

The mobility of English tenant farmers, c. 1700–1850*

by David R. Stead

Abstract

This paper surveys the literature on the mobility of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English rack rent tenant farmers and farming families, and provides new quantitative estimates of the speed of turnover in the market for farm tenancies using data from archival sources. The evidence presented should increase our confidence in the stylised fact of relatively low tenurial mobility, although the extent of inertia should not be exaggerated. Some of the factors that could disrupt the apparent underlying long-term relationship between landlord and tenant are considered.

Agricultural historians have long been interested in the mobility of English tenant farmers. The duration of occupancy of farmers and farming families affected husbandry practices and land improvement and reflected, amongst other things, estate management policies and the extent to which the family/land bond broke down with the development of capitalist farming and the arrival of enclosure. There is a widely held belief that despite short, often annual leases, the turnover of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rack rent tenants in England was typically 'low'.¹ This stylised fact, though, is based on surprisingly little consolidated evidence. The literature covering 1850–1914 has recently been reviewed, but for the period 1700–1850 '[t]here is no general survey'.² This paper surveys the literature on the mobility of rack rent tenant farmers on privately owned estates during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and extends these existing studies by providing new data from archival sources. The evidence indicates that the widespread belief of generally low turnover is not in need of significant revision. The average farmer may not have remained on a holding for life. Nevertheless, the duration of tenants' occupancy was not as short as the terms of their leases implied and there was a good deal of

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¹ A. Offer, 'Farm tenure and land values in England, c. 1750–1950', *EcHR* 44 (1991), p. 10. Compare R. C. Allen, *Enclosure and the yeoman: the agricultural development of the south Midlands, 1450–1850* (1992), pp. 181, 209; J. V. Beckett, 'Landownership and estate management', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales* (hereafter *Agrarian History*), VI, 1750–1850 (1989), p. 616; C. Clay, 'Landlords and estate management in England', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *Agrarian History*, V (ii)

(1985), pp. 210, 213; L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780–1850* (1987), pp. 254–5; G. E. Mingay, *English landed society in the eighteenth century* (1963), pp. 170–1; M. E. Turner, J. V. Beckett and B. Afton, *Farm production in England, 1700–1914* (2001), pp. 32, 41.

² Offer, 'Farm tenure', p. 10. The 1850–1914 survey is G. E. Mingay, 'The farmer', in E. J. T. Collins (ed.), *Agrarian History*, VII (2000), pp. 767–78.

family continuity on the same property, although this appears unlikely to have lasted for more than a generation or two. Some of the factors that could disrupt the apparent underlying pattern of tenurial stability are also considered.

I

There are a number of reasons to expect low mobility amongst English rack rent tenants. A landowner with some sense of social responsibility, or who wanted to obtain any approbation that came from being perceived as a good landlord, might have preferred not to disturb the farming families on his estate. Among landowners' other possible non-economic motives for allowing tenurial continuity were to ensure the farmer's vote for a particular electoral candidate or his co-operation in preserving game.³ The economic arguments for renewal of tenancy contracts were perhaps even stronger. Sitting tenants possessed established business contacts and specialist knowledge of the idiosyncrasies of the farm's soil, both of which would take a newcomer time to achieve.⁴ These factors gave the incumbent farmer, and by extension his widow and sons, an advantage in bidding when the term of the current lease ended, and therefore represented a barrier to entry to those seeking to take over the farm from the current occupant. Indeed, modern auction theory suggests that a marginally higher valuation of an asset by one party can translate into a substantial competitive advantage in some types of auctions. Disadvantaged bidders may not even enter the auction, leaving the field clear for the current tenant.⁵

The advantage of the incumbent was not the only economic factor that would have helped produce a long term relationship between landlord and tenant. As Offer has noted, change was costly for both parties.⁶ Withdrawal costs incurred by the farmer included finding and then learning about a new holding. Evidence on the stated motivations of those tenants seeking a move is not suggestive of incessant shopping around for farms. The main reasons why a successful farmer decided to relocate were because he wanted to move up the 'agricultural ladder', either into owner-occupation or to a larger rented farm, or move sideways to make way for a son to take over his current holding.⁷ A change in tenancy brought costs for landlords too. The time and trouble of finding a suitable replacement would have been far from trivial if there was a scarcity of able farmers possessing sufficient capital, as some historians have concluded was typically the case.⁸ Another cost faced by the landlord was the incentive the outgoing farmer had to 'whip' the land and skimp on repairs during the final few years of his term of occupancy. Infrequent changes of tenantry, therefore, would reduce the number of occasions that the landlord was at risk of suffering asset stripping, avoiding the problems at

³ J. Farey, *General view of the agriculture and minerals of Derbyshire* (3 vols, 1811–7), III, pp. 633–4; Allen, *Enclosure and the yeoman*, pp. 181–2; F. M. L. Thompson, *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (1963), pp. 200–4.

⁴ Offer, 'Farm tenure', p. 12.

⁵ P. Klemperer, 'Auctions with almost common values: the "Wallet Game" and its applications', *European Economic Rev.* 42 (1998), pp. 757–69; id., 'Auction theory: a guide

to the literature', *J. Economic Surveys* 13 (1999), pp. 236–7.

⁶ Offer, 'Farm tenure', pp. 10–12.

⁷ See, for instance, Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service (hereafter BLARS), R3/4574/1–2, letter from Mr Bennett, 18 June 1842.

⁸ E.g. G. E. Mingay, 'The size of farms in the eighteenth century', *ECHR* 14 (1962), pp. 473–7; K. Wrightson, *Earthly necessities: economic lives in early modern Britain* (2000), pp. 284–6.

Nidd, West Riding, where the crop yield was said to be 'a very deteriorated one from the land being much run out from the frequent changes of the tenantry'.⁹

Considering the variety of factors making for continuity, it is unsurprising that contemporary comment provides numerous examples of individual farmers, or the same farming family, occupying a property for periods of time ranging from twelve successive years to 'centuries', as well as instances of landlords said to grant short leases but rarely change their tenants.¹⁰ Comments on the rapid turnover of farmers – as at Nidd – were far more infrequent.¹¹ Despite the general impression of tenurial stability given by qualitative sources, this evidence alone cannot be conclusive if only because of the possibility of selection bias. Contemporaries, for instance, might have been especially likely to note examples of long periods of occupancy, perhaps because they thought them unusual. Quantitative estimates of the length of tenurial terms are therefore required. The next section reviews the existing literature; new evidence follows.

