination of laborers against capitalists; nor of capitalists against laborers; nor of both against society or consumers.

The wages of warrantees, have freedom to vary; but it is freedom in order. This is nothing more than economic liberty. It may be temporarily qualified by the economic or political fact. Any other societary fact may qualify it. This qualification, during the necessity for it, is just. It is therefore consistent with liberty and essential to it; for the essence of liberty is justice.

The State or function of justice ordains the warrantee's work, and the warrantee's wages. It distributes. The tribute by ordinance to the warrantee class, is now a comfortable sufficiency of necessities during the efficiency and inefficiency of all. For these wages, the ordinance work of efficient, is that of a simple day-laborer, during the hours and days prescribed by law. Any work other than this, is by private contract. If a warrantee works over the hours and days prescribed by law; he must be duly paid. Night-work by a day-laborer is therefore, duly recompensed in currency or consumables. Such are not public, but private wages. They are free. Respecting them, warrantor and warrantee specially agree. In this system, therefore, private wages are free; and public wages, war-

ranted. The subsistence of all is a matter of State concern. Wages over this may be either public or private. Which is better, must be determined by progress, and the societary fact.

The subsistence of the free-laborer is subject to four accidental variations: the subsistence of the warrantee-laborer, to none. The subsistence of the free-laborer is subject to two variations of prices, and to two of wages. Some of these may be better for him; some, worse; some, neither better nor worse. The warrantee-laborer is subject to none of these. His comfort is warranted: it is safe from hazard. The subsistence of the free-laborer is contingent, precarious, and accidental. That of the warrantee, is certain, absolute, and essential. The subsistence of one, is variable. He may be reduced to sickness, or simple-starvation. The subsistence of the other, is invariable. He is above want. His comfort is secure. It is warranted. The ordinance is such, as allows time for more than ordinance-work: this is privately regulated by the warrantor and warrantee. Interest governs that. The private wages are free; the public, warranted. The State regulates the standard of public distribution. It adjudicates the wages. Capitalists and laborers in this, are not antagonistic; they are anagonistic. They do not act against each other; they are inactive.

CHAPTER XV.

MAN is a product. Efficient laborers are produced, bodily and locally. The bearing and breeding, or bodily production of the young of any class, supplies the death and disability of the old. Every perfect economy must therefore, provide for the comfort of children. This provision ought to be special and efficient. A comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength, ought to be warranted to all the young. That is their right. An economic system ought to realize it. This realization should be perfect. If not, the system is not perfect.

When simple-laborers are produced; the factors of the product are both art and nature. This art is nothing more than labor and capital. They are the elements of all production. They are as essential to one kind as to another. Capital is as necessary, to produce an efficient man, whether capitalist, skilled-laborer or simple-laborer; as to produce an ox or a horse, a bale of cotton or a bushel of corn. They are all products; and subject to the laws of production. If the supply of capital, is not certain; the supply of men is not certain. If one varies; the other varies.

If men therefore, are products; what is the best method of producing them? How can capital be systematically supplied, for the bearing and breeding of laborers? This supply must never be deficient. It must always realize a comfortable sufficiency of necessities. This must be the minimum. There must be in respect of it, neither contin-

gency nor accident. There are two methods of such a supply. The child may be supported either by, the (1), parents, or by (2), other persons. These may be capitalists. Parental support is the method of the free-labor system. In it the laborer's child is reared by the laborer's wages. One shares with the other. This method is imperfect; because subject to contingency and accident. The child's subsistence is precarious. He may or may not, have a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. His bodily production is not warranted. It depends on parents' wages. They are variable. Their variations may be such as to make both disease and death. This method therefore, is not good. It fails.

Economically, whoever invests his means in producing a laborer, ought as in other production to be, at the proper time, repaid. Economically, nothing ought to be given; everything ought to be invested. Neither ought values to be lost. They should be known. They should be administered. They should be accounted for, and be profitable. There should be an account of every value in society. Nothing should disappear: for not to be accounted for, is more or less, to be lost. If therefore, capital is invested in the bodily production of a laborer; it ought to be accounted for, and repaid. The laborer himself ought to pay it; because, every beneficiary ought to pay for his benefit. Each economy ought to realize such payment. In the free-labor system, what the parent invests in the child, may be repaid by service after growing to efficiency. If not, there may be direct payment of principal, or of interest only: but this is not natural to the system. The chief means of rewarding the parents, is their right during old age, to a support from their children. The parents

support the children during their inefficiency from youth. In consideration of this, the children support the parents during their inefficiency from age.

... In the warrantee system, the bodily production of the simple-laborer, is not by the wages and intelligence of the parents; but by the capital and intelligence of the capitalist. The wages of warrantee-laborers, are not divided with their children. The warrantor stands in the economic place of the parents. He advances to children the means of subsistence. They live on his capital, not on their father's wages. Their livelihood is thus warranted. It is not contingent or variable. It is certain, absolute, and systematic. The capitalist pays the expense of the laborer's production during inefficiency. This expense is reckoned in the distribution during subsequent efficiency. The laborer repays by work in manhood, the support which he got in boyhood. He does not repay the principal sum; he pays only the interest on it. This is reckoned in his wages. For he does not pay in currency. He pays in service, not in cash. Thus, every laborer in this system, supports himself. This support is warranted to him. It is as well for inefficiency as efficiency; as well for youth as for manhood and old age.

CHAPTER XVI.

WAGES ought to be just. Just wages can never be less than subsistence. It is the minimum. This, therefore, must, in the least, be the realization of an economic system.

Laborers may in quantity be either systematically sufficient, superficient, or deficient. Systematic sufficiency is essential to perfect distribution. Without systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital; there cannot be just wages. If laborers are superficient; wages are deficient. That is unjust to them. If they are deficient; wages are superficient. That is unjust to capitalists. Either extreme is a loss. This falls, in one case, on the capitalist; in the other, on the laborer; and in both, on society. If therefore, just wages are realized; systematic quantitative adaptation, must be realized. This is a condition precedent to that. One without the other, cannot be. Superficiency of laborers makes under-justice; deficiency, over-justice; sufficiency alone, is perfection.

Systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital, is realized by two methods. One is to change the quantity of capital. This method is not systematically practicable. It is imperfect. It falls; because the quantity of capital is not perfectly adaptable. Its destruction and construction, cannot be sufficiently controlled. To change the quantity of laborers, is the other method. This change is by circulation. It is the local production of laborers. It is accessive circulation, if to a place; recessive, if from a place. Adaptation by circulation, is the method of warranteeism. This is the implement. The other method is its supplement.

Systematic quantitative adaptation is an economic necessity. It is not a matter of choice. There is no freedom in it. If therefore, circulation of laborers is necessary to relieve superficiency and deficiency; laborers ought to circulate. That is then their duty. They must begone and live; or stay and die. They must go to work; or stay from wages. This is necessity. It is fixed. It is unshun-

nable. Restriction of circulation, is restriction of adaptation. Restriction of adaptation, may be either unhealthy want, criminal want, or mortal want.

Because man therefore, is as well a local as a bodily product; the warrantee system specially provides for his local production. It necessitates it. It systematically supplies for it, both the means and the motives. In this system, the circulation of the warrantee-laborer, is by the intelligence and capital of the capitalist. The warrantee's labor-obligation is capitalized. It becomes capital. As such, it is more or less negotiable, according to its nature. But capital is self-circulating. This kind is not self-circulating only. It is more than this. It is self-adapting. Other capital is not; for its quantity is not perfectly adaptable. The difference between labor-obligations and other capital, is this: labor-obligations represent subsistees; other capital represents subsistence. The quantity of subsistees in a place, is systematically changeable. This is by the local production of them; or circulation either accessive or recessive. But the quantity of subsistence in a place, is a variable whose variations cannot be perfectly controlled. They are not perfectly adaptable. Man therefore, adapts himself, to them; because, he cannot adapt them, to himself.

Of all production, an essential means is capital. In the warrantee system, the capitalist supplies the capital for the local production of the laborer. The warrantor circulates the warrantee. One advances the means for the other. The expense of circulation although advanced by the capitalist, is repaid by the laborer. It is paid like the expense of his bodily production, not in currency but in work. All is reckoned in the distribution. Each expense

is an element of wages. These are duly earned by work. One benefits the laborer; the other, the capitalist.

In the warrantee system, therefore, the interests of the capitalist and the laborer, in both the bodily and the local production of the laborer, are syntagonistic. The breeding of the warrantee is the interest of the warrantor. So is his health and strength. So, therefore, his comfort. Whatever indeed depreciates the labor-obligation of the warrantee, is not against his interest more than against the capitalist's. They harmonize. Nor is this in respect of bodily production only. The local production of the laborer, from where he is useless to where useful; is in the warrantee system, not more the interest of the laborer than of the capitalist. The interest of one, is in the obligation; that of the other, in the obligee. They are thus banded together. If the labor-obligation depreciates; that is against the interest of the capitalist. But if the obligation depreciates; the obligee depreciates. This is against the interest of the laborer. Both therefore, are syntagonistic for the appreciation and against the depreciation of the laborer. This syntagonism is complete. The harmony is perfect.

The warrantee system therefore, realizes systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital. This in any economy, is a condition precedent to just wages. If one is not a reality; the other cannot be.

CHAPTER XVII.

By the theory of warranteeism, all classes are obliged to work. This general obligation is moral. The State is its obligor; and everybody, its obligee. The obligation is nothing more than economic allegiance. It is the ligamen, which binds all to all, for the subsistence of all. The execution of this obligation, is civil. The economic allegiance in warranteeism does not sleep. It wakes and works like simple political allegiance or the ligamen that binds all to all, for the security of all. But while all are morally; all are not civilly, obliged to labor. That is unnecessary. It is therefore as well inexpedient as unjust. But if it were necessary; it would be the State's duty. For, subsistence is the first end of society. In the warrantee system of the United States South; one class only, is civilly obliged to work. This is the class of simple-laborers. By its civil obligation, general industry is realized.

The civil obligation of one class, is the economic and societary obligation of the other classes, to labor. For the produce of simple-laborers, is raw; it is incomplete. If not completed, it is lost. This loss does not fall on the simple-laborers. The produce is not their capital. The loss falls on the other classes. Capital is with them. To avoid the loss, they add their labor, and complete the production. Thus all classes are societarily enforced to work; the simple-labor class, civilly; the others, economically. One class are civil obligees; the other, economic; and all, moral and societary obligees. The economic obligees are such; because they have property, and thus can be. The civil obligees are such because they have not property, and thus

cannot be economic obligees. Such, the nature of the obligees.

The obligor is the State. This is the function of justice. All the powers, rights, duties, and responsibilities of the obligation, issue from it. It is the economic sovereign, or lord-paramount. All are its lieges. It has in the premises, supreme executive legislative and judicial powers. Justice is its only limit; and it is the judge of that. Parties to the labor-obligation, have no rights, duties, or powers, which the State does not authorize; over which the State has not jurisdiction; and which the State may not according to justice, amend, remedy, enlarge or restrain.

The warrantor capitalist or master, is not the obligor of the warrantee labor-obligation. He is an agent of the State; nothing more. He is the State per proxy. The State is supreme and principal warrantor. The capitalist is deputy warrantor. That is a public office. The master is a magistrate. The warrantees are his people. The master or warrantor is not nominally; but is virtually, a special magistrate to administer special public industry; special public subsistence; special public health, and special public peace. For the just and faithful administration of his magistracy, every warrantor is, in property or person, responsible according to law. His powers are united. They are divisible, but undivided, not because it is abstractly inconsistent with his office; but because as it is, it is essentially best for the public peace, health, industry, and subsistence.

The system in the United States South, is warranteeism. The peculiar servants there, are not slaves. They are warrantees. Warranteeism therefore, is not "an obligation to labor for the benefit of the master, without the contract

or consent of the servant." That is not it. That is slavery. Warranteeism is a public obligation of the warrantor and the warrantee, to labor and do other civil duties, for the reciprocal benefit of, (1), the State, (2), the Warrantee, and, (3), the Warrantor. The obligation is public; there are three parties to it; reciprocity is its essence. It is bottomed on justice. Injustice is unnatural, accidental, and remediable. Nor is it an obligation without the contract or consent of the servant. That consent is the due of the State. It is the State's right. The servant consents, because he ought to consent. That is his duty. If he refuses; the State enforces it. Both warrantor and warrantee, are economic lieges of the State. Warranteeism is founded on economic allegiance.

The parties to the warrantee-obligation, have no property in each other. Property in man, is absurd. Men cannot be owned. In warranteeism, what is owned is the labor-obligation, not the obligee. The obligee is a man. The obligations of men, are valuables. These are, in warranteeism, and in every perfect economy must be; subject to the laws of value. Property in man, is a fiction of law for convenience of alienation, registration and administration, of labor-obligations. For such purposes, these obligations, not the obligees, are taken, held, and adjudged, to be either real, personal, or mixed property; movables or immovables; chattels, or any kind of choses.

The warrantee-obligation is reciprocal. It is not one-sided. It is bilateral; it is two-sided. The warrantee is obliged by the State in favor of the warrantor; but the warrantor is reciprocally obliged by the State, in favor of the warrantee. The warrantor is an obligee to the war-

rantee; the warrantee, to the warrantor. They are both bound to each other. Justice makes and moulds the bond. Justice governs in warranteeism. The consideration of the obligation, is on one side to do good and faithful service, during the hours, and according to the regulations, prescribed by law. This is the undertaking of the warrantee. It is his public, economic duty. He undertakes it for the benefit of the State and the warrantor. This benefit is the consideration which issues from him, to them. The consideration which issues from the warrantor, in favor of the warrantee, is the faithful payment of wages, prescribed by the State. The minimum of these wages, is a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. The warrantor warrants them. The warranty or insurance is for life. It is as well for inefficiency, as efficiency. It is alike for health and sickness, idleness and industry, youth, manhood, and old-age. In case the warrantor cannot execute his warranties; he is not economically only, but civilly obliged to transfer the labor-obligation of the warrantee, to a warrantor who has capital enough to perform his public undertaking.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE wages of a warrantee-laborer in the United States South, are such, as are from justice, and such, as are from interest. Those are public; these, private. Private are additional and equitable: they are in cumulation of public wages; and now are from necessity, not systematic. Private wages in this system, are for luxuries; public wages, for necessities. These, for existence; those, for progress.

In the warrantee system of the United States South, the warrantee-laborer's minimum public wages are:—

1. A comfortable sufficiency of food, raiment, furniture, utensils, and other necessities of this sort, during his life, whether efficient or inefficient.

2. Rent and repairs of a comfortable dwelling-house, adapted to the laborer and family, during the life of all.

3. Payment of the county, state, and Federal taxes, on the warrantee, his family, his house, his necessities, and other taxables.

4. Medical attendance, medical materials, nursing, and other necessities of cure, during illness.

5. Interest on capital invested in rearing the warrantee; and if necessary, transporting him to where labor can be supplied: or the expense of his bodily and local production.

6. Commissions to warrantor, for buying and selling such necessities or produce of the warrantee-association, as are for the benefit of the warrantee.

7. Commissions to warrantor, for civil representation; or protections against wrongs by others; defence in court, in case of accusation; and prosecution in case of injury.

8. Premium to warrantor, for insurance or warranty of subsistence, during old age, youth, sickness, or any other bodily inefficiency.

9. Premium to warrantor, for insurance against want of work or the means of earning subsistence, during efficiency.

10. Premium to warrantor, for civil responsibility in damages, in case of wrong committed on third persons, by the warrantee.

Such are the public systematic wages of a warrantee, in the United States South. These wages constitute the tribute to the warrantee simple-labor class. Perhaps they are larger than the tribute to any other simple-labor class in the world. They realize the subsistence, of all in the class. The warrantee economy realizes its organic end. The comfortable livelihood of all is a societary reality. None are in want. The children do not cry because they lack. The cruse of oil is never empty. The meal never shows the bottom of the barrel. Instead of meat, three times a week; there is meat, three times a day. The old people are fat: there is a chicken in every man's pot. Every man has a shirt to his back. Nobody goes naked. There are no rags in the warrantee system. Such is its realization. Anybody that wants, can have a vine and fig-tree. For, God blesses an institution, which He himself, devised and established.

BOOK IV.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY.

PROGRESS OF FREE-LABOR SOCIETY.

PROGRESS OF FREE-LABOR SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

OF the State or civil organization, the essential ulterior end is justice. Its orderers are magistrates; its orderees, people.

Magistrates are legislators or adapters, and regulators or executives. Judges are either executive or legislative.

Expediency is the ordering of civil power to civil ends.

Of a perfect magistrate, the means or qualities are, (1), Power, (2), Wisdom, and (3), Goodness.

Justice is (1), Theoretical and (2), Distributive. Distributive justice is the attribution of his rights, to every one.

Rights are of two kinds; they are (1), Existence-rights, and (2), Progress-rights.

Existence-rights are those of (1), Subsistence, and of (2), Security, of person.

Subsistence is the means of existence as against nature; security, as against man. That is a sufficiency of necessities for health and strength; this, a sufficiency of necessities against injury. Subsistence is the means for construction of body; security, the means against destruction. Nature and man, are means of both (1), Existence and (2), Non-existence. Subsistence is the means for existence

from nature; and security, the means against non-existence from man.

But the necessary means of subsistence and security for the existence of all, is societary organization, or the union, assistance, ordering, or coöperation of all. Assistance is necessary for existence; there must be the assistance of all for the subsistence and the security of all.

Wherefore;—to the existence of all is necessary (1), Justice; and to justice; (1), Subsistence, and (2), Security; to the subsistence and security of all, the assistance of all; to the assistance of all, (1), the Economic and (2), the Political systems; to these systems, order; and to order, orderers and orderees, or inequality. Inequality is therefore, natural and necessary. For the substance of society, is order. God who commands society, must therefore command superordination and subordination or inequality; for orderers and orderees, are their substance; God makes the substance; man makes the form.

Existence is the right of all. This right is universal, immutable, and inalienable. It is the gift of God and discovered by the light of nature. Of Rights, the parties or persons are two. They are (1), the Rightors, and (2), the Rightees. Rightors are those from, and rightees those to, whom a right is due. In every right therefore, is the relation of rightee and rightor. This relation is the essence of it; or that without which it cannot be.

All rights therefore, whether natural or artificial, are relative. They relate to the persons from whom; and the persons to whom, due. No rights, whether the gift of God or man, are absolute or irrelative: relators and relatees, or correlatives are essential to a right. This, whether the rights are such as "belong to particular men, merely as

individuals, or single persons;" whether in a state of nature; or whether out of a society or in it; or whether incidental to them as members of society, and standing in any natural or artificial relation to each other.

Existence is therefore, a right to which all are rightees and all therefore rightors. Whatever therefore is essential to execute or actualize the existence of all, is a duty.

But society is essential to actualize the existence of all. It is the immediate invariable antecedent of it. Progress also, is the duty of all. But society is essential to this. It is the necessary implement of the progress of all. Because therefore, society is the essential means for ends morally essential; society, or association adaptation and regulation for the existence and progress of all, is a duty. Duty of the end is duty of the means. Because therefore, man is moral; society is a law of nature and a moral necessity. It is a religious necessity. It is a hygienic necessity; it is an esthetic and philosophic necessity: it is an institution of God.

Of society, the substance is order: of order, the substance is orderers and orderees. What the form is, is accidental. The form is nothing other than the adaptation and regulation of the orderers and orderees. The substance of society is by nature; the form, by art; God made the substance; man, makes the form. God commands the association of men for the mutual existence and progress of all. In that, He is imperative. But the modality or conditions of the association, are changeable. The substance of society is immutable and ingressive; the form, mutable and progressive. Substantiation is by God; formation, by man.

Man is gregarious. His gregation is not instinctive

only; subhuman gregation is instinctive only. Man is rational. His gregation is therefore both instinctive, if men have instincts, and rational. But the rational power or reason, is that which adapts and regulates means to ends. Rational gregation therefore, is government or order; the adaptation and regulation, of an association. Such gregation is the means of existence; reason discovers and realizes it; and reason prescribes or promulgates the law of Nature.

