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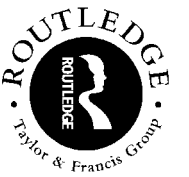
by
JOHN SAVILLE



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The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original may be apparent

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FOREWORD

BY LEONARD ELMHIRST,
CHAIRMAN, DARTINGTON HALL TRUST

*

So great has been our emphasis on food production that little attention has been paid in recent years to the needs of the people living in rural Britain. Arthur Young and William Cobbett have had few successors, Daniel Defoe none. Since Orwin and Ashby died there has hardly been an attempt to describe the impact of new machines and of new wage-levels on farm and village, or the human problems behind the Census figures and the Ministry of Agriculture returns. We do not know what happens when a community becomes too isolated or too small or too destitute of young men or of young women, or of both. We have as yet little precise idea why people move or move in such numbers from certain areas, or why the odd village and the odd country town proves an exception and manages to expand and flourish.

In the absence of evidence, the activity of government, although on such a large scale, is often haphazard. Putting up a row of new houses in a village is the task of the Rural District Council. This might mean that, with more children, the village school need not be closed by the County Council. Encouraging a new factory or workshop to open in a large village or country town suffering from under-employment is the task of another authority. The bringing in of a sewage system, of a new supply of water, power, gas and telephone, are tasks for five different and unrelated authorities which, if they acted together, might make it possible to establish a new factory and strengthen a local economy. The granting of assistance for the purchase and layout of a suitable playing-field or for the building of a village hall falls to two other agencies. Bringing pressure to bear upon

the smallholder to close down and upon the small farmer to go to a bigger farm is already the task of yet another; and so it goes on—a variety of authorities, all with the purpose of improving rural welfare and yet each acting without full knowledge of the plans of the other. There is a failure of communication.

To replace ignorance by knowledge, never an easy task, demands a many sided research effort, in which we hope the Universities will eventually give a lead. Some of the Universities have already done great service, but their work has been mainly concentrated on the techniques of agriculture. They are still behind their counterparts in the United States and some other countries in giving attention to the social and human, as distinct from the purely economic, problems of rural life. To build up a coherent body of knowledge requires sociologists, anthropologists, historians and geographers as well as economists and specialists in forestry and agriculture. Concerted study could help government to appreciate more fully the interrelationships in the web of rural life, which needs to be seen as a whole to understand the significance of its separate parts.

The Dartington Hall Trust was established at Totnes in Devon not only to undertake practical experiments in rural reconstruction, embracing education and the arts as well as agriculture and industry, but also to promote research into rural life. Some results of this research have been published before, in a variety of books, by W. E. Hiley in *Woodland Management*,[1] by J. R. Currie and W. H. Long in the *Agricultural Survey in South Devon*,[2] by Marjorie Wise in *English Village Schools*,[3] and by the Arts Enquiry in three volumes on visual art, film and music.[4] W. B. Curry, the headmaster of the Dartington Hall school, has given his views on education in *The School*[5] and *Education for Sanity*.[6] The Trustees have also sponsored the

[1] Published by Faber and Faber, 1954.

[2] Published by Seale Hayne Agricultural College and the Dartington Hall Trustees, 1929.

[3] Published by Hogarth Press, 1931.

[4] Published by P.E.P. (Political and Economic Planning), comprising *Visual Art*, 1946; *Factual Film*, 1947; and *Music*, 1949.

[5] Published by John Lane, 1934.

[6] Published by Heinemann, 1947.

publications of the International Conference of Agricultural Economists.[1]

The Trustees have now decided as part of their activities to sponsor a series of social studies, the first being reported in this book, which is (we think appropriately) by an historian. Mr. Saville has here reviewed the course of population movements, and shows, amongst other things, the great importance of the sex balance in the countryside. Without this kind of assembly of material it is impossible to answer vital questions:

> Can the traditional pattern of settlement survive?
>
> Has depopulation in the truly rural areas gone so far as to undermine the viability of the small villages and hamlets?

These and other questions will be considered from other angles in the further reports to be produced in this series.

[1] Reports for 1929 and 1930 published by the Collegiate Press Geo. Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wisconsin, U.S.A. Reports for 1934, 1936, 1938, 1947, 1949 and 1952 published by the Oxford University Press.

