

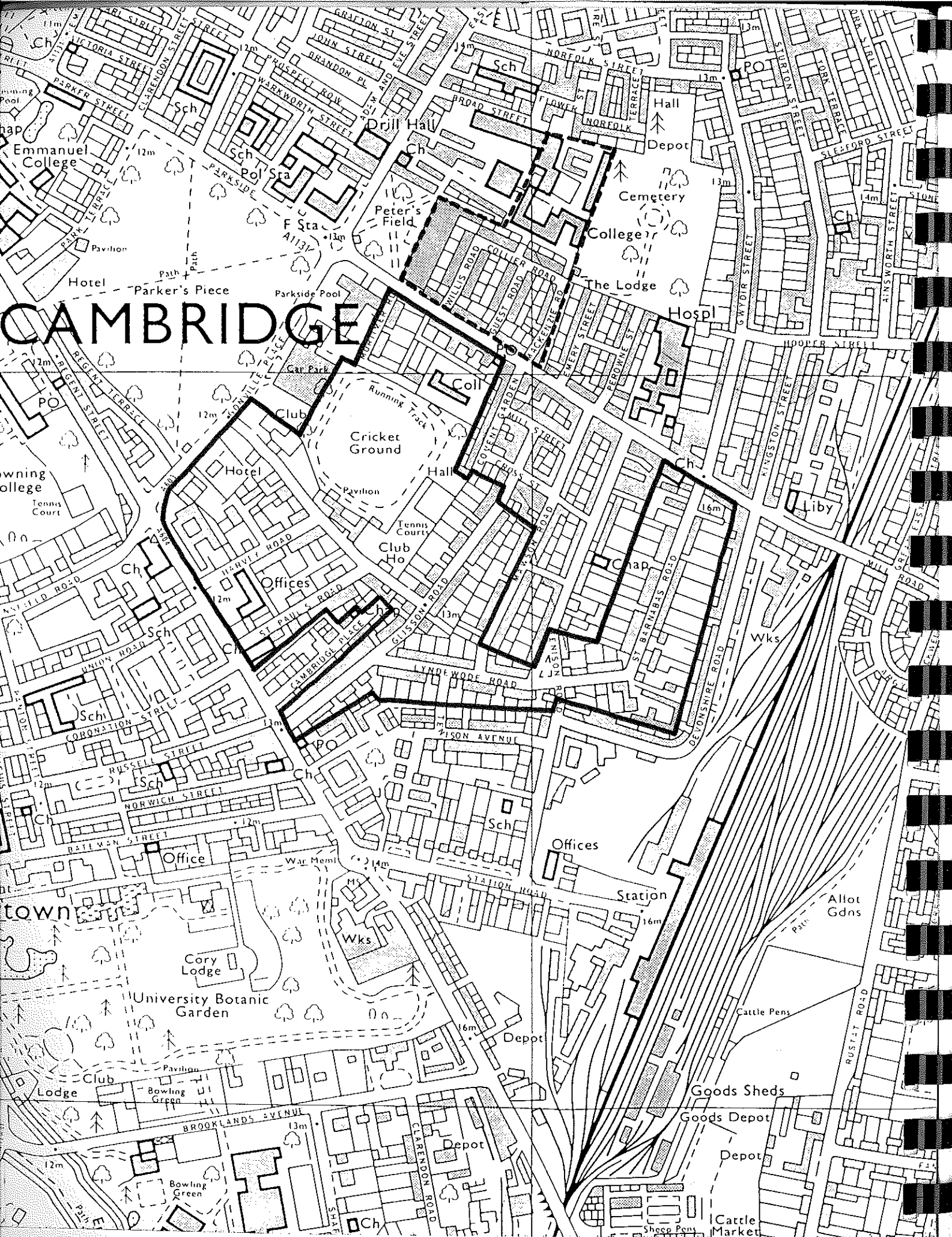
THE CAIUS BUILDING ESTATE IN BARNWELL

A dissertation submitted for
Part I of the Diploma in Architecture:
Buildings in the Local Environment.

J.D.A. Lander
Cambridge University School of Architecture.
May 1982.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>Introduction</u>	1
<u>Chapter One:</u> The Enclosure of Middle Field	2
<u>Chapter Two:</u> Building Development Following Enclosure.	7
<u>Chapter Three:</u> Restrictions on the Development of College Estates.	14
<u>Chapter Four:</u> Harvey Road and St. Paul's Road.	20
<u>Chapter Five:</u> Suburban Villadom and the Completion of the Estate.	24
<u>Postscript</u>	32
<u>Appendix One:</u> St. Paul's Church and the Cambridge Camden Society.	34
<u>Appendix Two:</u> Extracts from the Building Agreement for a House in Lyndewode Road.	36
<u>Bibliography</u>	37



Map 1. The Cairns Estate in Barnwell.

INTRODUCTION

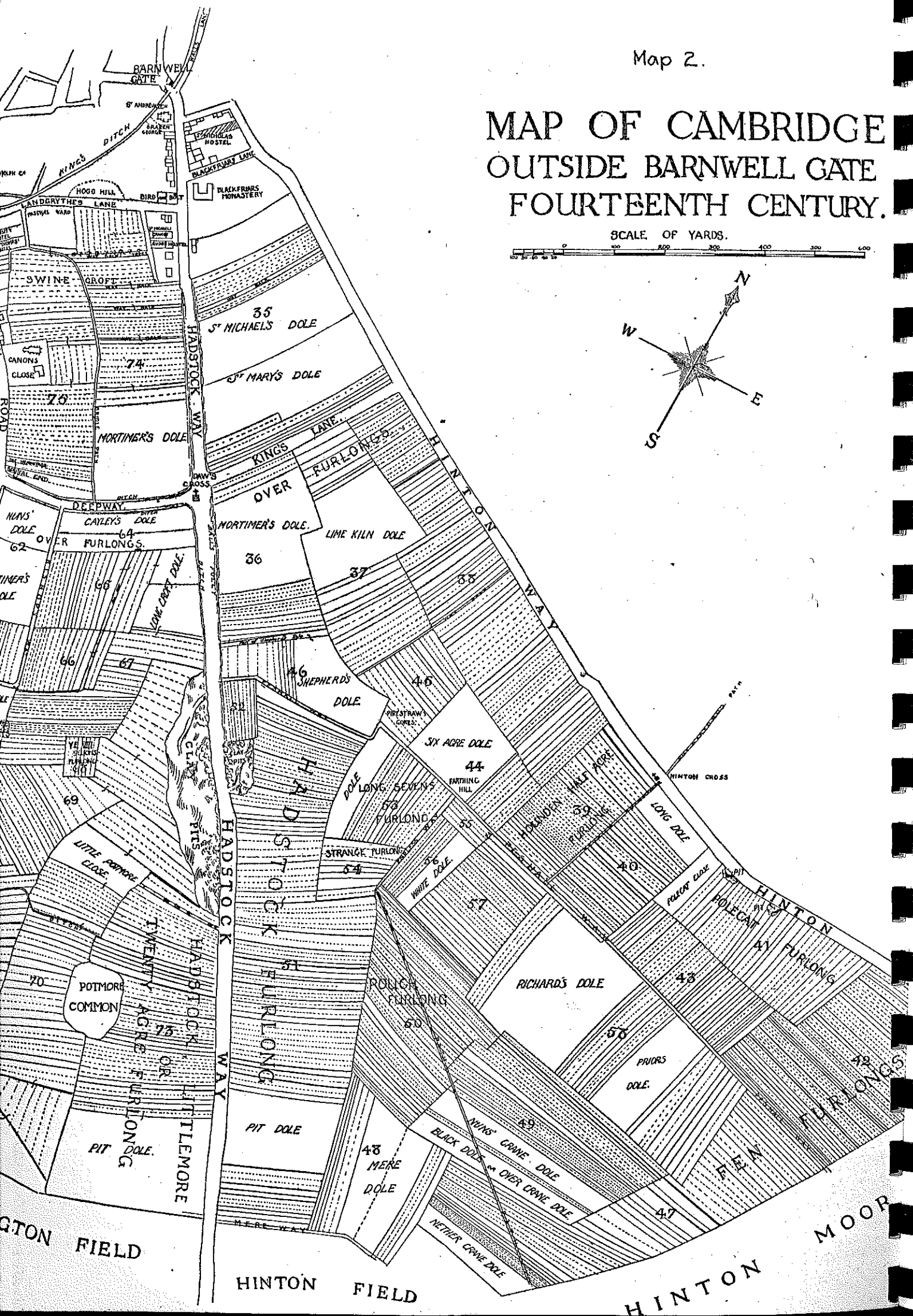
In 1809 Gonville and Caius College became the principal landowners of an area of southern Barnwell in Cambridge. This dissertation describes the development of the larger part of this estate, lying between Mill Road and Hills Road. Due to the nature of its development a smaller part of the estate, to the north of Mill Road has not been included in the study. (The extent of the estate is shown in Map 1.)

The study attempts to show that the evolution of the estate was governed by the following primary factors:

- 1) The patterns of rural use preceding Enclosure.
- 2) The patterns of land ownership following Enclosure.
- 3) The legal and economic restrictions on the development of college land.
- 4) The influence of neighbouring developments.
- 5) The various types of housing demand.
- 6) The activities of property speculators on leasehold land.

It is hoped that a discussion of the ways in which the estate was developed will contribute to a wider understanding of the mechanisms determining the growth of Cambridge in the nineteenth century and in particular the role of colleges as developers in this context.

MAP OF CAMBRIDGE
OUTSIDE BARNWELL GATE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.



CHAPTER ONE:

The Enclosure of Middle Field

It is hard to imagine today, looking at rows of semi-detached houses and tarmacadamed roads, what it was like just seven or eight generations ago when South Barnwell consisted of a large expanse of open farmland and pasture. But it is necessary to try to reconstruct this world if we are to understand the way in which the present layout of houses, streets and open spaces came about.

This is not an easy task as no contemporary maps of the fields before enclosure are known to exist for this area. Instead the picture must be recreated from mediaeval field books, or terriers, of which a few have survived. By analysing such records H.P. Stokes was able to draw a map of the South-Eastern fields of Cambridge as they must have appeared in the 14th Century (see map 2)¹.

At that time the town of Cambridge did not extend to the South-east much farther than the present site of Emmanuel College. The road which now makes up Regent Street, St. Andrews Street and Hills Road was then called the Hadstock Way and was itself a vestige of the Roman Road from Colchester to Chester known as the Via Devana. Parkside and Mill Road were then little more than a footpath called the Hinton Way. The roads Gonville Place and Lensfield Road were known as Kings Lane and Deepway respectively and where they crossed the Hadstock Way there stood a cross, Dawes Cross, which would today stand in the middle of the busy interchange of Hyde Park Corner. There was also a bridge here which crossed a ditch probably made in Cromwell's time as part of the town's defences and which ran along the Deepway turning back towards the town along a line now occupied by Regent Terrace. The bridge was known as 'Sentry Bridge' and existed until 1828.

¹H.P. Stokes 'Outside the Barnwell Gate' (1915).

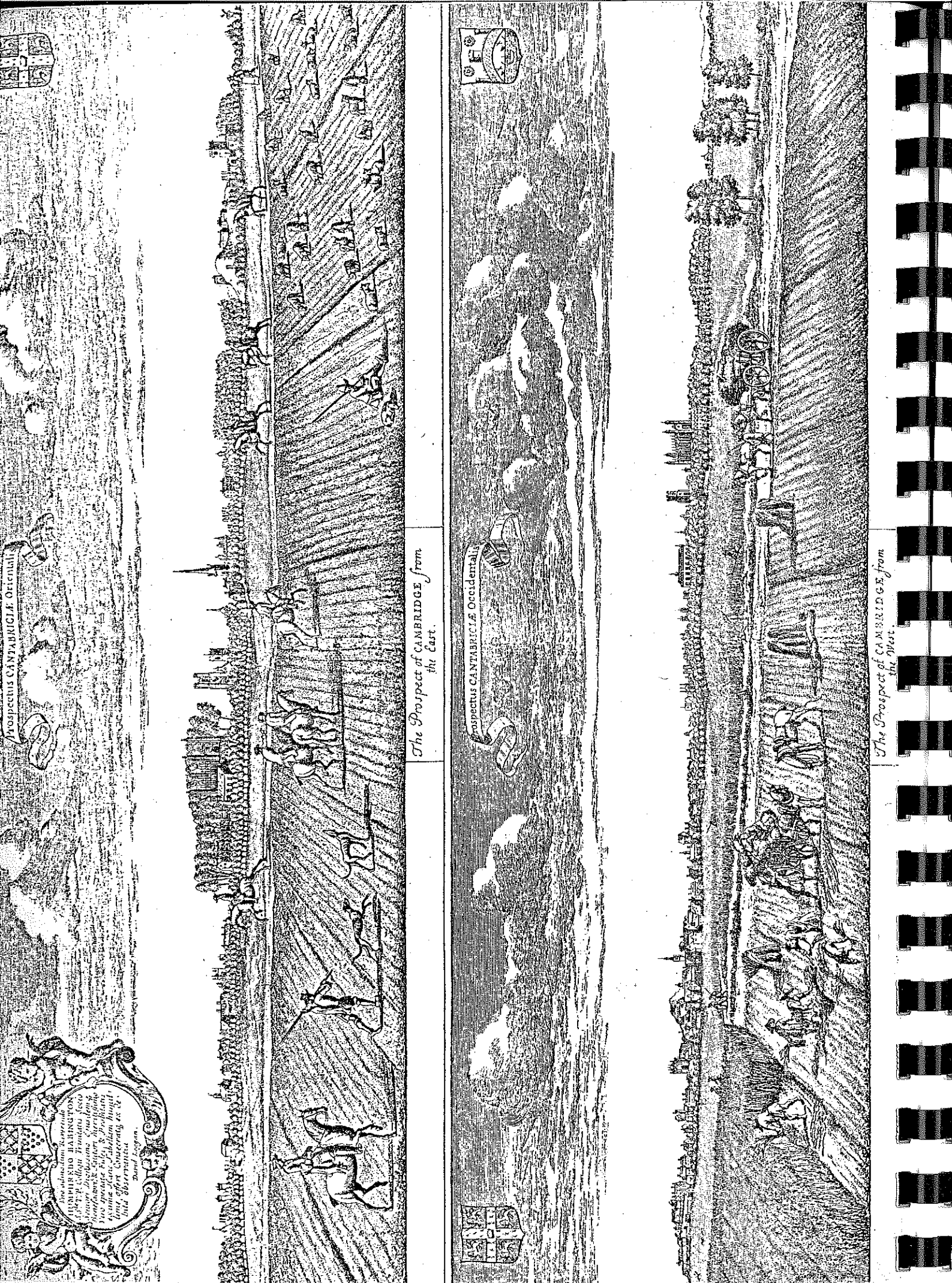


Figure 1. David Loggan's Views of Cambridge, 1688.

