The Suburbs of Victorian Oxford:
Growth in a Pre-Industrial City

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by

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This study examines the origins, growth and subsequent character of the Victorian suburbs of Oxford, a small provincial city with no industrial base. Major sources include newspapers, census enumerators' returns, deposited plans, and plan registers, rate books, the records of leasehold estates and deeds of properties acquired by the City Council. Chapters are devoted to:- The Creation of the Suburbs; Development Control; the House-Building Industry; Suburban Houses; House-Ownership; Residents of the Suburbs and Life in the Suburbs.

Victorian Oxford grew steadily, attracting local migration because of the varied job opportunities. Suburban development was profoundly influenced by topography and the decisions taken by landowners. Corporate landowners preferred leasehold development to outright sale and their concern for reversionary value encouraged the building of high-cost, low-density housing. On freehold estates, too, standards were raised by the social and financial preferences of developers and builders, the introduction of building byelaws and the rising real incomes of potential investors and tenants. Access to cheap freehold plots prol nged the fragmentation of a building industry which depended heavily upon loans and credit. The suburbs were the product of innumerable local and pers nal decisions, providing a safe income for many private landlords and larger, more sanitary homes for better-off tenants.

The new suburbs required many services and facilities, but the provision of these owed much to their social status. With an increasing number of resident councillors, leasehold, middle-class North Oxford had the political and economic power to maintain and enhance its character. Elsewhere, market forces prevailed over amenity, public utilities were grudgingly provided and the limited nature of municipal intervention was most seriously felt. Conditions were ameliorated, however, by those people and organisations who, for various reasons, provided churches, schools and recreational facilities.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Bodl.	Bodleian Library
J.O.J.	Jackson's Oxford Journal
L.B.	Letter book
M.B.	Minute book
O.C.	Oxford Chronicle
O.C.A.	Oxford City Archives
O.C.C.	Oxford City Council
O.C.L.	Oxfordshire County Libraries: Local History Collections, Central Library, Oxford
O.C.R.O.	Oxfordshire County Record Office
O.J.I.	Oxford Journal Illustrated
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
O.T.	Oxford Times
O.U.A.	Oxford University Archives
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
V.C.H.	Victoria History of the County of Oxford

CONVERSION TABLE

£ s d	£p	£ s d	£p	£ s d	£p
1d	½p	1/-	5p	11/-	55p
2d	1p	2/-	10p	12/-	60p
3d	1p	3/-	15p	13/-	65p
4d	1½p	4/-	20p	14/-	70p
5d	2p	5/-	25p	15/-	75p
6d	2½p	6/-	30p	16/-	80p
7d	3p	7/-	35p	17/-	85p
8d	3½p	8/-	40p	18/-	90p
9d	4p	9/-	45p	19/-	95p
10d	4p	10/-	50p	£1	£1.00
11d	4½p				

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INTRODUCTION

Oxford occupies a special place in the national sub-conscious and both City and University have been the subject of numerous historical, archaeological and architectural studies. This research has tended to overlook the nineteenth century, however, and Victorian Oxford has remained a poorly charted territory, less well-known, perhaps, than the medieval city from which it had developed. In view of the wide range of available sources, this is a surprising omission especially because the study of Oxford during the Victorian period provides an excellent opportunity to investigate the origins, growth and subsequent character of distinctive suburban areas; at the same time, comparison may be made between the development process in a small provincial city with no major industry and that experienced in the larger industrial centres which have captured the attention of most researchers. A further motive for the thesis has been a personal curiosity about the Victorian suburbs of Oxford, the fulfilment of which will hopefully make some contribution towards ensuring that these distinctive housing areas are fully appreciated by residents, planners and others with a concern for their future well-being.

Between 1841 and 1901, the population of Oxford more than doubled from 24,258 to 49,336[1] an increase which had no single cause but stemmed rather from the diversity of the city's urban function. Still largely confined within its medieval limits at the beginning of the period,[2] Oxford expanded and developed on all sides, creating the "base and brickish skirt" so deplored by Gerard Manley Hopkins.[3]

The reasons for Oxford's growth and the extent of its attraction for internal migration form the subject of an initial chapter which utilises census reports, directories and secondary sources. Chapter Two explores the context in which development took place, looking at the physical

1. Table 1 : Population of Oxford, 1841-1901
2. Map 1 : Oxford, 1831
3. Map 2 : Oxford, 1919; W.H. Gardner & N.H. McKenzie, eds., The poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins, 4th ed. (1967), p.79

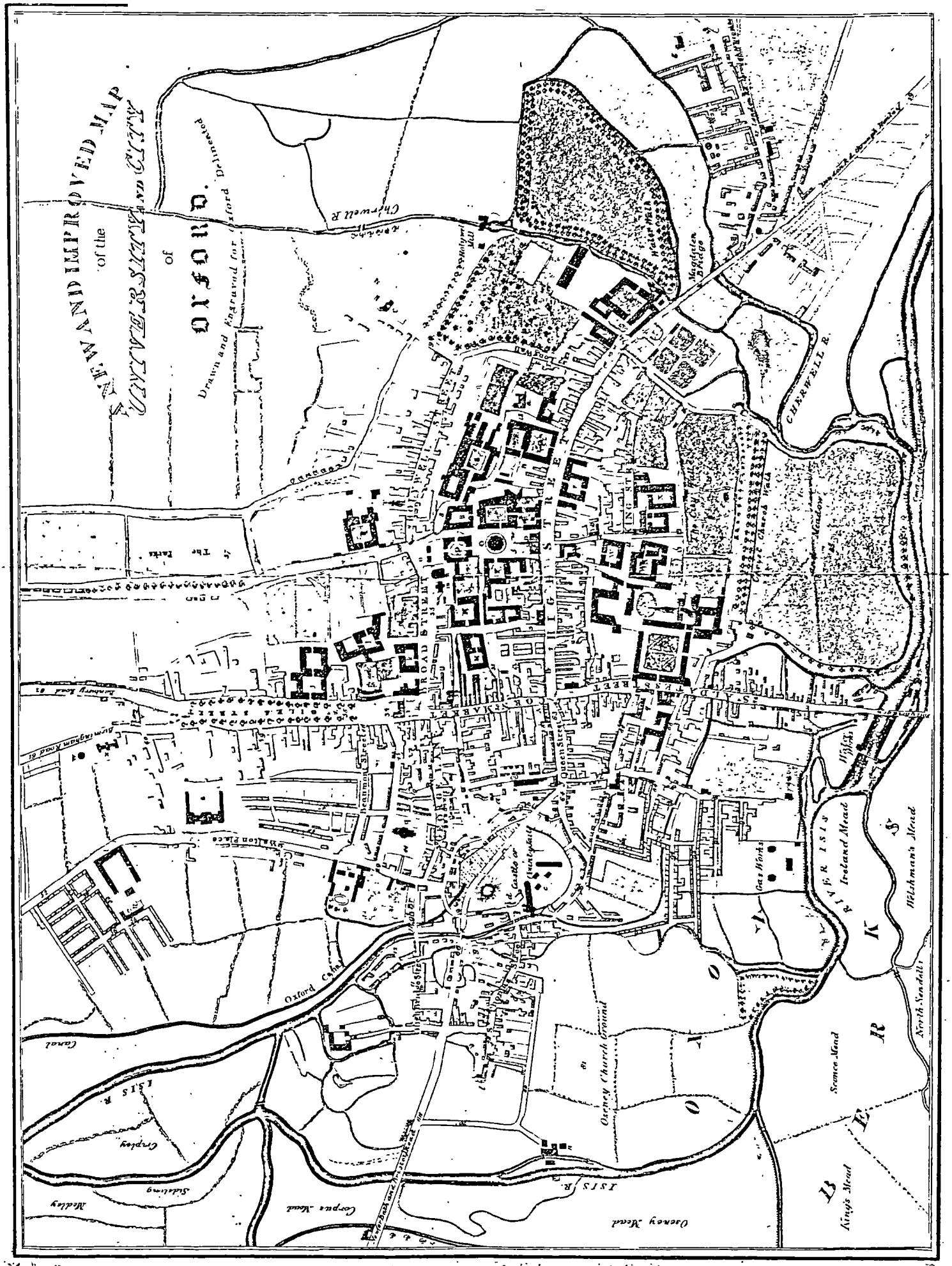
Table 1: Population of Oxford, 1841 - 1901

	Persons	Decennial increase (%)
1841	24258[1]	17.1
51	28843	14.8
61	28601[2]	2.7
71	34482[3]	20.6
81	40837[4]	14.1
91	45742[5]	12.0
1901	49336	7.9

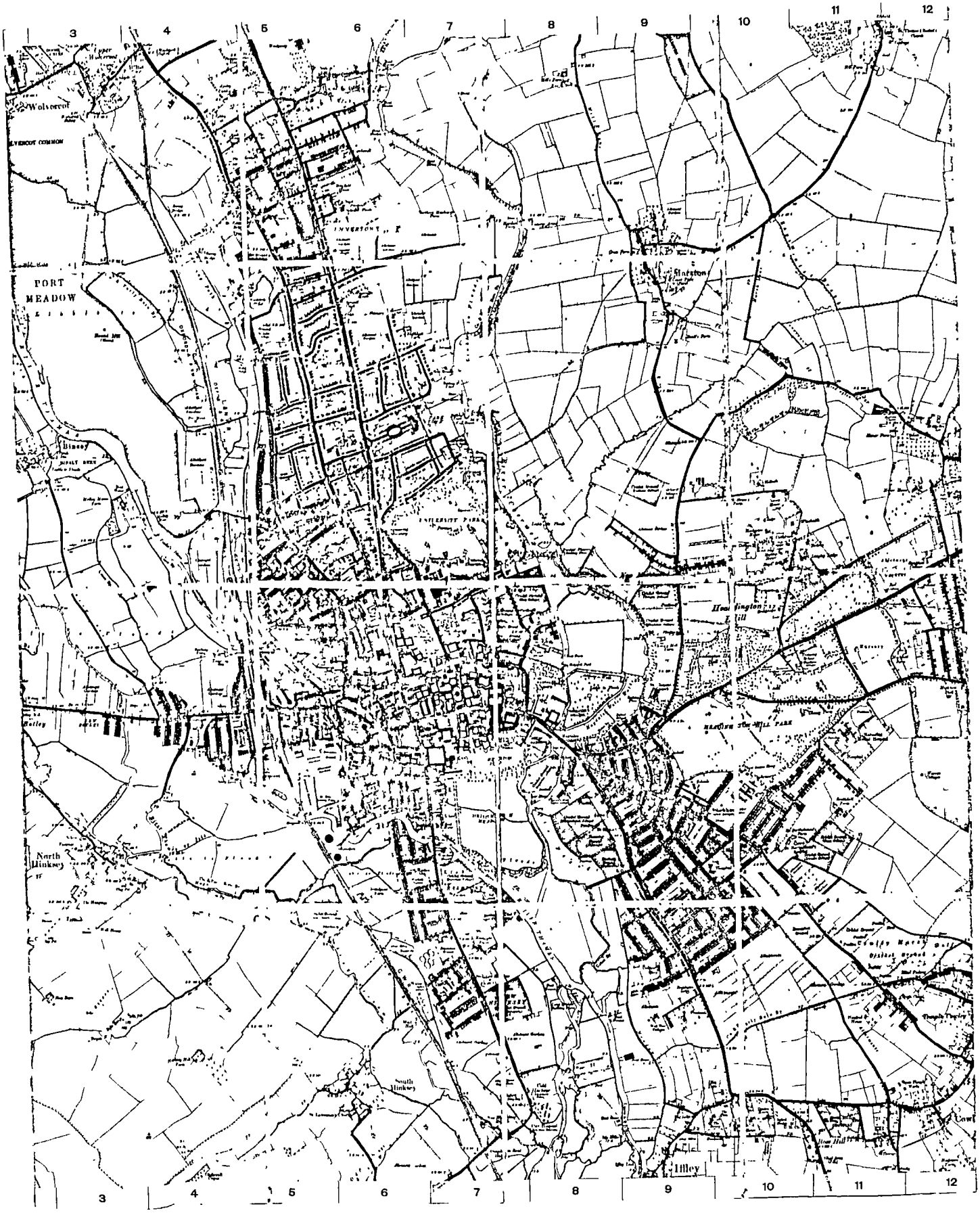
Source: Census reports, 1841 - 1901, *passim*

Notes

1. Includes University, Grandpont, Binsey, but excludes liberty of Littlemore in St. Mary the Virgin parish.
2. 1861 and subsequent censuses taken during University vacations.
3. Parliamentary boundary 1868, including Cowley district.
4. Includes New Hinksey.
5. County Borough Boundary, 1889, including Summertown



Map 1. Oxford, 1831



Map 2. Oxford, 1919
(4)

setting, the pattern of landownership and the movement of land prices; suburban case studies then serve to illustrate the complex inter-relationship between contextual factors, decision makers in the development process and market forces. R. S. Hoggar's plan of Oxford in 1850 and the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 plans surveyed in 1876 and 1898 provided a basic chronology of development, but the maps accompanying enclosure and tithe awards in the Oxfordshire County Record Office and estate maps in college archives were essential for detailed topographical information and for the pattern of landownership in the suburbs. Sale catalogues of individual building estates in the Bodleian and Central Libraries provided detailed plans of specific areas, indicating the size and position of each plot and the ownership of adjacent properties; from 1875, the requirement that developers should deposit plans of proposed estates with the City Engineer created an invaluable archive which has been retained by Oxford City Council. Further visual and pictorial evidence was provided by surviving streets and buildings and by photographs and paintings of the suburban areas. The lease registers and other records of the major corporate landowners including Brasenose, Magdalen, Merton, Pembroke and St. John's Colleges, Christ Church and the City and University of Oxford, were found to contain a wealth of information about their development decisions, but no similar archive has been found for privately-owned estates. Details about them had perforce to be gleaned from such sources as sale catalogues, advertisements and reports in local newspapers and title deeds held by the City Secretary and Solicitor; the latter cover properties which have been purchased by Oxford City Council for slum clearance, road widening and other purposes. As local authorities became more involved in shaping the urban morphology, the records of the Corporation, the Paving Commissioners and the Local Board in the Oxford City Archives became increasing informative about the development process.

Chapter Three considers the extent and the effectiveness of development control as it was practised by landowners, developers and local

authorities. Title deeds and the records of major estates were the major documentary sources, indicating the use of covenants on the freehold estates and the wider range of powers available to the leasehold developer. The minutes of local authorities and reports of their meetings in newspapers demonstrated the continuing difficulty of enforcing and strengthening building byelaws which were introduced in 1866. The little-known archive of the University Delegacy of Lodging-Houses also proved to be of value because this body sought, in the interests of undergraduate health, to test and improve the sanitary standards of many Oxford houses.

In Chapter Four, the structure and financing of the house-building industry comes under scrutiny. The primary source material consisted of copies of the plan registers maintained by the City Engineer from 1870, but monthly reports among the minute books of the Local Board also enabled data to be retrieved for the years 1866 to 1869. Newspaper evidence and information about voids from the decennial census reports helped to gauge the responsiveness of builders to changing economic circumstances. No builders' records were found, but reports of bankruptcy proceedings in local newspapers provided useful information about the origins of some firms and the supply of credit; title deeds held by St. John's College and the City Secretary and Solicitor helped to identify the sources of builders' finance and indicated the crucial importance of these loans to the building industry. The records of local building societies, which advanced substantial sums to builders, could not be traced, but their printed rules and annual reports, together with newspaper articles, provided further details about their activities.

Chapter Five considers the houses that were built in the Victorian suburbs of Oxford and the movement of rents and prices. The sources included a manuscript survey of housing in the parish of St. Clement's which was compiled by the Rev. N.E.W. Bradyll-Johnson and is now in the Oxford

City Archives. Changes in the number and size of rooms in working-class houses were made clear by the local returns of the Overcrowding Survey of 1936-7 which are housed in the Environmental Health Department of Oxford City Council. House-plans deposited with the City Engineer since 1875 made it possible to assess changes in plan-types and the appearance of special-purpose rooms. Newspaper advertisements stressed the facilities which were thought to appeal to potential investors and tenants and, with title deeds, they provided the evidence for a survey of rents and prices.

The people who owned the suburban houses and the extent of their local influence form the subject of Chapter Six. The Valuation List of the City of Oxford for 1905, presently housed in the Oxfordshire County Record Office, was the major source, supplemented by published local directories, the lease registers of St. John's College and title deeds held by the City Secretary and Solicitor. Newspapers and City Council minute books recorded the efforts of major house-owners to control local authority expenditure.

In Chapter Seven attention focuses upon those who lived in the suburbs with a view to examining their origins and occupations and the composition of their households. The census enumerators' returns for 1871[1] provided the data for this study, but additional information about occupations and wages was derived from C.V. Butler's pioneering work Social Conditions in Oxford, which was published in 1912, and from local newspapers.

Chapter Eight examines life in the Victorian suburbs and the unequal provision of facilities and services which marked out differing social areas. Newspapers and directories provided information about the occupations, political affiliations and places of residence of decision-makers in the local authorities. The principal manuscript sources of the chapter included the records of the Oxford Gaslight & Coke Co. Ltd., in the Oxfordshire County Record Office, letters to the bursar of St. John's College, school

1. This research was completed in 1980 before the 1881 census enumerators' returns were released.

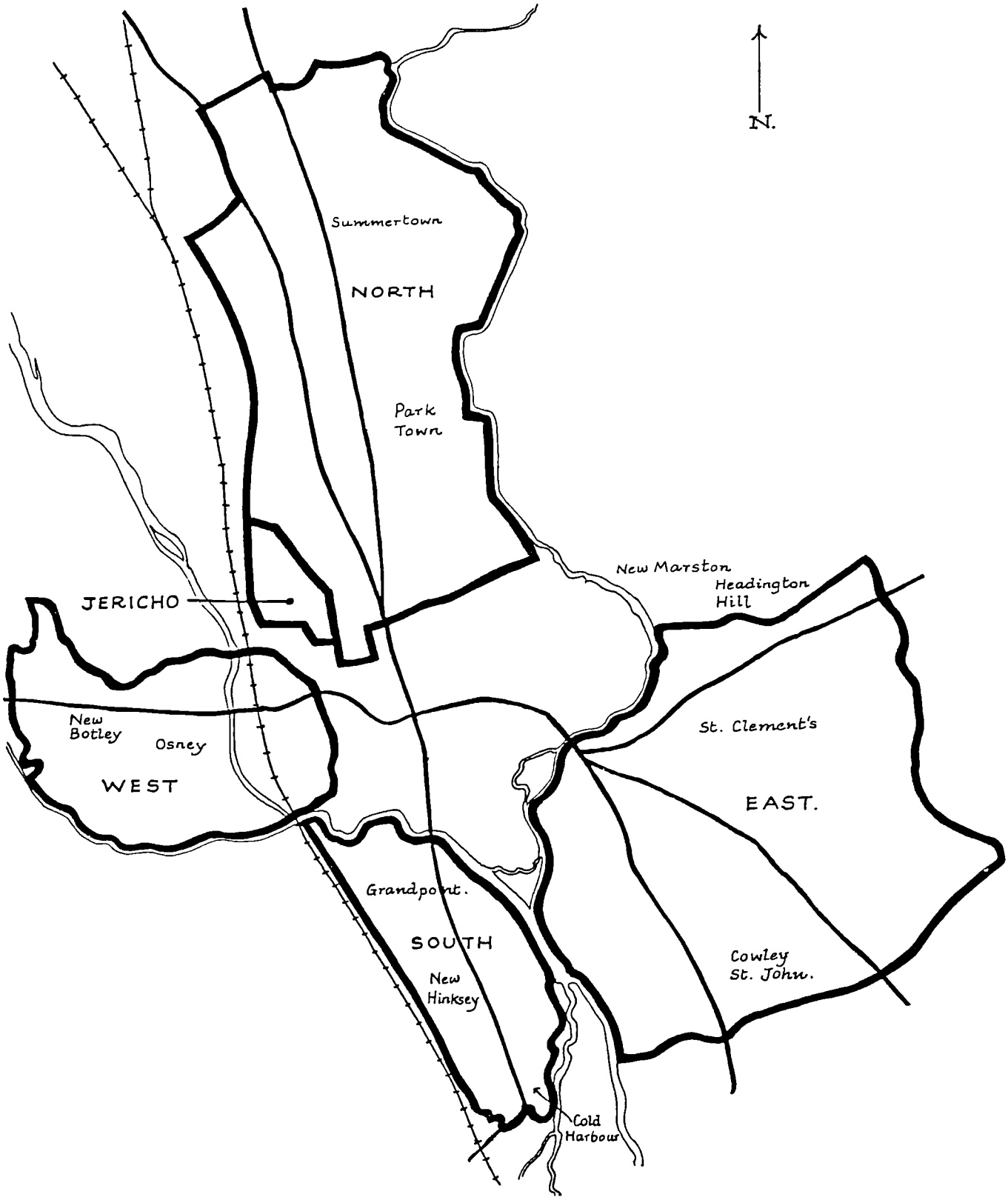
log books and newscuttings books in the Oxford City Archives and contemporary diaries in the Bodleian Library or private hands. Published or typescript reminiscences and autobiographies were informative about many aspects of suburban life, as indeed were church and parish magazines. Above all, however, the pages of local newspapers were a fascinating treasure-chest, often providing the only source of information about proposed and completed improvements or the activities of innumerable clubs, societies and other bodies; at the same time, the correspondence columns reflected the interests and concerns of an increasingly literate society.

For comparative purposes, the Victorian suburbs of Oxford will be treated throughout the thesis as five distinct areas.[1] Four of them are referred to by the cardinal points of the compass as North, East, South and West Oxford; the fifth is the compact suburb of Jericho. Although the primary aim of the thesis is to examine suburban development of the Victorian period, no attempt has been made to exclude parts of a suburb built earlier in the century, since this would make it impossible to look at an area in its entirety. The North Oxford suburb includes all the land between St. Giles' church and the post-1889 Municipal boundary north of Summertown, being bounded on the east by the river Cherwell and on the west by Walton Street and by the Oxford Canal north of Walton Well Road. It also includes South Parks Road and the area between Museum Road and Keble Road. East Oxford takes in the whole area east of Magdalen Bridge, including St. Clement's and Cowley St. John, and again extends to the post-1889 Municipal boundary. South Oxford includes the districts of Grandpont and New Hinksey to the south of Folly Bridge while West Oxford comprises the area which lies between the ancient suburb of St. Thomas's and the city boundary at Botley. Jericho is neatly bounded on the north by St. Sepulchre's cemetery, on the west by the Oxford Canal and on the south by Worcester College. Walton Street forms an equally clear eastern boundary, but the character of the housing there is so different from that of Jericho proper that it has been treated as part of North Oxford.

1. Map 3: The Victorian suburbs of Oxford

The Victorian Suburbs of Oxford Map 3.

KEY MAP



1. The Nineteenth Century Background

The growth of Victorian Oxford lacked the spectacular quality of that experienced in a major industrial centre like Sheffield where the population increased from 111,000 in 1841 to 381,000 in 1901.[1] Nevertheless, the city's growth matched almost exactly the doubling of the population of England and Wales from 15,914,000 to 32,528,000 during the same period[2] and it occurred in a rural county whose population only increased from 163,127 to 181,149.[3] In 1841, Oxford with a population of 24,256, accounted for only 14.9% of the county's population; by 1901, rural depopulation and the rise in the city's population to 49,336 had increased the proportion to 27.2%. The rate of growth varied considerably from decade to decade,[4] but less perhaps than the census figures might suggest. The apparent stagnation of the 1850s, for example, owed much to the fact that the 1861 census was, like later ones, taken during the Easter Vacation.[5] The statistics for the city also took no account of the effects of housebuilding beyond the borough boundary, concealing for a time the growth of a suburban population which was only revealed after boundary extensions.[6] The situation of Oxford and the domination of much of the central area by the University and Colleges[7] left little available building land in the heart of the city and, at an early stage, development was forced to the

1. B.R. Mitchell & Phyllis Deane, Abstract of British historical statistics (1962), pp. 26-7

2. ibid., p.6

3. Victoria History of the County of Oxford (hereafter abbreviated V.C.H. Oxon), vol. 2 (1907),p.125

4. Table 1

5. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.181; B.R. Mitchell & P. Deane, op.cit., p.6

6. Table 1

7. Map 1

urban fringe.[1] Land in the inner suburban parishes of St. Ebbe and St. Mary Magdalen was becoming exhausted by the mid-Victorian period and, by the end of the nineteenth century, outer parishes such as St. Giles', St. Thomas', Cowley and the Grandpont district of St. Aldate's were providing virtually all the city's growth.[2] As a reflection of this, the population of the Oxford Registration District, which comprised the city's ancient parishes except for St. Giles' and St. John's, rose by only 2,724 from 20,172 to 22,896 between 1851 and 1901.[3] Each decade witnessed heavy migration out of the district, some of it doubtless to the suburban areas, but the peaks of 2,246 and 3,118 in the 1850s and 1880s coincided with periods of high emigration.[4] Such growth as did occur in the Oxford Registration District was therefore the result of natural increase which stemmed from sanitary improvements and improved living standards.[5] Medical successes in the battle against tuberculosis, typhoid and typhus helped to diminish mortality everywhere,[6] and conditions in Oxford were much ameliorated by the main drainage scheme of 1873-80 and the provision of pure water.[7] A surge of public health legislation led to the appointment of an Inspector of Nuisances[8] and a Medical Officer of Health,[9] two officers whose unceasing vigilance attacked the

1. R.J. Morris, The Friars and Paradise: an essay in the building history of Oxford, 1801-1861. Oxoniensia 36 (1971), pp.75-6
2. Table 2. The population of Oxford suburban parishes, 1841-1901
3. Table 3. Population movement in the Oxford and St. Clement's Registration Districts, 1851-1901
4. B. Thomas, Migration and economic growth, 2nd.ed. (1973), p.124
5. T. McKeown & R.G. Record, Reasons for the decline of mortality in England and Wales during the 19th century. In, M.W. Flinn & T.C. Smout, eds., Essays in social history (1974), p.246
6. ibid., pp.232-3
7. V.C.H, Oxon., vol. 4, (1979), pp.354-5
8. Oxford City Archives (hereafter abbreviated O.C.A.) R.5.1. Local Board M.B. 1864-6, p.34, 19.7.1865
9. Oxford Chronicle (hereafter abbreviated O.C.), 7.1.1871, p.7

Table 2: Population of Oxford Suburban Parishes, 1841 - 1901

	St. Aldate	Grand-pont	St. Ebbe	St. Giles	St. Mary Mag-dalen	St. Thomas	St. Cle-ment	Cowley
1841	1417	374	4169	3970	2600	3733	1769	606
1851	1481	410	4656	4882	2476	4205	2139	775
1861	1323	487	4909	5025	2616	5042	2286	1404
1871	1345	463	5105	5928	2419	6496	3389	3725
1881	1204	596	5297	8548	2067	8374	4545	5633
1891	1531	1549	4964	10531	1733	8434	5178[2]	8161
1901	4883[1]		4486	11856	1377	8895	5180[2]	9258[2]

Source: Census reports, 1841 - 1901, passim

Notes 1. Includes Grandpont

2. Figs. from V.C.H. Oxon, vol. 2 (1907), p.218 ignore boundary changes, and enable comparisons to be made with earlier figures.

Table 3: Population movement in the Oxford and St. Clement's Registration Districts, 1851 - 1901

	Population		Actual Increase		Natural Increase		Net Migration	
	Oxf.	St. Cle-ment	Oxf.	St. Cle-ment	Oxf.	St. Cle-ment	Oxf.	St. Cle-ment
1851	20,172	12,150						
1861	20,037	13,506	-135	1,356	2,111	962	-2,246	394
1871	21,015	18,018	978	4,512	2,384	1,444	-1,406	3,068
1881	21,900	25,101	885	7,083	2,765	2,369	-1,880	4,714
1891	21,813	31,247	-87	6,146	3,031	2,882	-3,118	3,264
1901	22,896	35,399	1,083	4,152	2,734	2,103	-1,651	2,049

Source: Census reports, 1851-1901. The St. Clement's Registration Sub-district included St. Clement's, St. Giles's, St. John's, Headington, Cowley, Iffley, Marston and a number of other outlying parishes.

causes of preventable mortality.[1] All these factors contributed to a steady decline in the Oxford death-rate from 18.75 in 1866 to 13.0 in 1900, and it remained consistently lower than the national figure.[2] The benefits accruing from administrative improvements were not universally enjoyed by residents in the St. Clement's Registration Sub-District, which included the city parishes of St. Clement, St. Giles' and St. John and a number of outlying parishes to the east and north of Oxford. In that district between 1851 and 1901, the population rose nearly three-fold from 12,150 to 35,399 and natural increase accounted for only 42.0% of the growth. The rest stemmed from migration which was proportionally highest in the 1850s and 1870s,[3] two decades when internal migration was generally at a high level.[4]

Why were people being drawn in such numbers into the economic orbit of a greater Oxford and to what extent did the city monopolise this migration? In part, countrymen and women were being driven out of rural areas by the reduced demand for farm labour, by the loss of crafts to factory mass production and by the fall in demand for secondary services; low levels of pay and a lack of amenities provided further reasons to leave.[5] People with special skills or ambitions might be attracted to more distant urban and industrial areas and, in 1871, for example, 20,853 residents in the London registration county had Oxfordshire birthplaces, 0.6% of the population; in 1901, the equivalent figures were 22,760 and 0.5%. To the north of the county, Birmingham contained 2,728 Oxfordshire-born

1. A.S. Wohl, The eternal slum: housing and social policy in Victorian London (1977), p.116; R. Woods, Mortality and sanitary conditions in 'the best governed city in the world' - Birmingham, 1870-1910. Journal of Historical Geography 4 (1978), p.38

2. O.C., 19.1.1867, p.4; Annual reports of the Medical Officer of Health of the City of Oxford (1972-1900), passim.

3. Table 3

4. J.P. Lewis, op.cit.,p.329

5. R. Lawton, Rural depopulation in 19th century England. In R.W. Steel & R. Lawton, eds., Liverpool essays in Geography: a jubilee collection (1967), pp.247-53

migrants in 1871 and 4,114 in 1901. For the most part, however, migration was over short distances and typically to the town or city which formed the focal point of a particular region. In South Oxfordshire, this might well mean Reading, and the county town of Berkshire, with a population rising to 72,217 by 1901, had 2,207 Oxfordshire-born residents in 1871 and 4,256 thirty years later. The larger town of Northampton to the north-east seems, by contrast, to have attracted very few migrants with Oxfordshire birth-places[1] and, throughout most of the county, Oxford remained the natural focus, offering the wider range of job opportunities and social amenities which constituted the lure of urban life for those who were young and enterprising.[2]

As Professor Everitt has emphasised, Oxford lay at the heart of a rich agricultural region.[3] One major link between city and county was forged by the large numbers of apprentices from country areas who had for centuries been coming to Oxford to learn specialised crafts and trades which they might often stay to practise.[4] Many families in the Oxford region therefore had relatives in the city who could tell potential immigrants about employment prospects and perhaps offer them a temporary home. The extensive market area of the city formed a further source of informal links, and, in 1846, market carts were making at least weekly journeys from places as far afield as Aylesbury, Buckingham, Cirencester, Leicester, Marlborough and Northampton. As many as 473 journeys were being made from 149 towns and

1. Census of England and Wales, 1871, Population tables. Area, houses and inhabitants, vol. 1 (1872), pp.24, 97, 164; Census of England and Wales, 1901, County of Oxford. Area, houses and population (1903), pp.57, 71, 155; R. Lawton, Population movements in the West Midlands, 1841-1861. Geography (43) 1958, p.176

2. R. Lawton, Rural depopulation in 19th century England. In, R.W. Steel & R. Lawton, op.cit., p.253

3. A.M. Everitt, Review of V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4, Urban History Yearbook (1981), pp.197-8

4. Ex. inf. Alan Crossley, Editor of V.C.H. Oxon

villages, mostly in Oxfordshire and North Berkshire.[1] By 1895, railway transport had rendered unnecessary most of the journeys from distant towns, but 1,062 weekly journeys were being made to Oxford from 356 communities in Oxfordshire, Berkshire and neighbouring counties.[2] Innumerable individuals from the surrounding countryside were also making regular visits to the city, bringing a few livestock, provisions or hand-made goods to sell and returning with purchases of food, clothing or necessary items.[3] The knowledge and contacts derived from such visits were exploited, for example, by Eliza Haynes, who removed from Horton-cum-Studley after the death of her husband in order to find a job and a home in Oxford.[4] Finally, the railwaysprovided the vital link of cheap mobility from the 1840s[5] and the developing local system, with a series of lines radiating from Oxford,[6] made migration to the city a less drastic step than it would previously have been.

Migrants were drawn to Oxford by the diversity of its urban function and the city enjoyed a relative prosperity through its role as provider of goods and services to the University, the county and an increasing residential population. Despite its trading importance and the apparent advantage of good communications, a lack of raw materials militated against industrial development[7] and, in 1851 Samuel Sidney rejoiced that "Oxford

1. Hunt & Co., City of Oxford directory.... (1846), pp.88-95
2. Kelly & Co., Directory of Oxfordshire (1895), pp.198-201
3. P. Surman, Eliza of Otmoor (1975), p.16; The Freeland village book (193-), p.1
4. P. Surman, op.cit., p.21
5. R. Lawton, Rural depopulation in 19th century England. In, R.W. Steel & R. Lawton, eds., op.cit., p.241
6. A.F. Martin & R.W. Steel, The Oxford region (1954), p. 150
7. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979),pp. 208-9

is so decorously clean, so spotlessly free from the smoke of engines and the roar of machinery."[1] Oxford did, in fact, possess a few important centres of labour and the University Press, for instance, had a workforce of 278 by 1883.[2] Hall's and Morrell's breweries were said to employ about 150 men in 1876[3] and the railways employed 451 men by 1901.[4] Railway employment might have assumed a still greater significance if the Great Western Railway Company's proposal to establish a large carriage factory in the city in 1865 had come to fruition.[5] Oxford's position at the heart of a low pay area and the seasonal nature of much male employment did, however, encourage the development of a substantial wholesale clothing industry which utilised cheap female labour in the home and in two substantial factories.[6] Even when the above exceptions are taken into account, the University remained the city's largest single means of support both as a direct employer and as a consumer. As a proportion of the total population, the University element fell from about 10% in 1801[7] to approximately 7½% in 1901,[8] but this still implied a substantial increase in numbers during the century.[9] Such growth had obvious repercussions on the building trade which was described as "the staple trade of Oxford" in 1900;[10] it also generated a sizeable demand for domestic service and, in 1901, as many as

1. S. Sidney, Rides on railways (1851), p.34
2. H. Hart, The University Press at Oxford (1894), p.6
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.216
4. Census of England and Wales, 1901. County of Oxford. Area, houses and population (1903), p.50
5. infra, pp. 68-9
6. C.V. Butler, Social conditions in Oxford (1912), p.63; V.C.H. Oxon, vol. 4 (1979), p.212; O.C., 15.10.1892, p.7
7. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.181
8. Annual report of the Medical Officer of Health for the city of Oxford (1901), p.3
9. L. Stone, ed., The University in society, vol. 1 (1974), p.91 records that the annual number of matriculants rose from a decennial average of 488 (1860-9) to 821 (1890-9)
10. Oxford City Council (hereafter abbreviated O.C.C.): City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 10, p.76

609 men were described as being engaged in College and Club service.[1] The economic influence of the University did, furthermore, embrace most trades and percolated throughout Oxford society. Many tradesmen, like the grocer Thomas Sheard in 1837, relied for their prosperity upon the University,[2] and many undergraduates would have patronised the shops and livery stables which attracted the custom of the fictional Verdant Green.[3] Taking in lodgers always provided a welcome supplementary income,[4] and the formation of the University Delegacy of Lodging-Houses in 1868 led by 1899 to the designation of 579 licensed lodging-houses in the city.[5] During term-time, the University offered an almost unlimited range of casual jobs, whether as charwomen, laundresses, errand boys, caddies, groundsboys or newspaper sellers;[6] even vagrants were drawn to Oxford at the beginning of each term by the prospect of rich pickings from undergraduates.[7]

A more permanent demand for goods and services was created during the Victorian period by the development of Oxford as "a residential resort to which a great many are attracted who have no ostensible connection with the University at all."[8] This new element in the population included growing numbers of professional people and public service employees, two categories which reflected the creation of a more sophisticated and techno-

1. Census of England and Wales, 1901. County of Oxford. Area, houses and population (1903), pp.50-1

2. Sel. Cttee. on Oxford & Great Western Union Railway Bill, H.L. 227 (1837/8), xx, p.23

3. C. Bede, pseud., The adventures of Mr. Verdant Green (1853), pp.38, 87, 90-2

4. L. Davidoff, The separation of home and work? Landladies and lodgers in 19th and 20th century England. In, S. Burman, ed., Fit work for women (1979), pp.84-5

5. Oxford University Archives (hereafter abbreviated O.U.A.) LHD/Misc/3/7, Lodging-House Delegacy, An account of the formation of the Delegacy, and of its work during the years 1868 to 1899, p.8

6. C.V. Butler, op.cit., pp.55,87

7. Jackson's Oxford Journal (hereafter abbreviated J.O.J.), 4.5.1861, p.5

8. J.M. Falkner, A history of Oxfordshire (1897), p.314

logical society. Local government, for example, employed only 37 males in 1851, but the number had risen to 113 by 1901; national government employed 24 males in 1851, mainly in the postal services and the Inland Revenue but accounted for 204 50 years later. Male teachers increased in numbers from 53 to 290 during the period and female teachers similarly from 182 to 404, demonstrating the growing importance of teaching as an acceptable profession for women.[1] Improved access by railway helped to make Oxford, like Exeter, a moderately popular place for retirement[2] and some of the 180 men and 1,040 women who were classed as Independent in the 1901 census had probably settled in the city because its rates were the lowest of any County Borough in England.[3] One measure of Oxford's growing appeal for those who could afford to choose their place of residence was the proportion of the population whose origins lay beyond the catchment area of Oxfordshire and its adjacent counties. Between 1851 and 1901, this increased from 17.6% to 22.1% and compared with lower figures of 7.7% and 16.6% for the county as a whole.[4] A resident middle-class population, enjoying the full benefits of rising real incomes, was an important generator of employment[5] and helped to diminish the dependence of local tradesmen upon University custom.[6]

1. Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population tables II, vol. 1 (1854); pp.228, 231; Census of England & Wales, 1901. County of Oxford. Area, houses and population (1903), p.50; Lee Holcombe, Victorian ladies at work; middle-class working women in England and Wales, 1850-1914 (1973), pp.34-67

2. R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), p. 80

3. O.C., 6.3.1897, p.5; 28.1.1899, p.5; Census of England & Wales, 1901. County of Oxford. Area, houses and population (1903), p.50

4. Census of Great Britain 1851. Population tables II, vol. 1 (1854), p.245; Census of England & Wales, 1901. County of Oxford, Area, houses and population (1903), p.55

5. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead; building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.53; G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (1971), pp.101-10

6. C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.81

2. The creation of the suburbs

2.1 The context of development

"The town is situated on a broad eminence, which rises so gradually as to be hardly perceptible in the midst of a most beautiful extent of meadows to the south, east and west, and of cornfields to the north..... From some of the surrounding hills, the traveller is surprised with an unparalleled prospect of magnificence and plenty; of numerous spires, domes, and turrets, with the combined charms of verdure, water and trees.[1]" It has long been recognised that the general outlines of any urban plan are, to some degree, pre-determined by features of the town's physical geography and its natural advantages and disadvantages.[2] The meadowland on three sides of Oxford provided a beautiful setting for the city, but it was also low-lying, liable to regular flooding and difficult to drain. These land characteristics increased the potential costs of development,[3] and almost inevitably attracted industry and poor quality housing.[4] Before development even began in Cowley Field, Christ Church was therefore persuaded to distance itself from an area which seemed certain to be dominated by cottage-building.[5] In West Oxford, too, an attempt to develop the low-lying Cripley estate with middle-class houses was fore-doomed by topographical

1. Universal British Directory (1790/8), p.112

2. R.E. Park, The city: suggestions for the investigation of human behavior(sic) in the urban environment. In, R.E. Park, E.W. Burgess and R.D. McKenzie, The City (1967 reprint), p.5

3. B. Goodall, The economics of urban areas (1972), p.188

4. S.T. Blake, The physical expansion of the borough of Reading, 1800-62. University of Reading Ph.D. (1976), p.95; D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.260

5. infra, pp. 84-6

determinism'.[1] Builders looked more favourably upon moderately sloping land of gravel or sandstone with natural drainage and a ready supply of water from wells.[2] In Oxford, the surrounding hills were too remote for middle-class families without personal transport, but the cornfields and market gardens on the gravel terrace between St. Giles' and Summertown were scarcely less suitable, offering healthy and salubrious sites and the "fine views, trees and open country" beloved of intending suburbanites.[3]

Existing landscape features had a profound effect upon the form taken by building development. Expansion generally took the line of least resistance beyond the urban core and building tended initially to proceed along main roads.[4] Fashionable development was likely to be deterred by poor districts along the way[5] and, in Oxford, the wide and tree-lined St. Giles' provided a fine prelude to the fields beyond; to the south, east and west, on the other hand, St. Aldate's, St. Clement's and St. Thomas's were less attractive and the western edge of the city was further blighted by canal and railway development.[6] From convenient main road locations, housing spread on to adjacent land by means of right-angled or parallel roads; existing pathways or

1. infra, pp.128-30; D. Cannadine, op.cit., p.407

2. C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England; a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), p.70

3. M.A. Simpson, The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle class housing in Britain (1977), pp.50-1

4. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.95; B. Goodall, op.cit., p.186

5. M.A. Simpson, op.cit., p.52

6. infra, p.119; S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.96; M. Shaw, Reconciling social and physical space: Wolverhampton, 1871. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), p.194

tracks might be developed as residential streets while hedgerows and field boundaries became fossilized in a new suburban environment.[1] Bevington Road and St. Margaret's Road, for instance, originated as narrow lanes[2] while the hedge between Henry Greenaway's fields at New Hinksey found a new use as a property boundary.[3]

If the setting of the city provided the stage upon which development was to take place, the first act of the play and much of its plot depended upon the pattern of landownership and the decisions taken by landowners. Concentrated ownership of land was in itself a powerful stimulus to regularity and comprehensive planning[4] since, for large-scale developments, it was obviously cheaper and easier to deal with land owned by few rather than by many and in large lots not small.[5] A large landowner wishing to develop his own land also had the opportunity to establish effective zoning[6] free from the potentially wounding effects of inappropriate development on nearby estates.[7] In East Oxford, for example, the pretentious Conservative Land Society estate was too small to be insulated from the cottage-building around it.[8] Areas of fragmented ownership might sometimes be unified by a large speculator[9] and the National Freehold Land Society acquired a

1. S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.95-6; G. Tindall, The fields beneath (1980), p.60
2. infra, p. 67
3. infra, p. 106
4. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.294; D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.156
5. B.T. Robson, op.cit., p.53
6. D. Cannadine, op.cit., p.257
7. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974) p.76
8. infra, pp. 89-90
9. H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.10

number of small estates to form its second Oxford estate;[1] in general, however, divided ownership led to more piecemeal and haphazard development which tended also to be of lower residential status.[2]

Corporate bodies, especially the Oxford colleges, and aristocrats accounted for 21 out of 56 of the identified owners of potential building land in the Oxford suburbs; in addition, three estates were rectorial or vicarial glebe land.[3] By comparison with Reading, where only three out of 26 landowners were corporate bodies, this gave Oxford a very high proportion of landowners who could afford to take a long-term view of estate development;[4] these owners tended, moreover, to have the larger and more strategic estates. In North Oxford, particularly, the St. John's College estate predominated, like the Ramsden estate in Huddersfield, not only because of its size but also because of its position vis-a-vis the growing city.[5] With some 380 acres of potential building land, much of it having frontages to the Banbury and Woodstock Roads,[6] the college was clearly in a strong position to influence the character of the suburb. With the sole exception of the estate owned by Merton College which became the site of the University Museum and the University Parks,[7] all the substantial North Oxford estates of 10 or more acres were

1. infra, p. 87

2. B. T. Robson, op.cit., p.54; M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.78; S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.200

3. Table 4 : Owners of potential building land in the Oxford suburbs.

4. S. T. Blake, op.cit., pp.60-1

5. R.J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D. (1979), p.127

6. Table 4 ; Map 4 : Major landowners in the Oxford suburbs.

7. infra, pp. 76-7

Table 4 : Owners of potential building land in the Oxford suburbs

Name of owner	Occupation	Land Owned	Method of development
ABINGDON,[1] Earl of		51 ac. W of Abingdon Rd.	-
		20 ac. N & S of Botley Rd.	-
Beechey, William		c8 ac. E of Abingdon Rd.	?
Blake, Mrs.	Widow	7 ac. NE of Iffley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Conservative Land Society, 1859
BOULTER'S CHARITY		1 ac. N of St. Clement's St.	Development of Boulter St. (51 lots) on 99 yr building leases, 1885 -
BRASENOSE COLLEGE		8 ac.E of Abingdon Rd.	-
		c18 ac. W of Abingdon Rd.	Sale of c.13 ac unprepared land to G.W.R. 1843. Sale of 5 ac. unprepared land to J.H. Salter, 1899
Bull, Henry	Esq.	64 ac. between Banbury & Woodstock Rds.	Sale of 5 ac. to St. Edward's School 1873. 1 ac. given as site of Summertown vicarage, 1878. Sale of N part of estate unprepared to Oxford Ind. & Prov. L & B Soc.,1892-4 Sale of plots to individual builders, 1890-
Carr, Richard	Clerk	2 ac. W of Banbury Rd.	Sale of plots to individual builders, c.1835 -
CHRIST CHURCH		68 ac. W of Iffley Rd.	-
		59 ac. SW of Cowley Rd.	-
		26 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	-
		c 75 ac. bounded on W & S by R. Thames, on E by existing houses in St. Thomas's & on N by Sheepwash Channel	Sale of at least 32 ac unprepared land to railway cos., c.1845-70. Development of New Osney (c120 lots) on 80 yr building leases, 1866- Development of Cripley Estate (68 lots) on 80 yr. building leases, 1878-
		1 ac. S of Botley Rd	Given as site for St. Frideswide's church,1870
		24 ac. N of Botley Rd.	-

1. Capital letters denote aristocratic and corporate landowners

Table 4 continued

Name of owner	Occupation	Land Owned	Method of development
Collins, Martha		23 ac. E of Banbury Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Owen Grimbly, 1878
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE		c35 ac. N of Botley Rd.	Part acquired unprepared by T.H. Kingerlee by 1902
DAWSON'S CHARITY		1 ac. between Cowley Rd. and St. Clement's St.	Development (16 lots) on 99 yr building leases, 1869
DONNINGTON HOSPITAL		16 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Soc., 1891
		2 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	Development of Jeune St (45 lots) on building leases, 1899-
		8 ac. SE of Magdalen Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Walter Gray, 1889
		3 ac. W of Iffley Rd.	-
		4 ac. S of Fairacres Rd.	?
Fisher, Martha	Widow	3 ac. between Cowley & Iffley Rds.	Sale of plots to individual builders, 1877
Furse, Rev. P.W.		c17 ac. W of Walton St.	Sale of 4 ac. as site for University Press, 1825 Sale of plots to individual builders, 1825-9
Giles, Harriet		4 ac. NE of Iffley Rd.	Acquired unprepared by Oxford Ind. & Prov. Land & Bldg Soc., 1883
Glanvill, John		2 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	Acquired unprepared by E.H. Bradley by 1895
Greenaway Henry	Esq.	14 ac. W of Abingdon Rd.	Sale of plots to individual builders, 1847-
		c4 ac. E of Abingdon Rd.	?
Gunstone, William	College Servant	1½ ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	Sale of plots to individual builders, 1857
Holmes, Robert		4 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	Acquired unprepared by Joel Zacharias by 1893
Hudson, John	Builder	3 ac. between Cowley & Iffley Rds.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Rev. R.M. Benson, 1872

Table 4 continued

Name of owner	Occupation	Land Owned	Method of development
Hurst, Elizabeth		1 ac. site of Regent St.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Charles Petty and Thomas Gable, 1888
Hurst, Rachael		14 ac. SW of Cowley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to John Galpin and R.S. Hawkins, 1868
Hurst, William	Farmer	5 ac. between Cowley & Iffley Rds.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to National Freehold Land Society, 1856
		43 ac. between Cowley, Iffley & Magdalen Rds.	Sale of plots to developers and builders, 1861-
Knapp, Tyrrell	Esq.	120 ac. S of Headington Hill	Sale of part unprepared estate to G.H. Morrell, 1876
Langston, J.H.	M.P.	c12 ac. S of Botley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to G.P. Hester, 1851
LINCOLN COLLEGE		1 ac. S of Museum Rd.	Development (16 lots) on 99 yr. building leases, 1860
		1 ac. W of Banbury Rd.	40 yr. building lease, 1847
		1 ac. W of Banbury Rd.	40 yr. building lease, 1861
Lockhart, Theodore		½ ac. SW of Cowley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to National Freehold Land Society by 1853
London, William		½ ac. SW of Cowley Rd.	ibid.
MAGDALEN COLLEGE		8 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Oxford Board of Guardians, 1862
		1 ac. SW of Cowley Rd.	-
		10 ac. SW of Iffley Rd.	Intended sale of 46 plots, 1887, but estate sold unprepared to Oxford Ind. & Prov. Land & Bldg Soc., 1888
		½ ac. S of Botley Rd.	-
Mallam, Thomas	Auctioneer	½ ac. E of Woodstock Rd.	Personal estate

Table 4 continued

Name of owner	Occupation	Land Owned	Method of development
MARLBOROUGH, Duke of		1 ac. E of Woodstock Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Thomas Mallam, 1852
		37 ac. W of Woodstock Rd.	-
MERTON COLLEGE		84 ac. E of Parks Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to University of Oxford, 1855-9
Morrell, James	Brewer	37 ac. N of Headington Hill	Personal estate
		17 ac. S of Botley Rd.	Part acquired unprepared by T.H. Kingerlee by 1901
		1 ac. S of Botley Rd.	-
NEW COLLEGE		9 ac. E of Banbury Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Oxford Board of Guardians, 1850
ORIEL COLLEGE		18 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	-
OXFORD, Bishop of		11 ac. S of Botley Rd.	Part acquired unprepared by Thomas Gable, 1895
OXFORD, City of		2 ac. E of Walton St.	Development (21 lots) on 75 yr. building leases, 1858
		1 ac. E of Abingdon Rd.	Development (11 lots) on 40 yr. building leases, 1859
		9 ac. N of Botley Rd.	Part utilised for Local Board wharf, 1884
OXFORD, University of		13 ac. SW of Cowley Rd.	-
OXFORD BOARD OF GUARDIANS		5 ac. E of Walton St.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to exors of Ambrose Smith, 1865
Parker, Rev. Edward		3 ac. S of Botley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to G.P. Hester, 1865
PEMBROKE COLLEGE		33 ac. NE of Cowley Rd.	Sale of unprepared estate to British Land Co., 1859 & to Joseph Castle and Oxford Board of Guardians, 1862

Table 4 continued

Name of owner	Occupation	Land owned	Method of development
Penson, Elizabeth	Widow	1 ac. N of St. Clement's St.	Sale of plots to individual builders, 1864
Phillott, Rev. J.S.		41 ac. E of Banbury Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Charles Hawkins, 1891
Sadler, C.J.	Confectioner	3 ac. between Cowley & Iffley Rds.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to National Freehold Land Society, 1853
ST. CLEMENT'S Rector of		1 ac. S of St. Clement's St.	Development of Glebe St. (14 lots) on 99 yr. building leases, 1883
ST. GILES' Vicar of		3 ac. N of the Parks	Development on 99 yr. building leases in conjunction with St. John's College, 1860-
		1 ac. W of Banbury Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to St. John's College, 1869
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE		c12 ac. W of Walton St. (Walton Close, Smith's Close)	Development (c160 lots) on 40 (later 99) yr. building leases, 1825-
		c15 ac. W of Walton St. (Jericho Gardens, Allam's Close)	Development (c140 lots) on 99 yr. building leases, 1864-
		217 ac. E of Banbury Rd. (Norham Manor, Bardwell Estate)	Development (c370 lots) on 99 yr. bldg.leases, 1860-
		38 ac. between Banbury & Woodstock Rds. (Bevington Estate, Rawlinson Rd)	Development (c120 lots) on 99 yr. bldg. leases, 1865-
		c114 ac. W of Woodstock Rd. (Walton Manor)	Development (c1150 lots) on 40 (later 99) yr. building leases, c.1820-
		11 ac. W of the Parks (Parks Estate)	Development (c60 lots) on 40(later 99) yr. building leases, c1850-
		22 ac.S of Botley Rd.	-
Smith, Sidney	Yeoman	33 ac. NE of Iffley Rd.	Sale of plots to developers and builders, 1859-

Table 4 continued

Name of owner	Occupation	Land owned	Method of development
SOUTH HINKSEY, Vicar of		9 ac. W of Abingdon Road	-
Speakman, Robert		3 ac. E of Banbury Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Thomas Grimsley & Thomas Davis, 1846
STONE'S HOSPITAL		25 ac. E of Banbury Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Francis Twining, c.1900
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE		1 ac. W of Banbury Rd.	Development (7 lots) on 40 yr. building leases, 1847-58
		3 ac. W of Banbury Rd.	40 yr. building lease, 1833
		14 ac. W of Abingdon Rd.	Sale of 7 ac. unprepared land to City Waterworks, 1883-91
			Sale of 7 ac. unprepared land to Robert Buckell, 1889
		c80 ac. E of Abingdon Rd.	-
Walsh, Henry	Solicitor	26 ac. SW of Iffley Rd.	Sale of entire unprepared estate to Walter Gray and J.M. Dormor, c.1890
Ward, Henry	Coal-merchant	c17 ac. adjoining Oxford Canal	Sale of plots to individual builders, 1840-
Willis, Rev. John		6 ac. W of Abingdon Rd.	Acquired unprepared by W.J. Farthing by 1891

Sources: O.C.R.O: vol.E. St. Giles' enclosure award, 1832 and Iffley enclosure award, 1815; bk.24. Cowley enclosure award, 1853; Misc/Cumnor/I/1. Cumnor & S. Hinksey enclosure award, 1820; vol. F. Headington enclosure award, 1804; bk.11. St. Thomas', Oxford, enclosure award, 1854

ibid. : Tithe awards 112 Cowley; 227 Iffley; 298 Oxford, St. Clement's.

ibid. : PD/2/14. Oxford & Great Western Railway. Book of reference, plans and sections, 1840; PD/2/21. Oxford & Rugby Railway. Book of reference, plans and sections, 1844.

College archives
Oxford Chronicle, 1850-1900
O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. Property records

remotely located to the north of St. John's College land in Summertown; they included the holdings of Henry Bull (66 acres), Martha Collins (23 acres), the Duke of Marlborough (37 acres), Rev. J.S. Phillott (41 acres) and Stone's Hospital (25 acres).[1] Some of the smaller estates were, in fact, of greater initial significance because they were closer to the city, had main road frontages and were therefore more immediately desirable for development. Corporate landowners were again the most important and included New College with nine acres to the east of Banbury Road, the Oxford Board of Guardians with the workhouse site and the City which owned Worcester Close in Walton Street.[2] Private landowners, were, by contrast, barely represented in these key locations and Richard Carr, the owner of a two-acre estate on the west side of Banbury Road, was the only one to have a substantial impact on the development of the suburb.[3]

The preponderance enjoyed by St. John's College in North Oxford was not approached by any one landowner in the other Oxford suburbs, but corporate owners were substantially represented in every area.[4] Christ Church was, for example, the major landowner in West Oxford in terms of acreage, but much of the College estate was low-lying and potentially expensive to develop; furthermore, it contained few convenient frontages to the Botley Road west of the river Thames. In East Oxford, too, Christ Church was the biggest single landowner with an estate of 153 acres situated in Iffley Road and, more remotely, in Cowley Marsh; this was insufficient, however, to give the College a dominant role in the development of the suburb. In South Oxford, Brasenose and University

1. Table 4 ; Map 4
2. Table 4
3. infra, p. 59
4. Map 4

Colleges shared the most strategic estates between them, and the development options of St. John's College, the major landowner in Jericho, were restricted both by the character of the area and by the actions of other substantial owners. Oxford colleges therefore owned the largest estates in each of the suburbs and many of the more modest holdings were also in corporate or aristocratic hands. In West Oxford, for instance, Corpus Christi College (c35 acres), the Bishop of Oxford (11 acres) and St. John's College (22 acres) all had estates with frontages to the Botley Road; so too did the Earl of Abingdon whose 20 acres at the west end of Botley Road were matched by a further 51 acres adjoining the Abingdon Road in South Oxford. East of Magdalen Bridge, Pembroke College (33 acres) and the University (13 acres) owned land adjoining Cowley Road, Magdalen College had estates in Cowley and Iffley Roads and the Newbury charity Donnington Hospital possessed several important estates. Institutional ownership left little room for the private landowner in South Oxford where the comparatively small estates of Henry Greenaway, Rev. John Willis and Henry Beechey were quite remotely situated; in West Oxford, too, the privately-owned estate was a rarity, the most significant examples being those owned by James Haughton Langston, James Morrell and the Rev. Edward Parker. In Jericho and East Oxford, however, a far greater proportion of the land was in private hands.[1] Two landowners, the Rev. P.W. Furse and Henry Ward, shared the heartland of Jericho, and a larger number of individuals owned the central portion of East Oxford lying between the Cowley and Iffley Roads. Here, the chief landowners were William Hurst (48 acres) and Rachael Hurst (15 acres), but Thomas Blake (seven acres), Harriet Giles (four acres), Sidney Smith (33 acres) and Henry Walsh (26 acres) also had estates with frontages to Iffley Road. Nearer to Magdalen Bridge, Martha Fisher, Charles Sadler, Theodore Lockhart and John Hudson were

1. Map 4

among the owners of smaller but valuable building allotments with main road frontages.[1]

The decisions which these landowners took or failed to take played a major role in shaping the Victorian suburbs of Oxford. The crucial importance of the landowner in urban land development has been recognosed in many studies[2] and recent arguments that urban economic forces were more important[3] have led only to the necessary modification that a landowner's decisions were always constrained by the realities of the market.[4] The first major choice facing the owner of a suburban estate was whether to develop or not, and an affirmative answer was generally reached most easily by private individuals with meagre financial resources or by absentee landowners with no personal stake in the area.[5] Thus, in East Oxford, William Gunstone, a college servant, sought to pay off his mortgage debts by initiating the development of his close off the Cowley Road in 1857;[6] similarly, the sale of land by absentee land-

1. Table 4

2. H. Carter, A decision-making approach to town plan analysis: a case-study of Llandudno. In, H. Carter and W.K.D. Davies, eds., Urban essays: studies of the geography of Wales (1970), pp.66-78; M.J. Mortimore, op.cit., pp.105-19; G. Rowley, Landownership in the spatial growth of towns: a Sheffield example. East Midland Geographer 6 (1975), pp.200-10

3. J.W.R. Whitehand, Building activity and intensity of development at the urban fringe: the case of a London suburb in the 19th century. Journal of Historical Geography 1 (1975), pp.211-24

4. D.J. Olsen, op.cit., p.32; M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.73; D. Cannadine, op.cit.,p.402; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle-class housing in Britain (1977), pp.111-3; R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.348

5. C.J. Arnison, The speculative development of Leamington Spa, 1800-1830. University of Leicester M.Phil. (1980), p.34; S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.200; B. Goodall, op.cit., p.188

6. infra, p. 90

owners, the Rev. P.W. Furse, Henry Greenaway and James Langston, led to house-building in Jericho, New Hinksey and Osney Town respectively.[1] Those who were keen to sell might still be deterred by economic doubts or the difficulty of timing the sale;[2] nor were all landowners concerned only with economics and maximising their income.[3] Wealthy individuals might therefore be more concerned to preserve the view and George Herbert Morrell of Headington Hill Hall purchased the South Park estate in 1876 to save it from development.[4] Still more important in the Oxford context was the fact that corporate bodies and aristocratic landowners regarded it as their duty to preserve and if possible enhance their property for the benefit of future generations; because of their permanent nature, they could also afford to consider long-term returns rather than quick profits.[5] They were therefore reluctant to sell land unless it was for some public purpose like the building of a workhouse. In 1849, for instance, New College sold its Banbury Road estate to the Oxford Board of Guardians, and the Guardians purchased further land in Cowley Road from Magdalen and Pembroke Colleges in 1862.[6] Diminished agricultural value and the blighting effects of neighbouring estates

1. *infra*, pp. 105-6, 121, 135-6

2. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the eighteenth century. *Urban Studies* 5 (1968), p.73

3. G. Rowley, *op.cit.*, p.202

4. *O.C.*, 1.4.1876, p.5

5. C.W. Chalklin, *op.cit.*, p.75; R.J. Springett, *op.cit.*, p.128; F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *The rise of suburbia* (1982), p.18

6. *infra*, pp. 48, 60

might occasionally lead to the sale of land[1] and University and Brasenose Colleges followed this course in South Oxford in 1889 and 1899 respectively.[2] If they rarely sold land, corporate landowners also displayed an unwillingness to initiate development on badly-situated land because the resulting low status area might not retain its reversionary value; personal, social and aesthetic considerations reinforced this fear, since the creation of a slum might reflect badly upon its creator. Such anxieties probably help to explain why Christ Church failed to develop the St. Thomas's area more intensively in the later nineteenth century.[3] The timing of development was therefore determined not only by demand but also by the character and preferences of the landowners; the result has been defined as 'leapfrog sprawl' because areas of undeveloped land separated new developments from each other and from the built-up area.[4]

Once the landowner had resolved to make his estate available for development, he had to decide how deeply he wished to become involved in the process. The private landowner whose need for immediate return exceeded his long-term interest in the estate generally chose to sell his land outright with or without preliminary development.[5] In Oxford, the latter was most common and in 1859, for example, Mrs. Blake sold her unprepared estate in the Iffley Road to the Conservative Land Society;[6]

1. G. Rowley, op.cit., p.202
2. infra, pp. 113-6
3. infra, pp. 123-4
4. B. Goodall, op.cit., pp.186-8
5. S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.60-3; C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England (1974), p.113
6. infra, p. 89

other landowners who made available what was essentially agricultural land included Rachael Hurst and Henry Walsh in East Oxford and James Langston in West Oxford.[1] Some individuals like Henry Ward in Jericho and Richard Carr in North Oxford, were prepared to undertake some preparatory work in the expectation of increasing their overall profit.[2] As in Reading, there were other estates, like those of Henry Bull in North Oxford and the Hursts in East Oxford, where both methods were used at different times.[3] In no case, however, did a private landowner initiate leasehold development and this option remained the preferred alternative of the corporate bodies which therefore committed themselves "to a permanent stake in the urban landscape."[4] By retaining control of the development process, these institutions were able to exercise a considerable influence over the spatial pattern of development and the social character of a neighbourhood by laying out the streets, determining plot sizes, fixing minimum values for the houses and framing restrictive covenants.[5] Developers and market forces might dilute these powers, however,[6] and ecclesiastical and charitable bodies, like the otherwise autonomous Oxford colleges, had a further statutory limitation which only allowed them to let their suburban estates for up to 40 years.[7] Short leases gave builders little time to recoup their

1. infra, pp. 94, 101, 121

2. infra, pp. 59, 138

3. infra, pp. 78-9, 87-8, 92-3; S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.62-3

4. A. Offer, Property and politics, 1870-1914; landownership, law, ideology and urban development in England (1981), p.118

5. B. T. Robson, op.cit., p.54; M. Shaw, op.cit., p.194; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), pp. ix-x, 365-6

6. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit., p.112

7. 13 Elizabeth, c.10, 1571; 14 Elizabeth, c.11 and c.14, 1572

outlay and could lead to shoddy building,[1] an outcome which accorded ill with a corporate landowner's interest in reversionary value and maximum prestige. This problem could be overcome by means of a private Act of Parliament and, in 1855, for example, St. John's College obtained an Act enabling it to grant 99-year building leases in North Oxford;[2] nevertheless, the trouble and expense of this procedure must have reinforced these institutions in their reluctance to embrace early suburban development. As on the Bute estate in Cardiff, St. John's College was at first reluctant to tie down land for cottage-building for as long as 99 years,[3] but the 66-year terms offered for this kind of property proved unattractive and the 99-year lease soon became standard on the estate; in West Oxford, however, Christ Church preferred an 80-year term.[4] In later Victorian Huddersfield, an apparent trend from the unpopular 99-year or short-building lease to the longer lease and freehold tenure seemed to indicate a freer market in land and the response of landowners to the demands of the building industry.[5] In Oxford, by the turn of the century, professional land developers were making more freehold land available, for example, in Summertown and East Oxford,[6] but no corporate landowner felt obliged to alter its established development procedure. A large scale developer and builder like Thomas Kingerlee could work with equal facility on the St. John's College

1. D.A. Reeder, The politics of urban leaseholds in late Victorian England. International Review of Social History 6 (1961), p.416; C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the 18th century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), p.76

2. infra, p. 64

3. J. Davies, Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute (1981), pp.193-4; infra, p. 69

4. infra, pp. 124, 128

5. R. J. Springett, op.cit., p.21

6. infra, pp. 78-9, 101-2

estate or on his own account;[1] similarly, the freehold estate was no greater barrier to the small builder than a leasehold one since, throughout the period, a deposit seems to have been sufficient to secure possession of a plot.[2]

How relevant to the nature of the urban form were the terms under which the land was held? The large urban leasehold estate, with its resemblance to a public administrative body,[3] played an important part in shaping urban morphology; through its inevitable concern for reversionary value, it accelerated the trend towards high-cost houses, showed a marked preference for low-density development and directed sub-standard builders elsewhere.[4] Thus, in North Oxford as in Cardiff, the plain working-class house was eschewed in favour of artisan cottages, some of which might be architect-designed.[5] The prominent role of architects, surveyors and solicitors in the management of leasehold estates also had inevitable morphological consequences,[6] and their professional involvement helped to ensure, in the long term, that a leasehold estate stood a better chance of retaining its initial character.[7] At the same

1. e.g. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 118/120 Banbury Road. Agreement for lease, 18 .7.1898; 143 Woodstock Road, Proposal, 12.8.1885; infra, pp. 132-3

2. C. Treen, The process of suburban development in North Leeds, 1870-1914. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.162; infra, pp. 91, 100, 114

3. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.73

4. R.J. Springett, Landowners and urban development: the Ramsden estate and 19th century Huddersfield. Journal of Historical Geography 8 (1982), pp.138-40

5. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.79; infra, pp. 70-1

6. G. Gordon, The shaping of urban morphology. Urban History Yearbook (1984), p.5; R.J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D. (1979), pp.209-10

7. D. Cannadine, Urban development in England and America in the 19th century: some comparisons and contrasts. Economic History Review 33 (1980), p.325, n.1.

time, it is clear that spatial differences between the high and low class areas of any town or city were the product of more complex forces than land tenure alone. In Leeds, for example, the fashionable area of Headingley was developed on freehold land,[1] whereas the Dukes of Norfolk were quite unable to attract the prosperous to live in "Noisy, smoky and loathsome" Sheffield.[2] In Oxford, the casual observer would find it difficult to detect the boundary between the St. John's College estate and the freehold Bull estate because the housing quality was maintained; similarly, the leasehold terraced houses built on Christ Church land near the railway station differed little from those built on contemporary freehold estates. The success of Eton College's Chalcots estate, despite mediocre management, led Olsen to speculate that "given sufficient size and a favorable (sic) location, a London estate planned and managed itself."[3] The reverse was also true since no amount of planning and good management could create a middle-class suburb if the location was unsuitable and the demand was lacking.

