
Changes in the landscape of west Cambridge, Part V: 1945 to 2000

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This last of a series of articles covers the period between 1945 and 2000, which saw great changes in the landscape of what had once been the West Fields of Cambridge: many new university and college buildings, some private housing and, for the first time, more than a token amount of social housing. Demolition of large private houses built before 1914 was limited, many providing the initial accommodation for new colleges, most of which found their homes in west Cambridge. By contrast, most University development took place on previously unbuilt land. The pattern established at the time of enclosure in 1805, which had left its mark clearly on development over the succeeding 150 years, became much less significant thereafter thanks to the extensive acquisition of land, whether by purchase or lease, by the University.

Whereas before WWII there were few limits to what the University and colleges could do with their land, they now had to come to terms with a planning machinery which obliged them to fit their plans within a broader overall framework of development. At times, particularly in the early days, there have been difficulties but with experience a degree of mutual accommodation has been arrived at.

Introduction

This is the last of a series of five articles tracing the evolution of the landscape of west Cambridge through the past two centuries, beginning with the enclosure of the West Fields in 1805 and concluding in 2000. The latter date is admittedly arbitrary but it makes a convenient stopping point for this narrative.

Over the last 200 years the town of Cambridge developed in a series of spurts. The first and most dramatic occurred in 1811 after the enclosure of one of its two medieval Great Fields, the East or Barnwell Fields. The over-crowded old town burst out eastwards in a rash of new residential building (Bryan and Wise 2005), later spurred by the arrival of the railway. Another spurt, this time northwards, took place at mid-century, after the 1840 enclosure of the Parish of Chesterton (historically not part of the Borough of Cambridge, but much of it later incorporated in it when the municipal boundaries were redrawn in

1911–12.)

Although enclosure of the West Fields had been completed in 1805, earlier than either the East Fields or Chesterton, no such residential explosion had followed because the colleges, the dominant landowners, manipulated the enclosure process to ensure that the lands closest to the Backs (the local expression for the former water meadows and college gardens on either side of the stretch of the river Cam lying west of the town) were in their exclusive hands. Their largely successful efforts to prevent the encroachment of buildings on the green vistas beyond the river arose not, be it said, because of far-sighted concern for the future development of the colleges, much less of the university: the mind-set of the Cambridge academic at the start of the nineteenth century, as is evidenced by Winstanley's *Unreformed Cambridge* (Winstanley 1935), was essentially introverted and what motivated the dons at the time of enclosure was the desire to create and maintain the equivalent of a semi-private park or greenbelt in which they could ride and walk.

Eventually the impact of the agricultural depression after 1870 obliged the colleges to find new sources of revenue by granting building leases *inter alia* in this western quarter, leading to the creation of the suburb of west Cambridge (Guillebaud 2007), which came to be inhabited mainly by academics and other professionals. But the east and north sides of the original town continued to grow faster, and between the wars most development, notably including council housing, occurred in those areas. By contrast in west Cambridge change was minimal in the interwar period: five short roads were built and partly developed for private houses, one terrace of council housing appeared (south of Barton Road), the new University Library was erected and Clare, one of the ancient colleges immediately east of the river, put up a new court across the river in west Cambridge. Both of these academic forays into new territory were undertaken with reluctance and only after lengthy efforts to find central sites had failed. Most other university expansion, of which there was a good deal (laboratories, lecture halls, etc., financed with the aid of government

grants), continued to be squeezed into the congested town centre.

Nevertheless the seeds of west Cambridge's expansion after World War II were being sown in the inter-war period. The two most significant changes were the introduction of town planning and the new system of central government grants to the University.

While outlining the broader economic and social context within which University development took place after 1945, the sections which follow describe in turn the physical changes in west Cambridge attributable to the expansion of existing and the creation of new colleges, to the growth of University facilities and to new housing construction, both private and social. The major changes over the period 1945-2000 are shown in Figure 1.

Planning for the post-war period

A previous article (Guillebaud 2008) outlined the inter-war experience with town planning in Cambridge, with its very limited impact on west Cambridge. The early initiatives had focussed on developments in east and north Cambridge, and it was not until the Cambridge and District Town Planning Scheme was drafted in 1936 that attention began to be paid also to the other side of town. The University, individual colleges and/or the Cambridge Preservation Society raised objections to certain features of the Scheme, notably the kind of zoning envisaged and the route of the proposed ring road through the western outskirts of Cambridge, and in consequence a public inquiry took place, presided over by an inspector appointed by the Ministry of Health. Given the glacial pace at which planning matters moved this was not held until March 1939, and while the inspector seems to have considered some of the objections well-founded, with the outbreak of war the entire scheme was shelved and his report was never published (Cooper 2000, 75-76).

Even in the thick of the war, planning for the post-war period was very much on the minds of the authorities. In 1943 the newly-formed Ministry of Town Planning commissioned Stephen Dykes Bower to review Cambridge planning experience and the nature of the problems faced; his report was never published, but as the first serious examination of the issues—particularly whether limits should be placed on future growth of the town in order to preserve its special characteristics as a university town—it proved useful to his successors (Cooper 2000, 78-86). Also in 1943, an interim Act was passed requiring planning permission for new developments in areas not yet covered by formal planning schemes (Town and Country Planning (Interim Development) Act 1943). In Cambridge it led the county and town authorities to set up a new Joint Planning Committee (first convened in May 1945) and to recruit a Regional Planning Officer, whose role became more significant after the passage of the much more substantial Town Planning Act of 1947. Under this Act, planning became an ob-

ligatory function for all local governments, private land development was forbidden without the consent of the local planning authorities, and development rights in undeveloped land were transferred to the State, which set aside £300 million from which to pay compensation in hardship cases. The transfer of development rights did not survive the return to power of the Conservative Party after 1951, but it created an enormous burden of work for all academic bodies, both before and after its elimination.

The County Council, now designated as the planning authority, was faced with the need to prepare a comprehensive development plan for the county, preceded by a detailed survey of its physical features. The plan was to run for 20 years, with quinquennial reviews. Realising that drafting such a plan was beyond its resources and having taken advice, the County recruited in 1948 a planning consultant, Prof. Holford, retaining him for 18 months. Somewhat unusually, the County Council accepted an offer by the University to meet one-third of the cost of employing him. He was joined by Henry Myles Wright who had worked with Holford at the Ministry of Town and Country Planning; the latter did much of the detailed local work since Holford was simultaneously involved with other assignments. Their report (Holford & Myles Davies, *Cambridge Planning Proposals* 1950) was completed in December 1949 and published a month later, its recommendations underlying much of the development plan for the county and town published by the local authorities in 1952 and approved by the Minister for Town and Country Planning in 1954.

The Holford report made two major points: firstly that Cambridge had a unique character as a university town which must be safeguarded, and secondly that the town had serious traffic problems which had to be solved. Both were factors in the recommendation that the future rate of growth should be reduced, such that the population of the town (within certain defined boundaries) could be stabilized at not more than 100,000. At the same time major new road proposals were made. Without going into detail here (the reader interested in a more detailed examination of planning in this period is referred to the Holford Report itself or to Anthony Cooper's book *Planners and Preservationists*) it may be said that few of the new road proposals, although incorporated in the 1952 plan and several subsequent revisions, were ever carried out whereas the policy of size limitation was adopted and followed until the 1970s, with repercussions which persist to the present day.