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INTRODUCTION

This volume is an introduction to a subject which although not wholly neglected in this country is nevertheless a field of research that is still largely uncultivated. There is in Britain no general body of rural sociologists, and much of the writing on rural problems is the work of agricultural economists, demographers, geographers, historians, and town and country planners whose interest in rural society tends to be specialist rather than comprehensive. This is not to belittle the results that have so far been achieved, nor the importance of specialist studies, but it underlines the urgent need for a school of rural sociologists whose responsibility would be the analysis of the totality of rural life and the relation of each part to the whole.

This present division of the subject between a number of specialisms makes the attempt at a more unified treatment a somewhat hazardous one, and I do not pretend that I have done more than encourage what I trust will be a continuing discussion. Since I have strayed in many directions from my own particular academic interest I am especially grateful to those who have helped with their comments and criticisms. My greatest debt is to the members of the Dartington Hall Trust who initiated this study and my particular thanks are due to Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, the chairman of the Trust, Mr. Peter Sutcliffe, the Secretary, and to Mr. Michael Young. I have benefited much from their advice and suggestions, and I am most grateful for their generous sympathy and constant help. I have also to thank Mrs. M. Jefferys, of The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who read an early draft of the book to my great profit ; and Professor E. Grebenik, of the University of Leeds, and Mr. N. H. Carrier, of the London School of Economics, both of whom commented upon an early version of Chapter 3. I am especially indebted to the last named for the considerable trouble that he took over the work

of one who was to him almost a stranger. It remains only to make a formal acknowledgement of personal responsibility for errors of fact and mistakes of generalisation.

Among the staffs of libraries who have extended to me their help and co-operation, I would mention those of my own University Library, the Hull Central Reference Library, and the British Library of Economics and Political Science. I would especially thank Mr. R. F. Drewery, the chief Librarian of the Hull Central Library and Mr. G. E. Laughton, Head of the Reference Library. Mr. P. A. Larkin, Librarian of the University of Hull has always been most kind. I would add a special word of thanks to Mr. A. C. Wood, the Deputy Librarian of the University, for his considerable assistance in the matter of external loans of books and papers.

Mrs. Susan Horsley most pleasantly and efficiently lightened the burden of proof reading, and I thank her most warmly. And finally to my wife I offer a small token of my gratitude for her constant encouragement and understanding.

THE UNIVERSITY,
HULL.
January 1957.

JOHN SAVILLE.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

*

I. THE GROWTH OF AN URBAN SOCIETY

In the hundred years following the application of the rotary movement to the steam engine[1] Britain made the transition to the 'industry state'. Economic activity from being centred upon agriculture and allied industries now became concentrated in the areas of coal-mining and the great industrial and commercial towns. Agriculture steadily lost its predominant place in the economy. In 1851 agriculture employed a quarter of the males aged 20 and over[2] while by the end of the century the proportion (aged 14 and over) had declined to under 10 per cent. The British economy came to live by the export of manufactured goods, capital and economic services, from the proceeds of which an increasing volume of food-stuffs and raw materials was purchased. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 underlined the shift in economic emphasis which had taken place during the first half of the nineteenth century whereby Britain had become one of the foremost industrial powers[3] and the greatest trading nation in the world.

A central feature of the industrialization of Britain during the

[1] James Watt took out patents in 1781, 1782 and 1784.

[2] The actual figure was 26 per cent; it includes 'landownrs, eagents, farmers and labourers of all sorts'. J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, II (1932), p. 22.

[3] As late as 1870 the U.K. had nearly 32 per cent of the world's manufacturing production, and only during the first half of the 1880s did the U.S. begin to take the lead. By 1913 the U.K. took third place in manufacturing production, being now exceeded by Germany as well as by the U.S. *Industrialisation and Foreign Trade* (League of Nations, 1945), Table 1, p. 13.

past century and a half has been the rapid increase of population. Before 1700 population growth in Britain was slow. During the eighteenth century the rate of population growth increased quite sharply, in a number of European countries as well as in Britain, and in this country the increase in numbers over the whole century was around 50 per cent.[1] Towards the end of the eighteenth century the decline of the death-rate together with the maintenance of a high birth-rate combined to produce an unparalleled rate of natural increase,[2] and the

Table I

POPULATION 1801-1951. ENGLAND AND WALES*

		% *Increase*			% *Increase*
1801	8,892,536	—	1871	22,712,266	13·21
1811	10,164,256	14·00	1881	25,974,439	14·36
1821	12,000,236	18·06	1891	29,002,525	11·65
1831	13,896,797	15·80	1901	32,527,843	12·17
1841	15,914,148	14·27	1911	36,070,492	10·89
1851	17,927,609	12·65	1921	37,886,699	4·93
1861	20,066,224	11·90	1931	39,952,377	5·53
			1951	43,744,700	9·49

* 1801-1931: *Census of England and Wales, 1931, General Report*, p. 22. 1951: *Census 1951, Great Britain, One per cent Sample Tables*, Part I, Table 1.2.