The successful implementation of a landowner's proposals depended, in varying degrees, upon the developer, a middle-man whose profit formed "part of the increment derived from the conversion of the land from agricultural to building use."[4] Where the landowner maintained a passive role and merely sold unprepared land, the developer was left to take the

1. D. Cannadine, Urban development in England and America.... Economic History Review 33 (1980), p.320
2. D.J. Olsen, House upon house: estate development in London and Sheffield. In, H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 2 (1978), p.341
3. ibid., p.340
4. C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), p.58

crucial decisions which determined the spatial pattern of development and might influence the social character of a whole district. Thus, the purchase and rapid development of four East Oxford estates by the National Freehold Land Society from 1852 provided a model which other promoters were quick to imitate.[1] The landowner-developer using and developing his own estate restricted the developer's initial role by laying out the land for building and constructing much of the necessary infrastructure. Nevertheless, speculative developers with greater capital were often able to outbid builders for tracts of land within prepared estates and were thus in a position to determine the course of development at building level.[2] In North Oxford, for example, developers and builders in Southmoor Road provided houses of a much higher value than St. John's College had intended: again, at nos. 82/88 Banbury Road, Walter Gray angered neighbouring lessees by building a 'terrace' in an area of substantial detached houses.[3] Apart from the institutional landowners which assumed responsibility for developing their estates, there were four principal categories of developer in Victorian Oxford. The first, and perhaps the most significant, included those companies and societies which had as their main or subsidiary purpose the provision of freehold plots of land. The National Freehold Land Society, and its later subsidiary, the British Land Company, created four estates in East Oxford in the 1850s[4] and, in 1864, went far beyond the city boundary to form a fifth estate centred on

1. <u>infra</u>, pp. 86-92

2. S.T. Blake, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.63-4; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.108-13

3. <u>infra</u>, pp. 70-1, 271

4. <u>Table 5</u> : Recorded developers of building land in the Oxford suburbs; <u>infra</u>, pp. 86-9

Table 5 : Recorded developers of building land in the Oxford suburbs.

Name	Occupation	Land Developed	Date Commenced
Archer, James	Coal-merchant	Marlborough Rd. S of White House Rd: c115 lots	1884
Barrett, Thomas	Timber merchant	Barrett St. : 35 lots	1879
Boffin, Alfred	Confectioner	Summerfield : 33 lots	1881
Bossom, Charles	Boatbuilder	Swan St. : 8 lots	1891
		Bridge St. extension : 41 lots	1892
		Doyley Rd : 5 lots	1908
Bradley, E. H.	?	Cowley Rd/Hubert Rd: 97 lots	1895
Bradley, H. J.	?	Hill Top Rd : 64 lots	1910
British Land Company see National Freehold Land Society			
Buckell, Robert	Auctioneer	Edith Rd : 132 lots	1889
Bull, H. E.	Esq.	Staverton Rd : c100 lots	1890
Carr, Richard	Clerk	North Parade : c33 lots	c1835
Castle, Joseph	Builder	Cowley Rd/Union St. c87 lots	1862
		Mill St : 62 lots	1869
Conservative Land Society		Iffley Rd/Stanley Rd : 63 lots	1860
Dormor, J. M. see Gray, Walter	Brewer's agent		
Dover, John	Builder	Iffley Rd/Bullingdon Rd : 24 lots	1864
		Dover's Row : 28 lots	c1867
Farthing W. J.	Architect	Norreys Ave : 92 lots	1891
Fisher, Frances see Hobdell, Emily	Spinster		
Gable, Thomas	Victualler	Botley Rd/Hill View Rd. 30+ lots	1896
ibid., & Petty, Charles		Regent Street : 42 lots	1888

Table 5 continued

Name	Occupation	Land Developed		Date Commenced
Galpin, John	Surveyor	Iffley Rd/Charles St:	300+ lots	1862
		Cripley Rd:	68 lots	1878
ibid., & Hawkins, R.S.		Iffley Rd/Henley St.	232 lots	1864
		Cowley Rd/Leopold St.	268 lots	1868
Gillman, Charles	Photographer	Sunningwell Rd:	114 lots	1892
Gray, Walter	Auctioneer	Essex St :	168 lots	1889
ibid., & Dormor, J.M.		Iffley Rd/Warwick St.	275 lots	1891
Greenaway, Henry	Esq.	New Hinksey :	c200 lots	1847
Grimbly, Owen	Grocer	Sunnymeade :	178 lots	1878
Gunstone, William	College servant	Tyndale Rd :	26 lots	1857
Hawkins, R.S. see Galpin, John	Solicitor			
Hester, G.P.	Town Clerk	Osney Town :	125 lots	1851
		New Botley :	82 lots	1868
Hobdell, Emily	Widow	Iffley Rd:	8 lots	1877
Howard, W.H.	Auctioneer	Iffley Rd/Howard St. :	c23 lots	c1864
Hurst, Edward & John	Farmers	St. Mary's Rd. & Hurst St. :	33 lots	1864
Hurst, Richard	Farmer	James St. :	c110 lots	1861
Kingerlee, T.H.	Builder	Oatlands Meadow :	205 lots	1901
		Botley Rd :	158 lots	1902
National Freehold Land Society (British Land Company from 1856)		Alma Place :	66 lots	1853
		Marston St. :	c80 lots	1853
		Temple St/Stockmore St.	c110 lots	1856
		Rectory Rd :	c150 lots	1859
Organ Bros.	Builders	Cowley Rd:	c80 lots	1900

Table 5 Continued

Name	Occupation	Land Developed			Date Commenced
Oxford, University of		Wellington Sq.	:	77 lots	1869
Oxford Board of Guardians		Park Town	:	70 lots	1853
Oxford Building & Investment Co.		Golden Rd	:	103 lots	1878
		Grandpont	:	231 lots	1879
Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Soc. (Oxford Working Men's Benefit Building Soc to 1874)		Catherine St.	:	38 lots	1864
		Bullingdon Rd	:	199+ lots	1864
		New Marston	:	240 lots	1871
		London Place	:	19 lots	1880
		Glebe Street	:	14 lots	1883
		Aston St.	:	88 lots	1883
		Iffley Rd/Fairacres Rd	:	132 lots	1889
		Divinity Rd	:	c250 lots	1891
		Oakthorpe Rd:	:	179 lots	1893
		Beechcroft Rd:	:	148 lots	1894
		Southfield Rd	:	258 lots	1903
		Hamilton Rd	:	264 lots	1904
Parker, C.G.	Surgeon	Cowley Rd/Circus St	:	51 lots	1858
Penson, Elizabeth	Widow	Penson's Gardens	:	34 lots	1864
Petty, Charles see Gable, Thomas	Builder				
Salter, J. H.	Boat builder	Chilswell Rd	:	105 lots	1899
Smith, Sidney	Yeoman	Iffley Rd/Magdalen Rd.		300+ lots	1859
Twining, Francis	Grocer	Lonsdale Rd	:	c180 lots	1902

Table 5 Continued

Name	Occupation	Land Developed	Date Commenced
Ward, Henry	Coal-merchant	Nelson St. : c50 lots	1840
Ward, William	Merchant	W. part of Jericho : c300 lots	1852
Zacharias-Jessel, Joel	Tailor	Cowley Rd : 53 lots	1894

Sources : O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estate plans; Oxford Chronicle;1850-1900; Auction catalogues.

Crescent Road in Cowley.[1] Its political rival, the Conservative Land Society, also purchased an Oxford estate and offered it for sale in 1860.[2] The Oxford Building and Investment Company formed two building estates in the late 1870s and the Oxford Working Men's Benefit Building Society, later the Oxford Industrial and Provident Land and Building Society, was a substantial provider of freehold plots in East Oxford and later North Oxford.[3] The other main groups were composed of individual speculators who have been identified elsewhere as craftsmen-builders, entrepreneurs and members of professions having a peripheral connection with the development process.[4] The builder-developer was represented, for example, by Joseph Castle who developed part of the Pembroke College estate in Cowley Road from 1862 and was involved at the New Osney estate of Christ Church by the end of the decade. Another East Oxford builder, John Dover, developed land at the corner of Iffley Road and Bullingdon Road and was the creator of Dover's Row, an insanitary cul-de-sac off Cross Street. The most forceful example of this category was, however, Thomas Kingerlee who initiated the building of two large building estates in Botley Road in the early 1900s.[5] The "middle class men of business"[6] formed another important category of developers and included, for instance, two coal merchants, James Archer and Henry Ward, two boat-builders, J.H. Salter and Charles Bossom, two grocers, Francis Twining and Owen Grimbly,

1. O.C., 6.8.1864, p.7
2. infra, p. 89
3. Table 5
4. C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., pp.58-9; C. Treen, op.cit., p.177
5. Table 5 : infra, pp. 95, 124, 132-3
6. C.J. Arnison, op.cit., p.139

and a photographer, Charles Gillman.[1] Such people tended to be "of greater substance and possibly higher social standing than the majority of men who were principally builders;"[2] Ward, Salter and Twining, for example, all served on the Council.[3] The final group comprised those individuals who handled land in the course of their main profession or occupation, and were therefore well-placed to indulge in speculative development. Solicitors, with their intimate knowledge of the local property market and access to credit, were often tempted to speculate on their own account.[4] In Oxford, George Hester, who was also Town Clerk, had the additional opportunity to derive benefit from his local government contacts.[5] Another solicitor, R.S. Hawkins, was involved with the surveyor John Galpin on two East Oxford estates, pooling his expertise with Galpin's knowledge of land values and the requirements of builders. Galpin developed two further estates himself and the local auctioneers, W.H. Howard, Walter Gray and Robert Buckell showed a similar readiness to utilise their professional experience.[6] Buckell, for example, initiated the Edith Road estate in South Oxford in 1889 and, in the same year, Gray began to develop his Essex Street estate. Gray also joined with J.M. Dormor, a brewer's agent, in forming a large estate to the south-west of Iffley Road in 1891,[7] thus producing a characteristic partnership between capital and expertise.[8]

1. Table 5

2. C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., p.59

3. A chronological list of all that have borne office in the City of Oxford from 1835 to 1889 (1890), passim; ibid.,1889 to 1929, (1932), passim.

4. C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., p.59; H.J. Dyos, The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 supplement (1968), p.669

5. infra, pp. 121-2, 125-8; A. Offer, op.cit., pp.19-20

6. Table 5

7. infra, pp. 100-1, 113-4

8. S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.67-8

Landowners and developers between them controlled the release of land for building purposes and hoped to derive a considerable profit from doing so. The amount of increased value through development depended upon one universal variable, the location of the site,[1] and upon local factors such as the demand for housing sites, the amount of land available and the previous use of the land.[2] In 1849, for example, a surveyor acting for New College valued the nine acre site of Park Town at £5 per acre per annum if used for agricultural purposes and £10 if used as a nursery market garden.[3] George Hester was said to have bought Osney Town as agricultural land at a price of £60 or £70 an acre and, after considerable preparatory work, to have sold it in building lots for about £800 an acre.[4] On the St. John's College estate, Jericho Gardens produced £26 per annum as a 3¼ acre market garden before development in 1864; afterwards, the income from ground rents was more than three times as high at £87 18s.[5] per annum. Over a thirty year period, the comparative return was calculated to be £780 from the undeveloped garden ground and £2,637 from the houses, an increase of £1,857.[6] This costing ignored the expense of laying out the estate for building, but it seems clear that the landowner disposing of his land without preparation could expect at least to double its value; if he or a developer superintended the development, the potential return might be considerably higher.[7]

1. supra, pp.19-20

2. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the 18th century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), p.69

3. New College Ms. MS3396, p.390

4. O.C., 31.5.1856, p.5

5. Throughout the thesis, sums of money are expressed in terms of pounds, shillings and pence (£sd); for new pence equivalents vide p.ii

6. St. John's Coll. Ms. Munim. V.c.43. Account books relating to building estates in Walton Street, St. Thomas' parish, etc., (c.1870), pp.7-9

7. C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., pp.70-1; S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.74-5

The cost of the site seems to have accounted for between 7% and 25% of a builder's outlay,[1] and any substantial increase in land values was likely to be reflected in house prices. The Oxford evidence shows that land prices were tending to rise[2] and suburban land, in particular, was acquiring an enhanced development value because of population growth, changes in income and technological development in urban transport.[3] During the 1860s, for example, the price of land in East Oxford was said to have risen from £150 per acre to £500 or £600 an acre,[4] and, if this increase was followed by a fall,[5] the depression was only temporary. In 1889, Donnington Hospital received £352 5s. per acre for their Essex Street estate, more than three times the asking price of the adjoining Golden Road estate in 1871; in 1891, the same charity obtained £500 an acre for the Bartlemas estate in Cowley Road whereas Magdalen College had sold the neighbouring property for £146 14s. 5d. an acre in 1862.[6] Any study of land values is complicated, however, by the many factors which influenced them, including primarily, the precise urban location of a particular estate.[7] Accessibility to the city centre, for example, tends to create a pattern of values diminishing from the centre to the urban fringe.[8] Thus, in East Oxford, the Temple Street site fetched £375 18s. 9d. per acre in 1856 and the slightly more remote Rectory Road estate sold

1. Table 6 : The price of freehold plots as a proportion of house prices, 1853-1905; cf C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), p.57 where the range was found to be between 5% and 25%

2. Table 7 : Recorded land prices in the Oxford suburbs, 1825-98

3. R. G. Rodger, Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in 19th century Britain. In, J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley, eds., The structure of 19th century cities (1982), p.46

4. O.C., 9.11.1867, p.8

5. J.O.J; 25.12.1875, p.5

6. Table 7

7. C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., p.141

8. R. G.Rodger, op.cit., p.41

Table 6 The price of freehold plots as a proportion of house prices, 1853-1905

	Date plot sold	Plot price £	Date house sold	House price £	Plot price as % of house price
Alma Place	1853	45 17s. 4d.	1858	325	7.09
Bullingdon Road 71-2	1867	50	1883	280	17.86
73	1871	25	1886	320	7.81
Canal St. 28-9	1867	55	1867	280	19.64
2 houses	1870	37 2s.	1870	222 18s.	16.6
Cowley Road 48	1860	55	1860	225	24.44
50	1860	55	1860	220	25.0
Edith Road 28	1892	40	1892	205	19.51
Great Clarendon St. 38	1855	60	1855	245	24.49
43-4	1858	49	1872	254	19.29
Henley Street 6	1868	27	1873	150	18.0
44	1876	30	1879	225	13.33
Howard St. 13	1890	122 10s.	1890	585	20.94
Hurst St. 27	1877	22 11s.	1888	242 10s.	9.3
42	1876	21 16s.	1880	282	7.73
54	1871	22 6s.	1876	150	14.87
Iffley Road 5/7	1879	220	1880	1425	15.44
19/21	1859	150	1864	840	17.86
Marston Rd. 240	1881	33 4s.	1888	350	9.49
252	1878	18 14s.	1879	245	7.63
St. Mary's Rd. 53	1886	50 6s.	1887	300	8.38
71	1879	43 6s. 6d.	1884	265	16.35
Temple St. 38	1905	35 2s. 9d.	1905	290	12.12
Victor St. 12	1865	34	1866	155	21.94

Sources: O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. Property records

Table 7 Recorded land prices in the Oxford suburbs, 1825-98

Location	Date	Vendor	Acreage	Price £	Price per acre £
EAST OXFORD					
Temple Street site	1856	Hurst family	5.32	2000	375 18s. 9d.
Rectory Road site	1859	Pembroke College	14.89	4468	300 1s. 5d.
Cowley Road (part Workhouse site)	1862	ibid.	4.0	1100	275
ibid.	1862	Magdalen College	7.92	1162	146 14s. 5d.
Cowley Road (Castle estate)	1862	Pembroke College	14.16	3895	275 1s. 5d.
Crescent Road Estate	1864	-	34.31	3400	99 2s.
Golden Road Estate	1871	-	6.0	700[1]	116 13s. 5d.
Marston Street (Cowley Fathers site)	1872	John Hudson	2.59	1500	579 3s.
Headington Hill (South Park)	1876	Exors. of Tyrrell Knapp	66.09	c.30000	c453 18s. 7d.
Iffley Rd/Fairacres Road	1888	Magdalen College	7.81	3215	411 13s.
Regent Street Estate	1888	Elizabeth Hurst	1.11	680	612 12s. 2d.
Essex Street Estate	1889	Donnington Hospital	8.0	2818	352 5s.
Bartlemas Estate	1891	ibid.	16.0	8000	500
JERICHO					
Walton Street (OUP site)	1825	Rev. P. Wellington Furse	3.61	3700	1024 18s. 7d
Walton Street (part St. Sepulchre's Cemetery site)	1864	St. John's College	0.5	135	270
NORTH OXFORD					
Woodstock Road (part 72 Woodstock Road site)	1846	Thomas Tagg	0.4	60	150
ibid.	1852	Trustees of Duke of Marlborough	1.09	706	647 14s. 2d.

1. Asking price only

Table 7 continued

Location	Date	Vendor	Acreage	Price £	Price per acre £
NORTH OXFORD					
Proposed railway	1853	St. John's College	43.0	22300[1]	518 12s.
University Museum site	1855	Merton College	12.46	12600	1011 4s. 7d.
University Parks (part of site)	1856	ibid.	22.0	9300	422 14s. 7d.
Woodstock Road (part 72 Woodstock Road site)	1857	New College	1.40	512	365 14s. 2d.
University Parks (part of site)	1859	Merton College	55.03	15000	299 16s. 5d.
Banbury Road (site south of Bevington Road)	1869	Rev. Francis Powys	0.61	625	1024 11s. 9d.
Banbury Road (Sunnymead Estate)	1878	Martha Collins (?)	24.46	3480	142 5s. 5d.
Banbury Road (Hawkswell Farm Estate)	1891	Rev. J.S. Phillott(?)	25.0	6200	248
ibid.	1895	C.T. Hawkins	25.0	6000	240
SOUTH OXFORD					
Grandpont Estate	1879	Great Western Railway Co.	12.98	3894	300
Hinksey Step Ground (part)	1883	University College	4.0	1320	330
Abingdon Road (Edith Road Estate)	1889	ibid.	7.31	2560	350 4s.
Hinksey Step Ground (part)	1891	ibid.	2.9	1163	401 0s. 7d.
Abingdon Road (Chilswell Road Estate)	1899	Brasenose College	5.39	2563	475 10s.

1. Asking price only

Table 7 continued

Location	Date	Vendor	Acreage	Price £	Price per acre £
WEST OXFORD					
London & North Western Railway station site	1851	Christ Church	12.42	12355[1]	994 15s.5d.
Mill Street (GWR Extensions)	1865	ibid.	4.93	4950	1004 1s. 2d.
Becket Street (GWR goods station site)	1870	ibid.	3.0	3726	1242

1. Valuation only

Sources : College archives; University archives; Oxford Chronicle, 1850-1900; O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. Property records

£300 1s. 5d. per acre in 1859; still further out, other parts of the Pembroke College estate fetched £275 per acre in 1862 and the British Land Company purchased the Crescent Road estate in Cowley for just £99 2s. per acre in 1864.[1] Mere proximity to the city was no guarantee of high land value, however, if an estate had other locational disadvantages. The flood-prone Osney estate therefore fetched a very low price in 1851[2] although it was only a mile from Carfax; similarly, the Merton College meadows which were to form part of the University Parks fetched only £299 16s. 5d. per acre in 1859, less than one third as much as the nearby site of University Museum with its frontage to Parks Road.[3] Less tangible factors also affected prices, including haggling skills and the extent to which an intending purchaser needed the land. In Jericho in 1825, the University was therefore prepared to pay £1,024 18s. 7d. per acre for the 3.61 acre site of the University Press because this was the most eligible location.[4] Railway companies were equally ready to pay high prices for land in order to expedite large schemes.[5] The Great Western Railway, for example, paid £1,242 per acre for the site of its goods station in West Oxford in 1870.[6] Nor was there perfect competition for land in a situation where the land market remained very much local and personal.[7] Vendors might be totally unaware of the value of their land and, in 1862 for

1. Table 7 : O.C., 6.8.1864, p.7
2. supra, p.45
3. Table 7
4. Table 7
5. J. R. Kellett, The impact of railways in Victorian cities (1969), p.126
6. Table 7
7. R.J.Springett, The mechanics of urban development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D. (1979) p.251; F.M.L. Thompson, The land market in the 19th century. Oxford Economic Papers New Series 9 (1957), p.286

instance, Magdalen College sold part of the workhouse site in Cowley Road for little more than half the sum charged for adjoining land by Pembroke College.[1] Individuals might remain equally ill-informed about rival bids for a piece of land,[2] and the difficulty of this situation was expressed in 1894 by Robert Buckell, one of several developers who was interested in the Grandpont estate belonging to Brasenose College. There, intending buyers offered sums varying from £450 to £700 per acre between 1889 and 1898, but the eventual purchaser paid only £475 10s. per acre.[3] The episode therefore encapsulated the imperfect nature of the contemporary land market with the highest bidders being rejected and the landowner ultimately accepting a diminished return for his land.

The finances of most builders prevented them from speculating in large building estates and restricted them rather to acquiring small plots from developers. On leasehold estates they might expect to pay ground rents of between one and three shillings per foot of frontage for land in artisan and lower middle-class areas; in prime locations such as Banbury Road, Woodstock Road or Rawlinson Road, the figure ranged from three to six shillings.[4] The differing amounts of ground rent were intended to provide roughly similar levels of total profit in the long term, the higher ground rents of superior houses being offset by more spacious planning and more costly infrastructure.[5] Ground rents seem to have accounted for between one-ninth and one-sixth of the annual

1. Table 7
2. R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.251
3. infra, pp. 114-6; Table 7
4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A. 30-34. Long leases, 1863-1903, passim
5. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.369; C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., pp.62-4

value of the house, and it is unclear whether or not they were increasing. On the freehold estates, the limitations of the evidence again make it difficult to assess changes in the price of plots, but there does seem to have been some upward movement. In part this reflected the growing value of land in more distant suburbs,[1] but it was also a consequence of local authority building byelaws which brought an element of professional design to all estates and required the provision of a basic infrastructure.[2] The capital cost of the working-class estate was therefore increased and it became impossible for developers to provide the cheapest plots costing less than £1 per foot of frontage. These were to be found, for example, at New Hinksey in the late 1840s, in the Magdalen Road area in 1859 and, lastly, in St. Mary's Road in 1869.[3] For the builder of working-class housing, the price of a lot was effectively increased also by the gradual widening of frontages to embrace an entrance hall and more spacious living rooms.[4] The 11 or 12 feet wide lots that were available in Jericho in the 1840s and East Oxford in the early 1850s were therefore replaced by lots with frontages of 15 feet or more, and a combination of building byelaws and covenants ensured that the builder could only build one house per lot.[5] These various factors could have a considerable effect on the price of the smaller house plot and, in 1853, for instance, John Dover acquired land with a 33 feet frontage to Alma Place for £45 17s. 4d. He thus

1. <u>supra</u>, p. 46

2. <u>infra</u>, pp. 173-8; cf R.J. Springett, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.201; C. Treen, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.188-9

3. e.g. O.C.A. P.1.2n. Waterworks deeds, 1847-62. Conveyance, 15.10.1847; Bodl. b.4 (24). Sales of property in or near Oxford, 1789- . Plan of freehold building land to be sold by auction....(20.12.1859); O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P262/6. 85 St. Mary's Road, Conveyance, 17.6.1869.

4. J. Burnett, <u>A social history of housing, 1815-1970</u> (1978), p.78

5. <u>infra</u>, pp. 153, 174-5

paid £1 7s. 9d. per foot of frontage whereas Alfred Fowler in 1892 paid £2 10s. per foot of frontage for two 16 feet wide plots in Edith Road.[1] Nevertheless, builders had not been averse to buying land in Caroline Street at this higher rate in 1820[2] and it is clear that location and timing were crucial factors in determining plot prices. The average price of freehold plots seems generally to have been between £1 and £3 per foot of frontage, but this was notably exceeded on prime main road sites. Thus, a plot in St. Clement's Street sold for £4 4s. per foot of frontage in 1859 and the site of no. 9 Iffley Road for £6 7s. 9d. in 1877.[3] Annotated sale catalogues of freehold land in Rectory Road and Magdalen Road in 1859 also show that the further a plot was from a main road the less it was likely to fetch. The 18 feet wide lots in Rectory Road, for example, were sold at the rate of £1 16s. 7d. per foot of frontage half-way down the street but for as much as £3 1s. 2d. on the lot next to St. Clement's Street. Similarly, in more remote Magdalen Road, land furthest from Iffley Road fetched 12s. 9d. per foot of frontage and the nearest lot £1 2s. 5d.[4] The timing of a sale was also important and the site of no. 32 Percy Street was sold for £16 in 1877, £19 in 1879, £22 in 1881 and £35 in 1883; in the same way, the site of no. 56 Bullingdon Road increased in value from £39 in 1864 to £55 in 1873.[5] Building booms or slumps might have been expected to prompt changes in plot prices, but 1873 and 1883 were depressed years in the local building cycle;[6] some

1. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept., P366/67. 9-10 Alma Place. Conveyance, 9.11.1853; P144. 28 Edith Road. Conveyance, 9.3.1892

2. ibid., P366/33. 28-28A Caroline Street. Lease and release, 16-17.2. 1820

3. Bodl. b.4 (23). Sale of 38 lots of freehold building land in Pembroke Street, St. Clement's....(17.5.1859); O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P366/2. Conveyance, 26.2.1877

4. Bodl. b.4 (23) - (24), op.cit.

5. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P846. 32 Percy Street. Conveyances, 14.9.1877, 1.3.1879, 29.11.1881, 8.12.1883; P658 56 Bullingdon Road. Conveyances, 24.12.1864, 18.1.1873

6. infra, pp.200-1

allowance must therefore be made for the purely idiosyncratic decisions of individuals concerned with the building process.

The suburbs of Oxford were the product of a concatenation of circumstances. Their shape and character were, to some extent, pre-determined by topography and by pre-existing patterns of landownership. Subject to these factors and to the realities of the market, landowners, developers and builders were able to mould the new areas, leaving the imprint of innumerable personal decisions on the built environment.[1]

2.2. NORTH OXFORD

Topographical advantages and a unified pattern of landownership predisposed North Oxford towards fashionable status, but neither could guarantee the achievement of it. A middle-class readiness to live in the area was demonstrated during the first half of the nineteenth century, but piecemeal or uncontrolled development threatened the nascent suburban paradise and St. John's College, the major landowner in terms both of size and of strategic holdings,[2] was slow to appreciate the need for long-term planning. The building of Park Town in the 1850s changed this attitude by illustrating the potential demand for middle-class housing. St. John's College was persuaded to begin the orderly development of its own estate, setting standards which lesser estates were to follow in the creation of Oxford's premier suburb. Like Edgbaston, however, North Oxford was "an ecological marvel," an area of high social status with a broad social spectrum where the majority of the residents

1. M.C. Carr, The development and character of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.258

2. supra, p. 22

basked in the reflected glory of the illustrious few.[1]

Early nineteenth century developments left North Oxford with a mixed inheritance, reflecting the general reluctance of corporate landowners to embark upon urban expansion[2] and the limited local demand for middle-class housing. On St. John's College land nearest the city centre, the development of Beaumont Street and its related streets from 1820 demonstrated conscious town planning, the lay-out and probably the house elevations being designed by the local surveyor, Henry Dixon.[3] Beaumont Street curved gently from St. Giles', thus providing a fitting approach to Worcester College, while St. John Street was laid out to focus on the tower of the Radcliffe Observatory away to the north. First-rate houses with Bath stone facades and handsome ironwork were insisted upon in Beaumont Street, but less grand houses were accepted in St. John's Street where fashionable development was to some extent blighted by the adjacent workhouse built there in 1772.[4] Slow development, particularly in St. John Street where building was not completed until 1836,[5] resulted in part from builders' reluctance to erect substantial houses on land which would soon revert to the ground landlord;[6] to some extent, it also showed the restricted market for such housing in contemporary Oxford.[7] For the more remote Walton Manor estate, the

1. D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), pp.200-1

2. supra, p. 32

3. H.M. Colvin, A biographical dictionary of British architects, 1600-1840 (1978), p.262

4. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.347

5. A. Osmond, The Development of Beaumont Close and the Beaumonts. Dissertation for Certificate in Local History, Oxford University Department of External Studies (1983), p.17

6. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the eighteenth century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), p.76

7. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.191

College had no coherent plan and Plantation Road, for example, developed as two separate occupation roads[1] which were united only with a degree of difficulty that is still evident.[2] Industrial development was not automatically deterred and in May 1829, Charles Grafton of Birmingham was granted a 20 year lease of part of Great Sheephouse Close where he had recently built an ironfoundry and other buildings.[3] Further north, at Hayfield's Hut, land leased to Thomas Hewlett in 1830[4] was occupied nine years later by brick, lime and tile kilns, a workshop, sheds and an extensive yard for brickmaking.[5] At the same time, a few stuccoed houses more accessibly located in the Woodstock Road testified to the growing middle-class preference for single family dwellings in the suburbs, a quest for social exclusiveness fuelled by their readiness and ability to travel further to work.[6] The late enclosure of St. Giles' Field in 1832[7] hindered this movement in Oxford and, as in contemporary Nottingham, incipient demand pushed development beyond the common fields.[8] Summertown was planted upon old enclosures in the north of the parish in 1820,[9] and large plots became countrified estates for successful Oxford business or professional people who were drawn to it by its healthy

1. O.C.R.O. Vol. E.St. Giles' Enclosure Award, 1832
2. Map 5 North Oxford
3. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A.12. Leases and general ledger, 1829-33, p.64
4. ibid., Est. I.F.35. Letters 'in' 1883-4. Letter from Morrell & Son, 28.2.1883
5. Bodl. G.A. fol. B71 (125) Sale poster, 23.5.1839
6. H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.53
7. O.C.R.O. Vol. E. St. Giles' Enclosure Award, 1832
8. C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), p.116
9. R. Fasnacht, Summertown since 1820 (1977), p.3

climate, its views of the city and surrounding hills and its proximity to main roads. In 1823, for example, George Kimber, one of the developers and a grazier from nearby Water Eaton, built The Avenue, no. 302 Woodstock Road,[1] and part of his extensive paddock[2] later made room for The Lodge, home of Owen Grimbly, the prosperous Oxford grocer, from 1852 to 1891.[3] Other lots were developed as small villas, or as semi-detached houses like "the little nutshell" in Banbury Road occupied by John Badcock, the first historian of Summertown in 1832.[4] Smaller lots less favourably situated were filled with labourers' cottages, creating small pockets of poverty within yards of the gates of the wealthy.[5]

Enclosure of St. Giles' Field made available other, more convenient estates and, in the mid 1830s, for instance, Richard Carr laid out the North Parade estate among fields and market gardens on the west side of Banbury Road.[6] Houses of some quality were built on the main road frontage, but the western terrace had fewer pretensions, and with the small, 2-storey houses in the connecting North Parade Avenue, doubtless provided accommodation for people with "occupations in the western suburbs."[7] Houses for more successful Oxford business and professional people were built on other estates in the suburb. The Lawn, no. 80 Banbury Road, was built for a woollen draper, John Parsons, by 1851 on Lincoln College

1. R. Fasnacht, op.cit., p.5
2. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b.4 (5) Particulars and conditions of sale of.... (25 lots fronting Woodstock Road, Summertown) 30.6.1824.
3. R. Fasnacht, op.cit., p.58
4. Bodl. Ms. Top.Oxon. e.240 John Badcock, A manuscript history of Summertown, 1832, fol. 13
5. ibid., fol.22
6. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.196
7. O.C., 6.10.1855, p.5

land.[1] Further south, another piece of Lincoln College property was leased to Jonathan Browning, an Oxford ironmonger, who built Northgate House for his own occupation by 1846.[2] Much earlier, in December 1833, University College granted a 40 year lease on its three-acre estate south of Rackham's Lane to the Oxford lawyer and future Town Clerk, George Parsons Hester, who built The Mount for his own occupation.[3]

By 1850, North Oxford therefore resembled contemporary Hampstead in having an advance guard of the wealthy bourgeoisie whose houses provided "visible evidence of the class of people who wished to live in the suburb."[4] The character of the area was still far from stable, however, and was seriously threatened by two mid-century proposals. The first of these involved the re-location of the workhouse to a nine-acre field on the east side of Banbury Road which the Oxford Board of Guardians purchased from New College in 1850.[5] Plans were subsequently obtained for a workhouse housing up to 400 inmates and these were duly approved by the Poor Law Board.[6] St. John's College protested that the scheme would lead to a "great depreciation in the marketable value" of its lands,[7] and offered to exchange over twelve acres on the north-west corner of Woodstock Road and Rackham's Lane for the smaller but more valuable site in Banbury Road. The offer was not taken up, but, fortunately for the College, some Guardians began to query the wisdom and

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/1727/109 Census enumerators' returns, St. Giles' parish, Oxford 1851

2. Hunt & Co., pub., City of Oxford directory....(1846), p.25

3. University College Ms. Ledger, 1810-69, vol. 5, p.239

4. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.101

5. Bodl. Ms. Dep. c541 (b). Park Town Estate Trustees, Misc. papers.

6. O.C., 9.8.1851, p.2

7. St. John's Coll. Ms. Munim. V.B.14. Letter from James Saunders, 26.3.1851

expense of the scheme.[1] In 1852, a majority decided instead to build a separate Industrial School in Cowley parish and to rebuild the workhouse on its existing site.[2] A second proposal with even greater implications for the future of North Oxford was that of the London and Mid-Western Railway Company to buy College land for its proposed railway from Wolvercote to Brentford.[3] Had this ever been built, it would have bisected North Oxford, passing through Walton and Norham Manor on its way to the Cherwell just north of the Parks. A station would have been built between Hut Lane and Woodstock Road, approximately on the site of Farndon Road, and development in North Oxford might have taken a very different course. Nevertheless, St. John's College agreed to sell the required 43 acres for £22,300 in February 1853,[4] an asking price of £518 12s. per acre at a time when prime land nearer the city centre was fetching about £1,000 per acre.[5]

The fortuitous abandonment of these two schemes left the face of North Oxford unblemished, and it was beautified almost at once by the building of Park Town. Left with an unwanted Banbury Road site, the Oxford Board of Guardians obtained the consent of the Poor Law Board to sell it[6] for "a respectable class of villas" renting at between £35 and £50 a year; such houses would, it was felt, remedy the deficiency of houses for families earning between £150 and £500 a year.[7] Commercial

1. O.C., 9.8.1851, p.2
2. ibid., 21.8.1852, p.5; 18.9.1852, p.4
3. O.C.R.O. PD2/57. London & Mid-Western Railway plans, 1853
4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Munim. V.B.117. Agreement, 12.2.1853
5. Table 7
6. O.C., 2.10.1852, p.4
7. ibid., 19.3,1853, p.4

travellers and the parents of undergraduates would be encouraged to live in Oxford,[1] and there would be no further cases of University men having to rent a house and shop in order to obtain the house.[2] In November 1852, the Guardians appointed an Estates Committee which called in two local architects, Samuel Lipscomb Seckham and Edward Bruton, to furnish plans for the estate.[3] Seckham's plan divided the site into 70 house plots, all with frontages to a central spine road, the essential straightness of which was to be masked by plantations at either end and by an ornamental garden in the centre of the estate. The houses, which were all to be Italianate in character, were grouped in four compartments with large, detached houses nearest the Banbury Road leading on to a superior Crescent, semi-detached villas and, finally, to a less grand Terrace.[4] The formality of the design, felicitously described as 'the last gasp of Neo-Classicism,'[5] was partially dictated by the restricted width of the site, which had a mere 385 feet frontage to the Banbury Road.[6] It also followed on naturally from Seckham's background in the conservative London building world,[7] which continued to outrage fashionable architectural opinion by building Neo-Classical and stuccoed terraces in the suburbs until the 1860s.[8] Most important,

1. O.C., 18.9.1852, p.4
2. ibid., 19.3.1853, p.4
3. Peter Howell, Samuel Lipscomb Seckham. Oxoniensia 41 (1976), p.339
4. Oxford University Archives (hereafter O.U.A.) UD/9/8/1. Plan of an Estate, called Park Town, by S. Lipscomb Seckham, Architect, Oxford, 1853
5. By Professor J. Mordaunt Crook, Slade Professor of Fine Art, at Keble College, 16.3.1980
6. O.U.A. UD/9/81, op.cit.
7. P. Howell, op.cit., p.338
8. D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), pp.161-6

Seckham's plan entirely met the wishes of the Guardians, and was recommended unanimously by the Estates Committee as well as being preferred by his unsuccessful rival, Bruton.[1] Fearing perhaps, a large initial outlay, developers viewed the scheme with less enthusiasm, and the only proposal before the Guardians at their meeting on the 17th March 1853 came from Seckham who, acting on his own account and for the Park Town Trustees, offered £2,000 for the site of the two central Crescents. The Guardians readily accepted this offer,[2] and, by the end of the month, had also agreed to sell him the site of the Terrace for £1,200.[3] The remaining lots were disposed of much more slowly, and although one further lot had been sold by February 1855,[4] the Crimean War seems to have depressed the house-building industry in Oxford as it did elsewhere.[5] At last, in September 1857, the Park Town Estate Co., Ltd., was incorporated[6] and, with a mixture of share capital and secured loans from the Solicitors' & General Life Assurance Company,[7] it was able to complete Seckham's scheme by the end of 1859.[8] The next edition of the Oxford University & City Guide remarked upon the "New and Salubrious suburb," stating that "Nothing can more clearly show the worth of such an addition to Oxford, than the speed with which each house has met with occupants,

1. O.C., 19.3.1853, p.4
2. ibid., 19.3.1853, p.4
3. ibid., 2.4.1853, p.5
4. ibid., 10.2.1855, p.5
5. F. Sheppard, V. Belcher and P. Cottrell, The Middlesex and Yorkshire deeds registries and the study of building fluctuations. London Journal 5 (1979), p.196; J.P. Lewis, Building cycles and Britain's growth (1965), p.320; O.C., 19.4.1856, p.5
6. J.O.J., 3.10.1857, p.5
7. Bodl. Ms. Dep. b.217. Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Park Town Estate Co., Ltd.; Ms. Dep. b.218. Park Town Estate Co., Ltd., Register of shareholders; Ms. Dep. c.541. Park Town Estate Trustees Misc. papers.
8. O.C., 5.11.1859, p.5

it being within a few minutes' walk from the centre of Oxford, the Parks, and the University Museum."[1]

Frederic Morrell, solicitor to St. John's College and the College Bursar, Dr. Adams, were quick to appreciate the implications of the Park Town development and advised the College to lay out St. Giles' Field on "practicable building leases."[2] In 1855, St. John's College obtained an Act of Parliament enabling it to grant 99-year building leases over its North Oxford estate,[3] and it looked, predictably, to Samuel Lipscomb Seckham to supervise the development of the estate. Probably in the same year, he produced a plan for Walton Manor north of Plantation Road. Compared with Park Town, the site was a large one and it enabled more spacious planning, with detached Italianate houses grouped round a Gothic church. First-class houses lined the prestigious Woodstock Road frontage, while roads on the line of the eventual Leckford and Farndon Roads led through to second-class houses, and eventually to a cluster of model dwellings for artisans. The scheme failed to prosper, partly because the College tried to deter speculators by agreeing to let only to potential residents or to agents of clients with assured clients.[4] More crucially, however, it fell into the customary trap of over-estimating the size of the middle-class housing market,[5] and failed to appreciate the blighting effect which the proximity of a socially mixed neighbourhood would have on fashionable development.[6] As a result of some or all of

1. Slatter & Rose, pub., The Oxford University and City Guide, new ed. (ca 1860), p.230

2. O.C., 20.1.1883, p.5

3. 18/19 Victoria, c.10 Private, 1855

4. P. Howell, op.cit., p.342, plate XI

5. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the eighteenth century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), p.78

6. R.J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D., (1979), p.215

these factors, only one plot was let in 1856 to the Wandsworth builder, John Dyne, who built two semi-detached villas, now 121/123 Woodstock Road, with the aid of loans from the College solicitors, Morrell and Biddle.[1] In 1860, Seckham produced a revised and much reduced plan for Walton Manor, providing seven lots on either side of the future Leckford Road which was to be aligned upon the proposed church of St. Philip and St. James. A lithograph published for the auction of these lots in June 1860 showed a mixture of Italianate houses and elaborate Gothic ones,[2] and marked a change in architectural taste which was to make Seckham's Park Town appear outdated within a decade. Only two lots were sold at the auction, and, although houses filled the remaining gaps during the 1860s, none were designed by Seckham and he ceased to be supervising architect for the area, probably in 1863.[3]

By this time, the focus of development on the St. John's College estate had moved away from Walton Manor, and the architectural initiative passed to William Wilkinson, the son of a Witney builder, auctioneer and carpenter.[4] College land on the Banbury Road between St. Giles' and Park Town was a more desirable locality for middle-class housing since it combined a close proximity to the city centre with complete security from unsuitable development. Controlled release of land was an essential prerequisite for fashionable development,[5] and that was achieved here, not by an ambitious overall plan but by initial division of the area

1. St. John's College Ms. Oxford properties. 121/123 Woodstock Road, Lease, 25.10.1856.

2. ibid., Oxford properties. 107/109 Woodstock Road. Plan accompanying sale particulars, 14.6.1860.

3. P. Howell, op.cit., p.342

4. A. Saint, Three Oxford architects. Oxoniensia 35 (1970), pp.54-55, 84

5. D. Reeder, Suburbanity and the Victorian city (1980), p.13; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough 1650-1964 (1974), p.74

into three geographically distinct estates; the planning of each estate could then be considered individually as and when the demand for plots justified it. Norham Manor, on the east side of Banbury Road between the Parks and Park Town, was the first of these estates to be offered for development, and fourteen lots at the south-west corner were put up for auction in July 1860;[1] a contemporary sketch showing Wilkinson's scheme for the estate reveals, as in Seckham's plan for Walton Manor, a stylistic uncertainty between Gothic and Italianate. The layout of the estate showed roads on the approximate lines of Norham Gardens, Fyfield Road and Norham Road,[2] and the sinuosity of the internal roads indicated the proposed high status of the development;[3] the appellation 'Gardens' for residential roads was also enjoying fashionable currency.[4] Norham Manor was developed quite slowly, not only because the demand from academics, churchmen and successful city tradesmen and professionals was limited but also because the College was prepared to wait for high quality houses rather than risk compromising the character of the estate.[5] Some of the finest houses were located on the south side of Norham Gardens and formed a show front to the Parks which were laid out by the University of Oxford in 1865.[6] The other architectural showpiece of the estate was the eastern side of Banbury Road, where houses were gradually erected between 1863 and 1868.[7]

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Munim. V. C.8. W. Wilkinson, Plan of part of the Norham Manor estate situate north of the Parks to be let in building leases for 99 years (1860)
2. Bodl. Ms. Top. Oxon. d.501. H.Minn, North Oxford, fol. 89.
3. J. Orbach, Albert Park, Abingdon (1976?), p.2. Typescript in O.C.L.
4. F.M.L. Thompson, op.cit., p.32
5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.1. Estates Committee M.B., 1863-9, p.227, 14.2.1867
6. A. Saint, op.cit., p.92; O.C., 21.10.1865, p.8
7. E.O. Dodgson, Notes on nos. 56, 58, 60, 62 and 64 Banbury Road. Oxoniensia 32 (1967), pp.53-8

These flamboyant Gothic houses put North Oxford into the van of architectural progress,[1] attracting wealthy residents to the area as the 'Queen Anne' style was later to do on the Cadogan estate in Chelsea.[2] St. John's College was sufficiently impressed by Wilkinson's work in Norham Manor to give him superintendence of its entire North Oxford estate,[3] and, in 1863, he was asked to prepare plans for the Parks Estate, an area bounded by Museum Terrace, the Parks and Banbury Road.[4] The scheme approved in October 1864[5] was, in part, amended by the building of Keble College,[4] but detached and semi-detached villas were built elsewhere between 1865 and 1871. In 1868, Wilkinson himself designed the substantial white brick and Bath stone terrace on the north side of Keble Road which served as a restrained foil for the polychromatic extravagances of Keble College.[7] The other College estate south of Park Town was the Bevington estate which possessed prime main road frontages to the Banbury and Woodstock roads and was bordered on the north side by a lane known variously as Rackham's Lane or Gallows Baulk Road, the modern St. Margaret's Road.[8] Towards the southern end an ancient track was widened to form Bevington Road, but no attempt was made to remove the dip in the road which bore witness to earlier gravel diggings.[9] Two acres of

1. A. Saint, op.cit., p.88
2. D. J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.151
3. A. Saint, op.cit., p.57
4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.1. Estates Committee M.B.1863-9, p.17, 7.8.1863
5. ibid., p.61, 26.11.1864
6. ibid., p.205, 28.11.1866; O.C., 26.5.1870, p.7
7. St. John's College Ms. Admin.II.A.1, p.397, 23.7.1868; O.C., 22.10.1870, p.2 records the completion of Keble Terrace
8. Map 5
9. O.C., 8.4.1871, p.8; 10.2.1877, p.7

land at the south-west corner of the estate were taken by Sister Marian Hughes in 1865[1] and developed as the High Anglican Sisterhood of the Holy & Undivided Trinity.[2] House-building in Bevington Road began in 1868[3] and completion of the estate was formalised in February 1878, when Oxford Local Board agreed to take over responsibility for its roads following the payment of £1,030 by the College.[4]

Until the 1860s, St. John's College devoted little conscious thought to the provision of working-class housing. Mean houses, shoddily built, promised little reversionary value even at the end of short, 40-year leases, and substantial numbers of them might have cast a blighting shadow over an area much larger than the one which they occupied. Nevertheless, the College had tolerated the often piecemeal development of working-class housing in the remoter parts of Walton Manor,[5] and still owned substantial tracts of land near the Oxford Canal and the railway where fashionable development was, to all intents and purposes, precluded.[6] As the demand for suburban housing land grew, so too did the attraction of developing these peripheral areas for the respectable working man, who, by dint of regular and reasonably well-paid employment, could afford to pay a moderately high rent. A greater sense of urgency was injected in 1865 when the Great Western Railway proposed to remove its carriage works from Paddington to Oxford,[7] bringing to the city

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II. A.1. Estate Committee M.B. 1868-9, p.135, 23.9.1865

2. Andrew Saint & Michael Kaser, St. Antony's College, Oxford: a history of its buildings and site (1973), p.13

3. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin II.A.1. Estates Committee M.B. 1863-9, p.415, 3.12.1868

4. O.C., 9.2.1878, p.7

5. supra, pp. 56-7

6. supra, p. 20

7. O.C., 18.3.1865, p.5

"a small colony of 200 or 300 skilled artisans."[1] Local reaction to the scheme divided partly on Town and Gown lines with the citizens generally supporting it as a boost to trade and employment[2] while some members of the University feared the destruction for ever of Oxford's "ancient academic character."[3] The Bursar of St. John's at once instructed Wilkinson to provide the College with plans for building estates in Smith's Close, Jericho and on the bed of gravel east of the Oxford Canal from Jericho Gardens to Hayfield's Hut.[4] Hasty preparations for the anticipated influx of people included the construction of the modern Kingston Road[5] and, in Jericho, the extension of Richmond Road and Walton Crescent;[6] in March 1868, however, it was announced that the works were to go instead to Swindon where existing workshops could be converted into carriage sheds at far less cost.[7] If the anticipated heavy demand for cottages from this source never materialised, housing for local artisans gradually occupied the land around Kingston Road.[8] As on the Bute estate in Cardiff,[9] the College at first preferred a shorter lease for cottage property and, in November 1869 for example, the builder James Walter took a piece of land in Kingston Road on a 66 year lease to build five cottages and a shop at an annual ground rent of £8.[10] Walter was said to have built 36 cottages

1. O.C., 9.9.1865, p.8
2. ibid., 14.6.1865, special ed.
3. ibid., 20.5.1865, p.8
4. O.C., 14.6.1865, special ed.; St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II A.1 Estates Committee M.B. 1863-9, pp.93, 101
5. ibid., 2.9.1865, p.4; 21.10.1865, pp. 2, 8
6. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.1. Estates Committee M.B. 1863-9, p.131, 23.9.1865.
7. O.C., 7.3.1868, p.8
8. Map 5
9. J. Davies, Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute (1981), pp.193-4
10. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin II.A.1. Estates Committee M.B. p.457, 13.11.1869

in Kingston Road in 1871[1] and these must almost certainly have included the fine brick terraces with half-timbering, Gothic details and doorways that were designed by William Wilkinson's nephew, Clapton Crabb Rolfe.[2] Speaking of Kingston Road, the Oxford Chronicle reported that "the houses spring up with almost mushroom-like rapidity and in many cases find occupants before the builder's men have left the premises."[3] With demand running at this level, the college responded by making available land for cottages at the west end of the "proposed road leading from Kingston Street to SS. Philip & James church," the future Leckford Road, in November 1871.[4] More artisan houses were envisaged for the Southmoor Road building estate, where Wilkinson's scheme of March 1882 provided for 113 houses to be built in blocks of two, four or six units.[5] As in Kingston Road, it envisaged houses such "as all English workingmen might have if they were temperate and thrifty,"[6] but, in this case, the minimum house value was far exceeded and the artisan house came to be the exception amongst three-storey houses looking across Port Meadow to Wytham Hill. The ground landlord's power in this crucial field of building control was generally inoperative[7] and the College Bursar could only write angrily to the supervising architects, Wilkinson & Moore[8] expressing great dissatisfaction

1. O.C., 14.10.1871, p.8

2. A. Saint, Three Oxford architects. Oxoniensia 35 (1970), p.98. Saint attributes 5 blocks of houses, nos. 114-118, 119-128, 129-138, 149-156 and 159-164 to Rolfe.

3. O.C., 14.10.1871, p.8

4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Committee M.B. 1869-1932, p.30, 2.11.1871

5. ibid., , p.174, 17.3.1882; Est. III.X.2. Terrier of residential property....1871 onwards.

6. O.C., 9.9.1882, p.2. Letter from John Abbey, 44 St. Giles.

7. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle class housing in Britain (1977), pp.110-1

8. Wilkinson's nephew, Harry Wilkinson Moore, was taken into the partnership in 1881 vide A. Saint, op.cit., p.61

that an estate designed to meet the need for cottage accommodation was being used for housing of a quite different character.[1]

St. John's College carried on an intermittent flirtation with the idea of building artisan houses and the affair came to a head in the 1880s with the building of the Hayfield Road estate. In the mid 1850s, Seckham's original plan for Walton Manor had shown neat blocks of artisan cottages at the back of the estate,[2] and workers' housing of quality had subsequently been built both in North Oxford and Jericho. In 1883, the Oxford Cottage Improvement Company, established in 1867 to do "some good to others without pecuniary sacrifice,"[3] applied to St. John's College for housing land, departing from its usual policy of refurbishing existing cottages because of a lack of suitable properties.[4] Omond expressed himself "much interested in your experiment,"[5] and offered the Secretary three lots in Plantation Road.[6] In February 1884, the College accepted the Company's proposal to build seven houses of an annual value of £15, but altered the minimum to £13, having "no wish to enforce a compulsory minimum."[7] The company employed Wilkinson & Moore to design the houses, nos. 2/14 Plantation Road, "a picturesque group of buildings" which provided a dining room and scullery downstairs with three bedrooms on the first floor.[8] The cottages were completed by October 1884, and were

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I. F.10. Bursar's Letter Book, pp. 40, 60, 20.10.1882, 30.10.1882
2. <u>supra</u>, p.64
3. Bodl. Oxon 4° 180. Oxford Cottage Improvement Company Prospectus, (1867)
4. <u>ibid</u>., Directors' report, 30.5.1884
5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.10. Bursar's Letter Book, 1882-5 p.500, 10.11.1883
6. <u>ibid</u>., p.474, 24.10.1883
7. <u>ibid</u>., p.653, 28.2.1884
8. <u>O.C.</u>, 11.10.1884, p.7

immediately let for between 5/- and 5/9 per week, the rents being higher than anticipated because of the cost of extra work on the foundations.[1] St. John's College was clearly determined to provide cheaper accommodation than this at Hayfield's Hut, when the lease of this small, semi-industrial enclave expired; thus, in February 1885, the Bursar was "instructed to obtain full information as to the cost of building cottages to let for not above 4/6 per week and to pay clear 5% on the total cost."[2] This scheme, described by the Bursar as "an object we have for some time had very much at heart,"[3] was, however, rebuffed by the Land Commissioners, when the College sought permission to borrow money for the purpose. In a letter to Omond on February 16th Samuel Tomkins reported that the Commissioners were "distinctly of opinion that it would not be for the interests of the College to borrow money for the erection of cottages.... the object being more or less of a speculative character." Instead, they suggested that the demand, if truly substantial, could be met by letting the land on building leases.[4] The finances of the Oxford Cottage Improvement Company prevented it from undertaking any large-scale projects before 1891,[5] but in February 1886, the Estates Committee accepted a proposal from the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society to build four blocks, each of ten houses, on the west side of the new Hayfield Road.[6] Building of the estate was completed in 1888,[7] and the plain, but

1. Bodl. Oxon 4° 180. Oxford Cottage Improvement Company. Directors' report, 12.6.1885.

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Committee M.B. 1869-1932, p.225, 6.2.1885.

3. ibid., Est. I.F. 10. Bursar's L.B., 1882-5, p.880, 7.2.1885.

4. ibid., Est. I.F. 36. Letters 'In', 1885-7

5. Bodl. Oxon 4° 180. Oxford Cottage Improvement Company. Directors' reports, 12.6.1885 - 10.6.1892

6. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Committee M.B. 1869-1932, p.249, 29.2.1886.

7. O.C., 13.10.1888, p.7

substantial red brick houses with minimal stone ornamentation let for between 5/- and 6/- a week in the 1890s.[1] They were well-received[2] but were not to set a pattern for development on the rest of St. John's College estate; instead, they completed a zone of superior artisan housing which made most profitable use of an area with little middle-class appeal.

With the completion of the Norham Manor Estate, development of the most exclusive kind was forced northwards beyond Park Town to the Bardwell Estate and to Rawlinson Road.[3] The spread of housing into comparatively remote areas was always facilitated by the horse tram,[4] and a service along Banbury Road to St. Margaret's Road operated from January 1882.[5] At the same time, demand was increased by the 1877 Royal Commission which enabled dons to marry and to live out of college as professors and readers had always done. Nevertheless, the University element in the new part of North Oxford was substantially swelled by successful tradesmen and professional people, and by growing numbers of retired and financially independent residents.[6] The Estates Committee of St. John's College authorised the Bursar to receive offers for a few sites on Banbury Road north of Park Town in November 1883,[7] but these were to be "for houses of the better class and particularly for people

1. O.C., 14.3.1896, p.1; 4.11.1899, p.1
2. ibid., 16.10.1888, p.7
3. Map 5
4. H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 2 (1978), plate 127; R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), p.209
5. O.C., 4.2.1882, p.8
6. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), pp.197-8; St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A. 33-34, Long lease registers, 1884-1903, passim.
7. St. John's College Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Committee M.B. 1869-1932, p.201, 23.11.1883.

wishing to build for themselves."[1] A proposal in 1885 for the plot on the corner of Banbury Road and St. Margaret's Road was therefore dismissed as "not quite adequate for the situation," being more appropriate for St. Margaret's Road where "we want good houses....., but not quite so large."[2] As these substantial plots were taken up, Rawlinson Road was laid out in 1886,[3] providing ample space for 18 large houses on land which formed the northern boundary of the College estate between Banbury and Woodstock Roads. The greatest degree of caution continued to be shown in the release of land for development, indicating the infinite patience that was required of a ground landlord in the establishment of a high-class suburb.[4] Wilkinson and Moore's plan for the Bardwell Estate north-east of Park Town was therefore approved by the College in 1883,[5] but the first part of Bardwell Road was only laid out in 1889[6] and the first house in Linton Road was not built until 1894.[7] Charlbury Road was commenced in 1902,[8] but some houses in the street were not built until after the First World War. Belbroughton Road and Garford Road were total creations of the 1920s,[9] bringing development on the St. John's College estate to a close after 70 years.

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.10. Bursar's L.B., 1882-5, p.509, Letter to Wilkinson & Moore, 17.11.1883

2. ibid., p.898, 11.2.1885

3. ibid., Admin. II.A.2. Estates Committee M.B. 1869-1932, p.246, 29.1.1886

4. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.22

5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Committee M.B. 1869-1932, p.201, 23.11.1883

6. ibid., p.315, 15.5.1889

7. A. Saint, op.cit., p.91

8. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Estate 12, Charlbury Road

9. Peter Howell, Proposed extension of the North Oxford Conservation Area (1976), pp.5-7

The College estates centred upon Banbury Road were the most exclusive and those on the western fringes of Walton Manor were the least so; between them, St. John's created a buffer zone of intermediate status which sought, as at Edgbaston, "to keep apart the welcomed wealthy and the tolerated tradesmen".[1] Thus Warnborough Road was approved in October 1873 and provided a location for semi-detached houses which accomplished the transition from the artisan cottages of Kingston Road to the superior villas in Woodstock Road.[2] Much later, in 1888, Chalfont Road served a similar purpose between Hayfield Road and Woodstock Road, the intention of the College being that "the east side of the road will be kept for a slightly better class of houses."[3] Residents on the less desirable west side were liable to be disturbed by pig-killing in the gardens behind Hayfield Road.[4]

Other North Oxford estates followed the lead of St. John's College and pursued the course of middle-class development for the usual mixture of social, aesthetic and financial reasons.[5] In 1858, for example, the Corporation approved a proposal that Worcester Close in Walton Street should be divided into 21 lots and let on 75 year building leases at the highest ground rent obtainable at auction.[6] A small Lincoln College estate

1. D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.113

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Committee M.B. 1869-1932, p.58, 7.10.1873

3. ibid., Est. I.F.12. Bursar's L.B. 1888-91, p.243. Letter to Walter Gray, 9.11.1888

4. infra, p. 380

5. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the 18th century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), p.77; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), pp.322-3

6. O.C.A. CC.4.1. Estates Committee M.B. 1850-9, 6.5.1858; C.5.1. Council Book 1856-66, 13.5.1858

on the south side of Museum Road was developed on 99 year building leases by 1860.[1] The Wellington Square estate, also developed on 99 year building leases, was on a more ambitious scale and stemmed from the University's purchase of the workhouse site in March 1865.[2] Four years later, the University Chest obtained a plan for the estate from the Oxford architect Edward Bruton which "proposed to mark off space for a row of houses towards Walton Street, and to lay out the remainder of the ground for houses of a better description, arranged as nearly as may be in the form of a square, with turf and shrubs."[3] The Wellington Square plots were laid out with a formality that accorded little with the growing contemporary desire for "sylvan privacy,"[4] and, while the Walton Street frontage was developed swiftly,[5] there were few signs of activity behind it. In 1871, the University Chest therefore accepted a revised plan which provided smaller frontages in the Square because, although this meant that the potential annual income from ground rents would be reduced from £260 to £247. 10s. it held out the prospect of a more immediate demand.[6] The smaller plots with proportionately lower ground rents did prove more attractive and, by October 1876, all the houses in Wellington Square were nearing completion.[7] More crucial for the overall character of North Oxford was the Holywell estate of Merton College which extended north from Holywell Street to the Parks. By 1864, however, all 91 acres of this estate north of South Parks Road had been

1. Lincoln Coll. Ms. Register of the estates and other properties of Lincoln College, Oxford, 1884, p.8

2. O.U.A. UD/18/14. Conveyance, 14.3.1865

3. Bodl. Oxf. c.85 (56)

4. D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.213

5. O.C., 22.10.1870, p.2

6. O.U.A. UC/M/2/5. Curators of the....University Chest M.B.1868-72, p.259, 8.7.1871

7. O.C., 21.10.1876, p.7

purchased by the University as a site for the University Museum and for the University Parks.[1] The formation and planting of the Parks were carried out between 1865 and 1866[2] and created a pleasureable amenity both for members of the University and for respectable citizens. For St. John's College in particular, the creation of a socially segregated, ornamental park on the margins of its estate was a heaven-sent boon, increasing the desirability of College land at no cost to the College either in terms of plots or money.

The ready availability of building land closer to Oxford checked the initially rapid growth of Summertown and the population of the area scarcely rose from 1,278 in 1851 to 1,420 in 1881.[3] By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the inexorable tide of villas sweeping up the Banbury and Woodstock Roads foreshadowed the eventual submersion of Summertown in a greater Oxford, and encouraged landowners to consider developing their estates. The first to do so was Owen Grimbly, partner in the Oxford grocery firm, Grimbly, Hughes & Co., who initiated the development of the Sunnymead estate to the north-east of Summertown in September 1878.[4] House-building began in the 1880s,[5] but the estate was still too remote and Grimbly's executors had plots for 56 houses on their hands after his death in 1891.[6] A more promising candidate for early development was the Diamond Farm Estate which occupied 64 acres between the Banbury and Woodstock Roads.

1. Guide to the trees and shrubs in the University Parks (1977), p.12
2. O.C., 21.10.1865, p.8; 13.10.1866, p.8
3. R. Fasnacht, Summertown since 1820 (1977), pp.70, 77
4. O.C., 9.9.1878, p.5; Map 5
5. ibid., 2.5.1885, p.4; 17.10.1885, p.6; 8.6.1889, p.4
6. ibid., 4.4.1891, p.4

The absentee landowner, Henry Bull, or his Oxford agent might well have been convinced by the development of Rawlinson Road from 1886[1] that this was an ideal moment to lay out the estate for building purposes. Probably in May 1890, Bull wrote to St. John's College asking whether he could utilise the services of Harry Wilkinson Moore for the development of his estate, but on May 23rd Glasson, the College Bursar, replied that "The College considers that Mr. Moore who is their Architect & Surveyor should give them the full benefit of his services."[2] Instead, Bull turned to the surveyors Egerton & Breach of 2 Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn and New Road, Oxford who had, by August 1890, produced and secured the Corporation's approval for a plan of the Summertown Estate.[3] A serpentine road layout anticipated a substantial demand for larger villas, but, when this failed to materialise, Bull lacked the personal commitment which might have persuaded him to wait;[4] instead, in 1892, he sold the northern part of the estate to the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society.[5] By March 1893, the Society had drawn up plans for the Oakthorpe Road estate, which provided 179 lots,[6] and a further purchase from Bull in 1894 made available another 148 lots on the Beechcroft Road estate.[7] On the latter, the Society insisted on a minimum prime cost of £250 for each house except on the south side of Beechcroft Road and in Banbury and Woodstock Roads

1. <u>supra</u>, p.74

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.12. Bursar's L.B. 1888-91, p.820, 23.5.1890

3. O.C.C: City Engineer's Dept. Estates 52, Staverton Road; <u>O.C.</u>, 9.8.1890, p.8

4. cf F.M.L. Thompson, ed., <u>The rise of suburbia</u> (1982), p.22

5. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon 4° 161. Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society, Annual report to 30.9.1892

6. <u>O.C.</u>, 11.3.1893, p.8; O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Estates 46, Oakthorpe Road

7. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon 4° 161. Oxford Industrial & Provident Land and Building Society, Circular, 10.3.1894; O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Estates 9, Beechcroft Road

where only "private dwelling houses" costing at least £350 each would be allowed.[1] The latter exception clearly served to maintain the character of the main road frontage and the former to avoid deterring eventual villa development in Moreton Road. Henry Bull retained possession of the rest of the estate, and, after his death, his agent E.J. Brooks laid out Lathbury Road in 1903 and Moreton Road in 1906.[2] The other major freehold estates in Summertown lay to the east of Banbury Road between South Parade and Sunnymead, and development began here in the 1900s, encouraged no doubt by the extension of the horse tramway to Summertown in 1898.[3] The Oxford grocer Francis Twining secured approval for the development of the 25-acre Hawkswell Farm Estate in March 1902, and sold the adjoining Stone's Estate to the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society.[4] The Society's plans were approved in October 1903,[5] but plots were taken up very slowly and, despite optimistic reports in 1909 and 1910 that development was now "more rapid,"[6] many plots were not built on until the 1920s.

The growth of North Oxford in the first half of the nineteenth century had been piecemeal because the major landowner, St. John's College, had no overall plan for developing its estate, and because the timing of development on the small estates depended so much upon the personal circumstances and business acumen of the landlord. The resulting random

1. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon 4° 161. Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society, Circular 10.3.1894.

2. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 35, Lathbury Road; Estates 40, Moreton Road.

3. O.C., 24.9.1898, p.5; Map 5

4. O.C.C,: City Engineer's Dept. Estates 34, Portland Road; R. Fasnacht, op.cit., pp.83-4

5. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 31, Hamilton Road

6. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon 4° 161. Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society, Annual reports, 1909 and 1910

scatter of development is still evident, although partially submerged beneath the later accretions which give North Oxford its own special character. The generally cautious policy of development pursued by St. John's College after 1855 saw roads and villas march relentlessly northwards towards Summertown and the city boundary, leaving behind few pockets of undeveloped land. This was in marked contrast to East Oxford where freehold land was quickly laid out after enclosure in 1853 only to remain sparsely developed for many years.[1] The Domestic Gothic style preferred on the College estate from the early 1860s set a pattern for housing in North Oxford until the 1900s, and was carried over into the freehold estates of Summertown. Here, too, developers respected the established spirit of the suburb, especially on the Banbury and Woodstock Roads, so that the northern limits of the College estates are far from obvious on the ground. Because of the overwhelming presence of a large estate controlled with a fair degree of consistency, there was a basic orderliness about the later nineteenth century development of North Oxford that was not to be found in other suburbs where landownership was more fragmented.