The qualitative evidence does, though, indicate that various factors could disrupt the purported underlying pattern of tenurial stability. Most obviously, lack of farm profitability produced greater turnover. This effect would presumably manifest itself most powerfully when prices and costs were generally unfavourable for a succession of years. In the period covered by this paper, the two candidates are the (uneven) depressions during the 1730s–40s and after the Napoleonic Wars. The prosperous times of the wartime agricultural boom, however, could in theory also have raised turnover, perhaps as competition for farms increased or because more farmers sought to ascend the agricultural ladder.¹² Furthermore, stability might be temporarily disrupted by one-off events at the local level, such as enclosure or a new landowner or estate manager who wanted to amalgamate farms by turning out tenants. Relatively low survival rates may also be expected where tenants possessed short leases or occupied farms that were small or located on economically or physically marginal land. Where the evidence permits, the quantitative data on farmer's duration given below is related to these factors. Yet

⁹ PRO, IR/18/12734, tithe file, 1841.

¹⁰ Quote from J. Caird, *English agriculture in 1850–51* (1852, repr. 1968), p. 347. See also *ibid.*, pp. 2, 333–4; Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter Bodl.), MS. dd Harcourt C/266, estate survey, 1871, fos 71, 76; Buckinghamshire RO, D/DR/8/16/1, Rev. T. Townson to W. Drake, 2 May 1753; Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, B/170, declaration by T. Harknett, 1851; T. Batchelor, *General view of the agriculture of the county of Bedford* (1808), p. 43; R. W. Dickson and W. Stevenson, *General view of the agriculture of Lancashire* (1815), pp. 127, 139–40; R. Lowe, *General view of the agriculture of the county of Nottingham* (1798), p. 16; W. Mavor, *General view of the agriculture of Berkshire* (1808), p. 90; W. Pitt, *A general view of the agriculture of the county of Leicester* (1809), pp. 31, 82–3; H. E. Strickland, *A general view of the agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (1812), pp. 72–3; T. W. Beastall, *A north country estate: the Lumleys and Saundersons as landowners, 1600–1900* (1974), pp. 103, 133; Clay in *Agrarian History V* (ii), p. 213; D. R. Hainsworth

and C. Walker (eds), *The correspondence of Lord Fitzwilliam of Milton and Francis Guybon, his steward, 1697–1709* (Northamptonshire Rec. Soc. 36, 1990), pp. 131, 276; S. Matthews, 'The cattle plague in Cheshire, 1865–1866', *Northern Hist.* 38 (2001), p. 117; J. Wake and D. C. Webster (eds), *The letters of Daniel Eaton to the third Earl of Cardigan, 1725–1732* (Northamptonshire Rec. Soc. 24, 1971), p. 99.

¹¹ Christ Church Archives Oxford, MS Estates 72, fos 286–7, letter from J. Stratton, 6 Jan. 1852; Caird, *English agriculture*, pp. 131–2; J. Middleton, *View of the agriculture of Middlesex* (1798), p. 51; J. E. Crowther and P. A. Crowther (eds), *The diary of Robert Sharp of South Cave: life in a Yorkshire village, 1812–1837* (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new ser. 26, 1997), pp. 107, 206; Wake and Webster (eds), *Eaton letters*, pp. 93, 101, 103, 126.

¹² For an overview of these periods, see M. E. Turner, J. V. Beckett and B. Afton, *Agricultural rent in England, 1690–1914* (1997), ch. 11.

the possible relationship between turnover and farm size/quality highlights the problem of assigning a causal direction to any correlation found. For instance, relatively rapid turnover on small farms could have been because farmers used these properties as a rung from which to move up the agricultural ladder. Alternatively, the holding may have been small because of frequent changes of tenants: if farmers found the farm unprofitable, the landlord might have decided to reduce its size to make it more attractive. Similarly, a finding of rapid turnover on poor soil could be explained by farmers being eager to leave that type of land, or because frequent changes of lessees led to deteriorating soil quality.

II

Quantitative studies of the speed of turnover track tenants' names over time, almost always from estate rentals or land tax returns. If the incoming tenant possessed the same surname as the outgoing, he is usually assumed to have been a member of the same family. This method of tracing family inheritance of farms misses successions down the female line, but on the other hand an incomer could have come from an unrelated family that coincidentally shared the outgoing's surname. The hope is that these errors are self-cancelling. Another caveat is that the units of property recorded were self-contained to the landlord but not necessarily to the tenant, who may have owned or rented farmland in addition to that tracked by the researcher. Further, the speed of tenants' turnover ought to be judged 'fast' or 'slow' relative to some benchmark. Scholars have tended not to explicitly state what their yardstick is, perhaps because of the danger of arbitrariness in specifying a threshold number of years survival (or a threshold proportion of farmers remaining after some time period). One attempt to address this issue was made by those historians who used the land tax returns to assess the turnover of occupancy and land-ownership associated with parliamentary enclosure. When conducting cross-sectional analysis, they classified parishes into three categories – old enclosed, currently enclosing and still open – and used the first or last group as their benchmark. In longitudinal analysis, the pre-enclosure experience was a yardstick for what occurred post-enclosure.¹³ Where possible, this paper instead focuses on comparing actual lengths of occupancy with the terms of leases. Frequent renewal of contracts, particularly to different members of the same family, must be indicative of sluggishness in the market for farm tenancies.

A final caveat is that almost all mobility figures include tenants who left by retiring or dying. Removing this demographically-driven turnover from the statistics would produce a lower degree of churning than that suggested by the raw data. Unfortunately, adjusting for death and retirement is difficult because it is rarely straightforward to discover why a farmer's name disappeared from an estate rent book. Thus the following results provide an upwardly biased estimate of underlying mobility because they include turnover driven by demographics as well as the market. If Beastall's study of the Earl of Scarbrough's Yorkshire estate during the later period of 1862–1905 is any guide, the magnitude of the bias is not insignificant: at least 27 per cent of individual tenancy changes were due to death or retirement.¹⁴ Another factor possibly

¹³ See J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: common right, enclosure and social change in England, 1700–1820* (1996), chs 7–8, and the studies cited in nn. 23–4 below.

¹⁴ Beastall, *North country estate*, p. 170.

producing exaggerated estimates of mobility is that the survival of usable rentals is probably biased towards estate managers who kept good records and who therefore might have been more commercially minded than the norm, and thus less willing to allow continued occupancy where this was not economically justified.¹⁵

From the rent rolls of Lord Pembroke's Wilton estate, Thompson estimated that in 1865, 55 per cent of the tenantry had occupied their holdings for at least the previous ten years, probably largely under tenancy-at-will (annual contracts). On the Alnwick estate of the Duke of Northumberland in 1880, only 40 of his 673 farms had been in the same family for three generations, although half of the current tenants had succeeded to their father's holding. Farrant found lower rates of turnover on three estates in the lower Ouse valley, Sussex. On the four farms at Stanmer owned by the Earls of Chichester (mean size approximately 900 acres), the duration of occupancy for the three families present in the early 1880s ranged from sixty years to nearly a century under leases of seven to twenty-one years. In Kingston, the Hodsons held a c. 1300-acre farm continuously from 1840–72, while two branches of the Saxby family occupied the Marquis of Abergavenny's Southdown estate (c. 2000 acres) for a similar period. The cessation of these long-lasting terms of family occupancy can be attributed to the impact of the late nineteenth-century agricultural depression.¹⁶