Concern for the future of Cambridge was of course not confined to the central authorities. The eminent Prof. A E Richardson, addressing the 1944 Annual General Meeting of the Cambridge Preservation Society, said: 'What is the future of this university town to be? Is Cambridge to be allowed to throw out tentacles in all directions? Will borough aggrandisement overshadow the age-old beauty of the ancient thoroughfares?' And more in the same vein.

By the end of the war there was a tacit consensus

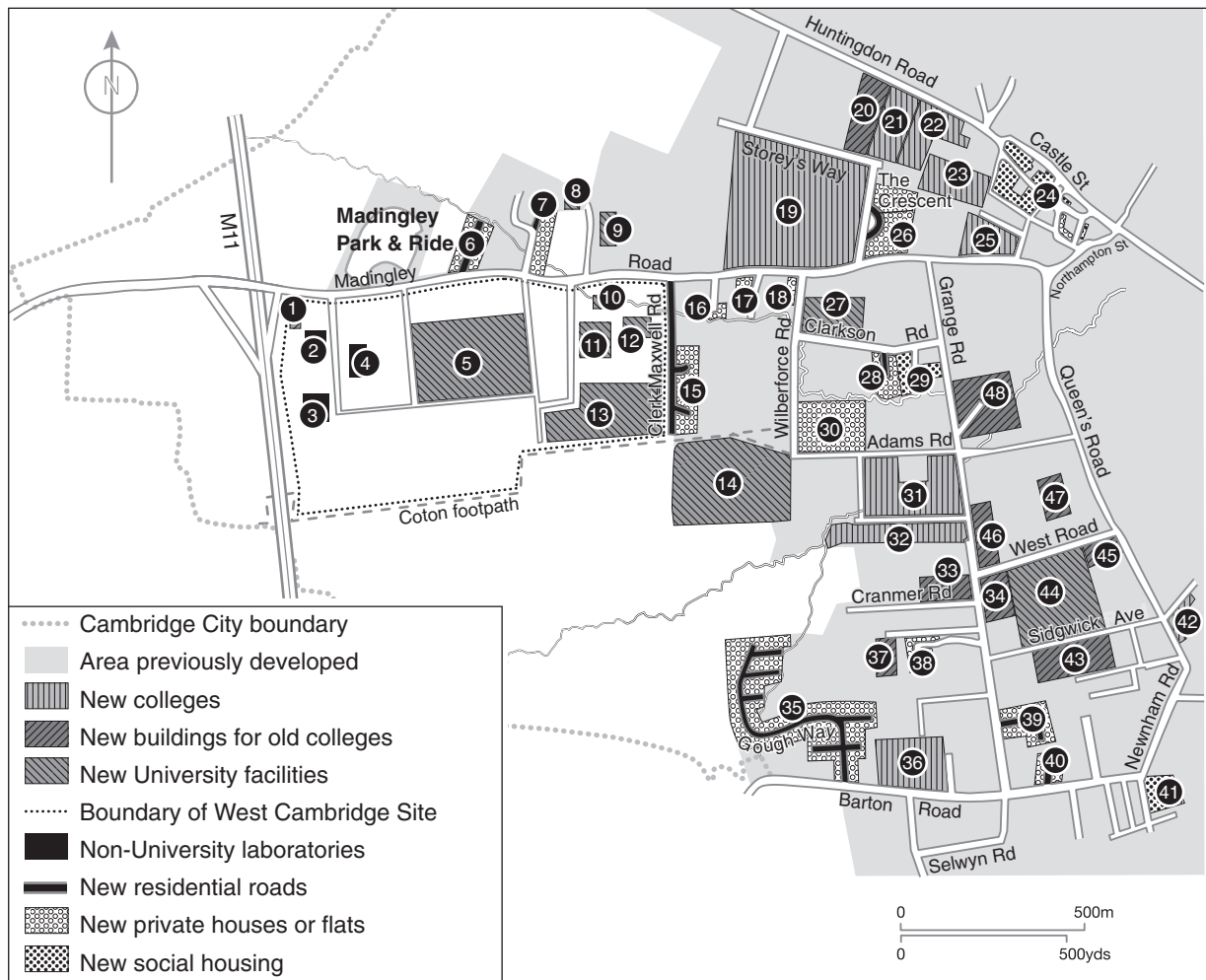


Figure 1. Sketchmap of west Cambridge showing approximate locations of new construction 1945–2000 (not to scale).

1. Schofield Centre, Dept of Engineering
2. British Antarctic Survey
3. Computer-Aided Design Centre
4. Schlumberger Cambridge Research Centre
5. Dept of Veterinary Medicine
6. Lansdowne Road
7. Bradbrushe Road
- 8 and 9. Dept of Earth Sciences
10. Whittle Laboratory, Dept of Engineering
11. Computer Laboratory
12. Roger Needham Building (Microsoft)
13. New Cavendish Laboratory, Dept of Physics
14. University Sports Ground
15. Clerk Maxwell Road, The Lawns and Perry Court
16. Hedgerley Close
17. Blenheim Court
18. Wilberforce Road
19. Churchill College
20. Trinity Hall
21. Fitzwilliam College
22. Murray Edwards College, formerly New Hall
23. St Edmunds College
24. Castle End

25. Lucy Cavendish College
26. The Crescent, Benians Way
27. Centre for Mathematical Sciences
28. Clarkson Close
29. Cockcroft Place
30. Wilberforce Rd/Adams Rd
31. Robinson College
32. Clare Hall
- 33 and 34. Selwyn College
35. Gough Way
36. Wolfson College
37. Corpus Christi College
38. Pinehurst
39. Champneys Walk
40. St Mark's Court
41. Lammas Court and Lammas Field
42. Darwin College
43. Newnham College
44. Sidgwick Site
45. Gonville and Caius College
46. St Catharine's College
47. King's College
48. Trinity College

that the west side of the Borough would be largely devoted to University and college needs—a view not uncoloured by the fact that those parties owned almost all of the land in question. Hence the Holford report's recommendation that 'all land between the Huntingdon and Barton Roads and west of the Backs should be treated as a reserve' for future, and perhaps distant, University and college needs (Holford 1950, 59 para 345) was essentially an endorsement of accepted wisdom. The report, written in late 1949, stated that the University was aware of the need for a general development plan 'and is trying to prepare one based on the needs of departments and on groupings most likely to promote efficient working of the University machine' (Holford 1950, 59 para 344). Cooper claimed that the weaknesses of the Holford scheme's proposals for the University and colleges stemmed from the fact that 'neither the University nor the colleges knew where they were going and had made little headway in planning for the future. Indeed they had little idea of the size to which they should grow, if at all' (Cooper 2000, 107).