Of a compact or agreement, the essence is free-will, or choice. This is the right to agree or not to agree.

Therefore, the origin of rational association is morally, not in a compact or agreement of the associates. Because the association is not free but commanded. It is a duty or law of God. And the will is not free to do or not to do, a duty. There is no choice. Duty is without alternative.

Society substantially, is therefore, not from contract or agreement. The substance of society, is perfunctory,—every individual is under an obligation to associate, for the existence and progress of himself and others. Dissociation is immoral and unnatural. Isolation is injury.

CHAPTER II.

BUT society is not its substance only. Rational gregation is insufficient for the existence and progress of all. To these ends, the adaptation and regulation of society, are necessary. This adaptation and regulation, are its

form. Hence in a perfect society, the form must be perfect. Of this, the perfection is the perfection of the adaptation and regulation.

In perfect societary organizations, therefore, the systems must be perfect. Their ulterior end is justice. The perfection of the State or civil organization, is therefore, the perfection of (1), Justice, its end; and of (2), Expediency, its means. The perfection of justice, is the perfection of rights, or of that which is due to every one.

Rights are societary. Societary rights are (1), Political, (2), Economic, (3), Esthetic, (4), Hygienic, (5) Philosophic, (6), Ethical, and (7), Religious. These, their classes. The societary organization realizes them systematically or unsystematically. (1), A separate system is the implement to actualize each separate class; or, (2), a Consolidated system is the implement for some classes capitally; and others, collaterally; or, (3), some classes have no system. Systems, if ordained and established, may be towards each other, all (1), Coördinate, or, (2), some Subordinate, and (3), some Superordinate. They may be (1), Private, or, (2), Public, or, (3), Mixed.

The philosophic or educational class of rights may be executed, or not executed. If executed, the implement may be an unmixed independent system. Its legislature or assembly of orderers or adapters, may be superordinate, coördinate, or subordinate to the legislature of the political system. Its executives may either be those of the political system, or be independent, and peculiar.

So, the hygienic class of societary rights, may be actualized or not actualized. If actualized; the hygienic system may be dissociate or independent. It may be united with the political system and have no separate or peculiar

legislature, judiciary and executives. These may be common to the political system.

So, the political and religious systems or Church and State, may be united. The State may be superordinate, coördinate, or subordinate to the Church. They may be united in the executive, the legislative or the judiciary.

Whatever the form of society, its duty and end, are to realize each class of societary rights. If it does not; its form is imperfect. But if imperfect; it is also artificial, and can be reformed. It is changeable, and must then be changed. For progress is a duty. The new form sufficient, ought to succeed the old form deficient.

CHAPTER III.

THE first end of society, is the existence of all. Existence is (1), Necessary and (2), Progressive; or well-being and better-being. Progress or better-being is society's second end. Of necessary existence, the means are (1), Personal-subsistence and (2), Personal-security.

Personal-subsistence and personal-security, are therefore the rights of every one. To obtain these for all, is the first and fundamental end of society. They are due to all. They are justice; they must be executed.

The function of subsistence, is the economic system; but because existence is the right of all, and because the function of right or justice is the State or civil organization; the economic system is an implement of the State. For, the subsistence and security of all are justice. The

means of subsistence, is the economic system. The means of justice is therefore the economic system. But the State's end is justice. To this end, the economic system is a means. It is therefore a means of the State; and morally, every society is in its essence, a civil or political economy.

What therefore is the relation of the economic system to the State? For the State's duty is to provide for all, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for subsistence. How can this be realized? For if not realized; progress in the essentials of society, is a duty; and conservatism or immobility, criminal.

Whatever is the relation of the economic system to the civil organization, it must, to realize economic justice or the subsistence of all, (1), Actualize the systematic quantitative adaptation of subsistees and subsistence, or laborers and capital. This, for production, and consumption.

(2), It must actualize to the laboring class, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities, for health and strength. This, by a distribution of which the essence is justice, requiring subsistence for all.

These are necessary in any economic system to the subsistence of all. This necessity is unshunnable and absolute; justice-distribution and systematic quantitative adaptation. Adaptation is by two methods only. Either, (1), the quantity of subsistence must be increased or decreased to the quantity of laborers, or, (2), the quantity of laborers must be increased or decreased to the quantity of subsistence or capital.

Justice-distribution also can be actualized by three methods only. These are (1), equipollency of antagonisms, (2), equipollency of syntonisms; or, (3), distribution by

the State or justice-function, the distributees being properly represented.

The form of a society in which these methods are not incorporated, is necessarily vicious. It is essentially deficient, and must be reformed.

The relation therefore of Free-labor economies and of warrantee-economies, to the state, is what? What are their justice and expediency? What, their methods or contrivances?

CHAPTER IV.

ALL human rights are relative. But man is a moral agent; all his acts have a moral quality. Therefore not only all his rights, are relative, but all his relations are moral. Duties are coupled with relations.

What therefore, are the relations of man? He is related to, (1), Himself, (2), the Sexes, (3), Kindred, (4), Government or society, (5), Races, (6), Man, and, (7), God. These, his relations to human and superhuman beings. He is also related to subhuman animals. Justice is a moral duty. In all these relations therefore, man must be just. The function of justice is the State; and these relations are in substance, natural. For kindred, sex, society, and races, are all of nature; and rights naturally are peculiar to each.

Wherefore; are the societary organizations called Free-labor and slavery, just? Is the warrantee society of the United States South, right? Have the simple-laborers, in these two forms of society, that which is due them? Are

the warrantees of the United States South, wronged? If so what are their wrongs? Because if wrongs are unknown, remedies are unknown.

By the Common Law, municipal rights are absolute and relative.

Absolute rights are those of, (1), Personal-security, (2), Personal-liberty, and, (3), Private property.

"The right of personal security consists in the legal enjoyment of life, limb, body, health, and reputation."

"The law not only regards life and member, and protects every man in the enjoyment of them, but also furnishes him with everything necessary for their support." This, by theory or intention. The function of health is the hygienic system. Life is from subsistence and by protection of person, or security. The right of existence is the right of this security and of subsistence. By necessity therefore, the implements of justice are two; one is productive, the other protective; or the economic system is an essential part of the state.

An organization or system is not its intention, but its obtention; not its ideality, but its actuality; not its verballity, but its reality; not its legislation, but its execution. But the obtention, the actuality, the reality, the execution of the Free-labor organization, is not the existence of all. It does not actualize the subsistence of all. Its obtention for all, is not a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. This imperfection is not accidental; it is essential. In this form of society, the economic system which is by necessity an organ of the existence of all, is private. It is not ordained and established. It is not municipal; it is not a public estate.

CHAPTER V.

MAN is by nature related to society. Coupled to this relation is the right of existence and of progress. Existence is primary and superordinate; progress, secondary and subsequent. Man and society are correlatives. Society is the rightor; and man, the rightee.

Does Free-labor society actualize the existence of all? Is it imperfect? If so; what, its imperfections; and what its progress, or means of perfection?

If this societary organization realizes the existence of all; it must realize the subsistence of all. Protection alone is insufficient. Protection is not security; it is a part only of it. The society must not be productive only. It must be both protective and productive. But the Free-labor organization does not actualize the subsistence of all. Its imperfections are organic and essential; it cannot actualize this subsistence. Its economic system must progress. Its methods must be reconstructed. This reformation must pursue the laws of progress.

The Free-labor economic system cannot actualize the subsistence of all; because:—

1st. It does not actualize the systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital; or subsistees to subsistence. Such an actuality is merely accidental to the system. It may or may not be.

2d. It does not actualize justice-distribution of produce.

3d. It does not implementally enforce all to labor mentally, manually, or manual-mentally.

4th. It does not necessitate, or ordain and establish

systematic-association, systematic-adaptation, or systematic-regulation.

5th. It does not actualize the systematic appreciation of the laborer.

6th. It does not actualize the systematic bodily and local production of laborers.

7th. It does not actualize systematic syntagonism of interests, between capitalists and laborers.

For the subsistence of all, these must be the actualities of an economy. Of these, systematic quantitative adaptation and justice distribution are essential. The others are either means to, of them, these, or accidental. Free-labor economies are in both deficient.

Free-labor societies must therefore progress. What in their economic system is good, must be conserved; what is bad must be abolished. This abolition must be normal. It must be according to the canons of progress. It must be a recession of the bad by a succession of the good; and the movement, or procession, must be just and otherwise canonical.

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT therefore is the necessary progress of the free-labor economy? How can it realize the first end of society? How can it actualize or warrant the subsistence of all? How can it actualize systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital? How, actualize the method of justice-distribution?

The only two methods of systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital, are, the increase or decrease of, (1), Capital; or of, (2), Laborers.

Of these methods, one only is practicable. Capital is the production of art and nature. Nature is unchangeable: art only, changeable. Art must be adapted to nature; because nature cannot be adapted to art. Nature is regular. All the laws of this regularity are not known. Unknown regularity is irregularity. But irregularity is not adaptable; and systematic adaptation or subsistence, must be certain. It must be independent of accident or irregularity.

Of necessity, therefore, the free labor system, must by progress, actualize the method of systematic quantitative adaptation, by changing the quantity of laborers. This change is practicable. It is by the power not of nature which is uncontrollable, but of man, which is adaptable. This method must be implemental; the other, supplemental. The actualization of that, is the first necessary and fundamental progress of the free-labor system. It is a progression not of choice. It is of duty, and therefore,

compulsive. For subsistence must not to any one, be irregular or casual. It must be certain, universal, orderly, and warranted. It must be properly methodized. Not to methodize is to wrong and to suffer.

CHAPTER VII.

ECONOMIC order and civil liberty are compatible. Order is a moral duty; it is an existence-right: it is a necessary means of subsisting; and therefore coupled with man's natural relations to society. License not liberty is contrary to order. This order is nothing other than necessary association, adaptation, and regulation, for the existence and progress of all. It is both political and economic, because existence is not protection only, but subsistence; and the necessary implement of subsistence is economic order.

Free-laborers have political liberty. That is their right. But they have not economic order; that is their wrong. Economic license is not political liberty, but political injury. It ought to be eliminated. The societary right of the free-laborer, is a perfect economic order. His inalienable, imperishable, supreme, unqualified, and overriding right, is a warranted economic system. This, the right to life itself.

Man is an orderly being. This is his animal and spiritual nature. Order is a moral duty. It is cardinal. Liberty is only freedom inside of necessary order. Men therefore must be associative, adaptable and regular.

They are born free and equal. But this is freedom to do not what they would, but what they ought; and equality not of power but of justice.

And because order is a duty; the perfection of order, is a duty. Association, adaptation and regulation, ought therefore, to be perfect.

A man has not a right to use his mind and body as he will. Conscience and general reason are behind will. This is subordinate. Man must do what he ought. He cannot as he wills, work or be idle; pursue, one, another, or no, calling; be dissociate, unadapted or irregular. In economics as in politics; he must adjust his economic pleasure to his economic duty. The freeborn power of every man over his labor, is morally qualified. A man may do as he pleases, provided that in so doing, he leaves every one in the enjoyment of those means of happiness bestowed by the Creator. But order, system, assistance, coöperation, reciprocity, association, are means of happiness bestowed by the Creator. Man is a social being; order is Heaven's first law. None have the right of the selfish; they have the right of the social use only, of their bodily and mental powers. This right is one of the means of happiness bestowed by the Creator. The freedom of every man is therefore, qualified by a duty. That duty is to use it, as a social being ought. But a social being ought to use his labor socially, or for the existence and progress of all. He ought therefore to be orderly. And Order is also economic.

Men have not a right to form a society as they please. Their pleasure is qualified by justice and so by order, for there cannot be justice without order.

The protection and subsistence of all is the first end of

society. If its first form does not actualize subsistence; it must progress. There is no alternative; whether accidental or essential, progress is perfunctory: and because order is a duty, liberty is compatible with it. It is not opposite but apposite to liberty.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE system of Free-labor must therefore progress into a system of liberty-labor. Its association, adaptation, and regulation, must not be accidental or free: they must be essential and methodic. The method of systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital, or of subsistees to subsistence; and the method of systematic justice-distribution must be actualized; and by these methods each progressive, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength, warranted to all.

This movement must be normal. It must observe the canons of progress: there must be neither, digression, aggression or regression.

Of such a progress, the Trades-Unions of Free-labor systems, supply the elements.

These unions are special mutual-insurance or warrantee associations. They are orderly; they both adapt and regulate themselves.

The association, artificial body, or corporation, is the Warrantor; the associates, the Warrantees.

Superordination and subordination are maintained. The union is a government. The associates are governees.

They are enforced to obedience or order. The means of enforcement are a personal or property penalty. These may be expulsions, suspensions, fines or the like. Their enforcement is alternative only. The alternative is dissociation. But the laborer, while in the Union, must obey the Union.

The departments of its government are a legislature, judiciary, and executive. These are its adapters and regulators. Their partition is formal or informal: total or partial.

The fiscal means or capital of the association, is supplied by the tributes of the associates. The law of their taxation or contribution, is ordained by the association.

The special objects of Trades-Unions, are the warranty of subsistence to the members and their dependents; and the warranty of justice to the laborers, in the distribution of wages. Moral, philosophic, esthetic and hygienic objects, are or may be, ends of the Unions.

They may be chartered corporations. If chartered, their franchises may be to enable or to restrain. They may or may not hold land.

The form of the associations or economic governments, may be democratic, republican, aristocratic, oligarchical, or monarchical.

The number and qualification of the members, may or may not be specific.

The powers, rights, duties, responsibilities and emoluments of the superordinates, governors, magistrates, or orderers of the association, may or may not be specific. If the associations are State institutions or chartered; the municipal law may authorize and empower the officers, orderers, or magistrates of the Trades-unions.

These powers and authorities, may be legislative, judicial, or executive. They may be mixed. They may be concurrent or exclusive, original, appellate, or final. Their responsibilities may be statutory or economic, or both. Their jurisdiction may be local or personal, or discriminated.

CHAPTER IX.

ALL orders are governments. The Trades-Unions are special governments. What therefore, must be the progress of Trades-Unions, to realize the existence of all?

An organization is a compound of systems; a system, a compound of associations.

By progress, every laborer of society may become an orderer or member of a Trade-Union. These unions may league with other unions. By further progress, leagues may be incorporated with other leagues, and the whole incorporation of orderers and orderers be thus systemized.

This may be the progress of the class of (1), Laborers only, or of (2), Capitalists only, or of (3), both Laborers and Capitalists.

If all classes are systemized; the system constitutes the body economic, or economic State, as the political system constitutes the body politic.

This economic system may be municipalized. It may be subordinate, coördinate, or superordinate to the political system. Their powers may be exclusive or concurrent; proper or common. They may be united like Church and State; or may be independent.

If the economic body, is republican; its legislature will be composed of two houses. One will have a veto on the other; their powers, will be generally concurrent. The senate or upper house of the economic legislature will represent capital; the lower house, labor. The economic constitution or charter, will define their rights, duties, powers, privileges, and responsibilities. The mode of creating, continuing, and terminating the powers of representatives, will also be defined; and the analogy of the economic to the political system and its checks and balances, observed.

Between economic States, treaties may be established. Civil societies may according to the degree of division in their forms, confederate totally or partially. They may make compacts political only, or economic only. Any of the sovereign systems of two societies may thus coöperate. Amongst other articles of their economic compact, may be one, touching the extradition of fugitives from labor, or those undutifully absconding contrary to the law and order of the body economic.

CHAPTER X.

BECAUSE the first end of the body economic, is the subsistence of all; its powers must be sufficient for this. They must be neither superfluous nor deficient. The subsistence of all, is the end and duty of the economy; the means for it must therefore be methodized. And because the end is

necessary; the means or power must be necessary: because that is essential, this must be; and not be accidental.

But systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital, is the only method of essential systematic subsistence. The quantity of subsistees, must be adapted to the quantity of subsistence. That quantity is adaptable; because the adaptation is entirely artificial: it is governable. But of subsistence, the quantity is a variable. Its functions are both art and nature. Nature is not essentially adaptable. The quantity of subsistence from nature, is not constant. The quantity of subsistees, must therefore be adapted. This method is certain and essential; the other, precarious and accidental. But for essential ends, the means or method must be essential. Accidental methods must be supplemental only.

Subsistees must therefore, be adapted to subsistence. There is no choice; the necessity is unshunnable.

The economic sovereign or supreme orderer, therefore, must have the power to adapt subsistees to subsistence; or consumers to consumables. This method must be incorporated. It must be systemized.

Subsistees are both laborers and capitalists. But capital is self-adapting. It subsists itself. It is self-circulating. It regulates itself to economic necessity; it is free to economic law. It circulates from where it is not profitable, to where it is; and supplies its own desire, intelligence and ability. For created capital, therefore, no method of adaptation is necessary; because it is self-adapting. Such subsistees as are capitalists, thus have always the means of subsistence. The capitalists take care of the capital, and the capital takes care of the capitalists.

How therefore can the body-economic adapt the quantity of laborers to the quantity of capital or subsistence? The means methodized, must be systematic. They must not be accidental or contingent. They must be essential, absolute, punctual, and certain.

For the adaptation of the quantity of laborers, two positive methods of decrease, are death and circulation. Only circulation avoids death. Checks preventive of births, are not essential and sufficient, if economic. How therefore can the body-economic, warrant the necessary circulation of laborers? Capital circulates freely for its preservation and profit; labor must also circulate for its preservation and profit. Laborers must be circulatees so as to be subsistees.

Of laborers, the circulators must be either the class of, (1), Capitalists, or of, (2), Laborers.

It cannot be the class of laborers. For, capital is self-circulating. It pursues economic necessity. But labor is not self-circulating. Skilled-labor may be, but not simple-labor. Its means of circulation are, (1), Desire, (2), Intelligence, and, (3), Pecuniary ability. But the intelligence of the class of simple-laborers, is not a necessity of their calling; it is accidental. Desire is a variable of intelligence, and therefore contingent. Their only pecuniary ability to circulate is their wages. In Free-labor economies, these are variable. They are more or less. Their quantity is accidental. It may be deficient, sufficient, or superfluous. Neither the desires, intelligence, nor pecuniary ability of the class of simple-laborers are essential means of circulation. They are contingent, variable, and accidental. Simple-laborers are not self-circulating. The class are not their own circulators.

Simple-labor, therefore, must circulate by means of capital. This is the only essential method for an essential end. Their necessary local production, must be like all other economic production; for man is an aggregate and local product; his producer is capital. Capital is an element of local production, and must be supplied.



CHAPTER XI.

If therefore the circulation of labor cannot be by variable wages of labor; it must be by capital. The means must be a just and warranted element of wages. Capital is either, (1), Public or, (2), Private. The method of systematic circulation of laborers, may therefore be by, (1), Public funds or, (2) Private. It ought not to be by the public fund; because that is not just.

The beneficiaries ought to pay for their benefit. The amount of the pay, ought to be proportioned to the benefit. But a public fund is a tribute. The contributors are either the class of capitalists, or the class of laborers, (1), employed and, (2), unemployed. The employed are not super-numeraries: they are sufficient. Only the unemployed are superfluous. But the class of capitalists, ought not to pay taxes for the circulation of labor; because they are not beneficiaries. To them, benefit or injury, is unnecessary, accidental or remote.

Neither ought the employed laborers, to pay for circulation of the unemployed. Neither ought they, for circulation in supply of demand. This is not just. Every laborer

ought to be self-circulating. Each man ought to pay for his circulation. This only, is equal. The beneficiary ought to pay for the benefit. Circulation ought not to be by public capital or taxes. It ought to be by private funds. These ought to be contributed by the beneficiaries; every man thus, his own circulator. This method only, is just. It ought therefore to be systemized. For ability to circulate, is an essential of justice-wages; because, it is an essential of subsistence.