In 1688 when David Loggan drew his plan of Cambridge there were only four houses to the south east of Emmanuel College. The rest of the area was a vast treeless, hedgeless expanse of open fields. Loggan's engravings of the fields outside Cambridge at this time capture the scene vividly (see fig. 1).

These fields were divided up into 'furlongs' (sometimes called 'shots') and each furlong into narrow strips each consisting of about one acre. Peasant farmers held the right to tend a certain number of these strips which would be scattered widely about the fields to ensure that variations in the quality of the land would be evened out. In amongst these strips of arable land were meadows for grazing cattle and supplying hay and pasture lands which were commonable to all, each landholder possessing the right to graze a certain number of cattle on them.

The arable lands were managed on a three field system, the three fields in Barnwell being the Ford field which lay between the present Trumpington Street and Hills Road, Middle Field between Hills Road and Mill Road and Bradmore Field between Mill Road and Newmarket Road. One of these fields would be sown in autumn with wheat or rye for harvesting the following August. In the spring another field would be sown with oats or barley and the third field would remain fallow. The following year everything would rotate so that in the course of three years each field would go through one cycle: one year wheat or rye, the next barley or oats and the next fallow, and so on.

It was a cumbersome system, inconvenient and uneconomical, depending above all on co-operation between the holders of the intermingled strips. 'The restraint imposed by common tillage and fallow was trying. The interdependence of thrifty and negligent husbandmen was galling.'¹ Nevertheless the common field system of husbandry survived for centuries and in some parts of the country was still in use well into the nineteenth century.

¹. Ibid

	Surbridge F. Roods	Ford F. Roods	Swincroft Roods	Bradmore F. Roods	Claymange Roods	Middle F. Roods	Total Roods	Total Parcels		Surbridge F. Roods	Ford F. Roods	Swincroft Roods	Bradmore F. Roods	Claymange Roods	Middle F. Roods	Total Roods	Total Parcels
Barnwell, Prior	205	292		501	109	637	1744	395	Gibbon, J. (M.R.)		13	2			4	19	5
Almoner	6			18	11		35	13	Hadley					14		14	1
Pittancer	40			7	7		54	15	Hillesworth		1					1	1
St Radegund	8	92	19	119	114	216	568	165	Hogon		1					1	1
White Canons	48	98	28	89	40	151	454	150	Holme, J.				2			2	1
Anglesey, Prior	11	6		39	5	8	69	22	" T.				1		2	3	2
Denny, Abbess		6		5	2		13	5	Horwood, W. (M.R.)				5			5	2
Huntingdon, Prior		2		48		18	68	13	Ironmonger, J.						8	8	2
Sturbridge Chapel	64			14	3	16	97	28	Jacob, T.			8				8	1
St Mary, Chantry				5	2	1	8	4	Joachim, T.				8		2	10	5
St Peter, Chantry			2				2	1	Lister, J.						8	8	1
A gild				5		4	9	3	Martyn, R.				16			16	5
University		9	2	7	3	32	53	21	Masterman, R. (M.R.)	3						3	1
Corpus College		9		35	18	29	91	29	Morris, J. (M.R.)		6		29	5	39	79	21
Michael House						3	3	1	Morris, S. (B.M.)				3			3	3
[Christ's College]					10		10	1	Pawe, N. (B)		3		3	4	15	25	13
Mortimer's Land		48	34	120		40	242	7	Payne, J. (R)			6				6	1
Arden, R. (B)			6				6	1	Peryn, B.		21	3	15	10	47	96	37
Arnold, J. (B)		4					4	3	Piper, R.		2					2	1
Ashwell, J.					1		1	1	Pocket, B.	5						5	3
Barber, R. (B)		14		6		7	27	9	Pocket, J.				2			2	1
Barker, B.		4					4	1	Poplington, H.		4					4	2
Barrington, J.			8				8	1	Porter, J. (B)				2			2	1
Barton, J.					3		3	1	Potton, N.		1					1	1
Beche, H. (B)				1			1	1	Powle, R.	7			1		6	14	4
Bedford, W.		6					6	1	Preston, J.			12				12	1
Bernard, J.				1			1	1	Reder, W.				7			7	5
Bernard, S.		6		34	1	4	45	23	Richman, R.				4			4	1
Bingham, P.		7				5	12	6	Roger, N.					1		1	1
Blankpyn, J.		4					4	1	Rogers, J.				3			3	2
Brackley, R.				4			4	1	" P.					8		8	1
Brigham, R. (M.R.)	2						2	1	Rosby, M.	1						1	1
Bush, J.				3	1		4	2	Scale, H.		2					2	2
Caldwell, E.					6		6	1	Smith, H.	3			14		12	29	15
Cambridge, J.		6		5		26	37	11	" J.			1				1	1
Cambridge, T.	4			2		1	7	4	Sterne, R.				1	6		7	5
Carbonel, J.			18			3	21	4	Stevens, J.				7		4	11	5
Cayley, P. (M.R.)		64		17	2	58	141	32	" M.				3			3	1
Comberton, J. (B)				6		23	29	12	Thorpe, J.						3	3	1
Comberton, R.						14	14	2	" T.	1						1	1
Cotton, C.				7	15		22	8	Triplow, H.				4			4	1
" J. (M.R.)		1			15	4	20	6	Trumpington, A.					1		1	1
" T.				31		12	43	8	Tullet, R. (M)				11			11	2
" W.					7		7	2	Turner, J.	1						1	1
Cowper, J.	4						4	2	Ware, J.				2			2	1
Cutler			2				2	1	Warwick, G.						3	3	2
Essex, W.				5	1		6	2	White, J.		4					4	1
Eversdon, R.	3	7				13	23	9	Uncertain	37	14		97	52	24	224	21
Firmar, A. de				8		14	22	7	Total	453	757	151	1382	473	1523	4739	1138
Fish, W.					3		3	1									

Figure 2. List of landowners in 14th century Barnwell
compiled by F.W. Maitland.

By the mid-eighteenth century however the system was beginning to break down and sweeping agrarian reform was called for. From about 1750 influential landlords began sponsoring Acts of Enclosure in Parliament which was to dramatically change the structure of the English landscape. The purpose of these acts was to enclose groups of strips into one field, roughly square in shape, and to award these new fields to the landholders in such a way that their new holding would be roughly equivalent to the area and quality of their scattered strips.

Enclosure came to Cambridge rather later than most parts of the country. The fields of St. Thomas Leys were enclosed in 1801, followed by St. Giles in 1802 and West Cambridge in 1804. The act of parliament enclosing the Barnwell fields did not come until 1807.

The enclosure of Barnwell, as in many other parts of the country, was a complicated affair and not completed until 1811. The list of the landowners in ~~the~~ 14th century Barnwell (fig.2) gives some idea of the complexity of the task faced by the Enclosure Commissioners, although by 1800 the situation had probably simplified itself a little.¹

The principal claimants at the time of enclosure were Thomas Panton, successor to the Prior of Barnwell's Estate; Jesus College who had taken over the lands held by the Nuns of St. Rhadegund, and Gonville and Caius College who had been bequeathed the lands belonging to the Mortimers of Attleburgh by Lady Anne Scroope in 1498.

The Mortimer land consisted of five pieces of arable land: 8 acres in Ford field; 10 acres in Middle Field and 3 pieces totalling 30 acres in Bradmore Field.² The plot of land in Middle Field was described in a field terrier as

13 Selions of Arable containing 10 acres lyeing between Trinity Hall land north, Mr. Butler's land south, abutting west on pudding bits alias Ball's Folly Slabs³, which separates it from the road to Gogmagog Hills⁴ and east on a close of Mr. Butler's land called Lime Kiln Dole⁵.

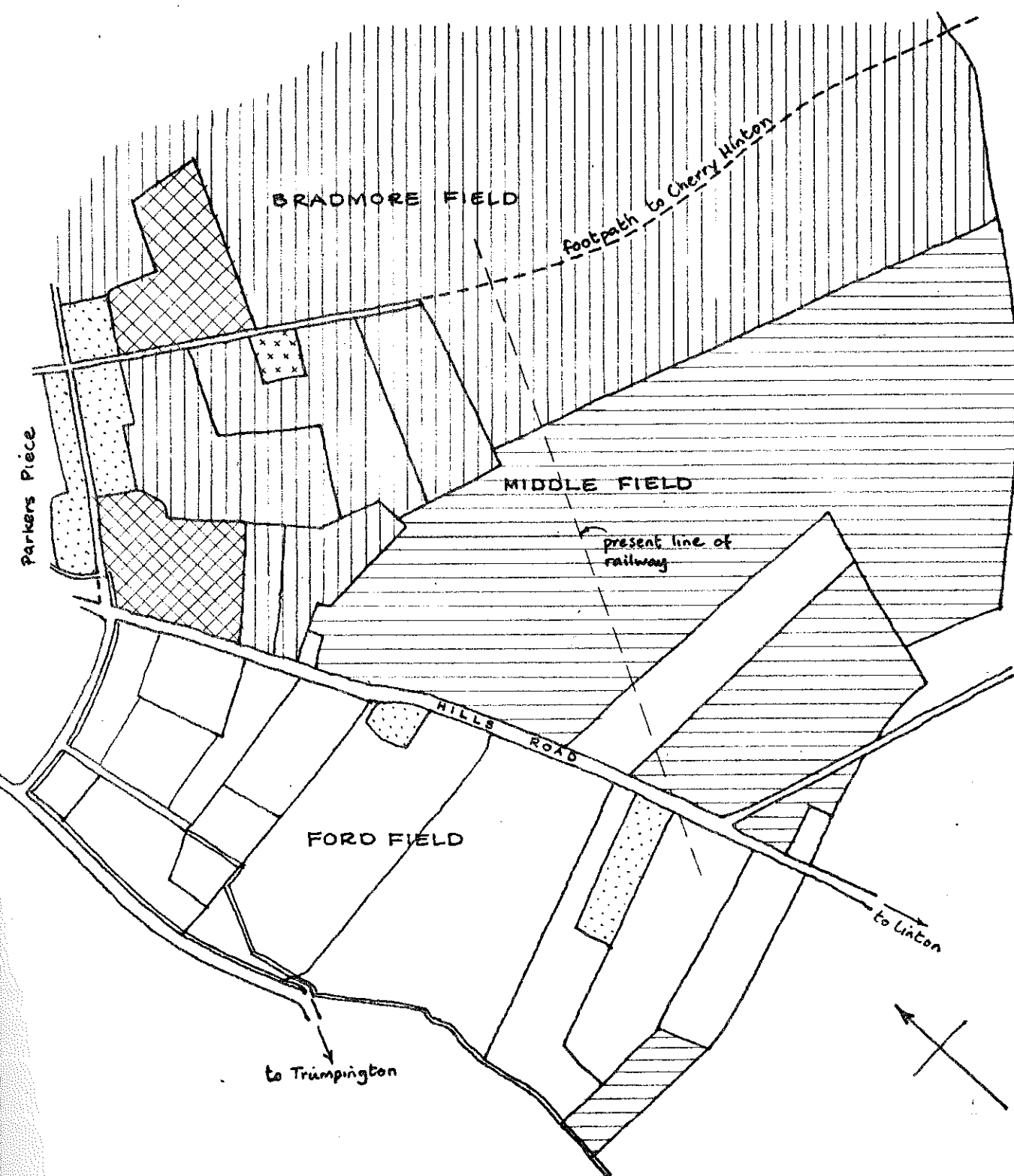
¹ List compiled by F.W. Maitland 'Township and Borough' (1897).






² The Mortimer land in Ford and Middle Fields are labelled 'Mortimers Dole' in Map 2.

³ Piece of wasteland now occupied by the University Examinations Syndicate.

⁴ Hills Road.

⁵ H.P. Stokes.



- | | | |
|--|---|---|
|  Thomas Pantan |  Jesus College |  Municipal Corporation |
|  Cains College |  Charles Humfrey | |

Map 3. First Enclosure Awards in Barnwell, 1807.

In addition to these principal landholders there were about 22 others with smaller holdings, 12 persons with houses in Barnwell who had rights of pasture, and the Municipal Corporation who claimed land in lieu of a number of pieces of waste ground considered to be under their jurisdiction - all of whose interests had to be accommodated in the Enclosure Award.

The first awards made by the Enclosure Commissioners in 1807 are shown in Map 3. The largest allocations were made to Thomas Panton and Jesus College. The Municipal Corporation received three pieces of land which were to remain as commonable pasture ground. One of these adjoined, and became part of, Parkers Piece which had already been secured as common ground in 1613. Another piece on the corner of what is now Gonville Place and Mill Road became known as Donkey's Common and is now occupied by the Swimming Pool and the Kelsey Kerridge Sports Centre. The third piece, Peters Field remains as a common of the same name to this day.