Census of 1801, followed by regular decennial Censuses, allowed for the first time a reasonably accurate measurement of population growth.[3] No decade in the nineteenth century showed less than a 10 per cent increase in total population compared with the previous decade, despite the considerable emigration to foreign countries which continued throughout the century and into the twentieth. The population of England and Wales doubled during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century and doubled again by 1911. Thereafter, although total numbers continued to increase in the twentieth century, the

[1] *R.C. on Population, Report*, Cmd. 7695 (1949), para. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, para. 18 ff.; T. H. Marshall, 'The Population Problem during the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History*, I (January 1929).

[3] For a brief discussion of the accuracy of the early Census data, D. V. Glass and C. P. Blacker, *Population and Fertility* (1939), Ch. 3.

rate of population growth has been much slower, a demographic characteristic common to almost all the economically advanced countries.[1]

Throughout the nineteenth century people were increasingly congregating in the urban centres of commerce and industry as well as in the areas of coal-mining. For most of the large industrial towns of today the most rapid rate of population growth came in the first half of the nineteenth century,[2] and by 1851 the Census was noting that just over half the total population of England and Wales were living in urban areas.[3] The growth of urbanization has continued until the present day, and by 1951 some 40 per cent of the population lived in six great industrial and commercial conurbations.[4] As urbanization developed, the proportion of the population who lived in rural areas correspondingly diminished, although a precise and accurate definition of what constitutes a rural district is not easy, and the difficulty of definition increases as we approach our own times.[5] But leaving aside for the moment the problem of the precise delimitation between urban and rural areas, we can say that whereas a hundred years ago the populations of

[1] *R.C. on Population, Report,* Ch. I.

[2] R. P. Williams, 'On the Increase of Population in England and Wales', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* (hereafter cited as *JRSS*), XLIII (1880); E. Cannan, 'The Growth of Manchester and Liverpool', *Economic Journal,* IV (1894); T. A. Welton, 'On the Distribution of Population in England and Wales and its progress in the period of ninety years from 1801-91', *JRSS,* LXIII (1900).

[3] *Census of* 1851, *Report,* I, Part I, p. xlviii.

[4] According to the 1951 Census 'nearly 17 million people of the 41·1 million in England now live in six great conurbations, whose total area is only about 21,000 square miles (roughly the size of the county of Norfolk)'. E. W. Gilbert, 'English Conurbations in the 1951 Census', *Geographical Journal,* CXVIII (March 1952), p. 66. C. B. Fawcett, in a well-known article, defined conurbation as 'an area occupied by a continuous series of dwellings, factories and other buildings, harbours and docks, urban parks and playing fields, etc., which are not separated from each other by rural land; though in many cases in this country such an urban area includes enclaves of rural land which is still in agricultural occupation'. 'Distribution of the Urban Population in Great Britain, 1931', *Geographical Journal,* LXXIX (February 1932). See also R. E. Dickinson, *City, Region and Regionalism* (1947), p. 168 ff., 224 ff.; H. C. Darby, 'The Changing English Landscape', *Geograph Journal,* CXVII (December 1951).

[5] See below, p. 59 ff.

these two divisions were approximately equal, in the last thirty years about 80 per cent of the population have lived in urban districts and the remaining 20 per cent in rural districts. That is the broad measure of the shift from rural to urban within our society consequent upon the industrialization of its economy.

Urbanization is not to be confused with industrialization, and the former can, within certain limits, develop within a non-industrial society; but in the conditions of nineteenth-century Britain, the rate of growth of the urban areas can be broadly correlated with the development of industrial capitalism. Again, the development of industrial capitalism and the growth of the urban areas in the first half of the nineteenth century must not be regarded as synonymous terms for the growth of the factory-type of industrial organization. The factory won a surprisingly slow victory over older forms of industrial organization and it was only in the closing decades of the nineteenth century that it became the dominant form in a majority of industries.[1] But with these qualifications, the growth of the towns in Britain during the nineteenth century is an index to the development of the 'industry state' and the social relationships which accompanied the new industrial order.

