

**POVERTY AND THE STATE OR WORK FOR  
THE UNEMPLOYED: AN ENQUIRY INTO  
THE CAUSES AND  
EXTENT OF ENFORCED IDLENESS  
TOGETHER WITH THE STATEMENT OF A  
REMEDY PRACTICABLE HERE AND NOW**

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Poverty and the state or work for the unemployed: an enquiry into the causes and extent of enforced idleness together with the statement of a remedy practicable here and now by Herbert V. Mills

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**HERBERT V. MILLS**

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3/12/89

*J. W. Lee*

POVERTY AND THE STATE

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OR  
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*AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES AND EXTENT  
OF ENFORCED IDLENESS, TOGETHER  
WITH THE STATEMENT OF A REMEDY  
PRACTICABLE HERE AND NOW*

BY  
HERBERT V. MILLS

*NEW EDITION*

LONDON  
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1889

“Thrice is he arm’d, that hath his quarrel just ;  
And he but naked, though lock’d up in steel,  
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.”

*Second Part of King Henry VI.*

TO MY FRIEND

PROFESSOR ADAMSON, M.A.,

OF THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, MANCHESTER,

WHO FIRST AWOKE WITHIN ME A PASSION FOR

THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN ECONOMY,

THIS BOOK IS

GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.



## PREFACE.

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ADDITIONS and omissions have been made in preparing this cheap edition of "Poverty and the State." The book in its present form is sent forth as the advocate of a practical experiment in Home Colonization, which has already received the support of many earnest friends. The second, the eleventh, and the thirteenth chapters are additions. Six chapters contained in the first edition are now omitted because they are not essential to our more definite and immediate purpose, and in order that the book may not be made too long. Other particulars in regard to the Home Colonization experiment may be had on application to me.

H. V. M.

ANCHORITE'S WELL,  
KENDAL, WESTMORELAND.

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# POVERTY AND THE STATE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE PROBLEM STATED.

“But when? but when? O Master, thou didst say  
The time was coming. Is it come? Alas,  
It seems not so! The days are dark with storm;—  
The coming revolutions have no face  
Of peace and music, but of blood and fire;  
The strife of Races scarce consolidate,  
Succeeded by the far more bitter strife  
Of Classes—that which eighteen hundred years  
Since Christ spake have not yet availed to close,  
But rather brought to issue only now,  
When first the Peoples international  
Know their own strength, and know the world is theirs,  
Which has been kept from them by force so long;—  
By force, not right; for no man spake them fair,  
To keep them patient through their helplessness;  
It was enough that they were chained and dumb.  
Will they be spoken fair to now?”

\* \* \* \* \*  
For Might instead of Right is hell on earth,  
Battle of darkness still against God's side.”

H. E. HAMILTON KING, *The Disciples.*

ALTHOUGH this book turns almost exclusively upon the government of English workhouses, and on a proposal for their reform, I am ambitious enough to hope that it opens the way of reform not only for the workhouse population of England, but also, in the