

HN 64
.M53
Copy 1

ELABORATED IN 1860. WRITTEN AND



The Crowned Republic;

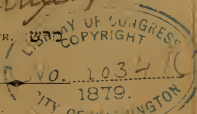
OR,

The New Demands of Scientific
Knowledge, Association, AND Industry.

Is it possible to secure
Personal Freedom, Social Unity, and Universal Wealth?

Merton (Arthur)

BY DR.



PUBLISHED BY THE WORKERS,
NO. 2, GRANVILLE PLACE, BOSTON.
1879.



COPYRIGHTED BY ARTHUR MERTON. IN 1879.



HNG 4
M 53

THE CROWNED REPUBLIC.



DEMANDS OF TO-DAY.

Knowledge and Labor are the arms and hands with which the world's work is done. The noble faculty of Inventive Reason has opened new fields of knowledge and multiplied new instruments of labor, until it has raised the labor value of man immensely above that of his primitive condition. It has lifted man from the poverty of barbarism to the wealth of civilization.

In our own age, the steam engine of Watt, the machines of Arkwright, and the telegraph of Morse, have revolutionized the industry of the world. They have not simply increased enormously our aggregate wealth. In doing this, they have displaced muscular labor by brain labor. So that one man, by machinery, can now do the labor which required from fifty to four hundred men, one hundred years ago.

But this vast increase of productive power has not lessened the number of persons who directly suffer the terrible evils of abject poverty. On the contrary, in America, in England, and in other countries, it has thrown millions of laborers out of employment, and the just discontent of these threatens the very existence and stability of civil society itself.

These stern facts have aroused the fears, and now engage the attention, of the best and ablest minds among our statesmen and scientific men. And the answer which they have found for this demand is clear and decisive. WE MUST ORGANIZE OUR INDUSTRIES AND ADJUST PRODUCTIVE LABOR AND DISTRIBUTION TO THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF INVENTIVE KNOWLEDGE. It was once thought and hoped by political economists that "these things would adjust themselves." But time has fearfully proved the folly and fatality of such a hope.

The author of this essay has no mere speculations to offer. The principles here to be advanced, and the methods here proposed, rest upon the sure basis of well-observed facts, and upon the conclusive demonstrations of science. If the principles and methods are new and untried, let us remember that only a few years ago the steam engine, the railway, and the telegraph, were equally new. Let us first prove whether they are *true* principles and methods. That point once decided, the question of whether they are *practical*, is fairly answered; for all truth is practical, if a wise God is its author.

The evils of society have a growth of six thousand years. They have extended through every part of the social fabric. Any remedy to be effectual must be complete, and not a partial expedient.

"There are three great elements of human progress," says Goldwin Smith. "These are the intellectual, the moral, and the productive; or Knowledge, Virtue, and Industry." What relation do these three elements bear to each other, and why have they not been long since understood and adjusted? In the answer to these questions lies the solution of our great problem.

THE ARCHETYPE OF SOCIETY.

If Virtue is the heart of Human Society, then its guiding brain is Knowledge, and its producing hand is Industry. Can the brain act without blood from the heart, or the hands produce without knowledge from the brain? The three are vitally inter-dependent. Why then should we organize knowledge, as we have partly done in our system of education, and yet leave industry at loose ends, the hapless prey of chance or of cupidity? To answer this, we must examine the very structure and fundamental plan of civil society.

Foundations.—"The true and natural foundations of human society are the wants of individuals," says Sir William Blackstone. Is there any way by which we can get at a systematic and complete list of these wants? If there is, then we can at once decide whether the institutions and government of society rest upon all of the necessary foundations, and what changes and practical steps are required.

Source of Wants.—The answer is clear. OUR WANTS ARISE FROM THE ORGANS OF THE BODY AND THE FACULTIES OF THE MIND. Thus, in the body, the stomach requires food and the eye requires light. And so of the mind. The Intellectual faculties require knowledge; the Social faculties require organized society, and the faculties of Volition require industry. Each mental faculty gives rise to collective wants which absolutely require for their gratification the concerted action of many persons in the form of organized society.

Three-fold Division.—All scientific men of the present day divide the mental faculties into three great classes. These are Intellect, Affection, and

Volition; or in older terms, Wisdom, Love, and Will. The great divisions of the wants of society are, therefore, Intellectual, Social, and Industrial, as already expressed above by Goldwin Smith.

The Intellect gathers knowledge, discovers science, and invents the instruments and means of labor. Industry applies all these in producing and distributing the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life. Both Knowledge and Industry equally sustain the Social life of the people, which is always the vital center.