Saville's research on property in the Sussex Weald owned by the Fuller family provides turnover data on 23 farms during the 1720s and 1730s; only one was rented for more than £50 per annum and where possible the estate managers used tenancy-at-will. The mean duration of survival for an individual tenant was eight years (median seven years), and in no instance was the outgoer replaced by a member of the same family. According to Saville, this 'regular' turnover was caused by the agricultural depression and a decline in the demand from the local ironworks for horses, carts and other services that had been provided by the farmers; these two factors were possibly exacerbated by a policy of farm amalgamation. There was a positive association between length of occupancy and the farm's rent, but the correlation coefficient was not statistically significant even at the ten per cent level (p -value=0.106). Farmers still able to diversify by supplying some services to the ironworks experienced the longest survival rates.¹⁷

Short found similarly 'relatively rapid' mobility in the same region about a century later. Fifteen per cent of those listed in the 1841 census as farmers or graziers living in the Sussex High Weald were still in the same parish twenty years later (although not necessarily on the same farm), with the lowest local survival rate being 8.4 per cent in the Worth area. Turnover was especially fast on 62 farms (average size 137 acres) owned by the fourth Earl of Ashburnham. During 1830–50, each property was occupied by an average of three tenants who came from 2.4 tenant families. Short attributed the speed of transference to the nature of the farmers, their tenancy agreements and the land. The fields were small, hilly and poorly drained, and the roads poor. Contemporaries criticised the Ashburnham tenantry for lacking capital and ability: a

¹⁵ Compare Turner *et al*, *Agricultural rent*, pp. 77–9.

¹⁶ F. M. L. Thompson, 'Agriculture since 1870', in VCH *Wiltshire*, IV (1959), p. 94, table 2; *id.*, *Landed society*, pp. 202–3; S. Farrant, 'The management of four estates in the lower Ouse valley (Sussex) and agricultural

change, 1840–1920', *Southern Hist.* 1 (1979), pp. 161–4.

¹⁷ Calculations from R. V. Saville, 'Gentry wealth on the Weald in the eighteenth century: the Fullers of Brightling Park', *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 121 (1983), pp. 132–6. No rent data was available for two farms.

TABLE 1. Survival of farming families at Holkham, Norfolk, 1790–1850

<i>Period</i>	<i>Number of farms held by same family throughout</i>	<i>Survival rate (%)^a</i>
1790–1810	25	38
1810–30	21	32
1830–50	37	56
1790–1830	9	14
1810–50	14	21
1790–1850	5	8

Source: Wade Martins, *A great estate at work*, table 4.1.

Note: ^a Calculated assuming a constant 66 farms on the estate, as implied by Wade Martins, *A great estate at work*, app. 4.

demographic breakdown indicates that they were either young and presumably eager to ascend the agricultural ladder, or old and possibly conservative; moreover, most held at will. The post-war agricultural depression may have been another factor making for low survival rates. Witnesses to government inquiries of the 1830s said that this part of Sussex was a particular cause for concern chiefly on account of low prices and an outbreak of sheep rot. An average length of individual occupation of nearly seven years, then, is possibly not unrespectable given these obstacles, although the relative absence of family continuation is again striking.¹⁸

The Ashburnham tenants' turnover was generally slightly lower in the 1840s than in the 1830s, an issue that Short did not pursue but which is tempting to ascribe to the cessation of the worst of the agricultural depression. Short did analyse the relationship between farm size and the number of individuals occupying the holding, finding a positive but statistically insignificant correlation. For a sub-sample of 27 farms containing land described as 'poor' in an 1835 survey, it is possible to assess the association between mobility and soil quality by correlating turnover with the percentage of that farm's acreage recorded as 'poor'. Interestingly, the results suggest that there was some tendency for the turnover of individuals to be lower on poorer quality farms: the correlation coefficient was negative and statistically significant at the ten per cent level although not quite at the more demanding five per cent (p -value=0.055). The correlation between land quality and family turnover was also negative but not statistically significant (p =0.17).¹⁹

Table 1 presents the results of Wade Martin's study of family occupancy on the Coke estate at Holkham, Norfolk. The first three survival rates indicate that at least a third of the farms were held by the same family for two decades. That the two forty-year survival rates are noticeably lower shows that many of these families did not remain for another twenty years. Less than one farm in ten was cultivated by the same family in 1790 and in 1850. The three twenty-year survival rates indicate that tenurial stability was lowest during 1810–30, while in

¹⁸ B. Short, 'The turnover of tenants on the Ashburnham estate, 1830–1850', *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 113 (1976), pp. 157–74; *Select Committee reports on the state of agriculture*, BPP, 1833, V, pp. 608–17; 1836, VIII (i), pp. 140–56; 1837, V,

pp. 176–81.

¹⁹ Calculated using data from Short, 'Turnover', table 2, appendix.

TABLE 2. Ten-year survival rates of Northamptonshire tenants in open and enclosing parishes, 1774–1814, by size of holding (%)

	0–5 acres	5–25 acres	25–50 acres	50–100 acres	>100 acres	Overall	Sample size
Open	50	62	90	36	86	62	129
Enclosing	26	53	50	56	73	50	236

Source: Neeson, *Commoners*, table 8.5.

1830–50 durability was substantially greater. These differences reflect the changing impact of the post-war agricultural depression on the estate, which acutely affected the tenantry in the early 1820s but was far less serious during the 1830s.²⁰ It could be claimed that the Holkham evidence would be likely to produce lengthy terms of occupation, if only because of the estate managers' widespread use of long leases, which were much less common elsewhere. Nevertheless, continuity was also present where contracts were far shorter, such as on the estates of the Earls of Scarbrough, where annual agreements were common. The Codd family held a large farm in Glentworth, Lincolnshire, in 1727 and remained there until 1818. Other family members occupied 70 acres in Willoughton (also Lincolnshire) in 1736, but had left by 1760, and in 1779 a John Codd farmed 348 acres in Tetney and Holton, again Lincolnshire, and was still there with the same acreage in 1813. 'A fairly high degree of continuity of occupation' was present on the Durham estate, where five of the eleven occupiers of over 15 acres in 1856 had been in place since 1845.²¹

Table 2 reports survival rates from Neeson's study of Northamptonshire tenants who disappeared from the land tax returns over a ten-year period in 23 open and enclosing parishes. Neeson claimed that the figures for the open parishes showed tenants' 'habitual mobility', although whether an overall individual survival rate of 62 per cent after ten years demonstrates 'customary mobility' is perhaps moot. While not indicative of lifetime occupancy, it does appear to represent a fair degree of continuity. Table 2 suggests that tenants tended to survive for longer on larger holdings, but after Ginter's criticism of the use of the land tax returns in calculating acreage equivalents, some caution is required in interpreting Neeson's figures disaggregated by farm size.²²

Neeson's research also indicated that parliamentary enclosure was associated with higher attrition rates for tenant farmers. This is in line with the weight of evidence elsewhere, notably Walton's study of Oxfordshire parishes over 1785–1832, which also using land tax data, found that enclosure usually temporarily accelerated the turnover of tenant families, although not to levels that were high compared with the peaks which could occur at other times. (Walton also calculated that the overall rate of family mobility increased during the latter part of the

²⁰ R. A. C. Parker, *Coke of Norfolk: a financial and agricultural study, 1707–1842* (1975), ch. 10; S. Wade Martins, *A great estate at work. The Holkham estate and its inhabitants in the nineteenth century* (1980), pp. 85–92, 112.