Caius College received an enlarged version of their Mortimers Dole in Middle Field consisting of about 13 acres and a plot of about 11 acres in Bradmore Field (now occupied by the houses of Willis, Collier and Makenzie Roads) called by the Commissioners the 1st and 2nd allotments respectively.

The only other beneficiary in Middle Field was Charles Humfrey, a well-known local architect and property developer and later Mayor of Cambridge, who received a plot of land known as Windmill Furlong on which stood the Mill, run by Humfrey's brother, that was later to give its name to Mill Road.

While the Commissioners were busy settling the details of the awards, matters were complicated by the death of Thomas Panton. Lord Gwydir and the other successors to Panton's estate decided to sell part of their allocation. The land was divided into thirty lots and put up for auction on the 9th of November 1809. (see Map 4(a).)

Caius College, encouraged by Pitt's Land Tax Redemption Act to sell outlying lands and consolidate their estates¹, were keen to buy as many lots as they could.

¹ See page 16 below.

PARTICULARS

AND

CONDITIONS OF SALE

OF

A CAPITAL AND VERY VALUABLE

FREEHOLD ESTATE,

SITUATE IN THE PARISH OF

BARNWELL,

NEAR THE TOWN OF CAMBRIDGE;

Bounded towards the North by the navigable river Cam, and great part adjoins the said River; the Turnpike Road from Cambridge to Newmarket passes through the centre of the parish.

The Farm Buildings are in good repair, and the Land in a high state of cultivation.

The Lands adjoining Cambridge are convenient for Garden, Nursery, and Building Ground.

WHICH

WILL BE SOLD BY AUCTION,

At the Eagle and Child Inn, in Cambridge,

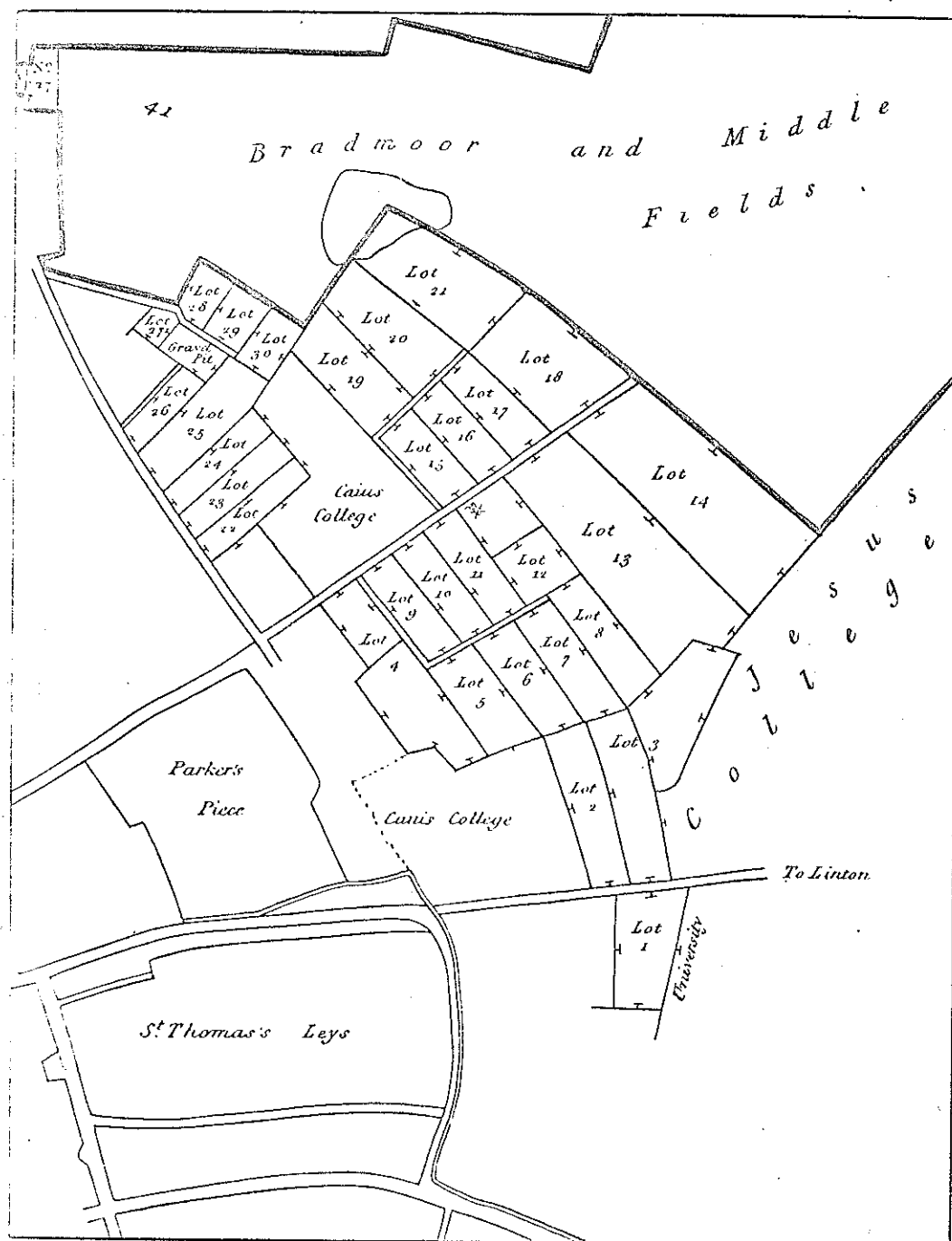
By Mr. John Swan,

On THURSDAY the 9th day of NOVEMBER, 1809.

The sale to begin precisely at Three o'clock in the afternoon.

Printed particulars, with plans of the several farms and lots, may be had at the Ram Inn, Newmarket; the Angel, Bury; Lamb, Ely; George, Huntingdon; Red Lion, Royston and Linton; at the office of Messrs. BRAY and SON, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury; of Mr. TAVELOR and the Auctioneer, Cambridge; and of Mr. CLUTTON, near Reigate, in Surrey.

F. Hodson, Printer, Cambridge.



Part of the estate of the late Mr Panton, sold by auction, 9 November, 1809

Map 4(a).



MAP OF THE BARNWELL ESTATE

The lighter shadings indicate the portions with which the College has parted

In all they managed to buy about 36 acres of the sale land for the sum of £3459¹, consisting of lots 3 to 9 and lot 14. The purchases were sanctioned by the Enclosure Commissioners and recorded by them as the College's 3rd (lots 4 - 9) 4th (lot 3) and 5th (lot 14) allotments. (See Map 4).

Other purchasers at the auction were Charles Humfrey who bought lots 10, 11 and 12 to enlarge his plot of land in Windmill Furlong, the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty (later part of the Ecclesiastic Estates Commission) who bought lot 13 and William Lyon, an alderman of the town who bought lot 2.

The pattern of land holding following the auction was to have far-reaching effects on the way Middle Field was subsequently developed. Caius College was now the principal landowner in the area but, probably much to their chagrin, they had failed to consolidate their estate completely. The failure to acquire lot 13 effectively isolated lot 14 from the rest of their estate and the purchase of lot 2 by a man who was to prove an unscrupulous property speculator was to be of considerable detriment to the College's estate.

¹ E.J. Gross Gonville and Caius College Biographical History
Vol. IV Part 2.

CHAPTER TWO:

Building Development Following Enclosure

As in many parts of the country, corruption followed in the wake of the Cambridge Enclosures. H.P. Stokes talks of 'the extraordinary and very discreditable dealings of the unreformed Corporation of Cambridge as revealed at the Inquiry by Royal Commissioners in 1833.'¹ It appears that the Corporation had been selling roadside 'wasteland', allocated to them by the Enclosure Acts, at bargain prices to favoured aldermen - land which, in the words of Stokes, was 'evidently soon to become valuable'. As an example of this the land on either side of what is now St. ^{Regent} Andrews Street south of the University Arms Hotel, with a total frontage of 1,386 feet, was sold to a local notary for just £24.

It was probably in a similar deal that lot number 2 in the sale of Panton's estate went to William Lyon, 'one of the reigning city fathers'² for £40. In the following year Lyon sold the majority of the land to sundry purchasers for 400 guineas keeping a slice of it (the area now bounded by St. Pauls Walk and St. Pauls Place) for the erection of a windmill. The land was quickly built over and by the mid 1820's there were no less than 400 inhabitants in this 3 acre plot³.

Cambridge Place, as it was known, became notorious in the town as a slum and in 1826⁴ the Cambridge Chronicle was to report on a certain court case:

He lived in a miserable habitation in one of the extreme parts of the town called Cambridge Place.

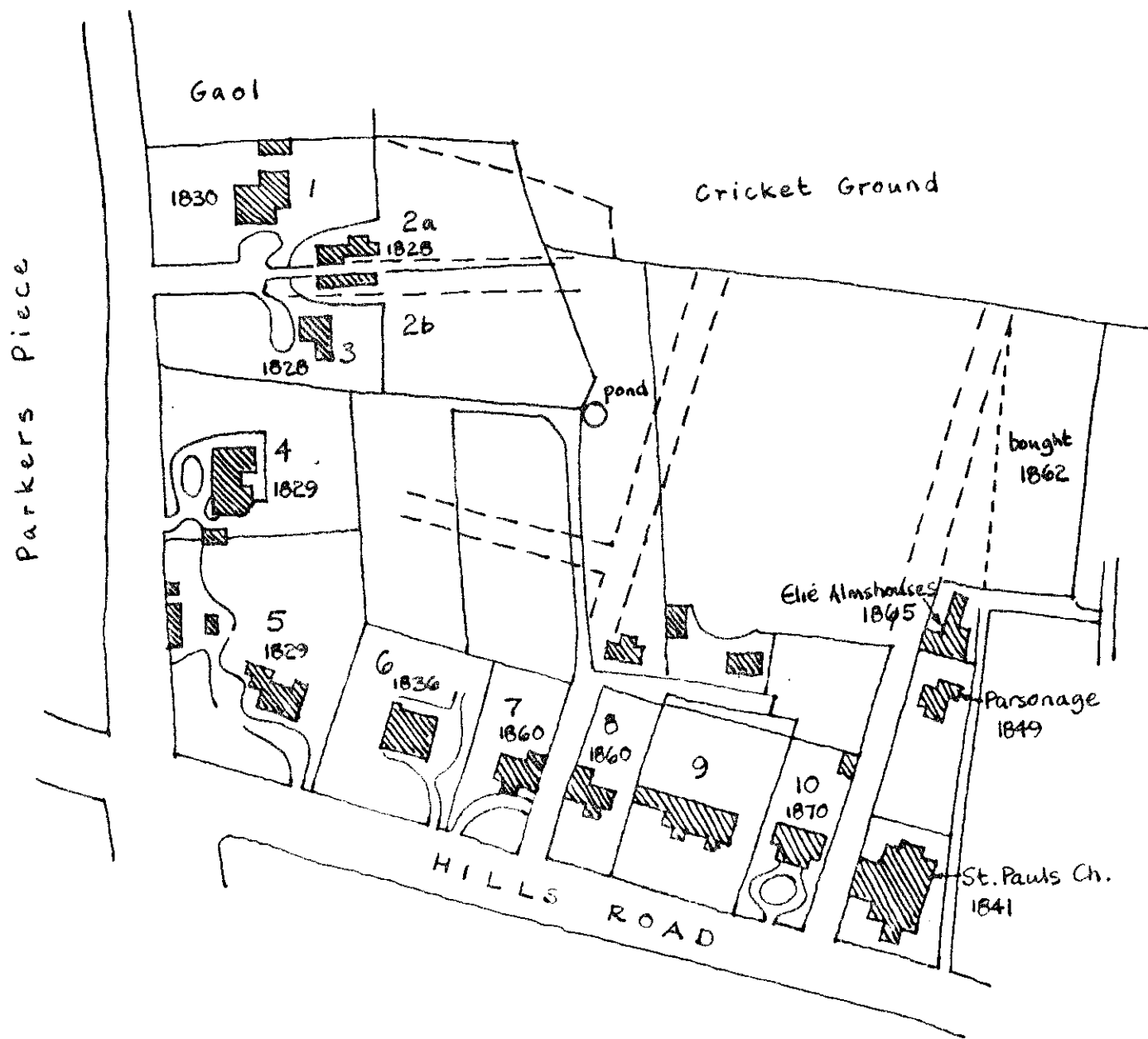
It must have been incongruous indeed to have this densely populated rectangle of jerry-built terraces jutting out into what was then still agricultural land on the out-skirts of the town.

¹ The Commissioners encountered similar problems in many other parts of the country and their reports led to the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.

² H.P. Stokes.

³ D.E. Chaffins dissertation on Charles Humfrey.

⁴ 3rd of March.



Map 5. Early Villa Developments on Hills Road.

It was certainly an embarrassment to Caius College who had recently acquired that land in the hope of eventually turning it into an exclusive residential neighbourhood.