1. infra, pp.86-95

2.3 East Oxford

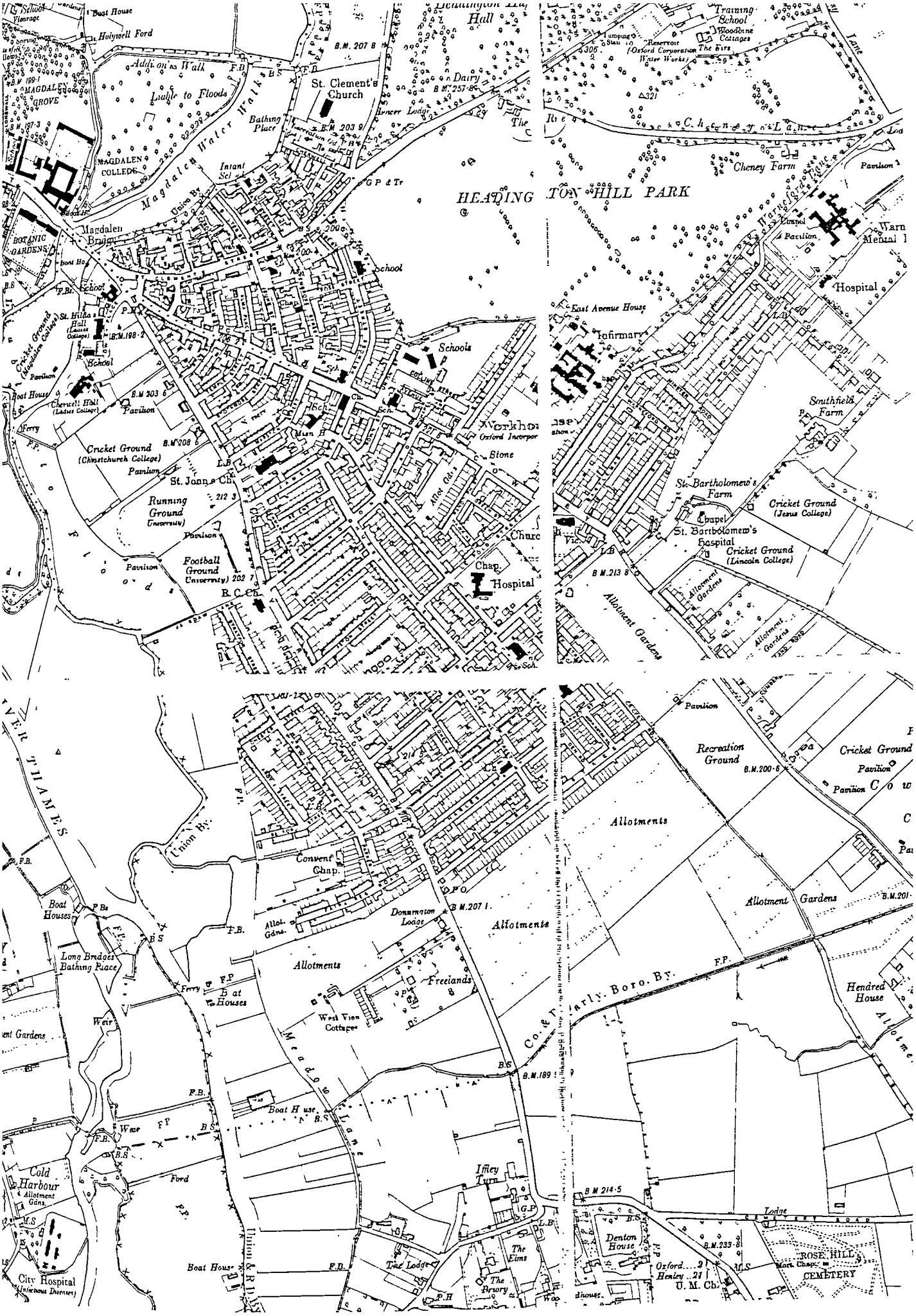
East Oxford never achieved the social status of North Oxford, becoming instead a generally respectable artisan suburb with pockets of poverty and enclaves of comparative wealth. A low-lying situation and proximity to the poor neighbourhood of St. Clement's militated against fashionable development,[1] and a toll gate formed a barrier until 1874, separating the area from the rest of Oxford and adding to delivery bills.[2] As crucial as these physical features was the pattern of landownership, since no single estate in East Oxford was large enough to impress its stamp upon the suburb in the way that St. John's College did in North Oxford. Attempts to create a high-class development in one area might therefore be frustrated by policies of a very different character on an adjoining estate.[3] Corporate landowners seem to have appreciated this fact at an early date, and, fearing that the reversionary value of leasehold property might be prejudiced, they tended to sell their estates outright. A more extreme reaction by Christ Church was to take refuge from potentially unsightly development behind a leafy screen.

The intermixture of holdings in Cowley Field prior to enclosure made building impossible there,[4] and early nineteenth century development had therefore to take place either in St. Clement's or further from the city, in the parishes of Iffley or Headington. St. Clement's had developed as an extramural suburb of the city during the

1. D. Cannadine, Urban development in England and America in the nineteenth century: some comparisons and contrasts. Economic History Review 33 (1980), pp. 321-2; M. Shaw, Reconciling social and physical space: Wolverhampton 1871. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), pp.193-4
2. H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of growth of Camberwell (1973), p.64; H.J. Dyos & D.H. Aldcroft, British transport: an economic survey from the 17th century to the 20th (1974), p.239
3. infra, p.90; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974) p.76
4. Christ Church Ms. Maps Oxford (Cowley) 1. W. Chapman, A survey of the estate belonging to the Dean and Canons of Christ Church.... in the parish of Cowley....., 1777.

medieval period,[1] and housed a population of 413 in 1801. By 1821, the number of people in the parish had risen to 770 and there was a further increase to 1,836 by 1831.[2] John Henry Newman, curate of St. Clement's church between 1824 and 1826[3] attributed this to slum clearance in central Oxford. "Old houses which contained perhaps several families have been pulled down to make way for college buildings and wider streets and to improve the views. This has made building a very profitable speculation at the outskirts of the place and poor families once unpacked have not been induced to dwell so thickly as before."[4] The number of completed houses in St. Clement's increased from 124 in 1821[5] to 404 ten years later,[6] some being built on the St. Clement's Street frontage and others in new streets and courts running down to the river Cherwell.[7] A few ashlar or stuccoed houses in London Place were an attempt to create a fashionable quarter in St. Clement's, but their appeal was reduced almost immediately by the poor quality development of Harpsichord Gardens, a strip of land which formerly separated the Headington footpath from the turnpike road.[8] Following the accepted principle that "urban hills confer high social status,"[9] truly middle-class development took place outside the area on rising ground in the

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 5 (1957), p.264
2. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 2 (1907), p.218
3. Wilfrid Ward, The life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman...vol. 1 (1912), pp.28, 40
4. A.Mozley, ed., Letters of J.H. Newman during his life in the English church, vol. 1 (1891), p.84
5. (Census of England & Wales, 1821) Enumeration abstract (1822), p.255
6. (Census of England & Wales, 1831) Enumeration abstract (1833), p.492
7. Map 6 : East Oxford
8. J.O.J., 2.7.1825, p.3 records the forthcoming sale of 4 houses and 6 plots on the Harpsichord Gardens estate.
9. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson & J.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle class housing in Britain (1977), p.88



Map 6. East Oxford

parishes of Iffley and Headington. In Iffley, for example, Wooton Close and Denton House were built at the end of the eighteenth century for Edward Hitchins, a tailor, and the Lock family of goldsmiths respectively.[1] Sir Joseph Lock developed a still more ambitious estate in Headington by 1804, building the house now known as Bury Knowle in extensive parkland to the north of London Road.[2] In 1825, an estate on a former market garden at the top of Headington Hill provided 54 lots for intending suburbanites whose means were more modest;[3] only a few houses were built there,[4] however, because of a lack of demand and perhaps because the mixture of lot sizes posed a threat to secure middle-class development.[5]

Intensive building in St. Clement's and less dramatic developments in Iffley and Headington did little to alter the eastern approaches to Oxford before 1850 and the traveller reaching Rose Hill from Henley might still see the city's towers and spires rising amidst a landscape of fields, rivers and trees. The enclosure of Cowley Field was to change this radically, but part of the illusion was preserved by the actions of Christ Church. The potential of the area for development had been recognised for many years, and in February 1824, J.J. Lockhart, chairman of the Cowley landowners who were seeking enclosure, advised Christ Church that allotments near Oxford might be valued as building rather than as agri-

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 5 (1957), p.190
2. O.C.R.O. vol.F. Headington enclosure award, 1804
3. J.O.J., 16.4.1825, p.3
4. O.S. 1:2500. 1st edition Oxfordshire XXXIII. 15 (1876)
5. Bodl. G.A. fol. B71 (59), Sale poster, 18.4.1825

cultural land and "that an estate Bill (empowering the Ecclesiastical Body to lease for a long term) should be deliberated on."[1] Christ Church had no interest in developing such an estate, and resisted enclosure in 1824[2] and again in the 1840s.[3] The College only gave its consent to enclosure after a prolonged struggle in which the Dean and Chapter consistently demanded a large allotment south of the Iffley Road, refusing to have it valued as building land despite its proximity to Oxford because they had no intention of building upon it.[4] The intransigency of Christ Church was motivated "by a sense of what is best for the beauty of the entrance into Oxford on the Cowley Road,"[5] but more important perhaps was the need "to prevent the building of shabby or unsightly houses within view of the Meadow and path."[6] Having secured a 68 acre estate extending east to the modern *Jackdaw Lane*,[7] *Christ Church sought the advice of Henry* Bailey, Lord Harcourt's gardener at Nuneham Courtenay, about planting it to best advantage. In August 1852, Bailey remarked on "one very pretty point of view in the Iffley Road where Merton Tower and the Radcliffe is (sic) seen and where you proposed leaving an opening; but I do not know how this is to be managed with a view to concealing from Christ Church Meadow the cottages which you anticipate by the side of the Road, unless you could secure the sites of three of four of them and plant a few trees on the opposite side of the opening."[8] This idea was not pursued but

1. Christ Church Ms. Estates 68/140. Letter to Dr. F. Barns, 19.2.1824
2. ibid. Estates 68/146. Draft letter to P. Walsh, 2.3.1824
3. ibid. Estates 68/237. Draft letter to Benjamin Badcock, 18.7.1848
4. ibid. Estates 68/226. Memorandum of Dr. John Bull, ca 1845; 68/237. Draft letter to B. Badcock, 18.7.1848
5. ibid. 68/237, op.cit.
6. ibid. 68/226. Memorandum of Dr. John Bull, ca. 1845
7. ibid. 68/239. Letter from Benjamin Badcock, 20.7.1848
8. ibid. 68/266. Letter from Henry Bailey, 24.8.1852

Christ Church proceeded with a modified tree-planting scheme between 1852 and 1853.[1] Secure behind a living screen, Christ Church could now leave the speculative builders and developers of East Oxford to do their worst.

The first rash of what became a positive contagion of cottages appeared in Alma Place,[2] a small development on land purchased by the National Freehold Land Society in October 1852.[3] The National Freehold Land Society had been formed in 1849, aiming like other such societies to extend the county franchise by creating forty shilling freeholders who would help to wrest political power from the dominant landed interest. As was discovered in the 1840s, votes could be most cheaply bought by the simple expedient of purchasing freehold land wholesale and dividing it into forty shilling plots. Societies with Liberal support, like the National Freehold Land Society, were first in the field, but the Conservatives were not slow to follow their example and a Conservative Land Society established in 1852 helped to nullify any electoral gains. Subsequently, such societies were more important as a means of providing cheap freehold building plots in the suburbs,[4] and viewed their operations as encouraging thrift amongst working men.[5] Oxford provided a potentially fruitful field of operations for these activities and, at the same time, East Oxford was an ideal location because it offered parcels of freehold land which were financially and administratively convenient for

1. Christ Church Ms. Estates 68/272, 275, 277-8. Invoices, November 1852; 68/296-7. Expenses of and payments to Henry Bailey, April-October 1853.

2. Map 6

3. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P.366/67 9-10 Alma Place. Conveyance 1.11.1853.

4. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., pp.114-7; M. Jahn, Suburban development in north west London. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.103

5. J.O.J., 19.5.1860, p.5

land societies to handle.[1] The 11 feet wide lots in the New Road, later to be called Alma Place,[2] were allocated to members of the Society in November 1853, and building was soon under way.[3] The Society insisted on a building line, but since a member could acquire two or more lots, there could be flexibility of plot size, and "considerable diversity in the size and character of the houses erected."[4] In Alma Place, the tendency was for builders to erect houses of a greater size and higher standard than had been envisaged. Thus, Thomas King, a college servant from St. Aldate's, bought lots 17-19 on November 9th 1853, divided them into equal halves and built no. 7 Alma Place on a plot 16½ feet wide.[5] The speed with which the first estate was allotted encouraged the National Freehold Land Society gradually to extend its operations in East Oxford, and, as in Acton,[6] its estates came to shape the character of the suburb. No. 2 Estate was created by the Society's purchase and amalgamation of several small estates, including those allotted at enclosure to Charles Sadler and Theodore Lockhart; the process was completed by August 1853, when it was noted that a new street - eventually Marston Street - was to be laid out between the Cowley and Iffley Roads.[7] The third Oxford estate of the National Freehold Land Society lay immediately to the west, and was purchased from Edward Hurst and other members

1. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough 1650-1964 (1974), pp.372-3

2. J.O.J., 8.11.1856, p.4 contains an advertisement for a house in Alma Terrace, Cowley Road.

3. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P 366/67. 9-10 Alma Place. Conveyance, 9.11.1853

4. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.81

5. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P 792. 7 Alma Place. Conveyance 31.5.1859

6. M. Jahn, op.cit., p.146

7. O.C.R.O. Bk.24 Cowley enclosure award, 1853; O.C., 13.8.1853, p.5; Map 6

of the Cowley farming family in September 1856.[1] The five acre site again offered valuable frontages to the two main roads, and provided space for two more link roads, to be known eventually as Temple Street and Stockmore Street. In December 1858, the British Land Company, a joint stock subsidiary of the National Freehold Land Society formed two years earlier,[2] purchased No. 4 Estate from Pembroke College. The Company paid £4,468 for nearly 15 acres of land between Cowley Road and St. Clement's Street,[3] laid out Pembroke Street, now Rectory Road, Cross Street and Princes Street, and sold the lots at three auctions between May 1859 and October 1860.[4] After the last sale, it was reported that "on this and other estates allotted in the same locality, purchased and allotted by this company during the last six years, something like 200 houses have already been built, or are now in course of erection, and there is no lack of occupiers, for the houses appear to be tenanted as they are finished."[5] Behind their flower gardens and low front walls topped by iron palisading, the brick and slate houses built on the National Freehold Land Society's estates set a pattern that was to be followed on many other estates in East Oxford. Although they might vary in size from four to nine rooms, even the smallest could claim to have been "built with every requisite convenience, and tastefully papered and painted."[6] They were, in fact, homes for the thrifty artisan, priced too high for the irregularly employed or low-paid working man who could never have afforded

1. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P235.34-44 Stockmore Street. Conveyance, 28.3.1868; O.C., 28.6.1856, p.1. records the impending auction of this property in July.

2. H.J. Dyos, op.cit.,p.117

3. Pembroke College Ms. P/4/3. Deeds relating to the College, 1821-69, pp.198-203. Copy Conveyance, 8.12.1858.

4. O.C., 21.5.1859, p.5; 16.6.1860, p.5; 10.11.1860, p.5

5. O.C., 10.11.1860, p.5

6. J.O.J., 31.8.1861, p.4 advertising three 4-roomed houses in Cross Street

the rent of twelve guineas a year that was being asked for four-roomed houses in Temple Street in 1859.[1]

Freehold land companies generally contributed to the building of artisan and lower middle-class housing because their primary business was the creation of smallish building plots; they were not, however, averse to covering prime sites with villas.[2] The Conservative Land Society may well have been drawn to the city by the success of its rival, the National Freehold Land Society, and in December 1859, it purchased an estate at the corner of Iffley Road and Magdalen Road[3] "suitable for villas and detached first-class houses."[4] The views over the Thames Valley and the attractions of the nearby University and College cricket grounds seemed sufficient on their own "to attract the highest class of residents, and to induce builders to erect thereon good and tasteful houses."[5] James Castle, the Society's local architect had "not the slightest doubt that the houses would find tenants, and that the Iffley Road Estate would become one of the best and healthiest suburbs of Oxford."[6] These sanguine expectations were not realised, however, and 35 of the 63 lots still remained unsold in June 1865.[7] One reason for this was the contemporary surfeit of land for middle-class housing, a problem which was shared by the Society's Downshire

1. J.O.J., 14.5.1859, p.4
2. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.22; J.M. Rawcliffe, Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb 1841-81. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), pp.59-62; M. Jahn, op.cit., p.103.
3. J.O.J., 10.12.1859, p.4
4. O.C., 14.1.1860, p.5
5. ibid.,
6. J.O.J., 19.5.1860, p.5
7. O.C., 3.6.1865, p.4

or Castle Hill estate in Reading.[1] The potential salubrity of the estate was, moreover, threatened by activity on a neighbouring estate;[2] thus, in December 1859, part of the Fairacres estate on the other side of Magdalen Road was sold off, and became a site for working-class housing.[3] To encourage the others, perhaps, James Castle began to build two detached villas in Iffley Road in 1862,[4] but the estate contained few houses by 1876 and none at all in Magdalen Road.[5] During the 1880s and 1890s, houses were gradually inserted in the gardens that occupied most of the other plots,[6] but the estate had not fulfilled the promoters' hopes.

Private speculators were not slow to follow the lead of the freehold land companies and tried to exploit the demand for freehold plots. In 1857, for example, William Gunstone, a college servant with mortgage debts of over £600, initiated the development of William Street, the modern Tyndale Road, in a field to the west of Alma Place; covenants requiring a ten feet building line and specifying a minimum value of £100 per house[7] helped to create a virtual carbon-copy of the earlier National Freehold Land Society estate. Just opposite Tyndale Road, a large estate with frontages to Iffley and Cowley Road was made available for building in 1858 by Charles Gunning Parker, a surgeon from Shrivenham in Berkshire.[8] Speculative fever spread with scarcely undiminished vigour to more remote estates and, in December 1859 for instance, part of the Fairacres estate

1. S.T. Blake, The physical expansion of the borough of Reading 1800-62. University of Reading Ph.D., (1976), p.243
2. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough 1650-1964 (1974), p.76
3. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b.4(24) Sale particulars, 20.12.1859
4. O.C., 18.10.1862, p.8
5. O.S. 1:2500. 1st edition Oxfordshire XXXIX. 3 (1876)
6. Map 6
7. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P366/14. 4 Tyndale Road. Conveyance, 3.1.1857;
8. ibid., P366/103.18/20 Cowley Road. Conveyance, 7.4.1860; J.O.J., 14.8.1858, p.5

belonging to Sidney Smith, a Cowley yeoman, was auctioned in 34 lots.[1] Some of these lots possessed frontages to Iffley and Magdalen Roads, but others fronted new streets which were to become Catherine Street and Percy Street;[2] at least twenty-one were purchased on behalf of an unnamed Building Society,[3] perhaps by men who were to form the Oxford Working Men's Land & Building Society in August 1860.[4] This society was established to enable the thrifty working man to purchase freehold plots for gardens or building purposes by paying a small entrance fee and one shilling a week for six years.[5] Another part of Smith's estate was staked out in over 300 lots with frontages to Iffley Road, Percy Street, Charles Street, and Catherine Street, and this land was sold to John Galpin, Surveyor to the Local Board, in October 1862.[6] Galpin, too, was seeking to encourage the thrifty, providing the individual with a plot where he could erect a house of his own and by small, regular payments, could make it his own property within ten, twelve or fourteen years.[7] The final piece of Smith's land was sold - probably during 1864, to the Iffley Road auctioneer and estate agent, William Henry Howard, who put up 23 lots for auction on November 23rd 1864, stressing the fine views of the University that were obtainable from the front lots.[8] Remote from Oxford and with streets that remained little more than skeletal for many years, house-building in the area was slow, however, and many plots were used simply as gardens. In 1871, there were 27 houses in Charles Street, but just nine in Howard

1. O.C.R.O. Bk.24. Cowley enclosure award, 1853; Bodl. G.A.Oxon. b.4 (24) Sale particulars, 20.12.1859

2. Map 6

3. Bodl. G.A. Oxon b.4 (24), op.cit.

4. O.C., 18.8.1860, p.5

5. ibid., 27.10.1860, p.5

6. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P818. 95-101 Charles Street. Abstract of Title, 1958 reciting conveyance, 4.10.1862

7. O.C., 28.7.1866, p.5

8. ibid., 12.11.1864, p.5

Street, six in Percy Street, and five each in Catherine and Sidney Streets.[1] Even at the turn of the century, there remained in these streets a substantial number of vacant lots[2] which bore witness to the surfeit of building plots that had been created in East Oxford in the 1860s.

A large part of the East Oxford heartland was owned by the Hurst family of Cowley farmers, and their development decisions were therefore of the greatest significance for the overall character of the suburb. In 1856, members of the family had sold land to the National Freehold Land Society for its third Oxford estate,[3] and their suburban fields were probably of diminishing agricultural value because of theft and trespass.[4] In the 1860s, the family adopted a more active role and Richard, Edward and John Hurst retained the services of the same auctioneer, Jonas Paxton and the same surveyor, James Neighbour, in laying out three adjacent building estates which extended from James Street to Magdalen Road.[5] One result was an extremely well-ordered road pattern with none of the cul-de-sacs and changes of alignment that are associated with the unrelated development of several small estates.[6] Insistence upon a uniform building line followed the example of the National Freehold Land Society and, in the same way, tended to push builders towards a slightly higher class development.[7] The sale of land in this extensive area began in May 1861

1. P.R.O. R.G. 10/1434/153-157. 1871 Census enumerators' returns, Cowley parish.

2. O.S. 1:2500 2nd edition. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 3 (1898)

3. supra, pp.87-8

4. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough,1650-1964 (1974) pp.305; G. Rowley, Landownership in the spatial growth of towns: a Sheffield example. East Midland Geographer 6 (1975), p.202

5. O.C.L. Particulars and conditions of sale of freehold building land in the Henley Road...., (12.5.1863); James Street (31.5.1864) and John Street and Hurst Street (2.6.1864)

6. Map 6 ; M.W. Beresford, The back-to-back house in Leeds, 1787-1931. In, S.D. Chapman, ed., History of working class housing: a symposium (1971), pp.107-9; D. Ward, The pre-urban cadaster and the urban pattern of Leeds. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 52 (1962), pp.151-3

7. supra, pp.87-9

with the auction of lots in James Street and on the return frontage in Iffley and Cowley Roads.[1] By the end of May 1864, all the James Street lots had been disposed of[2] and, in June, the remaining 25 acres of the estate were put up for auction, having been divided into 33 lots which ranged from just under two roods to more than three acres each.[3] These lots had frontages to three principal streets, Bullingdon Road, Hurst Street and the future St. Mary's Road, and nearly every one was said to have been sold at prices exceeding £120 each. A major purchaser was John Galpin, who bought lots to the value of £1,000,but the sale as a whole realised between £6,000 and £7,000.[4] Galpin's purchases seem largely to have been concentrated in the north-west corner of the estate, where he and his partner, Robert Samuel Hawkins, an Oxford solicitor, laid out Henley Street and created an Iffley Road estate of 232 lots with frontages to Iffley Road, Bullingdon Road, Denmark Street, Henley Street and probably Hurst Street.[5] The most substantial developer of the John and Edward Hurst estate proved, however, to be the Oxford Working Men's Land & Building Society. Although the Society was not itself recorded as being concerned with the auction in June 1864, its chairman, W.C.C. Bramwell, and a prominent member were listed as purchasers,[6] and the sale of a large portion of the estate to the Society was completed by the end of the year.[7] The land thus purchased was divided into 128 lots with

1. O.C., 11.5.1861, p.4; J.O.J., 11.5.1861, p.4

2. O.C.L. Particulars and conditions of sale of 22 lots of... freehold building land situate in James Street...31.5.1864, passim.

3. ibid., Particulars and conditions of sale of 33 lots of.... freehold building land containing upwards of 25 acres... 2.6.1864, passim.

4. O.C., 4.6.1864, p.5

5. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P614. 73 Bullingdon Road. Conveyance, 11.12.1871

6. O.C., 4.6.1864, p.5

7. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P89. 123 Bullingdon Road. Conveyance 18.1.1871; P262/5. 84 St. Mary's Road. Conveyance, 9.11.1874

frontages to Cowley Road, Bullingdon Road, St. Mary's Road and the south-west side of Hurst Street,[1] providing more of the Society's members with "an allotment sufficient for building and gardening purposes."[2] In April 1869, the Society purchased more land with frontages to Bullingdon Road, St. Mary's Road, Hurst Street and the north-west side of Henley Street;[3] this provided a further 71 lots, a few of which were developed[4] while others remained in use as gardens for many years. From 1864, the Oxford Working Men's Land & Building Society held shows of the fruit, vegetables and flowers grown on its estates,[5] and thus demonstrated the way in which it provided "profitable and recreative employment for a large body of industrious artisans."[6] A fourth Hurst estate, that of Rachael Hurst, was sold without preliminary development to the established speculative partnership of John Galpin and Robert Hawkins in April 1868. They divided it into at least 268 lots,[7] and, in order to recoup quickly some of their outlay, they offered 35 of the most desirable ones fronting Cowley Road and Magdalen Road in September 1868.[8] Influenced no doubt by the notion that a church tended to increase the respectability and the market value of a suburban estate,[9] the developers seem from the first to have reserved

1. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P89. 123 Bullingdon Road. Conveyance 18.1.1871; P262/5. 84 St. Mary's Road. Conveyance, 9.11.1874

2. O.C., 5.11.1864, p.8

3. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P620. 102 Bullingdon Road. Conveyance 21.3.1870; O.C., 5.11.1870, p.7

4. ibid., Conveyance, 3.12.1870

5. O.C., 2.7.1864, p.5; 20.8.1864; 8.8.1868, p.8

6. ibid., 8.8.1868, p.8

7. Bodl. Ms. Oxf. dioc. papers c.1958. SS. Mary & John Church site. Abstract of title, 1878 reciting conveyance, 15.4.1868

8. J.O.J., 22.8.1868, p.4

9. D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.97; D. Reeder, Suburbanity and the Victorian city (1980), p.8; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough 1650-1964 (1974), p.382

a site for a chapel of ease for Cowley St. John.[1] The vicar, Rev. Richard Benson, had more ambitious plans, however, and his purchases of land between 1868 and 1877 radically altered the estate, obliterating one street almost before it had an existence and giving rise to a prominent church and leafy churchyard where rows of houses and business premises had been envisaged.[2]

The foregoing estates had largely created a suburb for the artisan and the lower middle-class; the irregular wage-earner and the thriftless were scarcely catered for and then only by default. A few slums had appeared in odd corners[3] and, on the British Land Company's Rectory Road estate, for example, the unsavoury Dover's Row provided 28 houses in a cul-de-sac leading off Cross Street.[4] Similarly in Penson's Gardens, St. Clement's, in 1864, lack of effectual control by the developer, Elizabeth Penson, allowed a builder to buy five lots and erect 12 houses in two blocks of six which were separated from each other by groups of wash-houses.[5] This kind of development became impossible with the introduction of the Local Board's building byelaws in 1866[6] and developers, for personal and social as well as financial reasons, showed an increasing preference for quality housing. Later Victorian estates in East Oxford were therefore intended still more exclusively for an artisan elite which could exercise

1. Cowley Parish Magazine, June 1868

2. ibid., June 1868; Bodl. Ms. Oxf. dioc. papers c1959/2. Conveyances, 16.12.1874, 8.6.1875; ibid., c.1958. Conveyance, 17.12.1877.

3. H.J. Dyos & D.A. Reeder, Slums and suburbs. In, H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 2 (1978), p.364.

4. infra, p.293

5. O.C.C: City Secretary's Dept. P366/50. 3-4 Penson's Gardens, St. Clement's. Conveyance, 5.9.1864; O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1. Rev. N.E.W. Bradyll-Johnson, Housing in the parish of St. Clement's....., 1924, pp.230-1

6. infra, p. 177

status-oriented choice in housing.[1] The continued demand for properties of this kind reflected not only the growth of Oxford but also the social broadening of the suburban market which resulted from falling costs and rising real incomes.[2]

A major provider of the new housing estates was the Oxford Working Men's Land & Building Society which re-registered under the Industrial & Provident Societies Act of 1871 as the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society Ltd.[3] Between 1871 and 1873, the Society purchased three fields on the Marston Road to form its New Marston estate, and made available a total of 240 allotments.[4] The land was outside the Local Board district, but the encouragement which this gave to house-building because of low rates and unregulated building,[5] had to be set against the deterrent effect of remoteness and unlit streets which sometimes ran with water "as high as the top of one's shoes."[6] The continued predominance of allotment gardens in the area led to its sometimes being called the New Marston Garden Estate,[7] but 82 houses were said to have been built there by 1888.[8] In 1883, the Society bought a five acre estate on the Iffley Road between Stanley

1. G. Crossick An artisan elite in Victorian society: Kentish London, 1840-1880 (1978), pp.144-5; A. Lee, Party walls and private lives: aspects of a railway suburb. Women's Studies 3 (1976), p.254

2. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.17

3. O.C., 7.11.1874, p.7; Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon 4° 161. Oxf. Ind. & Prov. L. & B. Soc, Rules (1876)

4. O.C., 18.2.1871, p.1; 4.11.1871, p.5; 2.11.1872, p.8; 8.11.1873, p.7; Map 6

5. ibid., 24.11.1888, p.7

6. ibid., 22.10.1898, p.2

7. e.g. ibid., 7.5.1887, p.7

8. ibid., 24.11.1888, p.7

Road and Henley Street,[1] and divided it into 88 lots on either side of a new street called Aston Street. At the north-east end of the street, access was obtained to Hurst Street by the simple expedient of purchasing one vacant lot on Edward Hurst's estate.[2] A ballot of members for the Iffley Road estate was held in January 1884,[3] and applications for building in this major gap on the Iffley Road frontage began in the following year.[4] In May 1887, Magdalen College approved a plan by Messrs. Castle, Field and Castle for the development of College property on the south-west side of Iffley Road,[5] but only three main road lots had been sold to private buyers by April 1888[6] and the overall scheme may have been too ambitious. On April 25th, the Estates Bursar announced an agreement by which the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society would buy the rest of the estate for £3,500, and develop it on more modest lines.[7] The society's revised plan made no changes to the Iffley Road frontage, but the 38 lots originally suggested for Fairacres Road and Parker Street became 127 with 16 feet frontages.[8] The College placed minimum values upon the Iffley Road houses, and, for this frontage, the Estates Bursar insisted on seeing plans before building could commence; on other parts of the estate, no house was to be built "of less cubical content than or of inferior construction to the smallest house which

1. O.C., 17.11.1883, p.5; Map 6

2. O.S. 1:2500. 2nd edition Oxfordshire XXXIX. 3 (1898)

3. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon 4° 161. Oxf. Ind. & Prov. Land & Bldg. Soc. Conditions of the ballot...., 15.1.1884, passim.

4. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 979 (O.S.) 215 Iffley Road, 3.2.1885

5. Magdalen Coll. Ms. Bk. 38 (i) Minutes of Bursarial Committee, 1885-1929, p.28, 16.5.1887

6. ibid., p.876, 226/268 Iffley Road. Conveyance, 17.3.1888; p.887. 270 Iffley Road, Conveyance, 12.4.1888; p.889. 272 Iffley Road. Conveyance 12.4.1888

7. ibid., p.43, 25.4.1888

8. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 25, Fairacres Road

previous to the fourteenth day of July 1888 has been erected and completed on the neighbouring Aston Estate now or late belonging to the purchasers..."[1] Such controls were, perhaps, little burden to a society which, like other contemporary building societies, was concentrating less exclusively on working-class housing.[2] This fact was emphasised in 1890, when the Society purchased from Donnington Hospital the 16-acre Bartlemas estate on the lower slopes of Headington Hill.[3] The layout of the estate was approved by Council in March 1891,[4] and by the end of September, the infrastructure was complete and several houses were already being built.[5] Despite the proximity of the workhouse, the Bartlemas Estate promised to be a desirable place to live, being on the fringe of Oxford and yet within easy reach of the city centre by the Cowley Road horse-trams.[6] A considerable portion of the estate had been built on by 1895,[7] and the Society was sufficiently encouraged to purchase the adjoining Southfield Estate in 1902.[8] The Society's plan for this land was approved by the City Council in February 1903, and provided 258 lots in extensions of Divinity Road and Southfield Road and in two completely new roads, Hill Top Road and Minster Road.[9]

1. Magdalen College Ms. Bk. 32(v) Ledger 1888-94, p.29. Conveyance, 16.10.1888

2. E. Gauldie, Cruel habitations (1974), p.200

3. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon. 4° 161. Oxford Ind. & Prov. Land & Building Soc., 30th annual report to 30.9.1890

4. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 6, Divinity Road; O.C., 7.3.1891, p.7

5. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon. 4° 161. Oxf. Ind. & Prov. Land & Bldg. Soc., 31st annual report to 30.9.1891

6. Map 6

7. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon 4° 161. Oxf. Ind..& Prov. Land & Bldg. Soc., Annual report to 30.9.1895

8. ibid., Circular, June 1902

9. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Estates56, Divinity Road extension

The estates of the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society would, in themselves, have provided a substantial addition to the suburb of East Oxford, but other developers also made building land available in several new areas. The first of these developments was on six acres of the former Smith estate between Iffley and Cowley Roads, a remote corner separated from Magdalen Road by land owned by Donnington Hospital and from Cowley Road by the Magdalen Cricket Ground. This land was probably purchased by the Oxford Building & Investment Company at John Galpin's instigation in 1877,[1] and by May 1878, it was divided into 103 lots "suitable....for the erection of a superior class of workmen's dwelling, as well as garden ground." New roads including Golden Road, Donnington Road, now Silver Road, and an extension of Howard Street, were constructed and buyers were given the option of payment over a period of years at 5% interest.[2] Development was encouraged, perhaps, by the prospect of the horse-tram terminus at Magdalen Road and only about 30 lots remained unsold by October 1879.[3] Between this estate and Magdalen Road lay Donnington Field, an eight acre field belonging to Donnington Hospital which remained undeveloped for nearly 30 years while building progressed fitfully around it. Donnington Hospital made an attempt to initiate development in April 1881, when the field was laid out in 103 lots which were to be sold on 99 year building leases for a "superior class of workmen's semi-detached dwellings." The proposed Oxford tramway formed the immediate inspiration for this scheme, and the auction advertisement stressed not only the land's extensive frontages to Magdalen Road and the Magdalen Cricket Ground but also its proximity to "the terminus of the new tramway."[4] No interest seems to have been

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c152 Oxford Building & Improvement Co., Ltd., misc. papers, 1867-89. 14th annual report, (1879), p.3

2. O.C., 4.5.1878, p.4; O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Plan 321 (O.S.) Golden Road, 1878; Map 6

3. O.C., 18.10.1879, p.5

4. ibid., 9.4.1881, p.4

generated by the auction, however, and the land was retained by Donnington Hospital until 1889, when the charity sold it to the prominent Oxford estate developer, Walter Gray, for £2,817. 10s.[1]

Eschewing the earlier idea of superior workmen's semi-detached houses for which there was, perhaps, little demand in this neighbourhood, Gray laid out the estate in 168 lots with 16 feet frontages. Of these lots, 29 fronted Magdalen Road, and the remainder lay in two new roads which were to be called Essex Street and Hertford Street.[2] As originally planned, these new streets were to be cul-de-sacs totally disconnected from nearby Golden Road, Silver Road and Percy Street because each connection would involve Gray in loss of land and additional road-making charges.[3] The independent development of small-sized holdings might have led to an inconvenient layout as it did in Leeds,[4] but the Council insisted that connections be made before approving Gray's plan in January 1890.[5] Lots on the Donnington Field estate were first advertised in February 1889, and they were sold privately and not at a series of public auctions. Possession was to be given on payment of £5, the balance being payable by monthly instalments of ten shillings with interest at 5% being charged on the sum outstanding.[6] Covenants restricted builders to a single house per lot, and specified a ten feet building line behind a front fence of iron palisading upon a brick or stone wall; Gray also wished all plans to be submitted to him before building commenced.[7]

1. O.C., 19.1.1895, p.8
2. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 20. Essex Street; Map 6
3. O.C., 9.2.1889, p.7
4. D. Ward, The pre-urban cadaster and the urban pattern of Leeds. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 52 (1962), p.152
5. O.C., 12.1.1890, p.5
6. ibid., 9.2.1889, p.4
7. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P780. 18 Hertford Street. Conveyance, 12.9.1893

Development on Gray's estate was swiftly under way, and by 1898, building in Essex Street was virtually complete.[1]

Walter Gray was also involved in the contemporary development of a 25-acre building estate in Iffley Road between Jackdaw Lane and Daubeny Road where lots were again offered for sale by private contract on easy terms, with possession on deposit and the rest of the purchase price payable by monthly instalments.[2] The land was to be laid out in 275 lots, those in Iffley Road having 32 feet frontages while the rest had frontages of 16 feet to the new roads, Bedford Street, Argyle Street, Chester Street and Warwick Street.[3] The Council approved the estate plan in February 1891,[4] but the reaction of Christ Church was to perfect its eastern defences against suburbia by purchasing 30 acres of land at Aston's Eyot.[5] Extensive works were necessary to prepare the estate for building,[6] and the dumping of house refuse on areas that were not intended for house-building gave rise to a considerable controversy; in August 1892, for example, an Iffley Road resident implied that the practice had caused the recent death of two of his children.[7] His allegations were systematically denied by the city authorities, and the Medical Officer of Health reported that the children had in fact died of whooping cough and convulsions.[8] Queries about the salubrity of the Iffley Road estate do not

1. O.S. 1:2500. 2nd edition Oxfordshire XXXIX. 4 (1898)
2. O.C., 28.2.1891, p.4
3. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Estates 1, Argyle Street; Map 6
4. O.C., 7.2.1891, p.7
5. ibid., 14.3.1891, p.5. For the college's pre-enclosure attempts to distance itself from East Oxford, vide supra pp. 84-6
6. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 6, pp.140-1
7. ibid., p.158
8. ibid., pp.140-1

seem to have exercised any long-term influence over the development, and it was practically filled with houses by 1914.[1]

Within the city boundary, the other main focus of development in East Oxford at the turn of the century was to be found on the north-east side of Cowley Road beyond the workhouse. The Bartlemas estate of the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society made plain the potential of the area[2] and, in 1910, a private developer, Horace Bradley of 290 Iffley Road, submitted plans for the adjoining Southfield Hill Estate in 1910, which was to provide 64 lots in an extension of Hill Top Road east of Southfield Road.[3] The building of detached and semi-detached houses on this estate began at once, but was left unfinished in 1914.[4] A break in the suburban frontage of Cowley Road occurred beyond Southfield Road because Oriel College continued to let the domestic buildings of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for farming purposes,[5] but, between Cowley Road and Barracks Lane, useful blocks of land were available for development. In 1893, Joel Zacharias, the Oxford tailor, submitted plans for a building estate with 12 lots on Cowley Road and a further 41 fronting a new road leading back to Barracks Lane.[6] An amended scheme was approved in May 1894[7] but Zacharias' estate was slow to take off, and only ten houses - all of them in Cowley Road, had been

1. O.S. 1:2500. 2nd revision. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 3 (1919)

2. supra, p.98

3. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 27, Hill Top Road; Map 6

4. O.S. 1:2500 2nd revision. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 4 (1919)

5. J.H. Dearnley & J.T. Dodd, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, near Oxford. Case papers on behalf of the St. Bartholomew's Committee of the Oxford City Council (1896), p.2

6. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 55, Cowley Road. This road was eventually to be Belvedere Road.

7. O.C.C: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 7, p.96

built by 1898.[1] Undeterred by this, Edwin Hubert Bradley of 27 Divinity Road submitted plans in 1895 for a nearby estate with 12 lots on Cowley Road and 87 in a new road which he wanted to name Hubert Road.[2] The plan was approved by Council in September 1895,[3] but the estate had made no progress by 1898,[4] and ownership of it seems to have passed to Organ Bros., a local building firm, by the 1900s. The involvement of Organ Bros. in the area is first evident in June 1900, when the City Council approved their proposal for another estate offering ten lots in a new road which was eventually named Kenilworth Road.[5] During the 1900s, the attractive Cowley Road lots with views over fields were gradually occupied by sturdy terraced houses, but the lots behind Cowley Road attracted no attention at all, and of the three intended streets running back to Barracks Lane only one had even been laid out by 1914.[6]

The mushrooming growth of East Oxford startled few Oxford commentators, perhaps because so few really knew of its existence. Those, like the Reverend William Tuckwell, who had bowled along the undeveloped Iffley Road in the coaching era, recognised the magnitude of the change that had taken place if only to be appalled by it.[7] Others with shorter

1. O.S. 1:2500 2nd edition. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 4 (1898)
2. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Estates 28, Hubert Road. This estate is probably to be identified with the modern Cumberland Road.
3. O.C., 7.9.1895, p.7
4. O.S. 1:2500 2nd edition. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 4 (1898)
5. O.C., 9.6.1900, p.2; O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 48, Cowley Road
6. O.S. 1:2500 2nd revision. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 4 (1919)
7. Rev. W. Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford (1900), p.3

memories, whose horizons were circumscribed by North Oxford, the city centre and the railway stations, could easily remain unaware of the town that had developed beyond Magdalen Bridge. Yet, by 1901, the parishes of St. Clement and Cowley St. John housed 14,426 people, and accounted for 29.2% of Oxford's population.[1] Between 1851 and 1901, the housing stock of East Oxford, including Cowley, had increased six-fold from 598 to 3,618 houses.[2] No single landlord had overseen this development, and control had depended largely upon market forces and the decisions of numerous landlords, developers and builders. The resulting suburb was created not from any master plan but from the almost accidental coalescence of many separate estates.

1. Census of England & Wales, 1901. County of Oxford: Area, houses and population...(1903), p.11

2. Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population tables, vol. 1 (1852), p.30;
Census of England & Wales, 1901. County of Oxford. Area, houses and population (1903), pp.11, 18

2.4 South Oxford

The low-lying meadows of South Oxford were an imperfect setting for suburban development, being dissected by many streams and liable to regular flooding.[1] William Elias Taunton, the Town Clerk of Oxford, had built Grandpont House to the south-east of Folly Bridge in about 1785,[2] but the all-pervading fear of miasma and effluvia was outweighed here by the attraction of a riverside site with views over Christ Church Meadow. In general terms, the area had no attraction for middle-class housing,[3] and the coming of the railways in 1844[4] was a further barrier to fashionable development.[5]

The major landowners, University College, Brasenose College, and the Earls of Abingdon showed no enthusiasm for urban expansion, and initial development of the suburbs was therefore dependent upon the willingness of Henry Greenaway, an absentee landowner from Newbury, to dispose of his land a mile south of Folly Bridge. Unlike the other landowners, Greenaway had no permanent stake in the area and the demand for cheap housing for railway employees probably encouraged him to lay out his estate for building; a similar demand in Reading had led to building near the station in Caversham Road in the 1840s.[6] The resulting village-suburb of New Hinksey echoed the development of Summertown beyond the

1. supra, p. 19 ; M. Shaw, Reconciling social and physical space: Wolverhampton 1871. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), pp.193-4

2. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.190

3. R.J. Morris, The Friars and Paradise: an essay in the building history of Oxford, 1801-1861. Oxoniensia 36 (1971), p.76

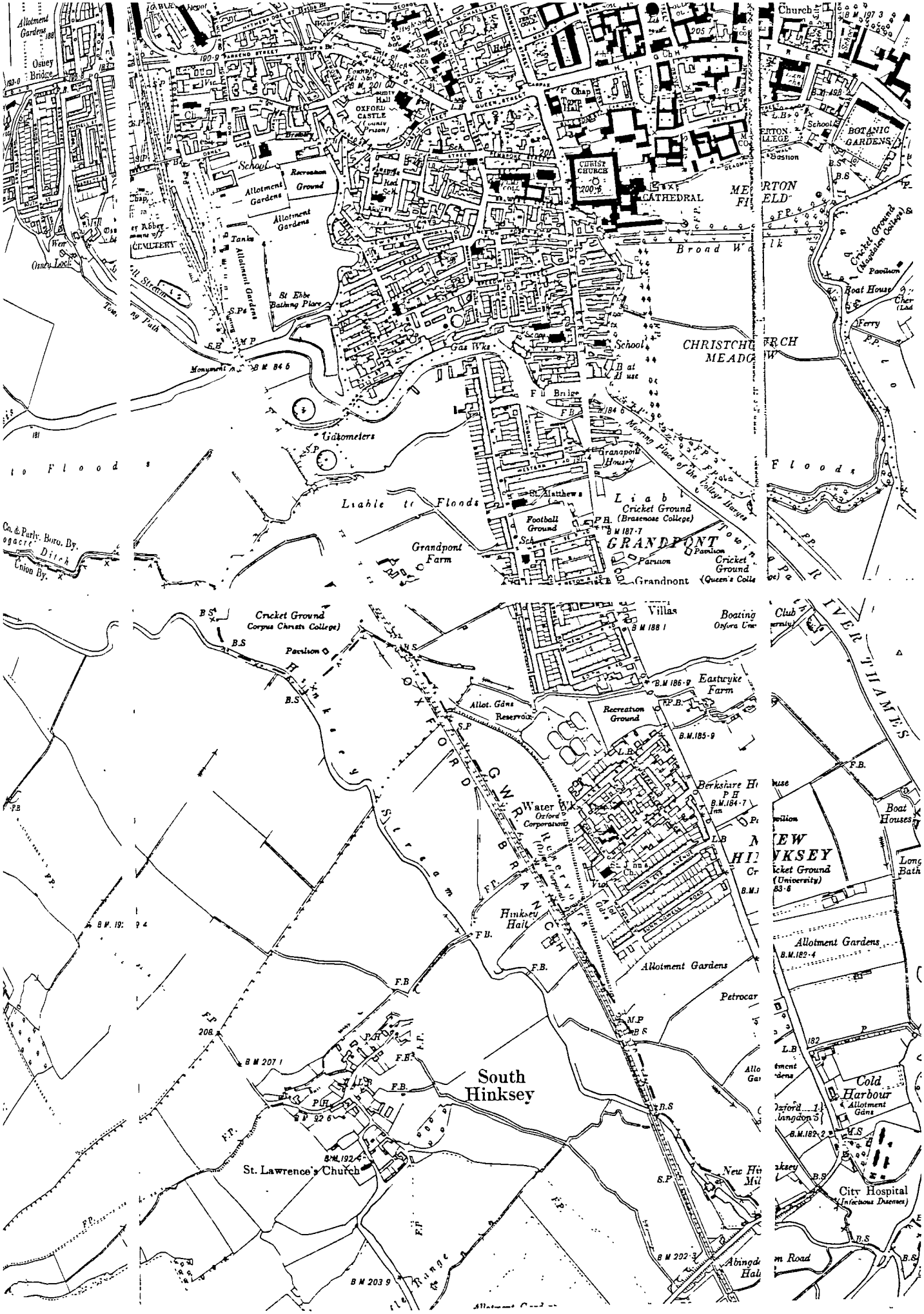
4. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.294

5. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (1971), p.51

6. S. T. Blake, The physical expansion of the borough of Reading, 1800-62. University of Reading Ph.D., (1976), pp.110-1

open fields of St. Giles' parish in the 1820s[1] and foreshadowed similar examples of leapfrog sprawl[2] at Osney Town and New Botley[3] where housing sprang up on the only available sites. The two fields that made up the site of New Hinksey were disposed of separately at auctions in 1847 and 1849,[4] the hedge between them being perpetuated in property boundaries.[5] Each field was laid out with a single main street running down towards the railway, and these streets, now Lake Street and Vicarage Road, were linked by Cross Street, the modern Gordon Street.[6] By 1851, the new suburb housed a total of 144 people, but its growth was checked by the gradual removal of railway activity from South to West Oxford, since in 1851 12 men out of a working population of 43 were employed on the railways.[7] The Oxford & Rugby Railway Co., which was formed in 1844[8] completed the line through West Oxford to Banbury by September 1850,[9] and the South Oxford terminus at once became inconvenient. The decision was therefore taken to build a new station alongside the London & North Western Railway station in Botley Road, and this was opened in October 1852.[10] Engine sheds were constructed nearby in 1854[11] and the old station became simply

1. supra, pp. 57-8
2. supra, p. 33
3. infra, pp.121-2, 125-8
4. J.O.J. 10.7.1847, p.2; 4.9.1847, p.2; 12.5.1849, p.2; 14.7.1849, p.2
5. G. Tindall, The fields beneath (1980), p.60
6. O.S. 1:2500 1st edition. Oxfordshire XXXIX.3 (1876); ibid., 2nd edition (1898); Map 7: South Oxford
7. P.R.O. H.O. 107/1688/387-90. Census enumerators' returns, South Hinksey parish, 1851
8. E.P. MacDermot, History of the Great Western Railway, vol. 1. 1833-63 (1964), p.94
9. ibid., p.155
10. ibid., p.168
11. D.T. Lyons, An historical survey of Great Western engine sheds, 1947, 2nd ed. (1974), p.75



Map 7. South Oxford

a goods station until 1873 when this role too was transferred to new premises near Osney Lane.[1] Osney Town and New Osney became the convenient places for railwaymen to live, and these areas prospered from the expansion of railway employment at the expense of New Hinksey. With the creation of so many freehold building plots in East Oxford after enclosure,[2] the lots still available in New Hinksey also lost their scarcity value and there was a greater degree of choice both for speculative builders and for potential residents. The latter might be deterred by regular flooding[3] and by primitive sanitary arrangements,[4] but especially on the Abingdon Road, the suburb presented a more attractive aspect, and in 1873, a tailor named John Piper said "he had moved to Hinksey on account of his wife's bad health, having heard that it was a healthy place."[5] The twin demands for cheap rented accommodation and for slightly higher quality housing for those with small savings helped to sustain a modest level of building activity in the 1850s and 1860s. By 1871, New Hinksey contained 159 houses and a population of 722,[6] and conditions there were enhanced following its inclusion in the Oxford Local Board district in November 1875[7] and the contemporary extension of main drainage to the suburb.[8] This improvement

1. O.C., 13.9.1873, p.8
2. supra, pp. 86 ff.
3. O.C., 27.7.1872, p.8; O.C.A. T/SL 13. New Hinksey Mixed School log book, 1871-92, p.80, 19.11.1875
4. O.C., 27.7.1872, p.8; 24.8.1872, p.5
5. ibid., 1.3.1873, p.7
6. P.R.O. RG10/1264/51-65. Census enumerators' returns, South Hinksey parish, 1871
7. O.C., 20.1.1875, p.5
8. ibid., 10.6.1875, p.8

may have encouraged Alfred Boffin, an Oxford baker, to develop a large site in Lake Street in the early 1880s, building six- and seven-roomed artisan houses of which ten fronted the existing street and the rest a new cul-de-sac which he called Summerfield.[1]

With the continued availability of building lots in New Hinksey and of course in other Oxford suburbs, there was little incentive for owners of land in Grandpont to sell their estates or to lay them out for building. In the late 1850s, however, the Corporation sought to increase its income by granting building leases on two suburban estates, one in Walton Street[2] and the other in Chapel Close, a narrow strip of land on the east side of Abingdon Road. An unsuccessful attempt was made to auction the land on 40 year building leases in October 1859[3] but, within a month, the Oxford building firm of Young & Co., had submitted a tender of £400 for the purchase of the site and a continuing annual ground rent to £7 for the 40 year term.[4] The lease was signed in February 1860[5] and ten semi-detached houses and one detached house were built on the site.[6]

When Chapel Close was put up for auction in October 1859, the auctioneer remarked upon the fact that the extensive views which the lots enjoyed were unlikely to be interrupted because colleges owned all the surrounding land.[7] This forecast remained true for many years, and on Brasenose and University College land east of Abingdon Road, meadowland

1. O.C., 15.10.1881, p.6; 19.8.1882, p.4; 14.10.1882, p.7
2. supra, p. 75
3. O.C., 15.10.1859, p.5
4. O.C.A. CC.4.2. Estates Cttee M.B., 1859-72, 16.11.1859.
5. O.C.A. E.5.3. Renewal Lease Book, 1854-60, p.94. Lease 8.2.1860
6. O.S. 1:2500 1st edition. Oxfordshire XXXIX.3 (1876); Map 7
7. O.C., 24.9.1859, p.4; 15.10.1859, p.5

is still interspersed with the college cricket grounds that began to be formed in the 1890s.[1] Corporate landowners usually managed their estates with a view to long-term value and maximum prestige,[2] and the costly development of the Grandpont meadows for artisan housing accorded with neither of these aims; in addition, other developers showed little interest in the land while lots were available elsewhere. This stalemate might never have been broken if colleges alone had owned the whole area, but in the land which the Great Western Railway had purchased in 1843 there existed the key which unlocked the door to suburban development on the west side of Abingdon Road. The complete closure of the original Oxford station in 1872[3] led in February 1873 to a sale of building materials,[4] and the subsequent clearance of the site.[5] The redundant railway line running north from the Railway Lake, together with the station site and approach road, were all raised above flood level upon embankments, and therefore offered substantial savings to prospective developers; the inevitably linear nature of the Great Western Railway's land was, moreover, disguised by the company's ownership of two meadows between the station approach road and the river Thames.[6] The depressed state of building activity in Oxford in the mid 1870s delayed the sale of the land, but, in the speculative boom of 1879,[7] the Oxford Building & Investment Comapny was emboldened to purchase nearly 13 acres of railway land north of White House Lane for £3,894.[8] This company had been registered under

1. O.S. 1:2500 2nd edition. Oxfordshire XXXIX.3 (1898)
2. D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.392
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4, (1979), p.295
4. O.C., 13.2.1873, p.5
5. O.S. 1:2500 1st edition.Oxfordshire XXXIX.3 (1876)
6. Brasenose Coll. Ms. Grandpont Tower (43). Abstract of title, 1880
7. infra, p.201
8. Brasenose Coll. Ms. Grandpont Tower (43). Abstract of title, 1880

the Joint Stock Companies Act in February 1866 for the purposes of granting mortgages on property, issuing subscription shares to regular savers and offering a guaranteed 5% interest to those with larger sums to invest.[1] In order to capitalise upon the invested money, the directors had purchased and allotted a five acre freehold estate in Swindon in 1871,[2] and the renewal of business confidence in the late 1870s encouraged them to resume what was described in 1880 as "an important and profitable branch of the company's business."[3] The company's Grandpont estate was divided into 231 lots, most of which had frontages to Western Road, the former station approach road, or to Marlborough Road, which followed the course of the railway from White House Lane to the river. Other lots were formed on the riverside meadows near Folly Bridge with frontages to Brook Street, Buckingham Street and Cobden Crescent.[4] Approximately 200 lots were put up for auction on October 1st 1879 and 173 were reported to have been sold for £6,590.[5] By October 1882, a large number of workmen's dwellings had been erected,[6] but prospects of an early completion of the estate were dashed by the collapse of the Oxford Building & Investment Company in April 1883[7] which only served to intensify the contemporary depression of the Oxford building trade.[8] The company's collapse left 67 lots on the estate unsold,[9] but the liquidator, Walter

1. Bodl. 247554 e.43 (7). Oxford Building & Investment Company Ltd., Objects and rules, 1875, pp.6-7

2. O.C., 20.1.1872, p.8

3. ibid., 7.2.1880, p.8

4. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates4, Marlborough Rd. etc.; Map 7

5. O.C., 4.10.1879, p.5

6. ibid., 14.10.1882, p.7

7. ibid., 14.4.1883, p.5

8. infra, p. 201

9. Bodl. G.A. Oxon c.152. Oxford Building & Investment Company Ltd. Misc. papers, 1867-89. Liquidator's preliminary report, 1.12.1883, pp.2-3

Gray, was able to gain possession of them in 1884[1] and, by the following year, he had finished various company-owned houses for letting purposes and was completing the roads so that they could be handed over to the Local Board.[2] The obvious proximity of Grandpont to the city centre made it a convenient place of residence for "Labourers, college servants and a few very small tradespeople and a few very small shop-keepers."[3] A growing demand for housing generated more rapid development in the later 1880sand 1890s and, by 1898, very few lots remained vacant.[4]

Between White House Lane and the Railway Lake, another strip of former railway land provided a constricted site for a southward extension of Grandpont. The land comprised just under two acres, and was purchased from the Great Western Railway Company in July 1882 by James Archer, an Oxford carrier and coal merchant.[5] Archer adopted the only possible course of development that was open to him, and laid out 60 lots on the west side of a new street called Archer Street. This was simply a continuation of Marlborough Road and, by 1892, its separate name had been given up.[6] Lots in the new street were put up for auction in October 1882, being advertised as offering excellent opportunities for superior workmen's dwellings or for business premises.[7] The estate was badly timed, however, following several years of extensive speculation,[8] and

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon c.152. Oxford Building & Investment Company Ltd. Misc. papers, 1867-89. Liquidator's report, year ending 5.4.1884

2. ibid., Liquidator's report, year ending 5.4.1885

3. Bodl. Ms. Top. Oxon. c.105,pp.158-9. Papers re Oxfordshire churches: St. Matthew, Oxford. Application for grant from Oxford Diocesan Church Building Society, 1889?

4. O.S. 1:2500 2nd edition.Oxfordshire XXXIX.3 (1898)

5. Brasenose College Ms. Grandpont (200). Letters 1872-93. Plan 4.7.1882

6. O.C., 6.2.1892, p.7; Map 7

7. ibid., 9.9.1882, p.4

8. infra, p.201

was no more than an isolated cul-de-sac amongst the meadows. Building was therefore slow to begin, and the first application to build in the street was only submitted in March 1887.[1] After this reluctant start, the pace of house-building accelerated, encouraged no doubt by the gradual completion of the adjoining Grandpont estate and by the beginnings of development to the east.

Bordered by building estates on former railway land and with valuable frontages to the Abingdon Road, the two meadows south of White House Lane owned respectively by Brasenose and University College were virtually forced into the market and only the timing of development remained in doubt. The agricultural value of meadowland was diminished by encroaching development,[2] and, in October 1892, Job Gray, an Oxford dairyman and tenant of Roundabouts Close, wrote to the Bursar of Brasenose College seeking a rent reduction because he had, for several years, found it impossible to cut the grass due to "boys trespassing on the land, and other nuisances."[3] At the same time, the value of the land for building purposes was enhanced by the extension of the horse tram service down the Abingdon Road to Lake Street in 1887.[4] By the late 1880s, developers were beginning to make offers for the meadows, and in February 1889, University College completed the sale of the 7-acre Irish Mead to the auctioneer Robert Buckell and Job Gray, its former occupier, for £2,560.[5] The estate plan, approved by the Local Board in February 1889,[6] provided 132 lots, of which 22 fronted the Abingdon Road, while

1. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 1231 (O.S.), 160/4 Marlborough Road.
2. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.305
3. Brasenose College Ms. Grandpont (200). Letters 1872-93. Letter, 3.10.1892
4. O.C., 9.4.1887, p.5
5. University College Ms. Estates' Bursar's Office Ledger, vol. 6, 1870-1900, p.322. Conveyance, 8.2.1889
6. O.C., 9.2.1889, p.7

the rest had 16 feet frontages to three new streets, Chilswell Road, Edith Road and Newton Road.[1] The lay-out anticipated a northward extension of Chilswell Road on to Brasenose land, but because two lots would have been sacrificed, made no provision for a continuation of Newton Road into Archer Street.[2] As on the contemporary East Oxford estates of his political rival, Walter Gray,[3] Buckell offered lots on this Grandpont estate by private contract on easy terms.[4] Another similarity was the concern to ensure good quality artisan housing[5] through covenants which enforced the building of one house per lot and specified that the prime cost of each house should be at least £200. A building line and fencing standards were also prescribed, and a clause was inserted forbidding offensive trades, noxious deposits or any nuisance upon the lots.[6] Development of the estate was brisk, and, by 1898, only four lots remained vacant.[7]

Development of the adjoining Roundabouts Close was delayed until the turn of the century in circumstances which showed how the land market continued to operate on a local and personal level.[8] Interest in the site dated back to at least September 1887 when John Galpin, in his later capacity as an estate agent, wrote to the College Bursar on behalf

1. Map 7
2. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 22, Edith Road.
3. supra, pp. 100-2
4. O.C., 22.6.1889, p.4
5. supra, p. 100
6. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P144. 28 Edith Road. Conveyance, 1.3.1892
7. O.S. 1:2500 2nd edition. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 3 (1898)
8. supra, p. 51

of a client asking whether and for how much the College would sell the field.[1] In January 1889, Walter Gray offered £450 per acre for the land and was also prepared to pay the College's conveyancing costs.[2] The College at first sought tenders from other potential developers, but then, in 1891, it obtained professional advice from the Oxford surveyor, F. Hayward Field, who recommended the outright sale of the meadow "for the erection of small villa residences." He also suggested the straightening of the northern boundary of Roundabouts Close and the provision of a 40 feet wide road which would improve the meadow, the White House property opposite and College land west of Marlborough Road "which will in all probability, and before many years, become valuable for building purposes."[3] This proposal seems to have lain fallow until September 1893, when solicitors acting for the Oxford builder, William Kerby, offered £500 per acre for the meadow subject to the College straightening and widening White House Lane.[4] Kerby's offer, which was raised to £525 per acre in October,[5] was not accepted, but it probably encouraged the College to proceed with the White House Lane improvement in 1894.[6] Other bids were made for the land and Thomas Axtell, a builder with premises in both Oxford and London, offered £625 per acre in March 1894, increasing this to £700 in April.[7] Another Oxford builder, Samuel Hutchins, offered £700 for a 200 feet frontage to Abingdon Road, since only that "would after developement (sic) be at all suitable for the class of buildings that I would care

1. Brasenose College Ms. Grandpont (200). Letters, 1872-93. Letters, 10.9.1887, 14.9.1887

2. ibid., Letter, 24.1.1889

3. ibid., Grandpont(207) Report by F.H. Field, 12.11.1891

4. ibid., Grandpont (200) Letters, 1872-93. Letter, 9.9.1893

5. ibid,, Letter, 13.10.1893

6. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 54, White House Lane; Brasenose College Ms. Grandpont (201) Letters, 1894-1902. Letter from City Engineer, 25.7.1894

7. Brasenose Coll. Ms. Grandpont (201) Letters, 7.3.1894, 13.4.1894

to negotiate".[1] The speedy rejection of Robert Buckell's offer of £550 per acre in April caused him to complain that it was "very difficult tendering in the dark against an unknown bid, and I can only wish that the property had been offered at auction when I think I should have been the purchaser."[2] In the event, none of the bids proved acceptable to the College, although most of them exceeded the sum of £2,563 which John Henry Salter, the Oxford boatbuilder, eventually paid for the four-acre site in April 1899.[3] Salter laid out the estate in 105 lots, with frontages to Abingdon Road, White House Road, Kineton Road and an extension of Chilswell Road.[4] The City Council approved the plan in May 1899, subject to the width of Kineton Road being increased from 30 feet to 36 feet, and this alteration led to houses on the north side of the street being built upon the pavement edge.[5] Elsewhere on the estate, a building line was to be respected, and houses were built behind a dwarf wall topped by iron palisading. Salter also insisted on seeing the plans of each house before building could commence, and forbade the sale of liquor on any lot for 25 years without his consent.[6] The convenient position of Salter's estate encouraged rapid development and house-building was complete by 1914.[7]

The delayed sale of Brasenose College land undoubtedly contributed to the southward spread of suburban development beyond New Hinksey in the

1. Brasenose Coll. Ms. Grandpont (201) Letter, 14.3.1894
2. ibid., Letters, 25.4.1894, 27.4.1894
3. ibid., Letter, 16.11.1898; O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P659. 13 Chilswell Road. Conveyance 1.3.1902, reciting conveyance, 19.4.1899
4. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Estates 10, Chilswell Road; Map 7
5. O.C., 6.5.1899, p.2
6. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P659. 13 Chilswell Rd. Conveyance 1.3.1902
7. O.S. 1:2500 2nd revision. Oxfordshire XXXIX.3 (1919)

early 1890s. Improved access by horse-tram,[1] the availability of main drainage and the gradual enhancement of New Hinksey[2] also improved the prospects for building speculation in an area which was optimistically described as being ten minutes' walk from Carfax.[3] In 1891, William Farthing, an architect and surveyor of 46 The Strand, London, submitted a plan for an estate containing 92 lots, most of which had frontages to Norreys Avenue.[4] The Council approved Farthing's scheme in February 1891[5] and, by September, Farthing was offering to let or sell plots with 16 feet widths and depths ranging from 120 to 130 feet.[6] In 1892, land to the south of Norreys Avenue was laid out for Charles Gillman, an Oxford photographer and printseller, by Galpin & Son.[7] This estate was again intended for a superior class of artisans' dwellings,[8] and most of the 114 lots were located in Sunningwell Road. Building in Norreys Avenue began immediately[9] but lots in the more distant Sunningwell Road only became attractive as Norreys Avenue filled up in the mid 1900s.[10] The virtual completion of building on both estates before 1914[11] was probably encouraged from February 1908 by the opening of nearby Hinksey Halt.[12] This station was approached by a path from the northern end of

1. <u>supra</u>, p. 113
2. <u>supra</u>, pp 108-9
3. <u>O.C.</u>, 26.9.1891, p.4
4. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates43, Norreys Avenue
5. <u>O.C.</u>, 7.2.1891, p.5
6. <u>ibid.</u>, 26.9.1891, p.4
7. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates51, Sunningwell Road
8. <u>ibid.</u>, 9.7.1892, p.4
9. e.g. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 1781 (O.S.) 13/25 Norreys Avenue, 10.9.1891
10. Plans for 75 houses in Sunningwell Road were submitted, 1906-8
11. O.S. 1:2500 2nd revision. Oxfordshire XXXIX. 3 (1919)
12. R.A. Cooke, <u>Track layout diagrams of the G.W.R. and B.R (W.R) Section 27: Oxford</u> (1976), p.7

Wytham Street, and formed part of a Great Western Railway experiment to foster suburban passenger traffic in the city. Local railway facilities may also have accounted for the otherwise extraordinary timing of another building estate which sought to extend still further the built-up area of South Oxford. In June 1914, at a time of deep recession in the building trade, the City Council approved a plan submitted by R. Bartlett - possibly Richard Bartlett, local registrar of marriages, for laying out the field south of Sunningwell Road in 204 building plots.[1] The outbreak of World War I postponed any progress on Bartlett's estate, and led also to the closure of Hinksey Halt in March 1915,[2] but the post-war growth of the city allied to good bus services along Abingdon Road led to its rapid development in the 1920s.

South Oxford was almost pre-destined by geographical factors to become a low-status area. Most of the area had been liable to flood, but by raising land beside Abingdon Road just marginally above flood level, developers were able to form a succession of streets which clung to the main road like shipwrecked mariners to a life-raft.[3] On either side of this island suburb, development gave way to riverside meadows which clearly separate South Oxford from West or East Oxford, and still bring the countryside into the heart of the city.

1. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 38, Lincoln Road
2. R.A. Cooke, op.cit., p.7
3. Map 7

2.5 West Oxford

In geographical terms, West Oxford had much in common with South Oxford in that the undeveloped parts of St. Thomas's parish were bisected by a major road, in this case Botley Road, and consisted largely of low-lying meadows beside branches of the river Thames.[1] The medieval and later suburb of St. Thomas's lay close to the city under the shadow of the castle and was flanked on three sides by Christ Church land[2] which had long constrained its physical growth. As late as 1850, the green and undeveloped state of this land contrasted greatly with the congested living conditions which had become a feature of the courts and yards behind St. Thomas's Street.[3] By this time, however, the extension of the Oxford & Rugby Railway through West Oxford[4] and the impending construction of the London & North Western Railway line from Bletchley to a station at Rewley Road were making physical expansion inevitable. The form which this development was to take was influenced by the relative shabbiness and poverty of St. Thomas's, by its semi-industrial nature, by its low-lying situation and by its proximity to railway, canal, river and road transport. All these factors militated against fashionable development[5] and tended to ensure that the western side of Oxford would become a working-class suburb with some industrial development and not, as in London or Glasgow, an unpolluted refuge for the better-off.

The diversion of major railway activity from South Oxford to St. Thomas's parish was very beneficial to Christ Church as the major land-

1. Map 8 : West Oxford and Jericho
2. T. W. Squires, In West Oxford (1928), p.114; V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 3 (1954), p.235
3. R.S. Hoggar, (Plan of the city of Oxford from actual survey), (1850)
4. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4, (1979), p.295
5. M. Shaw, op.cit., pp.193-4

Map 8. West Oxford and Jericho

owner concerned, and doubtless to the companies also since they had to deal with one owner rather than many.[1] In the mid 1840s, the College sold over 11½ acres to the Great Western Railway Company for the Oxford & Rugby line[2] and a further two acres lying between Osney Lane and Botley Road were sold in 1852, causing the westward diversion of Mill Street to its present course.[3] In 1851, the twelve acres required for the London & North Western Railway station were valued at £12,355, and the Great Western Railway purchased another seven acres in 1865 and 1870.[4] Until the 1860s, Christ Church made no attempt to capitalise on the enhanced development potential of the rest of the estate, and its inertia forced development westward to a marginally less convenient freehold estate. By June 1851, a meadow to the south-west of Osney Bridge which belonged to James Haughton Langston[5] had been purchased by the Town Clerk, George Parsons Hester.[6] The timing of the purchase was significant, since the Rewley Road station opened in May 1851,[7] and Hester was doubtless aware of the plan to build a new Great Western Railway station nearby.[8] In July 1851, the first part of the estate was put up for auction as "Rich meadow land, freehold, tithe-free and Land Tax redeemed, near the Botley Toll gate.....