²¹ Beastall, *North country estate*, pp. 41, 94–5, 100, 104, 128, 178.

²² Compare D. E. Ginter, *A measure of wealth: the English land tax in historical analysis* (1992); Neeson, *Commoners*, p. 228, app. A–B; L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Parliamentary enclosure and the emergence of an English agricultural proletariat', *JEcH* 61 (2001), pp. 643–4; M. E. Turner, 'Common property and property in common', *AgHR* 42 (1994), p. 162.

TABLE 3. Survival rates at Middle Clayton, Buckinghamshire, 1679–1722

	1679–86	1686–94	1713–22
Farmer remains (% of total)	42	70	65
Farmer remains or widow retains farm (%)	58	70	75
Sample size	26	23	20

Source: Broad, 'Midland yeoman', table 3.

Napoleonic Wars, and was higher still in the post-war depression.) Broad's review argued that Midlands enclosures undertaken during 1650–1770 created more medium-term displacement compared to enclosures in that region in later periods, partly due to the greater amalgamation of farms and the semi-deliberate letting of them to outsiders.²³ Some scholars have concluded that parliamentary enclosure had a more limited impact on tenant farmers, yet their studies assessed the scale of change not by tracking the survival of lessees' names pre- and post-enclosure, but instead by comparing total tenant numbers, a 'mistake' according to Turner because stability in overall numbers did not necessarily preclude a radically changed personnel.²⁴

Table 3 summarises Broad's quantification of turnover on the Verney estate at Middle Clayton, Buckinghamshire; the figures cover farms which in the 1680s rented for over £10 a year with a mean size of approximately 73 acres. Broad claimed that there was little difference between the depression years of the 1670s and 1680s and the purportedly less difficult times around 1720, since attrition rates were generally 'high'. But as with Neeson's study, there is possibly a case for emphasising continuity rather than mobility. By this time, almost all the tenants held at will. Thus, in each sub-period, 42–75 per cent of farmers or farming families survived more than half a dozen renewals of their tenancy agreements. Furthermore, Broad pointed out that there were farmers who remained in the parish for three or four decades, 'sometimes on the same farm', although only six surnames had a continuous presence for more than a hundred years between 1600–1800.²⁵

A particularly valuable aspect of Broad's study was his investigation of the reasons why farmers vacated their holdings. He uncovered details for 11 of the 29 outgoers covered by Table 3. Five suffered downward mobility and became cottagers or paupers on the estate, while six men died and had their holding taken over by their widow. This role for widows is worth highlighting in two respects. First, that at least a fifth of the turnover events captured in Table 3 were caused by death further suggests that turnover driven by demographics, rather than the market, was far from trivial. Second, it confirms that, despite prejudices against female farmers, widows could be important in ensuring family continuity. A widow might hold the

²³ J. R. Walton, 'The residential mobility of farmers and its relationship to the parliamentary enclosure movement in Oxfordshire', in A. D. M. Phillips and B. J. Turton (eds), *Environment, man and economic change* (1975), pp. 238–52; J. Broad, 'The fate of the Midland yeoman: tenants, copyholders, and freeholders as farmers in north Buckinghamshire, 1620–1800', *Continuity and Change* 14 (1999), pp. 327–31.

²⁴ M. E. Turner, 'Parliamentary enclosure and land-ownership change in Buckinghamshire', *EcHR* 28 (1975), p. 569; also J. D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and the small landowner', *EcHR* [first ser.] 10 (1940), pp. 126–7 and J. M. Martin, 'The small landowner and parliamentary enclosure in Warwickshire', *EcHR* 32 (1979), table 8, p. 343.

²⁵ Broad, 'Midland yeoman', pp. 332–4.

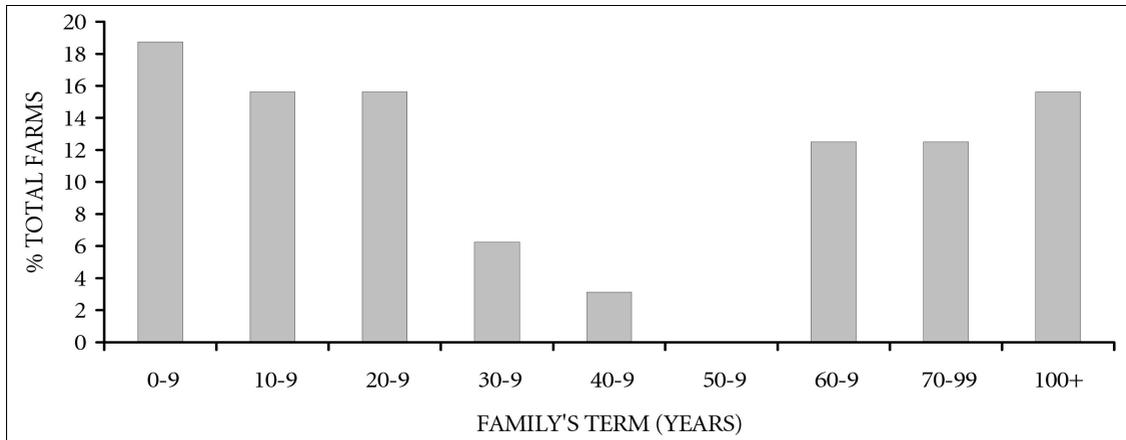


FIGURE 1. Family tenurial terms on Harcourt land in six Oxfordshire parishes at 1849, by percentage of estate farms

Source: Bodl., MS. dd Harcourt C/267, list of tenancy terms, 1849.