The growth of towns in the nineteenth century was a product of three factors: one was the high rate of natural increase of the urban population, the second was the continuous inflow of population from the rural areas and the third was the immigration into England and Wales from Scotland and especially from Ireland, and to a lesser extent from the outside world. The influx from the rural areas into the rapidly growing urban agglomerations remained of major importance for the whole of the nineteenth century and continued in the twentieth century,[2]

[1] Clapham, *op. cit.*, I, Ch. 5: II, Ch. 4: III, Chs. 3 and 4; M. H. Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (1946), Ch. 7, esp. p. 263 ff.

[2] Among the standard texts on the growth of towns in the nineteenth century are A. F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899), and for the first half of the century in England, A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850* (1926). The statement in the text concerning the importance of the rural inflow for the growth of towns must naturally be qualified in individual cases. Shannon (H. A. Shannon and E. Grebenik, *The Population of Bristol* (1943)) found that the growth of the Bristol urban area ('cluster') since 1871 'has been almost entirely due to the fertility and

although as the towns grew in size the proportionate effect of the rural inflow became gradually lessened. Within the urban areas the rate of natural increase continued at a high level to the end of the nineteenth century. The third factor, immigration into England and Wales from outside territories, was never as important as either of the other two factors, and after the peak of Irish immigration was passed, around the middle of the century, it became, except for one or two individual cities, of steadily diminishing significance.[1]

The acceleration of the movement of country people to the towns occurred within the same historical period as that normally described as the Industrial Revolution, although before the early nineteenth century the statistical basis for precise analysis is absent. From about the 1780s, that is, the pace of migration from the rural areas quickened, and the absolute growth of rural populations was, as a result, much slower than for the urban populations. It was not, however, until the second quarter of the nineteenth century that the rural outflow began to affect the absolute size of the rural communities. At some point between 1821 and 1851 a considerable proportion of the villages and rural parishes of England and Wales passed their peak of population and entered upon an almost continuous decline of their total populations; for the rest of the rural areas, their curve of peak and decline was set in the second rather than in the first half of the century, but few parts of the country failed to conform to the pattern.[2] By the end of the nineteenth century the problem was recognized as a serious one; and against the background of agricultural depression, investigations and analyses of rural depopulation multiplied,[3]

natural increase of Bristolians and not to the area's power to attract migrants' (p. 12).

[1] Foreign immigration into England, mainly from Central and Eastern Europe, began to increase fairly rapidly from the 1870s. Clapham, *op. cit.*, II, p. 441 ff. For a local study of the growth of the Jewish immigrant population in Leeds, see Joan Thomas, *A History of the Leeds Clothing Industry* (*Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, Occasional Paper No. I), esp. Ch. 2; for East London, Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, III (1892), Part I, Chs. 2-4; D. L. Munby, *Industry and Planning in Stepney* (1951), Ch. 2. [2] See below, Ch. 2.

[3] Among the many studies of rural migration and depopulation in the

without, however, any significant effect upon Government policy. In the twentieth century there has been no change in the general tendencies towards depopulation of the rural areas, although a number of the factors involved have either changed or in some ways become more complex. One striking difference has been the slowing down in the rate of population increase. Whereas no period of twenty years before 1901 had an increase in total population lower than 25 per cent over the previous twenty years, in the first two decades of the present century the increase had dropped to 16 per cent, and between 1921 and 1941 the estimated increase was just under 10 per cent. Only in the 1940s was the decline in the rate of increase arrested, although for the years 1931 to 1951 the proportionate increase amounted to no more than for the years 1921 to 1941. The general decline in the natural increase of population, and ignoring for the moment differential fertility and mortality rates between town and country, inevitably reduced the size of the surplus population available in the rural areas for migration to the towns. Unless the disintegration of the rural economy was proceeding at a faster rate than hitherto, the flow of country people to the towns would necessarily become smaller. For this, and for other reasons discussed later in this study, the exodus from the countryside has continued at a slower rate in the twentieth century,[1] and the proportion of the population living in rural districts has changed only slightly during the past thirty years. Taking England and Wales together, the rural sector appears to have achieved a relative stability during the last three decades, and at the ratio of 80 : 20 some sort of equilibrium seems to have been reached between the urban and the rural areas. This stability is, however, only a surface