How therefore can labor be systematically circulated by capital. What method is just, systematic, sufficient, and certain. How can laborers be adapted and regulated to the economic laws for their preservation and appreciation? How can circulation for subsistence be actualized? How can they be locally produced for supply and demand? How can perpetual sufficiency be warranted; and superfluency or deficiency be eliminated? How can private capital be justly appropriated to the laborers' circulation? By what just method, can the desire, intelligence and capital of private capitalists, be warranted for the benefit of the laborers' subsistence? How can the subsistence-interests, and progress-interests, of capitalists and laborers, be made immediately, essentially, and methodically, syntagmatic?

The method of self-circulation only, is just: every laborer his own circulator; and the circulation, efficient, regular, and adaptable. This is the laborer's right. It is necessary to his subsistence. All men are obliged to labor: this is their moral duty. The only method by which the self-circulation of laborers, can be actualized, is the capitalization of this obligation. The obligation represents labor.

Capital is self-circulating; these obligations capitalized, are capital; therefore they are self-circulating; and capitalization of the labor-obligations of one class, or if needful, of all classes, a fundamental duty of society.

CHAPTER XII.

WHEREFORE; the system of Free-labor must progress. All must be obliged to labor; because this is the duty of all; this obligation must be civilly enforced, because it is necessary to the subsistence of all. But civil enforcement of the obligation, without capitalization of the obligation, is impossible; because the superfluency of laborers is of necessity, the idleness of the superfluous; and capitalization is essential to eliminate superfluency, and actualize systematic quantitative adaptation, or sufficiency.

This labor-obligation may be civilly enforced upon two classes or upon one. It may be enforced upon the class of laborers, or the class of capitalists. But capital is naturally industrious. It enforces on the capitalist the obligation to labor; it is self-enforcing. Idle capital is loss; the capitalist loses its profits. If idleness is criminal, idle capital mulcts the capitalist for the crime. Loss of profits, is a fine. Capital enforces its own duties. If in cumulation of this enforcement, more is needed; it ought to be applied. None ought to be idle; idleness is an outrage. If the economic enforcement of the capitalist is deficient, just political enforcement ought to be supplemental.

But the free-labor class are not capitalists. They are

the poor class; capital is with the capitalists. Of the laboring class therefore, the obligation to labor cannot be economically enforced: this enforcement cannot be essential and methodic; because laborers are not capitalists. The capitalist's loss for idleness, is that of interest on capital: the laborer's, that of wages. This is deficient, variable, and not essential. They therefore, must be politically or civilly enforced to labor; because they cannot be economically: and this civil enforcement must not be supplemental; it must be implemental.

Therefore, for the subsistence of all, the free-labor system must progress. It must be municipalized or publicly incorporated. The economic body must be constituted; its constitution must be not an accidental or natural, but an essential or fundamental, basis of government. The society must be an organization of a necessary economic order as well as of a political order. It must, for the subsistence of all be, by necessity, a public-political economy.

Therefore, the obligation of laborers must be capitalized. It must, as any other valuable obligation, be property. The essence of this, is just dominion or orderliness. Association by capitalization, is the necessary progress of the free-labor states. Subsistence can be warranted to all, by this means only.

The holders of the labor-obligations must be the capitalists. Their powers, rights, duties, and responsibilities must be adapted and regulated. The adapter and regulator, must be the State: the sovereign must be their supreme orderer. This, not of capitalists only. The economic powers, rights, duties, and responsibilities of laborers, must be ordered by the State. In the free-labor system, the relation of master and servant, or of capitalist and laborer, is private. This relation is the key or modulus of

the system. Progress is by a change in it; and can be by no other change. Because subsistence is the right of all; the relation of capital to labor, ought to be public. It ought to be that of magistrate to people. This, the people's right. For, subsistence cannot be actualized by any other than this public relation: and the public relation cannot be actualized, by any other method than the capitalization of laborer's obligations. Laborers ought to be treasured. Their obligation to labor ought to be property. What shall be its kind, the estate in it, the title, the number and connexion of the proprietors, is an adaptable matter. Those may be more or less, qualified or unqualified. This only is indispensable, that the estate or interest of the capitalist in the laborer's obligation, be sufficient to warrant to the laborers, subsistence or bodily and local production. No disfranchisement is necessary; no privation of political rights; no essential change of the political status: no degradation; caste; or loss of political liberty. The right economic status, and the right political status, are consistent; they harmonize. This status is compound; its components are liberty and order. There is a necessary political order; this is consistent with political liberty. There is a necessary economic order. This is consistent with economic liberty; and therefore, with political liberty. For in morals, all liberties are consistent. What is needed, is to make essential or absolute that order which in the free-labor system is but accidental or natural only. The necessitation of economic order, must be the progress of the free-labor system. Men must not be free-laborers. For if they are; some must starve. They must be Liberty-laborers. If they are; all will live. There will be plenty for everybody, everywhere; and no starvation.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAPITALIZATION of laborers' obligations, necessitates progress.

Progress is a product. But for all production, capital is an essential means. The economic system is therefore, related to all the other component systems of the societary organization. This relation ought, in a perfect organization, to be syntagonistic. Progress ought to be profitable. It ought to be from springs of action not religious, moral, political, philosophic, or esthetic only. Progress in every system ought to be so related to the economic system, that sufficient capital shall be supplied for its production. This supply ought to be just: and the progress proportioned to justice.

Progress by antagonism, is that of the free-labor system: progress by syntagonism is that of the system in which obligations to labor are capitalized. This progress is warranted: it is profitable. It is warranted economically, and may be decreed civilly.

Of the justice-wages of simple-laborers whose obligations to labor are capital; one element is for subsistence, or for strength, and another for health. These are the economic and hygienic elements of wages. But if a laborer's obligation is capital; the capitalist is economically necessitated to pay these elements. Not to pay is to lose. Capital is syntagonistic. If this syntagonism is not sufficient; special civil law may be accumulated on the economic law.

But of wages, the elements are not economic and hygie-

nic only. They are political. The political system contributes to every man; every man ought therefore, to contribute to it. Taxes are due from laborers also. If therefore, the laborer's obligation is capitalized; the capitalist pays the laborer's taxes. The capital invested in the laborer, is subject to taxation. It is answerable for taxes. The capitalist pays or loses. The laborer's tax is thus secured, and his payment of it is a part of the laborer's wages. It is thus economically warranted by the capitalist. The greater the value of the laborer, the greater the tax rated. To increase this value, is hence the State's interest, as well as the capitalist's. Therefore, for the warranty of the political element of wages; both the capitalist and State are syntagonistic. The capitalist is also, syntagonistic with the laborer in their political relations. A wrong by others, to the laborer associated with the capitalist, is loss to the capitalist. It is therefore, his economic interest to protect against injury, the laborer. The capitalist in representing himself, represents the laborer.

But philosophic or educational progress is a product. Capital for it must therefore, be supplied. It must be advanced. One element of wages is therefore, educational. But, other things being equal, an educated skilled-laborer, is more profitable than a simple; and an educated simple-laborer, more profitable than an uneducated. Of this profit, the amount from education may be more or less. Whatever its amount, the capitalist is economically enforced to gain it. He is therefore, educationally syntagonistic with the laborer. Other things being equal, educated simple-laborers are his interest.

Of perfect wages, another element is the esthetic. This is for the production of enjoyment; and the reduction of

pain. But a pleased laborer is more profitable than one displeased. Content is productive; discontent is consumptive. Only happy laborers are orderly; only orderly, lucrative. Esthetic necessities are therefore, due economically from the capitalist. His economic interest, and the laborer's esthetic interest, are syntagonistic.

Moral and religious progress must be duly produced; capital for this, is necessary. Two elements of wages are therefore the moral and the religious. But moral and religious laborers, are more profitable. Morality and religion are economically desirable. They are valuable. The interest of the capitalist is syntagonistic with the moral and religious progress of the laborer.

If therefore the obligation to labor is capitalized; all the societary interests of laborer and capitalist, are syntagonistic. They harmonize. If association by capitalization, is actualized; capital for the production of societary progress, is duly supplied. The systems of society are reciprocally consistent; they are all syntagonistic; and the progress of the laboring class is regulated and adapted by justice. Progress is a product. To all production, capital is necessary. Capitalization of labor-obligations, supplies this capital. It also necessitates the subsistence of laborers or a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for their health and strength. Capitalization warrants the right of subsistence. It is not antagonistic or anagonistic, but syntagonistic with the right of societary progress. It adapts and regulates the law of progress, to the law of justice.

Association by capitalization effects therefore, the first end of society; it actualizes the subsistence of all. This effect is an economic necessity; the interests of all, are

immediately and efficiently syntonistic. Necessaries of life are warranted to all. Wages for subsistence are economically necessary; and for progress, economically expedient. The perfection of the wages, is the perfection of progress; and is adaptable to justice.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHEREFORE;—the first progress of the Free-labor economy must be the obligation of all to labor. Systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital, is essential to the execution of this obligation; and capitalization of the obligations is essential to adaptation. The unshunnable progress of Free-labor systems must be therefore, the capitalization of labor-obligations. This is the only means. It is the right of laborers; the warranty of their subsistence and their progress. Association by capitalization is their due; because the subsistence of all, can be by no other method. It is a necessity to them; therefore justice to them.

But association by capitalization, is for the production of subsistence-material and progress-material. These materials, if produced, must be distributed. For the subsistence and progress of all, what therefore, is the best method of distribution?

Whatever is the method of distribution, the rule of distribution is that of justice. Every man must have for his labor that which is right. Distribution must be just. None must work without wages; and wages must be right.

By what means therefore, can distribution by justice, be actualized? There can be but two methods; either the distribution must be (1), Private or, (2), Public. If private its justice is by necessity variable; because its functions or means of execution, are variable. In private distribution justice can only be from either (1), Equipollency of antagonisms, or, (2), Equipollency of syntagonisms. But economically, laborers and capitalists, are not equipollent. Their equipollency is not systematic; it is accidental. Their intelligence, associativeness and pecuniary ability, are not equipollent. Private justice-distribution therefore cannot be thus actualized; this method fails.

Distribution must therefore be public. The distributor must be the sovereign or function of justice. It must adjudicate wages.

For this, the agent of the sovereign may be the political system. But if the economic system is public or municipalized; either the body politic or the body economic, whose function it is, may decree or legislate wages.

Whichever body is distributor; it may distribute by the body's supreme legislature, or by its subordinate legislatures. In these legislatures, the representation of the parties interested may be concurrent or equipollent. If this does not actualize just distribution; the representation must by experience be adapted to the execution of justice.

Wages are for (1), Subsistence and (2), Progress. The distribution of the sovereign, will therefore, decree always, subsistence to all. For, because subsistence is due to every one; distribution of less than subsistence, is distribution of less than justice. Justice-wages are never less than a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. Whatever be the accidents of the distribution,

these necessities will always be adjudicated; because always due to all. Subsistence to every one, will be the smallest tribute. This will be fixed. It will be the minimum. The standard of wages, will never vary below that. Its variations will be above. The minimum limit will be invariable; and supply and demand, or the quantity of laborers, will adapt itself to the artificial fact.

But without systematic quantitative adaptation, subsistence for all cannot be distributed, because it cannot be produced; and without capitalization of labor-obligations, systematic quantitative adaptation cannot be produced.

Capitalization of labor-obligations is therefore a condition precedent to just distribution of produce.

When the production of the system, justifies the distribution of more than subsistence-wages; the distribution of progress-wages, begins.

Necessary wages are economic and political. They are for existence. Wages for progress are esthetic, hygienic, philosophic, moral and religious. As wealth increases, these wages will fall due. Their payment will not be just only. It will be profitable to the capitalist. It will be an outlay for an income.

If the quantity of produce justifies it; the educational element, may be distributed to the laborer. His wages will be increased. The increment will be a sufficiency for education. The quantity of this education, will be as much as is then economically due; because if not economically due, it is not morally due; if he has not earned it and never will; it ought not to be paid.

But this payment; this increase of wages, will be profitable to the capitalist; because the laborer educated, is

more profitable, than the laborer uneducated. Their interests are immediately and implementally syntonistic.

But if labor-obligations are capitalized ; all the societary interests of capitalist and laborer, are syntonistic. For the production of laborer's progress ; capitalists associated with them, will supply the capital. The quantity supplied will be that which is just or moral. That which is just or moral will be that which is profitable or economic. Thus all the elements of wages, may be added. The perfection of wages will be the perfection of progress. But perfect wages are wealth. And the wealth of the laboring class will be the wealth of the capitalists.

Progress by syntonisms, will supersede progress by antagonisms. Conservatism will be identified with progress ; justice to those who have not, with justice to those who have.

Such therefore must be the progress of Free-labor economies. The obligation of all to labor, must be enforced ; that of laborers, economically and civilly ; that of capitalists, economically, and if necessary, civilly. Labor-obligations must be capitalized ; and justice-distribution, realized. The powers, rights, duties, and responsibilities of laborers and capitalists, must be adapted and regulated by law ; their private relations superseded ; public relations, ordained and established ; and the elements of wages, decreed, civilly, if necessary, and methodized, as they justly fall due.

BOOK V.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY.

LAW OF WARRANTEEISM.



LAW OF WARRANTEEISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE societary organization of the United States South, is Warranteeism. It is an organization both necessary and progressive. Its progress is that of accidentals only. Its essentials are both just and expedient. They are necessary. This necessity is not political and economic only: it is a moral necessity. It is a necessity of justice, humanity, purity and order. The societary organization of the United States South, is perfunctory. It is not forbidden by right. Nor this only; it is bidden by duty; it is in obedience to duty. It is an organization whose essentials, every society just to itself, must incorporate; an organization, to which every duteous society must progress.

In the United States South, there are two races. These are related. With their relations are coupled rights and duties. The organization of these States, is therefore not unqualified warranteeism; because its population is not homogeneous. The societary organization of the United States South, is warranteeism, with the ethnical qualification. This qualification is not essential to theoretical or abstract warranteeism. It is accidental. Warranteeism without the ethnical qualification, is that to which every society of one race, must progress.

Warrantees may be either, (1), Simple-laborers, or manualists only, or, (2), Skilled-laborers or manual-mentalists. In effect, the societary organization of the United States South, is Simple-labor Warranteeism, with the ethnical qualification. By the theory of this organization, all are enforced to labor. Warrantors are economically enforced: warrantees, civilly and economically. This is implemental. Political enforcement is in supplement of morality and economics. This political enforcement is that of punishment for idleness or vagrancy.

The labor-obligations of warrantees are capitalized: the relations of warrantors and warrantees are public; and distribution is by the State or function of justice.

In free-labor commonwealths, the laity are divided into three states. These are, (1), the Civil, (2), the Military, and, (3), the Maritime. The relations of master and servant are private. Apprentices, menial servants, and laborers casually employed, have such rights as are secured by contract express or implied.

But in warrantee commonwealths, the laity are divided into four states. These are, (1), the Political, (2), the Military, (3), the Maritime, and, (4), the Economic. The economic relation is not private; it is public. Warranteeism in the United States South, is not an obligation to labor for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the servant. That is slavery. Warranteeism is a public obligation of warrantor and warrantee to labor for the benefit of, (1), the State, (2), the Warrantee, and, (3), the Warrantor. This obligation is not unilateral; it is bilateral: it is mutual. Its reciprocity is absolute. It is an obligation with considerations to both parties. These considerations are good and sufficient: they are essentially

just. They are adapted and regulated by the collective wisdom and goodness of the State. Warranteeism is a fundamental obligation enforced from a fundamental duty. That is the duty of the subsistence and progress of all. It is an obligation to which consent issues not from the will; but from the conscience, and the general reason. It is an obligation coupled to the reciprocal duties of man and society.

Warranteeism does not violate the personal liberty of the warrantee. It allows economically all rights consistent with the economic order; politically, all rights consistent with the political order; and hygienically all rights consistent with the hygienic order.

Warranteeism in the United States South does not wrong; it rights the simple-laborer: it prevents wrong. A slave is one who has no rights. A warrantee is not a slave; he has all rights. Whatever is due is awarded to him.

What therefore, are the justice and the expediency of Warranteeism in the United States South? What are the powers, rights, duties, and responsibilities of, (1), the State, (2), Warrantors, and, (3), Warrantees?

CHAPTER II.

By the municipal law of Warrantee-commonwealths, the citizens are divided into four states or orders: the Political, Military, Maritime and Economic.

In any order are two classes. These are the, (1), Orderers or Superordinates, and the, (2), Orderees or Subordinates. This, of necessity. In the military and maritime orders, the orderers or superordinates are officers. In the political state or order, the superordinates or orderers are magistrates; the orderees or subordinates are people.

Persons are either, (1), Natural, or, (2), Artificial. Of natural persons, the relations are in the common-law, either, (1), Public, or, (2), Private. By the law of England, private relations are those of, (1), Master and Servant, (2), Husband and Wife, (3), Parent and Child, (4), Guardian and Ward. This, the law of Free-labor commonwealths.

Public relations are those of magistrates and people. Magistrates are, (1), Supreme, or, (2), Subordinate. People are either, (1), Aliens, or, (2), Citizens. And in Warrantee-commonwealths, citizens are divided into four states or orders.

The relation of Warrantors to Warrantees is public. Warrantors are magistrates; Warrantees, people. Their relation is not private; it is not the common-law relation of Master and Servant. Warrantees are neither apprentices, in their relations, nor menials, casual employees, stewards, bailiffs, or factors.

Magistrates are, (1), Legislative, (2), Executive, or, (3), Judicial. This is the nature of magisterial powers. These powers may be, (1), Simple, or, (2), Compound. Magistrates may be simply executive, simply legislative, or simply judicial: or, they may be both executive and judicial; or legislative and judicial; or legislative, judicial and executive. Thus, by the Law of England, the sheriff is within his county, a judge, a conservator of the peace, a ministerial officer and the king's bailiff. Justices of the peace are magistrates with authority to conserve the peace, to hear and determine felonies, and other misdemeanors; and to do many other acts committed to their charge by particular statutes. Constables are officers of hundreds and townships, empowered to preserve the peace, to keep watch and ward, and to apprehend offenders. The powers of some magistrates are therefore simple, and of others, compound. This, by the municipal law of England.

Of magistrates, the duties are general or special. The conservation of the public peace, public health, public trade, and public economy, are general or special duties of some magistrates. Of others, it is the duty to prevent offences against the law of nations; the sovereign and government; or individuals, their persons, habitations or property.

The responsibilities of magistrates are proportionate to their powers. Each power has a check; and the check ought to be sufficient. So also the rights of magistrates must not be deficient. Magistrates must not be wrongers or wrongees; they must not injure others; neither must others injure them. Protection to all; that is justice. The responsibility of magistrates must be in damages to either, (1), Person, or, (2), Property, or, (3), both. There

are no other civil responsibilities. The creation, qualification and termination of magistracy, are various. Some magistrates are such by appointment; some, by election; some, by purchase; some, by inheritance; some, by designation direct; some, by lot or other accident; some, by law or custom, written or unwritten, general or special.

The qualifications of magistrates are conditions, either precedent or subsequent. These conditions are numerous and accidental. They may be accidents of age, birth, race, sex, property, domicile, calling, skill, knowledge, service or citizenship. Conditions subsequent are such as oaths, bonds, sureties, registration, and commissions formal or informal.

In the United States South, warrantors or masters are special subordinate Magistrates, qualified for the conservation and administration of special public-peace, special public-health, special public-justice and special public-economy.

All their rights, duties, powers, and responsibilities issue from the law, pursue the law, are limited by the law; and are created, continued, modified or terminated by the law.

Their powers are compound and limited. The composition and limitations are those of the law. The warrantors are within the limits of the law, judicial, executive, and legislative. They combine the powers, in part of sheriffs, constables, and justices of the peace. They have also certain powers of health-officers and overseers of the poor. Their power is qualified and limited to those within the jurisdiction of their warranty.