Note: The parishes are Cogges, Hinksey, Northmoor, Nuneham Courtenay, Shifford and Stanton Harcourt.

farm in her own name for the remainder of her husband's lease, or until a son was old enough to take over.²⁶

III

Consulting archival material adds additional examples to these published estate case studies. In 1849, an unknown writer listed the number of years each current tenant family had held land on the Harcourts' estate in Oxfordshire. Figure 1 gives the stated length of these family tenurial terms. Most of the farmers appear to have been rack renters, with leases lasting between one and twenty-one years.²⁷ Mobility on the Harcourt estate was very low. As many as 41 per cent of the farms were said to have been occupied by the same family for at least 60 years. On average, a family survived for approximately 45 years. A notable feature of Figure 1 is the small percentage of farms held for 30–59 years, which indicates that during the Napoleonic Wars, the Harcourts rented out land to tenants with less staying power than in any other time. The most obvious explanation is that the wartime boom attracted farmers who, unlike many established occupants, could not survive the post-war downturn in farming fortunes. There is evidence of a 'rush of people like journalists, shopkeepers, even army officers "running helter skelter" to be farmers during the Wars, and even if the Harcourt newcomers were able agriculturists, they may have been particularly vulnerable to the subsequent depression if they had borrowed to equip their new farms.²⁸

The survival of a survey of 1832 makes it possible to calculate the approximate acreage of

²⁶ Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*, pp. 254, 287–9; I. Pinchbeck, *Women workers and the industrial revolution, 1750–1850* (1930, repr. 1969), chs 1–2.

²⁷ Bodl., MS. dd Harcourt B/37, estate particulars, 1814; C/267, C/270–7, tenancy agreements, various years.

²⁸ Quote from Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*, p. 253.

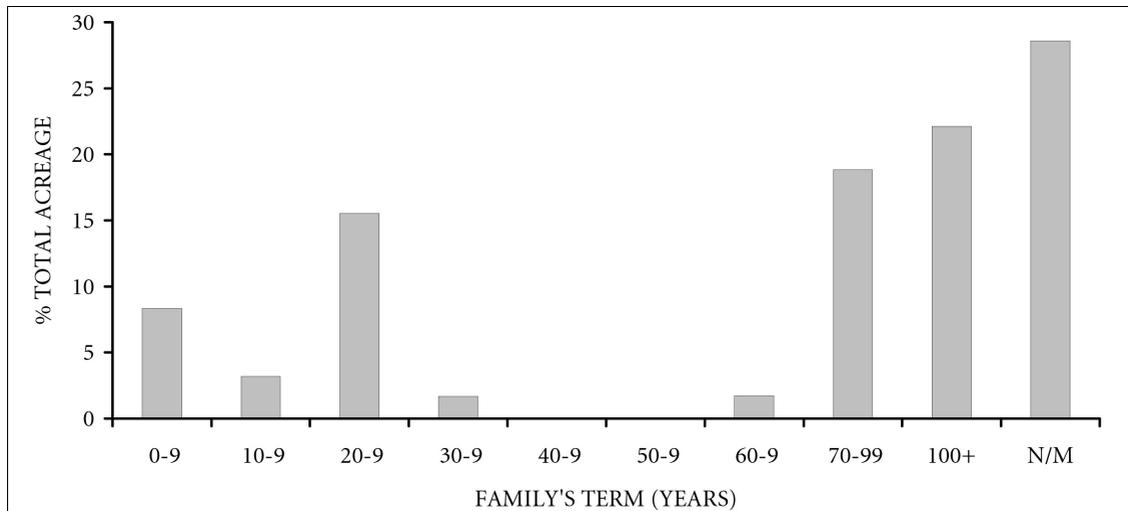


FIGURE 2. Family tenurial terms on Harcourt land in three Oxfordshire parishes at 1849, by percentage of estate acreage

Sources: As figure 1 plus Bodl., MS. dd Harcourt C/265, estate survey, 1832.

Note: The parishes are Cogges, Northmoor and Shifford. N/M is unmatched.

17 of the 32 farms depicted in Figure 1. Figure 2 presents the results. The largest single category was unmatched (N/M), which includes short occupancy terms and farm acreage changes. This residual notwithstanding, the graph indicates that farms rented out on long family tenures were at least as big as the estate average. For example, families who had occupied Harcourt land for over seventy years held a larger proportion of the total acreage (41 per cent) than their proportion of the total number of farms (28 per cent). There was almost no difference to the distribution depicted by Figure 2 if the rent of the land was used instead of the number of acres. It appears that, at least on this estate, high survival rates were not confined to small or poor quality farms.

An alternative method of quantifying the speed of tenants' turnover is to count the number of occasions on which a sample of farmers moved. Unfortunately, the farming careers that are by far the easiest to reconstruct are those of prominent agriculturists whose experience is unlikely to have been representative. Such men must have been relatively mobile to the extent that they possessed a migratory attitude and the aptitude to make any transition work. Thus their attrition rates probably represent an upper bound to the national average. Examination of the careers of twelve elite farmers included in the Dictionary of National Biography on CD-ROM indicates a mean individual tenurial term of 12 years (median 9 years; 14 observations on duration). The incomer was related to the outgoing tenant in at least 6 of the 17 recorded tenancy changes. These figures for upwardly mobile individuals, then, appear to confirm the generalisation of relatively limited mobility and not insignificant family continuity suggested by many, but not all, of the estate case studies.²⁹

²⁹ The sample comprised of Robert Bakewell, John Booth, Richard Booth, Thomas Booth, John Ellman, Richard Ellman, John Loudon, John Morton, Clare Read, William Torr, Jethro Tull and Arthur Young.

IV

As a pilot study of another approach of quantifying the turnover of rack rent lessees, a sample of 32 large farms located in southern England was assembled using estate rentals in ten archives. To ensure the maximum possible diversity, no two properties from the same set of estate rent books were included. From each series of rentals, a large property was randomly selected and tenurial details recorded; the appendix lists the sources employed. Farms likely to be smaller than 100 acres were almost always ignored because the focus of the project was on obtaining turnover estimates for those holdings under which the majority of agricultural land was occupied, namely farms of over 100 acres.³⁰ Data collection ceased in the event of substantial boundary changes to the farm being discovered, for example upon enclosure, since like would not then be compared with like. Attempts to obtain demographic details such as family connections and deaths of occupants by consulting parish registers were abandoned after the successful linkage rate turned out to be very low.

Together, the thirty-two farms listed in thirty-two different sets of estate rentals provided 1622 observations on the turnover of rack renters between 1697 and 1859.³¹ The longest recorded time-series for a farm was 160 years, with the smallest being eight and the mean nearly 51 years. The properties lie across ten counties chiefly in the south Midlands: six in both of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, four in each of Berkshire, Hertfordshire and Kent, three in Oxfordshire, two in Northamptonshire and one in Cambridgeshire, Sussex and Wiltshire. Private individuals owned all the farms apart from five that were the property of institutions. The most densely covered period was c. 1760–1830, with the number of annual observations peaking at nineteen around 1800. Coverage was poor during the start and end points of the sample. The mean size of the farms was calculated at roughly 240 acres (median 220 acres). Precision is difficult due to incomplete information: for three properties no data on size was found, and for many others there was only a single observation. Because smallholdings were deliberately excluded from the sample frame, the mean is substantially higher than other estimates of average farm size.³² Unfortunately, there are no obvious available yardsticks with which to assess how well the sample reflects the characteristics of larger landholdings in southern England. For example, typically little or no information was available on how the acreage of the sample farms was distributed between arable, meadow and pasture.