1. supra, p. 106 ; J. R. Kellett, The impact of the railways on Victorian cities (1969), p.126

2. Christ Church Ms. Maps Oxford (St. Thomas) 18 (Plan of land to be sold to the G.W.R.,184-)

3. ibid., Maps Oxford (St. Thomas) 17. Plan of additional land to be sold to the G.W.R.,1852

4. Table 7

5. Christ Church Ms. Maps Oxford (St. Thomas) 11. Plan of Osney Mills...., 13.2.1845.

6. ibid., Estates 77/347. Letter from G.P. Hester, 4.6.1851; O.C., 14.6.1851, p.1

7. J.O.J., 31.5.1851, p.3

8. A. Offer, op.cit., pp.19-20 makes clear that official positions in local government were often put to good use in this way.

and near the new railway station, as divided into 64 lots of various dimensions, suitable for gardens and building purposes."[1] Hester sought tenders for the delivery of a large quantity of stone for road and rough building purposes in August,[2] and, in the following month, the remaining 40 lots on the estate were auctioned.[3] Three large lots were provided at the northern end of the estate, but most had 18 feet frontages to the three main streets, West Street, East Street and Bridge Street. The latter led to a stone bridge which gave the island estate its only access to the Botley Road.[4] Building development, fuelled by the demand of railwaymen for housing close to their work, was rapid and, by the mid 1850s, much of Bridge Street was completed and several groups of houses existed in both West Street and East Street.[5] Builders sought to exploit the demand by squeezing extra houses on to the land, and nos. 97-100 Bridge Street, for example, were built on three 18 feet-wide lots.[6] By 1861 Osney Town housed 795 people in 141 inhabited houses,[7] and the regular floods[8] which led to the area being nicknamed Frogs' Island[9] seem to have been tolerated because it was so close to the stations and the city centre; certainly, at the time of the 1871 census only one house in Osney Town was uninhabited out of a total of 156.[10]

1. O.C., 12.7.1851, p.1
2. ibid., 2.8.1851, p.1
3. ibid., 13.9.1851, p.1
4. O.S. 1:2500 1st edition. Oxfordshire XXXIII.14 (1876); Map 8
5. H.W. Acland, Memoir on the outbreak of cholera at Oxford in the year 1854 (1856), map
6. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P 347. 97-100 Bridge Street. Mortgage, 4.5.1854
7. Quoted, M. Graham, St. Frideswide's church, Osney, Oxford (1978), p.1
8. O.C.A. T/SL 31. St. Frideswide's Boys' School log book, 1873-1900, p.44, 19.11.1875; p.187, 25-26.10.1882 record instances of flooding.
9. West Oxford News 19 (April 1977), p.4
10. P.R.O. RG 10/441/ 5-21. Census of England & Wales, 1871. Census enumerators' returns, Oxford: St. Thomas.

In the 1860s, Christ Church embarked on a policy of rehousing some of the poor in St. Thomas's and leasehold development elsewhere in the parish may have been seen as a means of recouping some of the cost. The work of the early housing societies in London[1] had been given local relevance by Acland's exposure of degrading housing conditions in the poorer parts of Oxford,[2] and Christ Church responded by ceasing to renew the leases of old properties bordering The Hamel and Osney Lane. Between 1866 and 1868, this became the site of Christ Church Buildings, a typically forbidding block[3] which provided 13 three-bedroom flats, 12 two-bedroom flats and six one-bedroom flats.[4] These model dwellings cost £4,700[5] and a further £1,994 was expended on nine three-bedroom houses that were built in The Hamel and St. Thomas's Street in 1868.[6] Further schemes were envisaged for the 1870s[7] but they were never implemented, perhaps because the rental of Christ Church Buildings was only yielding just over 5% gross in 1869.[8] A better return might have been anticipated from development of the meadows and market gardens between St. Thomas's and Osney Town, and in about 1865 a plan was drawn up suggesting that much of the area should be laid out for building.[9] The College ignored

1. J.N. Tarn, Five percent philanthropy: an account of housing in urban areas between 1840 and 1914 (1973), pp.15-27

2. H.W. Acland, op.cit., passim

3. A.S. Wohl, The eternal slum: housing and social policy in Victorian London (1977), pp.164-7

4. J.O.J., 13.10.1866, p.5; 19.10.1867, p.8

5. Christ Church Ms. Estates 78/135. Report on model dwellings for the working classes, August 1868.

6. O.C., 17.10.1868, p.8; Christ Church Ms. Estates 78/134. Estimate from Castle & Co., 20.4.1868

7. Christ Church Ms. Maps Oxford (St. Thomas) 26. Part of the parish of St. Thomas'....showing proposed improvements, 1867

8. ibid., V.B.I. Weekly tenements, 1869-1873, pp. 1-3

9. ibid., Maps Oxford (St. Thomas) 25. Plan of Christ Church land in the parish of St. Thomas' laid out for building leases, cal865.

the proposed development of the Oxpens area to the south of Osney Lane, deterred perhaps by fears that houses on such a large and, from its situation, inevitably low-class estate might not retain their reversionary value.[1] A smaller and more manageable part of Bruton's scheme laid out the northern side of Hythe Bridge Street in 20 lots between Rewley Road and Wareham Stream, and this site was developed on 80 year building leases by 1872.[2]

Christ Church had still done nothing to assuage the local demand for artisan houses, and, in the late 1860s, the College began to allocate land beyond the railway lines for this and semi-industrial purposes. Mill Street, a lane leading to Osney Mill, formed the obvious focus for this development, which quickly became known as New Osney. By February 1868, the College had clearly agreed to lease part of this area to Joseph Castle, the Cowley Road builder and brickmaker,[3] apparently insisting that a building line be maintained along Mill Street[4] but leaving the intending lessee complete freedom to develop the land nearer the river. Joseph Castle therefore offered to sublet as "suitable for the erection of dwelling houses, cottages for workmen, warehouses and business premises, sheds, workshops, factories, wharves, breweries, malthouses, hotels etc., etc."[5] One sublessee, Samuel Robinson, an Oxford auctioneer, obtained permission from the Local Board to lay out Russell Street in May 1869,[6] and land to the west of Arthur Street became a convenient riverside builder's yard for Messrs. Honour & Castle during the same year.[7]

1. C. W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the eighteenth century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), p.75
2. Christ Church Ms. Deeds Oxford (St. Thomas) Hythe Bridge, passim.: Map 8
3. O.C., 8.2.1868, p.4
4. Christ Church Ms. Estates 77/281. Plan of lands to be sold by auction...., 10.6.1869
5. O.C., 8.2.1868, p.4
6. ibid., 22.6.1869, p.2: Map 8
7. O.C.A. R.5.3 Local Board M.B. 1867-71, p.50

The Oxford builder George Jones became involved with the almost square tract of land at the north-west end of Mill Street, which had frontages both to Mill Street and to Botley Road, a main road site which typically attracted the most prestigious houses.[1] This large plot was laid out with houses on three sides, leaving a cart entrance from Mill Street which led to a riverside builder's yard which Jones himself occupied.[2] Christ Church was reserving the north-east corner of Mill Street for a sizeable hotel in 1869[3] but the project attracted no interest, perhaps because the site was on the wrong side of the railway lines for the city centre.[4] By March 1873, the land was being offered in ten lots,[5] and it was eventually filled by terraced housing and a small hotel in 1876.[6]

The demand for artisan houses near the railway stations and the slowness of Christ Church in meeting it encouraged George Parsons Hester to develop another West Oxford estate along similar lines to Osney Town. Hester later claimed that he had bought the site of New Botley not for speculative purposes at all but because he wanted to build a waterside house for himself;[7] by 1868,[8] however, the demand for freehold land free from restrictive covenants and heavy licence fees, encouraged him to lay

1. R. M. Pritchard, Housing and the spatial structure of the city: residential mobility and the housing market in an English city since the Industrial Revolution (1976), pp.45-6

2. O.S. 1:2500 1st edition. Oxfordshire XXXIII.14 (1876); O.C., 22.10.1870, p.2

3. Christ Church Ms. Estates 77/281 op.cit.

4. J. R. Kellett, The impact of railways on Victorian cities (1969), p.293

5. O.C., 15.4.1873, p.4

6. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 71 (O.S.) 2- 11 Mill Street, 11.1.1876; O.S. 1:2500. Oxfordshire 1st edition XXXIII. 14 (1876); Map 8

7. O.C., 8.2.1873, p.8

8. ibid., 7.3.1868, p.8

out the meadow in 61 lots, reserving for himself one acre beside the Bulstake stream, a branch of the river Thames. Two roads, eventually to become Duke Street and Earl Street, were laid out at right angles to the Botley Road, and the land itself was said to have been raised 18 inches. Each lot was 16 feet wide, and was sold at a fixed price of £20 plus one guinea for the conveyance.[1] Possibly with a view to encouraging others to build there, Hester built a house at once, but he did so without first submitting plans for approval under the Local Board's building bye-laws.[2] He was summoned before the City Court in April 1868, but his preliminary objections that the summons did not show Botley Meadow to be within the Local Board district and that the time allowed for complaint had lapsed secured an adjournment.[3] The case was not heard again, and house-building proceeded gradually and without incident for several years. At the time of the 1871 census, there were seven inhabited houses in what was described as Botley Field.[4] In December 1872, however, the Local Board's Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Alfred Winkfield, reported that the site was quite unfit for building since "The houses are built upon a patch of ground barely raised above flood level, and that only by street refuse and other rubbish." He complained that the soil was waterlogged in winter, that the water supply was inefficient and that there was no provision for drainage. Acting on medical advice and the recommendation of the General Purposes Committee, the Board therefore resolved in February 1873 to refuse to sanction plans for houses in Botley Meadow, although

1. O.C., 8.2.1873, p.8; Map 8
2. ibid., 7.3.1868, p.8; 21.3.1868, p.2
3. ibid., 18.4.1868, p.8
4. P.R.O. RG10/1441/4-5. Census of England & Wales, 1871. Census enumerator's returns: Oxford St. Thomas.

this was not to be regarded as giving builders carte blanche to break the building bye-laws.[1] The development of New Botley was unchecked by the Local Board's action, and, just four months later, Hester's reserved land on the east side of Duke Street was put up for auction in 21 lots each with a frontage of 15 feet.[2] By 1879, nearly all the plots had been built on,[3] and New Botley in the mid 1880s was a suburb of 88 houses with a population of between 400 and 450.[4] As Chalklin and Thompson have noted, lack of regulations did not necessarily affect building quality,[5] but New Botley proved to be very flood-prone and inundations were reported in November 1875[6] and August 1878.[7] Poor conditions in the suburb were exacerbated by the Local Board's policy of hoping that building would cease since the area was consequently omitted from the city's main drainage scheme in the 1870s. The danger to residents' health from cesspools overflowing at flood times and contaminating wells encouraged some inhabitants of New Botley to petition the Local Board in 1883 seeking to be connected to the main drainage system.[8] On its own, this request might have achieved little, but it was reinforced by the more general threat that the raw sewage of New Botley posed to the water supply and general health of the city. However slight this risk might have been, it found expression in a pamphlet by Joseph Prestwich[9] and attracted

1. O.C., 8.2.1873, p.7
2. ibid., 31.5.1873, p.5
3. ibid., 18.10.1879, p.8
4. ibid., 5.7.1884, p.7
5. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the 18th century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), p.83; F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.250
6. O.C., 20.11.1875, p.7
7. ibid., 30.8.1878, p.8
8. ibid., 6.10.1883, p.7
9. Joseph Prestwich, Letter on the Oxford water supply... (1884), p.10; O.C., 5.7.1884, p.7

national attention in The Times.[1] Anxious to avoid a scandal which might redound to the discredit of Oxford and its prosperity as a University and residential city, the Local Board reluctantly decided in July 1884 to adopt the City Engineer's scheme to build a pumping station opposite New Botley and pump its sewage to the existing main sewer at Osney.[2] Although 19 property owners objected to "New Botley being interfered with by drainage,"[3] work began on the scheme almost at once[4] and was completed in 1886.[5]

New Botley remained isolated from other West Oxford developments until the 1920s, and land closer to the city centre provided a focus for house-building on a modest scale. The Christ Church estate inevitably played a substantial part in this development, and in 1877, the experienced surveyor and developer, John Galpin, signed an agreement with the College by which he was to develop Cripley Meadow and build there by Michaelmas 1884 68 semi-detached houses with a minimum rental of £20 each.[6] The projected estate also provided Galpin with a large riverside site for the timber yard which was one of his many subsidiary enterprises.[7] As on Joseph Castle's New Osney estate, all the expenses of raising the ground and constructing roads and drains were to be met by the intending lessee, and Christ Church undertook only to grant 80-year leases to Galpin's nominees subject to the approval of the College surveyor. Galpin

1. Quoted, O.C., 14.6.1884, p.7
2. ibid., 5.7.1884, p.7
3. ibid., 9.8.1884, p.7
4. ibid., 30.8.1884, p.5
5. ibid., 16.10.1886, p.7
6. Christ Church Ms. Estates 78/290. Reply to Oxford Building & Investment Co. deputation published in O.T., 28.6.1884; O.C., 22.12.1877, p.5
7. O.C., 22.12.1877, p.5

must clearly have judged that the speculation was a sound one, for the city was in the middle of a building boom[1] and Cripley Meadow was seemingly well situated with the Great Western Railway station to the east, Botley Road to the south and the river Thames to the west.[2] As work began in February 1878, Galpin expressed his determination "to render the swamp of Osney a most desirable locality"[3] and, by July, large houses on the Botley Road were nearing completion.[4] Six houses in Abbey Road and six in Cripley Road had been erected by October, when the estate was described as "capitally situated for businessmen to whom time is an all-important object...., half a minute would suffice to catch a train."[5] Only four houses were completed in 1879, however, and it is probable that these dwellings "of superior character....for middle-class families renting at approximately £30 per annum,"[6] were just too superior for a situation so close to that "noisy and obtrusive servant,"[7] the railway. A number of smaller semi-detached houses were built lower down Abbey Road backing on to the river[8] but, as the speculative bubble burst in the early 1880s, development stopped completely. Galpin's bankruptcy was announced in November 1883 and the College eventually reclaimed the undeveloped land and unfinished houses.[9] With the exception of no. 29 Abbey Road, a picturesque brick and tile-hung house by Clapton Rolfe which was built for

1. infra, p. 201
2. Map 8
3. O.C., 16.2.1878, p.5
4. ibid., 13.7.1878, p.5
5. ibid., 12.10.1878, supplement
6. ibid., 18.10.1879, p.8
7. J. R. Kellett, op.cit., p.289
8. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 492 (O.S.) 9/15 Abbey Road, 16.3.1880; O.C., 23.10.1880, p.2
9. Christ Church Ms. Estates 78/290, op.cit.

the Rev. W. H. Smythe in 1886-7,[1] the Cripley Estate was completed on a more modest scale with terraced houses built by Thomas Kingerlee.[2]

In June 1879, less than two years after Galpin's agreement with Christ Church, the Oxford timber-merchant, Thomas Barrett, accepted similar terms for the leasing of land at the south-west end of Mill Street in New Osney. The land was divided into 35 lots of which 9 fronted Mill Street and the others lay in a new street, named Barrett Street, which led down to the river. Like Galpin, Barrett was to construct all roads, footways and drains, and he had also to complete the houses at the rate of 12 a year before the end of 1881. He was to expend at least £6,000 on the estate, and the College took every precaution to insure against shoddy building, specifying the building materials to be used and requiring waterproof cement concrete foundations, upon a clean rubble base. Each house was to have a minimum renting value of £13, and the College surveyor was to approve and sign all plans before building work could commence.[3] Building was swiftly under way and the deadline set for the completion of the estate was never in danger of being exceeded.[4] Superior artisan houses were the end-product and, with rentals of between £15 and £18 per annum,[5] they provided another instance of a ground landlord's inability to control the value of the houses built.[6] The success of the development proved a local need, however, and contrasted greatly with the nearby Cripley estate, where attempts to generate a demand for

1. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 1133 (O.S.) 29 Abbey Road, 6.7.1886; J.O.J., 16.10.1886, p.8; O.C., 15.10.1887, p.6

2. J.O.J., 16.10.1886, p.8

3. Christ Church Ms. Deeds Oxford (St. Thomas) Misc. Agreement for letting a piece of land at Osney...for building, 4.6.1879.

4. O.C., 18.10.1879, p.8; 23.10.1880, p.2

5. ibid., 18.10.1879, p.8

6. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle class housing in Britain (1977), p.111; supra, pp. 70-1

middle-class housing failed to woo potential residents from the leafy environs of North Oxford.

A low-lying situation and an approach through a poor district were undoubted deterrents to fashionable settlement,[1] and West Oxford continued to develop as an exclusively artisan suburb both by additions to existing streets and neighbourhoods and by extension of the built-up area between Osney Town and New Botley. In Osney Town itself, some of the land on the west side of West Street had continued to be used for gardens[2] and was not developed until the mid 1880s.[3] The eight houses which make up Swan Street were built by a local boatbuilder, Charles Bossom, in 1891,[4] and, probably in the same year, he acquired land to the south of South Street that was surplus to the needs of a flood prevention scheme.[5] Plans for laying out the site as an extension for Bridge Street were approved in December 1892[6] and the first applications for building were received at once.[7] By 1898, 41 houses had been built on Bossom's land,[8] leaving an awkwardly shaped area on the western side which was filled in by the five houses of Doyley Road in 1908.[9]

1. M.A. Simpson, The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle class housing in Britain (1977), p.52

2. O.S. 1:2500 1st edition. Oxfordshire XXXIII. 14 (1876)

3. e.g. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 1068 (O.S.) 43-45 West Street,26.12.1885

4. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 50, Swan Street, 1891

5. Christ Church Ms. Deeds Oxford (Osney, St. Thomas). Site of manor and mill. Order of exchange, 4.10.1852 with endorsement

6. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 5, Bridge St. extension, 1892

7. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 1998 (O.S.) 39-43 Bridge Street, 7.12.1892

8. O.S. 1:2500. 2nd edition. Oxford Sheet XXXIX, 2 (1898)

9. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 18, Doyley Road, 1908; Map 8

By the mid 1890s, the virtual completion of house-building in Osney Town, New Osney and New Botley had greatly increased the development potential of other meadows adjoining Botley Road. In October 1894, an unsuccessful attempt was made to force into the market the northern part of Oatlands Meadow[1] between Ferry Hinksey Lane and Bulstake Bridge but, by March 1895, Thomas Gable, landlord of the Balloon Inn, Queen Street, had purchased at least the portion of the estate which adjoined Ferry Hinksey Lane.[2] Gable, who had been jointly concerned with the development of Regent Street in East Oxford[3] then submitted plans for a building estate which included 20 plots in Botley Road and others fronting a new 30 feet wide road called Hill View.[4] Building lines of ten feet and 7½ feet were enforced in Botley Road and Hill View Road respectively, and, before the Council undertook the work of roadmaking, Gable was to embank the land to a height determined by the City Engineer.[5] This work must have been undertaken quickly because, in June 1895, Organ Bros. applied to build four houses in Botley Road,[6] and the first applications for Hill View Road and Ferry Hinksey Road were submitted later in the year.[7] This familiar pattern of piecemeal development by small building firms was brought to a premature end by Gable's suicide in January 1896,[8] and ownership of unsold lots on the estate subsequently passed to Thomas Henry Kingerlee, Oxford's largest builder.[9] By

1. O.C., 15.9.1894, p.1; 6.10.1894, p.5
2. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 29, Hill View Road, March 1895
3. Table 5
4. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 29, Hill View Road, March 1895; Map 8
5. O.C., 4.5.1895, p.7
6. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 2536 (O.S.) 47/53 Botley Road, 5.6.1895
7. ibid., 2604 (O.S.) 2 Hill View Road, 30.10.1895; 2586 (O.S.) 1-2 Ferry Hinksey Road, 4.9.1895
8. O.C., 4.1.1896, p.2
9. infra, p. 229

July 1901, the firm had acquired the rest of the Oatlands estate and secured approval for a plan by the Oxford architect and surveyor, Frank Martin, which envisaged laying it out in 205 lots, some in Botley Road and the rest in four new roads, Alexandra Road, Oatlands Road, Harley Road and Riverside Road.[1] In September 1902, Kingerlee's initiated the development of another estate to the north of Botley Road which offered 158 lots on the main road, in Binsey Lane and in two new streets, Helen Road and Henry Road.[2] Between 1896 and 1909, the firm built most of the houses on these estates itself,[3] reflecting contemporary trends in the building industry towards standardization, uniformity and economies of scale.[4]

As in South Oxford, the physical features of West Oxford propelled the suburb towards low-status development and the coming of railways to the area only served to reinforce that tendency. The form that development took was also an echo of South Oxford with housing nowhere straying far from the main road and soon giving way to meadows above which it was marginally raised.

1. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Estates 2. Alexandra Road, 3.7.1901; Map 8

2. ibid., Estates 30, Helen Road, 3.9.1902

3. e.g. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept.2778 (O.S.) 11/17 Hill View Road, 2.9.1896; 149 (N.S.) 15/37, 43/49 Alexandra Road, 4.12.1901; 468 (N.S.) 1/47 Henry Road, 30.10.1903; 1546 (N.S.) 25/37 Helen Road, 18/36 Binsey Lane, 6.10.1909

4. R. J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. Univ. of Leeds Ph.D. (1979), p.339; C.G. Powell, An economic history of the British building industry, 1815-1979 (1980), p.64

2.6 Jericho

The meadowland sloping westward from Walton Street to the Oxford Canal and a branch of the river Thames offered few incentives to fashionable development. Like South and West Oxford, the area was subject to regular flooding, and this natural disadvantage was compounded by the apparent isolation of Jericho. The very place-name Jericho was often used of remote settlements[1] and in a city where Worcester College could still be referred to as "out of Oxford"[2] the land west of Walton Street must have seemed almost inaccessible. From 1790, the proximity of the Oxford Canal acted rather as a lure to industrial development, attracting a boat builder's yard and some associated housing to Walton Well by 1821.[3] In 1825, William Carter removed his iron foundry from Summertown to an adjacent site beside the Oxford & Birmingham Canal.[4] Ready access to canal-borne coal may have been a factor in the University's crucial decision, also taken in 1825, to purchase more than 3½ acres of land in Walton Street for the new University Press.[5]

The potential demand for housing near the University Press greatly enhanced the development potential of Jericho, but it is arguable that local landowners would, in any case, have been tempted to sell or develop their property because of the contemporary house-building boom in Oxford. In the early 1820s, urban cottage building on a large scale had already been generated in St. Ebbe's and St. Clement's, in the Gloucester Green area and in Summertown.[6] The demand for these houses arose from two

1. Oxford English Dictionary, vol. 5, H - K (1933), p.568
2. G.V. Cox, Recollections of Oxford (1868), p.189
3. Bodl. Ms. D.D. Par. Oxf. St. Giles, b.3 Baptisms. Baptism of children of two boatbuilding families at Ward's Dock, 11.3.1821 and 18.3.1821
4. J.O.J., 22.10.1825, p.2
5. supra, p.51
6. Census of England & Wales, 1831. Abstract of the answers and returns....made pursuant to the Act...of 11 George IV... Enumeration Abstract. vol. 1 (1833), pp.494, 502

familiar demographic features, the natural increase of population and the migration of people from the countryside to the town,[1] but it also owed much to "internal migration within the city itself as the colleges and other owners in the crowded central parishes cleared housing to extend and improve. Those of low economic and social status were thus forced out into....a ring of suburbs around an upper class centre."[2] With diminishing amounts of building land available nearer to the heart of the city, it must have been becoming clear by the mid 1820s that Jericho was now ripe for development.

Ownership of land in Jericho was uncomplicated with just three landlords owning the whole district.[3] The land of Henry Ward, an Oxford coal merchant, lay nearest the Oxford Canal and was the least suitable for immediate development because of its remoteness and liability to flooding. Much more promising were the pieces of land owned by St. John's College and the Reverend Peter Wellington Furse, Rector of Great Torrington in Devon, for both had extensive frontages to Walton Street. In 1825, both chose to initiate development, the absentee landowner characteristically preferring to sell his land freehold while the College took a longer view and offered lots on 40 year building leases.[4] St. John's laid out a part of Walton Close in 61 lots with frontages to Walton Street and

1. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (1971), pp.28-31; J. Burnett, A social history of housing, 1815-1970 (1978), pp. 7-9; R. Lawton, Rural depopulation in 19th century England. In, R.W. Steel & R. Lawton, eds., Liverpool essays in geography: a jubilee collection (1967), p.241

2. R. J. Morris, The Friars & Paradise; an essay in the building history of Oxford, 1801-1861. Oxoniensia 36 (1971), pp.74-5

3. supra, p. 30

4. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing in the eighteenth century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), pp.75-7; ibid., The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), p.113

the beginnings of Worcester Place, Richmond Road and Walton Crescent. These lots were put up for auction in April and June 1825[1] and the Walton Street frontage was rapidly built up; thus the completed three-storey brick terrace, nos. 4 - 15 Walton Street, was leased by June 1826.[2] A more leisurely pace of development on the lots behind Walton Street marked a reduction in demand, partly because of over-building in a city which entered a period of slower population growth in the 1830s.[3] Builders may also have been attracted on to the adjacent freehold estate where they faced fewer restrictions and did not risk financial injury from possible delays in obtaining leases.[4] Development on the Reverend Furse's estate, as on that of St. John's College, began in 1825, but, whereas the College held land in reserve, Furse envisaged the immediate sale of the whole estate. The land was divided into a basic grid pattern with new streets extending from Walton Street to the western limit of Furse's property which were connected by two further roads, the eventual Hart Street and King Street.[5] The sale of the University Press site for £3,700 was completed in July 1825[6] and the rest of the land was disposed of at a series of auctions between July 1825 and May 1829.[7] Houses gradually filled the new streets[8] and most were typically two-storeyed brick and slate properties built on the pavement edge. In one case, however, a builder

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. MP46. Plan of lots set out for sale in Walton Close, April 1825; ibid., MP47. Plan of lots set out for sale in Walton Closes (sic), April and June 1825; Map 8

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A.11, Leases and general ledger, 1821-9, pp.198, 202, 217. Leases, 17.1.1826, 5.6.1826

3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.195

4. D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.248

5. Map 8

6. O.U.A. W.P. α 51.Lease and release, 11/12 - 7. 1825.

7. Andrew Whitehead, History of working class housing in Jericho (1977), pp. 9 - 10 (typescript in O.C.L.)

8. ibid., p.12

purchased a larger plot between Jericho Street and Cardigan Street, using the site to build Jericho Gardens, 24 two-room cottages,[1] which, with inadequate drainage and water supply, accounted for 22 cases of cholera during the 1832 epidemic.[2] These houses were stunning proof of the dictum that it was "sometimes possible to run through the whole gamut from meadow to slum in a single generation, or even less."[3] Jericho Gardens was, however, only a small part of a district which comprised some 273 houses by 1841,[4] and further building in Jericho took its cue not so much from the few outrageously shoddy buildings as from the majority which were plain and perhaps skimped but habitable.

By the 1840s, little scope existed for infilling on the former estate of the Reverend Furse, and with no further land being made available by St. John's College, the Henry Ward estate became the only outlet for additional building. Under contemporary conditions much of this land was quite unsuitable for development, being flooded for six or eight months of the year[5] and cut off from direct access to the city centre by the undeveloped part of Walton Close. In later years, at least, this meadowland was defended from the population beyond it by a high stone wall,[6] rendering trespass well-nigh impossible. These difficulties

1. A. Whitehead, op.cit., pp.32-3

2. V. Thomas, Memorials on the malignant cholera in Oxford in 1832 (1835), pp.16-17; M. W. Acland, op.cit., p.37

3. H.J. Dyos & D.A. Reeder, Slums and suburbs. In H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 2 (1978), p.364

4. A. Whitehead, op.cit., p.13

5. Report of evidence....into the state of the sewerage, drainage and water supply of....Oxford (1851), p.15

6. St. John's College Ms. Est. I.F.7. Bursar's Letter Book, 1874-7. Letters to W. H. White, 3.2.1876, 7.2.1876

certainly delayed the development of the estate, but Henry Ward laid out part of Nelson Street in 1840[1] and, by 1850, a few houses were also evident in an extension of Wellington Street and in an embryonic Albert Street.[2] The proximity of Jericho to the railway stations increased the potential demand for housing in the 1850s and swifter development of the Ward estate was facilitated by a drainage scheme which lowered the water-table and considerably reduced the incidence of flooding.[3] The Paving Commissioners undertook this work in 1849-50 following revelations about disease in Jericho[4] but the fact that the drainage committee was chaired by the Provost of Worcester College suggests that the sanitary fears of the College[5] were perhaps the most influential justification. Henry Ward died in 1852[6] but his trustees and executors, William and Henry Ward, were subsequently able to lay out part of the estate as the need arose, providing lots with wider frontages[7] which served, as in Wolverhampton, to encourage the building of slightly superior housing.[8] Builders who might depend upon the rent and income of their properties generally followed this lead and built larger, more substantial houses which could be let readily to respectable tenants. In 1855, for instance, four new houses in Great Clarendon Street each had a front parlour, a kitchen, a wash-

1. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P251. 9-10 Nelson Street. Conveyance 2.10.1840; Map 8

2. R. S. Hoggar, (Plan of the city of Oxford....) (1850)

3. Report of evidence....into the state of the sewerage, drainage and water supply of....Oxford (1851), pp.15, 22, 52

4. W.P. Ormerod, On the sanatory (sic) condition of Oxford (1848), pp.22-23

5. Report of evidence....(1851), pp.5-6

6. J.O.J. 6.3.1852, p.3

7. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P251.Nelson Street (but filed under 27 Jericho Street). Conveyance, 28.3.1853; P251.9-10 Nelson Street. Conveyance, 2.10.1840. The former offered 18 feet frontages, the latter 12 feet frontages.

8. M. Shaw, Reconciling social and physical space: Wolverhampton 1871. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), p.208

house and three bedrooms, and were equipped with grates, cupboards and a copper. They were clearly for the regularly-paid artisan and the advertisement, stressing their proximity to the "anticipated new bridge over the Canal," clearly looked to railway employees as potential purchasers or tenants.[1]

While the low-lying freehold meadows of Jericho gradually filled with houses, St. John's College set its corporate face against further development and was only persuaded to lay out the rest of its estate for building in the 1860s and 1870s. College reluctance probably owed something to the fear that housing which would inevitably be of artisan character might not retain its reversionary value over a long period.[2] Any such doubts were, however, diminished by rising land values as building land in Jericho became scarce, and market gardens in such locations usually became less valuable because of trespass.[3] It became very evident that this prime site which was leased to an Oxford nurseryman at a rental of £26 per annum could be made to yield more than three times as much if developed.[4] The Oxford surveyor, John Fisher prepared a scheme for the Jericho Gardens estate by April 1863 and this provided lots in Walton Street, Jericho Street and two new roads, Cranham Street and Cranham Terrace.[5] An attempt was made to auction these lots on long leases,[6] but the College's tenant refused to vacate the land until Michaelmas[7] and the first sale of lots was delayed until October.[8] In May and

1. O.C., 29.9.1855, p.1
2. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the eighteenth century. Urban Studies 5(1968), p.75
3. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.305
4. supra, p.45
5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.1. Estates Committee M.B., 1863-9, p.5, 9.4.1863; Map 8
6. O.C., 18.4.1863, p.4
7. ibid., 25.4.1863, p.4; St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.1. op.cit., p.4
8. ibid., 17.10.1863, p.4

August 1864, a further 44 lots were auctioned at the Jericho House by John Fisher,[1] and the Oxford Chronicle noted in October that the estate, laid out by the college architect, William Wilkinson, already contained "several houses of superior character."[2]

Further development of the St. John's College estate in Jericho was hastened in 1865 by the proposal of the Great Western Railway Company to establish a carriage factory in nearby Cripley Meadow.[3] On April 27th 1865, the College Estates Committee ordered Wilkinson to lay out Smith's Close and land to the north-west of Jericho Gardens according to a pre-existing plan for these areas; at the same time, he was "to furnish the College with plans for different classes of houses with details and specifications."[4] Wilkinson's plan was approved at the end of July, when the Estates Committee ordered that Smith's Close should be advertised without delay as available for building purposes.[5] The scheme provided for an extension of Worcester Terrace, now Richmond Road, and Walton Crescent towards an eventual junction with Nelson Street[6] but, initially, the College showed great caution in laying out only part of the close in 53 building lots, most of which had frontages of 16 or 20 feet. These lots were grouped together in twelve blocks of three, four or five which corresponded with Wilkinson's accompanying plans and elevations for "dwelling houses of a superior character, with ample space for gardens." Ninety-nine year building leases on each block of land were offered at auction on August 28th when both the attendance and the bidding were

1. O.C., 7. 5.1864, p.4; 23.7.1864, p.4
2. ibid., 15.10.1864, p.8
3. supra, pp. 68-9
4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.1. op.cit.,p.93, 27.4.1865
5. ibid., p.129, 29.7.1865
6. Map 8

probably encouraged by the speculative furore which the Great Western Railway proposal aroused in Oxford. All twelve blocks were let at ground rents ranging from £5. 10s. to £12 per annum, with the majority being taken by local builders such as James Walter, James Hall, George Dines and Thomas Harris.[1] Increasing doubts as to the intention of the Great Western Railway delayed house building on the estate, but leases had been granted on 42 completed properties by the end of 1870.[2]

The failure of the carriage factory scheme was an undoubted set-back to the plans of St. John's College, and effectively postponed further development on the College estates in Jericho until the 1870s. Kingston Road, which had been laid out in 1865 as part of the preparation for an army of railway employees,[3] provided ample lots for a much smaller demand until October 1872 when the Estates Committee empowered the Bursar to set out the upper portion of what was to become Juxon Street.[4] In February 1873, the College accepted a proposal from the Oxford surveyor and developer, John Galpin, to build 32 houses on 66 year building leases at an annual ground rent of £1. 10s. per house.[5] These houses, set back behind dwarf walls and flower gardens, had evidently been completed by October 1873, when they were described as "small villas."[6] Plans for a further 16 houses in Juxon Street were approved during 1873[7] but, possibly for

1. O.C., 2.9.1865; St. John's Coll. Ms. MP53. William Wilkinson, Plan of land belonging to St. John's adjoining Walton Place....to be let on lease for term of 99 years...(1865)

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A.30, Long leases 1863-72, pp.187-401

3. supra, p. 69

4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Cttee.M.B. 1869-1932, p.44, 10.10.1872; Map 8

5. ibid., p.48, 12.2.1873

6. O.C., 11.10.1873, p.7

7. O.C.A.R.5.5, op.cit., p.409, June 1873; R.5.6, 1873-6, p.42, December 1873

drainage reasons, the College did not extend the street down to the Oxford Canal for four years.[1] The extension provided lots for 35 houses, a wharf and, to the north of Juxon Street, a site upon which the University Press erected an ink factory.[2]

The development of the Smith's Close estate, which had begun under such auspicious circumstances in 1865, was not resumed until the mid 1870s. In December 1875, the Bursar reported to the College Estates Committee that new sewers had now been laid in the lower part of Smith's Close,[3] and the first proposals for land there were made to the College in February 1876.[4] The continuations of Walton Crescent, Richmond Road and Worcester Place provided an additional 25 lots, most of which were intended for residential development. One substantial lot in Worcester Place was, however, leased as a timber yard[5] and the College was prepared to allow shops at the junction of Walton Crescent and Richmond Road.[6]

By the early 1880s, few lots were available for building in Jericho, and further artisan development in Oxford had to take place in areas less convenient for the city centre. The populous suburb that had been created in less than 60 years was very much a working-class area, as was inevitable because of its low-lying situation and proximity to local industry and

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.2. Estates Cttee.M.B. 1869-1932, p.102, 18.5.1877

2. ibid., Munim.V.C.43.Account book relating to building estates in Walton Street....etc., (ca 1870), p.5., Juxon Street extension

3. ibid., Estates Cttee.M.B., 1869-1932, p.83, 3.12.1875

4. e.g. ibid., Oxford Properties. 18 - 21 Walton Crescent. Proposal, 182.1876

5. ibid., Munim. V.C.43. Account books relating to building estates in Walton Street....etc., (ca 1870), p.2, plan after p.2.

6. ibid., Oxford Properties, 22 - 25 Walton Crescent. Proposal, 17.2.1876

transport facilities. In these respects, Jericho differed little from the later suburbs of South and West Oxford, but its location, wedged between the Oxford Canal and Walton Street gave the area a greater sense of community than was possible in those road-side suburbs or in the wider expanses of East Oxford. To some outsiders, Jericho seemed almost to pose a threat and when Montague Brown and his brother planned a visit to the building site of St. Barnabas' church, they were warned to "Keep to the middle of the road and pay no attention to anything they heard or saw on the way. Furthermore, on no account were they to go at night for they would probably have rats' tails and oyster shells thrown at them...."[1] This embattled unity should not be exaggerated, however, since there were subtle but clear differences between one area and another. The principal one was between freehold and leasehold Jericho, for, although the wall between Smith's Close and Nelson Street was demolished in 1876,[2] most of the College property was still distinguished from the freehold houses by being set behind palisades and flower gardens, potent symbols of the landowner's preference for superior artisan houses.[3] Even within the freehold heartland of Jericho, less easily perceptible social differences would have existed between one street or group of houses and another.[4]

1. Bodl. Ms. Top. Oxon. d484. Hawtrey, Scrapbook of Jericho, 1954, fol. 45. Recollections of Montague Brown (d.1937)

2. J.O.J., 21.10.1876, p.8

3. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.79

4. S. Meacham, A life apart: the English working class, 1890-1914 (1977), p.27; R. Roberts, The classic slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (1973), p.17

Summary

The development of the five Victorian suburbs of Oxford illustrates both the eventual triumph of topographical determinism and the importance of the many decision-makers who became involved in the building process. With the benefit of hindsight, there seems to have been an awesome inevitability about the way in which North Oxford became the city's most fashionable suburb while less favourably-situated areas generated development of a different kind. Certainly, landowners and developers could not hope to launch middle-class estates on unsuitable land, but St. John's College might unwittingly have changed the future of North Oxford if others had acted upon its readiness to provide land for railway building and a workhouse.[1] The difficulties of the ambitious Conservative Land Society estate in East Oxford stemmed from activities on an adjoining estate[2] and the experiences of the National Freehold Land Society in the same suburb and St. John's College in North Oxford show how initial development decisions could set the tone for a whole area.[3] The case studies have demonstrated the growing use of professional advisers by landowners and developers and the increasing powers of local authorities, two factors which served to limit the freedom of the individual house-builder. Despite increasing regulations, however, the development process is shown to have retained a high degree of idiosyncrasy.

1. *supra*, pp. 60-1
2. *supra*, pp. 89-90
3. *supra*, pp. 75, 79, 87

3. Development Control

Estate management and the control of housing quality rested not only with the developers and the local authority but also with the builder and his interpretation of market requirements. The primary influence lay with the developer who could determine the basic framework of the estate and exercise control over the building and subsequent use of houses upon it. The main weapon in the armoury of the freehold developer was the covenant inserted into the deed of sale, but the large leasehold estate could call upon much greater resources, using professional advice to regulate all aspects of development.[1] Municipal control of building standards scarcely existed in the early Victorian period, but legislation stemming from a growing concern for public health gave local authorities an increasing range of powers to influence the lay-out of estates and the quality of house-building.[2] In Oxford, the efforts of the Local Board and the City Council in this respect were supplemented by the work of inspectors employed by the University Delegacy of Lodging -Houses who operated under rules considerably more stringent than those of the city's building bye-laws. The speculative builder was, to some degree, "a pawn in a much larger game,"[3] forced to accept new and stricter controls in much the same way as he might tolerate inevitable rises in the cost of labour and materials. It has been stated, however, that "the history of building regulations is a tale of the regulators never quite catching up with the builders," and the builder deter-

1. C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), pp. 64-5, 133-4; G. Gordon, The shaping of urban morphology. Urban History Yearbook (1984), pp.4-5

2. E. Gauldie, Cruel habitations (1974), pp.131-41; S.M. Gaskell, Building Control: national legislation and the introduction of local byelaws in Victorian England (1983), p.9

3. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.89

4. H.J.Dyos & D.A. Reeder, Slums and suburbs. In, H.J. Dyos & Michael Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 2 (1978), p.364

mined to skimp, over-build or otherwise run contrary to an agreement was always liable to do so. If on one hand the builder was buffeted by legal constraints, he was subject on the other to market considerations, to changing housing needs and, not least, to the dictates of fashion.[1] The response of many builders to these various forces created the Victorian suburbs which still form a large proportion of the city's housing stock.

On many Oxford estates, both large and small, freehold and leasehold, the developer had a conscious end in view when he initiated development; in some cases, it might be to create a fashionable suburb, in others to encourage the building of respectable artisan houses. Rarely, if ever, did he have the philanthropic ambition to make available cheap housing land for the humbler and most irregularly paid members of society. The intentions of the developer were at once made clear by the lay-out of the estate[2] and by the advertisements of its virtue as a building site.[3] In May 1852, for example, suburban villa lots were advertised for sale in New Headington "most delightfully situated on Headington Hill. The great desideratum for respectable families near cities and large towns is to secure detached villas, standing on their own grounds, with lawns, gardens, etc. An opportunity now presents itself of obtaining freehold building villa lots, with sixty feet frontage and one hundred feet deep, containing about seven hundred square yards each lot, with every advantage that land can possess of situation, air, prospect, water, soil and distance."[4] In 1860, the Iffley Road estate of the Conservative Land

1. J. Burnett, A social history of housing, 1815-1970 (1978), p.111
2. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (1971), pp.34-5
3. J.M. Rawcliffe, Bromley: Kentish Market town to London suburb, 1841-81. In F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), pp.66-7
4. O.C., 15.5.1852, p.1

Society was seen similarly as "well adapted to villas and houses, being the highest land in the whole district of the valley of the Thames."[1] The hopes of these promoters differed little from those of St. John's College, which, in November 1864, offered 99 year building leases on a portion of its Parks estate. The lots were said to be "situated in the most healthy part of Oxford, adjacent to and overlooking the Parks and University Grounds now being laid out and planted, and are within a few minutes' walk of the centre of the town, thereby forming sites for combined town and country residences rarely to be obtained..."[2]

Many estates, from their low-lying situation, remoteness or proximity to undesirable development, were never envisaged as having potential for fashionable housing,[3] but developers were anxious to obtain the highest price and sought to encourage building of the highest possible quality. In 1870, for instance, six acres of remote land, forming the eventual site of Golden and Silver Roads, were described as "suitable for the creation of small villas, which are much sought after in this locality."[4] Eight years later, the same land was again offered as suitable "for the erection of a superior class of workmen's dwellings."[5] In West Oxford the Christ Church-owned Cripley estate lay between the river Thames and the Great Western Railway, but was "specially arranged for the erection of small semi-detached villas."[6] As on estates with greater allure, favourable geographical features were stressed, and, in South Oxford, Robert Buckell pointed out that the Edith Road estate enjoyed "some of

1. J.O.J., 7.4.1860, p.3
2. O.C., 19.11.1864, p.4
3. supra, pp. 19-20
4. J.O.J., 30.4.1870, p.4
5. O.C., 13.4.1878, p.4
6. ibid., 25.5.1878, p.4

the most charming views around Oxford."[1] An advertisement for the sale of land to the south of South Street, Osney in September 1891 described it as adapted for the building of small villas or good cottages, being "in a very picturesque part of Osney, adjoining the river, and within easy distance of the railway stations and tram-cars."[2] Since the horse tramway helped to lure the respectable artisan out into the suburbs,[3] the relative proximity of an estate to a tramline was almost always noted. In April 1881, for example, Donnington Hospital was encouraged to try and dispose of Donnington Field on 99 year building leases because it lay so close to the terminus of the tramway then under construction.[4]

The translation of a developer's dream into reality could be encouraged by the manner in which the estate was laid out, and by the amount of preliminary work that he undertook. The layout of the roads was at once suggestive of the estate's intended status, with sinuous informality becoming generally indicative of higher class development.[5] Exceptions were bound to occur for geographical reasons, and in North Oxford, the almost parallel Banbury and Woodstock Roads made it difficult on occasions to break out of an angular straitjacket. In the case of Rawlinson Road, for example, choice was further circumscribed by the northern boundary of the St. John's College estate and by the pre-existing St. Margaret's Road to the south. The size or shape of an estate could also be crucial, and the site of Park Town was clearly too narrow to permit any but a

1. O.C., 22.6.1889, p.4
2. ibid., 26.6.1891, p.4
3. R.J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D. (1979), p. 76.
4. O.C., 9.4.1881, p.4
5. supra, p.66

formal layout.[1] Wherever possible, however, middle-class estates abhorred the straight line, and sought rather the picturesque informality of varied designs in a landscape setting.[2] The curving street line of Norham Gardens was characteristic of the period and Wilkinson's original plan for Norham Manor clearly envisaged that other roads on the estate should be equally serpentine.[3] Elsewhere on the St. John's College estate, subtle curves added interest to Canterbury Road, Leckford Road, Charlbury Road and Northmoor Road. Straight pieces of road were hardly to be found on the original plan for the Henry Bull estate in 1890, but only winding Staverton Road was laid out in accordance with the scheme.[4] A still more daring example of informal estate planning was to be found in an abortive plan for Oxford's Belgravia above North Hinksey, where roads were to curve through wooded pastureland and an existing stream was to be dammed to create a series of lakes.[5] On estates with fewer pretensions, a rectilinear layout made the most economical use of land, and was only departed from when circumstances made this inevitable. Land-holdings, for example, tended to shape subsequent building activity[6] and, in East Oxford, enforced the series of dog-leg streets which link Cowley Road and Iffley Road. The curves of nearby Rectory Road and Princes Street were similarly dictated by the configuration of the estate purchased by the British Land Company from Pembroke College.[7] More typical, however, was the estate formed of a series of straight roads, each intersecting

1. supra, p.62

2. R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.215; Julian Orbach, Albert Park, Abingdon, (ca 1976), p.1. Typescript in O.C.L.

3. supra, p. 66

4. supra, p. 78; Map 5

5. Bodl. Ms. D.D. Harcourt, c.298. North Hinksey Estate papers ca.1870-91. Charles Smith, Map of Hinksey Park Estate, the property of E.W. Harcourt, Esq., (ca 1875)

6. D. Ward, The pre-urban cadaster and the urban pattern of Leeds. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 52 (1962), p.150

7. supra, p.88 ; Map 6

the other at right angles, and each containing rows of identical lots. The Golden Road estate of the Oxford Building and Investment Company and Gray's Essex Street estate were examples of economical planning of this kind in 1878 and 1889 respectively.[1] Such estates differed little in concept from the mid-nineteenth century suburbs of New Hinksey and Osney Town, or indeed from the grid-iron pattern of streets which was typical of the larger provincial towns of Georgian England.[2]

Developers could, if they chose, sell their land as laid out with very little site preparation and derive a quick, but diminished, profit; many, however, preferred to put in some of the infrastructure for building development, trusting that their outlay would be more than recouped by the enhanced value of the estate.[3] One of the chief failings of Oxford's early nineteenth century estates had been the absence of any overall provision for drainage,[4] but this was by no means atypical; the Bute estate in Cardiff, for example, was doing no more than to mark out plots at this time.[5] Increasing concern for public health and rising expectations on the part of tenants may then have combined to persuade most developers to instal some form of drainage on new estates. This was especially crucial for middle-class housing and in Park Town, for example, the Oxford Board of Guardians installed a complete system of drainage with an outfall sewer to the river Cherwell.[6] For its East Oxford estate, the Conservative Land Society sought tenders in July 1860 for about 950 feet of 30 feet wide road, 1,550 feet of six feet

1. supra, pp. 99-100
2. C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., p.112
3. supra, p.34
4. R. J. Morris, The Friars & Paradise: an essay in the building history of Oxford, 1801-1861. Oxoniensia 36 (1971), p.97
5. J. Davies, Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute (1981), p.197
6. O.C., 18.2.1854, p.1; O.U.A., UD/9/8/1. Park Town estate. Particulars of building lots to be sold by auction..., 11.4.1854

wide backways, 2,300 feet of twelve inch pipe sewer with 75 eyes and ten gulley cesspools with gratings and six inch drains.[1] Even on the much less pretentious Hurst estates, it was stated that every provision had been made as to roads and drainage[2] and, in Osney Town, George Parsons Hester claimed to have spent not less than £1,000 in laying out the roads and in providing good drains.[3] The salubrity of an estate could be enhanced not only by drainage, however, but also by the provision of other services or facilities. On the Conservative Land Society estate, mains water was laid on at no extra cost to the purchasers of lots, and, like the Devonshire estate in Eastbourne, the Society planted trees to "make the estate a cool and delightful promenade."[4] Later in the century, the immediate supply of gas to a new estate became more important, and A. H. Richardson, the secretary of the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land and Building Society applied to the Oxford Gaslight & Coke Company for gas mains to be provided in Glebe Street in October 1882, in Aston Street in February 1884 and on the Fairacres Estate in September 1889.[5] If, on the fashionable St. John's College estate, the College did no more than to put in the necessary infrastructure, the plan for the Harcourt estate in North Hinksey involved the formation of three acres of ornamental lakes, tree-planting and the deliberate retention of trees to give an appearance

1. O.C., 28.7.1860, p.4
2. ibid., 7.5.1864, p.4
3. ibid., 31.5.1866, p.5
4. Bodl. G.A. Oxon b.113 (142) Conservative Land Society. The Oxford estate, 1860; J.O.J., 13.7.1861, p.4; D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.255
5. O.C.R.O. Acc. 451. Oxford Gaslight and Coke Company. Management Committee M.B. 1862-82, p.208, 4.10.1882; ibid., 1883-91, pp.27, 158, 9.2.1884, 26.9.1889

of a "town in the woods."[1]

By his initial work, the developer was leading development in the direction that he desired but he was, as Clapton Rolfe put it, dealing with "speculative builders who are dangerous men to deal with in any but a formal manner."[2] The carrot of the estate plan and additional infrastructure might therefore be reinforced by the stick of legal constraints, which sought to impose a widely varying set of controls upon intending purchasers or lessees. Minimal or non-existent restrictions were most likely to stem from a freehold developer, who had no long-term interest in the estate and sought only an immediate financial reward. In the 1820s, for example, lots in St. Clement's were generally sold without any restrictive covenants[3] and the much later conveyance of land in New Hinksey and Osney Town was similarly uncomplicated.[4] The least ambitious developer might, however, be anxious enough about the value of adjoining, unsold lots to try and impose some safeguards as to building lines, over-building and the subsequent use of buildings on the estate. On the East Oxford estates of the National Freehold Land Society, for example, a building line was insisted upon,[5] and this covenant, providing space for a front flower garden, became almost universal on later Oxford estates.[6] Although the requirement of a building line, if enforced, imposed a structural unity upon an estate and made it

1. O.C., 13.10.1877, p.6; 22.12.1877, p.5

2. Bodl. Ms. D.D. Harcourt, c.298. General correspondence, 1866-89. Letter from C.C. Rolfe, 3.3.1877

3. e.g. O.C.C: City Secretary's Dept. P366/83. 21 Caroline Street, 1 - 6 James Place, 1 - 3 Gordon Row. Conveyance, 3/4.3.1820

4. O.C.A. R.1.2a Waterworks deeds, 1847-62. Lots 7-8, Lake Street. Conveyance, 15.10.1847: O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P347-95, 97-100 Bridge Street. Conveyance, 27.9.1851

5. supra, p. 87

6. e.g. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P89. 123 Bullingdon Road. Conveyance, 31.12.1864; P144. 28 Edith Road. Conveyance, 9.3.1892; P16. 155 Windmill Road. Conveyance, 16.12.1907

more difficult for builders to erect a jumble of courts and yards, freehold developers were slower to take the next step of insisting that only one house be built on each lot. Their reluctance stemmed, perhaps, from the fear of making lots unsaleable, but some developers at least did not wish to be associated with jerry-built estates. In the case of Osney Town, for instance, Hester witnessed the use of lots eighteen feet wide for building much smaller houses,[1] and he inserted a covenant specifying one house per lot on his later development at New Botley.[2] This lead was followed on superior artisan estates like those developed by Walter Gray in East Oxford and Robert Buckell in South Oxford.[3] Purchasers became hedged about by restrictive covenants which had once applied exclusively to more fashionable developments, reflecting that controller and controlled both "subscribed to the same ideals of respectability."[4] On Buckell's Edith Road estate, for instance, a prime cost of at least £200 was specified for each house, and uniformity on the street frontage was sought by the requirement of nine-inch brick or stone wall topped by iron palisading. In addition, the purchaser had to agree not to permit any "noisy noxious offensive or dangerous trade or business or allow thereon any noxious disagreeable or unsightly deposit," or, simply to allow any nuisance.[5] On Gray's estate, and also on John Henry Salter's estate in Grandpont, the vendor made it a condition of sale that plans should be submitted to him for approval before building could begin. Through temperance motives, or simply to maintain the respectability of

1. <u>supra</u>, p. 122

2. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P599. 129 Botley Road. Abstract of title, 1918 reciting Conveyance, 20.1.1870

3. <u>ibid.</u>, P780. 18 Hertford Street. Conveyance, 12.9.1893;
   P144. 28 Edith Road. Conveyance, 9.3.1892

4. S. Muthesius, <u>The English terraced house</u> (1982), p.33

5. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P 144. 28 Edith Road. Conveyance, 9.3.1892

their estates, both men also forbade the sale of liquor on any lot for 25 years without their prior consent.[1] Similar, but timeless, prohibitions were imposed by Hester at New Botley,[2] and by the Rev. John Taylor in Lime Walk, where buyers had also to promise not to use lots "for any immoral purposes so as to become a nuisance."[3] In seeking to dictate both to the builder and to the eventual occupier of the lot, the developer of these artisan building estates gradually came to use some of the weapons that had been tried and tested on middle-class developments. On any estate with aspirations to fashionable status, it had long been regarded as essential to control the type and quality of house-building and, then, to administer the estate in such a way as to guard against threats to its exclusiveness.[4] On freehold estates, long-term control depended upon the framing of detailed covenants, although there was no guarantee that these would be enforced once a developer had disposed of his interest in the land. Such covenants were to be found, for instance, on the Conservative Land Society estate in Iffley Road, where it was insisted that no shop, warehouse, hotel, tavern, public house or beerhouse should be built or established except on lot 63, a large lot on the corner of Stanley Road and Magdalen Road. No manufacture was to be carried out on any of the lots without the vendors' consent, and temporary buildings were forbidden throughout the estate except for sheds or workshops required during the building process. Other clauses specified the type and minimum value of the houses in

1. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P 780. 18 Hertford Street. Conveyance, 12.9.1893; ibid., P659. 13 Chilswell Road. Conveyance, 9.3.1892

2. ibid., P599. 129 Botley Road. Abstract of Title 1918, reciting Conveyance, 20.1.1870

3. ibid., P725. 95 Lime Walk. Abstract of Title 1917, reciting Conveyance, 3.10.1883

4. C.W. Chalklin, Urban housing estates in the 18th century. Urban Studies 5 (1968), pp.80-2

each street and purchasers were also required to make and maintain boundary fences, and to pay a proportionate cost of repairs to roads and sewers pending their adoption by the public authorities.[1] A surer method of exerting control during and after development was utilized in Park Town, the relatively small freehold estate which confirmed the high social status of North Oxford.[2] Here, the Oxford Board of Guardians determined not to plant another St. Ebbe's and drew up a Deed of Management for the estate which appointed a body of seven resident Trustees,[3] backed from 1856 by a solicitor, Gorden Dayman and the architect, Samuel Lipscomb Seckham. Under the Management Deed, purchasers of lots had to submit plans of new buildings and alterations to the Trustees for approval, and had to pay a certification fee of two guineas to the Trustees' architect.[4] Other covenants insisted, for example, that houses on the estate should be used only as private residences[5] and empowered the Trustees to raise a rate to maintain the estate's roads and public gardens.[6] The residents of middle-class suburbs were always quick to defend the value of their property,[7] and the principle of creating an executive body with a vested interest in the estate was an undoubted success.

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b.113 (142). Oxford University, City & County. Conservative Land Society. The Oxford estate, 1860, passim.

2. supra, pp. 61-4

3. Bodl. MS. Dep. d.477. Park Town Trustees M.B. 1854-1951, prefatory statement.

4. ibid., meeting 7, 26.2.1856

5. ibid., 26.10.1900

6. ibid., meeting 5, 26.10.1855

7. D. Cannadine, op.cit., pp.120-1

By retaining ultimate ownership of the soil and by developing land on building leases, the developer could exercise the most complete control over the building process. Leasehold development did, however, involve taking a long-term view which few private individuals could afford to do, and it was generally the modus operandi adopted by colleges and other corporate bodies that were able to forego immediate financial reward in favour of a continuing income from the ground rents and the eventual possession of a valuable asset.[1] Since the reversionary value of the land at the end of the term was crucial, it was in the developer's interest to encourage building of the highest possible quality, and to ensure that the character of the estate, when built, was maintained. To this end, colleges and other institutions normally retained a variety of professional advisers such as solicitors, architects and surveyors, who thus assumed an important role in the building process.[2] The vital role of the solicitor was nowhere more evident than on the St. John's College estate in North Oxford, where Frederic John Morrell of the local firm, Morrell & Son, was first to suggest that the College lay out its lands on long building leases.[3] In May 1870, the firm loaned £5,000 to the College at 4% interest, and F.P. & G.H. Morrell, acting as trustees of the Right Rev. T. M. Morrell, loaned a further £6,319. 9s. 0d in December 1885. Fifteen other loans for drainage and estate improvement purposes, totalling some £38, 231 were negotiated with private individuals between 1870 and 1888,[4] and it seems probable that Morrell & Son were concerned with some at least of them. In March 1878, for example, the College Bursar, T.S. Omond, wrote to the firm seeking "a temporary loan of £1,000, to be repaid as you shall direct, on which the College

1. supra, p. 32

2. G. Gordon, op.cit., p.5; R.J.Springett, op.cit., pp.26-7

3. supra, p. 64

4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Acc. VI. C.12. Account of loans and investments, 1870-1900

will pay interest at the rate of £4 per cent per annum."[1] Apart from acting as a source of finance, solicitors were also involved in preparing agreements for lease, arranging exchanges of land, renewing leases and acting against errant builders or lessees.[2] When, for instance Joseph Curtis failed in 1882 to complete a pair of semi-detached houses in Warnborough Road and another in St. Margaret's Road, Morrell & Son were requested to re-enter the property on the College's behalf.[3] Another, sometimes difficult, duty of the solicitors on the St. John's College estate was that of collecting streetage charges from reluctant lessees; in 1889, for example, Morrell & Son were asked why the College had only recouped £1,928 4s. 10d. of the £3,602 expended on Southmoor Road six years earlier.[4]

If the work of the solicitor remained important in the day-to-day administration of the completed estate, the main responsibility of the architect and surveyor was to oversee the development process.[5] The major firm of surveyors in Victorian Oxford was Field & Castle and, in 1867, it was on Francis Field's advice that Christ Church purchased the disused Botley Road toll-house in 1867 and thus obtained the entire Cripley estate frontage.[6] In 1879, the firm recommended Brasenose College to accept a proposed exchange of land with the Oxford Building & Investment Company south of Western Road because the College would gain "a much improved boundary to their property and a frontage to a considerable length of new road (Marlborough Road) which would render part of their

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. I.F.8. Bursar's Letter Book, 1877-80, p.220. Letter, 2.3.1878

2. ibid., Acc. VI. C.13 b. Accounts of Morrell & Son, 1885-7, passim.

3. ibid., Est. I.F.10 Bursar's Letter Book, 1882-5. Letter, 5.10.1882

4. ibid., Est. I.F. 12. Bursar's Letter Book, 1888-91. Letter, 9.3.1889

5. C. Treen, The process of suburban development in North Leeds, 1870-1914. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), pp.188-9

6. Christ Church Ms. Estates 77/190. Memorandum of Francis Field, 20.11.1867

estate available for building purposes at some future date...."[1] Francis Field drew up the original Wellington Square estate plan for the University of Oxford in 1868[2] and was associated with the Oxford architect, Edward Bruton, both in the revised plans and as surveyor to the estate.[3] The professional advice of architects was also required, and, on the leasehold estates of Victorian Oxford, the most influential figures were all local men, Samuel Lipscomb Seckham, Edward Bruton, William Wilkinson and Wilkinson's nephew, Harry Wilkinson Moore. In the 1850s, Seckham was architect of Park Town and was naturally the first choice as St. John's College architect when the development of Walton Manor on 99 year building leases was being considered.[4] As City Surveyor, Seckham advised the Corporation about the development of Worcester Close[5] and he prepared plans and elevations for Grandpont Villas in Abingdon Road.[6] Seckham's unsuccessful rival in the Park Town competition, Edward Bruton,[7] was employed as architect to Christ Church in St. Thomas's, where he prepared plans for the future development of the estate and personally designed the model dwellings now known as Christ Church Old Buildings.[8] He was also appointed architect to the University's Wellington Square estate, submitting a plan for the proposed square in February 1869[9] and furnishing a general design for house elevations in the following month.[10]

1. Brasenose Coll. Ms. Grandpont 207. Letter, 16.10.1879
2. O.U.A. UC/M/2/5. Curators of University Chest M.B., 1868-72, p.9, 6.11.1868
3. ibid., pp.14, 38; 4.12.1868, 20.3.1869
4. supra, pp. 61-4
5. O.C.A. CC 4. 1. Estates Cttee.M.B., 1850-9, 6.5.1858
6. ibid., E.5.3. Renewal Lease Book, 1843-60, p.94. Lease 8.2.1860
7. supra., p. 63
8. supra., p. 123
9. O.U.A. UC/M/2/5 Curators of University Chest M.B., 1868-72, p.24, 6.2.1869
10. ibid., p.38, 20.3.1869

Employment over a much longer period was to be found on the St. John's College estate, and the Witney-born architect William Wilkinson took over the role of College architect from Seckham in the early 1860s.[1] He and his eventual partner and successor, Harry Wilkinson Moore, were retained by the College to prepare plans for new portions of the estate and sometimes also to design buildings. Like the estate agents on the Devonshire estate at Eastbourne and on the Bute estate at Cardiff, they also vetted the plans of all buildings to be erected on the estate, inspected buildings under construction and issued certificates of completion.[2]

By retaining ultimate possession of his land and by employing professional advisers who could both formulate and enforce rigorous controls, the leasehold developer could exert a powerful influence over the broad disposition of his property and ensure that, in the long term, the estate would provide a larger return through higher ground rent.[3] The constant supervision that was possible is illustrated by a close examination of the building process on the St. John's College estate, which, like similar estates in Cardiff, came to resemble a public administrative body.[4] In October 1862, the College General Meeting appointed an Estates Committee consisting of the President and the Senior and Junior Bursars ex officio together with eight other senior members of the College.[5] This committee met regularly to receive reports from the Bursar and to take executive decisions. It was the Bursar who forged the link between the College and

1. supra, p. 65

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Munim. V.C.33. Instructions to lessees, architects and builders...., 29.11.1878, passim. ; D. Cannadine, op.cit., p.262; M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.75

3. F.M.L. Thompson., Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.309

4. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.73

5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II A. 1. Estates Cttee.M.B., 1863-9, p.1

its advisers, presenting their reports and recommendations to the committee and subsequently forwarding to them its decisions. As building land became exhausted or demand was seen to increase, a new portion of the College estate was made ready for development. In August 1863, for example, the Estates Committee authorised the Bursar to obtain a survey of the land between Museum Terrace and the Parks and an architectural plan for laying it out on building leases.[1] After some delay, the Bursar presented a number of schemes to the committee in October 1864, and plan X was adopted.[2] The College at first tried to let land by auction, as in June 1860, when it offered seven lots on the Woodstock Road nearly opposite the new church of SS. Philip & James.[3] The outcome of an auction was rarely predictable, however, and the College came to rely instead upon the principle of receiving proposals for lots from interested builders and developers. A standard proposal form requested details of the applicant and the lot concerned, the type and quality of the house that he proposed and the annual ground rent that he was prepared to pay. One such proposal was made in November 1870 by Frederick Codd, who proposed to build a pair of semi-detached houses in Norham Gardens with a minimum annual value of £100 each and at an annual ground rent of £11 10s. 0d. each. A series of conditions attached to the proposal form warned the intending applicant that he had to have plans of all buildings deposited with and approved by the College architect before work began, and that he must notify the architect at three specified stages of the building process.[4] Once the proposal was accepted by the College, an agreement for lease was drawn up which incorporated the

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin. II.A.1. Estates Cttee.M.B., p.17, 7.8.1863

2. ibid., p.61, 23.10.1864

3. ibid., Munim. V.C.7. Sale particulars, 14.6.1860

4. ibid., Oxford Properties. 16/18 Norham Gardens. Proposal, 26.11.1870

terms of the proposal and fixed a date by which the building was to be completed "with good and proper materials in a substantial and workmanlike manner, fit for habitation...."[1] The Bute estate in Cardiff only required the payment of ground rent after completion and the signing of the lease;[2] St. John's College, by contrast, insisted on payment after the agreement was signed in all but exceptional circumstances. Thus, in 1879, Alfred Brown was allowed a year's remittance on a site in Norham Road because the ground was badly affected by gravel digging.[3] Following some potentially damaging criticism of workmanship on the College estate,[4] instructions for lessees, architects and builders were published specifying the materials to be used in many situations and requiring plans to show the thicknesses of walls and the size of timbers; attention to detail even extended to giving an approved recipe for mortar.[5] Intending lessees were also bound to construct proper drains to the lessors' main sewer, or, if there was none, to a watertight cesspool within three feet of a wall against the road. Other clauses in the agreement for lease stated lessees' liability to pay roads and sewerage rates, required them to make good damage done to roads and footpaths during building work and warned them not to remove gravel or soil from the site on penalty of a fine of ten shillings per load. By way of enforcement, the lessors threatened to re-enter the property if the ground rent was not paid within three weeks of the stipulated time, if the lessee became bankrupt or if he breached or failed to perform his side of the contract.[6]

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 1-2 Warnborough Road. Agreement for lease, 17.12.1874

2. J. Davies, op.cit., p.194

3. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 30-31 Norham Road. Proposal, 22.12.1879

4. ibid., Est. I.F.29. Letters 'In', 1877. Letters from J. Galpin, 16.11.1877

5. ibid., . Munim. V.C.33. Instructions to Lessees, Architects and Builders, 29.11.1878, passim.