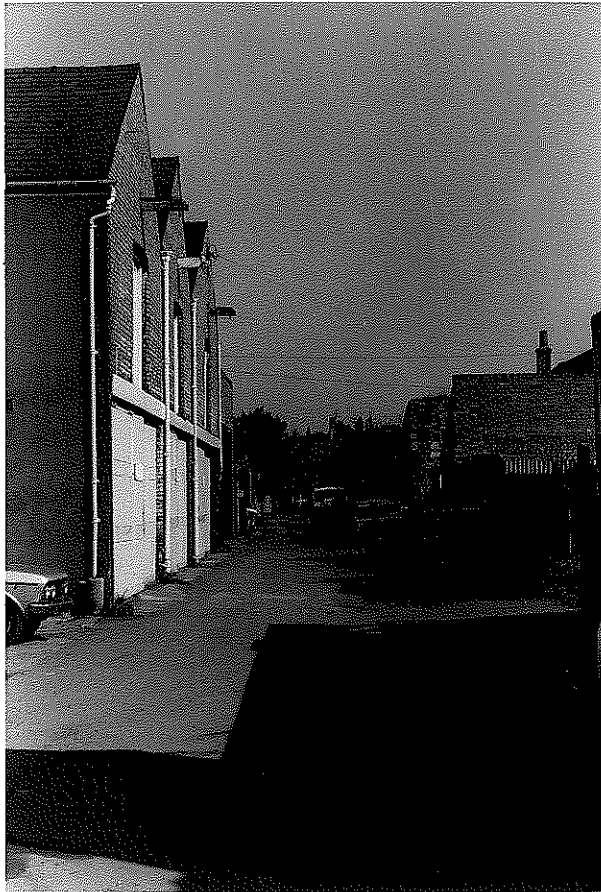
The College was already beginning to develop the land on Gonville Place by leasing out large plots for the building of substantial detached houses similar to those being built by the College in West Cambridge at this time. The five houses overlooking Parkers Piece were built in the years 1828 - 30 but the plots on Hills Road were taken more slowly: no. 6 in 1836, nos. 7 and 8 in 1860, no. 9 in 1854 and no. 10 not until 1870 (see map 5). One cannot help supposing that the reluctance to take these plots was due to the proximity of Cambridge Place. The Victorians had a highly developed sense of social exclusiveness, not to mention fear of cholera, and prospective well-to-do lessees were obviously loth to take up residence near to that 'miserable habitation'.

In an effort to ameliorate this difficult, and expensive, situation Caius attempted to establish what may be termed a 'pious buffer zone' between their building plots and Cambridge Place. To do this they laid out a road at right angles to Hills Road close to Lyon's plot and sold off the intervening wedge of a land as a site for a church, a parsonage and a group of almshouses.

The site on the corner of Hills Road and the new road, which was to become known as St. Pauls Road, was sold in 1839 to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and two years later the church of St. Pauls was built. It is ironic that the new church itself was a source of considerable embarrassment at the time, its 'debased perpendicular style' provoking a vicious attack from the newly formed Cambridge Camden Society (see Appendix One). In 1849 the plot behind the church was sold for the building of a parsonage.

In 1865 the Elie Almshouses were built on a small plot of ground next to the parsonage, consisting of three dwellings for poor women.¹

¹ In 1538 Richard Elie, a Cambridge Freemason, gave an endowment for the maintenance of three almsfolk, consisting of three almshouses in Trinity Lane and lands in Chesterton and Barton to keep them in repair. In 1863 the almshouses were sold to Trinity College and the money used to build the new ones in St. Pauls Road.



Warehouses in Cambridge Place today.



Present day 'slum property' in Cambridge Place with St Pauls Road houses behind.

They were designed by George Gilbert Scott, almost certainly the junior of the two who had worked in his father's office before coming up to Jesus College in 1863.

East of the almshouses the wedge of Caius land became too narrow for development but in 1862 the College bought the adjoining plot of land, the site of William Lyon's windmill, from a Mr. Gotobed. A high wall was built fencing off this land from Cambridge Place, but even this was not sufficient protection. In 1891 the College Bursar, the Reverend Lock, was forced to write to Mr. Barrett, owner of the well known glass and china business:

I am instructed ... to ask your attention to the fact that holes have been made in the wall which is the property of the College and which is at the back of the seven cottages at the end of Cambridge Place, which ... I am informed are your property.

These holes appear to be used by the tenants for the purpose of pushing ashes and other refuse on to the land belonging to the College. Some tenants appear¹ to have thrown ashes and other refuse over the wall

In a further attempt to rid themselves of this nuisance the College began to buy up the cottages at the end of Cambridge Place: five were bought in 1874, seven in 1876 and a further two in 1878. A public house by the name of the 'Bell and Crown' was also purchased in 1882. Most of these buildings were subsequently demolished and the land leased out as stable and garden land, the stigma being such that the land could not be leased for building houses until the turn of the Century.

Meanwhile the land owned by private freeholders in the Mill Road area was being developed extensively for building purposes.

¹ Bursar's letter book June 11th 1891.

In a sale catalogue of 1847, advertising an auction of freehold building land to the north of Mill Road, the vendors were able to state that

Mill Road appears now to be the favoured spot for Building Speculation and an increasing neighbourhood is anticipated, the Houses built in this locality¹ are eagerly sought after and let as soon as finished.

One of the few plots of land held by private individuals south of Mill Road was Humfrey's Windmill Furlong and some houses had been built along the road in the 1820's. Following Humfrey's death the land had passed to a Mr. Seymour and others who in 1866 put a large portion of it, until then orchard ground, up for auction - describing it as 'valuable freehold building ground conveniently situated between the town and the railway station'.² From the site plan accompanying the particulars of sale it appears that the network of roads intersecting the plot; Mill Street, Cross Street, Caius Street (now an extension of Glisson Road) and Union Terrace (now an extension of Mawson Road); had already been laid out. The land was quickly built over with densely packed terraced cottages and the remaining freehold land in the area, that fronting on to Covent Garden was auctioned as building land in 1871. In 1865 Caius had bought a portion of land to the west of Covent Garden (lot 10 in the auction of Panton's land) to add to their holding on Mill Road.

Most of the land to the east of Union Terrace (lot 13) had been purchased in 1825 from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty by Corpus Christi College on behalf of the Vicar of St. Benets. The land remained as garden ground until 1879 when Mawson Road and the north end of Tenison Road were laid out around the boundary of the plot.

¹ Plans and particulars of Sale: University Library Map Room.

² Ibid.

The land between was then built over with terraced houses, those on Corpus land to the design of Edwin Bays.¹ A small portion of land at the southern end of this plot had been bought by Caius College in 1841 to connect its fourth and fifth allotments.

On the north western side of Middle Field, fronting on to Gonville Place was the land owned by the Municipal Corporation. Part of this, as already mentioned, was a piece of pasture ground known as Donkey's Common. About half of the plot, however, was assigned for the building of the Town Gaol, completed to the design of William M'Intosh Brookes in 1827. 'A curiously shaped prison ... it formed a prominent feature in the south of Cambridge'² until 1879 when it was demolished to make way for the building of Queen Anne Terrace. These houses were in turn demolished quite recently and the site is now occupied by the Kelsey Kerridge Sports Centre and 'Queen Anne' car park.

The remainder of Middle Field, west of the Jesus College land, was owned by Caius College and leased out on a yearly basis to various tenants. One such tenant was Fenner who held part of lot 4 and lot 5 and sub-let the ground to the University Cricket and Athletic Club as a sports field. Fenner was given notice to quit the land at Christmas 1867 and in 1873 the land was re-leased to the University Cricket Club for 21 years. Cricket, like many sports, was rapidly gaining in popularity at this time in keeping with Matthew Arnold's dictum 'mens sana in corpore sano', and Caius College was keen to secure the land as a permanent sports ground. In 1892 the College agreed to sell the freehold of the land to the University Cricket Club for £12,000 on condition that 'the land be secured as an open space for ever'.³

¹ Bays had just designed the houses on Mortimer Road for Caius, see page 19 below.

² H.P. Stokes 'Outside the Barnwell Gate'.

³ Gesta (Caius College Council Minute Book) April 20th 1892.

Most of the remaining Caius land was let by the year to Robert Sayle, a well known local businessman, as farmland. He had taken up the tenancy in 1856 and there is some evidence that in the following years he pressured the College to grant him permission to build cottage housing on the land. The College resisted his demands however and in a letter dated March 17th 1873 the Bursar told Sayle:

I feel sure the College will not consent to lease the land in the Hills Road without any covenant as to the minimum value of the houses to be built and I also feel certain that they would fix that minimum considerably above £15 a year. Under these circumstances I gather from my last conversation with you that it is not at all likely that we shall come to terms.¹

This letter clearly demonstrates the College's intentions as to how their land should be developed. As with many institutions the main concern of a College is not to realise its capital within the course of a lifetime but to secure long term investments for the benefit of future generations. The quick profits that could be gained by the selling of freehold building land divided up into as many plots as possible, though attractive to a private developer like Sayle, were not regarded by the College as a sound investment.

Instead of selling land and investing the proceeds in other, less reliable, securities, the College's intention was to retain the freehold but to increase the rental accrued by leasing out the land for building. In this way the College's unearned income from ground rents could be increased without additional outlay (except for the small amount needed for making the land attractive to developers by laying drains, making roads etc.) and at the end of the leases the houses built on the land would revert to the College. But to ensure that the right kind of development was encouraged, that is well-built houses occupied by tenants acceptable to the College, the conditions of the leasehold had to be right.

¹ Bursar's letter book, Gonville and Caius College Archives.

Of course the College could preclude the wrong kind of development by writing appropriate covenants into the leases. But to attract developers to build moderately costly houses the period of the lease had to be long enough to allow the developer to recoup his building costs through rents charged to his sub-tenants. The ideal period for a lease of this kind was generally considered to be 40 to 99 years. Not only was this long enough for the developer to recoup his capital outlay but also long enough for him not to worry about the falling in of the lease with the possibility of evictions and a large bill for delapidations.

Unfortunately for the College they did not have a free hand in these matters and for many years were restricted by government in the ways they could develop their land. These restrictions may explain why the College was unable to build on their estate in the years following enclosure and are discussed in more detail in the next chapter..

CHAPTER THREE:

Restrictions on the Development of College Estates

In the context of the growth of Cambridge as a whole it is anomalous that the Caius Estate in Barnwell was developed so late. In the early nineteenth century the population of Cambridge rose faster than in any other town in East Anglia. In 1801 the population numbered 9,000, by 1831 it had doubled, and by 1881 it had reached 35,000. Most of this expansion was accommodated in the parish of St. Andrew-the-less. In 1801 its population was 252, in 1861 it had risen to 11,848. By 1880 the areas in Barnwell proper and Newtown, to either side of Middle Field, had been practically exhausted of building land while even areas further out, such as Romsey Town, had begun to expand.

Yet during this period of rapid urban expansion the Caius land in Barnwell remained for the most part as farmland, pasture and garden ground in spite of the desirability of the land as a site for residential development, wedged as it was between a booming University and town centre on one side and the railway station, built in 1845, with its direct links to London, on the other.

The reason for this anomaly lies in the restrictions that had been imposed on the management of College Estates since the days of Elizabeth the First, and which were not lifted until the passing of the Universities and College Estates Acts in 1858 and 1860.¹

Until the passing of these Acts Colleges, like many other lay and ecclesiastical institutions, could only take and hold lands under a license granted by the Crown. These licenses would permit a college to acquire land up to a limited annual value or, in some instances, particular lands named in the license.²

¹ For detailed account see C.L. Shadwell 'The Universities and College Estates Acts 1858-1880' published in 1898.

² A college would often acquire land outside the permitted limits but such land would then have to be held under the name of a Fellow until an appropriate license could be obtained.

The lands held by a college would then be leased out for a number of years to tenant farmers and such like but with the conditions of the leases subject to governmental restrictions which limited the period of any lease to 40 years and fixed the chargeable rents at a nominal value.

The depreciation of currency during the reign of Henry VIII made this practice of leaseholding extremely attractive to lessees. A lease with a nominal, fixed rent is a valuable asset in times of inflation and as a result lessees were willing to pay a sum of money to their landlords in return for the renewal of their leases. This sum of money was called a 'fine' and was usually fixed as a proportion of the total purchase value of the lease. The fine would normally be paid when 14 years on the lease of a house, or 7 years on the lease of a plot of land, had elapsed and a new lease of 40 years for a house, or 21 years for land, would be issued at the old rent.

In the case of colleges these fines would be divided up between the fellows who were eligible for such payment and for centuries the system provided a substantial proportion of the income for colleges and their fellows.

In the reign of Elizabeth the First several 'Disabling Acts' were passed which put severe restrictions on the ways in which colleges could manage their estates. To summarise, the Acts:

- 1) Forbade the sale of land by colleges except where special provision was made by an Act of Parliament;
- 2) Removed the power of colleges to grant leases of more than 21 years (or 3 lives) except for houses in towns with not more than 10 acres attached which could be let for 40 years;
- 3) Placed a ceiling on rents and stipulated that not less than a third of rents should be paid in wheat or malt.¹
- 4) Curtailed the practice of charging fines by forbidding the renewal of leases with more than three years left to run;
- 5) Prevented colleges from raising money on the security of their real estate by way of mortgages.

¹ This became known as the 'corn rent system'.

These measures remained as the principal laws governing college estates until 1858, severely limiting the ways in which they could be developed.

A slight easing of the restrictions came with William Pitt's Land Tax Redemption Act, designed to raise money for the Napoleonic Wars. The Act allowed colleges to sell any part of their land in order to pay the taxes charged on their remaining estate. This was quickly taken advantage of by the colleges who began selling off small outlying pieces of estate and using the proceeds to purchase inconvenient strips of land that interfered with otherwise compact estates closer in. It enabled Caius College to buy so much land at the auction of Thomas Panton's estate in 1809¹ and thus consolidate their Barnwell property.

Further opportunities for colleges to consolidate their estates came in 1845 when the Land Clauses Act, authorising the compulsory purchase of land for railways, canals etc., stipulated that compensation money went towards the purchase of other real estate, and in 1860 when an Act was passed which enabled colleges to sever the benefices annexed to headships and sell or purchase the land themselves.

These reforms, however, did nothing to alleviate the Elizabethan restrictions on the colleges' disposal of leasehold land and by the 19th century the need for reform was growing. Tenants were taking advantage of inadequate, out-dated maintenance covenants and leasehold property was falling into disrepair. The colleges were keen to improve their land, and at the same time take advantage of the building boom, by developing their estates but were prevented from doing so in three ways:

- 1) Because of the benefits to be gained by occupying leasehold property, tenants were unwilling to surrender leases before they had expired.