There was no accepted overall strategy, but the University had been thinking about the future, as will be shown, and one college at least had been defining its policies on the matter. St John's College had been the largest landowner in west Cambridge at the time of the 1805 Enclosure Award but had since sold land to the University or other colleges: to the University, the land for its Observatory; to Trinity and Emmanuel, land for playing fields; to Newnham College, Ridley Hall and Westminster College, their college sites. Its position as predominant landowner had been overtaken by the University itself in the 1920s when the latter acquired from Trinity College more than 400 acres (160ha) of land between the Madingley and Huntingdon Roads which it devoted to the University Farm, but the University's land was on the western margins of the Borough, whereas the substantial quantity of land still owned by St John's, some occupied by houses under 99-year leases and the rest playing fields or farmland, lay precisely in area most conveniently located in relation to existing University and college centres. (Not that St John's was the only college with strategically placed land in west Cambridge: others with lesser holdings included Corpus Christi, Gonville and Caius, Jesus and King's.)

In 1946 the University Treasurer wrote to a number of college bursars asking for comments on a list of possible sites for new University buildings, and in particular one for nuclear physics. Replying on 3 August 1946 on behalf of St John's, J S Boys Smith, Senior Bursar since 1944, expressed the view that the choice of a site for any particular purpose ought to be made in the light of a more general policy. Writing later (Boys Smith 1983, 186):

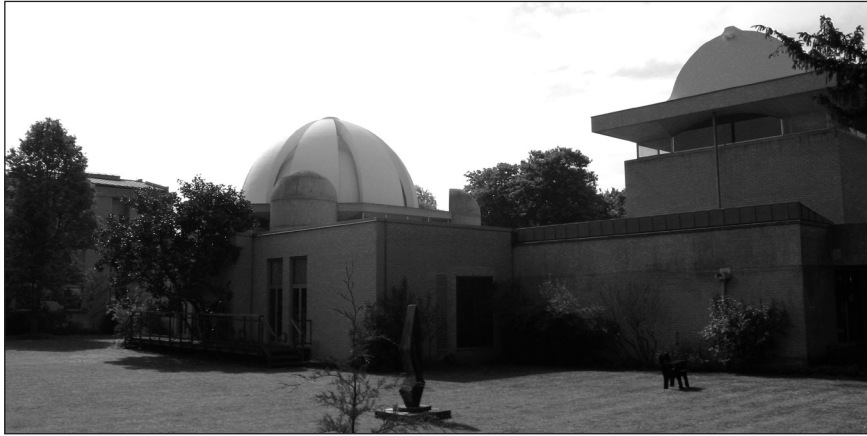
'I explained our interest in western Cambridge and said that the [College] Council was not opposed to University or college development westwards into that area; but that they would wish to part with land there only for a definite and suitable purpose. It was our policy, in the interest of the amenities

of the Backs, to preserve the whole of our Playing Fields, both north and south of the driftway ... as open land. I explained that the College had refrained from developing the land between the Observatory and Storey's Way, north of Madingley Road, as probably the best site for a new college if one were to be founded in the future, and that we wished to keep it available for that purpose. I also said that the College did not think that the vacant land north and south of Clarkson Road should be regarded as suitable for University uses just because it was vacant and suggested that, in the long term, it was the central area between Adams Road and the University football ground that might most appropriately be redeveloped for University uses, the land adjoining Clarkson Road then taking its place a residential area.'

While the University's response to this letter has not been found, the subsequent passage of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act seems to have encouraged some forward thinking on its part, as demonstrated by a number of land purchases in west Cambridge in and after 1948. To mention only the larger ones, in 1948 the University bought from Corpus Christi its old cricket field and adjacent Fellows' Garden, which in the 1950s became the Sidgwick Site housing a number of Arts Faculty buildings. The following year it acquired from Merton College, Oxford, the latter's 100-acre (40ha) farm on the south side of Madingley Road to house the future Veterinary School, as well as two pieces of land adjacent to that farm and previously owned respectively by Storey's Charity (20 acres, 8ha) and St John's (17 acres, 7ha) which had been requisitioned during the war as the site of an aircraft repair factory (Guillebaud 2007, 188), and in 1951 it bought Bredon House, a private house near Barton Road which, after temporarily housing New Hall students, became the nucleus of University, later Wolfson, College.

None-the-less there was still no overall strategy for university and college development in west Cambridge, although a Sites Committee had been established in 1947 under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor, of which Boys Smith was one of the original members. Nevertheless in 1950 there was a replay of the situation in 1946. In this instance, the University asked St John's whether the latter would be willing to sell land on the north side of Clarkson Road as a site for Fitzwilliam House (later Fitzwilliam College), the centre for non-collegiate students established in 1869 which had long since outgrown its quarters in the town centre. In his reply of 17 March 1950, Boys Smith again explained the college's policies on west Cambridge, urging that individual developments be seen in the context of an overall strategy so that the latter should not be pre-empted by scatter-shot short-term actions. Given its ownership of much of the land in question, the college was intimately affected by proposals relating to western Cambridge (Boys Smith 1983, 187–190)

'...and on its own side, is concerned to ensure that the decisions it takes in regard to its own land shall be such as promote the right development of the



*Murray Edwards College
(formerly New Hall).*

whole area, upon which the future character of academic Cambridge will in a large measure depend'. He reiterated his insistence that any strategy should not be limited to vacant land, but should take into consideration the demolition over time of some of the existing unsuitably large private houses and the use of their sites for academic buildings. He referred again to St John's College playing fields west of Queen's Road, but this time, in the light of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, expressing as a hope rather than a given that these not be built on.

He also—again in the light of the new Act—made the following suggestion (Boys Smith 1983, 188):

'If large areas passed into the ownership of the University in advance of the possibility of their immediate use, there might be circumstances in which the University would be subject to external pressure to use some of these areas for less suitable purposes rather than incur the expense of acquiring further land elsewhere. A College is less exposed to external pressure of this kind and may be the more appropriate holding body until the land is actually required'.

His college would not be opposed to an informal commitment not to develop any given site without previous consultation. Responding to the specific query about the Clarkson Road site for Fitzwilliam House, he pointed out that the latter was a case in point, since it was foreseen that there might be several years' delay before the necessary funding could be obtained—as indeed occurred, and the eventual site chosen was different.

The proposal that colleges might be more appropriate holding bodies for future development sites than the University itself met with the approval of the University's Financial Board, and was adopted as a general policy, the colleges in question undertaking to consult the University before taking any action which might prejudice future development by the latter.

In general, Boys Smith's remarks were remarkably prescient, but whereas he expected that most new University developments would take place on sites then occupied by large redundant private houses, it was the new colleges, with the lone exception of Churchill, which came to occupy such sites, while most University building in west Cambridge oc-

curred on previously vacant land. This was largely the result of financial forces: most of the new colleges faced formidable funding challenges, and it was cheaper to move into existing houses, however ill-adapted to their new purposes, and to build in their spacious grounds, with or without demolishing the old houses, as and when financing could be raised. In contrast, the University at least until the end of the 1960s had access to government capital grants for new buildings.