Hence we see that from the Nation down to the Town, the three great departments of civil life and government should be Intellectual, Social, and Industrial. And they should be so organized that their mutual dependence and coöperation shall always be secured, as the Creator intended.

If the statesmen of civilization had been guided by science instead of imitating the surface facts of history, then they would not have made the three departments of government to be Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. For these do not express the great classes of wants which now exist in civilized society. They were better adapted to ancient times, when war was the trade of nations, and national robbery was the pastime of rulers.

Paternalism.—When the politician says that “the function of government should be limited to protection and defense,” he proves himself utterly blind to the greatest fact of modern civilization. For he does not see that the collective life of a nation is a unit consisting of a great number of mutually and closely dependent parts, and that its government is the only thing that should and can express the unity and coöperation of these parts.

But it has been objected, "This would make the government too 'paternal' in its character." Those who raise this cry are quite willing that government should possess the mailed and bloody right hand of War. Why is it not also wise and right for it to have the beneficent left hand of Paternal kindness?

Is political sagacity wiser than the Creator? He has united all of the faculties in the brain, with common laws and a common center of action. Is it less wise, or less possible to unite all of the varied interests and institutions of society which directly spring from the wants and the action of these faculties?

We will now notice separately the most prominent claims of Industry, of Social life, and of Knowledge, and then we will summarize these in a Plan for Practical Operations.

ORGANIZED INDUSTRY.

Employment for All.—The first right of labor is the right to employment; something to do. Society has a right to preserve its own integrity, its collective life and health. But it can not do this, unless, *firstly*, the way is open for each of its members to be a producer, either intellectually, socially, or industrially. *Secondly*, the labor products must be so distributed that every laborer shall have a share in proportion to his labor. Society must therefore secure

Work for all, and its Products to all.

"But why not leave all this for each individual to seek, and for business demands to adjust?" Because of this conclusive reason—When work was done by *hand*, then labor could be both isolated and unor-

ganized. A willing and intelligent laborer could secure employment by his individual efforts. Even then, poverty and want were not strangers in society. But now the old conditions are changed. Labor is so largely done by machinery that it requires a vast outlay of capital in the first place, and then it requires the co-operation of the great channels of commerce and transit between distant parts of the country. Under private and irresponsible monopolies these are now managed so as to throw millions out of employment, and to plunge the country into financial crises every ten years. The thing will *not* "regulate itself."

Labor Bureaus.—The first step in removing these evils is the establishment of Labor Bureaus in Town, County, State, and Nation, which shall collect, classify, and make known, the exact facts in regard to the labor, the needs, and the supplies, of all the people. This knowledge must then be made the basis of definite action.

Common Ownership.—Whatever property is used in common by the people of a Town, a County, a State, or a Nation, such property should be owned and controlled by the people of that Town, or County, or State, or Nation, as the case may be. Hence the people, through their governments, should own the railways, telegraphs, postal lines, and unfarmed lands, as they now do the government buildings.

The rates of interest should be rigidly kept down by law to the average rate of increase in property in the country.

Impeachment.—If the people have a right to select their officers by election, they also have a right to reject them for official misconduct. This could be effected through such a provision as this—

That in case of official misconduct any officer may be tried and the evidence elicited be published. The members under his jurisdiction shall then vote for or against his expulsion from office, and their decision shall be final in the case.

INTEGRAL EDUCATION.

Objects of Education.—The object of a true system of education is three-fold:—

First, it must impart a good and practical knowledge of art, philosophy, and science.

Second, it must cultivate and develop all of the mental faculties in a systematic manner.

Third, it must develop the body in connection and harmony with the mind.

The object of the school is to fit the child to occupy a place in society. Therefore a perfect school would be modelled on the same plan as that of society itself. It would have twelve groupets of pupils, and it would devote one hour of each day to the special culture of each group of faculties.

Our present systems of education only train *three* out of the *twelve* groups of faculties! Though all of these faculties are subject to the same laws of growth, and all equally require systematic culture.

But as a transition from the present system to that perfect form, the six ordinary hours of school might be divided so as to give two hours to intellectual, two to social, and two to physical culture and training.

During the first fifteen years of life the pupil would acquire that general knowledge which pertains to all employments alike. Then for the remaining three or five years the pupil would pursue the more special and technical studies which belong to his, or her, chosen profession in life.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ACTION.

Natural Rights.—Every person has a natural right to the development, conditions, and use of each faculty. For example, a man has a right to accumulate knowledge, because this is the natural office of Memory; he has a right to friends, because they are the proper objects of Friendship; he has a right to property, because this is the object of Economy.