The duties of warrantors are the conservation of the peace of their warranty; the conservation of the health; the administration of special justice; and the administration of

the economy of the warranty. They are special peace-officers, special health-officers, and special subsistence-officers. The creation of their powers, is by fundamental law. Their title to their office is from purchase or inheritance. Good-behaviour and ability to execute their warranties, are their qualifications. The termination of their office is voluntary or involuntary. If voluntary, the condition precedent to termination is the subrogation of another good and sufficient warrantor to their office. No warranty can be left vacant.

Of warrantors, the responsibilities are of both the person and the property. They are for some wrongs, according to their degree; responsible in damages to property; for others, in damage to both person and property; according to guilt.

CHAPTER III.

THE Duties of warrantors or masters, to warrantees, are economic, political, and hygienic. The warrantor is therefore, an orderer or superordinate of three orders, or societary systems. He is an officer to warrant three classes of societary rights; these, the economic, political and hygienic.

It is therefore the duty of the warrantor to execute the economic, political and hygienic classes of duties pertaining to his office.

Economic duties are those of, (1), Production, (2), Distribution, (3), Exchange, and, (4), Consumption. To these

are no other civil responsibilities. and economic
 tion and termination of magist^{ates}.
 magistrates are such by app^{as to execute the}
 some, by purchase; some, law. It is his duty
 nation direct; some, by warranty; to adapt
 law or custom, written as a prudent capitalist,

The qualification
 precedent or su^{quiescence and vagrancy.}
 and accident^{to adapt the labor of each to his ability;}
 sex, proper^{both positive and negative waste of power,}
 citizen^{and to prevent}
 bond^{animate or inanimate.}
 in^{It is the duty of warrantors to execute the statutes of}
^{the State to them directed; prescribing the hours, quantity,}
^{quality or other accidents of labor.}

It is their duty to administer by all just means, the
 public industry of their warranty; and for this to adapt
 the quantity of laborers to the quantity of capital.

For Distribution, it is the duty of warrantors to execute
 the statutes of the State to them directed, prescribing the
 wages or tribute to warrantees. If these wages are to be
 paid in necessities, they must be of good quality. If in
 any commonwealth, the law by reason of its universality or
 from other cause, is deficient; it is their duty to execute
 equity in the premises. It is their duty to see that the
 wages of all, whether efficient or inefficient, are duly received,
 and that none are ever in want.

Their duty for Exchange, is to act to the best of their
 ability as the public exchanger and agent of the warranty.
 They must therefore buy and sell whatever, according to
 the ability of the association, is best for its welfare. They
 must forbid and prevent buying and selling by orderers to
 the detriment of industry, health, or police: exchange

be by the exchanger of the association; and produced by the producers; the division of labor must be

assumption, the warrantor's duty is to provide according to law and equity; to prevent waste or unproductive; to actualize a consumption not superfluous, but sufficient only; to and prevent consumptive disorder.

CHAPTER IV.

OF warrantors, the hygienic duties are both, (1), Preventive, and, (2), Curative, or sanitary and therapeutical. Warrantors as health-officers are either executive or legislative. If hygienic rules and regulations are prescribed by the State; the warrantor is executive of such as are to him, directed. In default of statutory direction, it is his duty to act for the health of his warranty, as becomes the prudent head of a household. He then acts legislatively; and is to provide according to his best discretion, all hygienic necessities. This discretion is not arbitrary; it is a legal and equitable discretion.

It is therefore the duty of warrantors to provide all sanitary necessities for the prevention of disease. They must provide wholesome food and raiment. They must regulate the construction of all habitations in the warranty; enforce cleanliness and ventilation; and provide for purification in cases of pestilence, infection or contagion. They must execute necessary quarantines. If public quarantine is not

decreed, they must, if accidentally necessary; act equitably in supplement of the law's deficiency. They must enforce such needful regularity of rest, labor, and amusements, as are sanitary. They must prevent by all due care and prudence, any violent or unforeseen privation of life or bodily member. They must provide suitable work during the inclemency of seasons; and all proper clothing and other safeguards.

For the sick, it is the duty of warrantors to provide all therapeutic necessities; and as the prudent head of a household, to act for the restoration of the warrantee's health. The warrantor must when needful, provide due medical skill, medical materials, nursing and all proper care and attention. He must provide such kind of subsistence as is adapted to the state of the sick. For such as are inefficient from chronic diseases, he must faithfully supply proper necessities, and execute duly, his hygienic warranty.

CHAPTER V.

OF warrantors, the political duties are (1), Legislative, (2), Executive, and (3), Judicial. They relate as well to the making of laws as to their adjudication and execution.

In warrantee commonwealths, warrantors are legislative representatives of warrantees. Warrantees are constituents.

It is therefore the duty of warrantors to represent in the government, the interests of warrantees. The warrantor is the political servant of the warranty. It is therefore

his duty to act for the political good of the association, as an honest father of a family acts for the good of his household.

The warrantor must defend his warrantees against legislative injustice. If the laws for the benefit of warrantees are deficient; he must act for their perfection. He must act for the exhibition of their rights, and prohibition of their wrongs.

The executive political duties of warrantors are such as are prescribed by general or special laws. It is their duty to keep the peace of the warranty; and to prevent breach of law. It is their duty to execute order and to prevent disorder or insubordination. It is their duty to promulgate within their warranty, all public laws directed generally or specially to warrantors. It is their duty to prevent crimes and misdemeanors; and all offences whether against the commonwealth or individuals. It is their duty to execute according to law all judgments, in cases to which their judicial power extends. It is their duty to keep such watch and ward as a diligent magistrate ought. It is their duty to represent in court, warrantees prosecuted or prosecuting.

Warrantors' judicial duty is to hear and determine all cases over which they have lawful jurisdiction. In these cases it is their duty to decree justice without sale, denial, or delay. All their judicial duties are born of the law. Their discretion is not private. It is legal and equitable, and their duty is to do that which is lawful and equitable. They must hear diligently, before determining; and render judgment according to the testimony.

CHAPTER VI.

THE Powers of warrantors are adequate to their duties. Duty is the measure of them. They are sufficient only; they are neither deficient nor superfluous. And because their duties are economic, hygienic, and political; their powers are economic, hygienic and political. Their power is that of orderers.

The fundamental power of warrantors is therefore just so much as is sufficient to execute economic, hygienic, and political order in their warranties. It is no more. That is the limit.

And because the first end of economic order is the subsistence of all; and because warrantors are responsible for the subsistence of warrantees; warrantors have the power to order the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of their warranty. If these are regulated by special laws, they have by implication, sufficient power for their execution. If there are no special economic laws, the power of warrantors is that of an economic magistrate whose duty is to provide for the subsistence of his warrantees.

The warrantor has therefore the power to administer the public industry of his warranty. He has the power to order production. But he has not the power to check, stop, or embarrass the public industry of the warranty which he administers. Because his powers must be construed with reference to the subsistence of all; and arbitrary idleness or economic disorder, is in derogation of the

public subsistence. He has the power to forbid idleness; but he has not the power to command idleness.

So also, the warrantor has power to order the distribution, exchange, and consumption of his warranty for the subsistence of all. But he has no power in derogation of this subsistence.

The warrantor is also a hygienic orderer. He has the power of order but not the power of disorder; this, the fundamental limit of his power. In the execution of powers, he must show that they are necessary to the execution of his warranties.

The warrantor has power to judge and punish irregularities in time of plague. He has power to enforce needful quarantines. He has power to punish breach of sanitary regulations. He has power to enforce regularity in food and raiment and in bodily indulgences or practices, such as eating of unwholesome provisions, sleeping in exposed places, going without sufficient clothing, and wandering during hours of natural rest. •

The warrantor has power to punish wanton waste, idling during hours of labor prescribed by law, vagrancy, and running away, or leaving labor without the knowledge or permission of warrantor and in derogation of the public health, peace or industry. But the warrantor has no power to refuse this permission when such leaving or absence, will not be in derogation of the public peace, health, or subsistence.

The warrantor has the power to order and establish the arrangement of habitations; to dispose families in suitable tenements according to health, peace, and economy; and for this to visit, inspect, and superintend dwelling-houses, to enforce cleanliness and quiet.

He has the power to punish intemperance; and to prohibit the buying of intoxicating liquors, or their introduction into the warranty.

Warrantors have the power to punish cruelty to animals by omission or commission.

They have the power to adapt the quantity of laborers or warrantees to the quantity of the association's capital; and for this to provide for supernumeraries, other good and sufficient warrantors; and until such provision, to warrant a comfortable sufficiency of necessities.

But warrantors have no power to terminate or qualify their warranties. Warrantees must be always warranted. A warrantor has no power to withdraw or resign his warranty otherwise than by the subrogation of another good and sufficient warrantor. This is the essence of the system. Whatever is in derogation of it, is void. Warrantors have no power to separate families, except such separation is essential to the subsistence of all. And the power then is to be strictly construed, and the presumptions against warrantors. They have under no circumstances, power to separate mothers and children under the age of ten years.

CHAPTER VII.

WARRANTORS' political power is such as is sufficient for the execution of the warranties.

They have the right to judge and punish certain offences against the public peace, and against the individual.

They have the right to judge and punish breaches of the peace within their warranty. They have the power to punish riotous assemblies of warrantees, appearing armed without permission, affrays in the warranty, riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, and challenges to fight.

They have the power to judge and punish assault and battery. But over other offences against the persons of individuals, as mayhem, rape, assault with intent to kill, forcible-abduction or wounding, they have no jurisdiction. They have judicial power over no high crimes. They have no power over felonies except to arrest the felon. They have no judicial power over offences by warrantees against the habitations of individuals, as arson and burglary.

They have no judicial power over offences against the private property of individuals; except in case of simple unaggravated larceny within the warranty, and malicious mischief not felony, and within the warranty.

Warrantors have no power to punish except after trial or fair hearing. They have no power to punish on suspicion, or to produce disclosure of guilt or criminal knowledge. That is usurpation, and against law.

Warrantors have the power to execute punishment, in cases over which they have jurisdiction. This punishment is that of the person. This, of necessity. For simple-

laborers in any society cannot be punished in their property. Privation of their property is want. This want again is unhealthy or criminal, and therefore inexpedient. Only the other classes of society can be punished in their property, because the property of society is in their possession.

The personal punishment which warrantors have the power to execute, must not be cruel or unusual. They have the power to punish with stripes and blows. But these must not be such as to endanger life or limb. They must not be excessive or in derogation of the public industry. All punishment must be overt. The instruments of punishment must not be dangerous or extraordinary. Warrantors have no power over the life or limb of warrantees.

Whether warrantors have the power of punishment by imprisonment, is doubtful. Punishment by imprisonment is in derogation of public industry, and a high and sovereign power.

But such overt imprisonment or simple detention of the person as is not for punishment, but for prevention of crimes and misdemeanors, warrantors have the power to enforce. But this imprisonment must not be prolonged; power must be strictly construed. It must not be covert. It must be overt, and as for the State. Whether this would, except in case of transportation, require the place of confinement to be public, is also doubtful. But in every case, the imprisonment must not be arbitrary. It must pursue justice and the law. The burden of proof must be upon the warrantor; he must be able to show cause and justify himself like any other magistrate.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOR the just execution of their duties and powers, warrantors are responsible in their person and their property. This Responsibility is both political and economic. Economic responsibility of warrantors, is that of their property only. Political responsibility is that of both person and property. This responsibility is civilly enforced. It is nothing other than punishment for breach of political laws. Such punishments are fines, confiscations, imprisonment, or any other personal or property penalty. The political responsibility of warrantors specially differs in nothing, from the responsibility of other magistrates, for misfeasance or nonfeasance in office. If either break laws directed to them; they are punished according to law. This is the method political; the political system acting with political implements. But the political system does not execute laws by political implements only. It employs the educational system. It prevents breach of laws by enlightening the mind, and so lessening the desire of breaking law. Nor this system only. The economic is an agent with the political system. The societary organization of warrantee commonwealths, executes its laws not by the political system only, but by the economic, also. By the obtention of this organization, warrantors, for the just execution of their duties, are responsible to society, not politically only. They are also economically responsible. This method is in cumulation of that. Whatever therefore are the political checks to the power of warrantors; the economic checks are additional. The economic method is

no other than responsibility by damage to property. By the contrivance of the warrantee economic system, the warrantor must do his duty: if he does not, he is damaged. This is damage to property. And the damage is adapted to the breach of duty. The economic system is not politically antagonistic. In warrantee organizations, the economic and political systems are syntagonistic. The syntagonism is implemental and efficient. This method of economic responsibility is self-executing and superior.

By it, and the nature of warrantecism, the labor-obligations of warrantees, are capitalized. They are values. These values express the amount of capital invested in the labor-obligation and are negotiable.

Whatever therefore increases or decreases the value of the labor-obligation; increases or decreases the capital of the warrantor. What affects one; affects the other. But damage to the laborer is damage to the value of the labor-obligation. Depreciation or appreciation of the obligee is depreciation or appreciation of the obligation; and this, to the warrantor, or capitalist, is loss or gain proportional. Damage to the warrantee, is hence damage to the warrantor; damage to the capitalizee is damage to the capital; and damage to the capital, damage to the capitalist.

The warrantor is economically enforced therefore to warrant health, strength, and justice, to the warrantee. Sickness, want or injustice to the warrantee, mulct the warrantor. The wrongs by their consequences right themselves. They fine the wronger, and are self-executing.

CHAPTER IX.

FOR breach of hygienic, economic or political duty to warrantee, the warrantor therefore is directly responsible in property.

If the warrantee is sick, the warrantor loses. This loss is twofold; he loses both the service of the warrantee pending illness; and the cost of his cure. The capitalist, in warranteeism, does not save the laborer's wages during illness. He pays the wages without receiving the work. So, in case of any bodily hurt. But if the sickness is mortal; the capitalist loses by the death of the laborer, not his labor only, but the entire capital invested in producing or purchasing the laborer's obligation. The warrantor therefore, is by economic necessity, a health-officer. He is economically enforced to warrant the health of warrantees. That is not his duty only; it is his interest. And for breach of this duty, he is responsible in his property. Sickness is loss of expenses, and profits; death, loss of principal.

The fundamental duty of warrantors is the subsistence of all:—a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for every one. The warrantor is enforced to actualize this. For deficiency of these necessities, is want. Want is either unhealthy, criminal or mortal. But for unhealthy and criminal want, the warrantor is economically responsible. If the want produces crime; the warrantor is also responsible. This responsibility is both economic and political. If the crime is punished by death; the warrantor loses the principal

no other than responsibility by damage-obligation. In the contrivance of the warrantee the warrantor, in warrantor must do his duty: if the crime is punished by fine; the This is damage to property the amount of the fine is to the breach of duty. The warrantee's labor-obligation; cally antagonistic. If the crime is punished by imprisonment; the mic and political obligation. He thus loses its whole gonism is implied. The crime is punished by imprisonment; the economic resp

By it, as the service of the warrantee pending im- tions of the orderliness and the reputation of the war- These damages and this, the negotiable value of his labor-obliga- lab- To avoid these losses, the warrantor is economically tion. obliged to defend the warrantee against prosecution for crimes; and in the legislation of the government, to act for justice to warrantees. If the warrantee is not wronger, but wrongee; his wrongs cannot be other than such as affect the value of the warrantee's labor-obligation. Wrong to the obligee, is wrong to the obligation; and so to the holder of the obligation. The warrantor is therefore economically enforced to defend the warrantee.

CHAPTER XIV.

are persons who have no rights." In the South, there are no slaves. Those States are commonwealths. Their warranteeism is that of the ethnical qualification. The warrantees there, are not slaves; they are not persons who have no rights. That is error. They have substantially, whatever is due them. Their wrongs are accidental: they are not peculiar to warranteeism. That system is essentially just: injustice is alien, romantic, and unnatural to it. In the United States South, warrantees are persons who have all their rights. They are not slaves; they are not persons who have no rights. Their slavery is nominal only; and the name, a wrong to the warrantee States.

All rights are those of, (1), Existence, and, (2), Progress. Existence-rights are those of, (1), Subsistence, and, (2), Security.

In warrantee-commonwealths, the economic system is an essential part of the civil government. The civil government is a political economy: the political and economic systems are united. The union is like that of Church and State. Warrantors are magistrates, to warrantees, people. All warrantors are special government-officers. Their official powers issue from the State, are subject to the State, and under review and visitation of the State. The State is supreme and supervising. It is the fountain of power.

In the United States South, the State actualizes the right of subsistence. The economic system is the imple-

capital invested in the warrantee's labor-obligation. In some States, this loss is divided; and the warrantor, in part indemnified. If the crime is punished by fine; the warrantor pays the fine. If the amount of the fine is greater than the value of the warrantee's labor-obligation; the warrantor has, in some States, the right to surrender his title to the labor-obligation. He thus loses its whole value. If the crime is punished by imprisonment; the warrantor loses the service of the warrantee pending imprisonment. If the crime is punished by bodily pains; this damages the orderliness and the reputation of the warrantee; and this, the negotiable value of his labor-obligation. To avoid these losses, the warrantor is economically obliged to defend the warrantee against prosecution for crimes; and in the legislation of the government, to act for justice to warrantees. If the warrantee is not wronger, but wrongee; his wrongs cannot be other than such as affect the value of the warrantee's labor-obligation. Wrong to the obligee, is wrong to the obligation; and so to the holder of the obligation. The warrantor is therefore economically enforced to defend the warrantee.

CHAPTER XIV.

"SLAVES are persons who have no rights." In the United States South, there are no slaves. Those States are warrantee-commonwealths. Their warranteeism is that with the ethnical qualification. The warrantees there, are not slaves; they are not persons who have no rights. That is error. They have substantially, whatever is due them. Their wrongs are accidental: they are not peculiar to warranteeism. That system is essentially just: injustice is alien, romantic, and unnatural to it. In the United States South, warrantees are persons who have all their rights. They are not slaves; they are not persons who have no rights. Their slavery is nominal only; and the name, a wrong to the warrantee States.

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In the United States South, the State actualizes the right of subsistence. The economic system is the imple-

ment for this. The law not only regards life and member, and protects every man in the enjoyment of them; but also furnishes him with everything necessary to their support. It provides the means by which every warrantee can earn these necessities. This, in Free-labor societies, is "by means of the several statutes enacted for the relief of the poor;" or the right of the indigent to "demand a supply sufficient for all the necessities of life, from the more opulent part of the community." In warrantee-commonwealths, there are no indigent. Indigence is eliminated. Each warrantee earns his living. Wherever he is; work is warranted, if it can be procured. If it cannot; means for his circulation to where he can earn a subsistence or procure work, are supplied. And whether he works or rests; subsistence for life, is warranted to him. He is never out of the comforts of a livelihood. In warrantee-commonwealths, the subsistence of all, is warranted. To actualize this, warranteeism is ordained and established; the political state and economy, united; and the first end of society, realized. Warrantee-commonwealths, therefore, by the implement of their economic system, execute in favor of all, the right of subsistence.

Of the compound right of existence, the component rights are those of personal subsistence, and personal security. To the right of personal security, wrongs are manslaughter, murder, mayhem, rape, assault and battery, wounding, false imprisonment, and kidnapping. Against these, warrantees are warranted. The State protects them. The law is as well for warrantees, as for other citizens. Any distinction is accidental. The political system protects all. If this protection is at any time deficient; it is amended by progress.

The master or warrantor has no power or right, to commit assault and battery on a warrantee or slave. Nobody has. The warrantor as a magistrate, has under law, judicial and executive jurisdiction over certain misdemeanors or offences against the public peace, public health, and public economy. For these offences, the warrantor has by law, the power, and it is his duty, to adjudicate and execute corporal punishment. This punishment is to be just; it is to be proportioned to the offence; it is to be overt; it is not to be cruel, or unusual, or such as endangers life or limb. For the execution of his magistracy, the warrantor is answerable to the State. He holds his power from the State. For any abuse of it, he is answerable as any other magistrate. His power is not irresponsible. It is not unlimited, unqualified, or absolute. It is checked and balanced, limited, relative, qualified and responsible. If in any commonwealth, it is abused; the abuse is like any other official abuse, to be checked. This abuse is accidental; the essence and excellence of warrantee commonwealths, is justice.