last twenty years of the nineteenth century may be noted the following: E. G. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *JRSS*, XLVIII (1885); W. Ogle, 'The Alleged Depopulation of the Rural Districts of England', *JRSS*, LII (1889); *Daily News, Life in our Villages* (1891); P. A. Graham, *The Rural Exodus* (1892); H. E. Moore, *Back to the Land* (1893); G. B. Longstaff, 'Rural Depopulation', *JRSS*, LVI (1893); *R.C. on Labour, Vol. 5, Part I, The Agricultural Labourer, General Report by W. C. Little*, XXV (1894); *Census of 1901, General Report*, Cmd. 2714 (1904), p. 24 ff.

[1] G. D. A. MacDougall, 'Inter-War Population Changes in Town and Country', *JRSS*, CIII (1940); and below, Chs. 2 and 3.

appearance, and it conceals the disintegrating factors which are still working within the rural economy and which have been carried over from the nineteenth century. The lines of demarcation between town and country have become increasingly difficult to define and the pattern of settlement has in certain respects become more complex, but the processes of depopulation have continued, and the more rural an area, the greater is the likelihood that it has steadily lost population up to the present day.

The causes of rural depopulation have not altered in any significant way during the last century and a half. A change in emphasis has naturally occurred between the various factors involved, and both at different times and at different places the local or regional causes of the rural exodus will lay a different stress upon individual forces of expulsion. The basic cause is everywhere the same. Rural depopulation has occurred in the past century and a half, and will continue in the future, because of declining employment opportunities in the countryside. Economic activities have steadily moved from the villages and the rural communities into the towns and the urban areas; and as employment possibilities have diminished in the rural areas, the village populations have moved into the towns.[1] To put the matter thus baldly is greatly to simplify a complicated problem, but it is nevertheless important to grasp hold of the basic elements of the rural problem. The historical forces that have been at work since the late eighteenth century have led to a concentration and a centralization of economic life in large industrial units and in large urban agglomerations; and rural life and rural society have been steadily weakened. Without the provision of work there can be no reversal of the depopulating trends in our rural society; and while there are many other considerations, such as housing, social and cultural amenities and the like, to be taken note of, in the absence of a rural economy that can provide economic opportunities for a greater part of

[1] This has long been recognized. For an early statement of the argument, Longstaff, *loc. cit.*; D. J. Davies, 'The Condition of the Rural Population in England and Wales' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, 1931), Ch. 3, surveys the literature; and for a recent discussion, Wilfred Smith, 'Industry and the Countryside', *Town Planning Review*, XXV (October 1954).

the natural increase of its population than occurs at the present time, the depopulation of our rural areas will not be reversed.

II. AGRICULTURE AND DEPOPULATION

The search for causal factors in rural depopulation must begin with agriculture and the agrarian economy. It is not only that agriculture was, and remains, the basic industry of the countryside but also that the labour force for the rapid development of industry from the late eighteenth century onwards was recruited from the surplus rural population.[1] There is no necessary reason why migration from rural to urban areas should result in actual depopulation of the rural districts, and until at least the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century almost all rural communities showed a continuous increase of population.

The rural population, or a large part of it, was both vulnerable and responsive to the economic pressures and incentives of an industrializing society. The changes in the countryside which had extended over the centuries prior to 1800 had replaced the peasant economy of medieval times by the three-tiered structure of landlord, tenant farmer and landless labourer. The enclosure movement of the eighteenth century, the last stage in these agrarian changes which were to establish capitalist agriculture in Britain, was nearly completed by the end of the Napoleonic wars. Five years later, in 1820, there were only two counties in England which still had a considerable proportion of open fields[2]; and the countryside in general was

[1] This formulation deliberately ignores one of the crucial questions of agrarian history concerning the relation between the pre-1800 agrarian changes and the supply of labour for industrial capitalism. For opposing views, M. H. Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (1946), Ch. 6, who argues that the creation of a proletariat was the product of institutional factors, and for the contrary view, that population growth was an independent factor, J. D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Ser., v, No. 3, 1953. For recent statements on the causation of population growth, H. J. Habakkuk, 'English Population in the Eighteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Ser., vi, No. 2, 1953; T. McKeown and R. G. Brown, 'Medical Evidence Related to English Population Changes in the Eighteenth Century', *Population Studies*, ix (November 1955).