On the presumption that the sample is adequate, descriptive statistics of the duration of occupancy for individual tenants and farming families can be presented. One method of calculating the mean duration involves pooling the annual data across all the farms and dividing the 1622 observations by the total number of tenurial changes (118 individual and 73 family). Using this approach, the mean term of occupancy of an individual farmer was about 14 years, and the mean family term approximately 22 years. Another method assigns equal weight to each farm's set of observations by calculating the mean duration on each of the thirty-two

³⁰ See M. Overton, *Agricultural revolution in England. The transformation of the agrarian economy, 1500–1850* (1996), tables 4.10–4.13. In two cases the size rule was broken because a lengthy time-series could be easily transcribed. Six of the rentals series were used by Turner *et*

al, *Agricultural rent*, app. 1.

³¹ One observation is one year (new style to Lady Day) on one farm.

³² e.g. the c. 146-acres estimated for the south Midlands in c. 1800. Allen, *Enclosure and the yeoman*, table 4.4.

TABLE 4. Descriptive statistics of individual and family tenurial terms on the sample farms, 1697–1859 (years)

	<i>Individual</i>	<i>Family</i>
Mean	14.7	27.4
Median	14.9	19.3
Minimum	4.8	5.0
Maximum	25.0	80.0
95% confidence interval for mean ^a	12.8, 16.6	20.8, 33.9
Sample size (farms)	32	32

Sources: See appendix.

Note: ^a Lower bound, upper bound.

properties and then taking the average of these. Table 4 presents the results. Both methods generated very similar outcomes, indicating a mean occupancy term for an individual of 14–15 years. The mean term for a family, approximately 22–27 years, appears to have been nearly double that of an individual. Calculations using the pooled data suggest that, when an individual lessee departed, in nearly two-fifths of cases another family member replaced him or her.³³ Widows were recorded as tenants on seven of the thirty-two farms, further supporting claims that on occasion their holding role was important in ensuring continued family occupancy.

The mean duration statistics become even more illuminating when they are compared to the leases that gave farmers access to the land. Some tenancy details were found for twenty of the thirty-two properties. Treating each year of a tenancy-at-will as a separate observation, there were 80 observations on the length of farmers' leases. Tenancy-at-will accounted for 42 of these; the next most frequent were leases for 12 and 21 years (six observations apiece).³⁴ The mean contract length was about 6 years. The actual term of farmers' occupation, 14–15 years, therefore appears to have been approximately twice as long as the length of their leases. For farming families (about twenty-five years occupation) the difference was roughly four-fold. Moreover, there may be a bias towards long leases surviving in the archives, since estate managers presumably would have needed to keep these documents for a longer period of time than shorter agreements. If so, then the true mean contract length would have been less than the recorded six years, thereby making the divergence between the formal and actual duration of occupancy even greater than that suggested by the raw data.

It is tempting to disaggregate the sample, for instance to assess whether turnover was slower on large or enclosed farms. Regression analysis is hindered by a variety of technical problems; descriptive statistics suggest that individual and especially family tenurial terms tended to be longer on farms that were under 220 acres (the sample median), unenclosed and owned by institutions, but these results must be treated extremely tentatively due to the small number

³³ = (118–73)/118.

three years was treated as a three-year lease, and so forth.

³⁴ A twelve-year rack rent lease determinable every

of observations in each sub-category (at most 15 farms).³⁵ Data paucity also precludes persuasive assessments of how the relationship between lease length and actual turnover changed over time. Mean occupancy terms were calculated for three groups of farms: those properties whose tenancy observations began before 1719, during 1790–1815, and after 1815. For what they are worth given the small sub-period sample sizes (at most seven farms), the results indicate that tenants' duration of occupancy declined over time, particularly for families, whose mean occupancy term was twice as long in farms with observations beginning pre-1719 compared to the two subsequent sub-periods.³⁶ The limited data on leases for the first two groups of farms suggests that the mean contract length fell between 1697–1719 and 1790–1815, but that tenants always stayed longer than the terms of their leases, and that the difference increased over time because the fall in mean contract length outweighed the decline in actual occupancy. Thus the duration of individuals rose from very approximately twice their contract length to nearly five-times; for families the increase was from roughly six- to eight-fold.³⁷

In those clear instances of tenancy-at-will, totalling 42 observations across eight farms, the lessees did not move anything like annually. A tenant-at-will departed on only three occasions, and in two cases the incomer came from the same family as the outgoer. One long surviving tenant-at-will was Samuel Bennett, who held a farm on the Paynes' estate at Tempsford, Bedfordshire, throughout 1807–25. Bennett's experience was not unusual for a substantial tenant-at-will on the Tempsford estate at this time, despite there being quite strong pressures for tenurial change. In addition to the final years of a national agricultural boom, and the beginnings of the post-war depression, trustees ran the estate during the owner's minority; presumably they would have been keen to leave it in good order. Indeed, Charles Payne's actions after he came of age indicate that the family could not afford to neglect their estate: he mortgaged it, and then sold up in 1824. Finally, the estate managers were not shy of shaking up tenants, for four small occupants were given notices to quit in 1817. Yet all seven large farming families in occupation in 1807 (median holding about 220 acres) were still in place in 1825, as were five of the original seven tenants-at-will. Of course the Tempsford lessees could have been excellent agriculturists – and there is no indication of dissatisfaction with them in an estate survey of 1810 – but this evidence does not suggest that the turnover of tenants-at-will was necessarily inherently high.³⁸

V

Some contemporaries expressed concern about the security of sitting tenants when an estate was sold ('new lords new laws').³⁹ Even if relatively few farmers were at risk because substantial

³⁵ Mean individual terms: 16, 15 and 16 years on small, open and institutionally owned farms respectively. Mean family terms: 37, 32 and 50 years respectively.

³⁶ Mean individual terms: 19, 14 and 16 years in the 1697–1719, 1790–1815 and post-1815 groups respectively. Mean family terms: 45, 24 and 20 years respectively.

³⁷ The mean lease length of the 1697–1719 group was 8 years (14 observations), falling to 3 years for the 1790–1815 group (26 observations). Only one lease was

found for the post-1815 group. The small number of observations also precludes consideration of changes in the importance of widows over time, the hypothesis being that their role declined due to the alleged rise of 'separate spheres'.

³⁸ BLARS, BS/1481/1–4, notices to quit, Aug. 1817; BS/1486–92, estate survey and rentals, 1807–25; WY/279, sale particulars, 1824.