¹ See above p.5

- 2) If a college decided to 'sit out' a tenant, by refusing to renew the lease, the income normally accrued from fines would be lost.
- 3) Even when land did return to a college it could only be re-leased on a 21 year term, not long enough for a developer to recoup his expenditure on the kind of substantial property acceptable to a college landlord.

The colleges lobbied Parliament to change this situation and were finally rewarded with the passing of the Universities and College Estates Acts of 1858 and 1860 which embodied the following reforms. They:

- 1) Repealed the law requiring colleges to obtain licenses for the purchase of land, providing the money was obtained from the sale of other land or providing that such land was used for the extensions of college premises;
- 2) Enabled colleges to sell or exchange any of their real estate providing that any proceeds were reserved for the purchase of other land. In the interim however the money would be invested in a special account at the Bank of England;
- 3) Extended the maximum period of leases granted by colleges to 99 years;
- 4) Allowed colleges to borrow money in order to indemnify them for loss of fines while running out leases;
- 5) Effectively ended the fines system by prohibiting the granting of new beneficial leases; and
- 6) Enabled colleges to borrow money on the security of their real estate.

These measures allowed the colleges to release their land for building purposes in three ways:

Firstly it allowed them to raise cash. Previously their assets had been permanently frozen i.e. they could only sell land in order to immediately buy other land. Now they could free those assets, for a while at any rate, and use the interest from the Bank of England account to improve their lands and make them attractive to developers by removing delapidated buildings, making new roads and laying drains, while making up for any shortfall by borrowing.

Secondly the Acts enabled the colleges to sit out tenants reluctant to surrender their leases, borrowing to make up for the lost revenue from fines, until the land reverted to them at the falling in of the lease.

Finally, and most importantly, they could then offer the reverted lands to developers on a 99 year lease which, for reasons already mentioned, was essential to procure a standard of development acceptable to a college.

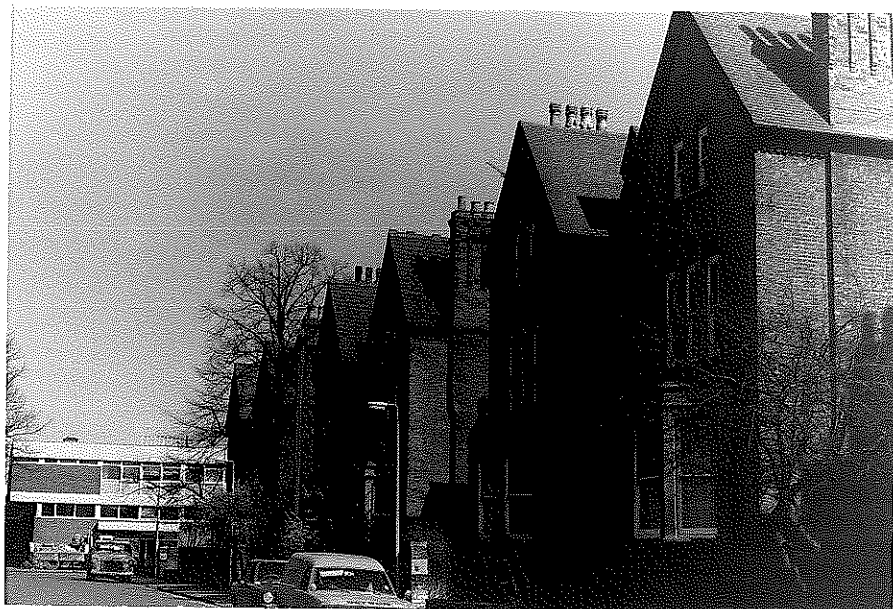
There was even an added incentive for colleges to release land for building. Without the fines system the only way of ensuring an adequate return from the land was to improve it by building and as the colleges had insufficient capital to do this themselves the task had to be assigned to leaseholders.

In effect, then, these reforms gave the colleges the opportunity to develop their estates. Of course, there are many other factors which regulate building development and it would be as fatuous to state that no building on college lands took place before the Acts as it would be to state that immediately following them there was a mad rush of building activity.

In fact there was very little building activity on the Caius Estate in Barnwell during the 1860s but this can be explained in a number of ways.

Firstly there is the effect of a 'time-lag', particularly when considering such a ponderous organisation as a college. Money has to be raised, tenancies allowed to run their course, plans have to be drawn up and roads and drains have to be laid.

Secondly it is possible that the college, like many others at that time, was getting into debt. The lifting of restrictions on borrowing encouraged overspending by colleges eager to improve their long-neglected land. To alleviate this problem a further Act was passed in 1880 which allowed colleges to pay off their mortgages by selling land and 'lending' the money raised to themselves at low rates of interest.



The Houses on Mortimer Road by Edwin Bays.

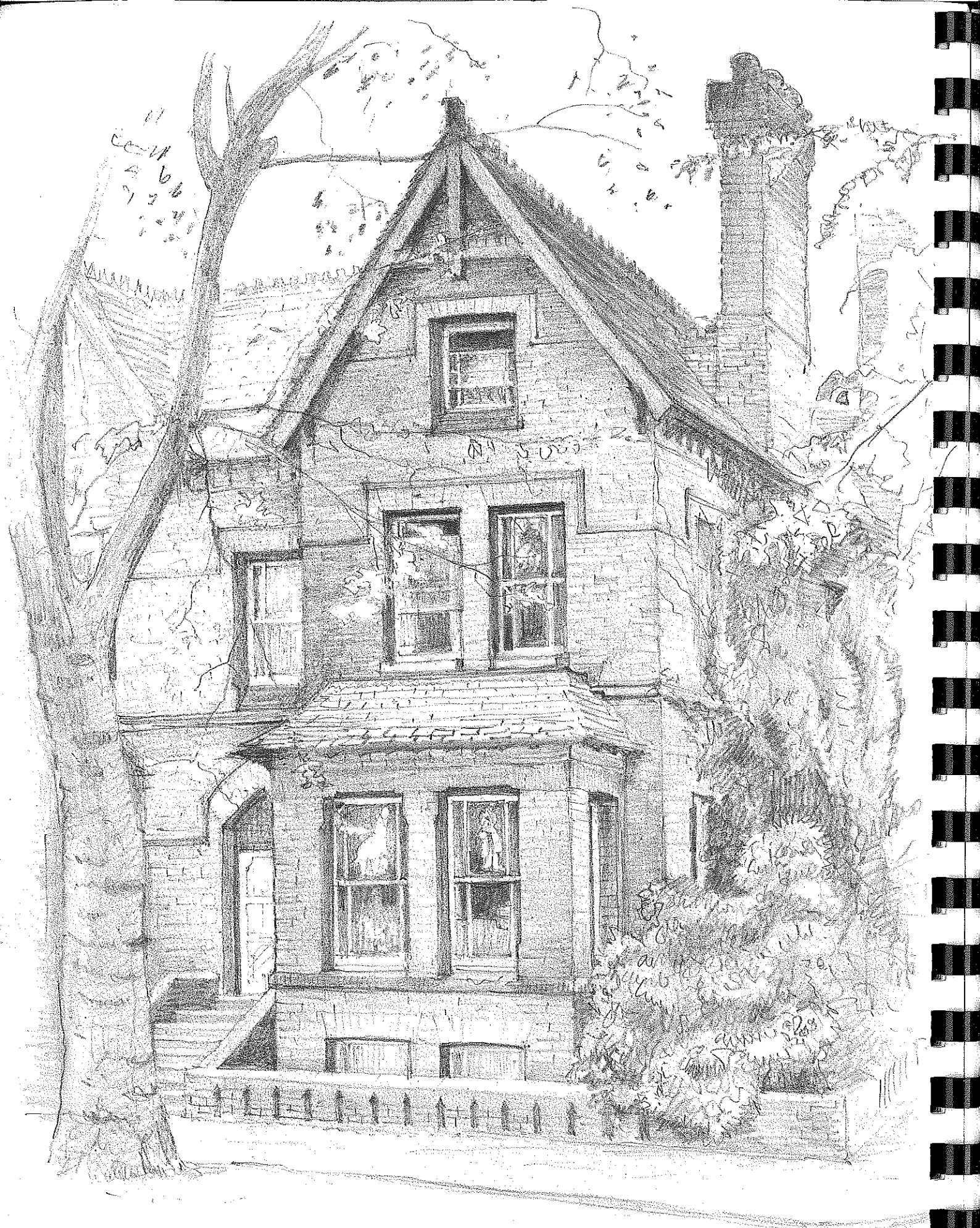
The main reason for the hiatus in building activity, however, was that the college was entering the property market at a time of recession. From about 1850 the population of Cambridge stagnated and even declined for a while and as a result there was very little house building anywhere in Cambridge at that time.

It was not until the 1870s that Caius decided to build on their Barnwell Estate on a significant scale, and even then it was still unsure of its market and of its role as a developer.

In 1873 Caius negotiated with Edwin Bays, a local architect with offices in Sidney Street, to build a row of eight semi-detached houses overlooking Donkey's Common. Unfortunately the original building agreements have been lost and it is difficult to ascertain whether the College acted as developer, with Bays commissioned to execute the design of the houses, or as ground landlord only, with Bays holding the leases. But it seems¹ that the college originally intended to act as developer and charge a rack rent of £30 p.a. on each house and then decided instead to lease the plots to Bays for 40 years at a ground rent of 10 guineas p.a. on each plot, leaving Bays responsible for the building.

The houses on Mortimer Road, as it was known, were built very slowly however and were not completed until about 1880. They are of a substantial size, similar to the later developments on Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road, but, unlike those houses were not at first taken by members of the university but by inhabitants that included two clergymen, a journalist and a newsagent. There is some suggestion that the houses on Mortimer Road 'jumped the gun' on a demand that was about to emerge following reforms in the University, a demand that was to be taken full advantage of by Caius with the building of the Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road property.

¹ Gesta December 16th 1873 and March 24th 1874.



No. 9 Harvey Road, built in 1883.

CHAPTER FOUR

Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road

Caius had considered ways in which they could develop the land behind Gonville Place and Hills Road for some time. As early as 1840 the College Council agreed 'to employ a professional person to lay out the ground on the Hills Road for building'.¹

One of the ways in which they could do this was to continue an old field path which since enclosure had given access to the numerous plots of garden land, pasture and a cattle pond on the old 'Mortimers Dole'. In 1861 when two houses were built on either side of this track the land between them was let to the adjoining houses on a yearly basis at a nominal rent so that the road could be commissioned at short notice to serve a new building estate.

In 1867 the College agreed 'to approve of the plan laid before the meeting for laying out the property near St. Pauls Church'² and in 1876 the field path was made into a road and named after one of the college's illustrious old members, Dr. Harvey.

The beginning of St. Pauls Road, originally 'St. Pauls Street' or 'Vicarage Road', had been laid out in the 1840s to serve the church and the Parsonage and in 1878 the resolution was passed 'to extend the St Pauls Road as far as the line of the Cricket Ground and to make a new road from the St. Pauls Road by the side of the above fence as far as the gate of the cricket ground.'³

This 'new road', which became known as Gresham Road, connected with Harvey Road and so made a loop of road along which houses could be built.

Also in 1878 the College agreed 'to let a plot of ground $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre adjoining St. Pauls Road as a building site to Mr. Morley from Christmas 1878 for 99 years at £30 annual rent - the building price to be £2400 for a pair of houses'.

¹ Gesta February 20th 1840

² Gesta April 9th 1867

³ Gesta October 8th 1878



Front Elevation



Back Elevation

*John Morley
Arch't.
Cambridge*

John Morley, who was later to reside in one of these houses (no.1 St. Pauls Road) was a local architect who had established his practice, a partnership with a Mr. Robb, in St. Andrews Street in 1873¹. He went on to acquire the leases of all but five of the 16 plots laid out around the Harvey and St. Pauls Roads and in this way followed the tradition of the speculative architect common in the Victorian building world. On this subject it has been said that:

In those cases where consistency of design existed it was due less to the desires of the ground landlord than to the activities of speculative architects. These men used to buy adjoining plots along a street and sell them for building on condition that they were appointed to execute the designs.²

In this case Morley did not buy the plots, he only leased them, but a similar arrangement was obviously followed for all the houses are clearly by the same hand. An early resident of Harvey Road tells us that:

The elevation and general plan had to be accepted as the houses were to be uniform in appearance.³

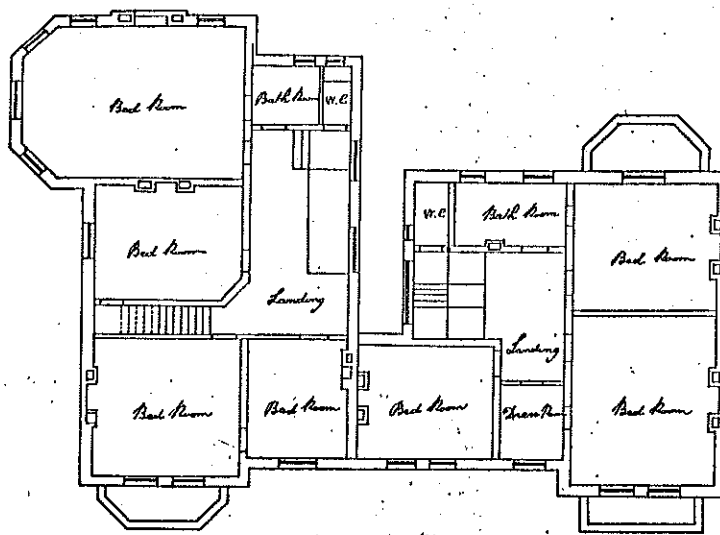
It was possible however for each tenant to introduce modifications, with the approval of the College, as the buildings went up. Most of the houses were finished by 1883.