Wrongers to warrantee's personal security, must be either the warrantor or others. But no others can wrong the warrantee. Between these and warrantees, the law makes no essential distinction; they are, in the respect of the right of personal-security, on what is essentially an equal footing. In cumulation of this political protection; it is the duty of the warrantor to protect the warrantee's rights. The execution of this duty is secured by the method of economic responsibility, or property-damage.

Warrantees therefore, have both the right of personal-subsistence, and the right of personal-security.

These rights are actualized. Warranteeism achieves the fundamental end of society. Existence-rights are warranted.

CHAPTER XI.

INCIDENTAL to both existence-rights and progress-rights, is the right of property. An economic system ought therefore to obtain for all, a just share of property. A just share is never less than a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. That is the minimum. If the obtention of a society, is less than this; there is social wrong. Progress is then a duty; the privation of the right of property, must be remedied; and the first end of society, effected.

The right of property, is warranted to warrantees. The State or justice-function, is the distributor of the produce of warrantors and warrantees. Their share is never less than a comfortable sufficiency of necessities; and the distribution is by progress, adapted and regulated to justice

Warrantees therefore, have always the tenant-right of a comfortable dwelling; and the family-right of a comfortable sufficiency of food, fuel, raiment, and of medical and other necessities. This is the expressed minimum of the law. That law is not political only; it is civil law, both politically and economically enforced. Over and above this subsistence-property, they have such other as is by right due. Such, the substance of their property-rights.

But warrantees are associates. Their property-right is in its forms, therefore, qualified by the fact of association. This qualification is that of the adaptation and regulation, essential to every association. But adaptation requires division of labor. Hence the warrantee-associate's right of property, must be associationally exercised. The fundamental law of the division of labor, must be observed. If one division of the associates, are producers, another exchangers, and another distributors; their functions must not be mixed; the division or adaptation must be maintained.

Warrantees have the property-right of exchange or contract. They may alien or purchase. They have the substance of the right; that is essential; but in what form exercised, is accidental. In warranteeism, the exchanges of the associates, are transacted by the head of the association. In the division of labor, that is his function. He aliens, purchases and administers for all. This conforms to the law of adaptation. Warrantees therefore, have the right of property, in association.

The right of property is incidental to the right of subsistence. Warrantees therefore, have not only the right of property; but the realization of this right is always that of the higher right to which it is incidental. Nor this only: the property distributed to them, is distributed by the State or function of justice. This also, is a method necessary to progress. Distribution of justice by the function of justice, is an essential of the production of justice. The perfection of this distribution is by the perfection of warrantee-progress. It can be by no other method.

CHAPTER XII.

* EXISTENCE and Progress are ultimate rights. They are the final and supreme objects of social organization. They are its end and aim. All other rights are incidental. They are means. They are intermediate and conducive; implemental or constructive. Those rights are objective; these subjective; those, effects, these, causes.

Of ultimate rights, the compound organ is society. The ends of the societary organization, are the existence and progress of all. Ultimate rights are therefore societary. But systems compose an organization; they are means to ends. The systems of a perfect society are the economic, political, hygienic, philosophic, esthetic, moral, and religious. These are the kinds of systems. All of them, are incidental to the ultimate ends of society. Rights therefore are not only societary or ultimate; they are also incidental or systematic.

Of a system, the elements are, power, order, and liberty.

The right to existence and progress, is therefore the right to societary organization; the right to societary organization is the right to societary systems; and the right to societary systems, the right to just economic, political, hygienic, philosophic, esthetic, moral, and religious, power, order and liberty.

In the United States South, warrantees have the right of economic power. That is nothing other than the right of labor and property. They have the right of economic order. Order is ordained and established. It is public;

it is municipalized. Economic association, adaptation and regulation, are governed by the State or function of justice.

Nor have warrantees, the rights of economic power and order only. They have the right of economic liberty. Their economic powers, rights, duties, and responsibilities are defined; they are matter of public law. Economic license is eliminated. Of their economic freedom that only is surrendered which is inconsistent with economic order. Surrender of more than this is not orderly; it is against economic law, and unprofitable. License only is forbidden.

Warrantees have the systematic rights of hygienic power, order and liberty. The materials of health are warranted; their right to necessary hygienic power, is actualized.

For the execution of the right of hygienic order, the warrantor is appointed a special health-officer. He is specially endowed with sufficient and responsible sanitary and therapeutic power for the benefit of warrantees.

Warrantees have all hygienic freedom consistent with necessary hygienic order. This is the right of hygienic liberty. But warrantees have no right to break quarantine; to go in contagious places; to expose themselves unnecessarily. This is hygienic license, and against sanitary law. The warrantor's special duty is to prevent this.

The rights of the esthetic system, are esthetic power, order, and liberty. These are for the production of pleasure and the reduction of pain. In warranteeism, the esthetic system is not yet organized. It is natural; but not yet essential. The rights of this system will be actualized; but this will be by progress and canonically.

The esthetic is essential to the economic, political, and hygienic systems. Its actualization therefore, will not only be progressive; but the progress will be syntonistic. The warrantor or capitalist, will supply esthetic power; and the State according to justice, order it.

When wealth therefore shall have so increased, that justice of distribution, authorizes the elements of warrantee's wages to be not only economic, hygienic and political, but also esthetic; the esthetic element will be added to wages and distributed. Esthetic wages will be esthetic power: the right to one, the right to the other. The warrantor, or some other magistrate, will then be appointed, for the execution or regulation of this right. When therefore, justice authorizes it, the right of esthetic power, order, and liberty will be systematically warranted to warrantees. This will be economic also. It will be progress executed by warrantors syntonistic economically with warrantees esthetically: the master, by interest, enforced to justice: or injustice to the warrantee, injustice to the warrantor. But the esthetic system is both positive and negative. It is not for the production of pleasure only. It is for the prevention of pain. It is both eunesthetic and anesthetic. Warranteeism as it is, is essentially anesthetic. It systematically eliminates bodily pain. It actualizes comfort for all. Bodily pain is accidental, and such in chief, as is penal or from the execution of justice. But such pain is accidental to warranteeism.

CHAPTER XIII.

WARRANTEISM as it is, actualizes warrantees' right to moral and religious power, order, and liberty. The method for the support of religion is not now that of incorporating in the wages, the expenses necessary. The religious body or church by its own means or power, distributes religion. It has the ordering of the power or means, for the religious progress of warrantees. Supplementally but not yet systematically, some warrantors support the religious service of warrantees. But the implemental method is that of religious progress by the church's capital. What is the best system of ecclesiastical polity for warrantees; how religion ought to be distributed; what are the best expedients for justice; are to be developed according to the laws of progress.

Progress will develop whether religion for warrantees should be supported by the churches; or whether when justice authorizes the increase, the religious element should be incorporated in warrantees' wages. Whichever method is best; warrantors will be syntonistic economically with warrantees religiously. All the societary systems in warranteeism, are syntonistic. Religion also, is economic. It is profitable. And as of the religious system, so of the ethical system. Warrantees have the right to moral power, order and liberty. This right is executed. No one has the right to violate the warrantee's progressive humanity, justice, truth, purity, orderliness or other moral duty. He has sufficient power and liberty for these. Deficiency is accidental, and by progress to be eliminated.

Warrantees' right to philosophic or educational power, order, and liberty is not yet actualized. If justice economically authorized it; the educational means or power might be added to wages. If not this; any other method following justice.

But political independently of economic justice, does not now authorize the systematic education of warrantees. The warranteeism of the United States South, is that with the ethnical qualification. The existence-rights of both or of one of these races, now forbids to the other, this progress-right. The educational is at present antagonistic to the political system. This antagonism is accidental and temporary. It is not necessary or natural to warranteeism. It is due to a temporary outside fact. This fact is from an error which confounds essentials and accidentals; which is rather aggressive against the greater good essential, than progressive from the lesser bad accidental. It is bad opposition from good disposition. It is philanthropy in design, and misanthropy in deed. But between warrantors and warrantees, there is naturally no educational antagonism. The educational and economic systems, are syntagonic. So also, the political and educational systems; but this, only after the political fact as it is, shall be the political fact as it ought to be.

CHAPTER XIV.

IN the United States South, the rights of warrantees under the political system, are such as are just. Their political status is not wrong. It is right; it is from duty; it is a moral necessity. They have now the political power, order, and liberty to which they are rightly entitled; neither more nor less.

In the civil government of republics, the people are the sovereign. They are the supreme orderer. But republics are representative governments; the sovereign people constitute representatives. These representatives in their capacity as such, are magistrates; or supersovereign. In the political system, they are the orderers. They adapt and regulate. But all the people are not sovereign or supersovereign. Some only are sovereign. These are such alone as are peculiarly qualified. They must be males. They must be of a certain age. They must be of sound mind. They must be residents. In some commonwealths, property qualifications, are necessary; in some, religious qualifications. There may be other qualifications just or unjust.

All other people in the State, who are not sovereign people, are subsovereign. To this class belong women, minors, criminals, lunatics and idiots, aliens, and all others unqualified or disqualified.

Such, the three classes of people. In republics, all are represented. The representatives or orderers, represent and are responsible to their constituents, the sovereign people. But these are not constituents only; they likewise

represent the class of subsovereign people; these are constituents of those. A man represents his family. This is special; he also represents the interests of other subsovereigns; this, his general duty.

The representation of all is thus actualized.

Duties are coupled to relations. By the common law, a natural person's relations under the civil government are public or private. By the common law, private relations are those of master and servant, husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward.

In warrantee commonwealths, public relations are those of magistrates and people; or orderers and ordereds. Magistrates are legislators, executors and adjudicators. To these the relations of the people, are those of ordereds. The people are therefore, legislatees, executees and adjudicatees. The magistrates are adapters and regulators; the people, adaptees and regulatees.

In republics in which the warranteeism is that with the ethnical qualification, the warrantees are subsovereign. They have not the right of sovereignty. That is not their due; it is unjust; it is wrong. Warrantees have the right of representation. But they have not the right of political constitution. Neither ought they; they are not entitled to it. Subsovereignty is the right of warrantees. Their sovereignty is the wrong of warrantors, and others.

In the warrantee commonwealths of the United States who therefore, ought to be the sovereign people? Who ought to be the supreme power in the warrantee States? There, warranteeism with the ethnical qualification is ordained and established. What is the effect of this qualification? The people are of two races. They are ethnically related to each other. But because every act has a moral

quality; with every relation, duties are coupled. These races in their ethnical relations, differ from each other in beauty; in color; in the inclination, shape, and direction of the pile; in the conformation of their body, and in other physiological respects.

The black race must be civilly either (1), Subsovereign, (2), Sovereign, or (3), Supersovereign. If not subsovereign, they must be co-sovereign. The white race may also be subsovereign, sovereign, or supersovereign. If both races are promiscuously sovereign; that is co-sovereignty. The white race is now and has been sovereign; the black, subsovereign. This, the historical fact.

The black race ought not to be admitted to co-sovereignty. It is wrong: it is in violation of moral duty.

These races physiologically must be either equal or unequal. They must be either peers ethnically, or not peers. If not peers ethnically, the black race must be either superior or inferior. If superior, their ethnical progress forbids amalgamation with an inferior race. If the white race is superior; their ethnical progress forbids intermixture with an inferior race.

But races must progress. Men have not political or economic duties only. They have hygienic duties. Hygiene is both ethnical and ethical; moral duties are coupled to the relation of races. Races must not be wronged. Hygienic progress is a right. It is a right, because a duty. But hygienic progress forbids ethnical regress. Morality therefore, which commands general progress, prohibits this special regress. The preservation and progress of a race, is a moral duty of the races. Degeneration is evil. It is a sin. That sin is extreme. Hybridism is heinous.

Impurity of races is against the law of nature. Mulattoes are monsters. The law of nature is the law of God. The same law which forbids consanguineous amalgamation; forbids ethnical amalgamation. Both are incestuous. Amalgamation is incest.

But the relation of the two races to each other, is moral: every relation has an ethical quality: ethics is ethnic. Moral hygienic duties must not be violated. For progress must be developed, and regress, enveloped. Polity therefore—the duty of the State—prohibits the sovereignty of the black race. Because, if the black race are sovereign, they must be co-sovereign. If not politically subordinate or superordinate; they must be politically coördinate. But the black and white race must not be co-sovereign; they must not be politically coördinate. They must be, the one subordinate, and the other, superordinate. They must not be aggregated; they must be segregated. They must be civilly pure and simple from each other. This is a hygienic ethnical necessity. It is the duty of caste to prevent amalgamation: it is, caste for the purity of races. For, political amalgamation is ethnical amalgamation. One makes the other: that is the immediate, invariable antecedent of this. Subsovereignty is necessary for segregation, and both necessary to duty,

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL amalgamation is sexual amalgamation: one is a cause of the other. There must be either caste or co-sovereignty: this is the alternative to that. For power to rule, is power to marry, and the power to repeal or annul discriminating laws.

In States, the intercourse of sexes is either (1), Lawful or (2), Unlawful. Marriage is lawful intercourse. Of two races in a State, marriage may be (1), Between males and females of the same race; (2), Between males of one race and females of the other race; or, (3), Miscellaneously, between males and females of both races.

Of marriage, the motives or springs of action are such as are either (1), Matrimonial, or, (2), Extramatrimonial. Love is a matrimonial motive. Extramatrimonial motives are such as avarice or the desire of wealth; and ambition or the desire of power.

If therefore, marriage miscellaneously between too races, is lawful; the motives will be both matrimonial and extramatrimonial. Females of the inferior will elect males of the superior race. This, from natural preference, which is matrimonial; or from ambition, which is extramatrimonial. Males of the superior race will from avarice, ambition, or other extramatrimonial motives, elect females of the inferior race. These motives are certain; and certainty of motive, is certainty of movement; certainty of cause, certainty of effect. If therefore, intermarriage of races, is lawful; intermarriage will be actual: the cause, certain; the effect will be certain. The law must

therefore, forbid amalgamation. Intermarriage of races must be unlawful.

But law is a rule of action prescribed by the supreme-power in a State. This supreme-power is the sovereign. If it is compound; if two races are co-sovereign; the motives of legislation will be those of both races; or compound legislation, from compound legislatures. But the legislative motives of one race, will be for amalgamation; and the motives of a part at least, of the other race, not against it. That part will be those who are such from ambition, from avarice, from ignorance, from fanaticism, and from error. The power to be politically coördinate or equal, will be the power to be ethnically or matrimonially coördinate or equal. Political amalgamation will initiate sexual amalgamation. The ability for that, gives the ability for this. The duty therefore coupled to the relation of races, forbids political amalgamation or its certain effect, the lawful intermarriage of the two races. Hygienically, the two races ought not to be co-sovereign; because the obtention of co-sovereignty will be a wrong to both races. But this is immoral. If therefore the State or sovereign authorizes the cause, it authorizes the effect; it authorizes a wrong for which it is responsible; because every State is responsible for immoral polity, or non-performance of duty.

But if the sexual intercourse of two races in a State is not legitimate; it is illegitimate. The societary organization must be such therefore, as to eliminate this. If the elimination cannot be immediate; it must be proximate, and progressive. But to this, caste is necessary. For sexual intercourse follows social intercourse. In a society of two races, therefore, ethnical segregation is essential.

Between the two races in warrantee States, caste to

prevent impurity, is hence, a duty. Therefore, one race must be orderers, and the other, orderees. In the political system, one race must be sovereign; and the other, sub-sovereign. In the economic system, one race must be superordinate or warrantors; the other subordinate or warrantees, and both races must have their just power, order, and liberty.

Caste of races is therefore a duty of morality. It is politically enforced; because it ought to be. This also is rightful. Subordination is not slavery; ethnical segregation is not ethical degradation. For the duties coupled to the relation of races, must be actualized. Purity of races, is right.

CHAPTER XVI.

CASTE of races is therefore the ethnical qualification of warranteeism in the United States South. Sovereignty is the right and duty of one race; and sub-sovereignty, the right and duty of the other. But the class of sub-sovereigns, must not be wronged. They must not have the power of co-sovereignty; because that is not their right. But to all other just powers for existence and progress, they have rights. These rights the societary organization must actualize.

In the societary organization of the United States South, warrantees are the sub-sovereign race. That is the historic fact. All facts operate.

There, these warrantees have all the rights due them.

They have essentially all the power consistent with the necessary sovereignty of one race, and sub-sovereignty of the other. Restriction of this power is accidental. It is from the accident of the political fact, and in proper adaptation to it. This is not unjust; it is dutiful.

Consistency with sub-sovereignty is therefore one test of the rights due to warrantees in the United States South. The right of primary political constituency is inconsistent with the warrantees' sub-sovereignty; it is in derogation of the sovereignty of the ruling race. Warrantees therefore have not the right of political constituency.

But the right of political representation is not inconsistent with the sovereignty of the sovereign race. Warrantees are therefore entitled to representation. That is their right. The societary organization must therefore actualize their political sub-sovereignty and representation. In the United States South, this is done. Warrantees there, are both sub-sovereign, and justly represented.

Nor this only. Warrantees have essentially all other rights, whether of legislatures, adjudicatees, or executees, due them. They have not by intention only, but by obtention, all rights incidental to existence-rights, and progress-rights.

In a republican government, all must be represented. Because, all have rights for preservation, and progression; and representation is incidental to those. Every reasonable creature in being, must be cared for; everybody must be cared for.

In the warrantee systems of the United States South, as well as in free-labor political systems, sub-sovereign people are represented by the sovereign people; as wives by their husbands; and sovereign people by the supersovereign

people or magistracy. Representation is therefore both, (1), Primary, and, (2), Secondary.

In a political system, sub-sovereign people can by one method only be represented by the sovereign people. This is the method of the Unification of sovereign and sub-sovereign Interests, or NECESSARY REPRESENTATIVE SYNTAGONISM. In a political system, the interests of the sovereigns representing and the sub-sovereigns represented, must be towards each other, either, (1), Antagonistic, (2), Anagonistic, or, (3), Syntagonistic. They cannot be anagonistic, because the desire of power is not anagonistic.

If the interests of sovereigns and sub-sovereigns, are antagonistic; representation is not just. There is no check to power; and in a just government, every power must be checked and balanced.

The method of representation, therefore, by unification or syntagonism of interests, is that alone whose obtention, is just. This is the method of the United States South, whose warrantees are subsovereign, by necessity of the ethnical qualification, and for other causes temporary or perpetual, constant or variable.

In the method of representation by unification of interests, the sovereign people may be divided into two representative classes. Of the subsovereign people represented, the interests, may be divided into two classes. One class of subsovereign interests may be represented by one representative class of sovereigns. And the other class of interests, by the other representative class of sovereigns. Thus, the whole quantity of subsovereign interests, may be represented.

This is the method of the United States South. There,

the sovereign people are divided into two classes. Warrantors are one class; nonwarrantors, the other.

Of the warrantees, the rights and interests are such as relate to either warrantors or nonwarrantors. This relation must be that of syntagonism or of antagonism. But by the essence and nature of warranteeism, the rights of warrantors and warrantees are syntagonistic: there is a fundamental unification of their interests. This is as against wrongs by nonwarrantors. As against wrongs of warrantees by warrantors; the interests of warrantees and nonwarrantors are syntagonistic. Not the interests of warrantors only are antagonistic to warrantees' wrongs by warrantors; but in cumulation, the interests of nonwarrantors and of warrantees, are syntagonistic against such wrongs. By any wronger, wrong to warrantee is wrong to warrantor. Nor this only. Wrong to warrantee is wrong to nonwarrantors. These are the highest checks of which a societary contrivance, is susceptible. Warrantors and warrantees, are affamiliated; the head of the family, is the warrantor. Damnification of the members is by the nature of the affamiliation, damnification of the head. Injury to warrantee in person, is injury to warrantor in property.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE interests of warrantees and nonwarrantors, are syntonistic against wrongs to warrantees by warrantors. Sovereign nonwarrantors therefore represent the class of warrantees' rights corresponding to these wrongs.