³⁹ Pitt, *General view, Leicester*, p. 343.

TABLE 5. Tenantry under different owners, East Lockinge, Berkshire, 1842–68

<i>Farm</i>	1842 (<i>Bastard trustees</i>)	1854 (<i>Loyd</i>)	1863 (<i>Loyd</i>)	1868 (<i>Loyd</i>)
East Lockinge	William Gibbs	Jas. Gibbs	Jas. Gibbs	Jas. Gibbs
Lockinge Kiln	William Clarke	Jas. Gibbs	Jas. Gibbs	Jas. Gibbs
West Ginge	Sarah Saunders	Chas. Tame	Jas. Bartholomew	?J. K. Reeves
Red Barn, West Ginge	John K. Reeves	J. K. Reeves	J. K. Reeves	J. K. Reeves
Ardington Wick	Richard Richards	Richard Richards	In hand	In hand
Ardington Estate	Thomas Richards	Thomas Richards	Thomas Richards	Thomas Richards
Ardington Clarke's	Mary Clarke	Chas. Clarke	Francis Clarke	In hand

Source: Havinden, *Estate villages*, tables 5, 15, app. 5.

Notes: Landowner given in parenthesis. Includes property in West Ginge and Ardington initially owned by Bastard.

amounts of agricultural land were not frequently traded, it is still worthwhile attempting to assess the impact of new landowners on tenurial turnover.⁴⁰ As a first test, the sample of 32 large farms was divided into two groups: properties that had been owned by the same family for many years and those that had been newly purchased, with the cut-off point being continued ownership for 25 years before the first tenancy observation. The mean length of the individual and family terms were (respectively) four and five years longer on the 19 holdings that had been owned by the same family for over 25 years, suggesting some disruption to tenurial stability upon a change of ownership.⁴¹

A second method is to track farm occupancy before and after the land was sold, although a caveat to the results obtained from this approach is that any changes in survival rates could be as much due to the altering prosperity of farming as the change of ownership. Havinden found records for two west Berkshire parishes, East Lockinge and Ardington. In 1718, Matthew Wymondsold purchased land in East Lockinge, including the township of West Ginge. After his death in 1757, Wymondsold's property passed (by his widow's remarriage) to John Pollexfen Bastard who, by 1781, owned the whole of West Ginge and most of East Lockinge. Comparing the nine farmers mentioned in a 1767 tithe survey of East Lockinge with a list of tenants liable for church repairs in 1718, just three surnames recur, all of whom were small-scale agriculturists. The changes seem to have been fundamentally driven by a desire for consolidation, because in 1781 the whole parish was let to a single farmer. Similarly, in West Ginge five tenants were listed before Wymondsold's purchase, but by 1767 one man cultivated the whole.⁴²

Table 5 lists the tenantry in East Lockinge before and after the Loyd family bought the manor from the trustees of the Bastard family in 1854. At that date, four of the seven farms had different

⁴⁰ Beckett in *Agrarian History*, VI, pp. 546–64, and Turner *et al*, *Agricultural rent*, pp. 170–2, 214–5, provide overviews of the land market.

⁴¹ Farms classified using J. Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1837–8); *id.*, *A general and heraldic dictionary of the peerage and baronetage of the United*

Kingdom (London, sixth edn, 1840); VCH, various vols. No information was found for two farms; the five institutional owners were excluded.

⁴² M. Havinden, *Estate villages revisited: a second, updated edition of a study of the Oxfordshire (formerly Berkshire) villages of Ardington and Lockinge* (1999), pp. 37–43, app. 1.

TABLE 6. Tenantry under different owners, Ardington, Berkshire, 1831–68

<i>Farm</i>	1831 (<i>Clarke</i>)	1842 (<i>Vernon</i>)	1854 (<i>Vernon</i>)	1863 (<i>Loyd</i>)	1868 (<i>Loyd</i>)
East Betterton	William Lawrence	Richard Lawrence	Chas. Lawrence	Wm. Whitfield	Wm. Whitfield
Mead	James Phillips	James Phillips	James Phillips	John Phillips & Jos. Boot	John Phillips
Mill	Mr Tame	Edmund Tame	Robert Willoughby	Robert Willoughby	In hand
Opposite church	Mr Mallam	Richard Mallam	?Thomas Goodwin	In hand	In hand
Land nr the Portway	John Ballard	[3 Ballards were smallholders]	?		
Present in 1831 but not 1842: Life Dacre (house and grounds); J. Palmer and J. Wiltshire (both land in Mead)					

Sources: As table 5 plus Havinden's tables 4, 6.

Notes: Landowner again given in parenthesis. There were substantial acreage changes over 1831–42.

tenants compared to 1842, although in only two cases were the new occupiers from another family. These latter newcomers represented 37 per cent of the total acreage of the farms as surveyed in 1842. By 1863, nine years after the purchase, two more tenant families had left; another two changes had occurred by 1868.

Table 6 gives the analogous details for Ardington. The first comparison is the names of the farmers present when the Clarke family sold up in 1831 with those under the second new owner, Robert Vernon, given in the tithe award eleven years later (Vernon purchased the estate in 1833). Three of the eight farming families, accounting for 15 per cent of the total acreage, had departed. All but one of those tenants surviving experienced large changes in the size of their holdings, gaining or losing upwards of a hundred or so acres. Another change of ownership came when the Loyd family bought the manor in 1861. Two years later, three of the four farms had different occupiers compared to 1854, two of which represented a complete change of the occupying family (comprising 70 per cent of the 1842 aggregate acreage). Seven years after the purchase, in 1868, one joint-tenant had departed and a second farm had been taken in hand. The Phillips family remained on Mead farm throughout the entire period covered by Table 6.

Linkage is also possible for the Paynes' estate at Tempsford, Bedfordshire, which was sold to William Stuart in 1824. The first column of Table 7 lists the substantial tenants-at-will at the time of the sale. Five years later, in 1829, five of the seven lessees – who together occupied 73 per cent of the total acreage – had survived the change of landlord, although John Bird lost 52 acres. Robert Denne, who left, had held the mansion house together with a small farm: Stuart might have decided to occupy these himself. By 1833 Bird had departed completely, while Samuel Bennett lost the acreage he had initially gained under the new owner. Thus the limited evidence from these three parishes indicates that, even when farmland did change hands, a sale rarely had a completely destabilising effect on the incumbent tenantry. A change of ownership could substantially quicken the speed of turnover, but at least as frequently the increase was barely perceptible.