The expansion of the colleges after 1945

Well before the end of WWII, it was clear that there would be rising national demand for university places, in which Cambridge would have to play its part. If there was to be no abandonment of the traditional collegiate structure of the University, this required expanding the existing colleges, creating new ones or both. In practice, both occurred. Of the existing colleges, Corpus Christi, Gonville and Caius, Girton, King's, St Catharine's, St John's, Trinity and Trinity Hall built outposts in west Cambridge, and others converted existing large houses there into college hostels (another reason for the survival of many older houses), while Newnham and Selwyn expanded on or near their original sites

Between 1882, when Selwyn Hostel, later Selwyn College, came into existence and the early 1950s, not a single new college was created; in the subsequent quarter century, eleven came into being. Seven (Churchill, Clare Hall, Darwin, Lucy Cavendish, New Hall, now Murray Edwards, Robinson and University, later Wolfson) were entirely new foundations, while four (Fitzwilliam, Homerton, Hughes Hall and St Edmund's) represented achievement of college status by previously existing institutions with varying degrees of linkage to the University. Of the eleven new colleges, nine found their sites in west Cambridge, (although one of the nine, St Edmund's in its earlier capacity of a residence for Catholic students, had acquired its site on Mount Pleasant as early as 1896 when it took over the premises of the short-lived Ayerst Hostel), while only two (Hughes



Clare Hall



Fitzwilliam College



Robinson College

Hall and Homerton) were outside west Cambridge.

There was no master plan: no two of the new colleges were exactly alike, having different histories, different objectives, different sources of funding. But all addressed themselves to one or more of the principal problems facing the University system by the 1950s, which were: the huge growth of academic staff, primarily but not exclusively in the sciences, who held university appointments but had no fellowships; the lack of opportunities for women; the need to address the issue of "mature students" who had missed out on university education at a younger age, and the overall need for more student places, both at the undergraduate and graduate level. While the expansion of the older colleges would make a contribution, it was clear that new institutions would be needed.

Several of the new colleges addressed themselves to more than one of these issues. At the cost of great over-simplification, it may be said that Darwin, Clare Hall, Hughes Hall, Lucy Cavendish, St Edmund's and Wolfson were primarily designed as graduate colleges, though also catering in varying degrees to the needs of mature students; Lucy Cavendish and New Hall were new establishments for women; Churchill, Fitzwilliam, New Hall and Robinson were designed for both undergraduates and graduates (the first of these with a particular emphasis on the sciences), while Homerton, previously a teacher-training institution, also joined this group.

The first of the new colleges to be founded, New Hall (now Murray Edwards College) in 1954, took a long time to reach its proper home, residing in various temporary quarters until its permanent premises were built in an area with multiple associations with the Darwin family. In 1882, after her husband's death, Mrs Charles Darwin bought a house with a large garden called The Grove lying between Huntingdon Road and Storey's Way and originally built in 1812 by William Custance, one of the three Commissioners for the enclosure of the West Fields. During the years when she used it as her winter residence, two of her sons, Francis and Horace, settled on adjacent sites, Francis building Wychfield and Horace building The Orchard (Thompson 1989, 17). Horace's two daughters, Nora Barlow and Ruth Rees Thomas, had been leaders in the campaign to set up the Third Foundation, as New Hall was initially known, and in 1953 they gave the freehold of their father's house The Orchard, together with four acres (1.6ha) of land, to New Hall. In 1957 the University, with assistance from the University Grants Committee, bought The Grove, which by then had passed out of the hands of the Darwin family. Most of it, including the house itself, was assigned by the University to Fitzwilliam College, whose long search for a new site was thereby brought to an end, but three acres (1.2ha) of the garden were given to New Hall, as was Beaufort House, a large private house abutting on Storey's Way. Francis Darwin's house, Wychfield, had earlier been bought by Trinity Hall and became part of that college's expansion into west Cambridge.

The Orchard was pulled down to make way for

New Hall's main range, but The Grove, Beaufort House and Wychfield still stand, now part of a cluster of college buildings of which there had been no trace before the war. This grouping which includes Churchill and St Edmund's Colleges is sometimes referred to as the Hill colleges (the Hill in question being Castle Hill).

Chronologically, after New Hall the next college was Churchill, in 1960, one of six new colleges which came into existence in that decade and the only one to be built on vacant land: the 42-acre (17ha) site on Madingley Road which had been reserved by St John's College for such a purpose, as mentioned by John Boys Smith in the letter of August 1946 cited above.

Clare Hall, Lucy Cavendish and Robinson were installed on previously built-on land acquired from St John's, after the latter had bought in the existing leases. In the case of Clare Hall, one house (1 Herschel Road) was demolished but the others retained for college use until the present day. Lucy Cavendish College, on Madingley Road and Lady Margaret Road, demolished no houses, but converted four on their site and built new quarters on the gardens. Robinson, the last of the new colleges to be founded (in 1977) demolished four large houses in the area bounded by Grange Road, Herschel Road and Adams Road and successively bought up and retained neighbouring houses as these became available.

The other new colleges in west Cambridge are St Edmund's, Darwin and Wolfson. St Edmund's though new as a college had been installed on its west Cambridge site since the end of the nineteenth century, and built considerable additions notably in 1992. The founders of a yet-unnamed graduate college, having in 1963 purchased the houses previously occupied by Sir George Darwin and his family and made famous by Gwen Raverat's *Period Piece*, decided to commemorate the connection by naming the college in honour of the Darwin family who gave permission for the name. That college subsequently bought from St John's College the adjacent house, the Hermitage, and added new buildings to make a continuous frontage with the original Darwin property. Finally, Wolfson College, originally University College and the most southerly of the new creations, is unique in that its site has no historical connection either with St John's or with the Darwins. Its nucleus was Bredon House, a private house on Selwyn Gardens with a long garden stretching down to Barton Road, bought by the University in 1951, and the college went on to acquire adjacent properties on Barton Road and Barton Close, but without demolishing any of the existing houses.

There has been considerable property trading among the colleges. Among the more significant sales were those by Gonville and Caius College, to the University or to Selwyn, of ten large houses on the south side of West Road and round the corner into Grange Road. It had begun these sales in 1936, when it sold to Selwyn four houses immediately adjacent to the latter's original site on Grange Road, thereby providing the locus for Selwyn's most recent building programme, and followed this by three more houses

sold in 1963 (the sales to the University are discussed in the next section). St John's in 1955 sold to Trinity a seven and a half acre (3ha) site off Grange Road between the former's playing fields and Burrell's Walk containing four large houses and some additional land, where the latter erected further accommodation known as Burrell's Field while retaining the original houses. Jesus sold houses on or near Grange Road to Selwyn which demolished them for its new Cripps Court, and several other colleges acquired individual houses, not necessarily contiguous with a main site, and converted them into hostels. If we add to this the expansion of the Choir Schools of King's and St John, both involving acquisition of previously private houses in Grange Road, and the establishment of several language schools, it is not surprising that so many of the behemoth residences built between 1875 and 1914 survive to this day.

The expansion of the University into west Cambridge after 1945

The first post-war move into west Cambridge, the creation of the Sidgwick Site, took place without the lengthy and heated debate which preceded the building of the new University Library in the thirties. There was concern about the isolation of the library on its new site, and Corpus Christi College had signalled its willingness to sell the smaller of its two playing fields and its adjacent Fellow's Garden, providing a site near to and south of the Library. Between the Corpus site and the Library was a row of large nineteenth century residences along West Road on freeholds owned by Gonville and Caius, and that college was prepared to sell some of them to the University as and when the latter wished to expand the site—and did so in 1962, when 7, 9 and 11 West Road were sold. It was recognised that the Arts and Social Science faculties had outgrown their facilities in the New Museums and Downing Sites and although there was some debate about using the Sidgwick Site for scientific departments, it was decided relatively painlessly that proximity to the Library made it more appropriate for the Arts and Social Sciences.

