# THE NEW SOCIALISM; AN IMPARTIAL INQUIRY

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

### ISBN 9780649290185

The new socialism; an impartial inquiry by Jane T. Stoddart

Except for use in any review, the reproduction or utilisation of this work in whole or in part in any form by any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including xerography, photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, is forbidden without the permission of the publisher, Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd, PO Box 1576 Collingwood, Victoria 3066 Australia.

All rights reserved.

Edited by Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd. Cover @ 2017

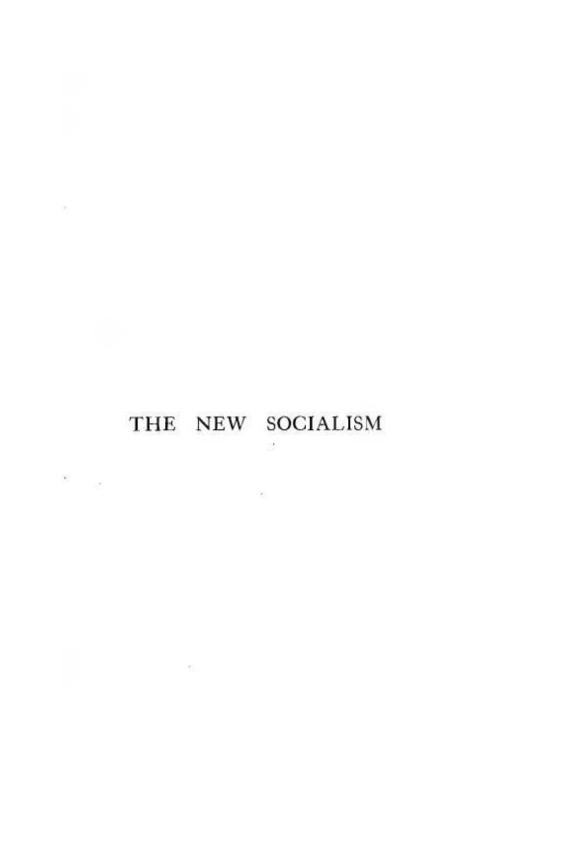
This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form or binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

www.triestepublishing.com

## **JANE T. STODDART**

# THE NEW SOCIALISM; AN IMPARTIAL INQUIRY





### WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

### THE GIRLHOOD OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

With Photograzure Fortraits, 12s. net.

"For such a task Miss Stoddart was uncommonly well qualified. To her womanly instincts, her level head, her facile and graceful pen, have been added an intimate personal knowledge of those parts of France in which the lot of the Scottish Queen was cast, an even more remarkable knowledge of the history of the period, and a patient perseverance which is so essential in historical research."—
D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D., in The Bookman.

### THE LIFE OF THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE

Third Edition. Illustrated, tos. 6d. net.

"Miss Stoddart's 'Life of the Empress Eugénie' is an exception to the rule that biographies of living people are midesirable. The Empress has now become as much a historical figure of the past as if she had been dead for many years. . . Miss Stoddart has told her romantic story well; it will hold the reader with unflagging interest. No one, I think, could have told it better than Miss Stoddart has done,"—Sphere.

LONDON: HODDER AND STOUGHTON

# NEW SOCIALISM

AN IMPARTIAL INQUIRY

BY

JANE T. STODDART

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
LONDON MCMIX

### PREFACE

THE present book occupies, so far as I am aware, new ground among English books on Socialism. The larger historical books on the subject stop short of recent years, and leave unchronicled much Socialist thought and action of the utmost importance. My aim has been to give as briefly and fairly as possible an account of the Socialist movement over the world during the last ten years. Like everything else, Socialism has undergone a process of change, and must be studied in the works of its latest authorities. Extreme utterances of individuals have been largely disregarded. In such a movement as Socialism much exaggeration was inevitable. But Socialism has its great thinkers and students, men as candid, as thoughtful, and as earnest as any to be found in other camps. These thinkers are constructive as well as destructive. They are not afraid to acknowledge the immense difficulties that have to be conquered ere the goal is reached, and they have taken them up in earnest, admitting in many cases that they are not yet completely solved. That Socialism is a movement full of mighty import to mankind, and that the questions which it raises may at any moment present themselves in their most practical form, is now obvious to all. It is only by understanding what Socialists ask for, and why they ask it, by studying their views and arguments in their best, most considered and most impressive form that any fruitful discussion can be carried on.

It is in this spirit that I have endeavoured to set forth the main points in the recent literature of Socialism. The chief books published on the Continent as well as the English literature of the subject have been thoroughly examined, and every effort has been made to secure a just and accurate account of the main issues. The periodical literature of Socialism has also been investigated to the best of my ability. It is so extensive that an absolutely complete knowledge is unattainable, but I hope that few important omissions will be found.