6. ibid., . Oxford Properties. 1-2 Warnborough Road. Agreement for lease, 17.12.1874

The next stage of the development process sought to translate into physical reality the plans of the College and the builders' proposals. As soon as sufficient interest was shown in a new portion of the estate, the College laid out as much of the roadway as seemed necesssry. At first, private contractors were used for this work, and, in April 1862, for instance, the College signed an agreement with Stephen Goodgame of Headington Quarry by which he was to build 12 chains of North Road, Norham Manor for £230 before the end of July. The contract provided for the construction of a convex roadway of coarse gravel bedded in Gibraltar or similar approved stone. Gullies were to be formed at either side with gratings at regular intervals connecting to drain pipes laid beneath the road. Gravel footpaths were specified and the contractor was further bound to give the road an additional coating of small, broken stones twelve months after his satisfactory completion of it.[1] Serious disagreement arose, however, when St. John's College asked Oxford Local Board to take to these private estate roads, since the Board insisted that they should be kerbed and channelled at the expense of the College. This extra charge was passed on to the lessees, but, during negotiations about the adoption of the Norham Manor roads in 1872, the Bursar, Dr. Adams, wrote to the Board's surveyor on the lessees' behalf, submitting that "in a suburban district curbing is an unnecessary expense."[2] Greater acrimony was aroused by the Local Board's terms for taking to Bevington Road in 1877,[3] and although agreement was reached after a year,[4] the College subsequently judged it prudent to employ the Board to do the work

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Munim.V.C.18. Contract, 1.4.1862

2. ibid., Est. I.F.5. Bursar's Letter Bk., 1868-74, p.457 27.5.1872

3. O.C., 10.2.1877, p.7

4. ibid., 9.2.1878, p.7

of road-making.[1] Once the roadway was formed and the builder's plans had been approved by the College architect, building was meant to begin as soon as possible. The Bute estate usually gave builders a year to complete their property;[2] St. John's College offered between eight and 18 months and, if builders failed to fulfil this contract, threatened to re-enter.[3] While he was building, the builder had to notify the College architect when the trenches were dug for the foundations, when the building was roofed but not plastered and when it was completed. The College architect was therefore able to inspect buildings under construction and, if necessary, to order the builder to remedy substandard workmanship. At no. 251 Woodstock Road, for example, the trenches were inspected in December 1893, the roof timbers and other features in February 1894, and the finished building in June 1895.[4] An inspection of nos. 175/177 Woodstock Road in December 1895 found fault with the pointing, the under floor ventilation of the basement sitting room, the roof timbers, the party wall to the front bays and the brickwork of the gables and party walls. A further inspection in October - November 1897 noted that some re-pointing still needed doing and that ventilation under the boarded basement floors was still required; other defects included settlement in some arches, shrunken woodwork, a bulged wall and a badly fixed sash frame in the Breakfast Room, and the lack of a surface water drain to

1. O.C., 6.3.1886, p.2. reports the agreement of the Board to make and take to Hayfield Road and Rawlinson Road on payment of £1806 to St. John's College.

2. J. Davies, op.cit., p.194

3. e.g. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 8 Rawlinson Road. Agreement for lease, 12.5.1887 (completion date, 10.10.1888); ibid., 1/3 Polstead Road. Agreement for lease, 27.3.1888 (completion date 5.4.1889); ibid., 109/111 Southmoor Road. Agreement for lease, 2.5.1885 (completion date, 31.12.1885)).

4. St. John's Coll.Ms. Oxford Properties. 251 Woodstock Road, Plan of house with annotations.

prevent flooding in the basement.[1] Such faults had to be put right before the College architect would issue a certificate of completion, and, without that, no lease could be granted and no house was supposed to be occupied. In the case of at least one builder, John Buckingham in 1886, several complaints of bad workmanship could, moreover, lead to his being refused another plot on the estate.[2]

Stringent controls over development clearly helped to make a success of the St. John's College estate in North Oxford, but harsh reality sometimes dictated a looser interpretation of the regulations. Once land was made available the College had to deal with builders and developers who were sometimes less keen to build than to insure themselves against a possible shortage of building land. Completion dates were, indeed, added to all agreements for lease, but, so long as the ground rent was paid, failure to complete might be tolerated for many years because over-zealous enforcement was apt to give an estate a bad name among speculators.[3] In January 1877, for example, the Bursar wrote to H. J. Hutt, reminding him that his agreement of 1863 had bound him to complete three houses in St. Bernard's Road and four in Adelaide Street by September 29th 1867. After nearly 14 years, Hutt had made no preparations for building the Adelaide Street houses and was warned that the lease would be vacated if he did not take immediate steps to erect them.[4] The building process itself was not without problems as the College tried to

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 175/177 Woodstock Road, Plan of house with annotations.

2. ibid., Est. I.F.11. Bursar's L.B. 1885-8, p.280, 10.2.1886

3. D.J. Olsen, House upon house: estate development in London and Sheffield. In, H.J. Dyos & Michael Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 2 (1978), p.340; C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), pp.137-8

4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.7. Bursar's L.B. 1874-7, p.837, 20.1.1877

to ensure housing of a pre-determined quality on each part of the estate. The working of this policy was seen in February 1885 when the Bursar rejected Frederick Pike's proposal for a plot on the north corner of Banbury Road and St. Margaret's Road as "not quite adequate to the situation. I am anxious to keep the five or six lots on the Banbury Road for very special houses. Would it suit you to take two lots on St. Margaret's Road instead? We want good houses there too, but not quite so large."[1] On occasions, however, this supervision clearly failed, and in 1867, William Wilkinson was castigated for approving houses erected on the Banbury Road by John Dorn for Henry Hatch, "the houses not being equal to the general character of the Houses on the Estate."[2] The Bursar also complained in 1886 that a pair of houses proposed by Pike & Messenger for St. Margaret's Road were basically unobjectionable but "seem to me excessively plain. I cannot help thinking that a little expenditure on external ornament would be remunerative to the builder, and would make them more worthy of an important situation."[3] Quite the opposite problem occurred in Southmoor Road, where the college wished to generate "a street of houses for the better class of artisans, well and strongly built, and will not allow £25 houses built to compete with those in Kingston Road."[4] In this respect, however, covenants were generally inoperative[5] and most houses far exceeded the value stated in their leasing agreements and one which was to

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.10. Bursar's L.B. 1882-5, p.898, 17.2.1885.

2. ibid., Admin II. A.1. Estates Cttee. M.B. 1863-9, p.227

3. ibid., Est. I.F. 11. Bursar's L.B. 1885-8, p.316 22.3.1886

4. ibid., Est. I.F.9. Bursar's L.B. 1880-2, p.659, 22.10.1881

5. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle-class housing in Britain (1977), p.110

have let at £20 rose to £27 after the plans were passed and seemed likely to let at £30 when finished. The College tried in vain to stem this tide but could do no more than express grave dissatisfaction with Wilkinson and Moore for allowing a stipulation so strongly insisted upon to be so widely disregarded.[1] Other aspects of development made clear that even the paid superintendance of professional men was unable to enforce effectively all the relevant College regulations. In September 1879, for instance, the Bursar expressed surprise that so many exceptions had been allowed in Crick Road to the rule forbidding anything but a low wall and railing round each house.[2] More serious laxity seems to have surrounded the granting of certificates of completion at the end of the building process. As has been shown,[3] no house on the estate was meant to be occupied before this certificate was granted, partly because inspection became more difficult and partly, no doubt, because lack of rental income would compel the builder to rectify any faults more quickly. Yet in January 1881, the house agent, Frederick Pike, was quoted as saying that "newly built houses are almost invariably occupied months and sometimes two or three years before the certificate is obtained."[4] The Bursar wrote to Wilkinson expressing the opinion that such a practice ought never to have been tolerated,[5] but it certainly continued until 1887 when Moore was asked whether any notice was taken of a house being occupied when a certificate was granted.[6] In November 1897, the College

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F. 10. Bursar's L.B. 1882-5, p.40, 20.10.1882
2. ibid., Est. I.F.8. Bursar's L.B. 1877-80, p.746, 26.9.1879
3. supra, p. 164
4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.33. Letters In 1881.
   Letter from C. Wyndham, 2.1.1881
5. ibid., Est. I.F.9. Bursar's L.B. 1880-2, p.397, 22.2.1881
6. ibid., Est. I.F.11. Bursar's L.B. 1885-8, p.886, 16.12.1887-8

complained to Moore of "the dilatoriness and indeed complete neglect with which you treat the business entrusted to you" and threatened to take its work elsewhere.[1] There is no evidence, however, that pure dilatoriness on the part of the College architects was a major factor in allowing lapses from the ideal. Complete enforcement of every aspect of the College's regulations would have driven from the estate speculative builders whose technical competence and financial stability were never certain; the controls were seen, rather, as a means of reassuring builders that standards would be maintained and as a safeguard against a builder falling on hard times and seeking to run up cheap houses.[2]

A leasehold estate was more likely than a freehold one to retain its fashionable status in the long term because the ground landlord had every incentive to maintain its character and value; his resolve was, moreover, considerably strengthened by the anxieties of his lessees.[3] House leases granted by St. John's College between 1863 and 1878[4] warned lessees to keep their property in good and substantial repair and to keep their gardens and grounds in good order. The College was empowered to enter the property during the last ten years of the lease in order to take a schedule of fixtures, and could at any time during the demise enter to cleanse watercourses and sewers, repair party walls or view the property's state of repair. A lessee could be given notice to repair within three months, failing which the lessor could have the work done and re-claim the cost within one calendar month or by subsequent distraint on the property. The lessee was to make no additions or alterations to the

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.15. Bursar's L.B. 1897-8, p.202, 30.11.1897

2. R. J. Springett, op.cit., p.216; M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing 1850-1914 (1983), p.76

3. D. Cannadine, Urban development in England and America in the 19th century; some comparisons and contrasts. Economic History Review 33 (1980), p.325; ibid., Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1974), pp.120, 264-5

4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A. 30-1. Long leases, 1863-78, passim.

buildings without College permission, and was to use the property "as a private dwelling house only" and not for any manufacture, trade or business. From July 1878, these covenants were strengthened in certain particulars[1] and, echoing Bute estate practice,[2] lessees were subsequently to "paint in a proper manner with three coats of good oil paint in every third year of the said term all the external wood, iron and other work previously or usually painted. And will in a proper manner paint with two coats of good paint....the inside of the said premises in every seventh year of the said term." Private houses were not to be used as chapels, schools or places of public worship without consent of the College and in parts of the estate where shops were permitted, lessees were not to carry on or allow "any noisy noisome or offensive manufacture trade or business or any manufacture trade or business which in the judgement of the lessors shall be injurious to the health or comfort of the neighbourhood." The College made strong and persistant efforts to enforce these conditions and in January 1889, for example, the bursar, T. S. Omond, wrote to George Mallam of 103 Banbury Road, drawing his attention to the covenant requiring sanction for new buildings: "I do so because I have noticed what seem to be preparations for a building for which I don't think the College has given its sanction."[3] Such attention to detail was reinforced by lessees like Alfred Nicholson at no. 38 Leckford Road who, in June and July 1880, objected to the existence next door of a school and piano tuner's business. Children could be heard running about on bare boards and "the noise of the tuning is distinctly heard in my own house.... - few noises being more irritating than that of the continuous tuning of Pianos."[4] The opening of

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A. 31. Long leases, 1872-8, 8.7.1878

2. J. Davies, op.cit., p.194

3. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.12. Bursar's L.B. 1888-91, p.335, 28.1.1889

4. ibid., Est. I.F. 32. Letters, 21.6.1880, 24.7.1880

schools, described by Gillian Tindall as the middle-class equivalent of the lower-class laundry business,[1] contravened the requirement that houses should be private dwellings; but, as was generally the case,[2] the lack of real demand for the largest properties forced the College to overlook well-run schools. Thus, the Reverend Basford-de-Wilson's school for young gentlemen at no. 10 Canterbury Road was tolerated in 1892 because his neighbour had not even noticed that he had pupils residing with him.[3] In October 1892, however, Walter Gray was asked to remove a school at no. 34 St. Margaret's Road which had been accepted for a while but was now termed "a serious nuisance."[4] The use of private houses as offices was also resisted on College land, and in 1882, the Bursar expressed the opinion that a regular solicitor's office at no. 6 Keble Terrace would not be tolerated.[5] Complaints from lessees and tenants enabled the Bursar to check minor infringements which threatened the elite character of the estate. In 1882, for example, Professor Holland of Poynings House, Woodstock Road complained that a "substantial fowl-house" was being built next door by the editor of the Oxford Times, George Rippon; a few days later, he wrote again to thank the Bursar for stopping Rippon.[6] Inferior painting by the landlord's workmen was objected to by the tenant of no. 12 St. Margaret's Road, F. H. Peters, in May 1889. Peters suspected that the

1. Gillian Tindall, The fields beneath (1980), p.123

2. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit., pp.112-3

3. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.13. Bursar's L.B. 1891-2, p.319 26.2.1892; Est. I.F. 38. Letters In, 1891-2 Letters from Rev. F.A. Basford-de-Wilson, 23.3.1892 and Mr. Castle, 23.2.1892

4. ibid., Est. I.F.12. Bursar's L.B. 1891-2, pp.320, 474, 26.2.1892, 24.10.1892

5. ibid., Ms. Est. I.F.33. Letters In, 1881. Letter from G. St. S. Williams, 7.1.1882; Est. I.F.9. Bursar's L.B. 1880-2, p.732, 11.1.1882

6. ibid., Est. I.F. 34. Letters In, 1882. Letters from Prof. Holland, 29.6.1882, 2.7.1882.

painter was in fact "a certain bungling apprentice in the carpenter's shop which the late Mr. Parker had who did some jobs in the house for my late landlord and did them villainously." The Bursar duly wrote to the landlord in strong terms expressing concern that the work should be thoroughly done by competent workmen.[1] In the most exclusive areas, even the habit of hanging washing out in the back garden was potentially harmful to property values and, in July 1897, the Bursar passed on complaints by several neighbours against the tenants of no. 6 Keble Road: "For houses of this class and in such a situation I think that this may fairly be regarded as a business which falls under the prohibitive clause of your lease.... A clothes-line in your neighbour's garden does not add to the amenities of any dwelling."[2] Having thus created a fashionable environment, the College found itself in harmony with the majority of its lessees and tenants in seeking to preserve the quiet respectability of the suburb.

The freedom of developers to hedge builders around with many or few restrictions was at first subject only to their own intentions and the dictates of market forces; gradually, however, local authorities acquired a wide range of environmental controls which influenced the morphology of development and increased the cost of building houses.[3] Prior to the Victorian period, building control depended upon local initiative as expressed by improvement acts which had been primarily concerned with safety and convenience.[4] In Oxford, the Paving Commissioners established

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.37. Letters In, 1889. Letters from F.H. Peters, 17.5.1889; ibid., Est. I.F.12. Bursar's L.B. 1888-91, p.504, 18.5.1889

2. ibid., I.F.15. Bursar's L.B. 1895-7, p.94, 10.7.1897.

3. R.M. Pritchard, Housing and the spatial structure of the city: residential mobility and the housing market in an English city since the Industrial Revolution (1976), p.38

4. S.M. Gaskell, op.cit., pp.4-5

by the Oxford Improvement Act of 1771[1] barely entered into the building process at all and became involved only if a builder sought to fence off part of the highway during building[2] or if he subsequently wished to drain from the property into a public sewer.[3] They could order house-owners to remove nuisances or to make a drain to the main sewer, but had no powers of enforcement; in addition, they had to finance all work out of current revenue.[4] In 1859, they were described as powerless to prevent "the evils and inconveniences which have arisen by the frequent sales of large tracts of land in small lots for building, without any adequate provision for the proper formation of roads, or for paving, or sewerage; and thus streets and even districts of the town have been left for a time without any proper accommodation in these important respects, and ultimately a burthen is brought upon the whole place which has to provide out of the public funds the drainage, paving, etc., which should have been first done at the expense of individuals."[5] The Paving Commissioners generally had little alternative but to accept the status quo of development, taking over streets on request if the roadway, surface drains and gravel footpaths were in good repair, or if the owners of property would pay for them to be brought up to that standard.[6]

1. 11 Geo. III, c.19, 1771

2. e.g. O.C.A. R.6.9. Paving Commissioners' M.B., 1852-62, p.375, 3.2.1858

3. e.g., ibid., p.543, 5.9.1860

4. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4(1979), pp.238-9

5. O.C.A. R.6.9. Paving Commissioners' M.B., 1852-62, pp.496-7

6. e.g., ibid., pp.514, 518, 1.2.1860, 7.3.1860 which record the process of adoption for William Street, now Tyndale Road.

In Oxford, as nationally, increasing publicity for squalor made for changes in this laissez-faire atmosphere.[1] The country was alerted to urban conditions, especially in the new industrial towns, by demographic evidence, by the reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, by the threat of riot and revolution and, not least, by fear of cholera.[2] The speed of the response varied considerably from place to place and, in Liverpool for example, a Building Act of 1842 introduced building regulations which were made more stringent by the 1846 Sanitary Act; the latter led also to the appointment of Britain's first Medical Officer of Health in 1847.[3] In Leicester, building regulations adopted under the terms of the Public Health Act of 1848 were ineffectual and the introduction of stringent building bye-laws was delayed until 1859.[4] In Huddersfield, building bye-laws were only adopted after the local Improvement Act in 1871.[5] The need for increased regulation in Oxford was indicated by a mortality rate of 24 per 1,000 between 1844 and 1850 which compared with the national rate of 22.8 per 1,000. An enquiry by the Paving Commissioners in 1851 found that inadequate drainage arrangements were the greatest danger to public health[6] and Henry Acland's report on the 1854 Cholera epidemic, which killed 115 people in Oxford, provided statistical and descriptive evidence of appalling conditions in parts of the city.[7] Many remained to be

1. E. Gauldie, op.cit., pp.101-122; S.M. Gaskell, op.cit., p.9

2. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.101; A. Briggs, Cholera and society in the 19th century. Past and Present 19 (1961), pp.84-6

3. D. Fraser, Power and authority in the Victorian city (1979), p.36; J.H. Treble, Liverpool working-class housing 1801-51. In, S.D. Chapman, ed., The history of working-class housing: a symposium (1971), pp.188-90

4. R.M. Pritchard, op.cit., p.38; M.Elliott, Victorian Leicester (1979), pp.105-6; G.A. Chinnery, 19th century building plans in Leicester. Transactions of the Leicestershire Arch. & Hist. Soc. 49 (1973/4), pp.36-7

5. R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.79

6. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), pp.236-8

7. H.W. Acland, Memoir on the cholera at Oxford in the year 1854.... (1856), passim.

convinced,however, and reformers failed during the 1850s to extend the Commissioners' powers or to secure the adoption of the Local Government Act of 1858. Property owners fearful of increased costs and City Commissioners opposed to the loss of local autonomy were the major obstacles to reform, but the University was also unprepared in 1859 to sacrifice its independent role in local government.[1] Nevertheless, in, March 1864, the Paving Commissioners accepted that they were unable to deal effectively with the problem of forming a drainage outfall for the city[2] and, in May, they resolved by 69 votes to nine to adopt the Local Government Act.[3] The lack of protest on this occasion must have owed something to a more widespread dissemination of the reformers' case, but there was a latent fear that trade and property values might be seriously undermined by the unhealthy reputation of the city.[4]

Oxford Local Board took over as sanitary authority for an enlarged district in 1865[5] and was able to exercise a greater control over development than its predecessor. Building byelaws were at once framed according to section 34 of the Local Government Act of 1858[6] and covered five major aspects of development, namely, the formation of streets and provision for sewerage, the structure of buildings, space about buildings, drainage and procedures for notification and inspection.[7] In the first section, it was stated that all carriageways were to be at least 30 feet wide and

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol.4(1979), pp.237-9
2. O.C., 19.3.1864, p.8
3. ibid., 7.5.1865, p.2
4. infra, p. 239
5. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.233
6. 21/22 Victoria (1858), c.98
7. Bodl. G.A. Oxon, 8° 850(7) Byelaws made by the Local Board of Oxford...., 1865, passim.

streets not carriageways were to be a minimum of 18 feet wide. The latter were to have at least one full width entrance open from the ground, but the Board reserved the right to make modifications of widths in certain cases. A formula was prescribed for the height of buildings in new streets, and buildings were not to exceed it without the Board's consent. The materials and methods of construction of new streets were to be approved by the Board, and, having approved the proposed level and width of a street, the Board would specify the inclination and depth which the sewers were to take.[1] These measures diminished the acreage available for development and thus encouraged the building of land-extensive suburban estates;[2] inevitably, they also made it impossible for developers to delay or, indeed, to skimp the making of streets and sewers.[3] The second section of the byelaws sought to ensure the construction of stable and fireproof buildings. Walls were to be of a thickness approved by the Board, which might also require the installation of a damp course. External walls were to be of brick, stone or other hard and incombustible material unless the Board considered that fire was no danger. External or party walls were to be carried through the roof to form a parapet between adjoining buildings "unless with the previous sanction of the Local Board." Without the Board's special consent, woodwork on external or party walls was not to come within four inches of the external face of the wall, and roofs were to be of incombustible material. Chimneys and flues were to be constructed in an approved manner and of materials and dimensions approved as safe by the Board.[4] Space about buildings and their internal ventilation provided the substance of the third section of the byelaws. Each dwelling house was, in future, to have

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon, 8° 850(7) op.cit., pp. 1-3, byelaws 1-5

2. R.G. Rodger, Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in 19th century Britain. In, J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley, eds. The structure of 19th century cities (1982), p.52; J. Burnett, A social history of housing, 1815-1970 (1978), pp.160-1

3. C. Treen, op.cit., p.203

4. Bodl. G.A. Oxon 8° 850(7) op.cit., pp.3-4, Byelaws 6-12

at the back or side "open space exclusively belonging thereto" of at least 150 square feet free - subject to the Board's consent - from any erection above ground. Each habitable room was to have a minimum height of eight feet, and at least one window, the total area of which was to be at least one tenth of the area of the room. Small rooms without fire-places were to be provided with ventilation by an airshaft or some other means determined by the Board.[1] Such byelaws were able to determine the area needed for each house and therefore reduced housing densities;[2] they also provided for lighter and airier houses with a patch of rear territory. Internally, they brought important gains like better insulation from cold, damp and noise, a larger floor area, higher ceilings, larger windows and easier staircases.[3] A further section of the byelaws dealt mainly with drainage matters, and began with the pious wish that all buildings without sufficient drainage should be drained in the "most effectual manner which may be practicable." Drains were to be of glazed stoneware, fire-clay pipes or some equally suitable material and were to be connected to the sewers as directed by the Board, without any right angle junctions. They were to be laid with watertight joints and when laid under houses, they were to be embedded in and surrounded by well puddled clay. House drainage was to be ventilated by a pipe, shaft or other approved method, but all other inlets were to be properly trapped. Rain-water was to be drained or conveyed from the roofs of buildings so as to prevent its dripping on to the ground and causing damp walls.[4] The construction of water-closets, privies and ashpits was subject to the Board's

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon 8° 850 (7), op.cit., pp.5-6, Byelaws 13-17
2. R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.80
3. J. Burnett, op.cit., pp.157-8
4. O.U.A. LHD/FO/1/21 (7). Oxford Local Board byelaws.... confirmed 15.12.1865, byelaws 19-22

approval and cesspits were prohibited except with the Board's consent. No house was to be occupied until the drainage was made and completed, and a final byelaw stated the procedure by which a house could, in future, be declared unfit for human habitation.[1] The fifth and last section of the byelaws dealt with means of enforcement, requiring that the Surveyor be given one month's written notice and plans of new streets, and a fortnight's written notice and plan of new buildings. The Surveyor was entitled to inspect building works "at any reasonable time that he may think fit," or on the instructions of the Board. The builder, for his part, had to give two days' written notice both before commencing work and again before he covered the foundations, sewers and drains; he had also to give notice of completion after the amendment of any irregularity. Within six hours of an inspection the Surveyor was bound to give a builder written notice requiring amendments of any faults within 48 hours. Notification of the completion of building work was to be given to the Surveyor within one month, whereupon he was to survey the building and report back to the Board. Finally, the errant builder was rendered liable to a maximum fine of £5 per offence for contravention of a bye-law and could face an additional penalty of up to £2 per day during the period of contravention. The Board was given powers to pull down or alter faulty work and recover the cost from the offender.[2]

In spite of the many permissive clauses which were characteristic of byelaws framed under the terms of the Local Government Act[3] the Local Board's building byelaws heralded a new era, reinforcing the controls exercised by the great leasehold estates and imposing authority over free-

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon 8° 850(7), op.cit., pp.7-8, byelaws 23-27. Byelaws 19-22, replaced by drainage byelaws of 1889, are missing from this copy.

2. ibid., op.cit.,pp.8-12; byelaws 28-34.

3. S.M. Gaskell, op.cit., pp.22-3; J. Burnett, op.cit., p.156

hold estates for the first time; they also introduced a new set of experts, the City Engineer and his staff, into the development process.[1] The byelaws came into force in January 1866, and the minutes of the Local Board at once began to include details of house-building activity.[2] At first, the format of these reports was inconsistent, and, on three occasions during 1866, the number of houses in a particular development was omitted.[3] Two cases were reported of houses being built without permission[4] and it seems possible that a number of other schemes could have proceeded unnoticed, especially in the remoter suburbs,[5] while the Board's administrative machinery was in its infancy.

By December 1866, the Surveyor had found that builders were not building according to their submitted plans, and the Board, on the Chairman's casting vote, agreed that plans were in future to be deposited for reference.[6] The legality of this decision was queried by 'Tecton'[7] and the architect and builder, Joseph Curtis, argued that the requirement to deposit drawings, together with the Board's other byelaws, would add 15% to a working man's rent.[8] This tide of opposition, together with its own indecision, may have persuaded the Board not to insist upon the deposit of plans until January 1875. In the meantime, however, the monthly reports in the Board's minute books became more standard, and by 1868 they gave the name of the builder, or the person submitting the application,

1. C. Treen, op.cit., p.188
2. O.C.A. R.5.2. Oxford Local Board M.B., 1865-7, p.22, 30.1.1866
3. ibid., pp.22, 127, 148; 30.1.1866, 19.6.1866, 10.7.1866
4. ibid., pp.90, 301; 15.5.1866, 18.12.1866
5. J. Burnett, op.cit., p.154 notes evasion in new suburban areas
6. O.C., 15.12.1866, p.7
7. ibid., 5.1.1867, p.5
8. ibid., 12.1.1867, p.5

the owner, a description of the property or properties to be built, and the whereabouts of the site.[1] In October 1870, the Board's Engineer commenced a register of applications which included the same information and provided the opportunity to record the progress of building work on each project.[2]

The Public Health Act of 1875 consolidated existing legislation and was instrumental in securing a semblance of comprehensive national control over new urban building. In 1877, the Local Government Board published Model Byelaws which followed closely the provisions of the Act and, by the end of the 1880s, most local authorities had adopted byelaws in conformity with them. The Act had a lesser impact on places with existing legislation, however,[3] and building control in Oxford was more profoundly affected by intervention from an unexpected source, the University's Delegacy of Lodging Houses. The Delegacy had been set up in 1868 as a result of the decision to permit less wealthy students to live out of College in licensed lodging houses. In the development context, its most important duty was to examine the sanitary condition of these licensed houses.[4] At first, this responsibility was exercised with moderation, but a national scare about the health of Oxford was raised in 1874 when four undergraduates fell ill with typhoid fever, and three of them died.[5] Queen Victoria's son, Prince Leopold, was also said to have contracted typhoid while resident in the city, but this proved to be untrue.[6] In view of

1. O.C.A. R.5.3. Oxford Local Board M.B., 1867-9, p.142, 17.3.1868

2. These registers have unfortunately been lost and survive only in the form of a poor-quality 1940s micro film.

3. S.M. Gaskell, op.cit., pp.41-50; C.G. Powell, An economic history of the British building industry, 1815-1979 (1980), p.62

4. O.U.A. LHD/Misc/3/7. The Lodging Houses Delegacy: an account of the formation of the Delegacy, and of its work during the years 1868 to 1899, pp.1-5

5. Oxford Local Board, Medical Officer's report for 1874 (1875), pp.6-7

6. O.C., 16.1.1875, p.5

the obvious progress of the city's main drainage scheme, the tumult died down and a Commons' motion deploring the gross and wilful neglect of the Oxford authorities was withdrawn.[1] In December 1880, however, an undergraduate in lodgings died of diphtheria and his grieving father wrote to The Times, warning all young men of "the poisonous condition"that awaited them in Oxford; his son had complained of "the stink of the lodgings."[2] With 866 undergraduates in a total of 579 lodging-houses by 1879, the Delegacy was sufficiently alarmed to appoint a Sanitary Officer whose duty it was to advise and report upon all licensed lodging-houses.[3] The young chartered engineer, E.F.G. Griffith, inspected the sanitary condition of each lodging-house in the spring of 1881, and discovered that only 21 out of 612 required no improvement; in 451 cases, alterations were carried out under his supervision, in a further 13 alteration was postponed and in three instances, licences were simply withdrawn. The landlords of the other 124 lodging-houses either moved or allowed their licences to lapse. Griffith stirred up a veritable hornet's nest of opposition, and complained in February 1882 that the work having been one of compulsion, "every obstacle has been put in my way, not so much by the tenants as by the landlords,and everything that has been done has been carried out under protest, even the workmen themselves sharing in the general feeling of prejudice against the alterations."[4] Although Griffith made it clear that Oxford's drainage was no worse than other old towns, his allegations of bad workmanship and sanitary defects in recent houses[5] roused the building trade to anger and implied incompetence on the part of the Local Board. In August 1881, the Clerk of the Board was instructed

1. O.C., 26.6.1875, p.5
2. ibid., 25.12.1880, p.5
3. O.U.A. LHD/Misc/3/7, op.cit., pp.7-8
4. Report of the Delegacy for Licensing Lodging-Houses on the sanitary inspection of lodging houses, 1881-2 (1882), pp.17-8
5. E.F.G. Griffith, Report on the sanitary condition of the lodging-houses (1881),pp.5-6, 11

to write to the Delegates informing them that alterations to the sanitary arrangements of houses should be submitted to the Board for approval.[1] The University was not to be deflected from its purpose, however, and Congregation passed a statute enabling the Delegacy to appoint a Controller of Lodging-Houses who would inspect every house proposed for a licence, and would visit each licensed lodging-house at least annually. A permanent sanitary officer was also to be appointed and the Delegates were empowered to employ medical or any other professional advice. The Local Board had no part in these elaborate arrangements,[2] but, swallowing its pride, it appointed a Lodging -Houses Committee which conferred with the Delegates and submitted mutually agreed amendments to the existing drainage byelaws in March 1882.[3] The formal ratification of these amended byelaws was long delayed, because the Board sought first to introduce the whole of the Local Government Board's Model Byelaws.[4] Owners of property were appalled at the prospect, and, in October 1884, Walter Gray warned that the new byelaws could reduce property values by a half.[5] Since the Local Government Board would sanction no material alteration to its Model Byelaws, the Byelaws Committee recommended that the existing byelaws be retained and in March 1885, it was instructed to draft supplementary rules based on them.[6] In November, the Local Board duly passed a byelaw dealing with methods of laying drains under houses, but the Local Government Board again intervened, stressing the desirability of forming a completely new set of byelaws. After all attempts at compromise had failed, the Committee was given to understand that amended drainage byelaws might now be acceptable. Amendments based on the relevant section of the Model

1. O.C., 6.8.1881, p.7
2. ibid., 3.12.1881, p.5
3. ibid., 4.3.1882, p.6
4. ibid., 7.6.1884, p.6
5. ibid., 4.10.1884, p.5
6. ibid., 7.3.1885, p.7

Byelaws were therefore presented to the Local Board in May 1887,[1] but they were not finally approved by the Local Government Board until February 1889. The eleven clauses of the new drainage byelaws superseded nos. 19-22 of the 1865 building byelaws, and made some significant alterations to them.[2] Whereas, for example, the 1865 byelaws had assumed drains beneath houses to be inevitable,[3] the new byelaws forbade them unless there was no alternative; in such cases, the drain, if not of cast iron, was to be laid at least its full diameter beneath the ground at its highest point, and it was to be embedded in and covered with six inches of concrete. Cast iron pipes could be laid above the ground, but their type, size and methods of jointing and coating were now specified in detail.[4] Basement storeys were in future to be of sufficient height to enable a building to be effectively drained,[5] and another clause determined the position of soil pipes.[6] The byelaws as a whole inevitably fell some way short of the stringent regulations for house drainage prepared for the Delegacy of Lodging-Houses[7] since they covered all houses and not just properties "of the better sort."[8] Nevertheless, they introduced new standards of development control and their basic intention, to create a healthier city, continued to be reinforced by the regular inspection of over 500 houses a year by the Delegacy's Sanitary Officer.[9]

1. O.U.A. LHD/FO/1/21. Oxford Local Board, Report of the Byelaws Committee, 24.5.1887

2. ibid., Oxford Local Board, Byelaws with respect to the drainage of buildings...approved by the Local Government Board, 15.2.1889, passim.

3. supra, p. 175

4. O.U.A. LHD/FO/1/21. Oxford Local Board, Byelaws with respect to the drainage of buildings...15.2.1889, pp.3-4, Byelaws 5

5. ibid., p.3, Byelaw 4

6. ibid., p.8, Byelaw 9

7. O.U.A. LHD/RP/1/1. Delegacy of Lodging-Houses, Regulations for house drainage, c.1882, passim.

8. ibid., Unnamed newspaper cutting, 16.7.1881

9. e.g. ibid., LHD/RP/4/1. Sanitary Officer's monthly reports, 1886-7

The formation of an Oxford County Borough Council in succession to the Local Board in 1889 was followed in 1890 by the Oxford Corporation Act which included provisions relating to buildings, sewerage and, most notably, streets and highways.[1] The future urban morphology was, for example, affected by section 42 which dictated that no new street was to have a continuous line of buildings exceeding 300 yards in length without an intersecting street. The Council also obtained authority to vary the direction, level and position of an intended new street so as to make it communicate more conveniently with any other street adjoining or leading into it; owners of property affected by this clause would, however, be compensated. If footways were injured by or because of excavations or building work on adjoining land, the Council was empowered to repair the damage and to charge the full amount to the owner or occupier. The deposit of building materials or excavated soil on the street was not to be allowed without the Council's consent, and, following such consent, it had to be adequately fenced and lighted at night.[2] Section 79 empowered the Council to re-lay or amend drains laid in contravention of Public Health Act 1875, section 25, and to charge the owner the cost of the work; in order to ensure the proper communication of drains with the main sewers, the Council was also authorised to do the work and to charge for it.[3] Nineteen sections of the Oxford Corporation Act related to buildings, but, for the most part, they made minor amendments and additions to the Local Board's 25 year old building byelaws. Section 28, for example, ordered that the height of a building was not to exceed the distance from the front of that building to the opposite side of the street. The powers of the Engineer to inspect building work were strengthened and the builder

1. 53 and 54 Victoria, c. 223 (Local and Personal), passim
2. ibid., pp.25-8
3. ibid., p.38

was to "give free of expense the use of ladders, scaffolding, and plant in and about such work." If building had proceeded to the extent that a breach of the byelaws could no longer be ascertained, the Engineer could order the work to be exposed within 48 hours, but, if all was well, the Council was liable to pay the cost of the extra work, reinstatement and delay. The Council was given a measure of aesthetic control over development by section 27 which made the elevation of buildings on "front land" subject to its approval. Delays in building led to section 26, making the deposit of plans void after three years. A further loop-hole was closed by the provision forbidding buildings described in plans as lock-up shops, sheds or places of business to be used for habitation.[1]

Having examined the powers that the Local Board and City Council obtained for regulating development in Victorian Oxford, it is necessary to consider how successfully they were enforced and the practical results of enforcement. The initial layout of an estate was perhaps the easiest stage to control, since the scale of the work was large and infringements were glaringly obvious. The transaction was, moreover, uncomplicated, since it involved simply the local authority and a developer who was probably keen to see his plans approved and to obtain a return on his investment. Nevertheless, local authorities did face considerable difficulties in enforcing over-specific or imprecise byelaws[2] and especially, perhaps, when confronted by a developer with a legal background. In 1868, George Parsons Hester, the Town Clerk, laid out Botley Meadow for building purposes[3] without submitting plans under byelaw 28 and he also therefore infringed byelaw 4 which gave the Board powers to specify the inclination and depth of sewers in new streets.[4] He was ultimately prosecuted -

1. 53 and 54 Victoria, c.223 (Local and Personal), pp. 18-25
2. S.M. Gaskell, op.cit., pp. 39-40
3. O.C., 7.3.1868, p.8; supra, pp. 125-6
4. Bodl. G.A. Oxon 8° 850(7) op.cit., pp.3, 8-9

unsuccessfully - under byelaw 29 for building a house without giving due notice,[1] but it would appear that the house failed also to meet the minimum height requirement of byelaw 15.[2] Hester might seem to have been acting in total ignorance of the Local Board's byelaws, but his defence counsel argued rather that the summons was technically incorrect and that too much time had elapsed since the infringement had been committed.[3] Following this incident, which was to lead to controversy over the unhealthiness of New Botley in 1873 and the expense of a special sewerage system in 1886,[4] greater care was clearly taken to control the initial stages of development. In November 1868, for instance, a proposal to lay out three additional streets off Mill Street was rejected as being contrary to the byelaws[5] and the developer was forced to compromise.[6] Even prominent Oxonians seem to have been brought under control in this respect, and, in 1890, Walter Gray was compelled to make connections between his Essex Street estate and the pre-existing Golden Road, Donnington Road and Percy Street;[7] in these situations, however, private landowners were able to hold out for the highest prices[8] and Gray received £90 for the 14 feet wide strip of land required for the Percy Street extension.[9] It became common in the 1890s for the Council's Public Improvements Committee to attach detailed conditions to their approval

1. O.C., 18.4.1868, p.8
2. ibid., 4.4.1868, p.8; Bodl. G.A. Oxon 8° 850(7) op.cit.,p.6
3. ibid., 18.4.1868, p.8
4. supra,, p. 128
5. O.C., 28.11.1868, p.8
6. ibid., 22.5.1869, p.2
7. ibid., 9.8.1890, p.8; supra, pp. 91, 99
8. R. G. Rodger, op.cit.,pp.52-3
9. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P445. Percy Street extension. Conveyance 23.12.1890

of an estate plan. In the case of Edwin Bradley's Cowley Road estate in 1895, the committee specified a ten feet building line beyond which no bay window or other projection was to extend.[1] In West Oxford, Thomas Gable was ordered to embank the Hill View Road estate to a height determined by the City Engineer before the Council would undertake to make the road.[2]

The enforcement of byelaws relating to house-building posed problems of much greater complexity, since the City Engineer and his staff were dealing with a host of builders and sub-contractors who might be inexperienced, under-financed or deliberately skimping. Since no systematic record of inspections survives it is possible only to gain glimpses of the work when matters were raised at Local Board or City Council meetings and when builders were prosecuted for failing to comply with the byelaws. In January 1870, it was noted that the plan for six houses in Kingston Road submitted by James Walter featured wooden studding despite byelaw 9, but the Board accepted that the studding was ornamental and was unlikely to assist the spread of fire.[3] In August 1867, the Local Board's Surveyor reported that several people were infringing the byelaws relating to the thickness of walls and the minimum height of rooms; the Board resolved that written notice was to be sent to all of them, and that legal proceedings were to be taken if they failed to comply.[4] The threat of prosecution was probably sufficient in most cases[5] and singularly few instances have been found where a builder was taken to court. On three

1. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P445. Percy Street extension. Conveyance, 23.12.1890
2. O.C., 4.5.1895, p.7
3. O.C.A. R.5.4. Oxford Local Board M.B. 1869-71, p.219, January 1870
4. O.C., 31.8.1867, p.8; for the relevant byelaws, vide supra, pp. 174-5
5. M. Elliott, op.cit., p.107

occasions, in 1870, 1872 and 1888, builders were prosecuted for failure to submit plans; in 1872, William Allsop Reynolds, a builder who had just come from Daventry to Oxford, was able to plead ignorance and escaped with costs.[1] No such excuse was open to Ernest Pether in 1870[2] or to John Buckingham, who had, in 1888, failed to submit plans of two houses until one was completed and the other occupied.[3] The only prosecution for poor workmanship seems to have been in July 1881, when George Prickett was summonsed for erecting two houses without proper drainage; Prickett promised to remedy the defect, and the case was adjourned.[4] Did the paucity of action against Oxford builders imply that building standards were high or that enforcement standards were low? There was undoubtedly some jerry-building and, in Charles Street in 1900, the Chairman of the Housing of the Working Classes Committee found "houses built with old materials, 3/6 (weekly rent), one room downstairs about ten feet square, and wash-house and two small bedrooms, 12 feet frontage, small windows, worst class of property we saw during this inspection, one water closet to two houses..."[5] Inferior materials had obviously been used in Jericho in 1873, when James Walter, a builder in Observatory Street, built two houses and later sold them for £200 to Alfred Smith, a paper-hanger. In 1875, the roofs gave way and, at Smith's prompting, Walter agreed to make good the damage and re-use the old tiles. Smith alleged that the houses were built of "old stuff" and that Walter had responded to his approach by saying "For God's sake don't say anything about it; it will ruin me

1. O.C., 2.3.1872, p.8
2. O.C.A. R.5.3. op.cit., p.242, March 1870
3. O.C., 3.11.1888, p.6
4. ibid., 9.7.1881, p.7
5. O.C.A. H H.4.9. Housing of the Working Classes Committee M.B., 1900, 27.11.1900

in my trade."[1] At the end of the century, the local historian, Herbert Hurst, criticised the "unwisdom or trickery of modern builders" for including so little hair in plaster ceilings that, about once a month, he could see in North Oxford the debris of a fallen ceiling being removed.[2] The plastering of quite new properties in Argyle Street was criticised with equal vehemence in 1900, when the houses were described as "very badly built, worst houses for pretentious appearance, plastering very bad and all crumbling away, rent 5/6."[3] Evidence of poor building was also uncovered in 1881 by the Lodging-House Delegacy's engineer, E.F.G. Griffith, who made every possible effort to guide those who were rectifying defects in the drainage of university lodging-houses. Despite his samples of fixtures and materials, his drawings of house drainage and his guidance in obtaining material and executing the work, he "could scarcely have believed it possible for any work to be carried out in the manner in which much of it has been done here; the bad workmanship of many of the builders and plumbers is, in fact, the chief cause of defective house drainage in Oxford."[4] The Delegacy's Sanitary Officer regularly continued to find faults with the sanitary condition of recently-built houses, and in December 1889, for instance, he reported thus on no. 38 Regent Street: "Although a new house, forming one of a block of six, quite recently built, the sanitary arrangements fall far short of sanitary principles as now generally recognised...."[5] More serious fault was found with no. 43 Southmoor Road in 1887: "The pipes from the disconnecting manhole

1. O.C.,23.6.1877, p.8

2. Herbert Hurst, Remains of exterior pargetting in Oxford. Proceedings of Oxford Architectural & Historical Society, New Series 6(1894-1900), p.139

3. O.C.A. H H.4.9. Housing of the Working Classes Cttee. M.B.,1900,27.11.1900

4. E.F.G. Griffith, Report on the sanitary condition of the lodging-houses (1881), pp.10-11

5. O.U.A. LHD/RP/4/4. Sanitary Officer's Monthly Reports 1889/90, month ending 7.12.1889

(but which proved to be no disconnection at all....) to the end of the drain were found to be half-full of sewage, many of the pipes being laid with a fall in the wrong direction, and the cement at some of the joints had been left rough inside the pipes so as to cause an obstruction to the flow of sewage."[1] The failure of local authority inspectors to discover these defects points to the probability of more serious violations in poorer properties, which would never have been envisaged as university lodging-houses. The concern of the local authority to improve building standards by the enforcement of existing or tougher byelaws was also tempered by fear of increasing the costs of building and, consequently, the working man's rent.[2] Thus, 4½" party walls stopped off at ceiling level were tolerated in Oxford as in Yorkshire,[3] and it was only after a proposal to build 37 houses like this in 1887 that one Local Board member, Edward Gardener, launched a campaign to prevent occupiers of small houses from "being placed upon too confidential terms with their neighbours." In October, the Local Board agreed to make imperative byelaw 6 requiring party walls to be at least nine inches thick, and byelaw 12, which prohibited joists or other woodwork fixed on an external or party wall from coming within four inches of the external face of that wall. Gardener had also wished to make compulsory byelaw 8, requiring party walls to be carried at least 12 inches above the roof, but withdrew this proposal when other members of the Board stressed the problem of water seepage which this might cause.[4] As in Leeds, where byelaws framed in 1866 remained essentially unmodified for over 40 years,[5] the

1. O.U.A. LHD/RP/4.2. Sanitary Officer's Monthly Reports 1889/90, month ending 7.12.1889

2. O.C., 8.10.1887, p.6

3. J.N. Tarn, Five per cent philanthropy: an account of housing in urban areas between 1840 and 1914 (1973), p.77

4. O.C., 10.9.1887, p.2: 8.10.1887, p.5

5. B.J. Barber, Aspects of municipal government. In, D. Fraser, ed., A history of modern Leeds (1980), p.305

Oxford byelaws survived with few amendments into the twentieth century. In 1901, however, the City Council's revised building byelaws removed many of the builders' options and, with their recipes for mortar and concrete, moved much nearer to the standards demanded by St. John's College.[1]

Despite the inevitable instances of skimping and poor workmanship, builders were generally channelled by developers, building byelaws and other factors towards building houses that were larger and of higher quality than before.[2] In the early nineteenth century, speculative builders in growing towns had been able to provide large quantities of housing for all sections of the working-class, including even casual labourers.[3] In Oxford, for example, 1,130 houses were built in the primarily working-class parishes of St. Clement, St. Ebbe and St. Thomas between 1811 and 1831.[4] By about 1850, however, builders were "beginning to concentrate on providing accommodation for skilled artisans and clerks, whose regular employment, high wages and shorter hours of work allowed them to live on cheaper land outside the town centres."[5] This national trend was reinforced in Oxford because the city had no major industrial population and there was greater demand, at least initially, for artisan and middle-class housing. At the same time, the clearance of central courts and yards for university and commercial purposes was diminishing the supply of cheap housing.[6] In April 1877,

1. O.C.C., Digest of bye-laws in respect of new streets and buildings..... (1901), passim: supra, p. 161

2. J. M. Treble, op.cit., pp.194-5; R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.288; E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.177

3. A. Sutcliffe, Working-class housing in 19th century Britain: a review of recent research. Society for the study of Labour History Bulletin 24 (1972), p.44

4. (Census of Great Britain, 1811). Abstract of the answers and returns.... Enumeration Abstract....(1812), pp.259, 264-5; (Census of Great Britain, 1831). Abstracts of the answers and returns...Enumeration abstract, vol. 1 (1833) pp.492, 502

5. A. Sutcliffe, op.cit., p.44

6. C.V. Butler, Social conditions in Oxford (1912), pp.98-100

a correspondent to the Oxford Chronicle suggested that the Council should use the recent Artisans' & Labourers' Dwellings Improvements Act of 1875 to clear insanitary housing and build "comfortable dwellings" in Gloucester Green.[1] Like most local authorities, however, the Council and the Local Board were generally paralysed by the fear of increasing the rates and the influence of property owners;[2] many members could see no reason to act and, in 1892, a Sanitary Committee visit to courts in St. Thomas's found that, where the landlord did his duty and the tenant paid his rent, a "tolerable level of comfort and convenience was generally attained."[3] The Committee appointed to consider working-class housing in 1900 was precluded from recommending the adoption of part III of the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 which provided the powers to acquire land and build municipal dwellings.[4] Significantly, it reported that "There has been considerable activity in recent years in building a class of property somewhat above the means of the average working-man, and in all the suburbs of Oxford good types of houses can be found at rentals running from 7/- to 8/6 per week."[5] Many of the smaller houses were identified as full and a few as overcrowded, but the committee's only solutions to these problems were increased sanitary vigilance and, where necessary, application for a 'closing order.'[6]

1. O.C., 14.4.1877, p.5
2. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.272; infra, pp. 314-7
3. O.C., 11.6.1892, p.5
4. O.C.A. GG.4.1. Special Committees M.B. 1900-6, pp.22-3, 24.1.1901.
5. ibid., p.18, 24.1.1901
6. ibid., p.16, 24.1.1901

The artisan house rather than the workman's cottage had become preponderant in Oxford as it had in the very different circumstances of Cardiff and Huddersfield.[1] The builder's freedom to erect smaller houses had been especially constrained by developers' requirements to build only one house per lot and to maintain a building line. In early nineteenth century developments, and in Penson's Gardens, St. Clement's as late as 1864,[2] builders were able to run up cheap houses by purchasing two or more lots and by building both on and behind the street frontage. Even with a building line, substantial lots could still be used to build very small houses, but this loophole was closed,as at New Botley, by a restrictive covenant insisting that only one house might be erected on each lot.[3] Local authority building byelaws made the erection of cheap houses still more difficult, since even permissive byelaws unevenly enforced added to the builder's expenses.[4] Although shoddy workmanship and sub-standard materials were still to be found,[5] it was far less easy for a builder to evade byelaws which determined, for example, the minimum height of rooms or the minimum area of window space. Such byelaws implied the use of more materials and consequently increased costs. The expense of providing an additional set of plans for deposit was much deplored[6] and the delays caused by awaiting approval and by having to notify the Surveyor at various stages of the building process could pose serious problems to small builders heavily dependent on credit.

1. R. J. Springett, op.cit., p.288; M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), pp.97-100

2. supra, p.95

3. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P 599. 129 Botley Road. Conveyance, 20.1.1870

4. R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), p.143

5. supra, pp. 186-7

6. supra, p. 177

Such men formed the mainstay of the Victorian building industry, and, in order to make a precarious living, they had to sell their houses as swiftly as possible.[1] It was therefore imperative to build houses to attract would-be investors, whose natural caution favoured middle-class or artisan housing occupied by regularly-employed tenants who might be expected to provide a reliable rent income. Even builders, like Edwin Patrick,[2] who could afford to retain substantial numbers of houses as an investment, had inevitably to adopt the priority of ensuring a safe return. As an inducement to buyers, and indeed to the tenants upon whom the chain of prosperity depended, builders therefore tended to include such extras as grates, ranges, ovens, cupboards, tiled halls, marbled slate fire-places, stained glass in the front door or electric bells.[3] The artisan house came to be a scaled-down replica of the larger one with a similar number of much smaller rooms. The improvement in the size and quality of the average house contributed generally to a rise of approximately 85% in house rents between 1845 and 1910,[4] but, during the same period, the rents of the lowest class of property remained static.[5] As a result, builders could find it difficult to build houses of a sufficiently low rental, and their chances of doing so were significantly reduced by steadily rising labour costs[6] and by the small-scale nature of the

1. E. Gauldie, Cruel habitations (1974), p.169

2. O.C., 28.5.1881, p.4 advertises the sale of 27 freehold houses, forming the estate of the late Edwin Patrick.

3. D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.209; E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.197; O.C., 18.8.1888, p.4; 14.9.1889, p.4

4. H.W. Singer, An index of urban land rents and house rents in England and Wales, 1845-1913. Econometrica 9 (1941), p.230; B. Weber, A new index of house rents for Great Britain, 1874-1913. Scottish Journal of Political Economy 7 (1960), pp.235-6

5. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.160

6. K. Maiwald, An index of building costs in the United Kingdom, 1845-1938. Economic History Review 2nd series 7 (1954/5), p.192

industry.[1] Even substantial builders could rarely afford the space or the money to achieve economies of scale by keeping a large stock of building materials on hand[2] and they, too, were not against potentially higher returns; in T.H. Kingerlee, for example, Oxford had a prolific builder who was also a brickmaker and a builder's merchant,[3] but he concentrated entirely upon artisan and middle-class housing. In Oxford, as elsewhere, the working of these various factors contributed to better house-building and in North Oxford, the Bursar of St. John's College found that "Our difficulty generally is to prevent houses being built larger than originally proposed."[4] Building byelaws may themselves have played only a minor part in this general trend, reflecting rather than changing the form of the built environment;[5] many of the features of the byelaw house were already becoming evident in earlier artisan properties and the houses of New Botley, many of which were built without the Local Board's supervision, differed little from contemporary houses in Jericho.[6]

Development control in Victorian Oxford was most effective in the early stages of development, regulating the formation of estates, roads and sewers and determining where houses were to be built. In these respects, it must clearly have contributed to healthier living conditions

1. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.89, H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), pp.124-5; C.G. Powell, op.cit., pp.30-1; infra, pp. 211 ff

2. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.175

3. infra, p. 229

4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.10. Bursar's L.B. 1882-5, Letter to A. Robinson, 28.2.1884

5. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.5

6. supra, pp. 126-7, 138-9

and to the city's declining death-rate.[1] House-building was much less easy to control, even on the most effectively supervised St. John's College estate, but building byelaws and building agreements played a part in generating better standards of housing. The benefits were not felt throughout society, however, since the poorest members of the community, far from being able to escape to the suburbs, found themselves trapped by rising rents in a diminishing number of central courts and yards. The problem of providing new houses of an acceptable standard at a rent which the needy could afford had defeated the Oxford Cottage Improvement Society in the 1880s[2] and was even less capable of solution by a building industry that was generally small-scale and under-financed.

1. Annual reports of the Medical Officer of Health for the City of Oxford, 1872-1900, passim.

2. supra, pp. 71-2

4. The House-Building Industry

The transformation of fields into streets and building sites into houses was the most startling result of suburban development, attracting much contemporary comment. In May 1867 the Reverend Robert Charsley spoke of suburbs having "grown up around Oxford on every side like a huge swelling which needs to be cured."[1] Disease also formed the inspiration for Reverend William Tuckwell's description of North Oxford as "a tremendous irruption" with "interminable streets of villadom, converging insatiably protuberant upon distant Wolvercot (sic) and Summertown."[2] Such remarks invested the building process with the apparent power of a celluloid monster, laying waste to the countryside in its desperate search for sustenance. In fact, the progress of suburban development was much less awesome and bore greater resemblance to a huge jigsaw puzzle assembled by many hands. The building industry in Oxford, as elsewhere, was generally small-scale in character and most firms were short-lived.[3] House-building proceeded in fits and starts, fuelled for a time by real or imagined need and by readily available finance only to be slowed again by over-building, falling rents and a temporary shortage of funds. In this hazardous situation the speculative builder "bore virtually all the risk and took some at least of the profits in meeting an anticipated demand for houses."[4] In Cardiff, Daunton has noted "the almost unrelieved anonymity of the builder,"[5] and many Oxford builders were equally obscure, leaving behind little more than their brief contribution to the built environment. A minority were,

1. Cowley St. John parish magazine (May 1867), p.ii
2. Rev. W. Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford (1900), p.254
3. J. Burnett, op.cit., p.139; C.G. Powell, op.cit., pp.30, 73
4. H.J. Dyos, The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 (1968) supplement, p.663
5. M. J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.95

however, able to master the uncertain conditions in which they operated and a very few set secure foundations for building firms which have flourished into the last quarter of the twentieth century. Their success, and the failure of others, owed something to fortune and more to judgement, but the main factor determining a builder's prosperity or downfall was the availability of loans or credit from sources that were largely local.[1] If these sources could be tapped no longer, the speculative builder was usually doomed to extinction.

Records of house-building activity in Oxford commence in January 1866 with the implementation of the Local Board's building byelaws,[2] and confirm Weber's hypothesis that all towns participate in long cycles of fluctuation with considerable variety in amplitude and timing.[3] House-building in Oxford, where the population rose by 72.5% from 28,601 in 1861 to 49,336 in 1901,[4] was clearly on a much smaller scale than it was in a major city like Sheffield where the population more than doubled from 185,172 to 409,071 during the same period.[5] The peaks and troughs of the house-building cycle were, nevertheless, just as marked in Oxford as they were in Sheffield[6] and may be compared with indices of house-building activity prepared by Weber for London and for 34 towns and by Saul for county towns after 1890.[7] These vicissitudes owed something to national and international factors

1. M. J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.93; J.P. Lewis, Building cycles and Britain's growth (1965), p.71; M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle-class housing in Britain (1977), p.9; R.J. Springett, op.cit., pp.237-41

2. supra, p.177

3. B. Weber, A new index of residential construction and long cycles in house-building in Great Britain, 1838-1950. Scottish Journal of Political Economy 2 (1955), p.115

4. Table 1

5. J.E.Vickers, A popular history of Sheffield (1978), p.245

6. Fig. 1. House-building in Oxford, 1866-1900; P.J. Aspinall, The size structure of the house-building industry in Victorian Sheffield (1977), passim

7. Table 8 Indices of house-building activity in Oxford and elsewhere, 1866-1900; B. Weber, op.cit., pp.131-2; S.B. Saul, House-building in England, 1890-1914. Economic History Review 2nd series 15 (1962-3), p.121

FIG. 1
HOUSE-BUILDING IN OXFORD, 1866-1900

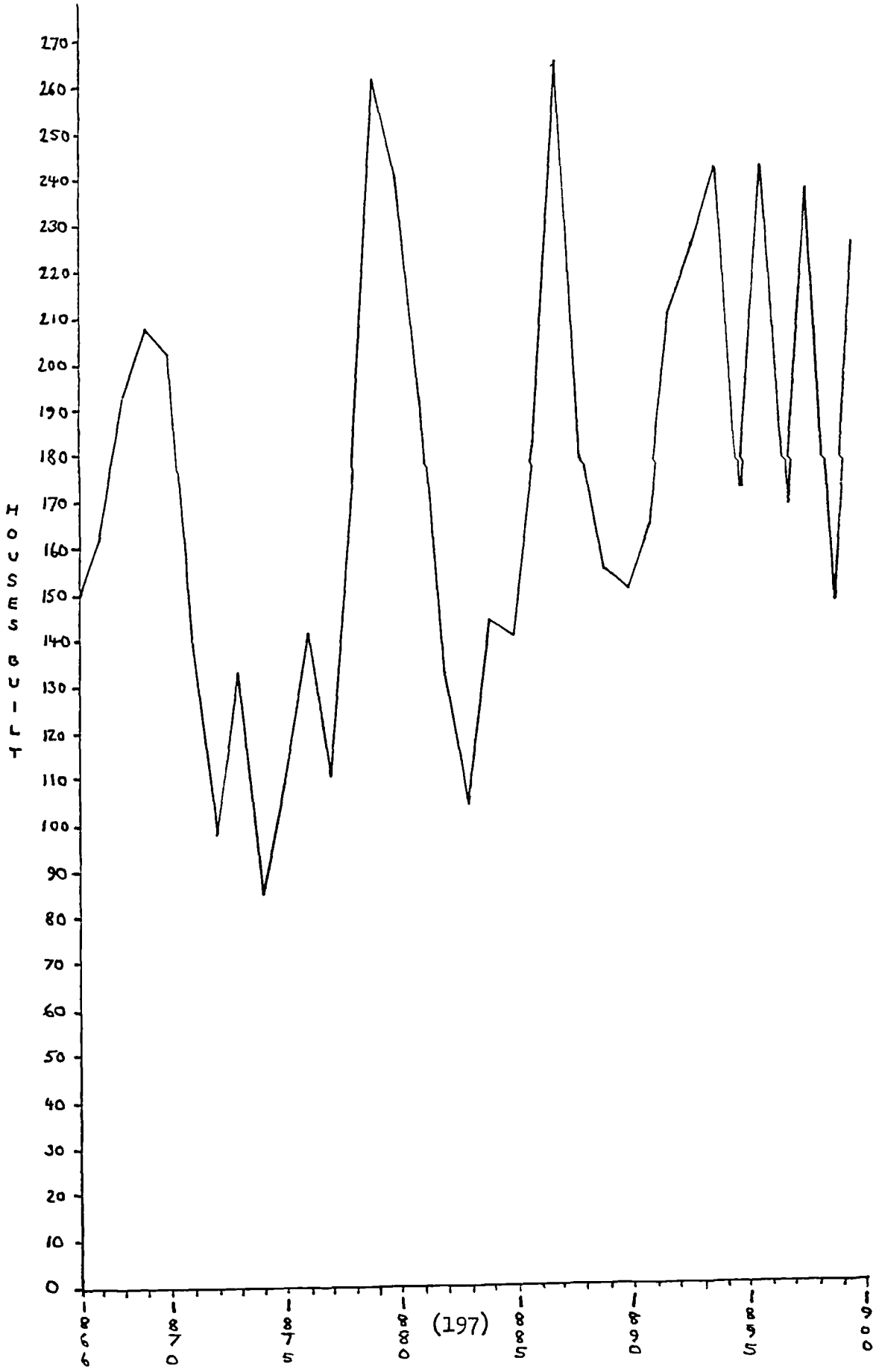


Table 8 Indices of house-building activity in Oxford and elsewhere, 1866-1900 (1900-9 = 100)

	Oxford	34 Towns	London	County Towns
1866	85	42	62	
7	92	50	63	
8	110	54	70 Peak	
9	118 Peak	59	54	
70	115	66	46	
1	80	69	40	
2	56	72	52	
3	75	63	36 Trough	
4	48 Trough	70	36	
5	62	92	46	
6	80	100 Peak	60	
7	63	95	67	
8	99	82	79	
9	148 Peak	66	100	
80	136	64	115	
1	109	61	121 Peak	
2	75	63	108	
3	59 Trough	63	97	
4	82	63	85	
5	80	59	73	
6	103	58 Trough	57	
7	151 Peak	60	58	
8	101	61	57	
9	88	61	55	
90	85 Trough	58	50 Trough	74
1	93	61	56	55 Trough
2	119	64	52	61
3	128	66	59	63
4	137	70	59	82
5	98	69	61	71
6	138 Peak	82	78	85
7	96	100	86	92
8	135	121 Peak	115	107
9	84	120	126 Peak	112
1900	128	107	116	120 Peak

Sources: O.C.A. R.5.2-4. Oxford Local Board M.B. 1865-71, passim; O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900. Microfilm in O.C.L.: S.B. Saul, op.cit., p.121; B. Weber, op.cit., pp.131-2

but more perhaps to "endogenous factors specific to the local housing market and economic base of the town, notably booms and slumps in business activity, and the deflationary influence of voids in the housing stock."[1] The money supply was a crucial element in building finance and the diversion of funds overseas during the Crimean and Boer Wars had a depressive effect on the national building cycle;[2] more generally, private investors might be diverted from the property market by changes in the basic riskless rate of return, the yield on Consols, which rose from 2.5% to 3% between 1897 and 1907,[3] or by new channels of investment at home and abroad The demand for capital overseas, for example, brought the price of gilt-edged securities to very tempting levels and alternative facilities for investment at home included the co-operative movement, municipal stocks and joint-stock undertakings. Nevertheless, the promise of rising site values kept investors interested in real estate and the attraction of capital into other fields is more likely to have delayed an upturn in the building cycle than to have caused a premature slump.[4] The inverse relationship between internal and external migration was a further influence upon the building cycle for, when emigration was at a high level during the 1850s, the 1880s and the 1900s, capital was deflected to the export sector and there was a smaller rural surplus of population to be housed in the towns; at other times, more capital was available for house construction and increased internal migration provided a greater incentive to build.[5] At a local level, building was influenced by differing levels of population growth and movement, by the degree of local prosperity and by the provision

1. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.5
2. supra, p. 63 ; J.P. Lewis, op.cit., p.147
3. A. Offer, op.cit., p.280; J.P. Lewis, op.cit., pp.149-50
4. S.B. Saul, op.cit., pp.133-4
5. B. Thomas, Migration and urban development: a reappraisal of British and American Long Cycles (1972), p.37; ibid., Migration and economic growth 2nd ed. (1973), pp.124-5, 177-8; J.P. Lewis, op.cit., p.329

of transport facilities which encouraged suburban development; another important factor was the nature of the local building industry and its response to the level of empty houses.[1]

Oxford had no major industrial base and this was probably a factor in protecting the city from extremes of prosperity and recession. Instead, Oxford enjoyed periods of modest prosperity in its role as a provider of goods and services to the University, the surrounding countryside and a growing residential population. On the other hand, there were the perennial problems of underemployment during the University's Long Vacation and unemployment in severe winters when the building and construction industry was brought to a halt.[2] At times, it was unclear whether Oxford was depressed or not; in 1883, for example, a local commentator, John Blunt, felt that "the commercial condition of Oxford cannot be so bad, or so many tradesmen would not occupy private houses in the north of Oxford, in addition to their business premises."[3] In a city where the economic temperature remained within a few degrees of normal, other local factors probably took precedence, serving either to encourage or to stifle house-building activity. In 1865, suburban development and speculative building were given a fillip by the Great Western Railway proposal to erect a carriage works at Oxford. The final announcement that this factory would be situated at Swindon came in 1868,[4] but building activity continued at a high level, reaching a peak in the following year.[5] This came only a year after a peak in London and the trough of 1874, at a time when building activity in the 34 towns was increasing, again had a parallel in London.[6]

1. S.B. Saul, op.cit., pp.122-3, 135; J.P. Lewis, op.cit., p.102
2. infra, p.330
3. O.C., 14.7.1883, p.7
4. supra, p. 69
5. Fig. 1
6. Table 8

In Oxford, the diminution of building activity seems to have been a belated reaction to over-building because, although only 4.2% of the city's housing stock was empty in 1871,[1] much higher figures of 10.0% and 7.2% were recorded in the suburban parishes of Cowley and St. Clement's respectively.[2] House-building in Oxford began to accelerate in 1878 and the boom years of 1879-80 again had more in common with London than the 34 towns.[3] Oxford builders were, at this time, tempted by the anticipated benefits which the projected horse tramway would have for suburban development.[4] The pace of building was, in fact, excessive and in 1881 empty houses accounted for 6.3% of the city's housing stock, an increase of 2.1 percentage points during the decade.[5] Building activity remained at a high level, however, and showed that there might be a considerable lag before building was reduced in the face of empties; high proportions of voids in St. Giles' parish (7.4%) as well as in Cowley (8.8%) and St. Aldate's (8.5%), also suggested that over-building was rife in both middle-class and artisan areas.[6] Speculative house-building diminished to a new low-point in 1883, affected no doubt by the collapse of the Oxford Building & Investment Company, a major source of builders' finance since its incorporation in 1866.[7] This trough, coming at a time of low building activity in the 34 towns,[8] clearly owed much to local factors, but the agricultural depression was also seen as a baneful influence. In 1885, for example, undergraduates who were the sons of country gentry and

1. Table 9 Empty houses in Oxford, 1851-1901
2. Table 10 Percentages of empty houses in Oxford suburban parishes, 1851-1901
3. Table 8
4. *supra*, p. 99
5. Table 9
6. Tables 10; S.B. Saul, *op.cit.*, p.129
7. *infra*, pp. 234-7
8. Table 8

Table 9 Empty houses in Oxford, 1851-1901

	Inhabited.	Uninhabited	Total	% Uninhabited	Building
1851[1]	4803	191	4994	3.8	7
1861[2]	5234	235	5469	4.3	63
1871[2]	6750	295	7045	4.2	110
1881[2]	7840	526	8366	6.3	150
1891[3]	9255	645	9900	6.5	58
1901[3]	10484	832	11316	7.4	85

1. Municipal Borough
2. Parliamentary Borough
3. County Borough

Source: Census reports, 1851-1901, passim.