Wongs to warrantees must be a privation of the rights of either, (1), Persons, or, (2), Things. It is the direct and implemental interest of nonwarrantors to protect warrantees in their property-rights. For all consumables are products. Producers are capitalists, skilled-laborers and simple-laborers. Simple-laborers put on capital, one value; skilled-laborers, another; and both combined with capitalists perfect the products. Perfect products are consumables.

Consumers, as well as producers, are — simple-laborers, skilled-laborers, and capitalists.

If therefore, of any of these three classes, the aggregate consumption increases; the aggregate production of the other classes, must increase. Supply will equal demand.

But the distribution to a class is from the production of a class: the more produced; the more to be distributed: the more work; the more wages: the more products; the more profits. The simple-labor class consume. Their consumables are perfect products. Of their three values, one is that produced by capitalists; one, by skilled-laborers; one, by simple-laborers. If therefore simple-laborers' consumption is increased; the production of their consumables by capitalists and skilled-laborers, must be increased. The increased demand needs increased supply. This increase

for the consumers, is therefore to the interest of the producers. For them, more work is more wages; more production, more pay; more demand, more supply.

It is therefore the economic interest of nonwarrantors as well as warrantors, to actualize just distribution to warrantees; because injustice to warrantees is thus injustice to nonwarrantors; inasmuch as nonwarrantors as well as warrantors, are producers of warrantees' consumables. Those supply the demand of these. Therefore, the demand or distribution, must be just. It must not be too much or too little; it must be neither deficient nor superfluous; it must be sufficient for justice. But if the distribution to warrantees is unjust from excess; this is an injury to capitalists' or warrantors' consumption, and so again to nonwarrantors' production or profit. Justice to all classes, and the syntonism of interests, are complete.

Just distribution to warrantees is therefore the interest not of warrantors only; it is the interest of nonwarrantors. The interests of all are against unjust distribution. These are economic interests. From their nature they are direct, immediate, and implemental.

But as of producers of warrantees' consumables and their interests; so of exchangers of warrantees' consumables and their interests. If the tribute to warrantees is less than justice, the tribute to everybody, is less. The more the consumption of a class; the more the production for a class, and the profit for the producers. But consumption is a variable. Its functions are liberty and order. The greater the order, the greater the consumption; the greater the liberty, the greater the consumption. But license and disorder decrease consumption. In warranteeism there-

fore, all sovereign people, whether warrantors or nonwarrantors, are economically enforced to develop economic order and liberty, and to envelop economic license and disorder.

So, enjoyment, education, and religion likewise consume. They demand producers; they supply their profit. The education of warrantees, is hence to the interest of such as gain a living by education. These therefore, in cumulation of the warrantor, represent the educational interests of warrantees. So, of enjoyment. And by the nature of religion and morality, others than the warrantor are interested in the morality and religion of warrantees. These systems, in the warrantee societary organization, are thus syntonistic.

In the political system, tax-consumers are either (1), the Actual or (2), the Optative: such as are, or such as wish to be. Both cannot enjoy; possession of the government by one, is dispossession by the other party. In republics, this possession is by means of the approbation and consent of the sovereign people. But the sovereign people approve and consent to that which is just. The party therefore which advocates justice to warrantees, has in this respect the superiority of the other. If the party in the government are unjust to warrantees; the party out, will advocate justice. Religious men will do what is religious; moral men, what is moral; economic men, what is economic; political men, what is politic. Rights cannot sleep. Justice is productive; injustice, consumptive; it wastes. In warranteeism, all sovereign people are from interest, syntonistic for right, and antagonistic against wrong.

In warrantee republics wherefore, all are represented. Those rights of warrantees which warrantors do not, the

nonwarrantors do, represent. All the societary systems harmonize: and the method of subsovereign representation, by unification of sovereign and subsovereign interests, is realized.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WARRANTORS have therefore, the rights of legislatees; but not the privileges of legislators; because, for hygienic and other sufficient reasons, they ought not in morality to receive them: justice forbids it.

But warrantees have not such legislative rights only as are due them; they have judicial rights. Judicial rights are those which concern judicial actions and judicial testimony.

A judicial action is the right of claiming judicially what is due or belongs to one. It is a right incidental to existence-rights.

Actions are either (1), Public or (2), Private. Public actions are those brought by the State: private, by private persons. Actions are also (1), Civil or (2), Criminal. Civil actions are (1), Personal or (2), Real. In these, the claim is for something to be either paid or done, or not paid or done.

Of warrantees, the actions or claims are for redress of wrongs. Wrongers must be either the (1), warrantor, (2), other warrantees, or (3), non-warrantors.

Claims of warrantees against non-warrantors, are brought by the warrantor or head of the association. If the judg-

ment on the action, is vindictive, as for offences or quasi-offences; damages are awarded, according to the policy of the law for prevention. If the judgment orders payment on contract, restitution, or specific performance; the claim must have been for either (1), Wages, (2), Property, or (3), Damages. If for property or damages, it must be for associational property or associational wrong. The law therefore, appropriates such property or damages, to the association. Its representative or syndic in law, is the warrantor. He is the receiver. He distributes wages out of the aggregate capital. But if the judgment is for wages; these are appropriated to the warrantor. Because he warrants the warrantee's wages, and non-payment by non-warrantor, is the loss of the warrantor. The warrantee never loses his wages; he is warranted against loss.

If the action of the warrantee is against, not the non-warrantor but the warrantor; it must be for either wrongs to person or to property. But in warranteeism, these are public actions. The State brings them; it represents the warrantee. Thus, if the warrantor does not distribute to the warrantee his lawful wages, that is breach of the statute of wages. As such it is inquirable into and punishable by the State. So, if the warrantor administers cruel and unusual punishments, or in any way punishes excessively, that is a public wrong which the State prosecutes as any other crime or misdemeanor.

But if the action of the warrantor is to annul his labor-obligation; this is not brought by the State; it is a private action. It is brought by the warrantee.

All other suits by warrantees, are brought by the warrantor, or head of the association. All private suits against warrantees, are likewise brought against the war-

rantors. For all torts by warrantees, warrantors are responsible in damages. If one warrantee feloniously kills another; the warrantor is responsible in damages. If a warrantee robs or steals; damages are recoverable from the warrantor.

Another judicial right is that of the writ of Habeas Corpus. Warrantees are secured in this right. They have its effect and substance. Only the form of it, is peculiar. If a warrantee is unlawfully detained by one, other than his warrantor; suit for his release is brought by the warrantor, to whom his service is lost. But if the warrantor himself unlawfully detains or imprisons the warrantee, the warrantor is responsible to the State for a public wrong. Whether a writ of Habeas Corpus would lie, or what would be the nature of the remedy is not now clear. That is accidental matter for legislation, and progress.

In other courts than that of the warrantor, warrantees have the right of Appeal as other parties before courts. In the warrantor's court, warrantees have the right of appeal from the deputy-warrantor. But from judgment by the warrantor in person, no appeal is allowed. This is because (1), The jurisdiction of the warrantor is small, and because (2), The allowance of appeals now, would be in derogation of the public industry. The right is not allowed, because the allowance would be wrong. But before the court of the warranty, it is the duty of the warrantor presiding, to hear all the testimony and pleadings before rendition of judgment. Re-hearings, continuances, and new trials, are to be granted. In this court, all the fundamental rules and necessary forms, for the administration of justice, are to be observed: for warrantors are judges, and judgments must be righteous.

The power of warrantees to testify in open court, is accidental. If expedient, it may be allowed. If their competency to testify, is more conducive to justice than their incompetency; they must be allowed to testify. Their testimony is now inadmissible against those only of the sovereign race. Warrantees testify for or against warrantees. They are peers.

Warrantees have, therefore, the substance and effect of the right of Action. That is essential. What may be the mode of exercising it; how it shall be performed; that is accidental.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE right of Petitioning for redress of grievances, is secured to warrantees. They enjoy the effect and substance of the right. The mode or form of its execution, is peculiar to warranteeism with the ethnical qualification. By the essence of warranteeism, the interests of warrantors and warrantees, are affamiliated; they are syntagonistic; they are family interests. Grievance to warrantees, is grievance to warrantors; as grievance to wife is grievance to husband. Warrantors and warrantees, are wedded in interest. The sovereign warrantor is therefore, the petitioner for redress of all grievances by others than himself.

Grievances by the warrantor, are such as are either against public law, or are not. If against public law; the State redresses them. If not against public law; the pe-

tion is for new laws declaratory, enabling, restraining or remedial.

Here it is not clear what is the form in which the right of petition should be substantiated. Nor ought this to be hastily determined. It is not well settled what justice and policy require. Justice affirms the substance of the right; but denies some forms of its execution. Right and expediency to both races are consistent. Justice and expediency to the sub-sovereign, cannot be by injustice or in expediency, to the sovereign race. This is wrong. It must always be forbidden.

For redress of grievances by their warrantor, the warrantees may petition either by (1), Themselves, or by (2), Others. Their personal petitioning is more or less unjust and inexpedient; because it is more or less amalgamative. Petitioning by others, in the place of warrantees, is a method either sufficient or deficient, as it now is. By the method as it now is, petitioning is by any of the sovereigns. This is the general vicarious method. Wrong or grievance to warrantee is wrong to some of the sovereign people. It is in derogation of either the public peace, industry, health, or trade. If a wrong to warrantees, it is a wrong to either warrantors or non-warrantors. Such grievance is either economic, political, hygienic, philosophic, esthetic, moral, or religious. Whatever is its kind; it is by the nature of warranteeism, a grievance as well to non-warrantors and warrantors as to warrantees. There is a syntagonism. Grievance to sub-sovereigns, is grievance to some sovereigns. The sovereigns therefore, petition. The other method is that of special vicarious petitioning. This, by the appointment of a special representative of warrantees, with sufficient responsibilities and inducements. Than these

two methods of general and special vicarious petitioning, there can be no others.

Petitioning is a right of legislatures. The right of having and using Arms for self-defence, belongs to executees. By the Common-Law of England, this is secondary or incidental to absolute rights. Warrantees have the right. But it is subject to the effects of the ethnical qualification, and the nature of associations. In the warrantee association, warrantees have not the right of having arms proper to themselves. Because arms are association-property. They belong to the association and are therefore administered by the administrator or head of the association. The warrantor orders the association not for its subsistence only, but for its protection. The arms of the association are therefore subject to his order. Warrantees have not the right to have and use arms as against the warrantor; because he is their officer or magistrate and represents the majesty of the State. The entire warranty is the precincts of his court. But as against other warrantees, if the necessity arose, warrantees would have the right of using and having arms. So, if about to leave the protection of the warranty and go into strange, dangerous, and unfrequented places, they would have the right. In what cases, they would have it, as against sovereign non-warrantors, is not yet well settled, except in the case of overt felony, as to prevent murder.

CHAPTER XX.

THE relations of legislatees, adjudicatees, and executees, to legislators, adjudicators, and executives, are public. By the Common-Law of England, private relations are those of master and servant, husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward.

In warranteeism, the relation of warrantor and warrantee, is not that of master and servant. It is not a private relation. It is the relation of magistrate and people. It is a public relation. This is the essence of warranteeism. It is the fundamental difference between warrantee and free-labor organizations. Warrantors are not private masters. They are public masters, orderers or magistrates. Their rights, duties, powers, and responsibilities; are adapted and regulated by law. They are not in derogation but in favor, and of necessity, to the conservation and progress of all, and their inalienable rights of life, liberty, and property.

Marriage is both (1), a Civil contract and (2), a Religious union. Of the civil contract; the objects, are amongst other things the administration of the wife's property, the protection of her person, and the maintenance, education, and protection of the children. By the Common Law, "the holiness of the matrimonial state, is left entirely to the ecclesiastical law; the temporal courts not having jurisdiction to consider unlawful marriage as a sin, but merely as a civil inconvenience." In this light, the law treats it, as it does all other contracts.

Of warrantees therefore, the marriage may be either a

civil contract or a religious union, or both. By the essence of warranteeism, the maintenance, education, and protection of the children of the association, are by the means of the association. Education is not now an object of the association. This is accidental. It is from the nature of the political or historical fact. But the maintenance and protection of the children, are primary objects of the association. The parents are natural tutors. They are guardians by nature and for nurture. But the whole association, the capitalist and all his associates, are curators and lawful guardians of the children of the association. The property of the association, is not administered individually or dissociatively. The administration of the property of the association is by the association, and according to the principles of division. Hence a warrantee wife's property in the warranty, is association-property. The house of which she is tenant, is subject to the necessary rules of association. In warrantee associations, the warrantor is in the division of labor, the administrator of the association property. Marriage therefore, to realize either the administration of the wife's property; or the maintenance, education, and protection of the children, is in warranteeism not necessary. It is better done by association of families than by dissociation. It is warranted by that method; and by this, not warranted.

In the United States South, the marriage of warrantees is not a perfect civil contract. It is a religious union, and a natural obligation. In warranteeism, all marriages of warrantees performed by a minister of religion, or under the ceremonies of the Church, are lawful. This constitutes in law, a natural obligation. Whether the consent of both parties, willing and able to consent; with a public

and overt acknowledgment of each other, as husband and wife, would constitute a valid marriage, is not certain; but it seems that it would. What should be the effect in law, of the natural obligation of the marriage; whether the State should intervene and make it a perfect civil contract; whether it should regulate the law of divorce or leave it free; whether bigamy and adultery of warrantees, should be civilly punished; or whether as now, the Church instead of the State, should have complete jurisdiction of the marriage of warrantees, is matter for development by progress. Sundering of husband and wife, except for subsistence, is a public wrong, and to be remedied, if needful. As warranteeism now is, marriage of warrantees is not a perfect civil contract; it is a natural or moral obligation, and a religious union. Any other voluntary intercourse of the sexes, is or is not, in law, a crime or misdemeanor.

The relation of parent and child, is not in warranteeism, as in the Common Law, economic. The parents do not divide wages with the children. They do not maintain them. The association is the economic father of the children. Such duties only as result from nature belong, in warranteeism, to the parents. But to the natural relation all the natural rights are coupled. The parents cannot be separated from their children. Children cannot be disobedient or disrespectful. The parents have the right of correction.

Wherefore;—in the United States South warrantees have all their rights. Wrongs are accidental and remediable. Warranteeism is an economic, political, and hygienic organization. It is consistent with morality and religion. It is necessitated by them. It is a duty of humanity, justice, and order. Its justice is inherent, self-executing, and positive.

BOOK VI.

PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY.

CIVIL EXPEDIENCY OF WARRANTEISM.



CIVIL EXPEDIENCY OF WARRANTEEISM.

CHAPTER I.

OF a system, the elements are power and order. Order is association, adaptation and regulation. Of the State or civil organization, the essential end is justice. The association, adaptation, and regulation of civil power, to this end, is Civil Expediency. Civil expediency is the ordering of civil power, to civil ends.

Wisdom and goodness are essential to order. Wisdom is its function. Power is animate or inanimate. In a state therefore, the association, adaptation, and regulation, must be such as to supply, (1), Power, (2), Wisdom and, (3), Goodness. These are essential. They must be supplied. They are the functions of society. Its organization must be adapted to their production.

What therefore is the Civil Expediency of warranteeism? What is its adaptation to civil power, wisdom and goodness? Does it produce power ordered to the ends of government? Is it associative, adaptable, and regular? What is its adaptation to legislation? What, to the execution of laws? What, to the collection of taxes; the preservation of the

public peace, public health and public economy? What, to the suppression of crime? What indeed is the civil expediency of warranteeism?

Of an artificial act or effect, the antecedents are both physical and metaphysical; or mental and material; ideal and real. Metaphysical antecedents are the conception, volition, and intention of the effect. The form of government is human: its effect is artificial. For the best effects; the causes therefore must be best; for the best consequences, the best antecedents. Wisdom is the function of conception; patriotism is good intentions in government. Patriotism is civic goodness. Intention is its essence. Intention may be moral or immoral; right or wrong; good or bad. It is nothing more than the desire with which an act is done. If the desire is bad; the intention is bad; good desire is good intention; moral desire, moral intention. Desires are not ethical only. They are economic, political, hygienic, philosophical, esthetic, and religious.

An economic intention is a desire of an effect, because it is useful; esthetic, because it is agreeable; philosophic, because it is instructive; hygienic, because it is healthful; political, because it is protective.

To an artificial effect there may be therefore seven desires; to every act, seven intentions. These desires may be antagonistic, syntonistic, or anagonistic. Conceptions correspond to desires. Springs of action also, or motives, are nothing more than desires. All desires are operative.

To realize an effect conceived, desires must be sufficient. If deficient, it is not realized; without the springs, no actions. If duty or moral desire is deficient, others in cumulation are necessary. These may be political, econo-

mic or hygienic. They may be philosophic or esthetic; they may be some of these, or all. If the desires are all syntonistic, and none antagonistic; the act will be consequential, if the other antecedents are realized. For certainty of effect therefore, certainty of desires is necessary. They must not be wanting. They must be either sufficient or superficial. Syntonism of desires, realizes. By syntonism, deficiency is eliminated. Syntonism makes sufficiency. This is by that.

In a societary organization therefore, the desires must be sufficient for the effect conceived. If moral desires are not sufficient; economic, hygienic and political desires must be added. They must be put in syntonism with good intention. Interest, enjoyment, expediency, knowledge and health must be supplements to the implement of civil goodness. In a society, the economic, political, esthetic, hygienic, religious, ethical and philosophic systems, must be syntonistic. Their organization must be such. Antagonism must be eliminated. The effect of civil goodness can by no other method, be realized. This is an unavoidable method of progress.

CHAPTER II.

WARRANTERISM realizes civil goodness. The three classes of its society, are, (1), Simple-mentalists, (2), Manual-mentalists and, (3), Simple-manualists. Both classes of mentalists are interested in the existence and progress of the class of simple-manualists. These interests are moral. In cumulation they are also hygienic, economic, and political. These are implemental; they are syntonistic with those. The subsistence, enjoyment, security, morality and health of warrantees are expedient. This is also a civil expediency. Civil goodness is to the interest of the sovereign people; civil badness, against their interest. Justice is the desire of all, and self-corrective. Laborers are a TREASURE to capitalists; capitalists, to laborers; and the desires of all, syntonistic. Coincidence of economic interests is coincidence of all interests.

The societary organization must produce not goodness only. Goodness concerns the desire or intention of an artificial effect. Wisdom is the function of conception. This is another mental antecedent of human acts. The societary organization must therefore produce sufficient wisdom. Orderers must be wise, for order is nothing more than wisdom applied.

In warranteeism with the ethnical qualification, one entire race mentalize. They are either simple-mentalists or manual-mentalists. The sovereign race are all thinkers. From the necessity of their calling, they think; they have thinking pursuits. Thought is one of their economic implements. They live by thinking. They exercise their

minds for subsistence. All of one race mentalize; these are orderers; they are sovereign. All of the other race manualize only. They are orderees, and subsovereign. Those whose callings are wise, order or apply wisdom. Those whose callings are not wise, do not order. The simple or brute labor is done by one race. This labor must be done. There are three methods of doing it. One method is to make the sovereign race, simple-laborers; the other to make the subsovereign race; the third method, the method of amalgamation. By this method, simple-laborers may be of either race. But economic amalgamation is sexual amalgamation. One makes the other. This is against hygienic law. Such a method ought therefore to be rejected. Neither ought the sovereign race to be simple-laborers. Because they are sovereign; their callings ought to be wise. The ordering race ought to be the thinking race. That is best for all, and just. Subsovereigns ought therefore to be simple-laborers. Some must manualize. Subsovereigns ought to be simple-manualists; because the sovereigns ought to be mentalists. In warranteeism, the sovereign race therefore mentalize; the subsovereign race manualize. The orderers are the thinking class; the orderees, the thoughtless class. Those are skilled-laborers and capitalists; these, brute laborers. Mindless labor is necessary; they do it whose want of mind, is not antagonistic to the existence and progress of all.