As all persons, of either sex, and of all races, have the same number and kind of faculties, therefore all have the same classes of rights, and are adapted to the same great forms of government and social life, if these forms are in harmony with the nature of man.

Voting.—The act voting is the formal expression of a choice in regard to the officers, the laws, or the action of society. As all adult persons, of either sex, and of all races, possess this choice or preference, and have interests at stake, therefore all have a natural right to vote. Elective governments are therefore natural, and hereditary right extends no farther than it gives talent, goodness, and fitness for office.

Rights of Sex.—Man and Woman are mental and physical complements of each other. Man is positive, woman is receptive. Man is the more vigorous, muscular, hardy, bold, cool, and scientific. Woman is the more sensitive, yielding, gentle, loving, ardent, and intuitive.

These natural differences of the two sexes adapt them to different spheres of intellectual, social and industrial activity. Their spheres, like their characters, are complements. In each trinity of mental

faculties, the first faculty dominates in the character of man, and the second one rules in the character of woman. Thus we find Reason as a ruling faculty in man, and Inspiration as its complement in woman; Form in man, and Color in woman; Dignity in man, and Laudation in woman.

These complements extend through all the groups of faculties, and as a consequence, all the duties and employments of society have their masculine and their feminine side. Hence in a true plan of Society, as shown in our Model, the first officer in each pair is a man and the second is a woman, the one leading in the masculine and the other in complementary feminine employments. The same arrangement is adopted in the Bands of Workers.

While the sexes are thus made everywhere equal in rank, yet woman does not become less womanly or man less manly, in character and employment.

The Transition.—The plan of Society exhibited in the Model will seem, to most persons, to be too complex and perfect for immediate adaption. But the law of growth from the more simple to the more complex, governs the advancement of society not less than it does other forms of life. Hence as a step of easy transition from our present evils to better things, the author proposes a very simple and yet a systematic and practical plan, under the title of Bands of Workers.

In these Bands we hope to unite all true workers, whether in the fields of science and education, on the farm and by the fireside, or in the shop and the factory. Our term "Worker" is thus used in its comprehensive sense, and includes brain work no less than hand labor. It includes everything that builds up and sustains civilization.

THE BAND OF WORKERS.

The general object of these Bands may be stated as threefold—*first*, to gather and study the facts which have a bearing upon the questions of Educational, Social, and Industrial reform; *second*, to spread a knowledge of these principles among the people; and *third*, to form a means of concerted action in securing the adoption of the new measures required.

Each Band of Workers has the following six officers :

SECRETARY.	PRESIDENT.	GUARDIAN.
OBSERVER.	PRESIDESS.	TREASURER.

These lead in the Intellectual, the Social, and the Industrial work of the Band, as shown by their position in the table. They constitute a Board of Trustees in each Band, and they may have an assistant, called the Marshalist.

Ranks.—The Town Bands are united under that of the County; the County Bands under that of the State; and all of the State Bands are united under the National Band. The number of officers and the above titles are the same through all these ranks.

Conventions.—The Town Bands hold meetings at least once a week. The County Band holds a semi-annual convention of two days, to which each Town Band sends its Secretary and Observer, as delegates. The State Band holds a yearly convention of three days, with the County Secretaries and Observers as delegates. The National Band holds a yearly convention of five days. Its delegates are the Secretaries and Observers of the State Bands. The officers of each convention are the regular officers of the Band which has convened it.

The Bands of Workers will bring before the public, for discussion and action, the Demands summarized in the following table.

DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS.

<i>Intellectual Demands.</i>	<i>Social Demands.</i>	<i>Industrial Demands.</i>
<p>1. BUREAUS of knowledge for Nation, State and Town, which shall organize the scientific, civil and industrial knowledge, as fast as it is gained, and make this the basis of civil and domestic institutions, as well as of legislative action</p> <p>2. The referendum through which all laws are referred from the legislative body back to the people, for their formal vote of acceptance, before the laws are practically adopted.</p> <p>3. Universal Education, through National, State, County and Town schools, each of which shall give intellectual, social and industrial training.</p>	<p>1. Equality of Rights to man and woman, by giving to man the masculine and to woman the feminine side of each office and employment.</p> <p>2. Equality of property rights and wages to each sex.</p> <p>3. Abolition of the "appointing power," and the election of all officers by a direct vote of the people over whom they are to preside.</p> <p>4. Sanitary Boards of physicians and scientists for the Town, State and Nation, who shall supervise public and private buildings, drainage, forest-culture and other known causes which affect the public health.</p>	<p>1. Labor Bureaus in Town, State and Nation, which shall collect, classify and make known the exact facts in regard to the labor, the needs and the supplies of all the people.</p> <p>2. Regulation of employments, so that none shall be idle.</p> <p>3. Distribution of labor products, so that every laborer shall share in proportion to his labor.</p> <p>4. That the people who select an officer have a right to impeach and expel him from office in case of official misconduct.</p> <p>5. That all penal measures should be reformatory in aim, instead of vindictive.</p>

The School.—A further guide in the work of each Band is presented in the following table of Topics for Study and Discussion. Each Band thus becomes not only an instructive school for studying the science of society, but also a means of true social culture, entertainment, and improvement.