The houses, all semi-detached, are quite substantial-the minimum value, stipulated by the college, of £2400 for each pair saw to that. This made them ideally suited to cater to the demand for large, well-appointed family houses that arose in Cambridge at that time. This demand followed the reforms in the University allowing dons to marry without losing their fellowships. The Statutes were revised in 1882 just as the houses in Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road were being finished, but several colleges, notably Trinity, had been moving towards change for some time and the new demand must have been anticipated by Caius.

¹ In 1884 Morley left Cambridge to travel in Europe. He returned in 1900 to continue his practice and in 1901 designed the Police and Fire Stations in St. Andrews Street.

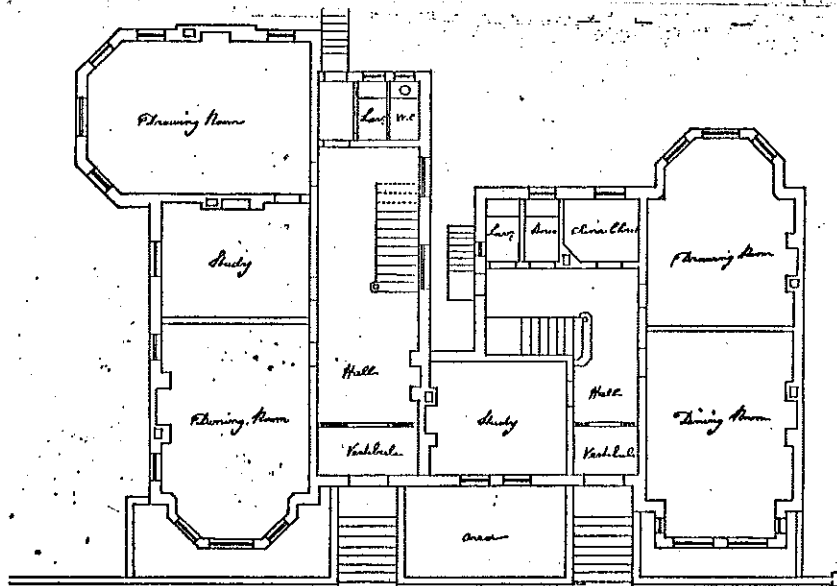
² A.M. Edwards 'The Design of Suburbia' (1981) p.25

³ F.A. Keynes 'Gathering up the Threads' (1950).

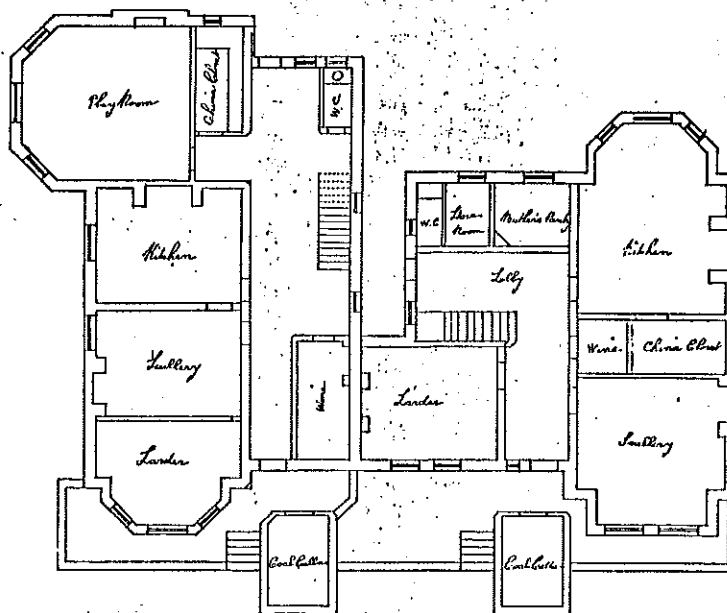


First Floor

*And Morley!
Archd.
P. 2. 9. 16*



Ground Floor



Basement

Morley's plans for nos. 7 and 8 Harvey Road.

The change in the Statutes was to lead to the extensive developments in West Cambridge but in 1882 the new houses in Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road, a stones throw from verdant farmland and a short walk from the railway station, were considered as ideal homes for newly married fellows and their families.

Florence Ada Keynes mother of Maynard Keynes the celebrated economist was a typical early resident of Harvey Road. She married Neville Keynes, a fellow of Pembroke College, in August 1882 and moved into number six Harvey Road in November 'driving the workmen out of the house.' She tells us that:

In our early days Harvey Road was inhabited almost entirely by members of the University, the extensive residential developments on the outskirts of the town having hardly been contemplated.¹

Other distinguished residents in the area included: Mrs Bateson, widow of the Master of St. Johns and mother of William Bateson discoverer of Mendels work on the principles of hereditary; Dr. Besant the renowned mathematician; the Reverend A.H.F. Boughey, Senior Tutor at Trinity; Richard Glazebrook, fellow of Trinity, later knighted for his work at the Natural Physical Laboratory; (Sir) Charles Villiers Stanford, Professor of Music, organist at Trinity, composer and conductor; Alexander Macalister, Professor of Anatomy; and Dr. Ryle who became President of Queens and later the Bishop of Winchester.

Life in the University, despite the reforms, was still run on very formal lines and extravagant social engagements were part of the daily routine. Florence Keynes tells us that

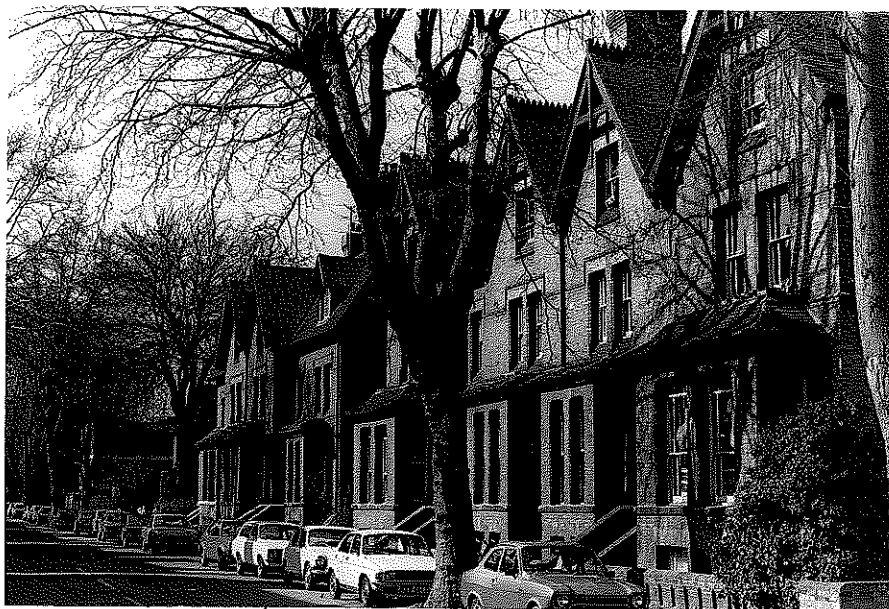
Dinner parties were frequent and elaborate, the standard being set by the hospitality of the Master's Lodge where it was comparatively easy to provide a seven or eight course dinner with the assistance of the College kitchen.²

¹ F.A. Keynes 'Gathering up the Threads'.

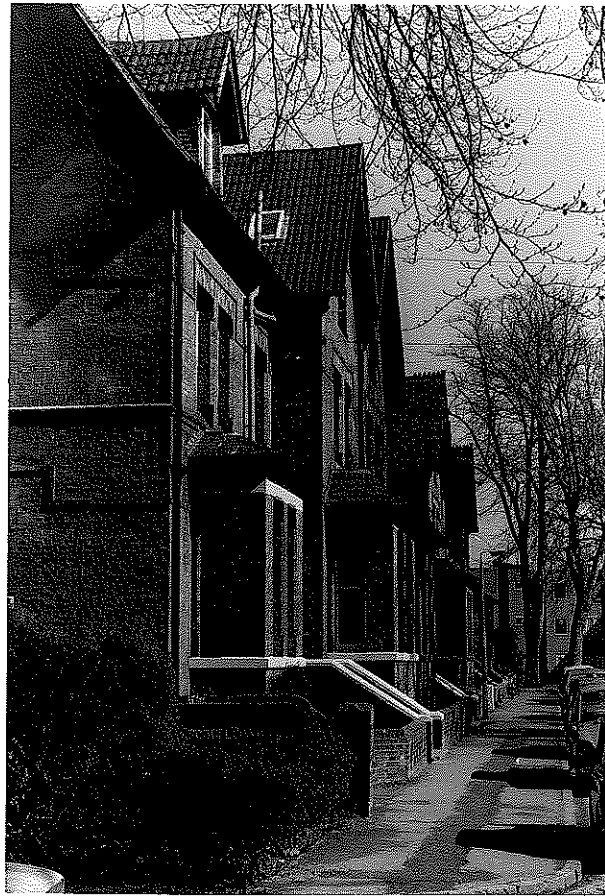
² Ibid.



Morley's house , No. 1 St Pauls Road



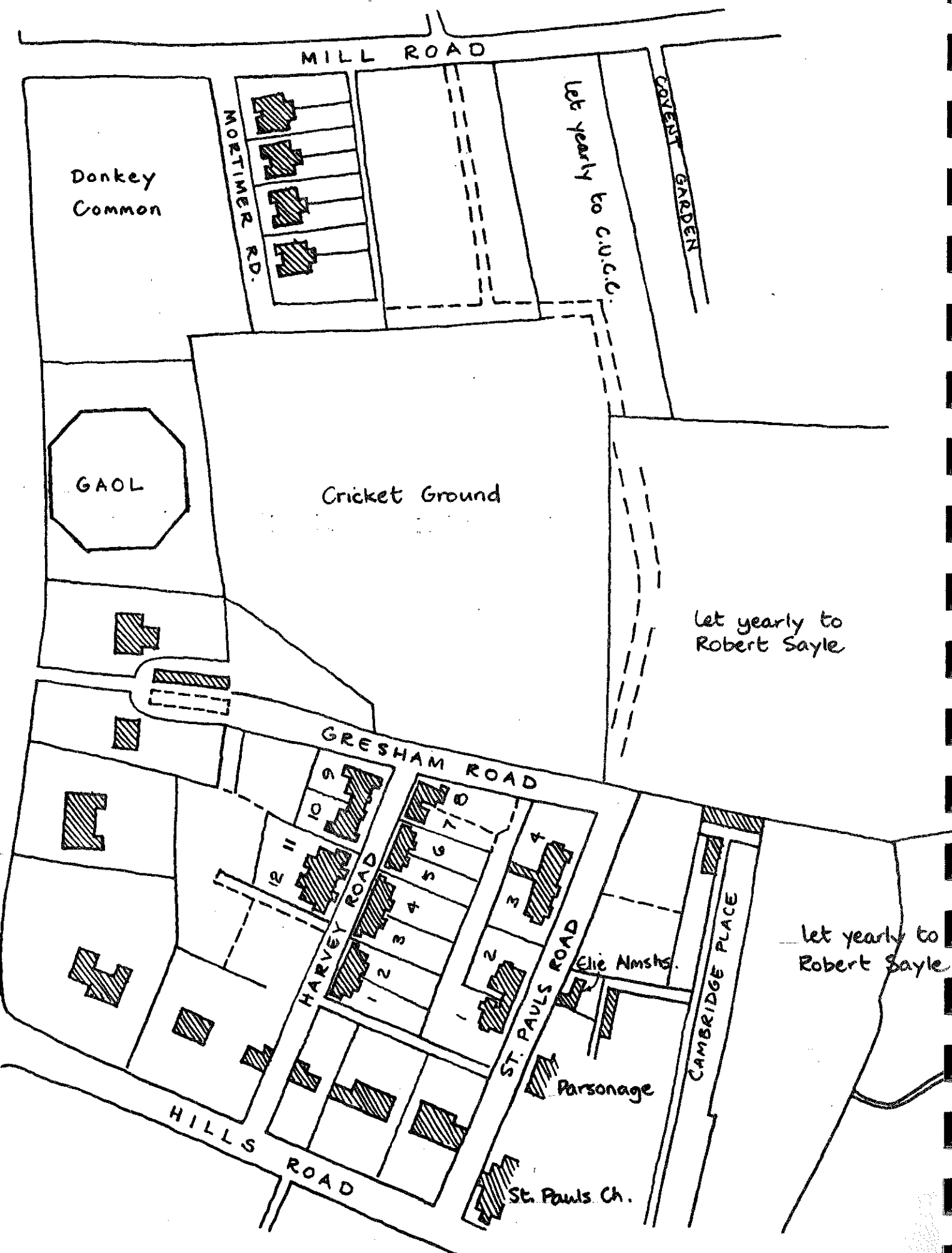
North side of Harvey Road .



No. 12 Harvey Road



John Morley.



The Estate in 1885

A large house, well appointed with rooms for entertaining and extensive kitchen facilities, was essential for a fellow keen to maintain his social and academic position.

Life amongst the residents of the area, however was a little more relaxed and probably embodied some of the liberal and aestheticist attitudes characteristic of other middle-class suburbs of the period. Florence Keynes writes

It was a friendly community, we shared a ground with tennis courts; we subscribed to plant trees in the road; we started a book club which ran for about 12 years.¹

A few years later a community such as this would in all probability have lived in a 'Queen Anne' style neighbourhood, in red brick houses with white window frames and flamboyant detailing as typified by the houses in West Cambridge. Morley's houses just preceded the widespread adoption of this style however and instead their sombre grey brick facades with a minimum of ornamentation are more redolent of the mid-Victorian house architecture of Butterfield and Webb.