Thus, the wisdom of one race is warranted. By the nature of their callings they think. Thinking fits for governing. The sovereign race are adapted to mentalize. This is by the nature of the societary organization. And their mentalizing may be economic, political, philosophic, esthetic, hygienic, moral or religious.

CHAPTER III.

THE departments of a government are the legislative, the judicial, and the executive. Wisdom and goodness concern legislation. But for the execution of laws, power and goodness are necessary. Power is both animate and inanimate. Animate power is human and subhuman. Persons and things, are a government's power. Those are human; these, subhuman and inanimate.

For the execution of laws therefore, the executive or the personal power must be sufficient. The executive department's ability to execute, must be complete. In governments, the executives are magistrates. These are civil, diplomatic and military.

What therefore, is a perfect executive department? How can sufficient animate and inanimate power be best obtained for the execution of laws? What is the relation of Warrantecism to the power of a government? What is its adaptation to prevent violations of law?

In the respect of personal power, the greatest numbers in a government, constitute the greatest power. In the respect of desire, power is greater as desire is greater. Desire is greater as interest is greater. In the respect of inanimate and subhuman power or chattel wealth; power is greater as wealth is greater.

In an executive department therefore, the greatest power is (1), the greatest Number, with (2), the greatest Interest, and (3), the greatest Wealth. These numbers must be either magistrates or people; official or unofficial.

An approved executive method is that of King Alfred.

This is a civil division of the State into counties; of counties into hundreds; and of hundreds into tithings. Tithings are so called because composed of ten freeholders with their families. They were instituted to prevent by recognizance or punishment, rapines and disorders in the realm. In each tithing, ten families were associated politically. They dwelt locally together, and were sureties or pledges to the sovereign for the good-behavior of each other. They were bound to have offenders forthcoming. Of the inhabitants, one of the principal men, by supposition the discreetest in the tithing or association, presided over the rest.

As ten families made a tithing; so ten tithings, a hundred. This was governed by a high constable: and a hundred court for the trial of causes, was formerly held.

Divisions of this nature seem to have obtained in England, Denmark, France, and ancient Germany. They were set on foot, to oblige each district to answer for robberies in its own district. In England, the liability of the hundred, in certain cases, to make good to the injured party, wrongful loss or injury, is traceable to the law of frankpledge. Such, the system for civil administration of laws, completed by King Alfred. By this method, the persons of the executive department are both the official and the inofficial. These are the people; those, the magistrates. Tithing men and high constables are magistrates. Hundredors and tithing families are people; they are inofficial. Their economic interest for the execution of laws, was the fear of loss. They were responsible in damages for wrongs within their jurisdictions. In case of laches on the part of the association, this loss for damages was divided, and his rate levied on each. The im-

plement for the prevention of wrong, was the fear of this special loss.

Early Saxon laws provide another method for prevention of wrongs. It was not directly preventive; it was punitive. This was the method of Weregilds. Weregilds were punitive damages to the wrongee or his family. They were paid by the wronger. Fear of loss was the implement to prevent others by the example of one. The weregild was nothing other than a fine. This method is fundamental to the English Common-Law.

Another method for the execution of laws by prevention of their infraction, was to compel suspected persons to give security. This was effected by binding them in a conditional recognizance. To keep the peace and to be of the good behavior, were the conditions of the recognizance. This is the method of Special Security. Under King Alfred's institution of frankpledge, tithing-responsibility or association-liability, the whole neighborhood, tithing or association, were mutually pledges for each other's good behavior. This method of general securities has in England, been in part superseded. In its stead, has been instituted the method of special or particular securities. This is the compulsion of suspectees to give special security for future good conduct. But by this method suspected persons are not always under security. Security cannot be required, except for cause shown, or at the discretion of a conservator of the peace. Otherwise, there is an intermission of special security.

Of this special security, the penalty was, in case of breach of recognizance, pecuniary damages or atonement in property. The security was for the benefit of the public generally, and specially of the potential wrongee.

By this method, the number of persons directly interested in the execution of laws, is lessened. But the interest is increased.

The interest of securities was to remove the causes of crime or to prevent their effect. This, whether the security was general or special. In the method of recognizances, the special securities are obligees. They cannot be enforced to obligate themselves. The creation of their obligation is voluntary, or optional. If the suspectee procures no security, he is committed to prison. This is security of the public at the public's expense.



CHAPTER IV.

IN warrantee governments, the power of the executive department is the greatest number, with the greatest interest and the greatest wealth. Its executive department is in its essentials, perfect. It is susceptible of all the methods of the free-labor system. This system has no method which is not equally natural to warranteeism. But warranteeism has methods peculiar to itself. It combines and perfects the three methods of general securities, of special securities, and of weregilds. It obtains the greatest number of magistrates, the greatest interest, and the greatest wealth. This, its obtention for the execution of laws. It provides for legislation, goodness and wisdom; and for execution, goodness and power.

The execution of laws is an effect. Of human acts or

effects, the antecedents are mental and material, or physical and metaphysical. Desire, conception, and volition are mental antecedents. Wrongs or violations of law are also acts. Their mental antecedents are likewise desire, conception, and volition. The physical antecedents of an act are ability. This ability is both subjective and objective. Opportunity is objective ability. If therefore, a man conceives a wrong, desires a wrong, and has the ability; the wrong will be effected: the consequences will follow the antecedents: the effect, the causes.

For the execution of laws therefore, the desire, conception, and ability must be sufficient. For the prevention of wrongs, the societary desire, conception, and ability must not be deficient. The societary organization must therefore, eliminate the antecedents of wrongs.

Promulgation is for the conception, understanding, or knowledge of laws. Capital is an element of ability. Magistrates are another element. The elimination of the desire of wrong is by two methods. One is the elimination of the causes of desire, as criminal want or malicious anger. The other method, is the elimination of desire by fear. This method envelopes the effects of desire; that, the causes. Responsibility to loss, privation or punishment, is the means of producing fear. This responsibility may be moral, economic, esthetic, or political. It may be the privation damage or loss of property, power, enjoyment, or reputation. The responsibility also, may be general or special: of one or of many persons.

The relation of warranteeism to the executive department of government is both (1), Political and (2), Economic. Its political methods may be any of which free-labor governments are susceptible. Its economic are in cumulation of

its political methods. Warranteeism actualizes an economic method which corresponds to King Alfred's political method for the execution of laws. This is the method of general security. Warranteeism actualizes the method of special securities, and the Saxon method of weregilds. All these are in cumulation of any political methods, and result from the economic nature of warranteeism.

CHAPTER V.

IN warranteeism, if a warrantee commits a wrong, he himself is answerable. He is duly punishable according to law. If his punishment is death, he dies: if imprisonment, he is imprisoned: if stripes, he is lashed. He is thus responsible. He does wrong; is punished; and the punishment is for amendment, example, or disability. But for the wrong, the responsibility is not limited to the wronger. The warrantor also answers. He is specially responsible for the warrantee's wrong. For if the warrantee is capitally punished; the warrantor loses the capital invested in the warrantee's labor-obligation; and its interest. This is a total loss. In some States, it is divided. The State in part indemnifies the warrantor. This, for equity. If the warrantee is imprisoned; the warrantor loses the interest on his capital. This interest is the profit of the laborer's service. If the wrong is not a high crime, but is punishable by stripes or other such bodily pain; the warrantor's loss is the depreciation of the warrantee's labor-obligation and his profitableness. For

crime depreciates. Criminals are less valuable. Wrongdoers are also disorderly. The warrantor loses by the disorderliness of the warrantee. Therefore, for the wrongs of the warrantee, both warrantee and warrantor directly suffer. The warrantor is hence obliged to prevent wrongs by warrantees. The one is special security for the others. The warrantor is responsible in his property. He loses by the warrantee's wrong: he is mulcted. The loss is nothing other than a fine. This fine is a weregild, paid to none and lost to the warrantor. It is not an indemnifying but a preventive weregild. As such, it is efficient. If the wrong is also punished by an express fine for the benefit of the State or the informer; the fine is paid by the warrantor. This is an indemnifying weregild.

Public wrongs are also private wrongs. They are offences as well against individuals as against the State. When therefore a warrantee commits a public wrong; he commits a private wrong. These are remediable by private suit for damages. If damages are recovered, they are not paid by the warrantee. Warrantees are simple-laborers; and simple-laborers' means of paying are their wages only. Capital is not in their class, and reduction of wages is want. This is inexpedient. Damages therefore for wrong by warrantee are not paid by him. They are paid by the warrantee association. The association is responsible for warrantees' wrongs. It answers in its property: and is by this property-responsibility, a general security against wrongs.

The persons of the association are of two kinds. They are the warrantor and the warrantees. How the damages for a warrantee's wrong, ought to be divided amongst the associates is not well-settled. The damages must be paid

either by capital, by wages, or by both. Whether the capitalist's or warrantor's loss as special security, is sufficient in justice, to relieve him from the damages paid by the general association, is not yet established. The rule now is that the warrantor as fiscal head of the association satisfies all judgments against the association. But whether in the distribution of wages he would have the right to deduct to his own credit, the whole amount paid as damages for a warrantee's wrong; is not yet ruled. It seems that he would, because he ought not to suffer both as a special and a general security. This, in theory only: for in practice now, the loss falls altogether on the warrantor. He does not now reduce wages, because the standard of justice wages now, is at the standard of comfortable sufficiency, and to lower it, would be an economic loss. These damages are paid to the wrongee. They are a weregild, both indemnifying and preventive.

In warranteeism therefore, a wrong by a warrantee is a loss to both the warrantor, specially; and the warrantees, generally. They are responsible, and the criminal is responsible. Warranteeism therefore actualizes a triple responsibility for wrongs. Its securities are cumulative. The capitalist is responsible, and the association is responsible. This is in cumulation of any methods of political responsibility. It is a method peculiar to the economic system of warranteeism. The association is a tithing or hundred. The warrantors are tithing-men or high-constables. They are securities that the warrantees of the association keep the peace and be of the good behavior. The warrantees are hundredors and frankpledges: they are a general security for each other.

Such, the executive methods of warranteeism. Security

both general and special, is actualized. This obtains the interest or desire to prevent wrongs. And for personal power, warrantecism actualizes a perfect magistracy. These are the warrantors. They are the State's economic High-constabulary. They are executives, whose number adapts itself to the need. The officials and inofficials are associates in their responsibility. By the magisteriality of the masters, or officiality of the warrantors, the State realizes an executive power peculiar to warrantecism alone.

CHAPTER VI.

THE execution of laws is a product. All production is by power ordered. Persons and things are power. These are capital; those, laborers. For any production, they must be associated, adapted and regulated. The execution of laws, is, like any other artificial production, an economic process. It is subject to the laws of economy. In a perfect civil organization therefore, the methods of executing laws, must pursue economic rules.

In the economic execution of laws, the magistrates are the laborers. They are the animate powers. They are the producers. But for production, capital must be associated with labor. In warrantecism, therefore, what are the methods for supplying to the State, a sufficiency of capital? In a perfect executive department, sufficient numbers have a sufficient desire, and sufficient wealth or capital to execute the laws. Warrantecism obtains sufficient numbers, with sufficient desire. It also supplies suf-

ficient capital. This supply is economic. It pursues rules which exhibit what is economically right, and prohibit what is economically wrong.

In every State, the product of labor and capital, is divided into three shares. One share is distributed to the capitalist; one, to the laborers; and one, to the State. The tribute, tax, or share of the State, is assessed and collected by the State. The capital by which the State works, is this tribute. Economically, therefore, it ought to be sufficient: it ought not to be superfluous; neither ought it to be deficient.

In a government, all contribute to the government. The whole produce of society is divided between the three parties; the State, the laborers, and the capitalist. Everybody is taxed. All are beneficiaries: all ought to pay for their benefit. This is just. Everybody ought therefore to have the ability to contribute. Each man ought to have sufficient to pay his taxes. For government is one of each man's necessities, and ought to be justly supported.

And because in a government everybody should be taxed according to justice; the contributors to the State who are the taxees, must be of three classes. These are the simple-mentalists, the manual-mentalists, and the simple-manualists. They are the taxees. Their taxes ought therefore to be warranted to the State. The wealth of the State is not in the class of simple-manualists. It resides in the other classes. The wages of the simple manualist are his only ability to pay taxes. If therefore, the wages of the simple-laborer, are at the standard of comfort, they cannot be reduced. Reduction is want unhealthy, criminal, or mortal. This is against the first

end of society. He therefore cannot pay his tax, and societary progress is essential.

In the warrantee system, the taxes of the simple-manualist or warrantee, are warranted to the State. Taxes are an element of the warrantee's wages. The capitalist pays. These taxes do not lower the standard of comfortable sufficiency. They are always over and above that. Whatever is the burden, it never crushes the laborer. He is both warranted his taxes, and warranted against want.

The collection of taxes ought to be economic. This collection also, is production. Labor and capital are the means. These ought to be the least possible for sufficiency. More than this is loss; and to be reformed. In collection the parties or persons are the, (1), Collectors and the (2), Collectees. In free-labor States, the collectees are two classes; they are both laborers and capitalists. The capitalists are few; the laborers, many. In warrantee States, the collectees are not two classes. They are one only; and that, the small class. In warranteeism, the warrantors pay the taxes. The warrantors are the fiscal heads of the associations. The head pays for the members; one pays for many. The many are taxees; the few, collectees. The collection is economized. Labor is divided; the operation is shortened. Association lessens the labor and expense of collection. Association expedites.

CHAPTER VII.

PROMULGATION of laws is a means of execution. Laws must be learned before obeyed. Conception precedes action. Promulgation is therefore essential to execution. If this is perfect; that must be perfect. Promulgation must therefore be produced. To this production, the parties are two. These are the (1), Promulgers and the (2), Promulgees. Promulgees are the three economic classes of society. These, are the simple-mentalists, manual-mentalists, and simple-manualists. In free-labor States, the promulgers are the political magistrates. But in warrantee States, the promulgers are both the economic and the political, magistrates. Warrantors are also officers for the promulgation of the laws. Whatever statutes concern their warranty; it is their duty to make known; so that none shall, from ignorance, be violated. It is the warrantor's duty to proclaim public statutes prohibiting to warrantees what is wrong and commanding what is right. To this duty warrantors are enforced. Their responsibility in law for wrongs by warrantees, is the means of enforcement. They forego promulgation at their peril. The head of the warrantee association, learns and teaches the laws. One acts for many. Promulgation is produced. Its production is the cheapest possible. Neither the capital nor the labor, are contributed by the State. Association economizes promulgation. Warranteeism supplies an efficient body of promulgers for the class of warrantee simple-manualists. This supply is self-adapting, self-regulating, and self-producing. The State does not contribute to it, either capital

or labor. It is in cumulation of promulgation by political magistrates; and the promulgation is both from the economic interest of warrantors, and the political duty of the other magistrates.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE executive department of a State is not civil only. It is both civil and military. What therefore is the Military Expediency of warranteeism? What is its adaptation to raise and support an armament duly qualified?

Military execution is like any other execution, a product. The elements of all production, are power and order. Labor and capital must be therefore associated, adapted and regulated for military execution. The quantity and quality of military means, must be sufficient and proper. So, the quantity and quality of military capital. Military wisdom also, must be sufficient.

Military capital is for the wages, the subsistence, and the other supplies of the military laborers or soldiers.

Military persons are of three kinds. They are simple-mentalists or orderers, manual-mentalists, or simple-manualists. Of an army, the simple-manualists are those laborers who are not skilled or trained. They do work which requires no military qualification.

A warrantee State can supply for military duty, nearly the whole of its sovereign people, if its warranteeism is that with the ethnical qualification. These are either simple-mentalists or manual-mentalists. Warranteeism with

the ethnical qualification, supplies armies of thinking men. They are also sovereign men. They are of the classes which hold the wealth and command of the State. Their interest or desire for the defence of the State is a function of these. They are by the necessity of their callings, intelligent. Each soldier has a home reputation; intelligent soldiers with a personal reputation, are the most efficient. They are accustomed to orderliness. This is essential to warranteeism. Skill in horsemanship, and the use of weapons, is natural although not essential to warranteeism.

If the military service demands in an emergency, more than the sovereign people; warranteeism with the ethnical qualification, supplies associated sub-sovereign warrantees. These although of another race, are one in interest with the sovereign people. If they are not adapted to trained military service; they may be employed as the simple-laborers of the army. This labor is necessary and must be done by either the sovereign or the sub-sovereign race.

For military wisdom, warranteeism supplies the whole body of the sovereign people. They are the State.

For military capital, warrantee Commonwealths continue whether during war or peace, their economic production. War does not check warrantee production. Warrantees continue their labor. Only superintendents or orderers are needed. If the production is simple, if it is ordinary husbandry, old men, minors, and women superintend. They are sufficient. In warranteeism with the ethnical qualification, the sub-sovereigns can in war carry on the ordinary production of peace. The military State and the economic State are allied. They are not antagonistic. Capital is produced as fast as consumed. Laborers are not mate-

rially lessened. Subsistence is supplied; and the supply, uninterrupted.

Warrantee societies have more military expediency than a free-labor society; because their societary association, adaptation, and regulation are greater. The diversity of races in warrantee societies with the ethnical qualification, is not a military disadvantage. There is no danger in the black race. Every country has its mob. The African people are the most manageable of all mobs. They are orderly from both instinct, habit, and tradition. In the division of societary labor, they are not fighters; they are workers. They have no military organization. The sovereign people have. They fight. They are drilled and banded. Sovereigns thus in tens, can govern sub-sovereigns in thousands. A white regiment can keep the peace of a black nation. In time of war, boys, women, and superannuated soldiers can guard the rural districts of warrantee commonwealths; and then as now, house-doors may stand ajar all night.

CHAPTER IX.

CAPITAL is not necessary for the military execution of laws, only. It is essential to civil execution. Order and personal power only, are insufficient.

In a State, laws for the public peace, public industry, public subsistence, and public health, are fundamental. They are means to the first end of society; they are organic. These laws ought therefore, to be legislatively perfect. That should be the intention of the State. Their execution

also, ought to be perfect. That should be the obtention of the State.

Warranteeism is a contrivance for the execution of these fundamental laws. It is the necessary expedient for the existence of all.

Of public industry, the rule is that all ought to work. Its end is the subsistence of all by the industry of all; consumption for all, from production by all. Idleness, mendicancy, and vagrancy, ought therefore, to be eliminated. They are wrong. Idleness is a crime, and the dam of crimes. No subsistee ought to be an idler. Everybody ought to work. Every man should be either a mentalist or a manualist. This should not be the State's intention only; it should be the State's obtention; not its ideality, but its verballity; not its legislation, but its execution. There ought to be no mendicants, no vagrants, no idlers. This is the fundamental rule of warranteeism.

In warranteeism, are three economic classes. These are the class of simple-mentalists, the class of manual-mentalists, and the class of simple-manualists. In warranteeism with the ethnical qualification, the class of simple-manualists are civilly enforced to labor. They put on capital its first values; they begin production. The other two classes perfect it. They put on capital its complete values. The enforcement of the first class is therefore, the enforcement of all classes. For, the production begun by one class must be perfected by the other classes. If not, it is loss. This falls on the two classes of simple and manual-mentalists. Capital belongs to these classes. The simple-manualists are not capitalists; they get wages only. Loss of capital is not their loss. One class is

therefore, civilly enforced to labor; and the others, economically enforced.

But production is by labor associated with capital. Without both, is no produce. There must therefore, be always sufficient capital for the laborers of the State. Otherwise, idleness is unshunnable. Men cannot work, without something to work on. For the execution therefore, of the law of public industry, statutory prohibition of idleness, is insufficient. Capital must be supplied. This supply must be sufficient. There must be executed, in every State, a systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital. This must not be the legislation; it must be the execution, obtention, and reality. Without this, public industry fails; and mendicancy, vagrancy, and idleness cannot be eliminated. The quantity of capital, is not adaptable. The quantity of laborers is adaptable. They may be increased or decreased. They are by nature circulatory. Wherever therefore, a laborer is; capital ought to be. Laborers ought to be adscripts of capital. For this, their labor-obligations ought to be capitalized. That is the only method to execute the systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital. This is the method of warranteeism. This, its expedient to execute the law of public industry. Warranteeism is vagrancy organized; mendicancy orderly and productive. Its idlers are industrialized. There are no beggars, or vagabonds. There are no rags in warranteeism. All work; none are idle. There are no loiterers. Capitalists idle, under penalty of loss of capital. Skilled-laborers are a thinking class. Thinking men are not vagrants.