The initial master plan for the Sidgwick Site was drawn up by the firm of Casson and Conder, who also designed the first buildings including the Raised Faculty Building, Lady Mitchell Hall, and others erected over the period 1957 to 1961. Later buildings were designed by other architects, notably the History Faculty building, an iconic if notorious design by James Stirling, and the master plan for the Site has been modified over time as circumstances, including funding availability, have changed. Two sites remain to be developed.

In the same period, preparations were being made for the creation of the Department of Veterinary Medicine, opened in 1955. West Cambridge was the logical site for such an initiative, and the University had acquired the land for it by buying the 100-acre (40ha) dairy farm south of Madingley Road from

Merton College, Oxford in 1949. In some quarters there was a feeling that agriculture and veterinary medicine were somehow *infra dig* as subjects for study at Cambridge, despite the existence of a Department of Agriculture since 1899. This attitude is reflected both in the fact that the former was abolished in 1974, all that remains being the Department of Plant Sciences, and that the future of the Veterinary Department has several times been under threat, although it appears less precarious now than at some past moments. Absent a Department of Agriculture, the University Farm now serves only a very minor academic purpose (a handful of on-going research projects and certain teaching functions connected with the Vet School) but plays a vital role as a land bank: land not immediately needed by the University for development purposes is held in reserve and farmed on a commercial basis, a function carried out not only on University-owned land but on behalf of several colleges, notably Jesus, St John's and Trinity, with land to the west of Cambridge.

Not all moves in this period were to the west. The Departments of Engineering and Chemistry acquired large new quarters in the 1950s in the southern part of the city, in Fen Causeway and Lensfield Road respectively.

Each of the afore-mentioned developments was made possible with the aid of government grants for new buildings, the Veterinary Department from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the others from the University Grants Committee.

During the first 20 years after the end of World War II the University grew steadily both in numbers and in range of subjects studied, amid rising unease about where the process might end. The General Board of the Council of the Senate produced three reports on the development of the University, dated respectively November 1955, March 1956 and February 1960 (*Cambridge University Reporter* 30 November 1955 411–22, 14 March 1956 957–65 and 17 February 1960 821–31) which focussed on such thorny issues as the optimum long-term size of the University, the balance between arts and science subjects, the possible need, if a 'steady state' of size were to be the aim, to cut back on some older fields of study to accommodate new ones, and the appropriate balance between men and women students. Matters of location were mentioned only in passing, with references on the one hand to congestion in the traditional centre and on the other to the importance of keeping the University compact in the interest of fostering inter-disciplinary teaching and research.

Despite the precedents created by the Library and the Sidgwick Site, the geographical balance began to tilt more clearly to the west only after 1965, following a report on Long-term Needs of the Scientific Departments, the so-called Deer Report (*Cambridge University Reporter* 8 December 1965, 543–579, *Report to the General Board of the Committee of the Board on the Long-term Needs of Scientific Departments*), which demonstrated beyond a doubt that the existing quarters of most of those departments were at bursting point,

*Raised Faculty Building**History Faculty*

that some were irremediably obsolete and any real improvement could only be achieved by moves to entirely new locations. This led to an impassioned and protracted debate, not helped by the fact that virtually none of the participants had any experience of physical planning. Which departments or faculties should move, and with which others, and where to?

In 1966 the Council of the Senate commissioned two architect's reports, one on redevelopment of the Old Addenbrooke's Hospital site and the other on development of the West Cambridge site. The latter, carried out by the firm of Robert Matthew, Johnson Marshall and Partners, came under fire particularly from the Professor of Architecture, Leslie Martin. In the light of his criticism, which cited *inter alia* the lack of clear criteria on space utilisation and insufficient attention to the impact on traffic movements, the Council decided in February 1967 that the proposals should be regarded as working hypotheses and not a rigid framework, but approval was given to the move of the Department of Physics, the most cramped of

the scientific departments, to virgin territory in west Cambridge. Again, the University Grants Committee provided capital grants for the first phases of development completed in 1974.

At much the same time, the Department of Geodesy and Geophysics, hitherto lodged in improvised quarters in the Department of Geography and elsewhere, was transferred to Madingley Rise, a large house built in the late 1890s by the Professor of Astrophysics just west of the Observatory, where it was later joined by other divisions of what became the Department of Earth Sciences in purpose-built buildings.

At the time of the move of the Department of Physics to its new quarters in 'the New Cavendish', it was hoped in some quarters that it would before long be joined by the largest department in the University, that of Engineering. There are a number of reasons why, except for certain special facilities on which more later, this did not happen. In the first place, unlike Physics and many other scientific departments



Entrance to the Centre for Mathematical Sciences. Image courtesy of the University of Cambridge.

occupying often obsolete quarters in the Downing or New Museums Sites in the town centre, Engineering had acquired large new premises in 1952 and, not being under the same space constraints, was reluctant to move to the hinterland. Moreover around this time external events were undermining the University's hopes for expansion: first the students riots at the end of the sixties, and then the abrupt worsening of the general economic situation in the early seventies. To quote Christopher Brooke: 'The student uprising—whether one views it as a great surge of human idealism or a sordid outflow of human violence—was a Godsend to those who handled the country's finances. The brakes were steadily applied throughout the 1970s' and the way prepared for the cuts (or more modest expansion) of support for the universities in the 1980s (Brooke 1993, 512). From then on, the University was obliged to rely on benefactions as the main engine for new capital development.

Nevertheless, two facilities of the Engineering Department did move to west Cambridge, each having characteristics making it inappropriate for an urban setting: the Whittle Laboratory, which conducts research on turbomachinery including full-size jet engines, in 1973 and the Schofield Centre, which incorporates a large centrifuge.

By 1974 the immediate financial realities had become very clear, as was the fact that despite the expenditure of so much time, paper and passion there was still no coherent master plan for the future, if and when financing from whatever source became available. The machinery of University governance now made another attempt, in the shape of the *Report of the General Board on the long-term development of the University* (known as the Swinnerton-Dyer report) (*Cambridge University Reporter* 17 December 1974, 543–579). As well as reflecting an official decision to set a ceiling below 14,000 for the expansion of student numbers (both undergraduate and postgraduate), it was the first concerted examination of the geographical implications of future development. It noted that virtually all college and University development (excluding the Botanic Garden and one or two other facilities) was concentrated in an ellipse about two miles

long and a mile wide, stretching north-westwards from the Chemistry Department on Lensfield Road to the Veterinary Department on Madingley Road, and that to avoid further dispersal future development should be concentrated within or close to that ellipse.

Subsequent events resulted in expansion in student numbers beyond the ceiling foreseen in 1974, but the concept of the ellipse has by and large prevailed, and the only significant exceptions have been medical institutions where proximity to the new Addenbrooke's Hospital has trumped all other considerations.

From an early stage of consideration of the West Cambridge Site, it was envisaged that part of it should be reserved for leasing to non-University scientific research institutions whose interests made proximity to the University mutually beneficial. The income from such leases would also help fund the development of the site as a whole. Although in the initial plans drawn up by Robert Matthew *etc.* in 1966, a section on the southern part of the site was set aside for such use, it is the most westerly part, High Cross, which has come to be devoted to it, and in the 1970s and 80s when financial stringency put a stop to further University building the only new developments were the establishment of several independent institutes in the High Cross research park, namely the Computer-Aided Design Centre (later Aveve) in 1969, the British Antarctic Survey in 1973 and the Schlumberger Cambridge Research Centre in 1983.