In the Supplement I have given chapters on Revolutionary Syndicalism; Recent Developments of American Socialism; and Notes on Australian Socialism. There are good reasons for separating these from the main part of the book. The serious Socialists are more and more striving after precision of language, and much

that is called Socialistic is not genuine Socialism.

The years 1897-98, the Jubilee period of the Communist Manifesto, form the natural point of departure for a study of the New Socialism. In 1898 Marx had been dead fifteen years, and Liebknecht, in his old age, was living with his memories. The veteran campaigner rejoiced in the overthrow of Bismarck and in the electoral results which made his party numerically the strongest in Germany. He did not survive to see the full effects of the criticism which was brought to bear on the Marxian system, nor could be have anticipated the results of the new Marxian revival under Sorel, which we know as Revolutionary Syndicalism. Students all over Europe have recognized that the years 1897-98 mark a parting of the ways. From that point onwards we can distinguish the three great modern groups—Revisionists, Orthodox Marxians and Revolutionaries. It is hardly needful to insist on the enormous progress of the Socialist movement all over the world during these The American Socialist, Robert Hunter, in his new book, Socialists at Work, puts the world Socialist vote at 7,434,616. This represents the vote obtained by the various national parties at the latest elections up to 1907. In Great Britain, at the general election of 1906, according to the Reformers' Year-book, 274,631 votes were cast for the Socialists, 98,902 for the "Labour Party," and 156,930 for the Trade Unionists. In Germany, in 1907, though the Socialists were apparently defeated, they polled three and a quarter million votes, a quarter of a million more than in 1903, and over a million more than in 1898. Behel said that the elections had shown that every third man over twenty-five in Germany was a Social Democrat. In Austria the Socialists had an overwhelming success at the general election in May 1907, the first under universal They polled 1,041,948 votes, a third of the total vote In Belgium, in 1904, the Socialist vote was 469,094. In France, in 1906, it was about 900,000, as compared with half a million (roughly) in 1893. In Italy, in 1904, the Socialists polled 320,000, but these figures convey no adequate idea of the strength of the party. The suffrage in Italy is restricted by a literary test, and over 4,000,000 working men are excluded from the ballot.

While the utmost care has been taken to ensure accuracy, it is hardly possible to avoid error in a subject so large and complicated, and I shall gratefully receive and acknowledge any corrections.

Quotations have been taken in all cases from original sources.

# CONTENTS

CHAP.					PAGE
	Preface	30	9	*:	V
	THE SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY	18	*		1
	Notes on the Literature	20	*	(1)	4
I.	Socialism in Transition: Obsolete T	HEOR	IES	9	21
11.	THE GENERAL PROGRAMME OF SOCIALIS	м	19		29
III.	Socialists and Expropriation .	8		95	38
IV.	THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION .		65	a.	46
v.	THE QUESTION OF INHERITANCE .	*			55
VI.	SOCIALISTS AND SMALL PROPERTY-OWNER	RS	5	S*	64
VII.	PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE SOCIALIST	STAT	E	2	73
VIII.	THE COMMANDEERING OF LIVES UNDER	Soci	ALISM	÷	82
IX.	THE REWARDS OF LABOUR UNDER SOCI	ALISM	L.		92
X.	SOCIALISM AND THE FAMILY	40	(2)		101
XI.	SOCIALISM AND RELIGION	ÿ.			118
XII.	IS THERE A CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM?.	76	Đ.	ē	135
XIII.	THE PRESS UNDER SOCIALISM	to:	e e	3	144
XIV.	PATRIOTISM, ARMAMENTS, AND FOREIGN	Pota	cv		154
XV.	THE DREAM OF INTERNATIONALISM	181		*	163
XVI.	At the Grave of Karl Marx . vii		1	÷	171

## CONTENTS

	SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS	3		
1.	REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM			PAGE
	I. LEADERS AND PRINCIPLES	15		183
	II. THE TEACHING OF GEORGES SOREL .	104		190
	III. TRADES-UNIONS AND THE GENERAL ST	RIKE	35	199
	IV. THE GENERAL STRIKE: VIEWS OF	SOCIAL	IST	
	LEADERS		2	205
	V. PROSPECTS OF THE PARTY OF VIOLENCE	Е.	10	217
H.	RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF AMERICAN SOC	CIALISM		
	I. HISTORICAL NOTES	1911	100	225
	II. AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST LECTURER:	MR. JO	HN	
	SPARGO		80	230
	III. 'WHY IS THERE NO SOCIALISM IN TH	E UNI	red	
	STATES?'	1343	::	233
Ш	Notes on Australian Socialism			
	I. SOCIALISM WITHOUT DOCTRINES .			243
	II. THE CAREER OF WILLIAM LANE	£ 63	12	247
	III, VIEWS OF A GERMAN WORKMAN AT ME	LBOUR	NE.	250
	IV DIVISIONS OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIALISTS		54	254
	V. THE NEWER LABOUR LEGISLATION .	**	33	260
INDE	x	1923		265