In free-labor States, the prevention of idleness is political. Political prevention is impossible. In warrantee

States, it is both political and economic. In this system, idleness is a crime which is prevented; in that system, idleness is a crime which is punished. But the prevention is productive; and the punishment, consumptive. In one system, public industry is executed; in the other, legislated only; because it has no method of systematic quantitative adaptation; and without this, execution fails. In free-labor systems, laborers are economically free to be idle; in warranteeism, they are economically and politically ordered to be industrious. One system is efficient, because orderly; the other deficient, because licentious. In free-labor States, the poor-law establishment is the civil supplement of an economic deficiency. In warranteeism, there is no deficiency. There are no paupers. There are no poor classes. One class has capital: and another competence. All have sufficiency. Want is unknown and eliminated.

CHAPTER X.

PRODUCTION is by industry: subsistence, by distribution. Warranteeism is an expedient for the subsistence of all. By its method, capitalists and laborers are syntonistic. Laborers are a treasure to the capitalist. Loss or damage of one, is loss or damage to the other. The distribution of products is not accidental or free. It is ordered and essential. The State or function of justice, adjudicates wages. It distributes. The least wages are always a

comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. The interest and the justice of the capitalist, are syntagonistic. Subsistence is warranted. The warrantee is never in want. He is warranted against want. Pauperism is eliminated.

In the free-labor system, wages vary: they increase and decrease. This variation is free. But pauperism is, by necessity, from wages free to vary below the standard of comfortable sufficiency. Variations ought to be only above this: wages ought not to descend below. This can be by no other method than systematic quantitative adaptation; and this, only by capitalization of labor-obligations. Poverty otherwise, is unshunnable. But nobody ought to be poor. There ought to be a competence for all. Warranteeism is a contrivance to procure a competence for everybody. It actualizes this competence, and is progressive. It distributes to warrantees a comfortable sufficiency not for strength only, but for health. Warranteeism is not political and economic only. It is hygienic. This also is its essence. It warrants the necessities of health. It is both curative and preventive. These fundamental laws of public subsistence, public health, and public industry, it executes by the only possible method. That method is the capitalization of labor-obligations, or the treasuring of laborers. This is the only possible expedient. Warranteeism actualizes it.

But the State must actualize as well the security as the subsistence of all. The public peace must be kept. That is a fundamental law. Its execution must be warranted.

The elimination of the desire of wrong, is by two methods. One is the elimination of the direct causes of desire, as criminal want or malicious anger. The other is

the elimination of desire by fear. This method is political.

Of the causes of the desire of crime, a large class are economic. Want causes crime. The largest number of criminals are the needy. Idleness also, causes crime. So also intemperance. The warrantee economic system eliminates these three causes of crime. In warranteeism, there is neither want nor idleness. Wages are not paid in currency. Such payment is accidental. Wages are distributed in necessities. Intemperance and its consequences are thus economically eliminated. In cumulation of these methods, are those of general and special securities; and other methods in their nature, political. Crime from economic causes is eliminated; the peace is unbroken. Breaches of the peace, are from accidental causes. In warranteeism, there are no strikes, riots or rebellions, because there is no cause for them. They are not desired; for the causes of desire are eliminated. Rebellion in warrantee States therefore, is never from economic causes. If at all; it is from religious or political influences. But these are not peculiar to warranteeism.

Such therefore, is the civil expediency of warranteeism.

CHAPTER XI.

SOCIETY is an organization, or an adaptation of means to ends. The first end is the existence of all. The second end is the progress of all. Systems compose organizations. Of a perfect society organization, the components are perfect systems. These systems are the economic, the political, the hygienic, the ethical, the religious, the philosophic, and the esthetic. They are seven: each a necessary expedient to the ends of the society organization. The perfection of this, is by the perfection of those.

The two forms of society organization, are the free sovereign, and the ordered sovereign, or warranted. Each form is its performance. What therefore, is their comparative expediency? What is their comparative achievement? What is their comparative fulfilment of the ends of society? What is the comparative sociological condition of their systems? What is the comparative obtention, actualization, execution, performance, or realization of each form?

Warranteeism actualizes the first end of society, and is progressive. It achieves the healthy existence of all. To this, three warranted or ordered systems are necessary. These are the Political, the Economic, and the Hygienic. Warranteeism realizes them. In these systems, power and order are warranted. Order is public. It is ordained and established. Necessary association, adaptation and regulation are instituted. They are not accidental: they are essential.

In the economic system, production is orderly. Systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital, is war-

ranted. Laborers are adaptable. They are associated. They are regular. Economic irregularities are eliminated or accidental. Laborers never want work. If they do; provision for its supply is warranted. The laborer is appreciated. He is a material product. His aggregate and local production, and the values therefrom; are warranted. Strikes and idleness are eliminated. Capitalists can procure laborers; and laborers, capitalists. Laborers are never out of employment. If there is no demand; they are circulated to the place of demand. They are adscripts of capital. The productive department of the economic system, is in its essentials, perfect.

In the distribution of the warrantee economy, the distributor is the State or function of justice. Wages are warranted. Their quantity is essentially just. They continue for life, during both efficiency and inefficiency. Wages are variable, but these variations are never below the standard of comfortable sufficiency of necessities. Want is eliminated. There are no poor: all have competence.

In the department of consumption, consumables sufficient for the reproduction of all are warranted. Every laborer has a sufficient supply of consumables. There is neither consumptive nor unproductive waste. Consumption is associate and regular. Laborers are not consumed: they are preserved: they are treasured. The preservation is by preservation-interest, intelligence, and capital. Capital is supplied for the laborers' preservation. The capitalists preservation-interest in the laborer is warranted. Capital and labor, are syntonistic. A laborer does not divide his subsistence with wife and children. This is needless. The subsistence of all is warranted to all.

The hygienic system of warranteeism is so methodized, that hygienic necessities are warranted. Hygienic power and order, are warranted. This system is both preventive and curative.

Amalgamation of races is systematically suppressed. Caste for the purity and progress of races, is actualized. The purity of the females of one race, is systematically preserved. Association adaptable to the execution of hygienic rules, is established.

In the warrantee political system, justice and expediency are actualized. Injustice is accidental. It is eliminated by progress. All have substantially their rights. The sovereignty of one race, and the subsovereignty of the other, are morally commanded. This command is executed.

The maximum of civil power, wisdom and goodness, is realized. All of one race, are thinkers. This, by their vocation. They are mentalists. Crime from economic causes, is eliminated. The fundamental laws for the public peace, public health, public industry and public subsistence, are executed. The executive department combines the greatest number of magistrates, with the greatest desire, and the greatest ability. In the legislative department, all are represented; and the representation is efficient.

CHAPTER XII.

IN the economic system of the Free-labor form of societary organization, order is not ordained and established. Association, adaptation, and regulation are free. They are not essential; they are accidental. They are not fundamental. They are not publicly instituted. The relation of capitalist and laborer, or of master and servant, is private. Their interests are not syntagonistic.

Systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital, is not actualized. Laborers are not appreciated. They have not the value produced by circulation; the value of local production from where they are not in demand to where they are. To the capitalists, superfluency or excess of laborers, is desirable; because more than a sufficiency, is more orderly.

Distribution is not by the function of justice or the State. It is accidental. The distributor may be either the capitalist or the laborer. Their interests are antagonistic. Their antagonisms are not equipollent. Injustice is actualized. Wages may vary below the standard of comfortable sufficiency. Inefficients are not warranted subsistence. None are warranted. Want is not eliminated. Wages are variable to unhealthy, criminal, and mortal want. The young, the old, and other inefficients are supported not by the capital of capitalists, but by the wages of the laborers. The amount of these wages, is not adapted to the amount of the consumers; there is no discrimination. Pauperism is not eliminated.

The consumption of laborers is not the least possible.

The capitalist has no preservation-interest in the laborer. Loss of a laborer is not the capitalist's loss.

Subsistence is not warranted to the laborers; neither is work or the means of subsistence.

In the Free-labor hygienic system, hygienic necessities are not an element of laborers' wages. Capital is not supplied for the production of his health. The capitalist is not hygienically syntagonistic. Medicine, medical attendance, nursing, and therapeutical necessities, are not warranted to laborers. They are not treasured. Their sickness or death, is not a direct economic injury to the capitalist.

In the Free-labor political system, the interests of classes are not syntagonistic. Taxes are not an element of wages paid by the capitalist. Crime from economic causes, is not eliminated. There are no economic methods, for the prevention of offences. There are no economic general and special securities. The magistracy are expensive and political only. The rich and poor, conflict. Agrarianism is not eliminated. The fundamental laws for the public health, public peace, public industry and public subsistence, are not executed. The interest is deficient, and the order. Strikes and riots are not eliminated. The expediciencies of the political system, are political only; the economic system is not civilly ordained and established. It is not a civil implement.

Both Free-labor and Warrantee forms of society, are progressive. Free-labor progress is a progress by antagonisms. Warrantee progress is a progress by syntagonisms. The Free-labor form of society, must be abolished; it must progress to the form of mutual-insurance or warranteeism. It must progress from immunity to community. It must

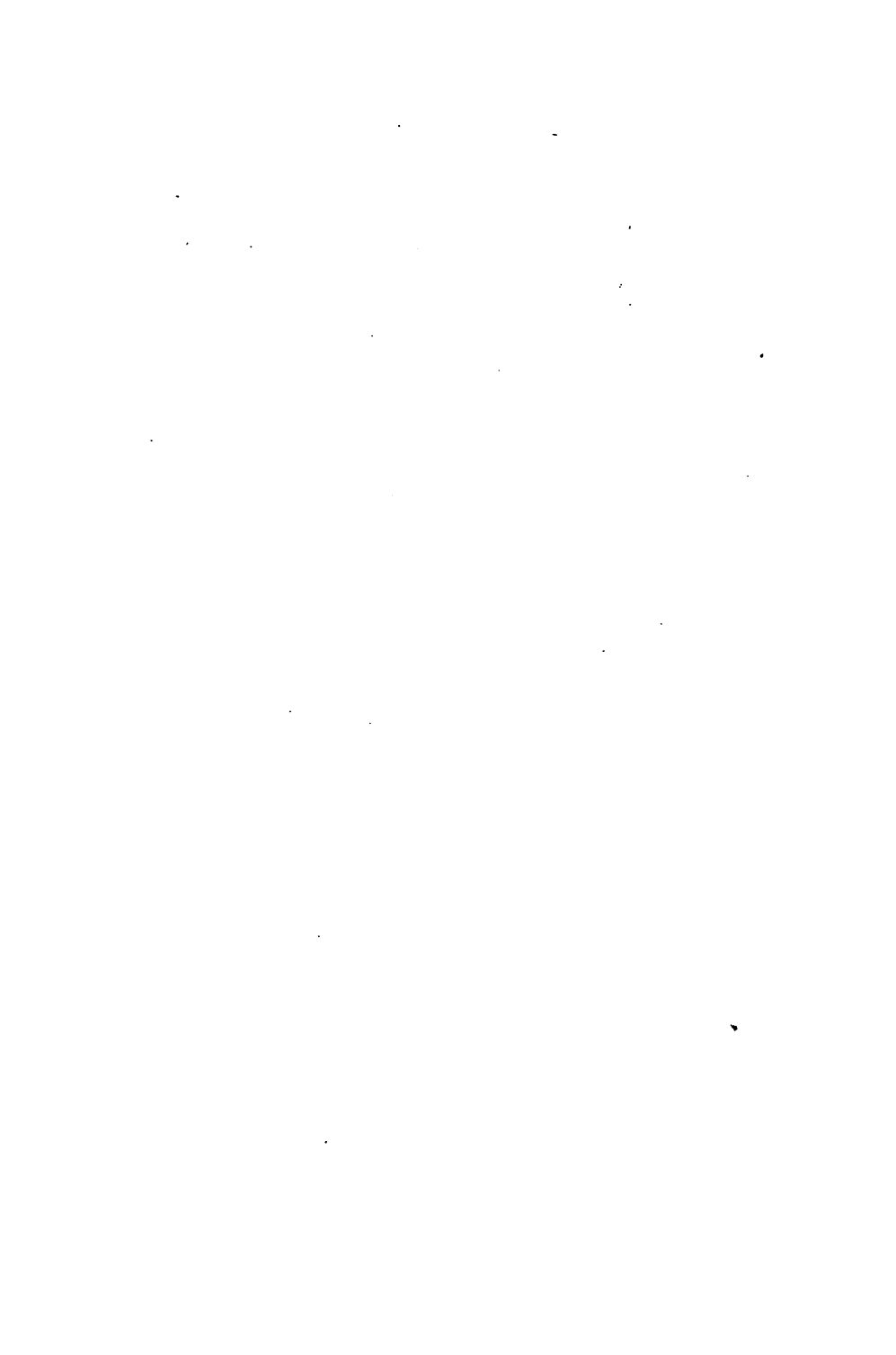
necessitate association. It must warrant the existence and progress of all. Men must not be free-laborers; they must be LIBERTY-LABORERS. LIBERTY-LABOR MUST BE THE SUBSTITUTE OF FREE-LABOR. That must be abolished. But the abolition must not be sudden, or disorderly. It must not be that kind of abolition, which is mere destruction. It must be canonical. It must be humane, just, truthful, pure, and orderly; the envelopment of the evil, by the development of the good.

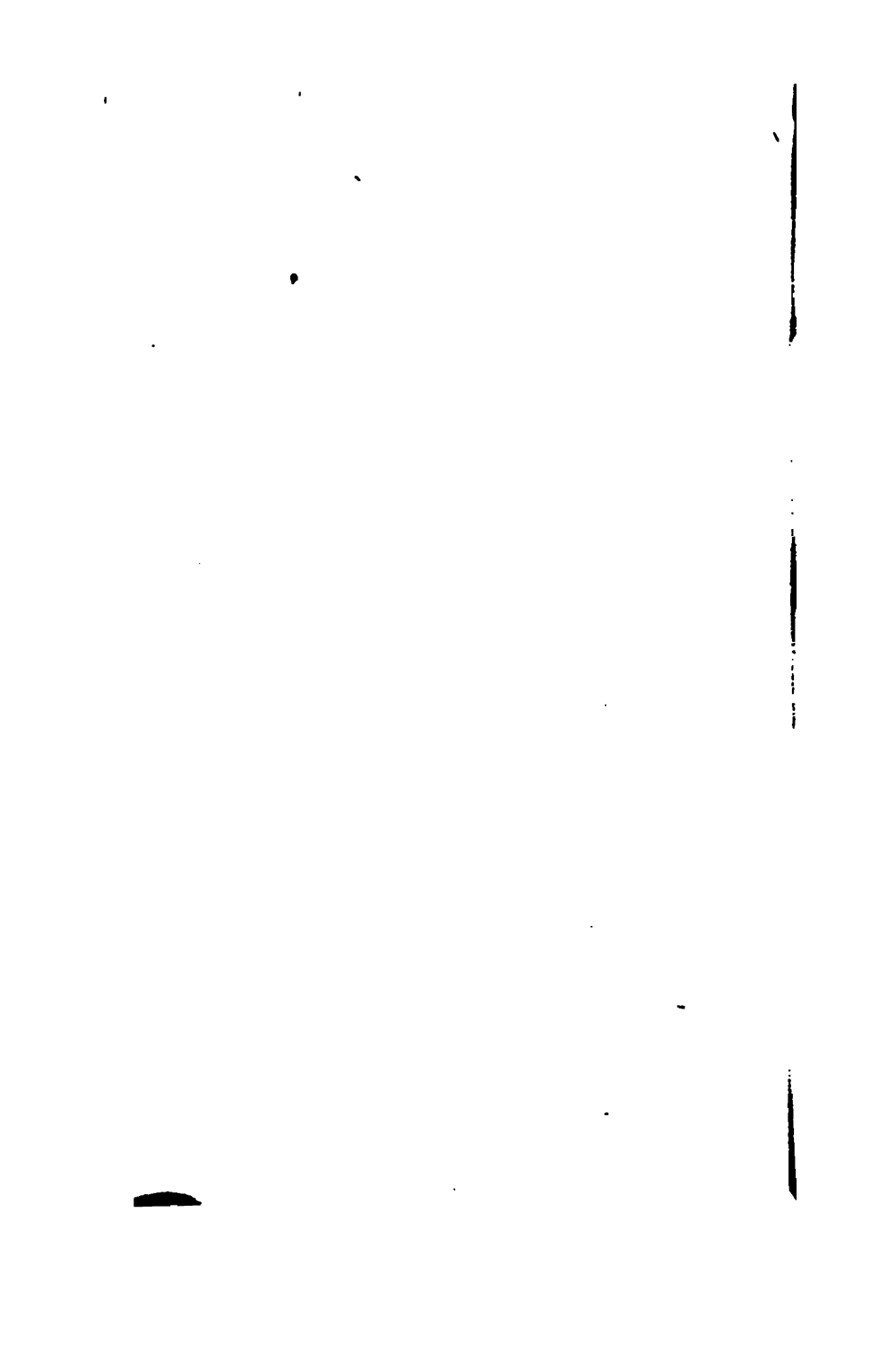
The economic system in the United States South, is not slavery. IT IS WARRANTEISM WITH THE ETHNICAL QUALIFICATION. It is just. It is expedient. It is progressive. It does not progress by antagonisms. It progresses by syntagonisms. It is in no way slavery. Religiously, it is Ebedism; economically, Warranteism. The consummation of its progress, is the perfection of society.

AND when in other generations, this progress, which is now a conception and a hope of all, shall be a memory and a fact; when what is now in the future, shall be in the present or the past; when the budding poetry of the all-hoping sociologist, shall ripen to a fruitful history; that history will be thrice felicitous; for it shall unroll the trophied poem, the rhapsody of a progress epic in its grandeur; pastoral in its peace; and lyric in its harmony. Such shall be its fulfilment. And then on leagued plantations over the sun-sceptred zone's crop-jeweled length, myriad eyes, both night-faced and morning-cheeked, shall brighten still the patriot's student glance and fondly pore upon the full-grown and fate-favored wonder, of a Federal banner in whose

woven sky of ensign orbs, shall be good stars only, in such happy constellations that their bonds and beams, will be sweeter than the sweet influences of the Pleiades, and stronger than the bands of Orion ; unbroken constellations—a symbol sky—a heaven which also, shall declare the glory of God, and a firmament which shall show His handiwork. Then, in the plump flush of full-feeding health, the happy warrantees shall banquet in PLANTATION-REFECTORIES ; worship in PLANTATION-CHAPELS ; learn in PLANTATION-SCHOOLS ; or, in PLANTATION-SALOONS, at the cool of evening, or in the green and bloomy gloom of cold catalpas and magnolias, chant old songs, tell tales ; or, to the metred rattle of chattering castanets, or flutes, or rumbling tamborines, dance down the moon and evening star ; and after slumbers in PLANTATION-DORMITORIES, over whose gates Health and Rest sit smiling at the feet of Wealth and Labor, rise at the music-crowing of the morning-conchs, to begin again welcome days of jocund toil, in reeling fields, where, weak with laughter and her load, Plenty yearly falls, gives up, and splits her o'erstuffed horn, and where behind twin Interest's double throne, Justice stands at reckoning dusk, and rules supreme. When these and more than these, shall be the fulfilment of Warranteeism ; then shall this Federation and the World, praise the power, wisdom, and goodness of a system, which may well be deemed divine ; then shall Experience aid Philosophy, and VINDICATE THE WAYS OF GOD, TO MAN.

THE END.











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