Not until the late 1980s was there new University development in west Cambridge, and then it was not on the main West Cambridge Site, but on a vacant site abutting Clarkson Road on the north, which had earlier been suggested as a possible site for Fitzwilliam College and various other uses. The land belonged to St John's, and some three acres (1.2ha) of it had been sold to Girton College for its Wolfson Court in 1969, leaving what was known as the seven acre (3ha) field. In 1988 it was decided to establish in Cambridge a national research institute for mathematics and theoretical physics, and two colleges, St John's and Trinity, were among the major financial supporters. St John's offered to finance a purpose-built building on the seven acre (3ha) field and to subvent the rent for the

*Schlumberger Laboratory*

first five years, while Trinity gave a large donation to the running costs for the same period. Named after Cambridge's most eminent mathematician, the Isaac Newton Institute for Mathematical Sciences opened in 1992.

In 1989 the University requested planning permission for an Athletics Centre at the southern end of Wilberforce Road, on part of Grange Farm, owned by St John's College. This facility, covering an area of almost 20 acres (8ha) and intended to encompass both indoor and outdoor athletics, would have included buildings so large as to dominate the landscape at a very visible point and planning permission was refused. The University appealed the decision, but the appeal was denied in 1991, and the University was obliged to revise the project to limit it to outdoor athletics (a running track and hockey fields) and a pavilion, construction of which started in May 1993.

In the mid-1990s, with a more optimistic financial climate led by the boom in the dot.com sector and an active fund-raising campaign on the part of the University, further growth became possible. First to benefit was the Faculty of Mathematics, squeezed into inadequate quarters behind the University Press in the town centre. It was decided to rehouse much of this in Clarkson Road rather than West Cambridge, both because proximity to the Isaac Newton Institute was desirable and because it was thought that the relatively limited site would make fund-raising easier—as in fact proved to be the case. At a public meeting held in 1997 the architect, in explaining his design which featured a central building linked to seven pavilions, said it might take 25 years before the last pavilion was built as funds became available, but in practice construction started in 1998 and the entire initial design, plus a library and gatehouse, was completed by the end of 2002. The whole complex, including the Isaac Newton Institute, is known as the Centre for Mathematical Sciences. The University has given assurances that no further buildings will be added to the site.

At much the same time, discussions were under way with the Microsoft Corporation, culminating in that company's decision in 1996 to establish in Cambridge its European research establishment combined with a donation of \$19 million from the William

H. Gates Foundation towards the cost of new facilities in west Cambridge for the University's Computer Laboratory. It had been envisaged that Microsoft would initially occupy part of the University's building and only later move in adjacent separate quarters, but in practice both buildings were built simultaneously, being completed in 2001. (While there have been major developments since 2000, this article does not discuss any buildings not started by that date.)

All of the developments described above came into being in the context of a complicated planning process involving on the one hand the University (and/or the colleges as appropriate) and on the other the local government planning authorities, namely the County until 1974 and the City thereafter. Relations were not always smooth, particularly in the early days. The records of the early negotiations over the Sidgwick Site show an exasperated University, accustomed over the centuries to doing more or less what it wanted with its own, confronting a seriously under-staffed County Planning Office struggling to apply new policies in the absence of precedents and often without detailed regulations or guidance. This was town and gown friction removed to another level. With experience and the passage of time there was improvement, and since all official policy papers, from the Holford Report on, affirmed the primacy of University and college interests in west Cambridge, most disagreements tended to be on matters of detail or process rather than of principle.

A major problem lay within the University, whose unwieldy system of government, as well as problems of turf battles, made it difficult to arrive at consensus, particularly on issues of the kind which we have been describing. Given the conflicts of interests within that body itself, it was not surprising that those in the University with planning responsibilities preferred as far as possible to conduct their battles in private, and having eventually arrived at some agreed position, would then present it to the local planning authority with little or no prior consultation and expect to receive automatic approval, which was frequently not forthcoming, with the resultant delays and mutual exasperation. The fact that until 1992 the Vice-Chancellor changed every two years was another factor militating against efficient planning. With the

establishment of the Vice-Chancellorship as a full-time five-year post, separated from that of Head of a college, and other administrative changes on the University side there has been significant improvement. On the other side, the lack of a unitary local planning authority and the fact that County and City planners do not always agree has at times complicated matters for the University, but here again changes have eased some previous sources of friction.

On the whole, as far as west Cambridge was concerned, what the University wanted, the University got, but not always, and not always in the shape originally proposed. Mention has already been made of the sports centre on Wilberforce Road, approved only in a version much reduced from its original scale. Another example was the new buildings for the Mathematics Faculty, whose originally-envisioned three storey height above ground was attacked by local residents as creating an inappropriate bulk in a largely residential neighbourhood. The University accepted a redesign with a lower elevation which involved it in heavy excavation costs.

The largest setback for the University occurred during the preparation of the 1996 Cambridge Local Plan and concerned the New West Road (or Western Relief Road) and an adjacent potential development site at the east end of the old Rifle Range. The road, first proposed in the Holford Report as part of its efforts to tackle Cambridge's chronic traffic problems, was to run in a northward arc from Barton Road to Maddingley Road and then, skirting the Observatory on its west, to Huntingdon Road. Initially linked to the idea, later abandoned, of closing Queen's Road to through traffic, its alignment showed up on every successive development plan for the next 40 years but it was given less and less priority over time, particularly after 1980 when construction of the relevant stretches of the A14 and the M11 fulfilled much of the function of diverting long-distance traffic away from the centre of town. Public financing was not forthcoming, and the road was reclassified as a development road, *i.e.* to be built and financed as part of a local development initiative.

The University wanted the road primarily as providing access to the eastern end of the old Rifle Range site, which it proposed to develop for Arts and Social Science Faculties once the Sidgwick Site was full. On the other hand, there was a growing consensus that the road threatened the environmental qualities of west Cambridge. This was strengthened by a 1990 report by Foster Associates commissioned by the City Council, which recommended a 'green finger' of open space leading from the undeveloped countryside over the former Rifle Range, the University's rugby ground and the playing fields of King's College Choir School to the Backs. The road would have cut straight across this, and the cost of concealing it in a cutting would have been prohibitive.

During preparations for the Cambridge Local Plan, these disagreements, among others, led to the appointment of an Inspector by the Department of the Environment (which had replaced the Ministry

of Town Planning). The Inspector did not find the University's arguments persuasive, and the upshot was that the road alignment finally vanished from 1996 Cambridge Local Plan, and the Green Belt boundary was altered to incorporate the whole of the old Rifle Range site, thereby removing it as a potential development area—at least for the time being.

Residential development

In comparison with the extensive academic development described above, the amount of new residential housing was relatively modest. As in the past, the bulk of new housing was built on the opposite side of town. In west Cambridge there was considerable infill of previously developed areas, and six new cul-de-sac roads were built to serve housing developments on land hitherto owned by one or another college (there being virtually no undeveloped private land left). These were Lansdowne and Clerk Maxwell Roads, running respectively north and south from Maddingley Road; Clarkson Close abutting Clarkson Road on the south, and Champney's Walk, St Mark's Court and Gough Way with its side roads, all immediately north of Barton Road.