By the mid 1890s the land around Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road had been built up and the desirability of the area for members of the University began to decline in favour of the new houses in West Cambridge. Following a row over the conveyance of a piece of garden from no. 11 to no. 12 Harvey Road, resulting in the spoiling of a tennis lawn, the Reverend Boughey told the Bursar of Caius

If my tennis lawn goes I shall probably go myself. Of course I do not hold this house directly from Caius but houses in this part do not now let very quickly and an empty house in Harvey Road may possibly interfere with the letting of a Drosier Road house [just completed on land adjacent to Harvey Road]. It is only fair to add that I am not certain in any case to stay on here after my lease expires next year: it depends on ... the reduction of the rent of this house. If I leave, I expect Morley will have to reduce it considerably.²

The new developments which were almost certainly the cause of the decline in value of the Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road houses will now be discussed.

¹ Ibid

² Letter dated March 20th 1896 Caius College Archives.



'Shirley' - Number 28 Lyndewode Road .

CHAPTER FIVE

Suburban Villadom and the Completion of the Estate

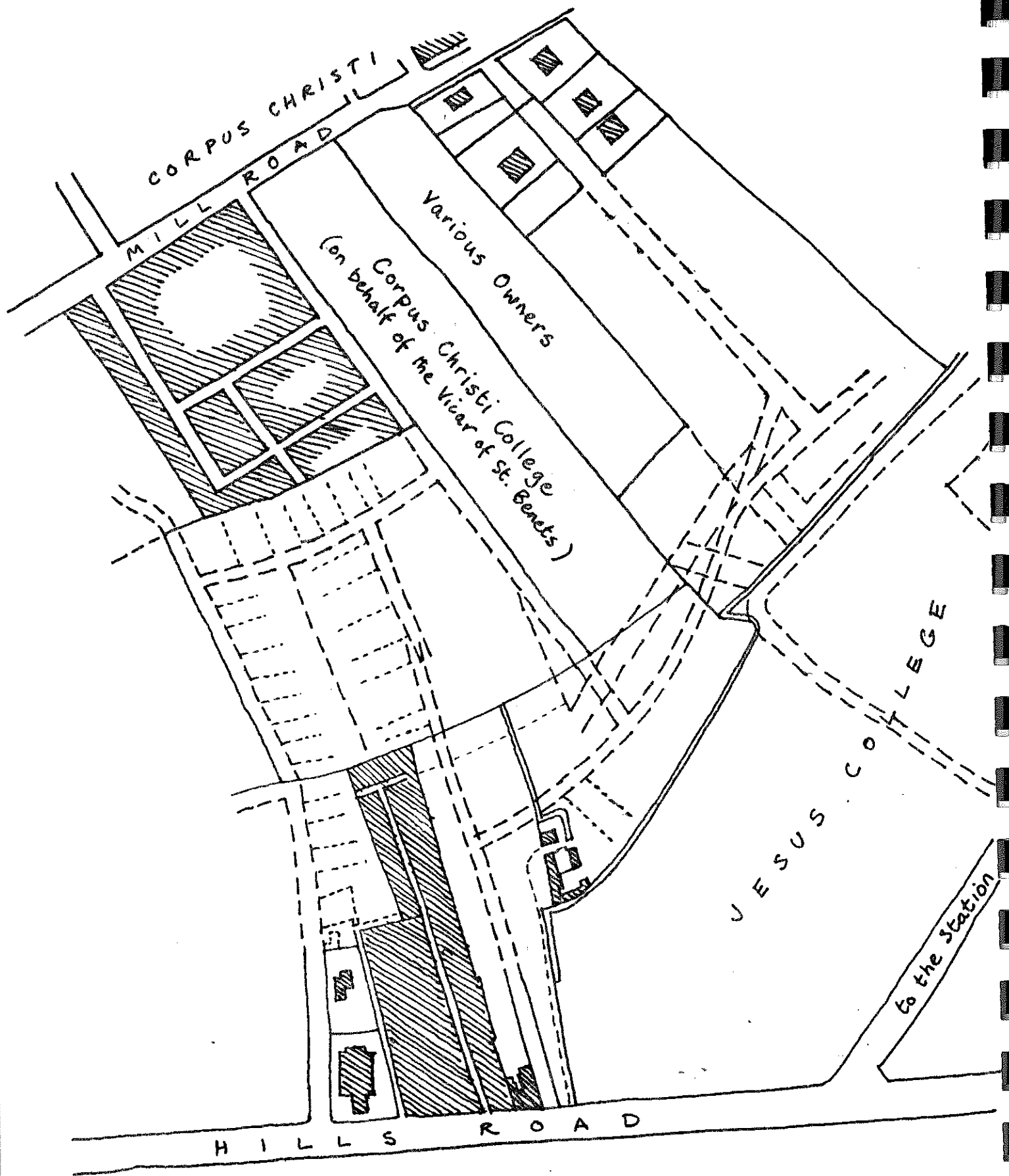
The 1880s and 90s saw a rapid expansion of suburban Cambridge that virtually completed the fabric of the town as we know it today. Out of the increasing prosperity of late Victorian England emerged a new middle class of professionals, successful artisans and commercial men demanding a new type of dwelling: a moderate-sized comfortable house in its own garden on the outskirts of town.

New suburban developments began to spring up all around Cambridge, the De Freville and Victoria Road estates north of the river, Newnham village to the south west of the town and to the south east in the study area of this dissertation - the Caius Estate in Barnwell. In 1903 the Cambridge Daily News could reflect on this suburban expansion with approval:

With the progress of an age goes hand in hand advance in the provision of the houses of the people. Of recent years Cambridge has improved out of all knowledge in that essential. New Estates out of and yet within easy reach of the town, where people may breathe a purer and freer atmosphere are being opened up yearly, almost monthly ... The artisan, the small commercial class, with modern and refined tastes, is no longer content with a small cottage in a back street. He seeks the comparative freedom¹ and immeasurably healthier environment of the suburb.

This suburban expansion was fuelled by the eagerness of the new middle class to invest their money in the property market. In those days the opportunities for investment were far more limited than they are today. Low inflation meant low rates of interest and laissez-faire economics made the stock market a risky place for the small investor. But the establishment of building societies and the availability of leasehold land made property speculation an attractive proposition to those with money to spare.

¹ 'Newnham Park Estate' Cambridge Daily News 28th May 1903 op. cit.
F.M. Weal's dissertation on Newnham Croft.



Map G. A trial layout for the Estate.

Leasing a plot of building ground rather than purchasing the freehold was particularly advantageous as it meant a substantial saving in capital outlay and this was further encouraged by landlords, eager to see their lands improved, who kept ground rents to a minimum.

Many of these property speculators were builders but a substantial proportion consisted of people who were not connected with the building industry. That 'anomalous being' J.W. Papworth tells us 'need not be a builder, or a tradesman in any branch of building; indeed the persons whom I have known succeed best were a sailor ... a chandler's shopkeeper ... and a footman'.¹

It was to take advantage of this growing demand for suburban building plots that Caius College, now fairly free to dispose of their land as they wished, prepared their estate in Barnwell for building. With the building of the Harvey Road and St. Pauls Road property the College had made a half-hearted attempt to compete with West Cambridge as a site for an exclusive, University-orientated neighbourhood, but with its intermingling of freehold property and surrounded as it was by urban Cambridge it could not hope to maintain this. Instead the College had to be content with completing its estate with the slightly inferior development as propogated by the new breed of property speculators.

In April 1878 the College agreed 'to appoint a Committee of the Master, the President, the Bursar and Dr. Drosier to consider the best means of laying out the Barnwell Estate for building purposes with power to call in professional assistance.'² This group later became known as the Cambridge Estates Committee.

One of the trial layouts considered by the Committee was sketched in the Estate Management book in about 1880 (see Map 6).

¹ 'Builder' XV (1857) p.220 op. cit. D.J. Olsen 'The growth of Victorian London' P.155.

² Gesta April 9th 1878.



Map 7. (reproduced from the Ordnance Survey scale 1:2500).

This plan shows St. Pauls Road continued across the fields between Fenner's and the Lawn Tennis Club (then a playing field for the Perse School) to connect with Mill Road. Glisson Road was to stop short of the cottage developments in Windmill Furlong with a cross road to connect it with the St. Pauls Road extension and the future Mawson Road (at that time being laid out by Corpus College). Lyndewode and St. Barnabus Roads are shown in approximately the form that they eventually took, this being made possible by the purchase in 1841 of a plot of land connecting lots 3 and 14 (see map 4).

In 1882 the first 380 feet of Glisson Road was laid from the Hills Road end and in 1889 the Lyndewode and St. Barnabus Roads completed the through route to Mill Road. These roads crossed Tennison Road which had been extended in 1887 by the Improvement Commissioners to connect Mill Road and Station Road. In 1894 Glisson Road was extended to connect with Caius Street and at the same time Gresham Road was extended to connect with Glisson Road. In the course of a very few years, then, the road layout between Hills Road and Mill Road, as we know it today, was completed. (See Map 7).

The land beside these new roads was then divided up into plots, each with a frontage of about 30 feet and a depth of about 150 feet, and offered on 99 year leases for building. A typical agreement (see Appendix 2) stipulated a ground rent of about £7.10s per annum and a contribution of £5 to be made towards the making of the road. It is interesting to note that the clause for a minimum sum to be expended on the building is deleted in practically all of the leases. Instead the College relied on their scrutiny of drawings and specifications and supervision of the construction by their Surveyor¹ to ensure that design and construction were maintained at acceptable standards. In some cases the condition that a house should resemble its neighbours is written in to the agreement but by and large it seems that design was a matter for discussion with the College reserving the right to withhold its approval.

¹ Charles Bidwell was appointed as 'general manager' of the Caius Estates in November 1886.



Houses in the Lyndewode Road.

The first plots to be leased were those on the Lyndewode Road, the first being taken in October 1890 with all the plots allocated by October 1893. A few plots at the western end of Glisson Road were taken in 1891 and 1892 but the majority were leased in 1894 and 1895 when the connection with Caius Street had been completed. In St. Barnabus Road some plots were taken in 1893 though most of them remained unoccupied until the early years of this century. The houses on Mawson Road were all built in about 1895.

All of the houses that were built are of a basically similar type: two stories high often with an additional attic storey, semi-detached and having many stylistic features in common. But the superficial homogeneity which is first apparent disguises the ad hoc nature in which the estate was developed. H.J. Dyos warns us that:

To take a casual look at ... the Victorian suburb one would think that it had been created by a relatively small band of people. The endless repetition of basically similar streets of small houses gives the impression that the land was carved up into large tracts and handed over to substantial contractors working by methods of mass production. Such appearances are deceptive.¹

In fact the Caius Estate in Barnwell, like so many other Victorian suburbs, was built by a large number of small contractors each working on a small number of plots scattered around the estate, sometimes on only one. In Lyndewode Road, for instance, 42 plots were divided up between 19 different lessees, and, with all but four of them being occupied by semi-detached houses, there were as many lessees as there were buildings.

As has already been suggested, not all of the lessees were builders but a substantial proportion were individuals not connected with the building industry who were simply making an investment in the property market. The lessees in the Barnwell Estate included a grocer, a bank clerk, a tutor, a telegraphic engineer, a salesman, a solicitors clerk, a draper, a publisher and a chapel organist. A few of these people were building houses for themselves but many lived elsewhere in the town or held more than one lease. Often a lessee would hold the leases on both parts of a semi-detached house with the intention of living in one and sub-letting the other.

¹ H.J. Dyos 'Victorian Suburb - A study of the growth of Camberwell'. 1961.

It is true that these amateur speculators would have had to contract builders to do the work for them and would probably make use of the builders who were working in the area. But in Lyndewode Road alone there were at least five different building firms at work on their own lease-holdings.

The overall homogeneity of the estate is thus enlivened by the multiplicity of lessees and contractors involved. Every house differs in some respect from its neighbours. Similar types are sometimes repeated at intervals around the estate where the same contractor was at work but it is probably true to say that no two pairs of houses are identical.

The discreet individuality afforded by variety within a common order was well-appreciated by the late Victorians:

The identity and separateness of every building from every other ... were jealously preserved and vehemently emphasised ... the freedom of each ... householder to express himself as he saw fit had moral and political as well as aesthetic significance ... the house represented the independence and identity of the family it contained.¹

The design of the houses was mainly the responsibility of the builder however, and the distinctiveness of a house was more the result of expedient use of the materials that the builder had to hand rather than any conscious effort in design. In 1858 the 'Builder' wrote:

Whatever be the comeliness of certain houses the art about them ... bears kindred likeness whereto the cement man has given much and the artist and architect nothing save what has become distorted in transmission or by the manner of its use. Houses are built even without drawings ... the utmost that the builder gets in the way of architectural skill is comprised in the assistance of one of his own order who is able to draw a rough plan and an elevation that will allow any kind of ornament he has on hand to be used without regard to proportion or congruity.²

¹ D.J. Olsen 'The Growth of Victorian London' (1976) p.62.

² Builder XVI (1858) p.630 op.cit. Olsen p.158.

The practice of building without specially commissioned drawings was aided and encouraged by the building journals who published pattern books of various house types often accompanied by working drawings and Bills of Quantities. The illustrated Carpenter and Builder, first published in 1877, even provided builders with drawings and specifications on request.

It should be noted that, though there are parallels to be drawn, there was far more control over the design and construction of the houses in the Caius Estate in Barnwell than in the earlier speculative housing found in London and elsewhere. Under the Health Acts builders had to submit drawings to the Town Council for approval and it is known that architects were commissioned to design some of the houses on the estate. Building agreements were conditional on drawings and specifications being submitted to the College for approval. There was an Estates Committee to oversee the general design and a surveyor, Charles Bidwell, appointed to supervise construction. The Estates Committee even issued a book entitled 'Rules for Building' to its builders. However there is no evidence of any stylistic control being exercised by the College over its tenants and the kind of housing that was built was probably largely the result of tacit agreement between all the parties concerned as to what was and what was not acceptable. As A.M. Edwards puts it:

Developers might continue to build on a lease but the design of the houses which they built was a matter for their individual judgement not for the directive of the ground landlord.¹

We do know, however, that in 1885 Edward Schroeder Prior was appointed as architect to the Caius Estates in Cambridge.