Table 10 Percentages of empty houses in Oxford suburban parishes 1851-1901

	Cowley	St. Clement	St. Aldate	St. Thomas	St. Giles
1851	4.4	6.7	4.9	3.4	3.7
1861	10.2	2.9	4.9	4.0	2.5
1871	10.0	7.2	2.7	2.8	4.4
1881	8.8	4.4	8.5	3.0	7.4
1891	6.1	6.5	10.2	3.4	4.9
1901	4.5	7.7	4.4	3.5	6.5

Source: Census reports, 1851-1901, passim

clergymen were said to have less money to spend.[1] Three years later, the Oxford Chronicle noted the diminished purchasing power of the agricultural population which "must have told very severely on the returns of many of our businessmen."[2] The growing residential population in North Oxford helped to check this gloom and was held responsible for the continued commercial success of the large drapery, ironmongery, grocery and furnishing establishments in the city centre.[3] In 1885, "the steady growth in the population of Oxford and the increasing preference shown for it by well-to-do families as a residential town" helped to persuade the Council to make the cattle market weekly instead of fortnightly.[4] Conditions for a new wave of speculative building were reinforced by extensions of the horse tramway along Walton Street to Leckford Road in 1884 and down Abingdon Road to Lake Street three years later.[5] The result was a sudden upsurge of house-building in 1887 quite without parallel elsewhere in the country. This speculative bubble soon burst, however, and activity drifted downwards until 1890, echoing similar declines in London and the 34 towns, and a trough experienced by the county towns in 1891.[6] Between 1881 and 1891, the number of empty houses in Oxford had risen from 526 to 645 and, as a proportion of the housing stock, they had increased marginally to 6.5%.[7] Building activity at the time of the 1891 census was relatively low and the reduced proportion of voids in St. Giles' parish (4.9%) probably reflected the ability of St. John's College to control the release of housing land. In Cowley and St. Clement's empties exceeded

1. O.C., 28.2.1885, p.5
2. ibid., 31.3.1888, p.5
3. ibid., 31.3.1888, p.5
4. ibid., 16.5.1885, p.5; 12.9.1885, p.5; 3.10.1885, p.7
5. H.J. Hart, The horse-trams of Oxford, 1881-1914. Oxoniensia 37 (1972), p.223
6. Table 8
7. Table 9

6% of the housing stock and a figure of 10.2% was attained in St. Aldate's parish.[1] Builders were not deterred, however, and house-building remained at a fairly high level between 1892 and 1900, reaching a peak in 1896 which was nearly equalled two years later. This echoed the generally buoyant state of building activity in the late 1890s[2] which led to peaks in the 34 towns in 1898 and London in 1899.[3] During the decade, the city's housing stock increased by 1,416 from 9,900 to 11,316, but 832 houses or 7.4% of the total were uninhabited in 1901.[4] In St. Clement's, 7.7% of the houses were void and the figure for St. Giles' parish had risen again to 6.5%, suggesting over-optimistic speculation on the freehold estates in Summertown.[5] These figures support the views of a correspondent in 1909 who maintained that feverish development on the outskirts of London was not because of "the rules of supply and demand, but to develop, as it is called, estates and to create ground rents."[6] Builders were, to some extent, over-estimating the demand and they were misjudging the housing needs of the city, providing an excessive number of over-elaborate artisan houses which the working man could not afford to rent.[7]

The fluctuations of the building cycle and the response of builders to over-building may be further illuminated by a study of North and East Oxford, the two largest suburbs which accounted for two-thirds of the houses proposed between 1866 and 1900;[8] they also provide a contrast between a primarily leasehold, middle-class area and a freehold suburb with a predominantly artisan character. In North Oxford, development was until the 1890s almost exclusively leasehold in character and access

1. Table 10
2. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.8
3. Table 8
4. Table 9
5. Table 10
6. Building Societies' Gazette, 1 January 1909. Quoted S.B. Saul, op.cit., p.134, n.2
7. infra, pp.291-3
8. O.C.A. R.5.2-4 Oxford Local Board M.B. 1865-71, passim; O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900. Microfilm in O.C.L.

to building land very much depended upon the major landowner, St. John's College. Acting on professional advice, the College adopted the general policy of only releasing enough land to meet existing demand,[1] thus insuring against the proliferation of building plots and preserving the value of those that were created. At the same time, cautious disposal of land acted as some guard against over-enthusiastic speculation by builders in times of optimism. Builders' energies were, therefore, channelled into well-defined areas and their activities were supervised at all stages of the building process; as has been seen, these controls were imperfectly enforced,[2] but they must have deterred many small and inexperienced builders from even considering building operations on the College estate. If all this encouraged steady growth so too did the character of the suburb, since middle-class demand was more constant, and housing therefore tended to be more evenly distributed through the building cycle.[3] As a consequence, the development of North Oxford proceeded more calmly with the occasional modest peak marking the release of land for lower middle-class or artisan housing near the western edge of the suburb.[4] North Oxford was therefore unaffected by the trough experienced most severely in East Oxford between 1872 and 1874, but proposals diminished somewhat in 1876 following the completion of the University's Wellington Square estate.[5] House-building continued steadily for six years, showing no reaction to the general building boom of 1879-80. In 1881, however, 7.4% of the houses in St. Giles' parish were empty[6] and it seems clear that builders had been providing properties which did not accord with market requirements. Wellington Square, for example, was un-

1. <u>supra</u>, pp. 65 ff.

2. <u>supra</u>, pp. 165-7

3. R.G. Rodger, Rents and ground rents; housing and the land market in 19th century Britain. In, J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley, eds., <u>op.cit.</u>, p.67

4. <u>Fig.2.</u> House-building in North and East Oxford, 1866-1900

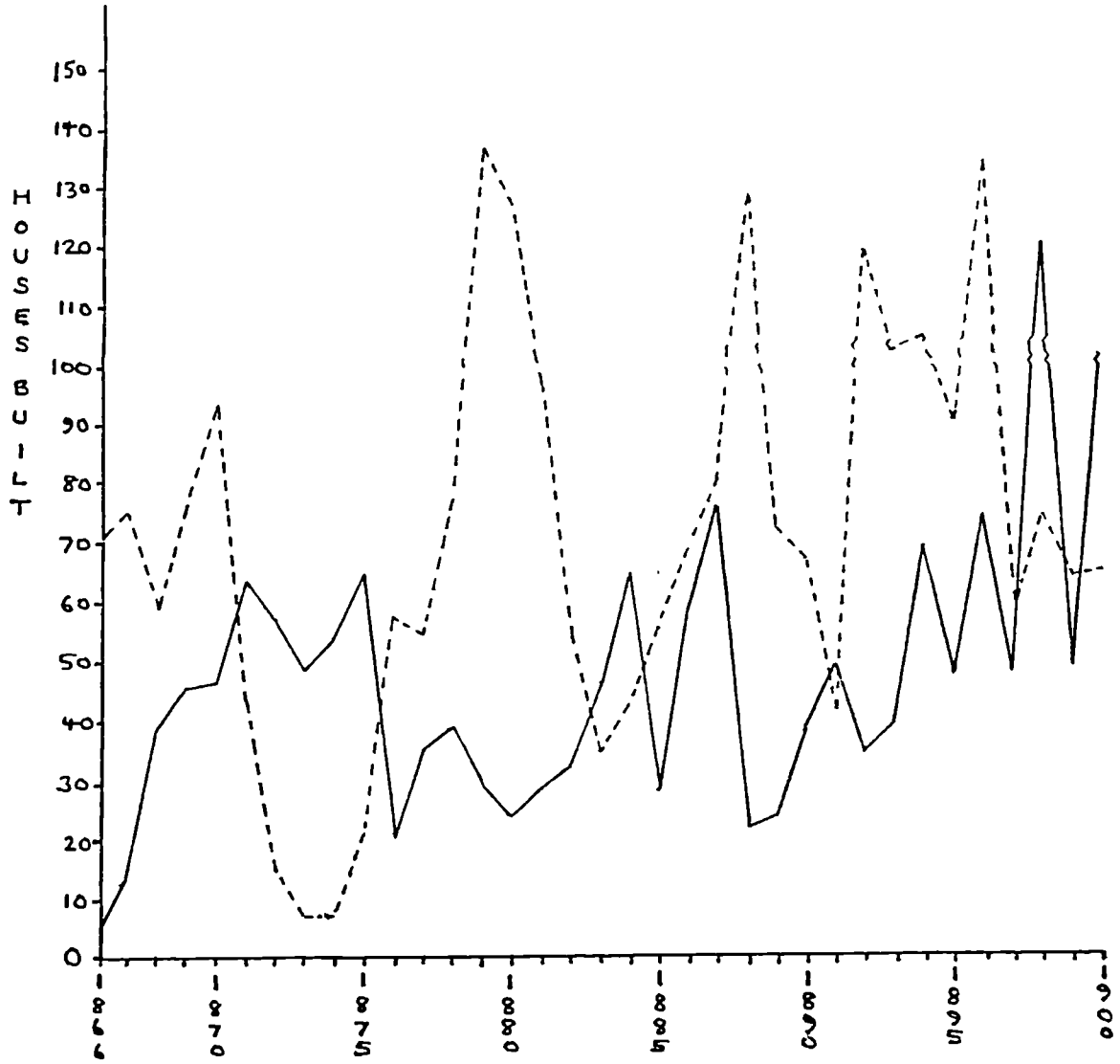
5. <u>supra</u>, p.76

6. <u>Table 10</u>

FIG. 2

HOUSE-BUILDING IN NORTH AND EAST OXFORD, 1866 - 1900

KEY —— NORTH
---- EAST



fashionably formal and some houses there remained empty for several years;[1] in the Warnborough Road area there were complaints that new houses remained vacant because they were too large.[2] This level of empties had no apparent effect on house-building and the suburb also seemed immune to the slump of 1883, perhaps because building there was conforming to the existing social character of the neighbourhood;[3] in addition, speculation was encouraged by the removal of newly married Fellows into the area.[4] Building was further boosted in 1886-7 by the formation of Hayfield Road[5] but, in general, activity settled back to the levels of a decade earlier with between 20 and 40 houses being proposed each year. This seems to have been very much in accord with demand and empty houses in the parish of St. Giles accounted for only 4.9% of the housing stock in 1891.[6] In the 1890s, extensive freehold development began on estates in Summertown[7] and the building cycle of North Oxford came to resemble much more closely the general pattern for the city.[8] House-building was encouraged by Oxford's increasing desirability as a residential town[9] and by speculation arising from the extension of the horse tramway from St. Margaret's Road to South Parade in 1898.[10] Nevertheless, supply was outstripping demand again and empty houses in St. Giles' parish accounted for 6.5% of the housing stock by 1901, an increase of 1.6 percentage points during the decade.[11]

1. O.C., 10.1.1885, p.5
2. infra, p. 289
3. M. Jahn, Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.131
4. C. Fenby, The other Oxford (1970), p.16; supra, p. 73
5. supra, pp. 71-3
6. Table 10
7. supra, pp. 78-9
8. Figs.1 and 2
9. supra, pp. 17-8
10. supra, p. 79
11. Table 10

The combination of abundant building land and sometimes over-optimistic house-building was nowhere more evident than in East Oxford, the city's largest Victorian suburb. The enclosure of Cowley Field created a series of compact estates within a mile and a half of Magdalen Bridge and many of these were briskly divided into building plots by freehold land societies, landowners and other developers.[1] Those lots nearest to Oxford were eagerly seized upon by builders and, for the city's artisans as for those in contemporary Kentish London, the new houses in a socially segregated area promised status through respectability.[2] Those of modest means flocked to new terraced houses in the new streets off the Iffley and Cowley Roads while views over the Thames Valley made Iffley Road itself potentially attractive for middle-class residence.[3] The initial boom was short-lived, however, and the Rev. R. M. Benson's expectations that the suburb would be largely middle-class in character[4] were not fulfilled. The suburb's social decline owed something to its geographical location and also to the expulsion of poor families from the demolished dens of central Oxford,[5] but an important factor was the lack of control exercised over this almost exclusively freehold development. No single estate was large enough to control its own destiny, as was St. John's College in North Oxford, and any developer trying to do so was liable to be disappointed by activities on neighbouring land.[6] As a consequence lots were generally made available with very few restrictive covenants and little attempt was made to supervise the work of speculative builders. With a superfluity of lots laid out in the 1850s and 1860s, the builder faced no shortage of

1. supra, pp. 86 ff
2. G. Crossick, The labour aristocracy and its values: a study of mid-Victorian Kentish London. Victorian Studies 19 (1976), pp. 3, 5-6
3. supra, p. 89
4. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (November 1868)
5. ibid., (January 1876)
6. supra, pp. 89-90

available land and there is little evidence to suggest that he was usually starved of the finance to purchase one or more lots and then to build.[1] All these factors encouraged fragmented building activity and the building cycle of East Oxford, with its notable peaks and troughs, reflects a situation in which the buoyant optimism of many individuals could quickly lead to over-building.[2] In 1861, empty houses in the parish of Cowley accounted for 10.2% of the housing stock, an increase of 5.8 percentage points over the decade and mute testimony to an exaggerated interpretation of housing needs.[3] Confidence had clearly been restored by 1866 and proposals to build houses in East Oxford contributed strongly to the boom of 1869-70, reflecting the way in which working-class houses tended to be built at the peak of the building cycle.[4] By 1871, however, the proportion of voids in Cowley and St. Clement's stood at 10.0% and 7.2% respectively and, as a belated response to this,[5] house-building diminished to insignificant levels between 1872 and 1875.[6] Demand therefore had an opportunity to catch up with supply, and speculation was also fuelled from 1876 by the building of Cowley Barracks and the opening of Oxford Military College, both of which provided additional markets for local traders and craftsmen. A further stimulus was the proposed horse tramway system which was to have a terminus at Magdalen Road and offered the prospect of cheap workmen's fares.[7] Builders responded readily and house-building in East Oxford was at a very high level in 1879 and 1880. To an extent, their judgement was valid since the proportion of empty houses in the parishes of Cowley and St. Clement's had

1. infra, pp. 229 ff
2. Fig. 2
3. Table 10
4. R.G. Rodger, op.cit., p.67
5. S.B. Saul, op.cit., p.129
6. Table 10
7. supra, p. 99

diminished slightly to 8.8% and 4.4% respectively by 1881.[1] Nevertheless, the Cowley figure was still high and proposals fell away steeply from 1880 to 1883, the decline being reinforced perhaps by the exceptional difficulties which small builders faced in trying to obtain mortgage finance as the Oxford Building & Investment Company collapsed.[2] House-building revived briefly in the second half of the decade only to diminish to a trough in 1891 when voids accounted for 6.1% and 6.5% of the housing stock in Cowley and St. Clement's parishes. Such figures proved no deterrent to a renewed burst of building between 1892 and 1896 which mirrored activity in the city overall and, as on the freehold estates of North Oxford, provided housing attractive to those families "with limited incomes but refined tastes" who were making Oxford their home.[3] Few East Oxford estates had the advantage of elevation or gentility, however, and the release of freehold land in Summertown in the 1890s may have drawn activity away from what was primarily an artisan suburb.[4] New houses were more likely to be occupied, however, and, although voids remained high in St. Clement's, those in Cowley parish formed only 4.5% of the housing stock in 1901, the lowest figure since 1851.[5] Gradual if reluctant improvements to public services made East Oxford a more desirable place of residence[6] and transport developments made even the most distant parts of suburbs seem less remote. Horse trams, which enabled the lower middle-class and the artisan to push out into the suburbs,[7] served the Cowley Road and a less regular horse-bus service operated along Iffley Road from June 1896.[8] Bicycles, too,

1. Table 10
2. infra, pp.234-8
3. O.C., 13.8.1898, p.5
4. Fig.2
5. Table 10
6. infra, pp. 371-2
7. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.20
8. O.C., 30.5.1896, p.8

were becoming more generally available and enabled those who could afford them to live further from their work.[1] The increasing readiness and ability of people to travel farther each day led gradually to the utilization of the remaining empty or undeveloped plots in the suburbs. The last house-building application for Charles Street was submitted in 1891, for Stanley Road in 1893, for James Street in 1894, for Hurst Street in 1898 and for Bullingdon Road in 1899.[2] All these streets had been laid out during the flood-tide of optimistic speculation more than 30 years earlier when the prospects for suburban growth had seemed infinite. Their piecemeal occupation over a prolonged period for housing or other purposes had created an environment very different from that of North Oxford.

The degree of variation between the building cycles of different cities and between those of different suburbs within the same city tends to confirm that there was no remorseless uniformity about the building process. It did in fact depend largely upon the reactions of many individuals to the report or rumour of demand for suburban housing. Their response created around Oxford the "base and brickish skirt"[3] which aesthetes so resented, but this garment was modest indeed when contrasted with the burgeoning suburbs of London and the country's industrial towns and cities. Building projects inevitably tended to be larger in these major population centres[4] and the smaller suburbs of Victorian Oxford were predominantly a mosaic of small-scale building projects. No less than 1,068 or 44.3% of the 2,311 building specifications identified between 1866 and 1900 were for only one house, and a further 671 (27.8%) were for

1. O.C., 1.1.1898, p.3; D. Rubenstein, Cycling in the 1890s. Victorian Studies 21 (1977/8), pp.58-61

2. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Building Control Section. Index of applications, 1875 to date

3. W.H. Gardner & N.H. McKenzie, eds., The poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins, 4th ed. (1967), p.79

4. R.G.Rodger, Speculative builders and the structure of the Scottish house-building industry, 1860-1914. Business History 21 (1979), p.229

two houses.[1] These percentages far exceeded their equivalents in Sheffield where only 20.9% of the specifications related to one house and a further 20.2% to just two houses. With Oxford projects of three and four houses accounting for a further 177 (7.3%) and 222 (9.2%) properties respectively, 86.6% of all specifications in the city related to projects of less than five houses. This figure contrasts with 62.6% in Sheffield,[2] and the 70% identified at Leicester.[3] Larger projects were quite rare, no size group above eight houses exceeding 1% of the total number of specifications whereas in Sheffield the equivalent size group was 12.[4] Only 22 specifications, a mere 0.9% of the total, were for 13 or more houses.[5]

Following Dyos, Aspinall has pointed out that "the number of planned houses intended to be erected by builders bears some significant relationship to the overall size of the firm;"[6] in Oxford between 1866 and 1900, 629 builders, or more accurately, people submitting plans, are named as applying to build 5,854 houses.[7] Of the 629 applicants 211, or 35.1% of the total, submitted plans for only only one house, and 116 (18.4%) for just two houses.[8] In Sheffield, builders of a single house accounted for only 23.2% of the firms, while 18.8% applied to build two houses. Half the builders in Sheffield put up no more than three houses, but in Oxford

1. Table 11 Building project sizes in Oxford, 1866-1900

2. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.9

3. G.A. Chinnery, 19th century building plans in Leicester. Transactions of the Leicester Archaeological & Historical Society 49 (1973/4), p.41

4. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit.,p.9

5. Table 11

6. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.9

7. The great majority of specifications were submitted by builders but some were submitted by architects or surveyors acting for corporate or private clients, by site owners or by estate agents. For the purpose of this study, all have been treated as builders. A further 221 house applications were submitted without any mention of a builder.

8. Table 12 House-builders in Oxford, 1866-1900

Table 11 Building project sizes in Oxford, 1866-1900

Houses per plan	Nos. of plans	% total plans
1	1068	44.3
2	671	27.8
3	177	7.3
4	222	9.2
5	61	2.5
6	96	4.0
7	23	1.0
8	32	1.3
9	15	0.6
10	11	0.5
11	9	0.4
12	4	0.2
13+	22	0.9
	2411	100.0

Sources: O.C.A. R.5. 2-4. Oxford Local Board M.B. 1865-71, passim.
O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900.
Microfilm in O.C.L.

Table 12 House-builders in Oxford, 1866-1900

Size of Business (no. of houses in plans)	no. of firms absolute frequency	(%)
1	221	35.1
2	116	18.4
3	42	6.7
4	35	5.6
5	26	4.1
6	27	4.3
7	7	1.1
8	14	2.2
9	9	1.4
10-19	49	7.8
20-99	78	12.3
100+	5	0.8
	629	99.8

Sources: O.C.A. R.5. 2-4 Oxford Local Board M.B., 1865-71, *passim*.
O.C.C.: City Engineer's Plan registers, 1870-1900.
Microfilm in O.C.L.

this figure was as high as 60.2%. The scale of the building industry in Sheffield was not so much larger than that of Oxford, however, and builders proposing no more than eight houses accounted for 75.1% of the total in Sheffield as against 77.5% in Oxford. The proportion of firms applying to build between 20 and 99 houses was, in fact, slightly higher in Oxford, 12.3% as against 10.6%, but really large firms building more than 100 houses could muster only 0.8% of the total as opposed to 2.4% in Sheffield.[1]

The impression of a small-scale building industry in Oxford is reinforced by an examination of the operational range of each firm. As in London, where few builders ventured more than one or two miles from their yards,[2] the typical Oxford builder confined his activity to a single suburb or area of the city. Such firms accounted for 495 or 78.7% of the 629 builders identified between 1866 and 1900, and 261 of them were located in the freehold and largely artisan suburb of East Oxford.[3] This area was particularly attractive to the jobbing builder because small plots with few restrictions were always available on new estates or the unbuilt parts of old ones. On the leasehold estates of North Oxford the small builder was literally denied a foothold by the difficulty of operating in a locality where commercial activity was heavily restricted; he was, moreover, constrained by the landlord's power to dictate the class of houses and to refuse to deal with builders whose work was judged to be sub-standard.[4] As a result of these various factors, only 89 firms restricted themselves solely to that area. Those builders who extended their operations into more than one suburb were, in the main possessed of greater resources and perhaps greater drive. Building at a distance from the firm's

1. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p. 10

2. C.G. Powell, op.cit., pp.30-1

3. Table 13 Operational range of Oxford builders, 1866-1900

4. supra, p.164; St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.10. Bursar's L.B., 1882-5, pp.986, 996, 6, 11.5.1885

Table 24. Operational range of Oxford builders, 1866-1900.

Firms activity limited to		No. of builders		%	
1 area		495		78.7	
	East Oxford		261		41.5
	Jericho		32		5.1
	North Oxford		89		14.1
	South Oxford		42		6.7
	West Oxford		21		3.3
	Central area		50		7.9
2 areas		61		9.7	
3 areas		41		6.5	
4 areas		19		3.0	
5 areas		13		2.1	
		629		100.0	

Sources: O.C.A. R.5.2-4. Oxford Local Board M.B., 1865-71, passim.
O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900.
Microfilm in O.C.L.

yard implied the existence of, or the need for, more employees to cart materials or to supervise the work. The ability to diversify into another area did, in any case, suggest a degree of longevity which few building firms enjoyed.[1] As a result, only 61 builders or 9.7% of the total erected houses in two areas of Oxford, and 41 (6.5%) built in three. Still fewer firms, just 19 or 3.0% of the total, operated in four areas, and a mere 13 (2.1%) found building sites in five.[2]

Having established the nature of an industry in which the many small and localised builders operated with a few larger ones to build Victorian Oxford, it is necessary to consider whether the industry was undergoing any significant change during the period. Successive researchers have noted a general increase in the scale of house-building in major population centres by the end of the century, but, even there, the small firm remained predominant[3] in a basically small-scale traditional and unrevolutionised industry.[4] The pace of growth in Oxford was not sufficient to foster dramatic change and there is only slight evidence of a change of scale. Comparison may first be made with the changing situation in Sheffield where Aspinall distinguished between builders erecting one house, 2-3 houses, 4-7 houses, 8-15 houses, 16-31 houses and more than 32 houses a year. During the period 1865-1900, he noted "an overall but irregular decline" in the numbers of firms in the three smallest size classes, while those building eight or more houses showed a gradual rise. Like the small businesses, the larger ones tended to increase "on the upswing but show a greater tendency to stay in the industry when the tide of prosperity turns.

1. C.G. Powell, op.cit., p.31; infra, pp. 224-6

2. Table 13

3. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., pp.10-11; H.J. Dyos, The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 (1968) supplement, p. 659; R.J. Springett, op.cit., pp.281-2

4. J. Burnett, op.cit., p.139; G.A. Chinnery, op.cit., p.38; C.G. Powell, op.cit., p.30

In fact, these large firms appear to have forced out the small units long before the boom was spent."[1] Aspinall also found that while the percentage of firms in the three smallest size groups varied widely from year to year, they were affected by a general decline throughout the period. Those building one house diminished, albeit erratically, from 42% in 1865 to 19% in 1900 while those building 2-3 or 4-7 houses suffered most marked decline in the later Victorian boom of 1895-1900.[2] In Oxford as in Sheffield, the numbers in different size groups varied considerably according to fluctuations in the building cycle, but changes in the structure of the industry were less fundamental and the small business remained typical. This is evident from five-yearly aggregations of the numbers of firms in each size class; from a peak of 38.6% in 1871-5, the proportion of firms building one house declined gradually to 29.9% in 1886-90 only to rise again to 38.5% in 1896-1900.[3] Builders proposing between two and three houses a year were more numerous than those building one house in 1866-70, but the figure of 39.0% achieved during that period was never approached again. The slump of the early 1870s reduced the proportion of builders in this size class to 30.1% between 1871 and 1875 and this figure scarcely altered in the boom years of the late 1870s or in the ensuing slump. Between 1886 and 1890, however, there was a further relative decline to 24.4% and, despite a revival in the early 1890s, builders in this category formed little more than a quarter of the total in 1896-1900. Firms building between four and seven houses were the chief beneficiaries from the decline of the smaller class, suggesting that a growing number of businesses was equipped to undertake slightly larger projects. The proportion of firms in this size class rose steadily from 16.9% in 1866-70 to 31.5% in 1886-90, fell back suddenly

1. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., pp.10-11

2, ibid., p.11

3. Table 14 Five-yearly aggregations of building firms in different size groups, 1866-1900

Table 14. Five yearly aggregations of building firms in different size groups, 1866-1900

nos. of houses	1866-70		1871-5		1876-80		1881-5		1886-90		1891-5		1896-1900	
1	80	33.9	64	38.6	75	32.6	59	31.6	59	29.9	106	36.8	95	38.5
2-3	92	39.0	50	30.1	70	30.4	58	31.0	48	24.4	94	32.6	62	25.1
4-7	40	16.9	31	18.7	54	23.5	49	26.2	62	31.5	63	21.9	64	25.9
8-15	18	7.6	19	11.4	25	10.9	20	10.7	19	9.6	20	6.9	17	6.9
16-31	6	2.5	2	1.2	5	2.2	1	0.5	7	3.6	3	1.0	6	2.4
32+	-		-		1	0.4	-		2	1.0	2	0.7	3	1.2
	236	99.9	166	100.0	230	100.0	187	100.0	197	100.0	288	99.9	247	100.0

Sources: O.C.A. R.5.2-4. Oxford Local Board M.B., 1865-71, passim
O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900.
Microfilm in O.C.L.

in the first half of the 1890s, but, in the last five years of the century increased again to 25.9%, a rise of nine percentage points during the period. There was no similar increase in the larger size classes, however, and firms in the 8-15 house group comprised 7.6% of the total number in 1866-70, but only 6.9% in 1896-1900; those in the 16-31 house class remained rare throughout, accounting for 2.5% of the firms in 1866-70 and 2.4% in 1896-1900. It is noticeable, though, that a very few firms applied to build 32 or more houses a year from the later 1870s.[1] In general, firms were more likely to propose sixteen or more houses a year during upswings in the building cycle which tended, in Oxford, to be in the second half of each decade.[2] The continued scarcity of these larger businesses stemmed, however, from the lack of demand for large-scale house-building projects. An unorganized building industry with many small firms was able to supply an adequate number of new houses if not always the type of property that was most needed.

During the last third of the nineteenth century, there was therefore a growing dissimilarity between the building industry of a small city like Oxford and that of a major centre where the expanding demand for suburban houses led directly to a change in the structure of the industry which supplied them.[3] The work of Dyos in London and Aspinall in Sheffield enables regular comparisons to be made with Oxford during the period in question.[4] In London, Dyos noted that the proportion of firms building up to six houses a year was displaced by larger firms during the building boom of 1878-81, and suffered further eclipse during the 1890s, diminishing overall from

1. Table 14

2. Fig. 1 ; Table 8

3. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.654

4. Table 15. House-builders in Oxford, L.C.C. Area and Sheffield, 1872-99

Table 15. House-builders in Oxford, L.C.C., and Sheffield, 1872-1899.

Size of business Number of houses	1872			1881			1891			1899		
	Oxford	London	Sheffield	Oxford	London	Sheffield	Oxford	London	Sheffield	Oxford	London	Sheffield
1-6	89.7%	75.1%	76.2%	90.9%	62.8%	73.5%	86.7%	61.9%	72.6%	90.0%	59.3%	54.8%
7-12	6.9%	15.4%	12.6%	5.5%	20.4%	17.1%	8.9%	21.6%	16.1%	6.0%	17.4%	17.9%
13-24	3.4%	7.4%	8.0%	3.6%	11.4%	6.5%	2.2%	11.8%	8.1%	4.0%	13.7%	13.3%
25 - 60	-	2.0%	2.7%	-	5.1%	2.9%	2.2%	4.0%	3.2%	-	6.9%	10.4%
over 60	-	0.1%	0.7%	-	0.3%	-	-	0.7%	-	-	2.7%	3.6%

Sources: O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900
H.J. Dyos, The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 supplt. (1968), p.678
P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.12

75.1% in 1872 to 59.3% in 1899.[1] The change was longer delayed in Sheffield, a gentle fall from 76.2% to 72.6% between 1872 and 1891 being followed by a dramatic collapse to 54.8% in 1899;[2] in Oxford, the proportion of firms in this category remained very much higher throughout the period, accounting for 89.7% of firms in 1872 and 90.0% in 1899. The proportion of medium-sized firms in London, those building more than six houses but less than 60 - accounted for 24.8% in 1872, but remained consistently close to 37% in the other three years. In Sheffield, the figure crept up slowly from 23.3% in 1872 to 27.4% by 1891 before accelerating to 41.6% in 1899. Oxford was again very different with the proportion of medium-sized firms remaining at a consistently low level - 10.3% in 1872, 9.1% in 1881, 12.3% in 1891 and 10.0% in 1899. In the boom of the late 1890s, really large firms building more than 60 houses a year became more numerous in both London and Sheffield, but such firms played no part in the building of Victorian Oxford.

Although the small firm was and remained most characteristic of Oxford's building industry, the few medium and larger firms took a disproportionate share of the total number of houses built. In this respect, Oxford resembled Sheffield, where Aspinall calculated that the first 20% of rank-ordered firms from year to year were responsible for an annual average of 62.9% of the new housing stock.[3] Although the scale of building was so much smaller, the equivalent figure in Oxford was still as high as 57.1%. Only 18 firms, or 2.9% of the total, submitted proposals for more than 60 houses, but they were responsible for 1,813, or 31.0% of the houses.[4] Similarly, those builders proposing between 25 and 60 houses

1. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.678, Appendix A
2. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.12
3. ibid., p.13
4. Table 16 Contribution of different categories of builders to the housing stock, 1866-1900

Table 16. Contribution of different categories of builders to the housing stock, 1866-1900.

Nos. of houses	Nos. of builders	%	Absolute contribution to housing stock	% of additions to housing stock
1	221	35.1	221	3.8
2	116	18.4	232	4.0
3	42	6.7	126	2.2
4	35	5.6	140	2.4
5	26	4.1	130	2.2
6	27	4.3	162	2.7
7-12	51	8.1	469	8.0
13-24	50	7.9	916	15.6
25-60	43	6.8	1645	28.1
60+	18	2.9	1813	31.0
	629	99.9	5854	100.0

Sources: O.C.A. R.5.2-4. Local Board M.B., 1865-71; passim
O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900. Microfilm in O.C.L.

numbered just 43 (7.0%) but they accounted for a further 1,645 properties (28.1%). At the other end of the scale, 221 builders, forming no fewer than 35.1% of all applicants, applied to build a single house. A further 116 or 18.4% applied to build two houses and 43 (6.7%) to build three. Builders submitting plans for between one and three houses therefore accounted for 60% of all applicants but were responsible for only 10% of the housing stock. If the net is widened to include those intending to build between one and six houses, the number of firms is increased to 467 or 74.1% of the total, but they still accounted for no more than 17.3% of the houses. Fifty-one builders erected between seven and 12 houses, comprising 8.1% of the firms and accounting for almost exactly the same proportion of houses. Nearly twice this proportion of the housing stock was erected by the 50 firms in the 13-21 house class, thus emphasising the relative importance of the larger builder even in a small city like Oxford.

If the contribution of most Oxford builders to the housing stock was small, it tended also to be very short-lived. Of the 629 builders identified, 389 or 61.8% submitted plans in only one year, another 37 (5.9%) submitted plans for two years and a further 28 (4.5%) spread their house-building activity over three years.[1] As many as 509 firms or 80.9% of the total survived as house-builders for six years or less, with much smaller percentages in business for 7-12 years (9.2%) and 13-24 years (8.7%); just 1.1% continued for over 25 years. The same degree of impermanence is suggested by an examination of the number of projects carried out by each builder, since 361 firms or 57.4% of the total of 629 were involved in only one project and a further 83 (13.2%) submitted two proposals.[2] Fewer than one-third of the firms therefore undertook three or more projects and only 82 Oxford builders (13.0%) submitted eight or more projects before

1. Table 17 Persistence of Oxfordshire builders, 1866-1900

2. Table 18 Projects undertaken by each builder in Oxford 1866-1900

Table 17 Persistence of Oxford builders, 1866-1900

Nos. of years in rank order	Nos. of firms	%
1	389	61.8
2	37	5.9
3	28	4.5
4	16	2.5
5	18	2.9
6	21	3.3
7 - 12	58	9.2
13 - 24	55	8.7
25+	7	1.1
	629	99.9

Sources: O.C.A. R.5.2-4. Local Board M.B. 1865-71, passim.
O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900.
Microfilm in O.C.L.

Table Projects undertaken by each builder in Oxford, 1866-1900

No. of projects	Nos. of firms	%
1	361	57.4
2	83	13.2
3	26	4.1
4	30	4.8
5	26	4.1
6	11	1.7
7	10	1.6
8+	82	13.0
	629	99.9

Sources: O.C.A. R.5. 2-4 Local Board M.B., 1865-71, passim.
O.C.C: City Engineer's Dept. Plan registers, 1870-1900.
Microfilm in O.C.L.

vanishing from the plan registers. A firm's absence from house-building projects does not automatically imply its demise since some larger firms specialized in college or commercial contracts while smaller ones could eke out a precarious existence from house repairs or decoration; nevertheless, the statistics provide confirmation of the transitory nature of many firms, dependent as they so often were upon the health, judgement and fortune of one man.

The Victorian building industry bore some resemblance to a battle in which the heavy casualties are soon replaced by fresh and eager troops. How was it that so many people could be drawn into a trade with so many apparent pitfalls? One great attraction was the small amount of capital required especially by jobbing builders and those concentrating upon house repairs, "people already in possession of tools and contacts, who temporarily entered the small classes of house-builders...."[1] In Oxford, these "men of straw"[2] included Ebenezer Holland who began business as a builder in 1881 with a capital of only about £100;[3] a later bankrupt, William Plumridge, had set up in business in 1885 with no more than £200 of borrowed money.[4] Nor was the industry only of interest to builders, since by the 1850s access to it was aided by a versatile technical press which provided virtual kits of plans, designs and bills of quantities.[5] The Builder described the speculative builder as "a kind of nondescript; he may have been a lawyer, or a mercantile clerk, who has been disgraced; sometimes he turns out to be a tailor, or a man who has tried many things,

1. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.15
2. C.G. Powell, op.cit., p.31
3. O.C., 18.8.1888, p.5
4. ibid., 30.5.1891, p.8
5. H.J. Dyos, The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 (1968) supplement, p.661

but succeeded in nothing."[1] One such builder in Oxford was Henry George Kempson of Cowley Road and Union Street, who commenced business in 1869 as a baker and grocer before removing to new premises as a butcher and greengrocer in 1874. He later took on a second-hand clothes business, and, with little or no capital diversified into building, erecting between eight and ten houses before his almost inevitable bankruptcy in 1888.[2] Recruitment to the building industry was further stimulated by the convention of sub-contracting the various trades, since a building tradesman skilled perhaps in bricklaying or carpentry could contract out the tasks in which he was less experienced; in the same way, a person with no knowledge of building could provide the land and materials and hire a foreman to do the work. In 1869, for instance, Francis Greenwood, an Oxford victualler, had purchased 30,000 bricks for the building of a house on his land in Princes Street. The building work was undertaken, however, by the builder James Price, two of whose bricklayers were charged - unsuccessfully - with stealing bricks from the site.[3] All these factors encouraged the proliferation of small firms and the continual replacement of those which fell by the wayside.

Larger firms were better able to adapt to changing market conditions because their very size tended to promote stability and because they were also able to develop alternative sources of income. The vast majority of building firms were both small and ephemeral, struggling to survive by credit, mortgaging their property to finance the next stage of development and selling it just in time to meet the demands of their mortgagees.[4] Larger businesses, however, were better able to forego short-term profits,

1. The Builder, 3.4.1880, p.424
2. O.C., 2.6.1888, p.8
3. ibid., 1.1.1870, p.7
4. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.17; D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.159

utilising a build-up of capital from house-building or other activities and retaining some of their properties for letting purposes.[1] After the death of the elder John Dover, for example, 26 of his houses in East Oxford with a rental income of £700 per annum were auctioned in August 1866.[2] In 1881, the estate of another builder, Edwin Patrick, included 27 freehold houses in Jericho and South Oxford with an estimated annual rental of nearly £400.[3] As in Sheffield, some large firms were also able to extend "their range of activities to include large-scale contractual and public works. Since the demand for these structures was generally bespoke in nature, builders did not encounter the risk of unsaleable properties on their hands;"[4] in addition, work in the non-residential construction sector was less liable to fluctuation, much of it being influenced by the statutory obligations of local authorities and their more general public health responsibilities.[5] Thus, in 1877, Thomas Jones secured the contract to build the Littlemore sewage pumping station and, in 1884, the Oxford Local Board accepted the tender of T.H. Kingerlee to build the Infectious Diseases Hospital at Coldharbour for £7,258.[6] Churches provided other major contracts for substantial local builders, St. Barnabas' church and SS. Philip & James' church being built by Messrs. Castle & Co.,[7]

1. T.H. Lloyd, Royal Leamington Spa. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit., p.144; J.M. Rawcliffe, Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., op.cit., pp.70-2

2. O.C., 14.7.1866, p.4

3. ibid., 28.5.1881, p.4

4. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.16

5. R.G. Rodger, Speculative builders and the structure of the Scottish house-building industry, 1860-1914. Business History 21 (1979), p.239; ibid., The building cycle and the urban fringe in Victorian cities: another comment. Journal of Historical Geography 5 (1979), p.76

6. O.C., 21.7.1877, p.5; 7.6.1884, p.6

7. J.O.J., 17.10.1868, p.6; 19.10.1861, p.5

St. Frideswide's church by Honour & Castle[1] and SS. Mary & John church by Symm & Co.[2] With University and College building and restoration work also available, a few firms like Symm's, Wyatt & Son or Knowles & Son were able to dissociate themselves almost entirely from house-building, concentrating rather upon safer and more lucrative fixed-price contracts.[3] Benfield & Loxley were similarly able to prosper by becoming builders for Magdalen College with responsibility for properties on far-flung College estates.[4]

Many builders derived additional income not only from house rents and non-residential building but also from other business interests. In Sheffield, Aspinall noted that the builder Daniel Coupe set up a successful carting business as well as becoming a coal and lime merchant and a brewer.[5] Kingerlee was perhaps Coupe's nearest equivalent in Oxford, employing between 200 and 300 men by the later 1880s[6] and operating as a brickmaker and builders' merchant, a contractor, a timber and slate merchant, and a dealer in glass, lead and oil.[7]

Income from other sources provided some security for a speculative builder's continued existence, but few firms could avoid dependence upon credit or loans while engaged in the expensive process of building houses. Capital seems always to have been easy for builders to obtain and if the supply ebbed and flowed, there was more evidence of over-building in periods

1. J.O.J., 14.10.1871, p.6
2. ibid., 14.10.1882, p.7; 13.10.1883, p.6
3. Between 1866 and 1900, Symm's submitted plans for only 15 houses, Wyatt's for six and Knowles' for three; their college work was reported regularly in the annual Improvements columns of J.O.J. and O.C. which were published in mid-October.
4. O.C., 5.8.1893, p.8
5. P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.17
6. O.C., 13.11.1886, p.2; 5.2.1887, p.5; 24.12.1887, p.8; 19.4.1890, p.5
7. Valters' Oxford & District Postal Directory (1894), p.201

of easy money than of under-building when money was tight.[1] The potential sources of capital were primarily local and included landowners, banks, building societies, insurance companies and solicitors as well as professional money-lenders and private individuals.[2] The builder's burden was also eased by credit from suppliers of building materials.[3] In Oxford, as elsewhere,[4] only fragmentary evidence exists to indicate the way in which house-building was financed. There is, for example, no evidence of loans to builders by insurance companies or landowners, although the latter sometimes offered deferred payments on the purchase price of their lots.[5] Most usually, one-eighth of the cost was required immediately with the rest repayable at 5% interest over five or eight years.[6] Such terms provided relatively easy access to freehold land for small builders who might otherwise have been deterred by the prospect of heavy initial expenditure. Banks were generally reluctant to lend to speculative builders[7] and Blake found no evidence of their doing so in Reading before 1862;[8] in Oxford, a similarly cautious approach was breached towards the end of the century when the Metropolitan & Birmingham Bank and the local bankers, Wootten & Co., were clearly prepared to lend money to reputable builders erecting substantial North Oxford houses.[9] Such loans were never likely to become

1. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.662; D.J. Olsen, op.cit., p.158; R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.241

2. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.81; H.J. Dyos, op.cit.,pp.664-9; A. Offer, op.cit., pp.137-44.

3. C.G. Powell, op.cit., p.72; C.W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), pp.235-6.

4. S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.80-4; M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.96; P.J. Aspinall, op.cit., p.17

5. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.61

6. O.C., 7.11.1863, p.4; 10.8.1878, p.4; 13.9.1879, p.8; 28.2.1891, p.4

7. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.665

8. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.81

9. e.g. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 165 Woodstock Road. Agreement for lease, 29.8.1894

common, however, and banks accounted for only seven or 3.7% of the 190 mortgage agreements that have been traced in property records.[1] As in Reading, professional financiers seem also to have played a very minor role in the building process[2] and St. Swithin Williams of Merton Street who advertised loan facilities regularly in the local press[3] was evident on only four occasions as a mortgagee. Of greater significance everywhere were solicitors, acting either on their own behalf or more usually on behalf of clients.[4] In 1856, for example, Frederic Morrell and William Biddle, describing themselves as gentlemen rather than solicitors, lent £950 to the builder, John Dyne, who was building nos. 121/3 Woodstock Road, the first pair of houses on the St. John's College Walton Manor estate.[5] Again, in 1882, F.J. & F.P. Morrell lent £200 to the cabinet maker William Lambourne who was building nos. 53/5 Southmoor Road.[6] Solicitors were still more important as the real fulcrum for the bulk of capital movements[7] and the Oxford firm Messrs. T. & G. Mallam, for instance, set up the loan which Henry Arnett received from Sarah Mayson, an Oxford widow, towards the building of nos. 65/7 Southmoor Road.[8] In 1886, Messrs. Kilby & Mace, a firm of Banbury solicitors, negotiated a similar mortgage between Hannah Jones of Middleton Cheney and James Horseman, a local builder, for another Southmoor Road site.[9]

1. Table 19 Recorded mortgage agreements in Oxford, 1850-1900
2. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.82
3. e.g. O.C., 9.9.1865, p.1; 16.11.1889, p.1
4. J. Burnett, op.cit., p.24; C.W. Chalklin, op.cit., pp.238-9; D.J. Olsen, op.cit., p.160
5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 121/3 Woodstock Road. Lease, 25.10.1856
6. ibid., 53/5 Southmoor Road. Agreement for lease, 31.5.1882
7. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.668
8. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 65/7 Southmoor Road. Agreement for loan, 31.5.1882.
9. ibid., 86/92 Southmoor Road. Agreement for lease, 8.5.1885, bearing endorsement, 23.3.1886

Table 19 Recorded mortgage agreements in Oxford, 1850-1900

Mortgagee	No. of agreements		% of agreements
1. Building Societies		95	50.0
Oxford Building & Investment Co. Ltd.	58		
Oxford & Abingdon Permanent Benefit Building Soc.	32		
Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Soc.	4		
North Oxfordshire & Midland Benefit Building Soc.	1		
2. Banks		7	3.7
Metropolitan & Birmingham Bank	5		
Wootten & Co.	2		
3. Individuals: Leisured & Professional		61.2	32.2
Gentlemen	16.8		
Esquires	8		
Solicitors	7.8		
Male (no occupation)	5		
Doctor of Divinity	2		
Banker	1		
Inland Revenue Officer	1		
Accountant	1		
Clergymen	0.5		
Widows	10		
Spinsters	6		
Female (no occupation)	2		
4. Individuals: Other occupations		26.8	14.1
Tradesmen	11.8		
Craftsmen	8		
Farmers, Yeomen	3		
Servants	2.7		
Transport	1		
Building trades	0.3		
		190	100.0

Sources: O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. Property records.
St. John's Coll.Ms. Oxford properties

No doubt the solicitor played an unrecorded part in many of the other transactions between builders seeking capital and individuals hoping to invest money safely on the security of a house or plot. Private individuals, all but a few of them Oxford people, helped to finance 88 or 46.3% of the recorded mortgages, 61.2 (32.2%) of the agreements being financed by the leisured or professional classes, and 26.8 (14.1%) by men and women in other occupations.[1] Most were small investors for whom safety was the keynote,[2] and only eight of the mortgagees became involved in more than one agreement. The only person to exceed two loans was Walter Gray who had come to Oxford as steward of Keble College and prospered handsomely by having houses built on the St. John's College estate.[3] Gray was therefore in a strong position to act as financier to creditworthy builders and supported at least four between 1882 and 1898.[4] For the large-scale investor, however, there was now a much wider range of lucrative outlets and solicitors played a part in channelling their clients' income away from bricks and mortar.[5]

In Reading between 1800 and 1862, the majority of loans to builders had come from individuals, and building societies were responsible for only eight mortgages out of 78, just 10.3% of the recorded total.[6] House-

1. Table 19. Fractions of an agreement result from two or three mortgagees sometimes being party to a single mortgage.

2. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.182

3. C. Fenby, The other Oxford (1970), pp.14-19

4. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 77/79 Southmoor Road. Agreement for lease, 10.11.1882; 17/19 Southmoor Road. Agreement for lease 8.2.1884; 2/8 Polstead Road. Agreement for lease 22.9.1888; 221/227 Woodstock Road. Agreement for lease, 12.11.1898

5. supra, p. 199 ; R.G. Rodger, Speculative builders and the structure of the Scottish house-building industry, 1860-1914. Business History 21 (1979), p.230; R.J. Springett, op.cit., p.269

6. S. T. Blake, op.cit., p.81

building in later Victorian Oxford was, on the other hand, substantially financed by the activities of three local societies, the Oxford & Abingdon Permanent Benefit Building Society, established in 1851,[1] the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society, founded in 1860,[2] and especially the Oxford Building & Investment Company, which was incorporated in February 1866.[3] Of the 190 recorded agreements no less than 58 (30.5%) were from the Oxford Building & Investment Company and 32 (16.8%) from the Oxford & Abingdon Permanent Benefit Society. In all, building societies provided 95 or 50.0% of all the mortgages in this necessarily random sample.[4] Even such a high figure may underestimate the scale of building society involvement, for Frederick Pike, Secretary to the Oxford and Abingdon Society claimed in July 1880 that 90% of the houses on the St. John's College estate had been "built through the medium of one or other of the two societies in this city - which together have advanced not less than £300,000 for the erection of houses on your estate."[5]

The chief source of this finance had probably been the Oxford Building & Investment Company which, between 1866 and 1883, provided the major stimulus to suburban development both by advancing huge sums of money to builders and by forming its own building estates.[6] Company rules published in 1875 described its main functions as issuing subscription shares to investors, borrowing money on the security of a bond and lending out money on first mortgage to "any person desiring to build his house, enlarge his house,

1. O.C., 5.4.1851, p.2
2. ibid., 18.8.1860, p.5
3. ibid., 5.5.1866, p.8
4. Table 19
5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.32. Letters In 1880. Letter from F.R. Pike, 16.7.1880. Pike here ignores the activity of the third society, which was still limited in its range to East Oxford.
6. For details of the company's estates, vide supra pp. 99, 110-2

improve his house or buy a house or land."[1] By 1879, the company had advanced £371,077 and was lending money at the rate of nearly £25,000 a year.[2] Speculative builders took the lion's share of this money and in 1883, Walter Gray, the company's liquidator, calculated that they had received about £300,000, of which no less than £259,886 had been advanced to 19 firms. Six builders had received in excess of £10,000 each and one, John Dover, had alone received £105,795.[3] All company advances were intended to be repaid by instalments over a period of between five and 14 years,[4] and in some cases this rule was clearly enforced. In February 1871, for example, the Cowley Road builder, James Harris, borrowed £150 from the company to build no. 54 Hurst Street. The loan was repayable by 168 monthly instalments of £1. 9s. 11d, but as a result of default by Harris, the company recouped its losses by selling the property for £150 in August 1876.[5] The amount of money accruing to the company from bondholders which rose from £50,000 in 1872 to £193,000 in 1881[6] seems, however, to have encouraged wilder speculations and certain major builders were granted special terms by which their repayments were not to be collected.[7] In one such instance, John Dorn applied for a loan of £2,400 repayable by 56 quarterly payments of £70. 13s. 8d to build nos. 19-21 *Warnborough Road and no. 5 Farndon Road.* He duly received £1,873. 12s. 10d on account of this advance at the end of December 1878, but he had neither finished the houses nor made any repayments when he filed a petition for the liquidation of his affairs in

1. Bodl. 247554 e. 43(7) Oxford Building & Investment Co., Ltd., Objects and rules, 1875, pp.6-7

2. ibid., G. A. Oxon.c.152. Oxford Building & Investment Co., Ltd., Misc. papers, 1867-89. Annual report, 1879

3. ibid., G.A. Oxon. c. 152 op.cit., Liquidator's preliminary report, 1.12.1883, p.16

4. Bodl. 247554 e. 43 (7). op.cit., p.6

5. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P765. 54 Hurst Street. Mortgage, 7.2.1871; Conveyance, 29.8.1876.

6. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c.152 op.cit., Liquidator's preliminary report, 1.12.1883, p.10

7. O.C., 8.1.1887, p.8

February 1883.[1] John Galpin, the company's Secretary and Surveyor, sought later to justify similar risks in the case of John Dover, stating that he had built many of the largest and best houses in North Oxford and elsewhere, most of which had subsequently been sold and yielded great profit to the company.[2] Such a policy was fraught with danger when the property market became less buoyant and the company's liquidator took over a dilapidated estate of 378 houses of which 95 houses were unoccupied and 75 unfinished.[3] Walter Gray thought that these excessive advances to speculative builders and the company's land speculation both in Oxford and Swindon stemmed simply from a wish to increase the commissions paid to the directors and officers of the company regardless of potential losses. He was also able to point to irregularities by which John Galpin, acting also as a timber merchant, as secretary to the Oxon & Berks Brick Co., and as agent for his architect son-in-law, had been able to establish a near monopoly in the supply of materials to borrowing builders and had deducted sums owing to him from company advances or mortgage repayments.[4] Gray's opposition to the company owed much to his Conservative politics and to his desire to shatter the Liberal hegemony which ruled Oxford and dominated the company's affairs.[5] His motives were not therefore without blemish and the final collapse of the company in April 1883[6] was prompted by the panic-stricken reaction of bondholders to his allegations that company property was heavily over-valued. This state of affairs owed much to depressed property prices and was clearly exaggerated by an inadequate and incomplete survey - "a mere

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 19-21 Warnborough Road and 5 Farndon Road. Agreement for mortgage, 31.12.1878; assignment, 10.12.1885.

2. O.C., 8.1.1887, p.8

3. Bodl. G.A. Oxon c.152. op.cit., Liquidator's preliminary report, 1.12.1883, p.2

4. ibid., p.8; O.C., 21.4.1883, pp.6-7,; C. Fenby, op.cit., pp. 63-5

5. O.C., 10.12.1881, p.2; 28.4.1883, pp. 5, 8

6. ibid., 7.4.1883, p.5

telegram" as John Galpin described it.[1] By 1889, Gray had in fact realised £190,000 from assets valued at only £100,000 when he was appointed liquidator six years earlier.[2] If his accusations were therefore less than accurate in every detail, there is little doubt that the company had always tended "to act in times of prosperity as if that prosperity would never receive a check."[3] In 1886, litigation initiated by a bondholder culminated in a High Court judgement that the directors of the company were guilty of paying dividends out of capital,[4] and they or their executors had subsequently to repay some £38,000 to the company liquidator.[5] The company's 786 bondholders, of whom 286 lived in Oxford, were ultimately to receive dividends totalling 17s. 9¼d in the £, but the 540 shareholders, 192 of them Oxford residents, lost all their savings.[6] John Galpin was bankrupted and disappeared from public life[7] while the company's solicitor, Robert Hawkins, left hurriedly for a distant land.[8] Finally, in February 1887, Ald. J. C. Cavell, a former chairman of the company, plunged to his death from a window above his Magdalen Street store, distressed perhaps by the outcome of the High Court litigation.[9] If the collapse of the Oxford Building & Investment Co., had left behind a legacy of personal and financial anguish, its brief, almost meteoric existence left a considerable mark upon the built environment of the city. Company loans or largesse funded

1. O.C., 20.6.1883, p.6
2. ibid., 27.7.1889, p.5
3. ibid., 14.4.1883, p.5
4. ibid., 13.11.1886, p.2
5. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. c.152 op.cit., Annual report of the liquidator, 1889
6. O.C., 21.4.1883, p.5; 12.12.1891, p.5
7. ibid., 17.11.1883, p.5; 21.3.1891, p.8
8. ibid., 18.12.1886, p.8
9. ibid., 12.2.1887, pp.5,8. The inquest, however, stressed the possibility that hallucinations or temporary insanity brought on by diabetes might have been responsible for his death.

building in every suburb and of the 58 recorded mortgages[1] 37 related to North Oxford, 13 to East Oxford, three to Jericho, three to South Oxford and two to West Oxford. In all these areas, many more houses financed by the company may still be identified with some degree of accuracy as those using cream bricks from the Oxon & Berks Brick Co. yards in North Oxford.[2]

The other two building societies in Victorian Oxford played a less spectacular but still significant role in fostering house-building in the suburbs. The prime movers behind the formation of the Oxford & Abingdon Permanent Benefit Building Society in 1851 appear to have been the Oxford auctioneer, Robert Pike who became the society's first secretary and surveyor, and James Hughes, partner in an Oxford grocery firm, who became its chairman.[3] As was usual by this date, the main business of the society was to lend money to prospective house purchasers on the security of a mortgage and an advertisement in July 1857 offered loans of between £50 and £2,000 for this purpose.[4] Society rules published in 1868 required repayment of such advances by monthly or quarterly instalments in not less than five or not more than 14 years, and demanded detailed particulars of any property for which a shareholder required a loan.[5] The fortunes of the society were inevitably subject to fluctuations and in May 1875 for example the Chairman reported that the value of the shares advanced had diminished

1. Table 19

2. cf O.C., 21.4.1883, pp.6-7, where Walter Gray questioned whether a single house built with company money during the past ten years had been of red brick

3. J.O.J., 18.5.1872, p.5

4. ibid., 25.7.1857, p.1; H.J. Dyos, The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 (1968) supplement, p.665

5. Bodl. G.A. Oxon 8° 1308(10) Oxford & Abingdon Permanent Benefit Building Society. Rules, 1868, pp.9, 21

from £25,600 in 1873/4 to £16,500 in 1874 /5, largely because unfavourable reports about Oxford's health had depressed the local property market.[1] With business in neighbouring counties and as far afield as Surrey and Somerset,[2] the Society was not, however, totally dependent upon the prosperity of Oxford and, by 1880, it had advanced £347,006.[3] It was also less prepared than the Oxford Building & Investment Co., to risk lending to speculative builders, and, in 1871, Robert Pike indicated that such loans had amounted to over £9,000, only about 5% of the society's total advances by that date.[4] On a smaller scale and with none of the irregularities of its major rival, the Oxford & Abingdon Permanent Benefit Building Society provided money for building operations in the city until at least 1890.[5] Its 32 recorded mortgages[6] comprised 23 in North Oxford, six in East Oxford, two in Jericho and one in South Oxford. In none of these agreements did the society tolerate a cessation of repayments and when, for example, the affairs of the local builder Henry Castle were liquidated by arrangement in 1879, it was quick to recover the loan of £825 which had just been granted to him for building nos. 19-21 Richmond Road. Negotiations with Castle's trustee and another mortgagee resulted in the property being conveyed to the society which had the houses completed and ready for leasing to other parties by June 1880.[7]

1. O.C., 15.5.1875, p.6
2. J.O.J., 24.5.1870, p.5
3. ibid., 22.5.1880, p.5
4. ibid., 20.5.1871, p.5
5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 88/92 Woodstock Road. Agreement for lease, 1.5.1889, with endorsement, 14.8.1890
6. Table 19
7. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 19-21 Richmond Road. Lease, 1.6.1880

The Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society seems to have advanced relatively little money to builders - only four such loans have been traced,[1] but it was unlike other Oxford societies in also building houses for members on some of its estates. The Society was founded in 1860 as the Oxford Working Men's Benefit Land & Building Society and its avowed object was to give a working man possession of a plot within six years by paying one shilling a week, including free conveyance of land and the formation of roads and drainage.[2] Few working men would subsequently have had the means to build a cottage on their plot[3] and, in 1877, the society resolved that, in future, it would concentrate less on the purchasing of land and more upon assisting members to build houses for themselves and to buy houses for occupation or investment.[4] In 1882, Anne Lucas was therefore able to obtain a loan from the re-named Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society towards the building of nos. 81/3 Southmoor Road.[5] By November 1878 the society was also building houses in Marston Street which were subsequently ballotted for by members, and this practice was repeated in the later Glebe and London Place developments in St. Clement's.[6] The most ambitious of these projects was, however, the building of Hayfield Road where 80 artisan houses were erected on the St. John's College estate between 1886 and 1888.[7] After this, no further building was done on the society's behalf and it subsequently reverted to forming estates in both North and East Oxford,[8] and to lending money on mortgage. In 1888,

1. Table 19
2. O.C., 18.8.1860, p.5
3. ibid., 16.2.1861, p.8
4. ibid., 17.11.1877, p.8
5. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 81/3 Southmoor Road. Agreement for lease, 19.7.1882
6. O.C., 9.11.1878, p.5; 17.11.1883, p.5;
7. supra, pp. 71-3
8. supra, pp. 78-9, 98

the Society provided the builders Castle and Martin with funds to build no. 5 Rawlinson Road in an exclusive part of North Oxford;[1] like other incorporated building societies, it was now more of a vehicle for sound, middle-class investment than an agency for housing the working man.[2]

If building societies, private individuals and other mainly local sources combined to finance the building of Oxford's suburbs, how substantial were the sums loaned and how crucial were they to the builders? In Reading earlier in the century, Blake found a number of agreements for sums of £2,000, but 54 out of 78, or 69.0% were for £500 or less.[3] In Victorian Oxford, where 101 agreements indicate the sum advanced, smaller amounts had become less common and only 48 mortgages, or 47.5% were for £500 or less.[4] Loans of between £501 and £1,000 accounted for a further 22 agreements (21.8%) but the 31 loans of over £1,000 formed the largest single category, accounting for 30.7% of all the agreements. The building societies were the major reason for this difference between Oxford and Reading, and they made 23 of the 31 agreements for sums of more than £1,000. As in Reading, there is very little evidence to indicate how great a proportion of the builder's total outlay was met by a mortgage; nor is it any easier in Oxford to assess whether all the money was used on the project for which it was theoretically advanced. The importance of loan capital is, however, made clear by the fact that out of 434 projects involving the building of one or more houses, 170 or 39.2% involved the builder in at least one mortgage agreement during or shortly after the work of construction. This compares with 79 out of 219 projects, or 36.0% in Reading.[5]

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 5 Rawlinson Road. Agreement for lease, 22.9.1888

2. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.200

3. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.82

4. Table 20 Size of mortgage loans in Oxford, 1850-1900

5. S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.83-4

Table 20. Size of mortgage loans in Oxford, 1850-1900

Sum	No. of agreements	%
Under £150	22	21.8
£151 - 300	17	16.8
£301 - 500	9	8.9
£501 - 1000	22	21.8
£1001+	31	30.7
	101	100.0

Sources: O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. Property records.
St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties

Speculative builders for whom mortgage finance was unavailable or insufficient had long relied upon credit from suppliers of building materials and fellow building craftsmen.[1] Growing standardization and the use of more ready-made components only served to increase the dependence of builders upon suppliers and that new breed of trader, the builders' merchant.[2] Thus, when the Oxford builder, Henry Quartermaine, was bankrupted in 1855, his creditors included ironfounders, timber and stone merchants, a mason, a white lead manufacturer and the Headington Quarry brickmaker and quarryman, John Coppock.[3] Considerable sums of money might be involved, and when Thomas Axtell became bankrupt in 1897, he owed the Oxford timber merchants, Basson & Co., £892 and brickmakers Franklin & Son £806. 10s. 9d.[4] Most of these creditors were local firms but in 1860, James Hall had outstanding debts with firms as far afield as Warminster and Worcester.[5] Again, in October 1869, John Dover was adjudicated bankrupt on the petition of Messrs. Prescott & Dunn, glass and lead merchants in West Bromwich, whom he owed £104. 9s.[6] The apparent ease with which speculative builders were able to run up such debts could only have served as further inducement to anyone seeking a new Eldorado through house-building.

1. C. W. Chalklin, The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process, 1740-1820 (1974), pp.235-6
2. C.G. Powell, op.cit., p.76; S. Muthesius, The English terraced house (1982), pp.29-30
3. O.C., 27.1.1855, p.5
4. ibid., 25.9.1897, p.8
5. ibid., 5.10.1860, p.5
6. ibid., 11.3.1871, p.4; 8.4.1871, p.7

Oxford's Victorian suburbs were the creation of many hands, the product of an industry which showed few signs of the change of scale that was so manifest in London and Sheffield by the end of the century. Instead, the small and usually ephemeral building firm remained predominant throughout the period and particularly so in areas where small freehold plots were always available. Larger firms were correspondingly rare, but nevertheless contributed more than half of the city's new housing. Some of these firms in particular were able to derive additional income from house rentals and non-residential building, but most builders were to a greater or lesser degree dependent upon loans or credit for their continued existence. The supply was not constant but some funds seemalways to have been available and it is clear that they came principally from local building societies and people resident in Oxford or its neighbourhood. If, to some observers, the Victorian suburb seemed an alien intrusion, it was primarily a local product, the creation of local enterprise backed by local capital.

5. Suburban Houses

The Victorian suburb generally provided housing for those who could afford to move, for the middle classes eager to escape from congested town centres and for those regularly-employed artisans who were able to follow their example.[1] Although railway building, commercial development and public improvements decanted the less prosperous from insanitary dens, families reliant upon the precarious livelihood of casual labour had to live close to places of employment and could rarely manage the rents of new properties. Most had therefore to huddle together in a dwindling number of courts and alleys or in decaying older houses which the professional and mercantile classes were now forsaking.[2] In the suburbs themselves, housing standards were being forced ever upwards by the requirements of landowners and developers, by local authority byelaws and by the expectations of potential tenants or purchasers.[3] These pressures had a direct effect upon the physical fabric of the suburb with builders erecting larger and more elaborate houses which boasted an increasing number of specialized rooms and better fittings.[4] Such improvements were inevitably accompanied by rising rents and prices which placed suburban properties still further from the reach of the urban poor.[5]

1. E. Gauldie, op.cit., pp. 87-90; H.J. Dyos & D.A. Reeder, Slums and suburbs. In, H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., op.cit., vol. 2 (1978), pp.369-71

2. A.S. Wohl, The history of the working classes in London, 1815-1914. In S.D. Chapman, ed., The history of working-class housing: a symposium (1971), pp.16-19; H.J. Dyos & D.A. Reeder, op.cit., pp.365-8; H.J. Dyos, The slums of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 (1967), pp.36-7; J. Burnett, op.cit., p.144; A. Sutcliffe, Working-class housing in 19th century Britain: a review of recent research. Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin: 24 (1972), p.45

3. supra, pp. 145 ff

4. J.N. Tarn, Housing reform and the emergence of town planning in Britain before 1914. In, A. Sutcliffe, ed., The rise of modern urban planning, 1800-1914 (1980), p.85

5. J. P. Lewis, op.cit., p.156; S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.18

The most characteristic feature of the nineteenth century suburb was the single-family dwelling which reflected both the widespread desire for privacy and the availability of cheap building land. The suburb had traditionally been a place for people who were literally on the fringes of urban society, for traders who were not freemen, for those engaged in noxious trades and for the urban poor.[1] By the eighteenth century, however, the noise and bustle of town life was encouraging wealthier residents to retreat to more peaceful suburban estates where they could live like country gentlemen.[2] Those of lesser means were able to share this romantic idyll in the more modest environs of the suburban terrace or in the semi-detached house pioneered on the St. John's Wood estate by John Shaw in the 1790s.[3] The later development of cottage housing estates would seem to indicate that the suburban ideal was a class phenomenon filtering gradually down the social scale, but the general dislike of block dwellings[4] suggests that the desire for privacy was both universal and long-standing,[5] a seed which required only the combination of favourable circumstances if it was to germinate. Such conditions were provided in the nineteenth century by the growth of the urban population and by the availability of relatively cheap suburban land which precluded the necessity of intensive housing development;[6] large-scale building projects were also deterred by the fragmented nature of the building industry.[7] On the demand side, the manifest unhealthiness of life in large urban centres made retreat to the suburbs a practical as well as a psychological necessity[8] and a social deepening

1. H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb; a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), pp.34-6
2. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.16; D. Reeder, Suburbanity and the Victorian city (1980), p.3
3. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., op.cit., p.9
4. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.82
5. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., op.cit., pp. 13-14
6. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.83
7. supra, pp. 211-7
8. D. Reeder, op.cit., p.4

of the suburban market was facilitated by the growth and changing distribution of real incomes.[1] Many more people were therefore able to exercise status-oriented choice in housing and pricing acted as "a filter in the process of segregation, each gradation of price operating as a settling pool for a reasonably well-defined social group."[2] The growing separation of home and work further fuelled suburban growth, encouraging male economic domination and "the increasing feminization of the Victorian house;" the latter was marked by higher standards of comfort and amenity and by the creation of an environment suitable for individual and familial privacy.[3]

The rapid growth of early nineteenth century towns and cities was met by the massive provision of housing for the working classes which was "tailored to suit their low earnings."[4] In major centres such as Leeds and Liverpool, the back to back was the characteristic product[5] for it was economical of land and materials, easy and quick to build and yet provided an identifiable house with basic amenities such as a range, fireplace, and shared water and privies.[6] South of Birmingham, the back to back was exceptional,[7] but nearly 16% of Reading's houses lacked

1. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., op.cit., p.17

2. R.G. Rodger, Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in 19th century Britain. In, J.H. Johnson & C.G. Pooley, eds., The structure of 19th century cities (1982), p.67

3. J.Burnett, op.cit., pp.110-1; D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.25

4. A. Sutcliffe, op.cit., p.42

5. M.W. Beresford, The back-to-back house in Leeds, 1787-1937. In, S.D. Chapman, ed., op.cit., pp.96-121; J.H. Treble, Liverpool working-class housing 1801-51. In, ibid.,pp.176-7

6. J. Burnett, op.cit., p.70

7. ibid., p.74

rear ventilation in 1846[1] and intensive courtyard development had created similar houses in Oxford.