Although the preferred type for private houses built in the area after the war remained the free-standing two-storey house in a garden, the fact that domestic servants had become almost extinct led to a preference for smaller houses on smaller plots. Where an older house with a big garden was on a corner lot, the lot was often divided and a smaller house built on the original garden, with access from a side road. Sometimes the earlier house would be pulled down, as at 9 Maddingley Road at the corner of Grange Road, where the original was replaced by three detached houses. Perhaps surprisingly, new flats were not common: the Pinehurst complex begun before the war with two blocks was increased to seven, and a small block of mixed flats and maisonettes, Blenheim Court, was built on Maddingley Road opposite Churchill College. More common was the terrace of maisonettes, as at the north end of Wilberforce Road, or the development put up by St John's on its former kitchen garden and orchard east of Storey's Way, or St Mark's Court and Champney's Walk off Barton Road. In some cases there were mixtures of terraces and detached houses, or terraces and flats.

Much the largest private housing development was Gough Way, a 13-acre (5ha) site sold by Corpus Christi College in 1961 on which 161 detached houses and a block of 12 flats were subsequently built. The St John's development cited above had almost 60 units mainly in terraces but no other private development had more than 30.

An earlier article (Guillebaud 2008, 187) pointed out the striking lack of social housing in west Cambridge until the mid-twentieth century ('social housing' is a loose term which has come to cover both local authority-provided housing formerly called 'council houses' and that built by housing associa-

tions, both having at least at some stage contained an element of subsidy). The original parish of St Giles contained two ancient populated areas on the edges of the West Fields, one being Castle End in the north extending from the Castle down to Northampton Street and partly over-lying the old Roman town and the other and lesser one being Newnham village in the extreme south of the Parish, centred on one of the town's three ancient mills. By the end of the nineteenth century both areas had come to contain slums, and the very first instance of social housing in the whole of Cambridge was the construction by the Borough of eight small houses for the elderly at Castle End in 1910–11 (presumably preceded by demolition). Yet after this promising beginning, there was no follow-up. Records of the inter-war period list numerous houses in Castle End condemned as unfit for human occupancy, but although a certain amount of slum clearance took place there before 1939, nothing replaced the demolished houses and courtyards, the residents being rehoused in new council housing mainly on the east side of town. In Newnham, with much less deteriorated housing, the old courtyards on either side of Newnham Road near the mill were cleared in the interwar period and replaced by lock-up garages or warehouses, and surprisingly a terrace of 31 council houses was built in Selwyn Road, south of Barton Road, in 1924, the only instance of social housing in west Cambridge between the wars.

Conditions in Castle End finally began to change after 1945, but slowly. North of Northampton Street on the site of the former Kettle's Yard, derelict since before the war apart from a group of four old cottages rescued by the Cambridge Preservation Society, the City Council in 1955/6 built a group of four bungalows and 12 flats for the elderly. This is today one of the pleasanter street scenes in Cambridge, a wide lawn sloping up from the street to the new housing, with the old cottages, now transformed by Jim Ede into the house and gallery called Kettle's Yard, on their right and the spire of the now-redundant St Peter's church in the background.

One result of the antiquity of the settlement at Castle End and its long neglect is that the streets re-

tain their medieval layout, forming an archipelago of irregular islands of housing. In the northern half, although there were pockets of private ownership, almost all the land belonged either to Storey's Charity, St John's College or Cambridge Corporation. (It is an interesting coincidence that the land owned by the first two had both been pre-enclosure farm home-steads, which necessarily had to be located beyond the boundaries of the open fields.) Each was considering development schemes, and there is on record a proposal for a scheme on St John's land at the top end of the site in the early sixties involving two 10-storey tower blocks. The residents would have had magnificent views and the skyline would have been dramatically altered, but fortunately the idea was never seriously considered. Finally in 1965 the three corporate landowners commissioned a design for a joint development covering the area bounded by Mount Pleasant, Pleasant Row, Castle Street, Castle Row and Albion Row which would have done away with an intersecting street, Shelly Row, and envisaged a mix of social and commercial housing, each owner financing construction on its own part of the site. For various reasons, the principal one being the excessive cost of the design, this scheme was never carried out and in 1970 Storey's Charity decided to go ahead on the land it already owned, augmented by an adjacent area previously rented and now bought from the City (*The Foundation of Edward Storey* 25–27). This area, bordered by Mount Pleasant, Pleasant Row and Shelly Row, already contained two groups of almshouses built by the Charity in 1844, and in 1974 the latter now opened Storey's House, with 52 units of sheltered but independent houses. In 1981 it also built Edward House, a residential care home with 16 places on Albion Row, at the southern end of its previous development.

In 1971/2 the City Housing Authority and St John's were considering a new joint scheme on their parts of the territory, involving some exchange of property, but once more this came to nothing, one reason being discovery that the surface water sewerage system for the whole area was seriously deficient and had to be fixed first. In the meantime much of the neighbour-



The Crescent, Storey's Way. A private housing development.



Honey Hill: on the left, new City-built social housing and on the right the restored old cottages of Kettle's Yard.



Storey's Charity housing, Albion Row

hood was suffering from “planning blight”, with vacant sites, derelict houses occupied by squatters and a general air of decay.

Description of the Castle area must here be interrupted to explain the role played by housing associations. There had been sources of social housing other than the local authorities, such as almshouses and the predecessors of housing associations, but these played only a minor role until after the second world war when, partly for political reasons, they became much more important, in Cambridge as elsewhere. One unintended result of the decision taken back in the 1950s to restrain the expansion of Cambridge's population was a chronic shortage of affordable housing. This affected the University's and colleges' ability to attract staff in the same way that it affected public services. Local authority housing could not keep up with demand, and a new opportunity was offered with the enactment of the Housing Act of 1964 which set up the Housing Corporation, a public body that regulated housing associations in England and funded new affordable housing initially by means of loans and, after the 1974 Housing Act, also grants.

Jesus College, needing to rehabilitate a much deteriorated area it owned along King Street in the old town, wanting to make a contribution to affordable

housing for the benefit of its own staff as well as the population at large but unwilling to take on the management of a large housing project, hit upon the idea of setting up a housing association which it named after the street in question. The King Street Housing Society was given a 99-year lease by the College and built successively the two developments known as Malcolm Place and Manor Place, which it has managed ever since. By the time the second phase was built, given the element of public subsidy involved, the right to nominate tenants was divided equally between the Society and the City Housing Authority.

This precedent attracted the attention of St John's College when in 1976 it was seeking to alleviate the housing problems of its staff and research students. At the corner of Grange and Clarkson Roads the college owned the freeholds of three large houses, 63, 65 and 67 Grange Road, each standing in an acre of garden, and a small area of undeveloped land behind. Number 65 Grange Road was due for demolition because of structural problems, and 63 and 67 Grange Road had no need for the large garden areas behind. The resulting site of about three acres (1.2ha) was conveniently located near the college, but capable of accommodating a project larger than required for its own needs. Accordingly, with encouragement from

the local authorities, it approached the King Street Housing Society and a planning application was submitted for a project of 72 housing units, mostly flats.