TABLE 7. Tenants' survival under different owners, Tempsford, Bedfordshire, 1824–33

Tenants and acreage, 1824 (<i>Payne</i>)	Survivors and acreage, 1829 (<i>Stuart</i>)	Survivors and acreage, 1833 (<i>Stuart</i>)
Samuel Bennett, 342 acres	Samuel Bennett, 429 acres	Samuel Bennett, 336 acres
John Bird, 288 acres	John Bird, 236 acres	–
Silas Cross, 259 acres	–	–
Robert Denne, 163 acres	–	–
Richard Gell, 148 acres	Richard Gell, 148 acres	Richard Gell, 132 acres
Thomas Hill, 120 acres	Thomas Hill, 163 acres	Thomas Hill, 159 acres
Charles Woods, 240 acres	Charles Woods, 251 acres	Charles Woods, 259 acres

Source: BLARS, WY/38, 279, 307, map reference book, sale particulars, schedule.

VI

The evidence presented above suggested that the turnover experience of English rack rent tenants on private estates during 1700–1850 could vary widely according to factors such as the general prosperity of agriculture and the characteristics of the holding. Yet for historians seeking a generalisation of the national picture, the stylised fact of relatively low tenurial mobility appears to be broadly correct, particularly given scattered evidence that at least a fifth of individuals' tenancy changes were caused by death or retirement rather than market forces. The extent of inertia should not be exaggerated, however. It appears, for instance, to have been unlikely for a farming family to remain for more than a generation or two on the same holding. Nevertheless, it is telling that individuals and families stayed on their farms for significantly longer than the duration of their leases. In short, even if much of the data relates to the south and Midlands, the above results should increase the degree of belief in the stylised fact that eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English tenant farmers were not inherently mobile.

Appendix: Sources of the large farm sample⁴³

Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service

Bennett's farm, Tempsford, Bedfordshire (*Payne*), 1807–25, BS/1486–92, WY/279; Berry Fields, North Keysoe, Bedfordshire (*Crawley*), 1704–1804, C/1176–7, 1185–7, 1663–4, 1710, 1714, 1716–7, 1719, 1724, 1730, 1751–75; Rectory farm, Great Barford, Bedfordshire (*Francklin*, as tenant of Trinity College, Cambridge), 1821–39, FN/308/1–12, FN/1003–4, 1006, 1008, 1010; Stonebanks', Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire (*Gibbard*), 1818–38, GA/2449, 2456, 2460; Paradise farm, Crudwell, Wiltshire (*Lucas*), 1755–1808, L/26/1159, 1173, 1177, 1180, 1484; Feary's farm, Upper Dean, Bedfordshire (*Boswell*), 1767–81, PA/175, X/186/26; Bailey's farm, Sandy, Bedfordshire (*Pym*), 1802–30, PM/2384–6, 2938/1/1.

Berkshire RO

Furzy Knowle, ?Hanney or ?Shellingford, Berkshire (*Goodlake*), 1831–59, D/ECR/E1; Freemantle farm,

⁴³ Owner given in parenthesis: all years are new style to Lady Day.

?Wasing, Berkshire (Mount), 1772–87, D/EMT/A6–7; Old Hayes (etc.); Coleshill, Berkshire (Pleydell-Bouverie), 1766–75, D/EPB/E15/1–13, E21; T29/1A, 2A.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Parsonage estate, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire (All Souls College, Oxford), 1774–1852, MS. dd All Souls A/43–121, C/192/61, 63–4; C/194–5; Late Webb's, Wytham and Seacourt, Berkshire (Bertie), 1760–1809, MS. dd Bertie D/4, MS. Top. Berks A/5, B/16–36, 38–9; MS. Top. Oxon A/46–7, B/197–206, C/383; Maps MS. C.17.13 (44)R; Shield or Shill farm, Alvescot, Oxfordshire (Harcourt, as trustees of Blake's charity), 1798–1859, MS. dd Harcourt B/17–21, B36–7, C/131; Oxfordshire RO, Welch CV/II/1.

Buckinghamshire RO

Wattson's, Dorton, Buckinghamshire (Aubrey), 1785–1825, D/AF/122/216; D/AF/218/9, 40, D/AF/219, 221–2, 249–53; Havering Down farm, West Wycombe, Buckinghamshire (Dashwood), 1759–1848, D/D/6/130, 139, 155, D/D/14/1/1Q–5Q, D/D/14/3Aa, D/D/14/35/5; John Jane's, Amersham, Buckinghamshire (Tyrwhitt-Drake), 1812–51, D/DR/2/81/1–33, D/DR/2/83; Lodge farm, Medmenham, Buckinghamshire (Lee Antonie), 1776–1833, D/LE/3/150, 166, 169, D/LE/9/8–10, 17–18, 21/1–13, 22/1–24, 23/1–25, 31/1–10; Grove farm, Chesham, Buckinghamshire (Lowndes), 1745–1819, D/LO/4/18, 21, D/LO/6/1/14, 21, D/LO/6/9/2, 4–5.

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies

Fair Land or Fair Lawn farm, Stevenage, Hertfordshire (Lytton), 1797–1822, 23434, 46712, 46716, 57371–2; K/516–7, 519; Caswell farm, Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire (Drake-Garrard), 1767–89, 27233, 27245, 27424/1; Field's farm, ?Offley, Hertfordshire (Wilshere), 1799–1806, 61477/1–16; Rectory and Parsonage farm, Broxbourne, Hertfordshire (Bishop of London), 1697–1856, B/93, 252, 994, 1020–36.

Centre for Kentish Studies

Fyll farm, Egerton, Kent (Mann), 1814–50, U24/A2/1–43, U24/E1, E7; South Stour farm, Mersham and Aldington, Kent (Knatchbull), 1761–1804, U274/T12, U951/A22, A26, A33, A39, A42–4, C67, C136/3; Brasted Court Lodge farm, Brasted, Kent (Stanhope), 1777–1853, U1590/E8/4–12, E10/1, T51/1–2.

Northamptonshire RO

Chapman's, Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire (Wentworth-Fitzwilliam), 1750–1836, F(WW) 78–142 and unnumbered, Fitz Misc. Vols 92, 548, 550; Great Oak Close, Lilford, Northamptonshire (Powys), 1741–1828, POW/2–9.

Oxfordshire RO

Spelsbury farm, Spelsbury, Oxfordshire (Dillon), 1702–1802, DIL/I/L/33A–U, II/I/4–5, 7–11; How's, Hardwick, Buckinghamshire (Lee), 1719–78, DIL/XVII/C/11–15, 17–59.

Other

Hallwood farm, Chatteris, Cambridgeshire (Christ Church, Oxford), 1818–44, Christ Church Archives, LIV/B/2, MS Estates 11, fos 100–260; Estates 12, fos 307–411; Charlton Manor farm, Singleton, Sussex (Lennox), 1765–1801, West Sussex RO, Goodwood MS 1904, E/4501–2, E/5143; Clowder's farm, Sydenham, Kent (Leathersellers Company), 1784–1822, BPP, 1824, XIII, *Report of the Charity Commissioners*, pp. 252–3, app. pp. 760–2.