In the convenient, but low-lying suburb of St. Clement's, for example, the Oxford timber merchant, Joseph Paine, bought three 18 feet wide lots in Caroline Street in 1820 and built ten houses there, one on the street frontage, three in Gordon Row and six in James Place.[2] No. 21 Caroline Street had only one bedroom and backed directly on to the first of the houses in Gordon Row. These properties consisted simply of a small, low room on the ground floor and one bedroom upstairs with a partially slanting ceiling. The houses of James Place were three storeys high, each one having a fair-sized living room and two bedrooms, but nos. 1-4 were built back to back with no. 21 Caroline Street and the houses in Gordon Row.[3] The other basic type of working-class house was the through-terrace house which, in its earliest manifestations, commonly had two rooms on each floor and a small scullery extension on the back.[4] This house-type had become the norm in Bristol and Reading by the 1830s[5] and it was already prevalent in the suburbs of Oxford during the building boom of the previous decade.[6] Whatever the house-type, heavy taxes upon building materials such as bricks, glass and timber[7] helped everywhere to ensure that working-class houses were both small and low, containing few rooms of very modest dimensions.

1. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.105

2. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept. P366/83a. 21 Caroline Street, Lease and release, 3/4.3.1820; Lease and release, 16/17.10.1820; Mortgage, 8.7.1822

3. O.C.A.: Misc/Bra/1. Rev. N.E.W. Bradyll-Johnson. Housing in the parish of St. Clement's....1924, pp.242, 255-7

4. V. Parker, The English house in the 19th century (1970), p.30

5. J. Burnett, op.cit., p.74; S.T. Blake, op.cit.,p.106

6. R.J. Morris, op.cit., pp.72-4

7. A.K. Cairncross & B. Weber, Fluctuations in building in Great Britain, 1785-1849. Economic History Review 2nd series 9 (1956/7), pp.283-97; O.C., 13.10.1888, p.7

Of 338 houses in the northern part of St. Clement's parish surveyed in 1924,[1] 18(5.3%) had only two rooms, 27(8.0%) had three rooms and 114(33.7%) just four rooms. Five-roomed houses accounted for a further 71 properties (21.0%) and six-roomed houses for 89(26.3%), but both these figures were inflated by the inclusion of later buildings such as nos. 1/11 Cherwell Street and the 11 houses of Bath Square.[2] Seven- and eight- roomed houses were predictably rare, totalling only 15(4.4%) and four (1.2%) respectively and here again infill of the 1860s at Pensons Gardens[3] accounted for four of the seven-roomed houses and two of those with eight rooms.[4] The dimensions of these houses were nowhere generous and the two rooms of houses in Arthur's Place measured only about ten feet square.[5] Nos. 40-44 Cave Street consisted simply of "one room below 10 x 11 and tiny back scullery and copper. Door into yard. One bedroom."[6] In Gas Street, St. Ebbe's, two-storey houses where cholera struck heavily in 1854 provided a living room 11 feet 6 inches long by 9 feet 3 inches wide and one bedroom above measuring 13 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 3 inches.[7] Houses with frontages no more than nine feet wide were to be found in Jericho,[8] and a four-roomed property, no. 1 King Street, had a front living room measuring 10 feet by 10 feet 2 inches and a back living room of 7 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 11 inches: upstairs the front bedroom was 10 feet 4 inches square and the back bedroom measured just 7 feet 9 inches by 8 feet.[9]

1. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., p.94
2. O.C., 20.5.1882, p.4
3. supra, p. 95
4. Table 21 House accommodation in the northern and southern parts of St. Clement's parish, 1924
5. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., p.237
6. ibid., p.316
7. H.W. Acland, Memoir on the cholera at Oxford in the year 1854 (1856), p.80
8. M. Kelly, Jericho: a working-class district in Oxford (1974), p.(18)
9. O.C.C.: Environmental Health Dept. Overcrowding Survey, 1936-7 Binder 83/14712. 1 King Street.

Table 21. House accommodation in the northern and southern parts of St. Clement's parish, 1924.

	Northern		Southern	
No. of rooms	No. of houses	%	No. of houses	%
2	18	5.3	-	-
3	27	8.0	2	0.5
4	114	33.7	7	1.8
5	71	21.0	41	10.3
6	89	26.3	169	42.6
7	15	4.4	66	16.6
8	4	1.2	74	18.6
9	-	-	21	5.3
10	-	-	9	2.3
11	-	-	3	0.8
12+	-	-	5	1.3
	338	99.9	397	100.0

Source: O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1. Rev. N.E.W. Bradyll-Johnson, op.cit., passim.

Table 22. Oxford suburban houses, 1819-1900

Development began	No. of Streets	No. of houses	Av. no. of rooms	Av. sq. footage of each room
1819 - 50	7	277	4.7	113.2
1851 - 60	8	338	4.8	118.3
1861 - 70	9	531	5.0	125.6
1871 - 80	8	333	5.4	128.0
1881 - 90	9	454	5.5	124.0
1891 - 1900	7	398	5.9	131.0
	48	2331		

Source: O.C.C.: Environmental Health Dept. Overcrowding Survey 1936-7

If early nineteenth century working class housing was characterised by its pinched dimensions, builders were able to make still greater economies by providing few sanitary or other facilities. In 1856, Henry Acland noted that "there are few, if any, very bad dwellings in Oxford, as the civilized world has counted badness. In London and Edinburgh and other large towns, I have visited places incomparably worse than any that I know of here at present;" the problem was rather one of imperfect drainage and water supply.[1] Slums were often caused by the sanitary blunders of builders[2] and, in St. Ebbe's for example, housing of a moderately high quality was blighted by the separate decisions of many builders to drain by an open watercourse to the river Thames.[3] East of Magdalen Bridge, the branch of the river Cherwell skirting St. Clement's became equally foul and, in 1835, Vaughan Thomas noted that "The lodgments in these stagnant waters are in summer time dangerously offensive to the inhabitants."[4] As a further economy, the builder might provide less than one privy per house and, as late as 1924, 99 out of 338 houses in the northern part of St. Clement's parish were still sharing toilet facilities.[5] In the absence of a cheap and reliable municipal water supply, occupants of the new houses were left to obtain water from wells and nearby streams, sources which were increasingly liable to pollution by raw sewage. The potentially disastrous effect of this was seen all too clearly in 1832 when 74 out of 172 cases of cholera in Oxford occurred in the parish of St. Clement.[6] Building costs were also kept down by the provision of shared wash-houses and 37 out of

1. H.W. Acland, op.cit., pp.46, 50-2

2. H.J. Dyos, The slums of Victorian London. Victorian Studies 11 (1967), p.26

3. R.J. Morris, op.cit., pp.94-7; Report into the state of the sewerage, drainage and water supply of the city of Oxford (1851), p.29

4. V. Thomas, Memorials of the malignant cholera in Oxford, 1832 (1835), p. x

5. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, pp.113-115.

6. V.Thomas, op.cit., p. (40), Appendix 10

338 houses in St. Clement's were still affected by this inconvenience in 1924.[1] Similar economy in the use of valuable land was achieved by the formation of drying space shared by two or more houses.[2] House-building in the first half of the nineteenth century has been described as being a quantitative rather than a qualitative phenomenon[3] and, between 1811 and 1831, when Oxford grew most rapidly, builders erected no fewer than 1,791 houses, increasing the housing stock of the city and the suburb of St. Clement's by 84.2% from 2,126 to 3,917.[4] If many of these properties had the disadvantages of poor amenities and close proximity to other courts and houses, they were nevertheless an improvement upon their rural predecessors and the former accommodation of the urban working-class.[5] Some, moreover, were sufficiently basic to be within the financial grasp of the disadvantaged and in the mid 1820s, for example, the curate of St. Clement's parish, John Henry Newman, reported that the area was substantially populated by those who had been made homeless by improvements in the city centre.[6]

The freedom of builders to erect cheap housing was gradually circumscribed during the century and, from about 1850, they were tending to build improved houses for the artisan.[7] Demand formed a primary reason

1. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., p.110
2. ibid., p.112
3. V. Parker, op.cit., p.3
4. Abstract of the answers and returns....(1811 census). Enumeration Abstract (1812), pp.259, 265; Abstract of the answers and returns.... (1831 census). Enumeration Abstract, vol. 1 (1833), pp.492, 502
5. J. Burnett, op.cit., p.73
6. supra, p. 82
7. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.106; G.Crossick, The labour aristocracy and its values: a study of mid-Victorian Kentish London. Victorian Studies 19 (1976), p.313; A. Sutcliffe, op. cit., p.44; C.G. Pooley, Choice and constraint in the 19th century city: a basis for residential differentiation. In, C.G. Pooley and J.H.Johnson, eds., op.cit., p.205

for this change, reflecting the rising incomes and expectations of a regularly employed working-class and artisan elite which could now afford the luxury of choosing where to live.[1] Their ability to exercise a status-oriented choice was further encouraged by the actions of freehold land societies and building societies in making available large numbers of building plots.[2] The pressure towards higher building standards was reinforced by landowners and developers who were keen to maintain the reversionary value of their estates or simply wished to ensure that their names were in no way linked with the building of some morally degrading slum.[3] Mounting pressure came also from legislation and the resulting local authority byelaws which required the deposit of plans and ever increasing attention to the formation of estates and the subsequent quality of house-building.[4] In Oxford, it was said that the introduction of building byelaws would add 15% to the working man's rent by increasing the costs of house-building.[5] Builders were not themselves averse to building larger, more substantial houses since "the profit margin of those persons who built the larger properties (and therefore invested greater capital) was rather higher than those who built the smaller terraced houses."[6] In providing these most basic houses, the Oxford building industry was, in any case, too fragmented to achieve the necessary economies of scale in the face of rising wages and a steady increase in the cost of building materials.[7] Propelled by these various forces, builders tended to erect increasingly

1. V. Parker, op.cit., p.31; G. Crossick, An artisan elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London, 1840-1880 (1978), p.108

2. supra, pp. 86 ff

3. supra, pp. 153, 156

4. supra, pp 173-6

5. supra, p. 177

6. S. T. Blake, op.cit., p.80

7. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.155; supra, pp. 212-7

elaborate houses which differed from early nineteenth century examples by having more rooms and being more spacious. This can be shown clearly by examining the local returns of the 1936-7 Overcrowding Survey[1], a national survey of working-class housing initiated by the Housing Act of 1936.[2] Public Health inspectors and temporary assistants employed for the purpose visited all such houses and recorded on special forms the dimensions of all rooms of more than 50 square feet.[3] These forms make it possible to assess in every street both the average number of rooms per house and the average square footage of each room. A sample of 48 streets was selected with a view to comparing developments begun prior to 1850 with those commencing in each of the next five decades. In the earliest houses, the average number of rooms per house was 4.7 and the average square footage of each room 113.2. After 1850, the average number of rooms in working-class houses rose gradually from 4.8 in 1851-60 to 5.4 in 1871-80 and 5.9 in the last decade of the 19th century. During the same period, the average square footage of each room rose - with just a slight fall in the 1800s, from 118.3 to 131.0.[4] Inevitably, there were exceptions to this general trend and the houses built on cheap and remote suburban sites in the latter part of the century only seemed more spacious than their earlier counterparts because of passages and landings.[5] It might also be true that well-planned houses such as those in Hayfield Road, begun in 1886, might be less cramped than the small dimensions of their rooms would seem to indicate. Nevertheless, it is evident that the cramped conditions of

1. E. Hopkins, Working-class housing in the smaller industrial town of the 19th century: Stourbridge - a case study. Midland History 4 (1978), pp.232-42

2. 26 George V and 1 Edward VIII c.51, passim.

3. O.C.C.: Chief Sanitary Inspector. Housing Act, 1936. Detailed overcrowding survey. (1937), pp.1-3. The Oxford forms are now housed at the Environmental Health Dept., The Old Rectory, Paradise Square.

4. Table 22 Oxford suburban houses, 1819-1900

5. E. Hopkins, op.cit., p.245

many early nineteenth century houses were rarely to be found in later Victorian properties. By the 1880s, very few houses were being built with less than five habitable rooms and artisan houses with six rooms became a common-place in the 1890s.

A similar pattern of improving standards is revealed at a more local level by comparing houses in the early nineteenth century streets of St. Clement's parish with those erected in Victorian additions to the suburb. In 1924, Bradyll-Johnson identified 397 houses in the southern part of St. Clement's, the majority of which had been built after 1850 on the estates of the National Freehold Land Society, Dawson's Charity, the Oxford Municipal Charity Trustees and the Oxford Industrial & Provident Land & Building Society.[1] The number of rooms in these houses contrasted strongly with the figures for the northern district and houses with fewer than five rooms accounted for only 2.3% of the total as against 47.0% in the older part of the parish where much of the housing dated from the 1820s. Six-roomed properties formed 42.6% of all the houses south of St. Clement's Street, but only 26.3% of these to the north. Again, 28.3% of the newer houses had eight or more rooms compared with only 1.2% of the older ones.[2] If the houses in the southern part of St. Clement's were larger than their northern counterparts, Bradyll-Johnson noted also "a marked superiority in general design and construction largely due to the fact that the building on this area took place at a much more recent date.... In consequence the arrangement of the rooms, the surroundings and considerations of lighting and air space have received greater attention and the materials used in their construction are of better quality."[3] Only seven out of 397 or 1.8% of these houses - all in fact early nineteenth century houses, had a shared

1. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., pp.66-7; Tables 4 and 5

2. Table 21

3. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., p.67

water supply compared with 120 (35.5%) in the northern area. Similarly, the inconvenience of shared washing facilities affected only three older houses in the southern part of St. Clement's as against 128 or 37.9% of those to the north. The private toilet, usually built into the house design but approached from the back yard, had also become the norm in newer properties whereas the occupants of 99 (29.3%) houses in the streets bordering the river Cherwell were still sharing toilet facilities in 1924.[1]

With the retention of deposited house plans by the City Engineer's Department from 1875 it becomes possible to examine in greater detail both the creation and spread of special-purpose rooms and, more generally, the growing size and improving sanitary standards of the city's suburban housing. For this purpose, a sample of 166 plans has been selected, covering 686 houses in 39 suburban streets and representing 14.6% of the 4,706 houses proposed to be built between 1875 and 1900. In the first instance, the sample demonstrates the great advances in house sanitation and water supply that tended to follow the introduction and enforcement of building byelaws.[2] Of the 686 houses, no fewer than 664 or 96.8% were intended to be connected to a main sewer and only 22 (3.2%) were to be drained into a cesspool.[3] In three of the latter cases, the arrangement was specifically described as temporary and all the others were the result of development proceeding beyond the limits of the city's main sewers. In no cases were toilet facilities to be shared between houses and only seven houses - all in Duke Street, New Botley, relied initially upon outside earth closets.[4] The only other earth closet, proposed

1. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., pp. 72-74

2. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), pp.246-58

3. Table 23 Sanitary provision in new suburban houses in Oxford, 1875-1900

4. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 276 (O.S.) Duke Street, 4.1878; 386 (O.S.) 24-27 Duke Street, 6.5.1879; 627 (O.S.) 15 Duke Street, 26.4.1881

Table 23. Sanitary provision in new suburban houses in Oxford, 1875

	Total		East		Jericho		North		South		West	
Drainage												
Connection to main sewer	664	96.8	287	100.0	49	96.1	151	92.6	62	98.4	115	94.3
Connection to Cesspool	22	3.2	-		2	3.9	12	7.4	1	1.6	7	5.7
	686	100.0	287	100.0	51	100.0	163	100.0	63	100.0	122	100.0
Toilet Facilities												
Outside Earth Closet	7	1.0	-		-		-		-		7	5.7
Outside Water Closet	439	64.0	213	74.2	31	60.8	44	27.0	62	98.4	89	73.0
Outside Earth Closet & inside Water Closet	1	0.1	-		-		1	0.6	-		-	
Outside water closet & inside water closet	97	14.1	58	20.2	-		23	14.1	-		16	13.1
Inside water closet	56	8.2	12	4.2	12	23.5	21	12.9	1	1.6	10	8.2
2 inside water closets	80	11.7	4	1.4	8	15.7	68	41.7	-		-	
3 inside water closets	6	0.9	-		-		6	3.7	-		-	
	686	100.0	287	100.0	51	100.0	163	100.0	63	100.0	122	100.0
Water Supply												
Mains water	674	98.3	287	100.0	51	100.0	156	95.7	62	98.4	118	96.7
Mains & pump	5	0.7	-		-		5	3.1		-	-	
Pump	2	0.3	-		-		2	1.2		-	-	
Well & pump	4	0.6	-		-		-			-	4	3.3
Well	1	0.1	-		-		-		1	1.6	-	
	686	100.0	287	100.0	51	100.0	163	100.0	63	100.0	122	100.0

Sources: O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Deposited building plans, 1875-1900

for no. 13 Norham Road[1] was doubtless intended for use by the servants and its contents may well have been destined for the vegetable garden. With these minor exceptions, all proposed houses had a watercloset, designed as an integral part of the building but they were typically approached from a yard outside the back door.[2] The single outside toilet, preferred because of fears of the dangers of sewer gas, was to serve 439 houses or 64.0% of the sample. It was well-nigh universal in South Oxford, accounting for all but one of the 63 applications. In East and West Oxford nearly three-quarters of the houses proposed were to have just one outside water closet, but the figure was only just over three-fifths in Jericho, where post-1875 house-building on the St. John's estate tended to be of a markedly superior kind.[3] Predictably, the outside water closet was least common in North Oxford, and only 44 houses or 27.0% of the suburb's total relied solely upon it. In larger, usually three-storey houses, it became more common to have an inside toilet as well as the customary outside water closet, and the additional facility was normally placed on the first floor. This arrangement is to be found in 97 *proposed houses* - 14.1% of the sample, but was entirely absent in the plans of Jericho and South Oxford houses. It was most typical of the large turn of the century houses built in East Oxford streets like Regent Street and Divinity Road.[4] The remaining 142 houses in the sample, accounting for 20.6% of the total, had one or more inside water closets and of these properties no fewer than 95 were in North Oxford. Houses served only by inside toilets accounted for 57.3% of all properties examined in North Oxford but for just 8.2% of

1. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 131(O.S.) 14 Norham Road, 5.9.1876
2. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.258
3. supra, pp. 141-2
4. e.g. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 1440 (O.S.) 1-6 Regent Street, 10.4.1889; 2110 (O.S.) 30 Divinity Road, 2.8.1893; 2997 (O.S.) 79/81 Divinity Road, 26.9.1894

those in West Oxford, 5.6% in East Oxford and 1.6% in South Oxford. The much higher percentage of 39.2% is recorded in Jericho because of substantial houses proposed for Richmond Road, but such provision was atypical of general housing standards in the suburb. As befitted the most fashionable suburb in the Victorian city, North Oxford houses accounted for 68 of the 80 properties with two inside toilets and for all six of those which boasted three.[1]

The improvements in drainage and toilet facilities were paralleled by the provision of an adequate municipal water supply to all but a few new properties. Residents in early nineteenth century Oxford had relied principally upon wells and streams for their water and the erratic and expensive municipal supply pumped untreated river water into only 340 of the 4,585 houses in the city in 1851.[2] Both the quality and the quantity of the supply were subsequently improved[3] and the separate piped supply of water to each house became a feature of byelaw development,[4] enforced in Oxford from 1866.[5] As a result, 674 houses in the sample, or 98.3% of the total were from the first to be connected solely to the mains supply.[6] This figure included all the houses proposed in East Oxford and Jericho and all but a handful in the other three suburbs. Of this remainder, five houses in North Oxford were intended to have both mains water and a separate pump, the former presumably for drinking water and the latter for other domestic purposes.[7] The builder of nos. 53/55 Southmoor Road

1. Table 23
2. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.355
3. infra, pp. 383-5
4. M.J.Daunton, op.cit., pp.246-7
5. supra, p. 177
6. Table 23
7. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 438(O.S.) 6-7 St. Margaret's Road, 23.9.1879; 131 (O.S.) 13 Norham Road, 5.9.1876; 61(O.S.) 23-24 Leckford Road, 9.11.1875

suggested a pump but was prepared to connect to the mains "if found nesicarey (sic),"[1] and the well proposed for no. 36 Western Road was temporary, pending the extension of the mains on to the Grandpont estate.[2]

The kitchen, known also as the scullery or the wash-house, was the most important and often the only room to which water was laid on, providing space for food preparation and washing-up and perhaps serving also as a laundry and impromptu bathroom. In middle-class houses of the mid-nineteenth century the kitchen and other service rooms were almost always situated in the basement,[3] and this plan was adopted at Park Town, the first major housing development for the middle classes of Victorian Oxford.[4] Richmond Lodge, for example, had a kitchen, scullery, larder, store room, butler's pantry and cellars in the basement. Similarly, each of the semi-detached villas had a kitchen, scullery, larder, pantry and cellars in the basement.[5] Such subterranean accommodation has been described as making no sense unless envisaged as "a habitat for a separate race of people."[6] The desire to keep household and servants apart clearly played a part in fostering the basement kitchen, but the arrangement had both practical and aesthetic advantages, providing cool storage areas for perishable foods and serving also as a plinth upon which to set the main body of the house. Nevertheless, it had the disadvantage of providing ill-lit and gloomy working areas and meant that food prepared at a distance from the dining room had then to be carried upstairs with all the attendant risks of breakages and unintentionally cold food. In some cases, installation of a hand-

1. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 775 (O.S.) 53/55 Southmoor Road, 15.8.1882
2. ibid., 456 (O.S.) 36 Western Road, 9.12.1879
3. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, 1830-1914. In M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit., p.107; A. Lee, Party walls and private lives; aspects of a railway suburb. Women's Studies 3 (1976), p.268
4. supra, pp. 61-4
5. O.C., 12.10.1861, p.4
6. G. Tindall, op.cit., p.140

operated lift could help to diminish these problems[1] but a preferable alternative was to design new houses with the service accommodation located on the ground floor near the dining room. William Wilkinson, architect to the St. John's College estate from 1860,[2] was something of a pioneer in this respect and the four North Oxford houses which he illustrated in English Country Houses all had ground floor kitchens with basementsused principally for the storage of food, drink and fuel.[3] The earliest of these houses was no. 113 Woodstock Road which was built for Edwin Butler in 1860. Here, the basement provided only wine and beer cellars and a larder while the kitchen, scullery and other ancillary accommodation occupied the less desirable northern part of the ground floor.[4] At no. 31 Banbury Road, which was built for George Ward between 1864 and 1865, Wilkinson placed only the beer and wine cellars in the basement, the larder and a dairy being sited at the cool north-east corner of the ground floor. The kitchen was placed opposite the dining room at the end of a straight corridor which also provided access to a china closet.[5] The existence of cheap and plentiful labour militated against the general adoption of more rational planning,[6] however, and the spread of the ground floor kitchen required a more humane attitude fostered by the 'servant problem' of the late nineteenth century.[7] The enlarged floor area required for a ground floor kitchen was found most easily in large detached houses; in semi-detached properties, raising the kitchen from its subterranean home meant dispensing with a ground floor sitting

1. R. Dutton, The Victorian home (1954), p.188
2. supra, p. 65
3. W. Wilkinson, English country houses: 61 views and plans.... 2nd ed. (1875), plates 10, 16, 18, 20
4. ibid., plate 16
5. ibid., plate 20
6. V. Parker, op.cit., pp. 20-1
7. J. Burnett, op.cit., pp.192, 203-7. P.L.R. Horn, The rise and fall of the Victorian Servant (1975), pp.24-5

room or adding a back wing which could also house an upstairs bathroom. The second alternative made for a more complex roof structure and resembled the artisan tunnel-back house[1] but it was the plan chosen, for instance, at nos. 42/44 Chalfont Road in 1898. The proposal for nos. 21/23 Chalfont Road in the following year is, however, a reminder that the basement kitchen retained its importance in middle-class housing until the end of the century.[2] From the sample of 163 houses proposed for North Oxford after 1875, 81(49.7%) were shown with basement kitchens and 82 (50.3%) with a kitchen or scullery on the ground floor.[3]

Away from North Oxford and its wealth of domestic servants, the kitchen or scullery was much more likely to be found on the ground floor, either in a lean-to extension or in a back wing with a room or rooms above. In less fashionable and often flood-prone suburbs, the basement itself was restricted primarily to larger properties on prestigious main road frontages like Iffley Road.[4] Thus, no fewer than 109 North Oxford houses - 66.9% of the sample, were provided with basements but there were only 12 (19.0%) in South Oxford houses, 54(18.8%) in East Oxford and none at all in West Oxford. With substantial houses proposed for Richmond Road in the later 1870s, Jericho most nearly resembled North Oxford with 20 out of 51 houses (39.2%) possessing basements, all of which were to be used as sculleries or kitchens.[5] Elsewhere, just three houses in South Oxford (4.8%) were planned to have sculleries in the basement and only 21(7.3%) in East Oxford. With few exceptions, the sculleries of thses more modest

1. <u>infra</u>, p.269

2. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 3093 (O.S.) 42/44 Chalfont Rd., 4.5.1898; 3353 (O.S.) 21/23 Chalfont Rd., 5.7.1899

3. <u>ibid.</u>, Deposited building plans, 1875-1900

4. e.g., <u>O.C.</u>, 11.9.1869, p.4; <u>J.O.J.</u>, 27.6.1863, p.4

5. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Deposited buildings plans 1875-1900

houses were situated in a back addition to the ground floor, an arrangement characteristic of contemporary houses in the Midlands and Southern England; only at nos. 18/24 Golden Road in 1880 was there a proposal for basic two-up, two-down houses with no back addition which formed the dominant house-type in the Lancashire cotton districts.[1] The vast majority of houses in the eastern, southern and western suburbs were therefore to have water piped to a room in a back extension which was described variously on the plans as a scullery, kitchen, wash-house or back kitchen. Wherever it was placed, the scullery might be provided with additional storage accommodation in the form of a adjacent pantry or larder. This facility was present in 98 or 60.1% of the houses proposed for North Oxford after 1875, but in only 11.5% and 17.1% of those in South and East Oxford respectively. Significantly, perhaps, the percentages are slightly higher in West Oxford and Jericho where an artisan elite of railwaymen and University Press employees was better able to pay higher rents for these amenities.[2] Slot meters, pioneered elsewhere in the early 1890s, were introduced by the local gas company in 1897 and, by encouraging the use of the gas cooker, began to upgrade the scullery to the status of the modern kitchen.[3]

The private bathroom was a rarity in middle-class homes of the mid-nineteenth century, but it soon became a necessary amenity which filtered gradually down the social scale.[4] Descriptions of 19 Park Town properties that were put up for sale in 1855 and 1861 suggest that none was originally provided with a bathroom despite rentals ranging from £55 to £100. One of

1. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., pp. 46-8; S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.48; O.C.C.:City Engineer's Dept. 506 (O.S.) 18/24 Golden Road, 27.4.1880

2. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Deposited building plans, 1875-1900. ; infra, p.326

3. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., pp.238-42; O.C.R.O. Acc.451. Oxford Gaslight & Coke Co., Directors' M.B., 1892-8, p.205, 1.9.1898

4. T.F.M. Hinchcliffe, Highbury New Park: a mid 19th century middle-class suburb. London Journal 7 (1981), p.32; A. Lee, op.cit., p.274; D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.165

the large detached houses, Beech Lawn, had, for example, eight bedrooms, three dressing rooms, a water closet and a housemaid's closet on its two upper floors. Similarly, no bathroom was evident in the eight semi-detached houses which had seven bedrooms, a water closet and a linen closet on the first and second floors. Only at Crescent Lodge was a bathroom recorded and here it had probably been installed by a tenant in one of the dressing rooms, an increasingly popular arrangement which led inevitably to damp clothes and furniture.[1] Such conversions were not always very practical and, at no. 14 Norham Gardens, produced a bathroom with three doors, "one to the passage by the main stair, one into the spare room and one into the nursery passage, very inconvenient when anyone was having a bath."[2] The gradual acceptance of the bathroom in major suburban villas is illustrated by Wilkinson's Oxford houses, since he failed to include one in the design for no. 113 Woodstock Road, built in 1860, but designed integral bathrooms for no. 31 Banbury Road in 1864-5 and no. 13 Norham Gardens in 1870.[3] By the mid 1870s, bathrooms were coming to be regarded almost as standard fittings in properties of this class and of four new houses in Norham Manor described in the Oxford Chronicle in October 1874, only one in Crick Road lacked this amenity.[4] In North Oxford generally the sample of 163 houses proposed after 1875 included 71 (43.6%) with bathrooms[5] and, if the bathroom never became so common in the less fashionable suburbs of Victorian Oxford, it was included in houses of a quite modest rental value. The filtering process was hastened by builders' recognition that the extra trouble of installing a bathroom could persuade a respectable tenant to pay a higher rent.[6] In East Oxford, for instance, bathrooms

1. O.C., 21.7.1855, p.1; 12.10.1861, p.4; R. Dutton, The Victorian home (1954), p.189
2. C. Colvin, 14 Norham Gardens (1980), p.12. Typescript in O.C.L.
3. W. Wilkinson, op.cit., plates 16, 20
4. O.C., 17.10.1874, p.7
5. Table 24 Bathrooms in new suburban houses in Oxford, 1875-1900
6. D.J. Olsen, op.cit., p.165

Table 24. Bathrooms in new suburban houses in Oxford, 1875-1900

	Total		East		Jericho		North		South		West	
Houses with bathrooms	149	21.7	72	25.1	-		71	43.6	3	4.8	3	2.5
Houses without bathrooms	537	78.3	215	74.9	51	100.0	92	56.4	60	95.2	119	97.5
	686	100.0	287	100.0	51	100.0	163	100.0	63	100.0	122	100.0

Table 25 Bedrooms in new suburban houses in Oxford, 1875-1900

	Total		East		Jericho		North		South		West	
2 bedroom houses	43	6.3	32	11.1	6	11.8	4	2.4	-		1	0.8
3 bedroom houses	490	71.4	236	82.2	33	64.7	64	39.3	47	74.6	110	90.2
4 bedroom houses	99	14.4	19	6.6	12	23.5	41	25.2	16	25.4	11	9.0
5 bedroom houses	27	3.9	-		-		27	16.6	-		-	
6 bedroom houses	14	2.0	-		-		14	8.6	-		-	
7 bedroom houses	9	1.3	-		-		9	5.5	-		-	
8 bedroom houses	4	0.6	-		-		4	2.4	-		-	
	686	99.9	287	99.9	51	100.0	163	100.0	63	100.0	122	100.0

Sources: O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Deposited building plans, 1875-1900

became a regular feature of superior three-storey houses like nos. 1-6 Regent Street which were letting at £26 a year when newly built in 1889.[1] Properties like this swelled the number of bathrooms in the East Oxford sample to 72 or 25.1% of the total. In other suburbs the bathroom was a decided rarity with none recorded in new Jericho properties and just three each in South and West Oxford.[2] The West Oxford examples, nos. 5/9 Hill View Road, must have been among the first two-storey, three-bedroom artisan houses in the city to have an integral bathroom when they were built in 1897.[3]

Privacy in the home was a concept beloved of Victorians and one which lay at the very root of the flight to the suburbs.[4] The bathroom itself was a private retreat away from other members of the household, but the bedroom formed a still more important refuge. Another feature of contemporary house design was therefore the proliferation of bedrooms with separate corridor access to ensure a proper segregation of the sexes and, in middle-class homes, to accommodate domestic servants. The detached and semi-detached houses in Park Town provided, for example, seven or eight bedrooms on two upper floors[5] and another Seckham house, no. 123 Woodstock Road, contained six main bedrooms and two servants' bedrooms which were, typically, located in one wing.[6] Wilkinson's no. 31 Banbury Road had five first-floor bedrooms and two more above, while no. 13 Norham Gardens had no fewer than nine bedrooms and a menservants' room.[7] Properties of this

1. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 1440 (O.S.) 1-6 Regent Street, 10.4.1889
2. Table 24
3. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 2827 (O.S.) 5/9 Hill View Road, 6.1.1897
4. D.J. Olsen, op.cit., pp.215-8; J. Burnett, op.cit., p.108
5. O.C., 12.10.1861, p.4
6. ibid., 16.3.1878, p.4; S. Muthesius, op.cit.,p.100
7. W. Wilkinson, op.cit., plate 10

size were to be found almost exclusively in North Oxford, but a few five-bedroomed houses were built in Iffley Road taking advantage of fine views across the Thames Valley.[1] In the sample of 686 houses proposed after 1875, however, the 54 properties with five or more bedrooms were all to be built in North Oxford and they accounted for 33.1% of the housing in the suburb.[2] Overall, such houses formed only 7.8% of the sample and smaller properties were much more typical of Oxford's Victorian suburbs. The four-bedroomed house accounted for just over a quarter of those proposed in North and South Oxford and for 23.5% of Jericho properties. In the whole sample, however, the figure was reduced to 14.4% because so few houses of this size were built in East and West Oxford. The two-bedroomed house, which provided little scope for the segregation of the sexes or for taking in lodgers, was by 1875 becoming quite unusual and it accounted for only 43 houses, 6.3% of the total. It was most commonly built in the remoter streets of East Oxford like Golden Road[3] where anticipated rentals were perhaps too low to justify more than the minimum outlay. The vast majority of applications in every suburb except North Oxford were therefore for three-bedroomed houses, which provided separate sleeping accommodation for a couple and their male and female children. Such houses formed 71.4% of all proposals in the sample and the figures were as high as 74.6% in South Oxford, 82.2% in East Oxford and 90.2% in West Oxford. In North Oxford, on the other hand, cottage housing of this kind was confined very much to the western fringes near the railway and the Oxford Canal and formed only 39.3% of the suburb's total.[4]

1. O.C., 26.9.1868, p.4; 11.9.1869, p.4; 14.10.1882, p.7
2. Table 25 Bedrooms in new suburban houses in Oxford, 1875-1900
3. supra, p.100
4. Table 25

The provision of larger houses with more amenities made for a more comfortable domestic environment with fewer counter-attractions to those of the home and hearth. In artisan houses, greater spaciousness was achieved not only by a general increase in the number and size of rooms[1] but also by the spread of new plan-types derived from 'polite' architecture. The typical through-terrace house of the early nineteenth century had a front door opening directly into the parlour or front sitting room and a staircase accessible either from the back living room or placed transversely between it and the parlour.[2] Increasingly, a hall or entrance passage was provided, diminishing the width of the parlour but making it more private and free of draughts. These plan-types provided direct access to two upstairs bedrooms, but, where there was a third bedroom in a back wing, it was accessible only through the middle bedroom. Such an arrangement accorded little with contemporary attitudes to privacy,[3] and the steep single-flight staircase tended also to become more precipitous as building byelaws and enthusiasm for hygiene led to increasing room height.[4] In a transitional plan-type proposed for no. 20 Newton Road in 1890, the central staircase was approached from the back living room and separate access to three bedrooms was provided by a long passage-landing.[5] Generally, however, the single-flight staircase was ousted between about 1860 and 1890 by a plan in which a staircase from the hall or passage led straight to an upstairs landing which provided access to a back bedroom and perhaps a bathroom; a short return flight led to the two principal bedrooms. On the ground floor, the hall might continue through to the scullery and thus to the back yard, but, in narrow properties, it became

1. supra, pp. 253-5
2. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.87
3. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.95
4. supra, p.175 ; R.W. Brunskill, Houses (1982), p.152
5. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 1537 (O.S.) 20 Newton Road, 20.1.1890

a half hall entrance terminating at the foot of the stairs.[1] Houses of this type have been described as tunnel-backs because the projecting rear wing cuts off light from the back living room and so creates a tunnel effect.[2] The design seems to have adapted for smaller properties the lay-out of Georgian town houses like those in Oxford's Beaumont Street,[3] but by providing separate access to ground and first floor rooms in much smaller properties, it was quite prodigal in the use of valuable space. In addition, the cold isolation of the parlour led to its being reserved for special occasions in most houses while families clustered for warmth round the back living room range.[4] Architects therefore made isolated attempts to refine the plan-type and at nos. 2/14 Plantation Road in 1884 Harry Wilkinson Moore deliberately made the back room into a small wash-house so that the occupants would have to use the parlour as the living-room.[5] In this plan the hall was reduced to a lobby leading to the staircase, but, in Hayfield Road, Moore placed the staircase alongside the hall, diminishing the size of the parlour but providing a full-width back living room and a small central landing at the top of the stairs.[6] A more elaborate design for houses with an 18 feet frontage was used in Jeune Street in 1901, and this provided "a central space into which the doors of the three lower rooms open;"[7] from this hall a staircase rose in two flights to a landing and three bedrooms.[8] The plan was attractive but perhaps extravagant and Bradyll-Johnson noted

1. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.87
2. R.W. Brunskill, op.cit., p.154
3. W.A. Pantin, The development of domestic architecture in Oxford. Antiquaries' Journal 27 (1947), p.132
4. P. Surman, Pride of the morning (1977), pp.2-4; S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.48; M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.277
5. O.C., 11.10.1884, p.7
6. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 1218 (O.S.) 26/90 Hayfield Road, 19.4.1887
7. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., p.21
8. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Dept. 21 (N.S.) Jeune Street, 9.3.1901

that nos. 26/28 and nos. 41/47 had reverted to a through-passage leading into the scullery.[1] These attempted refinements achieved no general currency in any case, and the placing of the hall, stairs and landing against the party wall of terraced or semi-detached houses continued to be standard practice. Despite its disadvantages, the arrangement served to deaden the noise from next door[2] and it offered children extra space in which to play.[3]

Although the regularly-employed artisan living in the suburbs was enjoying housing standards of unparalleled excellence by 1900, his house was still most likely to be a terraced one. As Building News reported in 1881, "The stereotyped house in a row, with its conventional arrangements of entrance passage and stairs, its front and back parlours, and projecting offices in the rear, appears to be the nearest approach that can be made to economical house construction."[4] The terrace did not, however, provide middle-class Victorians with the degree of privacy and separateness that they wished to enjoy. As a result, the formal and prestigious square, terrace or crescent with its communal garden lost social esteem and was replaced by a more individual kind of development with detached and semi-detached houses set picturesquely among dense planting and winding roads.[5] In Oxford, Park Town in the 1850s showed the tenacity of the Classical villa and terrace in cities,[6] but within a decade it was make to look old-

1. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1, op.cit., p.21
2. D. J. Olsen, op.cit., p.215
3. P. Surman, op.cit., p.51
4. Building News 41 (1881), p.159
5. V. Parker, op.cit., pp.26-7; J. N. Tarn, Five per cent philanthropy: an account of housing in urban areas between 1850 and 1914 (1973), p.153; F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), p.14
6. M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit., p.10

fashioned by the first Domestic Gothic houses in Norham and Walton Manors.[1] A less affluent part of the middle-class might continue to be accommodated in substantial terraces in Iffley Road in the 1880s,[2] but, for the most prosperous, terraced property was almost unthinkable, even as a neighbour. When Walter Gray proposed to build nos. 82/88 Banbury Road as a linked block in 1893, distinguished owners and tenants on both sides complained vigorously to St. John's College that the project would have a catastrophic effect upon the value of their houses.[3] The strength of their protest may have owed something to a misunderstanding of the scheme, but it shows the extent to which the detached or semi-detached house had now become the only means of housing the better-off.[4]

Middle-class villas provided an ideal blend of opulence and seclusion, expressing real wealth and yet keeping the world at a respectful distance. They were set almost invariably in suburbs which strived for social uniformity even if they did not always achieve it.[5] In some parts of London, high brick walls and manned entrance gates sought to reinforce this exclusiveness,[6] but such precautions were not thought to be necessary in suburban Oxford. Instead, St. John's College insisted only upon low brick walls topped by iron palisades[7] behind which a sylvan screen could protect the household from vulgar curiosity and foster the illusion that its middle-class members had attained the status of the country gentlemen whose life-style they so wished to imitate.[8] Inside the home, further segregation was

1. <u>supra</u>, p. 65
2. e.g. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 1078 (O.S.) 219/223 Iffley Road, 12.1.1886
3. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.41. Letters 'In', 1893-4. Petition, 28.12.1893
4. D. J. Olsen, <u>op.cit.</u>,p.220-1; S. Muthesius, <u>op.cit.</u>,p.249
5. D. J. Olsen, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.240; S.T. Blake, <u>op.cit.</u>,pp.97-8; D. Cannadine, <u>Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967</u> (1980), pp.200-1
6. G. Best, <u>Mid-Victorian Britain</u> (1971), p.36
7. <u>supra</u>, p. 166
8. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., <u>op.cit.</u>, p.16

necessary because middle-class homes were designed not for a single household but for two separate elements, the family and the servants, which had to be kept apart and yet close together.[1] Architects looked for simplicity in the arrangement and disposition of rooms and for straight corridors and passages, but the presence of domestic servants who had to live and work unobtrusively, made complex designs almost inevitable.[2] William Wilkinson, for example, recommended that the dining room in all but the smallest of houses should have a servants' entrance as well as a main one. He also felt that "The servants' offices and apartments should be distinct from the other portion of the house, and there should always be a separate staircase for servants to the upper floor without having to pass through the hall or principal corridor."[3] A substantial part of the Victorian middle-class house was therefore occupied by a secondary circulation system linking the servants' attic bedrooms with service rooms on the ground floor or in semi-basements. There had also to be separate entrances for tradesmen and servants which might either be recessed and screened by shrubbery as at no. 113 Woodstock Road or tucked away behind the house as at no. 31 Banbury Road.[4] The main living accommodation was concentrated very much on the ground floor of the house and the first floor living room derived from classical tradition was phased out because direct access to the garden was preferred.[5] Wilkinson provided a first floor drawing room in his Keble Road houses built in the late 1860s[6] and similar accommodation is noted in four Iffley Road houses in 1870.[7] In the sample of 163 North

1. V. Parker, op.cit., pp.8-9; J. Burnett, op.cit.,p.108; V.S. Doe, Some developments in middle-class housing in Sheffield, 1830-1875. In, S.Pollard & C. Holmes, eds., Essays in the economic and social history of South Yorkshire (1976), p.184

2. M. Wilson, The English country house and its furnishings (1977), p.164

3. W. Wilkinson, op.cit., p.11

4. ibid., plates 16, 20

5. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.191

6. O.C., 4.9.1869, p.4

7. J.O.J., 29.10.1870, p.4

Oxford houses proposed after 1875, however, the only upstairs living room was to be a study at no. 35 St. Margaret's Road.[1] If the piano nobile had been largely forgotten the ground floor might often be given added prominence and dignity by being raised a few feet above a semi-basement.[2] It typically provided a hall and at least three reception rooms[3] comprising a drawing room, a dining room and a third room which might be used as a morning room or study,[4] as a billiard room, smoking room or library and even as a place for amateur theatricals.[5] With numerous bedrooms and improved sanitary facilities on the floors above, the middle-class suburban home was a physical manifestation of the Victorian desire for individual and familial privacy.

The middle classes hankered also after houses with a degree of individuality which could bear impressive witness to their growing affluence. Externally, the Domestic Gothic style enabled architects to adorn even terraced properties with gables, projecting bays, mock lancets and other features calculated to produce the effect if not of vanity then at least of separateness.[6] Larger detached and semi-detached houses afforded opportunities for still greater freedom of expression and Wilkinson heightened the visual interest of no. 31 Banbury Road by the inclusion of gables and a turret, by varied treatment of the windows and by impressively emphatic chimneys. Relieving arches and hoodmoulds above some windows, a first-floor string-course and decorative wrought-iron finials

1. O.C.C.: CityEngineer's Dept. 1028 (O.S.) 35 St. Margaret's Road, 30.6.1885

2. C. Colvin, 14 Norham Gardens (1980), p.3; O.C., 14.10.1882, p.7

3. J. Burnett, op.cit., pp.194-5, 204

4. e.g. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 1476 (O.S.) 12 Rawlinson Road

5. M.A. Simpson, The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914. In M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit.,p.81; C. Colvin, op.cit., p.7

6. D.J. Olsen, op.cit., p.226

completed a harmonious and picturesque composition.[1] Wilkinson's pupil, Frederick Codd, was scarcely less skilled in the design of "villa residences of various dimensions and a multiplicity of styles."[2] His numerous houses in Norham Manor, Banbury Road, Bevington Road and Canterbury Road[3] helped to create an environment of great visual diversity within the relatively conservative confines of the St. John's College estate plan. The impression generated by the ornamental facade of the house was maintained by the provision of a splendid Gothic or 'Jacobethan'-style hall often paved with coloured encaustic tiles based on medieval patterns.[4] In 1876, for example, one of Codd's Banbury Road houses was described as "containing a spacious entrance hall, laid with Minton tiles and ornamented with carved stone columns."[5] The display of opulence might be carried through into the main living rooms which in the case of no. 10 South Parks Road were fitted up with specially designed mantels, grates and tile settings.[6] In a buyer's and tenant's market, builders offered further inducements in the form of stained glass in the front door,[7] electric bells and speaking tubes,[8] and conservatories where the popular pastime of growing rare and unusual plants could be indulged.[9] After a visit to Leamington, the American author Nathaniel Hawthorne compared the town's speculative housing with "a ready-made garment - a tolerable fit but only tolerable."[10] Such

1. W. Wilkinson, op.cit., plate 19
2. O.C., 14.10.1871, p.8
3. A. Saint, Three Oxford architects. Oxoniensia 35 (1970), pp.87-92
4. M. Wilson, op.cit., p.164
5. O.C., 9.12.1876, p.5
6. ibid., 16.10.1875, p.7
7. D.J. Olsen, op.cit., p.207-9; K.C. Edwards, The Park Estate, Nottingham. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit.,p.162
8. O.C., 18.6.1881, p.4
9. M.Wilson, op.cit., p.166
10. Quoted T.H. Lloyd, Leamington. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit., p.115

accusations were difficult to avoid and the richest elements of the middle-class might find their choice as restricted as the poor;[1] thus, in February 1884, Professor Poulton complained that Wykeham House in Banbury Road, a six-bedroomed house, was "inadequate for even a small family."[2] In the same year, however, Myfanwy Rhys found her new home, no. 43 Banbury Road, "very convenient and pretty."[3] Developers of middle-class housing in North Oxford certainly tried to give their houses a bespoke character, varying the accommodation and design "to meet as far as possible the requirements of different householders."[4] In truth they could scarcely afford to do otherwise since most middle-class families could easily find somewhere else to live.

Influenced especially by rising real incomes, artisan housing in the suburbs showed a similar trend towards greater elaboration and the provision of features that were inessential and yet attractive to prospective tenants or investors in house property. The terrace remained general for such housing but, at the upper end of the market smaller blocks of houses and semi-detached villas were sometimes preferred on aesthetic grounds.[5] Terraced houses built on the pavement edge had been characteristic of early nineteenth century Jericho and St. Ebbe's and the same pattern was maintained in New Hinksey, Osney Town and the freehold parts of Victorian Jericho. From the 1850s, however, most artisan houses were usually set back behind a flower garden and a low brick wall topped by iron railings,[6] demonstrating the way in which the boundary between private and public space was becoming more definite and more impermeable.[7] The typically

1. C. G. Pooley, Choice and constraint in the 19th century city: a basis for residential differentiation. In, C.G. Pooley & J.H. Johnson, eds., op.cit., pp.225-6

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F. 35. Letters 'In' 1883-4. Letter, 1.2.1884

3. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.674. Diary of Myfanwy Rhys, 1883-4, p.16

4. O.C., 14.10.1882, p.7

5. supra, pp. 70, 140

6. supra, p. 88

7. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.12

plain brick and slated house of the 1820s gradually gave way to a more ornamental structure containing elements which were derived from fashionable middle-class architecture. The facades of nos. 5-10 Tyndale Road, built in about 1860[1] were therefore enlivened by the use of panels of red and yellow brick. Another early use of polychromy in smaller houses resulted from William Wilkinson's designs for Richmond Road and Walton Crescent in 1865, where cottages of yellow or red brick or of stone have bold dressings of contrasting colour.[2] The separateness of each house was stressed by dividing each facade into two units, the wider one with a window and the narrower one with a door.[3] As an attachment and then as an integral part of the facade, the bay window began to make an appearance by the end of the 1860s,[4] for example in Kingston Road and Mill Street,[5] and, with the less commonly used gable, it helped further to diminish the sense of monotony associated with terraced streets.[6] At the same time, the increasing use of plate glass[7] ousted the small-paned window of early nineteenth century properties and encouraged experimentation with window design. Sash windows might sometimes be disguised as lancets and glazing bars which were no longer functionally necessary continued to be employed for visual effect. Above doors and windows, plaster lintels came to be replaced by relieving arches or by stone lintels "adorned with carved heads.....and other artistic embellishments"[8] which indicated the social distinction of the property and its occupants.[9] The external attraction of such houses

1. supra, p. 90
2. supra, p. 140; S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.210
3. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.181
4. H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb; a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.178
5. O.C., 3.10.1868, p.4; 21.8.1869, p.4
6. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.183
7. D.J. Olsen, op.cit., pp.86-7
8. O.C., 3.11.1888, p.4
9. S.M. Gaskell, Housing and the lower middleclass, 1870-1914, In, G. Crossick, ed., The lower middle-class in Britain, 1870-1914 (1977), p.167

was, finally reinforced by the provision of tiled paths[1] to a front door which, in a more civilized and better policed society, could afford to become less obstructive and more of an ornament. As a result, panels of coloured or stained glass might be set into the door, reinforcing the air of domesticity which was as much the artisan as the middle-class ideal.[2] Inside the house, it was no longer enough to provide accommodation alone and in 1855, for example, new houses in Great Clarendon Street were advertised as fitted with all necessary grates, a copper and a cupboard.[3] Fireplaces, and especially those in the parlour, tended to become more elaborate and served as a backdrop to the abundant furnishings and ornaments which were incontrovertible evidence of character and position.[4] Some were of black marble,[5] but many 'marble' fireplaces were in fact of enamelled slate, a cheaper material which was, however, described in 1859 as being "in design and effect....very superior to marble."[6] By 1897, such fireplaces had filtered down the social scale to the parlours of artisan houses like no. 9 Hill View Road where a mottled red and green chimneypiece surrounds a black cast iron fireplace with floral motifs which are echoed by the accompanying tile setting.[7] In the same house, and in others such as nos. 11/13 Stratfield Road,[8] fireplaces were installed in upstairs bedrooms, thus enabling every room in the house to be heated in winter. Provision of a basement "store for bicycles etc.," in nos. 85/91 Hurst Street in 1899[9] was a final demonstration of the

1. O.C., 3.11.1888, p.4
2. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.277; B.J. Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England, 1815-1872 (1971), p.25
3. O.C., 29.9.1855, p.1
4. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.279
5. P. Surman, op.cit., p.2
6. O.C., 8.1.1859, p.1
7. Author's house
8. O.C., 31.3.1900, p.1
9. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. (O.S.) 85/91 Hurst Street

way in which the growing affluence of the regularly employed was having swift repercussions upon house design. Properties like nos. 1-6 Regent Street with their grained and varnished woodwork, Venetian blinds, electric bells, tiled stoves and matching hearths[1] more nearly resembled contemporary middle-class houses than the humble working-class dwellings of the early nineteenth century. The social respectability of such houses was expressed, in Oxford as in Reading, by "the naming of the individual houses or blocks within the streets, a traditional feature of more exclusive housing areas....."[2] Thrifty Terrace was therefore to be found in William Street[3] and opposite the named terraces in Kingston Road, superior artisan houses bore individual names on stone panels set into their facades.[4] Writing of this road in 1882, a correspondent described it as "an honour to Oxford and credit to those intelligent and illustrious people who in some cases have laboured hard and long to obtain the means to purchase the ground and erect such good houses with such nice gardens, just such houses as all English workingmen might have if they were temperate and thrifty."[5]

Temperance and thrift were not always enough, however, since the growing size and sophistication of the Victorian house had inevitable repercussions upon prices and rents. The housing market clearly reflected cyclical fluctuations in the local economy[6] and, at its upper end, prices also responded to the rate of growth of the local social elite. These temporal factors were reinforced by spatial influences of which the most crucial were size and its concomitants. As Simpson has noted in Glasgow:- "Generally speaking,

1. O.C., 14.9.1889, p.4
2. S.T. Blake, op.cit., pp.345-6
3. O.C., 4.7.1891, p.4
4. cf. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.249
5. O.C., 9.9.1882, p.2
6. supra, p. 199

the larger the house, the higher the price. With greater size went more and better fittings and a more imposing facade. Position, too, was an important determinant - main-road locations and convenience for transport, shops and other facilities raised values by hundreds of pounds....Identical houses could also vary in price substantially at any given time, depending on condition, interior fittings and the different pressures on each vendor."[1] The study of changing prices and rents is therefore fraught with uncertainty, but title deeds and the property pages of the Oxford Chronicle and Jackson's Oxford Journal have made it possible to build up a sample of 647 house prices and 984 house rentals between 1851 and 1900. The houses have been divided into three groups, those with up to six rooms, those with between seven and nine rooms and the very largest properties with ten or more rooms.[2] Where appropriate, the sample has been further sub-divided to highlight the differences between North Oxford, a leasehold suburb with a predominance of middle-class and superior artisan housing, and the other, less fashionable suburbs of the city.[3] The fundamental influence of size in determining house prices is at once apparent, but it is also clear that houses with a given number of rooms in North Oxford were generally more expensive than their equivalents elsewhere. Between 1861 and 1865, for example, houses with ten or more rooms could be bought for £370 or £420 in East Oxford but properties of similar size in North Oxford cost between £800 and £1250. In the same way, houses with between seven and nine rooms were selling for £260 or £350 in the more humdrum suburbs in the early 1870s but for between £375 and £735 in North Oxford. The generally higher quality of artisan houses in the northern suburb is shown, too, by their higher minimum prices in the last two decades of the century. A similar pattern is revealed by examination of average house prices, for the North Oxford price is higher

1. M.A. Simpson, The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914. In, M.A. Simpson & T.H. Lloyd, eds., op.cit., p.68; cf. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.85

2. The smallest houses with three or fewer rooms were scarcely to be found in this sample.

3. Table 26 House prices in Oxford, 1851-1900

Table 26. House prices in Oxford, 1851-1900

	All suburbs			North Oxford			Other suburbs		
	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.
1851-5	£ 39-130(21)	-	-	-	-	-	£ 39-130(21)	-	-
1856-60	£105-170(5)	£173-225(4)	-	-	-	-	£105-170(5)	£173-225(4)	-
1861-5	£ 71-153(22)	£250-300(6)	£370-1250(7)	-	£250 (2)	£800-1250(4)	£ 71-153(22)	£256-300(4)	£370-420(3)
1866-70	£ 67-250(40)	£205-450(9)	£325-1800(7)	-	£405 (1)	£1050-1800(5)	£ 67-250(40)	£205-450(8)	£325 (2)
1871-5	£ 50-190(40)	£260-735(14)	£1000-2700(13)	-	£375-735(11)	£1000-2700(13)	£ 50-190(40)	£260-350(3)	-
1876-80	£100-282(18)	£245-840(21)	£550-3200(29)	£193 (4)	£336-840(9)	£550-3200(27)	£100-282(14)	£245-700(12)	£713 (2)
1881-5	£101-450(71)	£200-600(7)	£525-2900(30)	£225-450(28)	£400-600(4)	£525-2900(30)	£101-271(43)	£200-385(3)	-
1886-90	£ 75-550(65)	£329-775(16)	£425-3200(26)	£160-550(13)	£350-775(10)	£425-3200(26)	£ 75-320(52)	£329-350(6)	-
1891-5	£ 53-373(48)	£350-800(20)	£555-1550(7)	£119-373(13)	£427-800(16)	£555-1550(7)	£ 53-255(35)	£350-497(4)	-
1896-1900	£ 75-610(85)	£295-460(8)	£400-2380(10)	£115-550(17)	£425-460(3)	£800-2380(7)	£ 75-610(68)	£295-460(5)	£400-750(3

Sample size: 647. Figures in brackets indicate the number of observations in each cell of the table

Sources: Jackson's Oxford Journal
Oxford Chronicle

Oxford City Council: City Secretary's Dept. Title deeds
Oxford University Archives. Wellington Square estate. Title deeds
St. John's College Archives. Title deeds

than that for the other suburbs in all but one of the instances in which comparison can be made.[1] As in Glasgow,[2] fluctuations in the local economy were inevitably reflected by variations in house prices. The average price of houses in the smallest category is therefore seen to rise from £116 4s. in the first half of the 1860s to £132 10s. in the second part of the decade, but it fell back again to £106 4s. in the early 1870s as over-building led to a slump in the property market. Prices recovered strongly to an average of £185 2s. between 1876 and 1880 at a time of vigorous building speculation, but in suburbs other than North Oxford they dropped again in the ensuing slump.[3] Medium-sized houses showed a similar contrast between one area and another in the 1880s, for the social cachet of North Oxford helped to maintain and substantially increase their value in that suburb while equivalent properties elsewhere attracted much lower prices. In the 1890s, however, the gap began to narrow again as freehold estates of a not dissimilar character were developed in both Summertown and East Oxford.[4]

If house prices were generally affected by the local economy, the average price in a necessarily small sample is liable to be further distorted because each five-year period inevitably includes sales of older as well as more recent property. The average price for houses with up to six rooms in the early 1850s is, for example, reduced to £51 4s. by the sale of 18 early nineteenth century houses in Bath Street for just £700 in 1854;[5] similarly, the average for the same category between 1891 and 1895 is cut to £129 10s. by the sale of 15 small properties of the 1820s in York Place.[6] In this size-group as in others consideration of the average price there-

1. Table 27 Average house prices in Oxford, 1851-1900
2. M.A. Simpson, op.cit., p.71
3. supra, pp.201-2
4. supra, p. 210
5. O.C.C. : City Secretary's Dept., P768. 30 Bath Street. Abstract of title, 1888, reciting conveyance, 20.5.1854
6. ibid., P366/83a. 13a-27 York Place. Conveyance, 27.9.1895

Table 27. Average house prices in Oxford, 1851-1900

	All suburbs			North Oxford			Other suburbs		
	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.
1851-5	£ 51.4s (21)	-	-	-	-	-	£ 51. 4s(21)	-	-
1856-60	£161.12s (5)	£197.16s (4)	-	-	-	-	£161.12s (5)	£197.16s (4)	-
1861-5	£116. 4s(22)	£264. (6)	£ 751. 8s (7)	-	£250. (2)	£1012.10s(4)	£116. 4s(22)	£271. (4)	£403. 6s.(3)
1866-70	£132.10s(40)	£306.14s (9)	£1107. 6s (7)	-	£405. (1)	£1420. 4s(5)	£132.10s(40)	£294. 8s (8)	£325. (2)
1871-5	£106. 4s(40)	£456. 8s(14)	£1562.12s(13)	-	£495.18s(11)	£1562.12s(13)	£106. 4s(40)	£311.14s (3)	-
1876-80	£185. 2s(18)	£454.18s(21)	£1094.14s(29)	£192.10s (4)	£456.18s (9)	£1123. (27)	£183. (14)	£453. 6s(12)	£712.10s (2)
1881-5	£231.18s(71)	£432. 2s (7)	£1001. 6s(30)	£346. 2s(28)	£522.10s (4)	£1001. 6s(30)	£157.12s(43)	£311.14s(3)	-
1886-90	£196. 6s(65)	£486. 6s(16)	£1553. 2s(26)	£394.12s(13)	£578.10s(10)	£1553. 2s(26)	£146.14s(52)	£332.10s(6)	-
1891-5	£129.10s(48)	£564.18s(20)	£ 782. 2s(7)	£182.16s(13)	£591. 2s(16)	£ 782. 2s(7)	£109.14s(35)	£460. (4)	-
1896-1900	£204. 8s(85)	£390.18s(8)	£1136. (10)	£228. 6s(17)	£436.14s (3)	£1401. 8s(7)	£198. 6s(68)	£363. 8s(5)	£516.14s(3)

Sample size: 647. Figures in brackets indicate the number of observations in each cell of the table

Sources: as Table 26

fore needs to be supplemented by a study of the full range of prices and by specific examples of house prices. Until 1865, the most expensive house identified in the smallest house class cost only £170 and was one of the properties built on the National Freehold Land Society estate in Alma Place.[1] In 1865, the reserve price of four recently built houses in Howard Street was only £285[2] and three contemporary houses in Sidney Street were offered for sale at £180 in 1866.[3] The appearance of larger and more elaborate five- and six-roomed houses is signalled by rising upper price limits - £250 in 1866-70, £282 in 1876-80, £550 in 1886-90 and £610 in 1896-1900.[4] The latter was a six-roomed house, no. 103 Iffley Road,[5] with little resemblance to the standard artisan dwelling, but these properties too had advanced considerably in price. In West Oxford, for example, the recently built no. 45 Bridge Street was sold for £190 in 1900[6] whereas eight older properties in the street had sold for between £140 and £155 seven years earlier.[7] No. 39 Lake Street had fetched £150 in 1865[8] but more substantial South Oxford properties in new streets like Edith Road and Newton Road were selling for £205 and £245 respectively in the early 1890s.[9] New five-roomed properties in Argyle Street were priced at £228 each in 1896[10] and, in North Oxford, five Hayfield Road houses sold for £210 each in the same year.[11] Elsewhere in that suburb, nos. 11 and 13

1. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P792. 7 Alma Place. Conveyance, 31.5.1859
2. O.C., 4.3.1865, p.4
3. J.O.J., 29.9.1866, p.4
4. Table 26
5. O.C., 21.11.1896, p.8
6. ibid., 2.11.1900, p.11
7. ibid., 20.5.1893, p.8
8. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P59. 39 Lake Street. Conveyance, 17.10.1865
9. ibid., P144. 28 Edith Road. Conveyance, 9.3.1892: P6. 22 Newton Road. Conveyance, 24.4.1891
10. O.C., 3.10.1896, p.5
11. ibid., 21.3.1896, p.5

Stratfield Road provided the same living accommodation but their position in a fashionable district close to the horse tramway ensured prices of £375 and £307 respectively in 1900.[1] A similar pattern of higher prices being paid for the best placed and most up-to-date properties is discernible in the larger house classes. Whereas the minimum price was perhaps stabilized by the tendency to include more rooms in less pretentious houses, increasing maximum prices bore witness to the provision of more facilities and greater embellishment in other houses of similar size. Lower prices clearly took account of unfashionable or otherwise undesirable locations and, in the remote and vandal-prone environment of Stanley Road[2] two ten-roomed villas were offered for only £325 each in 1867.[3] Sizeable Wellington Square properties sold for just £525 in 1885-6,[4] and as late as 1897 older ten-roomed houses in Abingdon Road fetched no more than £400 each.[5] In more highly regarded North Oxford, the semi-detached no. 171 Woodstock Road fetched £800 in 1900,[6] but this price was probably diminished by distance from the city centre. Four years earlier, the more central no. 8 Clarendon Villas in Park Town had sold for £980.[7] Detached houses in Park Town had fetched £1,000 and £1,250 in 1861[8] but such figures were eclipsed by payments of £3,000 for no. 21 Norham Gardens in 1879, £2,900 for no. 76 Banbury Road in 1885 and £2,999 for no. 6 Rawlinson Road in 1889.[9] In the same way,

1. O.C., 7.4.1900, p.5
2. ibid., 27.5.1871, p.4
3. J.O.J., 5.10.1867, p.4
4. e.g. O.U.A. LA/7/4 32 Wellington Square. Lease, 1.6.1886; LA/7/5. 35 Wellington Square. Lease, 17.12.1885
5. O.C., 23.1.1897, p.8
6. ibid., 2.11.1900, p.11
7. ibid., 21.11.1896, p.8
8. ibid., 12.10.1861, p.4
9. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A. 32 Long leases, 1878-84, p.247; ibid., Oxford Properties. 76 Banbury Road. Lease, 11.12.1885; ibid., Est. I.A.33. Long leases, 1884-90, p.644

the early maximum prices of houses with seven to nine rooms were surpassed by sums of between £550 and £775 paid for semi-detached houses such as those built in Polstead Road in the late 1880s and early 1890s.[1]

The rising cost of new suburban houses in all size classes could only be recouped by an upward adjustment of the rent. In Britain generally, house rents rose by approximately 85% between 1845 and 1910, but the rents of the worst class of property remained virtually static.[2] The long-term increase was due largely to the growing size and quality of new properties[3] which, in turn, owed much to the implementation of building byelaws. Another important contributory factor was the leasehold system with "the power it gave the landlord to dictate the *class of house erected;*"[4] *it is* also clear that developers with no interest in the reversionary value of their estate were making it increasingly difficult for builders to erect cheaper houses.[5] Rising rate levels were reflected in higher rents[6] and demolition of slum property tended to increase the crowding and therefore the rents in the remaining working-class houses; at the same time, the flight of the middle classes and artisans to the suburbs encouraged builders to cater for this potentially more remunerative market.[7] This section of the community was, after all, able to pay the higher rents which might only

1. e.g. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I. A.33. Long leases, 1884-90, pp.636, 666

2. H.W. Singer, An index of urban land rents and house rents in England and Wales, 1845-1913. Econometrica 9 (1941), p.230

3. J.P. Lewis, Building cycles and Britain's growth (1965) p.156; S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.18; B. Weber, A new index of house rents for Great Britain, 1874-1913. Scottish Journal of Political Economy 7 (1960), p.236

4. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), pp.86-7

5. supra, pp. 153-4

6. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.87

7. E. Gauldie, op.cit., pp.287-8

account for 8-10% of the middle-class income and about 16% of a working-class one.[1] The very poor, however, might have to expend one-quarter or even one-third of their weekly income on housing,[2] and their inability to pay more rent made investment in cheap housing unwise. Advertisements in Jackson's Oxford Journal and the Oxford Chronicle enable some local highlights to be painted upon this broad national canvas, but the picture remains incomplete because of the paucity of the evidence. Thus, out of the sample of 984 house rents identified for properties of a particular size between 1851 and 1900, only 110 or 11.2% relate to houses with between seven and nine rooms and just 35 or 3.6% to those with ten or more rooms. In respect of these categories, the sample may therefore be statistically insignificant and it certainly under-represents the 874 Oxford houses which were let for £61 or more a year in 1901 and formed 8.0% of the city's inhabited housing stock.[3] Nevertheless, the rents of individual large properties echo the price evidence in emphasising that location was a major determining factor.[4] Detached properties in Park Town were, for example, letting for up to £100 a year in 1861[5] and the annual rental of Marchfield, a twelve roomed house in Canterbury Road, was £125 in 1879.[6] In 1881, an unidentified family residence in Norham Gardens was letting for a much as £140 a year.[7] On the other hand, ten-roomed houses in less fashionable areas were generally cheaper to rent as they were to buy and their rents remained virtually static. In 1897, for instance, nos. 82/84 Abingdon Road were

1. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.18; E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.164

2. S. Meacham, A life apart: the English working class, 1890-1914 (1977), p.75; D. Englander, Landlord and tenant in urban Britain, 1838-1918 (1983), p.6

3. Table 28 Oxford house rentals, 1901

4. Table 29 Rentals of houses in Oxford suburbs, 1851-1900; E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.164

5. O.C., 12.10.1861, p.4

6. ibid., 26.4.1879, p.5

7. ibid., 18.6.1881, p.4

Fig. 28 Oxford house rentals, 1901

Rental	No. of inhabited houses (excl. colleges)	% of total
Under £10 annual gross rental	1589	14.5
£10 - £19	5768	52.6
£20 - £40	2096	19.1
£41 - £60	646	5.9
£61+	874	8.0
	10973	100.1

Source: O.C.A. GG.4.1. Special Committees minute book 1900-6

Table 29. Annual rentals of houses in Oxford suburbs, 1851-1900

	All suburbs			North Oxford			Other suburbs		
	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.
1851-5	£ 6-14 (21)	-	-	-	-	-	£ 6-14 (21)	-	-
1856-60	£10-15 (17)	-	-	-	-	-	£10-15 (17)	-	-
1861-5	£ 8-14 (31)	£18 (4)	£55-100(14)	-	-	£55-100(14)	£ 8-14 (31)	£18 (4)	-
1866-70	£ 8-27 (91)	£30-80(16)	£35-75 (5)	-	£30-80 (6)	£75 (1)	£ 8-27 (91)	£30-50(10)	£35-42 (4)
1871-5	£ 7-23(130)	£19-40(13)	£50 (1)	£13-23(22)	-	-	£ 7-22(108)	£19-40(13)	£50 (1)
1876-80	£ 8-28(101)	£19-90(21)	£45-125(10)	£12-15(10)	£45-90 (8)	£45-125 (9)	£ 8-28 (91)	£19-50(13)	£55 (1)
1881-5	£10-20 (79)	£18-50 (8)	-	-	£36 (1)	-	£10-20 (79)	£18-50 (7)	-
1886-90	£ 8-25 (98)	£13-30(14)	-	£11 (5)	£30 (1)	-	£ 8-25 (93)	£13-26(13)	-
1891-5	£ 8-27(155)	£27-50(26)	-	£11-27(30)	£27-50(11)	-	£ 8-26(125)	£28-45(15)	-
1896-1900	£ 9-45(117)	£19-40 (8)	£30-70 (4)	£13-45(12)	£35 (2)	£55-70 (2)	£ 9-40(105)	£19-40 (6)	£30 (2)

Sample size: 984. Figures in brackets indicate the number of observations in each cell of the table.