In the face of strong local opposition on the grounds of excessive density, planning permission was denied and the scheme was then redesigned for 53 flats and seven houses plus a communal building, in which form it was approved in 1978. A 99-year lease was signed, but implementation of the project was held up by objections in the City Council to the proposal that the right of nomination be divided in three, one-third to St John's, one-third to the Society and one-third to the City Housing Authority. These objections were finally overcome, construction began in 1980 and the scheme was fully occupied in 1981.

St John's followed the housing association model when it finally embarked on redevelopment of its part of the long-delayed Castle End project, on an acre of land at the northern end of the 'island' bordered by Shelly Row, Pleasant Street and Castle Street. The housing association selected was the Granta Housing Society, and since the College had no interest in securing housing on the site, there was no tripartite division of tenant nominations. The College signed a 99-year lease in 1980 with Granta to build 60 flats in three storey buildings. Because of a moratorium on financing, construction was not started until March 1982 but was completed in October 1983.

Finally in 1983 the City Housing Authority embarked on development of its part of the site, south both of the Storey's Charity site and of the St John's development. In 1983 it received planning permission for 34 housing units on Castle Row and Shelly Row, and these were built in 1984/85.

Add to this the rehabilitation of a handful of nineteenth century row houses on Castle Street and Shelly Row and a new private housing development, Honey Mews built in 1984/5, and the end of the twentieth century saw a complete transformation of this formerly decayed area.

Nothing on that scale took place in Newnham, which had much less need, but it too became the site of a social housing scheme in the post-war period. An ancient outpost of Cambridge, separated from it by a stretch of the river which frequently flooded in winter, Newnham was divided between three town parishes and had no church of its own. Its significance lay in its mill and the small settlement around it. In the mid-nineteenth century, a new development sprang up in the area south of Barton Road known as Newnham Croft, separated from the earlier village by the playing fields of Gonville and Caius College and by the so-called Lammas Land which became a public park. This dense settlement of row houses was occupied by a mixture of artisans and college servants and gave rise to the building of a new church, St Mark's, originally a mission church of Grantchester Parish and later to become a new town parish around the time that the municipal boundaries were redrawn to include this area.

Because Newnham, particularly its southern part, contains a valuable range of small shops—the only

such area in whole of west Cambridge—it became increasingly popular with retired people who appreciated the ability to cater to their daily needs without recourse to public transport, with which the area has always been poorly served. Add to this the fact that it was and is the site of a well-regarded state primary school and thus attractive to parents of young children and the result was that house prices rose to the point where the income group equivalent to the original inhabitants could no longer afford to live there. Fortunately, the University owned a hockey field immediately adjacent which it did not consider suitable for development for its own purposes, and the Granta Housing Society, with commendable imagination, was able to buy it in 1980 and build Lammas Court with 24 units of sheltered housing and Lammas Field with 30 units of social housing. There was no college involvement in this development.

In terms of the built environment, the most visible change in the landscape other than those described above was the building of the Madingley Road Park and Ride site, opened in 1996 on 17 acres (7ha) of land leased from University. However there has been another less noticed but more widespread change, namely the disappearance of the elms. These huge trees, dotting the field boundaries as well as many of the suburban streets and so characteristic of the old landscape, began to succumb to Dutch elm disease from the early 1970s until today there are no full-grown specimens left in west Cambridge. To some extent they have been replaced by limes and other species, but the effect is not the same.

Finally, it must not be overlooked, despite the emphasis on changes in the landscape, that there are substantial areas in the northwest and in the south of the area discussed which are still productive farmland, much of it part of the University Farm. Only one farm remains in private hands, Rectory Farm of 60 acres (24ha), south of Madingley Road next to the Coton Parish boundary, which is protected from inappropriate development by covenants imposed by the Cambridge Preservation Society, its previous owner.

Conclusion

As a result of the developments described in this and previous articles, and as shown in Fig. 1, considerably less than half of what were once the medieval West Fields of Cambridge is now farmland: the north-west between Madingley and Huntingdon Roads which is already being planned for future development with emphasis on University needs, and the south-west between the Coton Footpath and Barton Road, currently protected by its inclusion within the green belt. Virtually all the land in these two areas is owned by the University and colleges.

Underlying the visual transformation is a sequence of changes in the relationship between the town and its western hinterland. Originally, as the open field system developed, there was an organic relationship between the residents of the town and

the fields around them, although even by the thirteenth century, when the University established itself in Cambridge, local religious foundations such as the Hospital of St John had begun to accumulate land as a result of pious benefactions. Over the subsequent centuries, similar donations benefitted the new colleges, so that when the enclosure of the Parish of St Giles (essentially coterminous with the West Fields) took place at the beginning of the 19th century, it emerged that only 15% of the 1360 acres (about 544 ha) of the Parish was still in private hands—and two-thirds of that was owned by the Lord of the Manor of Madingley. All the rest was owned either by the colleges (60%, including a token amount owned by the University itself) or other corporate bodies, mainly ecclesiastical or charitable (25%). Moreover the colleges influenced the geographical redistribution performed by the Commissioners of Enclosure in such a way that virtually all the land closest to the town was in their hands (Guillebaud 2005).

The impact of this ownership pattern on development over the subsequent 150 years was profound: ask why a given road or building was built where it was built, and the answer can almost always be found by consulting the Enclosure Award and its map. It was decisions by individual colleges, influenced as they might be by external factors such as the agricultural depression of the late 19th century, which determined the nature and timing of development, or the lack of it. The shift of ownership into college hands continued in the years leading up to the first World War—by 1914 it stood at 85% of the Parish area—but thereafter was replaced by a different shift, from college to University ownership.

The virtual autonomy of the University began to be undermined both by the post-1918 financial crisis that brought in the system of central government grants without which the great expansion of science teaching and research would have been impossible, and by the gradual introduction of town planning. After 1945 government pressure to increase student numbers, combined with ever-growing need for new facilities, led to the physical transformation described above. Increasingly the University has taken land from the colleges or other owners, either by purchase or lease, the West Cambridge Site being the most extensive so far. This reflects the reality of the modern functioning of Cambridge as a collegiate university, the diminished teaching role of the college *vis-à-vis* the faculties and departments and in particular the growth of scientific fields requiring extensive laboratories.

At the same time the University has had to come to terms with the reality of an active planning machinery, such that it now negotiates its own plans within the broader framework of city, county or regional plans. Hence the somewhat paradoxical situation that the development of west Cambridge is now more closely integrated with the city as a whole than at any point in the last 200 years, despite the fact that the University and colleges have a near monopoly of land ownership and constitute much the largest occupants of west Cambridge.

This change at the institutional level is also occurring on the social level: west Cambridge is becoming less of an academic enclave. Firstly it has several significant social housing developments, the largest concentrated in the Castle End area. Secondly faster rail services have made commuting to London feasible, and the existence in west Cambridge of relatively spacious houses and good schools has made this area particularly attractive. On top of the existing house shortages, one consequence of the influx of new residents is that house prices in this area have risen to the point where fewer young academics can afford to buy, with the result that more dons now live in parts of town of which the older generation of dons were barely aware.

Whether these trends will continue, time alone will tell.

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