¹ A.M. Edwards 'The Design of Suburbia' (1981) p.22.

² Gesta June 4th 1885



Lyndewode House



doorway in Glisson Road .

Prior, who had been educated at Caius, had been an assistant in the office of Richard Norman Shaw and his experience there led to his exponency of the 'Queen Anne' style. He was a founder member of the Art Workers Guild established in 1884 and later founded the Cambridge University School of Architecture.

Prior's job as Estates Architect was mainly one of advising on site planning and technical matters. (He is known to have designed the layout of the College's West Gardens Estate in 1889¹.) He was probably also responsible for approving the designs of the houses and may well have designed some of them himself. Several of the houses in Lyndewode and St. Barnabus Roads display some of the stylistic features typical of Prior's work: high gables on the street frontage decorated with half-timbering and windows and bays of various shapes and sizes projecting in all directions.

On the whole however, the houses on the estate are unexceptional examples of the late Victorian Villa style, an eclectic mixture borrowed mainly from the 'Queen Anne' (in itself an eclectic mixture) and the high-Victorian gothic styles. Polychromatic brickwork is a characteristic feature with greys and yellows used in combination with reds to pick out eaves or string courses or simply to make decorative patterns on the elevations. The surrounds to front doors, usually arched, are generally in red brick with keystones and are often ornamented with a 'Queen Anne' style sunflower or similar decoration.

Nearly every home has a bay window, usually the full height of the house topped with a little pitched hat or a fake, crenellated balcony to a gable or dormer window. Mullions and lintols, usually of dressed yellow sandstone, are of ungainly proportions, the mullions often tooled to resemble 'gothic' columns and bedecked with stiff-leave carvings or bunches of stone grapes.

¹ R. Griffiths 'The Houses of West Cambridge'.



Houses on St. Barnabus Road circa 1905 .

Roofs are of slates, sometimes petal shaped, capped with ornamental red ridge tiles resembling cocks' combs. Gable ends are sometimes decorated with ornate timber barge boards or, in the later houses, half timbering.

Inside stained glass in the panels of the inner front door and multi-coloured 'encaustic' tiles on the floor serve to give added status.

The houses are generally without basements, in line with late Victorian fashion, and have small, low walled front gardens. To complete the houses' individuality many were given names of a romantic or cosmopolitan flavour such as 'Montevideo', 'Buenos Aires', 'Dovedale', 'Sunny Dale', 'Avonleigh' or in the case of the house illustrated at the beginning of the chapter, 'Shirley'.

An idea of the kind of people who inhabited this new suburban world can be obtained from the street directories. In general they comprised a respectable community of University lecturers, school teachers, clergymen, professional men such as surveyors, architects and cricketers and the 'better class' of artisan such as drapers and corn merchants.

An early inhabitant of St. Barnabus Road, daughter of the Registrar at Addenbrookes, gives an impression of what life must have been like at the turn of the century in this new suburb only a short walk away from open countryside:

We lived in St. Barnabus Road, in the second of four houses, the first two being named Guernsey and Jersey, after which geographical knowledge ran out. There were vacant building plots right, left and opposite them new houses came ... Down the road came at intervals the muffin man and the Spaniard with his black beret and onions; the knife grinder with his tricycle; and the King St. red and white poled sweeps with their black faces - father and son ... A country walk was by way of Romsey Town which ended with a gate and field path to Cherry Hinton.¹

¹ Doris Shillington Scales 'Jottings by an Octogenarian' on the first decade of the 20th Century in Cambridge in National Trust Centre Magazine No.35 October 1976 pp. 14-18

POSTSCRIPT

By 1905 the Caius Estate in Barnwell was practically complete and the intermingled freehold and leasehold property, grand houses and suburban villas, open land and built-up streets settled down into a pattern which, in its outward appearance, has since changed very little.

In recent years however several changes in the pattern of use and ownership of the estate have occurred which should be mentioned here in conclusion of this dissertation.

The depreciation of the property in the Harvey Road area which began in the 1890's continued as tenants with the means to run such large houses became increasingly reluctant to live in an area that had been swallowed up by urban Cambridge. A few of the original tenants remained, Florence Keynes was still living in number six when she wrote her autobiography, but as other tenants left or died it became increasingly difficult to re-let the property as single houses. By 1934 four of the houses were unoccupied and in 1938 numbers 3, 4, 7, 8 and 12 were converted into flats. Since then most of the houses have been subdivided into rooms for students.

The cottages in Cambridge Place remained occupied until 1939 when most of them were demolished to make way for garages and storehouses, though six cottages at the end of St. Pauls Walk survived until the mid 1960's, occupied in their last few years by squatters. Following several disturbances there the squatters were evicted and the cottages demolished.

By far the most radical change in the estate, however, has been the reversion of practically all of the houses to freehold ownership following the Leasehold Reform Act of 1967.² This Act gave tenants the right to purchase the freehold of the houses they occupied irrespective of the landowners willingness to sell.

¹ See above p.23.

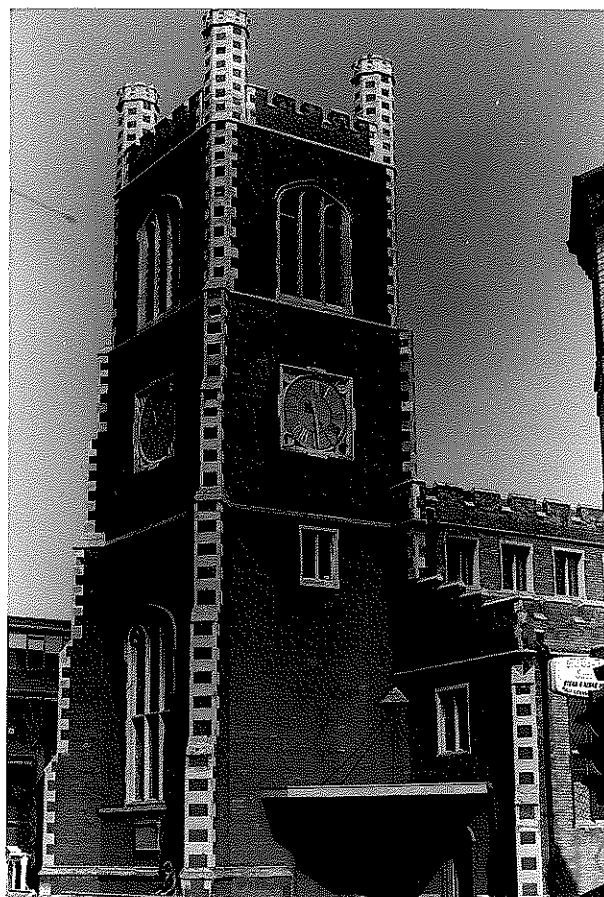
² See Megarry and Wade 'The Law of Real Property' (1978 edition).

The purchase price was supposed to reflect the market price of the property but in effect did not amount to much more than the value of the site. Tenants were keen to buy their houses at these artificially low prices and did so in their thousands all over the country. The Caius Estate in Barnwell was no exception and in the course of a few years following the Act the freeholds of almost all the houses were purchased by the tenants.

Needless to say Caius College, in common with most other land-owners, were less than enthusiastic about the reform.¹ They had leased out their land for building, at nominal ground rents that remained constant, in the confident expectation that in the 1980's and 1990's the property would revert to them. Until 1967 the estate was a valuable and appreciating asset; in the years following the Act this asset all but disappeared.

For the tenants of course the Act was a tremendous boon allowing them to invest in their property by building extensions and making improvements. There is little doubt that freehold tenure is far more equitable than leasehold tenure, but one cannot help feeling some sympathy for Caius College, dispossessed of the estate in Middle Field which they had owned since 1809.

¹ St. John's College Oxford has taken its case to the International Court of Human Rights in the Hague.



St. Pauls Church, Hills Rd.

APPENDIX ONE

St. Pauls Church and the Cambridge Camden Society

The church of St. Pauls was built in 1841 to the design of Ambrose Poynter who was also responsible for two other Cambridge churches: Christ-Church (1839) and St. Andrew-the-Great (1842-3).

At this time the Cambridge Camden Society had just been established, with A.W. Pugin as one of its founder members, to oppose the resurgence of classicism in church design and to re-establish the 'True Principles of Gothic Architecture' as expounded by Pugin. In short they proposed to attack anything that did not conform, in style and detailing, to the Middle-Pointed period of the late fourteenth century.¹

St. Pauls Church, basically a loose interpretation of St. Mary-the-Great in red brick, was an easy target for the newly-formed society. In the first edition of their magazine 'The Ecclesiologist' (November 1841) the church came under searing attack in an article entitled 'New Churches':

The Church is of no particular style or shape but it may be described as a conspicuous red brick building something between Elizabethan and debased Perpendicular architecture ... The huge clock; the disproportionate octagonal turrets, the great four-centred belfrey, windows without cusps or mouldings ... the square clerestorey windows; the enormous windows in the aisles ... the graduated parapet of the nave ... are quite indefensible.

A major crime, according to the article, was that the church disregarded one of the Camden Society's basic tenets which was that a church should have a large chancel. St. Pauls, probably for reasons of economy, at first possessed 'no chancel whatever'. It was, in fact, said the article

a thoroughly correct and comprehensive idea of a
CHEAP CHURCH OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

¹ For a detailed account of the C.C.S. see 'The Cambridge Movement' by J.F. White.

The attack was too much for some of the most prominent members of the Society who were shocked at its disrespectful tone and feared that it would discourage church building in general. The editors of the Ecclesiologist were forced to reprint the issue with an apology and a revised version of the article.

The revised article was not much milder however, stating that 'there is no reason a priori why a church which costs £5000 should not, so far as it goes, be as good a design, and built with as true a feeling of the beautiful and Catholick, as Lincoln Minister itself;' while the 'apology' generously proposed that 'if the architect has felt himself aggrieved by [the article] the committee are ready to make amends ... by offering their suggestions on the plan of a third church which ... he has been employed to build in this town.' One wonders whether this gracious offer of assistance with the design of St. Andrew-the-Great was accepted by Poynter.

Pugin himself was furious with the decision to revise the article, embodying as it did the principles which he so vehemently advocated, and reprinted the original in full in one of his later publications. The criticism was to have some success however, for in 1864 St. Pauls was treated to the addition of a chancel.

APPENDIX TWO

Extracts from the Building Agreement for a House in Lyndewode Road

Between Gonville and Caius College and William Thomas See for a plot of land approximately 31 x 125 feet on the north side of Lyndewode Road dated 7th December 1892.

'In consideration of the expense which the tenant will incur in erecting the one messuage or dwelling house and outbuildings hereinafter by him agreed to be erected and of the rent and covenants hereinafter by him agreed to be paid and performed and when so soon as the said messuage or dwelling house and outbuildings shall have been built up ... and completed to the satisfaction of the landlords ... the landlords will at the request and costs of the tenant demise as hereinafter mentioned to the tenant ALL THAT piece ... of ground situate on the Lyndewode Road in the Parish of St. Andrew-the-Less ... and having a frontage ... of 30 feet or thereabouts ... to hold for the term of Ninety-nine years to be computed from the 29th day of September 1892 at the yearly rent of seven pounds ten shillings such rent to be payable by equal quarterly payments.

'The tenant agrees to ... erect and build on such parts of the said piece of land as shall be approved of for that purpose by the landlords ... one messuage or dwelling house and outbuildings ~~and to expend not less than~~ pounds in building ~~the said messuage~~¹ ... which shall be finished ... on or before the 29th day of September 1892 [sic.] ... to be built and constructed in a substantial and workmanlike manner with the best and most approved materials to the satisfaction of the landlords ... according to plans, sections, elevations and specifications to be approved by the landlords ... and subject to such regulations and supervision as to materials and workmanship as the landlords ... shall from time to time direct ... The tenant agrees to fence the said piece of land ... with a brick wall of at least nine inches in thickness and of not less than five feet six inches in height forthwith ... the tenant shall pay a contribution of 5 pounds towards the expense already incurred by the landlords in making the Lyndewode Road.

'The tenant shall deposit with the landlords the plans sections and elevations and specifications so approved by the landlords.'

¹ This part of the agreement is crossed out in the original.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Dyos H.J. Victorian Suburb - a study of the growth of Camberwell (1961)
- Edwards A.M. The Design of Suburbia (1981)
- Girouard M. Sweetness and Light (1977)
- Gross E.J. Gonville and Caius College Biographical History Volume IV Part II (1912)
- Hoskins W.G. The Making of the English Landscape (1967)
- Keynes F.A. Gathering Up the Threads (1950)
- Maitland F.W. Township and Borough (1897)
- Olsen D.J. The Growth of Victorian London (1976)
- Raverat G. Period Piece (1952)
- Stokes H.P. Outside the Barnwell Gate (1915)
- Victoria County Histories Cambridgeshire Volume III (1959)

THESIS

- Shadwell C.L. The Universities and College Estates Acts (1898)

DISSERTATIONS

- Griffiths R. The Houses of West Cambridge (1981)
- Mayer H. The Growth of Barnwell (1975)
- Weal F.M. A Village in the Suburbs - a study of the development of Newnham Croft (1981)

CAIUS COLLEGE ARCHIVES

- Gesta Books (Minutes of the College Council) (c.1840-1905)
- Estate Management Book (containing maps, lists of tenants and brief accounts of particular areas) (1860-)
- Building Agreements (1878-1905)
- Bursar's Letter Book (1876-1892)
- © Correspondence Files (1891-1905)

OTHER SOURCES

- Spaldings Street Directories (1874-1940)
- Plans and Particulars of Sale: University Library Map Room