[2] Clapham, *op. cit.*, i, p. 20. The two counties were Oxford and Cam-

that patchwork of differently shaped and sized fields, hedged and fenced, that we know today.

The years after 1815 were depression years for agriculture. The gloom which hung over so much of rural England[1] continued in many parts of England and Wales until the early 1850s. Despite gloom, it is probable that both agricultural employment and production continued to increase[2] although the demand for labour from agriculture was insufficient to absorb a rural population that was growing rapidly. The exodus from the countryside quickened as population continued to increase rapidly, and while no county in England and Wales showed a fall in total numbers until after 1841, absolute declines in an increasing number of rural parishes and communities were being registered from the 1820s. The improvement of transport facilities which the railway brought about greatly increased the mobility of labour, although the railway in Britain in this, as in other respects, was an accelerating rather than an initiating factor. The flow of population to the towns was already a strong one long before the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool in 1830 ushered in the Railway Age. While the railways in the twenty years to 1850, to their own surprise, carried people rather than freight,[3] their effect upon internal migration was probably less in physically moving people from one place to another than in the achievement of a national market. By penetrating to areas and regions that had hitherto remained beyond the main stream of national life, and by undermining economic and social parochialism, the railways assisted

bridge. There were only six counties (Bedford, Buckingham, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northants and Oxford) which after 1820 had more than 3 per cent of their open fields enclosed by Statute. E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Land and Enclosure* (1912), App. D, pp. 279-81.

[1] Clapham, *op. cit.*, I, p. 454.

[2] Detailed statistics for the first half of the century are lacking. See L. Drescher, 'Die Entwicklung der Agrarproduktion Grossbritanniens und Irlands seit Beginn des 19 Jahrhunderts', *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, XLI (1935): translated and reprinted in *Manchester School*, XXIII (May 1955), and the comment by T. W. Fletcher, *ibid.*

[3] 'For all the railways of the kingdom, in 1845, passenger fares contributed 64 per cent of the gross receipts. By 1848 the percentage was 57.' Clapham, *op. cit.*, I, p. 400, quoting the statistics of D. Lardner, *Railway Economy* (1850), p. 277.

the further development of a more complete industrial society.

Before the twentieth century there were always legal restrictions upon the labourers' movements. In English Poor Law history 'the conception that a poor man is chargeable for relief at one place rather than everywhere'[1] had been central to its policy from the sixteenth century; and the scarcity of labour in the early period of industrial development in Britain had brought into existence a consolidation of the Settlement Laws which greatly restricted movement. The Settlement Law of 1662 made national policy what had previously been customary practice. Henceforth everyone was required to have a settled parish to which they might be removed within forty days of their arrival in a new parish. The law was relaxed in a number of ways in the decades which followed, notably by the introduction of the certificate system, whereby the parish of settlement accepted responsibility for poor relief in case of necessity. Adam Smith's dictum, that in England 'it is often more difficult for a poor man to pass the artificial boundary of a parish than an arm of the sea or a ridge of high mountains'[2] was exaggerated for 1776; but there was no doubt of the hindrances and obstacles that the Settlement Laws offered to the unimpeded mobility of labour that the new industrial order required. With the growth of population and the accelerated industrial development of the last quarter of the eighteenth century an easing of the restrictions upon internal movement became urgent, and in 1795 a substantial alteration to the Settlement Laws was written into the Statute Book. Henceforth, persons were only removable to their parish of settlement when they actually became chargeable to the poor rates of the parish in which they were living. From this time, while the Settlement Laws were

[1] T. Mackay, *A History of the English Poor Law*, III (1899), p. 341. Ch. 16, from which this quotation was taken, is a useful summary of the history of Settlement law and practice in the nineteenth century. The classic work on the Settlement Laws and their history is the *Report of George Coode, Esq., to the Poor Law Board, on the Law of Settlement, and Removal of the Poor . . .*, 1851, XXVI. For a discussion of the Settlement Laws in the first stage of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century, Redford, *Labour Migration*, Ch. 5; for the operation of Settlement after 1834, S. and B. Webb, *English Poor Law History, Part II: The Last Hundred Years*, Vol. I (1929), p. 419 ff.

[2] *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Bk. I, Ch. 10.