Elections.—The Town and County officers are elected yearly; those of the State Bands are elected once in two years; and those of the National Band once in three years. All regular elections take place on the second Thursday in March, the officers entering upon their duties on the third Thursday.

Articles.—At the close of this page is given the blank Form of Agreement used by each Band, and signed by all the members. Each Band will pass such By-Laws as it may deem necessary.

The Crown.—We have now sketched the needs of our Social Structure as unfolded by science, and the steps which must be taken to preserve the life and remove the evils of civilization. If these simple and clear steps are taken by the people, we shall indeed Crown the Republic with the wisdom of science, the virtue of religion, and the wealth of peace.

THE BAND OF WORKERS.

In harmony with the objects set forth in The Crowned Republic, We, whose names are affixed, do organize and will conduct the ——— Band of Workers, of ——— ——— this——day of——18——.

Date of signing.

Names of Members.

INTELLECTUAL.—The connection between ignorance and poverty. Ignorance as a cause of crime. Statistics of Town and neighborhood on these points.

What should Education in the schools include? Claims of the kindergarten; of industrial teaching. Should we teach the trades? If so, how far? General principles and rules which underlie all of the trades. How these should be introduced. Can the Theatre be reformed?

What studies should be embraced, and what ones excluded from a common school course. Claims of science in preference to Latin and Greek. Should the hours of study be shortened? Real work versus Gymnastics.

Need of a National University; its scope and plan.

What should be the limits and the extent of legislative power? When the laws of society are natural and scientific, they cannot conflict with individual liberty.

SOCIAL.—The Right of Society to establish sanitary laws. What are the best systems of Drainage and of Ventilation? The best plans for Dwellings; Public Bathing Houses. Tree-culture and the effects of Forests on the rain-fall. Effects of different kinds of food on the health. Climate and Character.

Government of Children. What penalties and punishments are best in the Home and in the School? What moral laws and truths should be taught in the school-room? What are the natural penalties of crime? Prison discipline and reform.

The nature and scope of Social Science. How far can the laws and institutions of Society be conformed to the natural laws of man's constitution? Man a social being. Human unity and sympathy. International laws and fellowship. Colonization in our own and in foreign countries. Advantage of Colonies in settling new States and Territories.

INDUSTRIAL.—Combined labor as compared with that which is isolated. Effects of the displacement of hand labor by machinery. The remedy proposed through Coöperation. Different plans for this. Coöperation in exchanges; buying and selling. Results of experiments. Prevention of Gluts.

Public and Private rights of Property. Corporations and monopolies; dangers and remedies.

The division of labor into separate pursuits as a cause of civilization. This necessitates coöperation in some form. Rights of Capital. Collective and Private Capital.

The mental and physical differences between man and woman. The different spheres of employment for which this fits them. In this respect what modifications are required from our present system?



WORDS OF COMMENDATION.

The following are a few among the many favorable notices given of the author's discoveries, as set forth in his lectures and writings:

We cordially commend this charming, original, and learned discussion of the fundamental principles of history and social science.

HON. GEO. WILLARD, M. C.

The new views and plans of Government, advanced by Dr. Merton, must be the basis of all future statesmanship.

HON. GEO. W. JULIAN, M. C.

In brilliant and impassioned eloquence, in wealth of learning, and in the dramatic interest given to his subjects, Dr. Merton ranks with the foremost orators of the country.

TRIBUNE.

Dr. Merton's spirited address was brim full of scientific knowledge.

PROF. W. P. WILSON.

Dr. Merton is especially noted for presenting a clear and impressive range of ideas on pure science.

PROF. O. S. FOWLER.

The discoveries of Arthur Merton are the most important yet made in Mental and Social Science, and they deserve the attention of every one who is interested in his own culture or that of the race. The whole problem of social reorganization is worked out with an accuracy and completeness which enables it to stand triumphantly the crucial test of a universal application.

EDWARD HOWLAND,
In Cyclopaedia of Dates.