Sources: Jackson's Oxford Journal
Oxford Chronicle

fetching only £30 a year each, £5 less than a pair of Stanley Road villas with similar accommodation 30 years before.[1] Rather more evidence is available for houses with between seven and nine rooms, but it has tantalisingly little to say about those larger properties - particularly in leasehold North Oxford - which were rarely advertised in this way. At the upper end of this category, substantial nine-roomed houses like no. 2 Park Villas and no. 2 Church Walk had estimated rental values of £90 and £70 respectively in 1879;[2] nine years earlier, the seven-roomed no. 9 Keble Terrace was letting for £80 a year.[3] Since so few houses of this kind are included, however, the sample almost certainly gives a depressed account of the middle-class housing market, providing most evidence for suburbs other than North Oxford where rentals, like prices, were significantly lower. There is no suggestion, either, that all rents were rising and it remained possible in the 1890s as in the 1860s to rent a seven-roomed house for less than £20.[4] Mean average annual rentals did, however, show a marked response to fluctuating prosperity and sharp falls from £38.8 in 1866-70 to £23.2 in 1871-5 and again from £42.5 in 1876-80 to £28.9 in 1881-5 reflect periods of over-optimistic building and the consequent slumps.[5] In 1883, for example, a correspondent to the Oxford Chronicle, John Blunt, suggested that readers should visit Walton Manor, "see the class of houses built in Warnborough Road and other roads, and ask themselves who there is in Oxford to occupy such houses."[6] Later rental evidence suggests that demand for such properties recovered a little in the early 1890s, but never again approached the level of the later 1870s.[7]

1. O.C., 16.1.1897, p.1; J.O.J., 5.10.1867, p.4
2. O.C., 8.3.1879, p.4; 22.3.1879, p.4
3. ibid., 18.6.1870, p.4
4. Table 29
5. Table 30 Mean average rentals of houses in Oxford suburbs, 1851-1900
6. O.C., 14.7.1883, p.7
7. Table 30

Table 30. Mean average rentals of houses in Oxford suburbs, 1851-1900

	All suburbs			North Oxford			Other suburbs		
	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.	3-6 rms.	7-9 rms.	10+ rms.
1851-5	£10 14s(21)	-	-	-	-	-	£10 14s (21)	-	-
1856-60	£12 4s(17)	-	-	-	-	-	£12 4s (17)	-	-
1861-5	£10 10s(31)	£18 (4)	£65 18s(14)	-	-	£65 18s(14)	£10 10s (31)	£18 (4)	-
1866-70	£13 (91)	£38 16s(16)	£45 8s (5)	-	£42 6s (6)	£75 (1)	£13 (91)	£36 12s(10)	£38 (4)
1871-5	£12 10s(130)	£23 4s(13)	£50 (1)	£14 18s(22)	-	-	£12 2s(108)	£23 4s(13)	£50 (1)
1876-80	£14 4s(101)	£42 10s(21)	£63 16s(10)	£14 8s(10)	£59 2s (8)	£64 16s (9)	£14 4s (91)	£32 4s(13)	£55 (1)
1881-5	£14 2s (79)	£28 18s (8)	-	-	£36 (1)	-	£14 2s (79)	£27 18s (7)	-
1886-90	£12 (98)	£23 18s(14)	-	£11 (5)	£30 (1)	-	£13 2s (93)	£23 8s(13)	-
1891-5	£12 6s(155)	£34 2s(26)	-	£14 18s(30)	£36 12s(11)	-	£11 14s(125)	£32 4s(15)	-
1896-1900	£14 6s(117)	£30 6s(8)	£46 6s (4)	£18 6s(12)	£38 6s(2)	£62 10s (2)	£13 18s(105)	£25 8s(6)	£30 (2)

Sample size: 984. Figures in brackets indicate the number of observations in each cell of the table.

Sources: Jackson's Oxford Journal
Oxford Chronicle

The rents of 839 smaller houses, which form 85.3% of the sample, showed a lesser degree of fluctuation and conform more exactly to the national pattern. As Lewis found in Manchester, the cheapest properties were never advertised[1] and, apart from a very few three-roomed houses, all the smaller houses in this sample contained between four and six rooms. Throughout the period it was possible to rent the smallest and least favourably situated house for less than 4/- a week or £10 a year and it is clear that these rent levels were static.[2] Property in this category, however, accounted for only 14.5% of the city's housing stock in 1901;[3] moreover, rentals towards the upper end of this range were a substantial burden for the working classes in a city where men's wages in 1912 ranged from 17/- to 40/- a week with the average being nearer to the minimum.[4] The cheapest accommodation was to be found in 40 or 50 courts and alleys in the older parts of Oxford, but about 30 of these rookeries had been demolished - chiefly for commercial and university development - since 1874.[5] In 1900, the average weekly rental of such properties in St. Thomas's and St. Aldate's varied from just under 3/- to 3/6.[6] A small number of early nineteenth century terraced houses in St. Ebbe's, St. Clement's and Jericho were still being let for less than 2/6 a week in 1912,[7] but the average in 1900 approached or exceeded 4/-.[8] Butler noted in 1912 that all the more modern terraced houses had minimum weekly rentals of 4/6,[9] and the only exceptions were almost invariably

1. J. P. Lewis, op.cit., p.326
2. Table 29
3. Table 28
4. C.V. Butler, Social conditions in Oxford (1912), p.61
5. ibid., pp.98-100
6. Table 31 Weekly rentals of working-class houses in Oxford, 1900
7. C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.101
8. Table 31
9. C.V. Butler, op.cit., pp.103-4

Table 31. Weekly rentals of working class houses in Oxford, 1900

Area	No. of houses	Average no. of bedrooms per house	No. of houses rented	Average weekly rental in shillings
St. Aldate's	71	2.0	65	3/6
St. Ebbe's	112	2.0	108	4/-
St. Clement's	30	2.1	30	3/11
St. Thomas's	39	1.6	38	2/10
Summertown	80	2.3	79	4/4
Jericho	169	2.4	151	4/6
Cowley St. John	63	2.3	58	4/5
South Oxford	40	2.8	40	5/7
New Osney	113	3.0	77	6/8

Source: O.C.A. HH.4.9 Housing of the Working Classes Cttee. M.B. 1900, *passim*.

remote from the city centre or notoriously disreputable. Thus, in 1893, five roomed houses beyond the city boundary in Edgeway Road, New Marston were let for as little as 3/6 a week.[1] A rental of 3/9 per week was all that could be obtained for four-roomed houses in distant Catherine Street in 1891[2] while tenants of the more convenient but squalid Dover's Row[3] were paying only 3/6 a week in 1897.[4] In the vast majority of cases, however, the higher quality and greater spaciousness of most Victorian terraced houses was reflected in higher rentals, and 52.6% of the housing stock had a rental value of between £10 and £19 in 1901.[5] By the late 1860s, in fact, builders were beginning to erect a superior class of five and six roomed property with an annual rental considerably in excess of £20,[6] but these houses remained exceptional and owed at least a proportion of their high rentals to a favourable location, a large garden or some potentially remunerative feature such as a workshop or a laundry.[7] Nevertheless, they formed part of a trend which saw the mean average annual rental climb from £10 10s. in 1861-5 to £13 in the late 1860s and after a slight subsequent fall, to £14 4s. in the boom years of 1876-80. The rents of houses with between three and six rooms seem to have been less seriously affected than larger properties by the slump of the early 1880s,[8] perhaps because their increasing size and quality offset the downward force exercised by market conditions.[9] The diminution in the next two quinquennia owed something to the continuing low rentals of older and smaller properties and the overall

1. O.C., 20.5.1893, p.1
2. ibid., 4.7.1891, p.4
3. ibid., 31.7.1886, p.7 records the Mayor's complaint that cases arising from quarrels there appeared at almost every court
4. ibid., 27.3.1897, p.1
5. Table 28
6. Table 29
7. e.g., O.C., 18.7.1870, p.5; J.O.J., 5.10.1867, p.4
8. Table 29
9. J.P. Lewis, op.cit., p.157

increase of 33.6% between the mean average for 1851-5 and that for 1896-1900 is only a partial reflection of the gulf which separated turn of the century artisan houses from their humbler predecessors. As in the case of larger houses,[1] location also played a major part in determining the rents of properties with up to six rooms. In leasehold North Oxford, ground rents, minimum annual values and tougher enforcement of building standards helped to push rental values higher than they were in other suburbs.[2] More generally, proximity to work created a demand for properties[3] which, in 1900 was made manifest by higher rents in New Osney and South Oxford.[4]

The suburban houses of Victorian Oxford were attacked by some contemporaries as an aesthetic disaster, ruining every approach to the ancient city;[5] other voices were heard to criticise the quality of house-building in these new areas.[6] If both complaints had more than a little justification they ignored the fact that a majority of families in a much enlarged Oxford now enjoyed a finer standard of housing than ever before. Indeed, William Eagleston boasted in 1870 that the new suburbs catered for everyone: "On the one hand there were magnificent dwellings for the wealthy, and quiet corners for the learned. On the other hand there were pretty little cottages, where people might remove from the courts and alleys of the city streets, and dwell in comfort and peace."[7] The least well-off, however, were decreasingly able to participate in this flight to suburban houses which became generally more sophisticated and more expensive to buy or to rent.

1. supra, p. 286
2. Tables 29 & 30; cf. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff 1875-1914 (1979), p.86
3. C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.116
4. Table 31
5. supra, p. 195
6. supra, pp. 186-9
7. O.C., 4.6.1870, p.4

6. House-Ownership

If the suburbs of Oxford were primarily the creation of local builders and local money, subsequent ownership of the houses provided investment opportunities for a wide range of predominantly local people. Private landlords were the most significant agents for the provision of housing before 1914[1] and house-ownership had a particular attraction for small investors because their capital was literally 'as safe as houses' and because few other investment outlets were available to them until the late nineteenth century.[2] The social elite had a much wider choice and, although some might become landlords,[3] they were perhaps the most likely to decide that owning and managing house property was too full of trouble and petty annoyance to remain a worthwhile form of investment. Nor was home ownership considered socially necessary for the better off, the general attitude being that a house purchased for self-occupation was merely another form of investment.[4] For the artisan, home-ownership was a dominant aspiration symbolising the achievement of independence,[5] but few working-class people were able to evade the all too frequent visits of the rent collector by becoming owner-occupiers,[6] let alone investors in house property. In the broad centre of the social spectrum, however, the ownership of property provided security for some and additional income for others.

1. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.92
2. C. Bedale, Property relations and housing policy: Oldham in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In, J. Melling, ed., Housing, social policy and the state (1980), p.54
3. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.104; R.J. Morris, The middle-class and the property cycle during the Industrial Revolution. In T.C. Smout, ed., The search for wealth and stability (1979), pp.91-110
4. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), pp. 112-3, 121
5. G. Crossick, the labour aristocracy and its values: a study of mid-Victorian Kentish London. Victorian Studies 19 (1976), p.314; ibid., An artisan elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London, 1840-1880 (1978), pp.144-5; D. Englander, Landlord and tenant in urban Britain, 1838-1918 (1983), p.xiii
6. C. Bedale, op.cit., p.55

The structure of the housing market both for investment and for self-occupation is, as Daunton has shown, best studied by means of rate books.[1] In Oxford, the Valuation List revised in 1905 provide a retrospective view of the city's Victorian suburbs and any uncertainties relating to the parishes of Cowley St. John, St. Clement and St. Giles have been clarified by reference to the surviving Headington Union Rate Book of 1906.[2] These ledgers are of standard form, dividing the city into parishes and providing a street by street listing of each house with the name of its owner and occupier, its rateable value and its gross estimated rental. Since the occupier of rateable property was generally liable to pay the rates, information about ownership is perhaps the most suspect, but, as in Cardiff, few obvious errors seem to have been made. A possible mistake occurs in Hill View Road, where the otherwise unknown Arthur Cranmer is listed as owner-occupier of no. 56 and blank entries beneath would suggest that he was also owner of nos. 18/54. It seems likely, however, that these properties still belonged to Thomas Henry Kingerlee who had built most of the houses in the street and is recorded as owner of nos. 27/51.[3] A more general problem in leasehold areas was the tendency to record in the owner columns not the actual owner of the head-lease but the long-term lessee. This practice clearly paints a more detailed picture of the housing market in such areas, but, for comparison with other communities, true ownership figures have had to be calculated using the records of the major estates.[4]

1. M.J. Daunton, House-ownership from Rate Books. Urban History Yearbook (1976), p.21

2. O.C.R.O. (uncatalogued). City of Oxford Valuation List, revised 1.3.1905, passim; ibid., Headington Union Rate Book, 1906, passim.

3. O.C.R.O. (uncat.) City of Oxford Valuation List, revised 1.3.1905, pp.26-7; supra, pp. 132-3

4. Principally those of St. John's College, Oxford University and the City of Oxford.

The column providing the gross estimated rental of each house might appear to be the perfect guide to contemporary rents but is shown by Daunton to have been thoroughly unreliable for this purpose both by virtue of its original rule of thumb assessment and its irregular revision.[1] The rateable valuations derived from these figures do, however, make it possible to subdivide houses by approximate size-groups and to present the data on ownership in a more satisfactory manner. The four size classes used by Daunton in Cardiff[2] have been adopted in Oxford for comparative purposes and are as follows:-

1. Rateable values of over £35 - houses largely of professional class and merchants.

2. Rateable values of £20 to £34 - houses largely of the middle-class

3. Rateable values of £12 to £19 - houses of artisans and clerks

4. Rateable values of under £12 - houses of semi-skilled and unskilled working-class.

It has also been thought worthwhile, however, to divide the fourth category into two sub-groups; 4A including houses with rateable values of between £8 and £11 and 4B those with rateable values of under £7. The first sub-group comprised most of the later nineteenth century artisan houses built in the less fashionable Oxford suburbs and formed 29.6% of the housing stock in 1905.[3] Sub-group 4B, on the other hand, consisted mainly of older properties in suburbs with an early nineteenth century core, accounting for 10.7% of the housing stock overall and being relatively most numerous in East Oxford (15.7%) and Jericho (18.3%). In the suburbs of South and West Oxford which were wholly creations of the Victorian period, such houses accounted for only 7.6% and 5.6% of the housing stock respectively; predictably, these small houses with few amenities were least

1. M.J. Daunton, House-ownership from Rate Books. Urban History Yearbook (1976), p.22

2. ibid., p.23

3. Table 32 Rateable values of houses in Oxford suburbs, 1905

Table 32 Rateable value of houses in Oxford suburbs, 1905

Rateable value category	East			Jericho			North			South			West			All Oxford suburbs		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1	137 3.9%	46	45	8 0.9%	-	-	887 33.4%	298	58	12 1.4%	6	6	17 2.4%	4	2	1061 12.3%	354	111
2	395 11.2%	139	134	97 10.5%	23	5	707 26.6%	171	59	68 8.1%	21	21	44 6.2%	6	2	1311 15.1%	360	221
3	1305 36.9%	295	289	216 23.5%	29	10	623 23.5%	139	55	392 46.9%	74	74	266 37.6%	32	22	2802 32.4%	569	450
4	1703 48.1%	104	104	599 65.1%	31	31	437 16.5%	23	12	364 43.5%	24	24	381 53.8%	16	15	3484 40.2%	198	186
	3540	584	572	920	83	46	2654	631	184	836	125	125	708	58	41	8658	1481	968
4A	1148 32.4%	100	100	431 46.8%	27	27	339 12.8%	21	10	300 35.9%	24	24	341 48.2%	16	15	2559 29.6%	188	176
4B	555 15.7%	4	4	168 18.3%	4	4	98 3.7%	2	2	64 7.6%	-	-	40 5.6%	-	-	925 10.7%	10	10

A = total no. of houses

B = owner-occupiers and long-term lessees

C = owner-occupiers only

Source: O.C.R.O. (uncat.) City of Oxford Valuation List, revised 1.3.1905, passim

common in North Oxford (3.7%), being concentrated almost entirely in freehold Summertown. Houses in sub-group 4A were a little less scarce in North Oxford (12.8%) but this fell far short of the average which was exceeded in all other suburbs; such properties were relatively most common in Jericho (46.8%) and West Oxford (48.2%). The main rateable value categories only serve to confirm the social imbalance that existed between North Oxford and the other Oxford suburbs. Just over one-third of all houses in North Oxford (33.4%) had rateable values of £35 or over as against 3.9% in East Oxford, the suburb with the next highest proportion in this category. Among houses with rateable value between £20 and £24 the gap was only slightly diminished with 26.6% of houses in North Oxford in this category as against 11.2% in East Oxford and 10.5% in Jericho. The next size class testifies to the relative paucity of superior artisan housing in North Oxford - just 23.5% of the suburb's total as compared with 36.9% in East Oxford, 37.6% in West Oxford and 46.9% in South Oxford. Only in Jericho was the proportion of houses in this category similar to North Oxford but, there, houses with a rateable value of less than £12 accounted for 65.1% of the suburb's housing stock - as opposed to 16.1% in North Oxford. Elsewhere, such properties accounted for more than half of the housing in West Oxford (53.8%) and well over two-fifths in East Oxford (48.1%) and South Oxford (43.5%).

The rate books show that levels of owner-occupation varied considerably from suburb to suburb and from one rateable value category to another. If we first follow the practice of the rate books and count occupying long-term lessees as owner-occupiers it is clear that 17.1% of all houses in the Oxford suburbs were owner-occupied in 1905.[1] The highest levels of owner-occupation in late Victorian Leicester were to be found in the best areas[2]

1. Table 33 Percentage of houses occupied by owners and long-term lessees in Oxford suburbs, 1905

2. R.M. Pritchard, Housing and the spatial structure of the city: residential mobility and the housing market in an English city since the Industrial Revolution (1976), p.70

Table 33 Percentage of houses occupied by owners and long-term lessees in Oxford suburbs, 1905

Rateable value	East	Jericho	North	South	West	Oxford suburbs
1	33.6	-	33.6	50.0	23.5	33.4
2	35.2	23.7	24.2	30.9	13.6	27.5
3	22.6	13.4	22.3	18.9	12.0	20.3
4	6.1	5.2	5.3	6.6	4.2	5.7
4A	8.7	6.3	6.2	8.0	4.7	7.3
4B	0.7	2.4	2.0	-	-	1.1
	16.5	9.0	23.8	15.0	8.2	17.1

Source: O.C.R.O. (uncat.) City of Oxford Valuation List, revised 1.3.1905, *passim*.

Table 34 Percentage of houses occupied by owners in Oxford suburbs, 1905 compared with Cardiff, 1914

Rateable value	East	Jericho	North	South	West	Oxford suburbs	Cardiff 1914
1	32.8	-	6.5	50.0	11.8	10.5	22.3
2	33.9	5.2	8.3	30.9	4.5	16.9	14.9
3	22.1	4.6	8.8	18.9	8.3	16.1	6.4
4	6.1	5.2	2.7	6.6	3.9	5.4	1.3
4A	8.7	6.3	5.7	8.0	4.4	6.9	
4B	0.7	2.4	2.0	-	-	1.0	
	16.2	5.0	6.9	15.0	5.8	11.2	7.2

Source: O.C.R.O. (uncat.) City of Oxford Valuation List, revised 1.3.1905, *passim*; M.J. Daunton, *Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914* (1977), p.108

and with long term lessees included, a similar situation obtained in Oxford. Thus, 23.8% of the housing stock in North Oxford was owner-occupied in this sense, but only 16.5% and 15.0% in freehold East and South Oxford respectively; in Jericho (9.0%) and West Oxford (8.2%) where proximity to places of work made investing ownership most profitable,[1] owner-occupation was least likely to be found. In all suburbs, owner-occupiers were most common in larger properties and they were present in just over one third (33.4%) of all those with a rateable value of over £35. The proportions in both East and North Oxford were almost identical to this average, but, in the former suburb, this owed most to owner-occupiers living above commercial premises. More than one quarter (27.5%) of the houses with a rateable value of between £20 and £34 were owner-occupied and this average was exceeded in East Oxford (35.2%) and South Oxford (30.9%), where main roads and the newer freehold estates provided homes for the lower middle classes who could not aspire to the finest localities. Just over one-fifth (20.3%) of the superior artisan houses in the Oxford suburbs were owner-occupied in 1905 and these were most numerous in East and North Oxford. Smaller houses with rateable values of less than £12 were, however, much more likely to be retained for investment and housed those who could least afford to become owner-occupiers. Only 5.7% of all houses in this category were owner-occupied and the averages for sub-group 4A (7.3%) and 4B (1.1%) confirm that owner-occupation diminished to insignificant levels at the lower end of the housing market.[2]

If long-term lessees are now removed from the calculations, a somewhat different pattern emerges, pointing out the contrasts between suburbs which were primarily leasehold and those which were freehold and affording comparison with other studies. The proportion of owner-occupied houses in the

1. <u>infra</u>, p. 326

2. C. Bedale, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.55

Oxford suburbs is diminished from 17.1% to 11.2%,[1] a rate which may be contrasted with one of 8.3% in Oldham in 1906 and 7.2% in Cardiff in 1914.[2] Springett has suggested that owner-occupation was commonest in new areas and among the lower middle-class,[3] but the rate in the suburbs of Oxford was only marginally higher than the suggested national figure of 10.6% in 1914[4] because leasehold property was so common. The greater ability of the lower middle classes to become owner-occupiers is, however, shown by much higher rates of 16.2% in East Oxford and 15.0% in South Oxford. A substantial leasehold presence in Jericho and West Oxford helped to diminish levels of owner-occupation in these areas to 5.0% and 5.8% respectively. The most drastic effect of removing occupying lessees is, however, to be seen in North Oxford, where, despite the wealth of many residents, only 6.9% of the housing stock was owner-occupied. This reflects the overwhelming predominance of leasehold estates there and helps to reduce the overall proportion of owner-occupied houses in the highest rateable category from 33.4% to a mere 10.5%, a much lower figure than the 22.3% recorded in Cardiff nine years later. A less drastic fall, cushioned by a greater number of freehold properties in South and East Oxford, diminished the proportion of owner-occupiers in houses with rateable values of between £20 and £34 to 16.9%, but this is marginally higher than the Cardiff figure of 14.9% Oxford differs more markedly from Cardiff in the lower rateable value categories because land companies, building societies and private developers had been more active in providing plots for buildings of this kind and owner-occupancy remained correspondingly higher. In the Oxford suburbs, no less than 16.1% of the houses with a rateable value of

1. Table 34 Percentage of owner-occupied houses in Oxford suburbs, 1905, compared with Cardiff, 1914.

2. C. Bedale, op.cit., p.54; M.J.Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914 (1977), p.108

3. R.J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D. (1979), p.262.

4. M.J. Boddy, The structure of mortgage finance: building societies and the British social formation. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series 1 (1976), p.60

between £12 and £19 were owner-occupied as opposed to just 6.4% for the equivalent size group in Cardiff. The differential for the lowest rateable value category - 5.4% in Oxford as against 1.3% in Cardiff - is less extreme but still significant. At first sight, these comparisons might seem to suggest the existence of a wealthy artisan elite in Oxford, but they reflect rather upon the paucity of freehold cottage property in Cardiff.[1]

The rate books do not themselves provide information about occupations but by using a contemporary directory, Daunton was able to identify the occupations of 1,005 out of 1,291 (77.8%) owner-occupiers in Cardiff in 1884.[2] Bedale found this much more difficult for Oldham in 1906[3] and, in Oxford, the directory for 1905[4] provided definite occupations for only 516 out of 1511 (34.1%) owner-occupiers and occupying long-term lessees.[5] To some extent this may reflect a less complete local directory, but it is at least arguable that the difference owed something to the social and economic situation of Oxford at the turn of the century. At the upper end of the social scale there were many retired people, men and women of independent means and businessmen whose relative affluence had elevated them to the status of gentlemen; at the other end there were college and domestic servants, railwaymen, workers at the University Press and other regularly-paid artisans who did not justify an entry in the commercial pages of a directory but could nevertheless have saved enough money to buy a house for their own occupation. All these classes of people must have con-

1. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.81

2. M.J. Daunton, House-ownership from Rate Books. Urban History Yearbook (1976), p.24

3. C. Bedale, op.cit., p.50

4. Kelly's Directories Ltd., pub., Oxford directory (1905), passim.

5. Table 35 Occupations of owner-occupiers and occupying long-term lessees in Oxford, 1905

Table 35 Occupations of owner-occupiers and occupying long-term lessees in Oxford suburbs, 1905.

	All Oxford suburbs		North Oxford		Other suburbs	
Agriculture	1	0.2	-		1	0.4
Building	54	10.5	19	7.8	35	13.0
(B1. Management	41	8.0)	17	6.9)	24	8.9)
(B2 Operative	13	2.5)	2	0.8)	11	4.1)
Manufacture	99	19.2	27	11.0	72	26.7
(MF23 Dress	32	6.2)	11	4.5)	21	7.8)
(MF25-7 Food, Baking, Drink	19	3.7)	1	0.4)	18	6.7)
(MF30 Printing	5	1.0)	22	0.8)	3	1.1)
Transport	11	2.1	66	2.4	5	1.8
Dealing	193	37.5	69	28.2	124	45.9
Public Service, Professional	147	28.5	121	49.4	26	9.6
Domestic Service	10	1.9	3	1.2	7	2.6
	515	99.9	245	100.0	270	100.0
Unknown men	693		232		461	
Women: Mrs.	210		97		113	
: Miss	77		54		23	
: Lady	1		1		-	
Unspecified	14		4		10	
	995		388		607	
Total	1510		633		877	

Source: Kelly's Directories Ltd., pub., Oxford directory (1905), passim.

tributed to the 995 owner-occupiers and occupying long-term lessees whose means of livelihood remains unknown; the most numerous single group, however, were those widows and spinsters for whom home ownership provided security. Women accounted for 30% of the people with no classified occupation, 77 being listed as spinsters and a further 210 as Mrs., implying in many, if not most, cases that they were widowed. Not surprisingly, such women were most frequently to be found in North Oxford where they accounted for 156 out of 633 owner-occupiers (24.6%) as against 146 out of 878 (16.6%) in the other Oxford suburbs. Of the people whose occupations are traceable, the majority were engaged in dealing or in public service and professional occupations. Taking the five suburbs as a whole, tradesmen were owner-occupiers in well over one-third (37.5%) of all instances and professional people in rather more than one quarter (28.5%). Once again, however, there was considerable contrast between North Oxford where the professions accounted for 49.4% of the identified owner-occupiers and the other suburbs where they formed just 9.6%. Traders, on the other hand, predominated in the less prestigious suburbs, accounting for 46.0% of owner-occupiers there but for only 28.2% in North Oxford. A significant proportion of owner-occupiers - 10.5% - had connections with the building trade but the figure was again lower in North Oxford (7.8%) than it was elsewhere (13.0%). The same was true of those involved in manufacture who formed only 11.0% of North Oxford's owner-occupiers but 26.7% of those in other suburbs. No single industry contributed especially to the ranks of owner-occupiers but those concerned with manufacture of shoes and clothing or with the preparation of food and drink accounted for just over half of the people in this category. A few printing tradesmen also aspired to owner-occupation as did rather more transport workers and domestic servants, but their numbers were comparatively insignificant.

Comparison between the Oxford figures and the broad class divisions drawn up for Cardiff in 1884 is perhaps less useful because the occupations

of so many owner-occupiers in Oxford are unknown; Daunton's elevation of all builders into the middle-class is also suspect in the Oxford context where the building craftsman of a recession could become a house-builder during a boom and resume the craft in which he specialized thereafter. Nevertheless, building managers such as architects, builders and contractors, forming 8.0% of Oxford's owner-occupiers, can be removed from this category and added to a middle-class which also comprises dealers (27.5%) and those engaged in the professions and public services (28.5%). By this definition, no less than 74.0% of Oxford's owner-occupiers were middle-class as opposed to just 48.1% in Cardiff 21 years before.[1] This apparent predominance is diminished to 64.5% in suburbs other than North Oxford, however, and it must also be borne in mind that builders were not the only group which, to some extent, straddled the class divide; there was, for example, a world of difference between the prosperous grocer with several shops and a struggling tradesman with the same calling in a suburb where money was tight.[2]

Even if long-term lessees are considered as owner-occupiers, 82.9% of the houses in the suburbs of Oxford were rented from landlords in 1905; if they are excluded, the proportion rises to 88.8%, very much akin to the national figure of 90% postulated by Muthesius for the early twentieth century.[3] The small-scale nature of the building industry encouraged the wide dispersion of finished properties among investors, and house-capitalists tended to be "small men and women"[4] attracted by the prospect of a safe return upon their modest capital. Their purchase of a property might often

1. M.J. Daunton, House-ownership from Rate Books. Urban History Yearbook (1976), p.24

2. T. Vigne and A. Howkins, The small shopkeeper in industrial and market towns. In, G. Crossick, ed., The lower middle-class in Britain, 1870-1914 (1977), p.206

3. S. Muthesius, op.cit., p.17

4. A. Offer, op.cit., p.297

require a substantial mortgage and most private landlords operated on a narrow margin between their interest payments and the net return which they received from their tenants.[1]

To identify the landlords of Oxford's suburbs it is necessary to return to the ownership columns of the rate books and to calculate the number of houses owned by each landlord, omitting the one in which he or she lived. Following Daunton's lead, some houses have been omitted because of uncertainties over common names and figures have been prepared only on a suburb by suburb basis to reduce the risk of further error.[2] It is at once overwhelmingly apparent that "urban property was held, for the most part, in small parcels by a multitude of small and medium-scale owners."[3] Between 41.4% and 60.4% of landlords in the various suburbs owned just one house and accounted for between 11.6% and 23.6% of all tenanted houses. In both cases, the highest percentages were recorded in North Oxford where houses tended to be both larger and more expensive. Landlords with just two houses were most common in Jericho (24.5%) and South Oxford (26.3%) where single-house investment was less frequent; in West Oxford, on the other hand, two-house landlords formed only 16.9% of the total while those with three and four houses were relatively more numerous. This probably reflects the presence of quite well-paid railwaymen and other artisans who supplemented their income by ownership of a few houses. One such person was Francis Smith of 17 Hill View Road, a cab inspector at the Great Western Railway station who owned his own house and let up to five others nearby.[4] The mean average investment in West Oxford was in fact the highest of all the Oxford suburbs at 3.8 houses per landlord, outstripping East and South

1. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), pp.98-9

2. M.J. Daunton, House-ownership from Rate Books. Urban History Yearbook (1976), p.24; Table 36 Structure of house-ownership for investment in Oxford suburbs, 1905

3. A. Offer, op.cit., p.119

4. O.C.L. Francis Smith. Personal ledger, 1895-1931

Table 36 Structure of house-ownership for investment in Oxford suburbs, 1905

	Houses owned	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11-15	16-20	21-50	51+	Mean average investment
EAST	Investors	390	169	68	62	26	23	22	10	10	7	21		14	1	
		46.8	20.3	8.2	7.4	3.1	2.8	2.6	1.2	1.2	0.8	2.5	1.3	1.7	0.1	3.3
				85.8					8.6				5.6			
				47.3					19.1				33.7			
	Houses	14.1	12.2	7.4	8.9	4.7	5.0	5.0	2.9	3.2	2.5	9.6	6.8	15.4	1.9	
JERICHO	Investors	120	69	25	20	14	4	12	5	2	3	6	1	1	-	
		42.6	24.5	8.9	7.1	5.0	1.4	4.3	1.8	0.7	1.1	2.1	0.3	0.3	-	2.8
				88.1					9.3				2.7			
				60.5					24.6				14.9			
	Houses	15.0	17.3	9.4	10.0	8.8	3.0	10.5	5.0	2.3	3.8	9.8	2.0	3.1	-	
NORTH	Investors	425	127	57	25	14	10	5	4	4	5	15	7	4	2	
		60.4	18.0	8.1	3.6	2.0	1.4	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	2.1	1.0	0.6	0.3	2.6
				92.1					4.0				4.0			
				56.7					11.8				31.6			
	Houses	23.6	14.1	9.5	5.6	3.9	3.3	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.8	10.7	6.6	5.7	8.6	
SOUTH	Investors	77	49	16	11	8	3	6	1	4	1	4	2	4	-	
		41.4	26.3	8.6	5.9	4.3	1.6	3.2	0.5	2.2	0.5	2.2	1.1	2.2	-	3.3
				86.5					8.0				5.5			
				50.5					17.6				31.9			
	Houses	12.7	16.1	7.9	7.2	6.6	3.0	5.9	1.2	5.9	1.6	6.1	8.2	17.6	-	
WEST	Investors	75	29	27	19	6	1	3	5	1	-	1	1	2	2	
		43.6	16.9	15.7	11.0	3.5	0.6	2.7	0.9	0.6		0.6	0.6	1.2	1.2	3.8
				90.7					5.8				3.6			
				49.5					11.8				38.7			
	Houses	11.6	9.0	12.5	11.8	4.6	0.9	3.3	6.2	1.4		2.2	2.5	9.4	24.6	

Source: O.C.R.O. (uncat.) City of Oxford Valuation List, revised 1.3.1905, *passim*.

Oxford at 3.3, Jericho at 2.8 and North Oxford at 2.6. Such figures confirm the basically small-scale nature of a housing market in which landlords with five or fewer houses formed between 85.8% and 92.1% of the total and owned between 47.3% and 60.5% of all tenanted houses. Landlords owning between six and ten houses were least common in North Oxford (4.0%) and scarcely more so in West Oxford (5.8%); in both cases, these landlords accounted for only 11.8% of the tenanted houses. Elsewhere, ownership on this scale was more significant, involving 8.0% of landlords in South Oxford, 8.6% in East Oxford and 9.3% in Jericho. Nearly a quarter of Jericho's tenanted houses (24.6%) were owned by landlords in this category, providing some support for Englander's statement that landlords of working-class property commonly held between six and eight dwellings each.[1] If the medium-sized investor was commonest in Jericho, the landlord with 11 or more houses was a decided rarity there, accounting for only 2.7% of the total and for 14.9% of the tenanted houses. Few local people could aspire to investment on that scale and, by 1905, the house-building industry had long abandoned the suburb for more distant sites. In the other suburbs which were still extending out into the fields, landlords with 11 or more properties formed between 3.6% and 5.6% of the total and owned from 31.6% to 38.7% of the tenanted houses. They were relatively most common in East Oxford but accounted for the biggest proportion of houses in West Oxford where two individuals, T.H. Kingerlee and G.W. Cooper, owned 251 houses or nearly one quarter of the suburb's tenanted housing stock.[2] In general, however, the structure of the house-ownership in Oxford had much in common with that of other contemporary towns and cities where the mean investor tended to be small and the level of concentration of ownership was low.[3] East Oxford, for example, had relatively fewer small-scale investors than any

1. D. Englander, op.cit., p.51

2. infra, p. 315

3. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.108

other Oxford suburb, but they still formed 85.8% of the total, a figure which exceeded that recorded in seven out of eight areas of Cardiff in 1884; even the eighth Cardiff suburb, North Roath, with 91.0% of its landlords in this category is surpassed by North Oxford with 92.1%.[1] In three out of five Oxford suburbs landlords with between one and five houses owned over half of the tenanted houses; in Cardiff, this was true of only one district and here again North Oxford with 60.5% in this category exceeded North Roath's 57.8%. Oxford landlords with between six and ten houses were, by contrast markedly fewer, failing in every suburb to reach the figure of 10% which was attained in all but one area of Cardiff. The proportion of houses owned was generally lower in Oxford, too, although the figure of 24.6% in Jericho is in fact slightly higher than any Cardiff equivalent. Landlords with 11 or more houses were by no means common in Oxford or Cardiff and in only three Cardiff suburbs - Grange, Cathays and Splott - were they significantly more numerous than they were in Oxford. In four out of five Oxford suburbs, these landlords owned over 30% of the tenanted houses, out-distancing five areas of Cardiff but falling short of the 44.3% recorded at Grange and the astonishing 84.5% at Splott.

In order to assess the character of the property-owning class in the suburbs of Oxford, use has been made of lease registers of St. John's College and surviving deeds in the City Secretary's Department. These sources provide a sample of 986 men and women who, between 1850 and 1900, were party to leasing agreements on the St. John's College estate in Jericho and North Oxford or became house-owners elsewhere in the suburbs;[2] some were doubtless intending to live in the properties concerned, but the majority would have become private landlords. The conceptual problems of making comparisons over such a long period are, moreover, outweighed

1. Table 37 Structure of house-ownership for investment: Oxford suburbs, 1905 and Cardiff, 1884 (percentages).

2. Table 38 Occupations of house-owners and long-term lessees in Oxford, 1850-1900

Table 37 Structure of house-ownership for investment in Oxford suburbs, 1905 and Cardiff, 1884 (percentages)

Houses owned	1 - 5		6 - 10		11+	
	Land-lords	Tenanted houses	Land-lords	Tenanted houses	Land-lords	Tenanted houses
OXFORD						
East	85.8	47.3	8.6	19.1	5.6	33.7
Jericho	88.1	60.5	9.3	24.6	2.7	14.9
North	92.1	56.7	4.0	11.8	4.0	31.6
South	86.5	50.5	8.0	17.6	5.5	31.9
West	90.7	49.5	5.8	11.8	3.6	38.7
CARDIFF						
Canton	82.9	39.2	10.6	18.8	6.5	28.8
Grange	74.8	31.9	16.3	23.9	8.6	44.3
Cathays	80.3	42.0	11.7	21.5	9.0	36.5
Centre	83.1	42.7	12.0	23.4	4.6	24.2
Butetown	84.9	49.0	10.5	21.4	4.5	25.8
Splott	71.1	8.3	17.7	7.1	11.0	84.5
N. Roath	91.0	57.8	4.7	11.0	4.2	26.0
S. Roath	84.4	47.3	12.1	24.0	3.8	19.4

Sources: O.C.R.O. (uncat.) City of Oxford Valuation List, Revised 1.3.1905; M.J. Daunton, House-ownership from rate books. Urban History Yearbook (1976), p.25

Table 38 Occupations of house owners and long-term lessees in Oxford suburbs, 1850-1900

	All Oxford suburbs		North Oxford Whole suburb		North Oxford Excluding Walton Manor		Walton Manor		Other suburbs	
Agri-culture	9	0.9	8	1.1	3	1.1	5	1.1	1	0.4
Mining	18	1.8	7	1.0		-	7	1.6	11	4.3
Building	187	19.0	124	17.0	45	15.8	79	17.8	63	24.5
(B1 Mana-(gement	150	15.2	114	15.6	45	15.8	69	15.5	36	14.0)
(B2 Oper-(ative	37	3.8	10	1.4		-	10	2.3	27	10.5)
Manufac-ture	100	10.1	57	7.8	13	4.6	44	9.9	43	16.7
(MF23 Dress	27	2.7	18	2.5	4	1.4	14	3.2	9	3.5)
(MF25-27 (Food, (Baking, (Drink	16	1.6	7	1.0	4	1.4	3	0.7	9	3.5
(MF30 (Printing	21	2.1	11	1.5	1	0.4	10	2.3	10	3.9
Transport	10	1.0	3	0.4		-	3	0.7	7	2.7
Dealing	172	17.4	130	17.8	37	13.0	93	20.9	42	16.3
Public Service, Pro-fessional	144	14.6	125	17.1	79	27.7	46	10.4	19	7.4
Domestic Service	51	5.2	29	4.0	3	1.1	26	5.9	22	8.6
Property owning, Indepen-dent	295	29.9	246	33.7	105	36.8	141	31.8	49	19.1
	986	99.9	729	99.9	285	100.1	444	100.1	257	100.0

Sources: St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.A. 30-34. Long leases, 1863-1903
O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. Property records

by the benefits of knowing the means of livelihood of many owners or lessees whose occupations or status would simply have been omitted from the commercial section of local directories.[1] Just under 30% of the sample comprised people of independent means who included retired folk, spinsters, wives and widows, aldermen, gentlemen and esquires. The successful middle-class individuals in this category had probably reached the stage of life where they were accumulating assets not in trade or in business but in property, preferring a lower, safer return which required less effort to maintain.[2] Independent status did not necessarily betoken wealth, but the proportion of lessees and owners in this category was highest at 36.8% in the most fashionable areas of North Oxford; in more heterogeneous Walton Manor, the figure was nearer the average at 31.8% but it fell to a mere 19.1% in other suburbs. Those engaged in public services and the professions accounted for 14.6% of all owners and lessees, but they were noticeably more prominent in North Oxford (17.1%) than they were in the other suburbs (7.4%); within North Oxford, they were very much concentrated in the most exclusive neighbourhoods and their presence in Walton Manor was comparatively slight. Many landlords were small tradesmen and speculative builders[3] and the relevant categories, Dealing and Building, accounted respectively for 17.4% and 19.0% of the owners and lessees of suburban properties. Trade was almost equally represented in North Oxford and elsewhere, but was most evident in Walton Manor where superior artisan houses provided good opportunities for investment; relatively few Oxford tradesmen operated on a sufficiently large scale to gain a foothold in the best areas. With the aid of mortgage finance, builders commonly retained properties which they had erected for investment[4] and, away from North

1. supra, p. 303

2. R.J. Morris, The middle-class and the property cycle during the Industrial Revolution. In, T.C. Smout, ed., op.cit.,pp.108-110

3. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.120; D. Englander, op.cit., p.51

4. J.M. Rawcliffe, Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-1881. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., op.cit., pp.71-2; supra, p. 228

Oxford, Building formed the largest single category, accounting for 24.5% of the owners. The proportion was lower in North Oxford and builders were least likely to retain the most expensive houses because of liquidity problems. Domestic servants, usually college or gentlemen's servants, accounted for a further 5.2% of owners and lessees, but only three of them aspired to property in the finest parts of North Oxford. Predictably, those engaged in manufacture tended also to invest in areas of cheaper housing, accounting for 10.1% overall, for 7.8% in North Oxford but for 16.7% of those owners and lessees elsewhere. These figures were not the result of prosperity in a single industry, but reflected more modest achievement in a number of traditional occupations. Men and women manufacturing shoes and clothing therefore accounted for 2.7% of the total, the printing industry for 2.1% and the food and drink trades for a further 1.6% In general the table emphasises that house-ownership in the Oxford suburbs was

the concern of a middle-class - essentially a lower middle-class - which might be taken to include the property-owning and independent, building managers, tradesmen and those engaged in public service and the professions. By that definition, 77.1% of the owners and lessees in the sample were middle-class and the figure rose to 84.2% in North Oxford and still higher to 93.3% in the best areas of that suburb. In the other suburbs, middle-class owners accounted for 56.8% of the sample and it was in these areas of cheaper property that the thrifty artisan or working man was best able to invest in houses.

Major landlords owning 11 or more houses were not, as has been shown, typical of a very fragmented housing market; nevertheless, the 77 individuals in Oxford who fell into this category owned 1,663 out of 6,627 tenanted houses (25.1%) in 1905 and their background has been investigated both to assess their economic status and to see whether they could, in any sense, have formed a cohesive pressure group.[1] Thirty-two of these major

1. Further details about these individuals are available from the author.

landlords had no traceable occupations in 1905, but some at least owed their independent status to successful commercial enterprises. Frederick Ansell, for example, had been an upholsterer and cabinet maker in High Street[1] while Thomas Lucas had a financial interest in W.F. Lucas & Co., a local firm of manufacturing clothiers:[2] Walter Gray had been brought to Oxford as steward to Keble College but, apart from property speculation, was in business as an auctioneer and estate agent for some 20 years from 1883.[3] Eleven of this class were women, emphasising again the importance of rental income to widows and spinsters.[4] Of the major landlords with occupations those concerned with building were by far the most numerous with 17 builders and an architect owning or leasing 531 houses. The colossus among them was probably T.H. Kingerlee, the most substantial builder in Victorian Oxford[5] who owned 186. Ten of the major landlords were engaged in manufacture unrelated to the building trade but sought to boost their income by house-ownership; in the cases of John Salter, Alfred Boffin and Joel Zacharias-Jessel, personal involvement in suburban development had helped to create substantial holdings.[6] Nine retail tradesmen and an agent owned a further 159 houses, the major figures in this list being two self-made businessmen, G.W. Cooper[7] with 65 properties and Francis Twining[8] who owned 21. Five publicans had prospered sufficiently to own 11 or more houses, but only two professional people - a curate and a local authority rate collector - were that deeply involved in house ownership.

1. J. C. Valters, pub., Oxford Post Office Directory..... (1880), p.99
2. O.T., 8.12.1917, p.7
3. supra, pp. 100-2; Kelly's Directories Ltd., pub. Oxford Directory (1903), p.342 is the last to list the firm.
4. supra, p. 305
5. supra, p. 229
6. supra, pp. 102, 109, 116
7. O.C., 10.11.1894, p.5
8. supra, p. 79

Most professionals had clearly found alternative and less potentially troublesome sources of investment income and if they invested at all in house property, they did so on a smaller scale.

The major landlords of Oxford could hardly be described as a social elite for members of the University and many leaders of the business community were noticeably absent; among their number, however, were several people who played a significant part in the government of late Victorian and Edwardian Oxford. Did they, as Hennock has suggested, form an organised group pushing the City Council towards economy?[1] Fifteen of Oxford's major landlords in 1905 served on the City Council for varying periods of time and between them they were Mayors of the city on 12 occasions out of a possible 35 between 1888 and 1912.[2] In their political affiliations, eight were Conservatives, seven were Liberals and one - Francis Twining - was a Liberal who defected to the Tories. They thus encapsulated that spirit of political consensus by which Oxford was governed in the years after 1889[3] and it was clearly in their interest to try and restrain the growth of the city's rates which, in the late 1890s, were the lowest of any County Borough in England.[4] When, for example, criticism of Oxford's working-class housing became too intense to resist in 1900, the Council appointed a Committee to investigate the subject but, from the outset, declared that its advice should not include adoption of part three of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890 which provided for the building of workmen's dwellings by local authorities.[5] The Committee, which included four of the city's major landlords - Ald. G.W. Cooper and Councillors Kingerlee, Hutchins and

1. E.P. Hennock, Finance and politics in urban local government in England, 1835-1900. Historical Journal 6 (1963), pp.212-25

2. O.C.C., Lists of High Stewards, Mayors, Bailiffs, Sheriffs...(1938), passim.

3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.240

4. supra, p.18

5. O.C., 5.5.1900, p.2; O.C.A. GG.4.1. Special Committees M.B., 1900-6, pp.22-3

Kempson - discovered instances of overcrowding but recommended against buying out the owners of old and crowded areas because such a policy would be both costly and unnecessary; instead, they suggested more rigorous policing of such areas by an Inspector of Housing who could be added to the Sanitary Inspector's office at a cost of £75 a year.[1] When, in March 1901, the Council appointed a further Committee to consider adoption of the relevant part of the 1890 Act, four of its fourteen members, including the Chairman Ald. Gray and the Vice-Chairman, Councillor Zacharias, were major landlords; the other two, Councillors Hutchins and Kingerlee, were, in addition, substantial house-builders. After considerable delay the Committee reported against adoption in April 1903,[2] deprecating the idea of building municipal dwellings at the ratepayers' expense and, like the landlord-dominated Sanitary Committee in contemporary Tynemouth,[3] preferring to rely upon private enterprise. In Oxford, the question of municipal housing was therefore effectively stifled and, if the Liberal Council in the slightly smaller city of Exeter commenced its first 42 workmen's dwellings in 1905,[4] Oxford's inertia was the more familiar pattern among local authorities before 1914.[5]

The local influence of major house-owners only served to mask the increasing vulnerability of the private landlord. The sheer numbers of landlords and the vigour of their actions gave an illusion of strength[6]

1. O.C.A. GG.4.1. Special Committees M.B. 1900-6, pp.15-8, 21.2
2. ibid., pp.29, 135-6
3. R. Byrne, The standard of council housing in Inter-War North Shields - a case-study in the politics of reproduction. In, J. Melling, ed., op.cit., p.175
4. R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), pp.298, 308
5. C. Bedale, op.cit., p.47
6. J. Greve, Private landlords in England. Occasional Papers on Social Administration 16 (1965), p.9

and they acquired a fearsome reputation both because of the high cost of rents relative to wages and because of their power to evict.[1] In truth, however, the colossus had feet of clay because most landlords were small investors with scanty financial resources who were typically leaderless and unorganised, lacking an effective mouth-piece for the dissemination of their views.[2] Nationally, they had no real voice in the Conservative or Liberal parties[3] and local ratepayers' organisations tended to be ephemeral;[4] in Oxford, for example, a Ratepayers' Association formed in 1897 to campaign against rising rates, extravagant furnishing at the Town Hall and tramway municipalization was described as moribund by March 1899.[5] Landlords were therefore in a weak position to resist effectively the economic, legal and national forces which from the late nineteenth century, began to threaten the dominant role of private renting.[6] Property owners with local influence were unable to persuade central government to alleviate the burden of increased local taxation which lay heaviest upon the lower middle-class and house-capitalists;[7] even at a local level, their significance was diminished by a more complex political structure and by increasing centralisation.[8]

Diminishing profit margins for the landlord were accompanied by new investment opportunities both at home and overseas, tempting the small in-

1. A. Offer, op.cit., p.124
2. ibid., p.297; J. Greve, op.cit., p.9
3. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.127
4. D. Englander, op.cit., p.54; A. Offer, op.cit., p.297
5. O.C., 27.2.1897, p.8; 11.3.1899, pp.5-6
6. J. Greve, op.cit., pp.10-19; M.J. Daunton, op.cit., pp.201-18; A. Offer, op.cit.,p.308; D. Englander, op.cit., pp.69-80
7. A. Offer, op.cit.,p.289; D. Englander, op.cit., pp. xvii - xviii
8. M.J. Daunton, op.cit., p.202

vestor to turn his or her back on the difficult business of property management;[1] at the same time, there was increasing recognition, at least on the left of the political spectrum, that, since private enterprise could no longer provide good cheap houses, municipalization of housing was the only solution.[2] At the end of the Victorian period, however, the housing market in suburban Oxford as elsewhere was still dominated by the private landlord. Like the average builder who contributed only one or two houses to the built environment, so the typical landlord owned only one or two houses. The person of modest means looking for security was the characteristic investor in urban property; the poor lacked the resources to follow suit, the better off had little incentive to do so.

1. C. Bedale, op.cit., p.59; supra, p. 295

2. S. Damer, State, class and housing: Glasgow, 1885-1919. In, J. Melling, ed., op.cit., pp.78-9

7. Residents of the Suburbs

The final link in the speculative building chain was forged by the many people who, through choice or necessity, took up residence in the Victorian suburbs of Oxford. Few of them achieved fame or notoriety even on the local stage, but their individual obscurity is no barrier to a greater knowledge of their collective circumstances. The enumerators' books for the 1871 census are like a lighted match illuminating for a moment the origins of the suburban residents, their occupations and details of their families and households. The glimpse is inevitably a tantalizing one, leaving dark recesses of ignorance, but, together with other sources, it serves to confirm the contrasts between suburbs which began with their very location and landownership.

Like other contemporary towns and cities, nineteenth-century Oxford drew much of its population from the surrounding countryside.[1] The predominance of short-distance migration is indicated by the fact that, in 1871 more than 60% of the heads of household and wives in the suburbs had been born in Oxfordshire;[2] in Ramsgate, by contrast, the proportions of heads and wives with Kent birthplaces were much lower at 51% and 54% respectively.[3] The Oxford figure does, moreover, understate local migration because Berkshire adjoined Oxford to the south and west of the city and much of South Oxford was still situated in the county of Berkshire.[4] With adjacent counties added to the calculation, just over 80% of the Oxford heads and wives are shown to have had local origins or to have travelled comparatively short distances to the city. This figure was con-

1. supra, p. 14

2. Table 39 Birthplaces of heads of household and wives in the Oxford suburbs, 1871

3. R.S. Holmes, Continuity and change in a mid-Victorian resort: Ramsgate, 1851-71. University of Kent Ph.D. (1977), p.197

4. supra, p. 108

Table 39 Birthplaces of heads of household and wives in the Oxford suburbs, 1871

Heads of household

Birthplace	All Oxford suburbs	East	Jericho	North	South	West
Same county	63.4	68.2	66.7	60.9	50.1	50.0
Adjacent cos.	16.8	11.4	19.7	14.5	43.8	28.6
Rest of England	17.9	18.9	12.1	21.8	6.3	17.9
Scotland, Ireland, Wales	1.4	1.5	1.5	0.9	-	3.6
Overseas	0.6	-	-	1.8	-	-
	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.2	100.1

Wives

Birthplace	All Oxford suburbs	East	Jericho	North	South	West
Same county	61.9	72.6	64.2	48.2	42.8	61.9
Adjacent cos.	19.9	11.6	17.0	26.5	50.0	19.0
Rest of England	16.9	14.7	17.0	21.7	7.1	14.3
Scotland, Ireland, Wales	1.1	1.1	1.9	-	-	4.8
Overseas	1.1	-	-	3.6	-	-
	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0

Adjacent counties are Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire

Source: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871

spicuously exceeded in South Oxford where little building activity for almost 20 years[1] had perhaps left properties to be occupied by first- and second-generation Oxonians. It has been shown that distant immigration occurred disproportionately at the upper end of the social hierarchy[2] and flood-prone New Hinksey was manifestly unattractive to the better off.[3] In fashionable North Oxford, on the other hand, the proportion of locally-born household heads and wives was below the average and about 25% hailed from places beyond Oxfordshire and its adjoining counties; this suburb also accounted for all the people who had been born overseas. In West Oxford, where railway employees swelled the total, and in East Oxford, heads with more distant origins exceeded one-fifth of the total, but the figure was lower in Jericho (13.2%) and scarcely significant in South Oxford (6.3%). Away from North Oxford, wives were considerably less likely to have travelled so far, thus tending to confirm the general thesis that women moved more readily because of marriage or job shortages in rural areas but did so over shorter distances.[4]

The promise of employment was indeed crucial in attracting migrants to nineteenth century towns and Oxford offered the best job opportunities in a low-pay region where primary farm labour was declining, especially after the 1840s.[5] Unlike Reading, where biscuit-making directly employed about 4,500 people by 1901,[6] Victorian Oxford lacked any major growth

1. <u>supra</u>, pp. 106, 108

2. A. Armstrong, <u>Stability and change in an English county town: a social study of York, 1801-51</u> (1974), pp.91-2; R.S. Holmes, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.207-9

3. <u>supra</u>, p. 108

4. R.S. Holmes, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.196-7

5. R. Lawton, Rural depopulation in 19th century England. In, R.W. Steel & R. Lawton, eds., <u>Liverpool essays in geography: a jubilee collection</u> (1967), pp.227-53

6. <u>Report of an enquiry....into working-class rents, housing and retail prices</u> (1908), cvii, p.763

industry.[1] Nevertheless, Manufacture continued to be the largest single category of male employment and accounted for 26.7% of the occupied male population in the Oxford suburbs in 1871.[2] The traditional Oxford industries of printing and clothing, including tailoring and shoemaking,[3] made up half of this proportion and the diverse enterprises which provided many of the city's needs[4] accounted for the remainder. Manufacture provided employment for 24.7% of the occupied female population of the suburbs, virtually all of these jobs being in the clothing industry.[5] The general absence of large-scale manufacturing industry was reflected by the fact that suburbanites engaged in Industrial Service, most of them labourers, accounted for only 8.0% of the occupied male population in 1871. Most paid work in Oxford was to be found in the distribution of goods and the rendering of services[6] and suburbs were themselves powerful generators of jobs in transport, building, retailing and repair services and domestic service.[7] Transport, for example, involved 9.2% of working males in 1871 and, as might be expected, building workers were strongly represented in the growing suburban areas, accounting for 16.6% of the men and boys who were in employment. A further 14.0% of occupied males and 4.7% of occupied females were engaged in Dealing, and the high proportion of male domestic servants in the suburbs (8.7%) was boosted by the numbers of college servants resident

1. supra, pp. 15-16
2. Table 40 Occupied male population of Oxford suburbs, 1871
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), pp.210, 213
4. C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.38
5. Table 41 : Occupied female population of the Oxford suburbs, 1871
6. supra, p. 15
7. F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964 (1974), p.53; D.J. Olsen, House upon house: estate development in London and Sheffield. In, H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and reality, vol. 2 (1978), p.371

Table 40. Occupied male population of Oxford suburbs, 1871

	All Oxford suburbs		East		Jericho		North		South		West	
Agriculture	283	6.7	90	5.9	42	4.6	106	8.6	35	16.9	10	2.7
Mining	36	0.9	7	0.5	-	-	26	2.1	3	1.4	-	-
Building	702	16.6	269	17.7	182	20.0	158	12.8	46	22.2	47	12.8
Manufacture	1129	26.7	429	28.2	285	31.4	308	25.0	35	16.9	72	19.7
(MF23 Dress	307	7.2	155	10.2	54	5.9	83	6.7	6	2.9	9	2.5)
(MF30 Printing	261	6.2	57	3.7	100	11.0	79	6.4	6	2.9	19	5.2)
Transport	388	9.2	66	4.3	98	10.8	60	4.9	42	20.3	122	33.3
(T4. Railways	175	4.1	6	0.4	34	3.7	21	1.7	7	3.4	107	29.2)
Dealing	593	14.0	233	15.3	85	9.4	197	16.0	29	14.0	49	13.4
Industrial Services	338	8.0	127	8.3	115	12.7	66	5.4	3	1.4	27	7.4
Public Service & Professional	397	9.4	153	10.1	34	3.7	178	14.4	11	5.3	21	5.7
Domestic Service	369	8.7	147	9.7	68	7.5	133	10.8	3	1.4	18	4.9
(Living in	32	0.8	7	0.5	-	-	25	2.0	-	-	-	-)
(College service	187	4.4	79	5.2	37	4.1	65	5.3	2	1.0	4	1.1)
	4235	100.2	1521	100.0	909	100.1	1232	100.0	207	99.8	366	99.9

Source: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871

Table 41. Occupied female population of Oxford suburbs, 1871.

	All Oxford suburbs		East		Jericho		North		South		West	
Agriculture	2	0.1	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.1	-	-	-	-
Mining	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Building	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manufacture	574	24.7	204	26.8	157	40.1	130	13.3	30	43.5	53	43.1
(MF 23 Dress	512	22.0	194	25.5	131	33.4	118	12.1	25	36.2	44	35.8)
Transport	3	0.1	-	-	-	-	2	0.2	-	-	1	0.8
Dealing	108	4.7	49	6.4	15	3.8	38	3.9	4	5.8	2	1.6
Industrial Service	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public Service & Professional	149	6.4	53	7.0	23	5.9	58	5.9	5	7.2	10	8.1
Domestic Service	1486	64.0	453	59.6	197	50.3	749	76.6	30	43.5	57	46.3
(Living in	906	39.0	250	32.9	45	11.5	586	59.9	8	11.6	17	13.8)
(College service	11	0.5	2	0.3	3	0.8	4	0.4	2	2.9	-	-)
	2322	100.0	760	99.9	392	100.1	978	100.0	69	100.0	123	99.9

Source: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871

there.[1] Nationally, the proportion of the female population engaged in domestic service and allied occupations reached a peak in 1871,[2] and, in the Oxford suburbs, 64% of working women and girls found employment in this way. The opportunities for employment in Agriculture and Mining within the city's limits were clearly diminishing but, in 1871, 6.7% of occupied suburban males were engaged in the former and 0.9% in the latter; on undeveloped land, both intensive market gardening and brick-making could be expected to flourish for a time, serving to feed and house the growing urban population. Finally, the proportion of occupied males and females from the Public Services and Professions - 9.4% and 6.4% respectively - bore witness to rising middle-class incomes and an enhanced ability to flee to the suburbs.[3]

The occupational structure of each suburb was not simply a microcosm of the whole, but depended to a large extent upon location and the character of the built environment. The amount of undeveloped land in North and South Oxford, for example, helped to boost the proportion of males engaged in Agriculture to above average figures of 8.6% and 16.9% respectively. In Jericho and to a lesser extent in North Oxford, proximity to the University Press resulted in above average numbers in the printing trades. Most decisively in West Oxford, location beside the railways created a situation in which 29.2% of working men and boys were railway employees compared with the suburban average of just 4.1%. All forms of transport provided employment for one-third of West Oxford's occupied male population and for one-fifth of those in South Oxford; in Jericho, however, only 10.8% were engaged in this kind of work and the figures were as low as 4.9% in North Oxford and 4.3% in East Oxford, the latter being particularly remote for railway

1. Tables 40 & 41
2. P.L.R. Horn, The rise and fall of the Victorian servant (1975), p.24
3. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (1971), pp.101-3

employees. More subtle but still significant differences reflected the differing character of each suburb and their appeal to various sections of society. Jericho for instance was described in 1882 as the home of those "engaged for the most part in trading and industrial occupations;"[1] in 1871, Manufacture at 31.4% was by far the largest category of male employment in the area. The same was true to a lesser extent in East Oxford (28.2%) and North Oxford (25.0%), but in West Oxford (19.7%) Transport was a bigger employer; in South Oxford, where only 16.9% were engaged in Manufacture, this category was exceeded both by Building (22.2%) and Transport (20.3%) and was equalled by Agriculture. In the related sphere of Industrial Service, the suburban average was again most clearly exceeded in Jericho where 12.7% of the occupied male population was employed in this work. The average was marginally exceeded in East Oxford (8.3%) and approached in West Oxford (7.4%) but neither North Oxford (5.4%) nor South Oxford (1.4%) housed many of the general labourers who formed the vast majority of this category. The building trades were most heavily represented in South Oxford, where they accounted for 22.2% of employed males, in Jericho (20.9%) and East Oxford (17.7%). In North and West Oxford, however, the proportion engaged in Building was as low as 12.8%, probably because the occupation was too seasonal and workers could not afford the high rents required in these areas; in addition, St. John's College made a point of excluding builders' yards from the more select parts of North Oxford.[2] Males engaged in Dealing were relatively most common in North Oxford (16.0%) especially because the suburb formed the favoured milieu of the most successful local businessmen. Commercial development, in Cowley Road for example,[3] kept the proportion almost as high in East Oxford (15.3%), but the area also offered attractive homes for shop-keepers whose profits and pretentions were more modest. The suburban average of 14.0% was attained

1. O.C., 11.11.1882, p.4
2. supra, p. 215
3. infra, pp. 466-7

in South Oxford and very nearly so in West Oxford (13.4%); in Jericho, however, only 9.4% of the occupied male population was concerned with retail trade, reflecting perhaps the proximity of the city for the purchase of many commodities. The social supremacy of North Oxford becomes more apparent with consideration of the Public Services and Professions, which employed 14.4% of the suburb's occupied males or five percentage points more than the suburban average. This figure was most nearly approached by East Oxford (10.1%), but in other suburbs, the category was predictably rare, accounting for 5.7% of the occupied male population in West Oxford, 5.3% in South Oxford and only 3.7% in Jericho. Male domestic servants were again most common in North Oxford (10.8%) exceeding the proportions found in East Oxford (9.7%) and Jericho (7.5%); in West Oxford (4.9%) and South Oxford (1.4%) there were very few male servants. College servants formed the largest group in this category and were mostly to be found in North Oxford or just across Magdalen Bridge in East Oxford; a considerable number did, however, find accommodation in Jericho. Possession of a male domestic servant living in was the final hallmark of respectability[1] and this expensive luxury was enjoyed in a few North Oxford households and in still fewer East Oxford ones but nowhere else.

Women's work provides a further source of contrast between the suburbs, stressing in particular the social primacy of North Oxford. Women and girls engaged in Domestic Service formed 64.0% of the occupied population in all Oxford suburbs[2] but servants tended to be commonest in higher status areas[3] and in North Oxford the proportion was as high as 76.6%. In East Oxford, the figure was a much lower 59.6% and in Jericho it barely exceeded 50%; in the other suburbs of South and West Oxford the proportion fell way

1. G. Best, op.cit., p.122

2. Table 41

3. C.R. Lewis, A stage in the development of the industrial town: a case-study of Cardiff, 1845-1875. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), p.147

below half of the working population. The main difference between the areas lay in the number and proportion of living-in servants who formed nearly three-fifths of the females working in North Oxford, just under one-third of those in East Oxford and only a little over one-tenth of those in the other suburbs. The reverse of this situation was to be found in Manufacture, which involved comparatively few working women in North Oxford (13.3%), a larger proportion in East Oxford (26.8%) and more than two-fifths of those in each of the other suburbs. In all areas, dressmaking was the most important single occupation carried on by out-workers in the home or by those directly employed at Hyde's Queen Street clothing factory. Domestic Service and Manufacture provided the most common employment opportunities for women but smaller numbers also found jobs in the Public Services and Professions and also in Dealing. The first category, accounting for 6.4% of working females overall, consisted largely of teachers and monthly nurses who were inevitably scattered quite evenly through the suburbs. A smaller proportion, 4.7% of the occupied female population, was engaged in Dealing, and this figure was most noticeably larger in East Oxford (6.4%) where women had perhaps the greatest need to run lodging-houses or small businesses as a means of supplementing the family income.

The census, by recording suburban occupations on a single day, provided a valuable insight into the contrasts that existed between the various Oxford suburbs; differentiation was reinforced, however, by factors that the enumerators could scarcely take into account, namely variations in the regularity of employment and differing wage levels. Census enumerators were not instructed to notice unemployment and rarely did so,[1] but in the Oxford suburbs in 1871 59 males and 22 females were noted as being out of

1. P.M. Tillott, Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses. In, E.A. Wrigley, ed., Nineteenth-century society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data (1972), pp.126-7

work.[1] Unemployment and underemployment were mainly the problem of the unskilled and the semi-skilled[2] and, if nine clerks were to be found among the unemployed males, there were also 15 domestic servants, 12 labourers, three gardeners and seven transport workers; of the unemployed females, all but one were domestic servants. The enumerators' figures could not, in any case, reflect the true magnitude of local unemployment which resulted from seasonal and cyclical factors of general application and from particular local circumstances.[3] The building trades suffered especially from slumps in demand and interruptions caused by bad weather[4] and, in January 1871, the shortage of work produced 200 applications for 20 advertised building jobs.[5] In December 1887, 400 men, most of them from the building trades, signed on at once when the Local Board opened a register of the unemployed.[6] Seasonality also affected workers in food markets and the clothing industry[7] and, in Oxford, the University introduced a seasonal element of its own; thus, there was a considerable demand for tailoring, printing, food-retailing, laundry work and college service during the term which virtually ceased to exist during the vacations.[8] Irregular patterns of employment in Oxford led to widespread casualisation and the large reservoir of unskilled labour was constantly augmented by immigration and by those whose skills in the food, clothing and building trades, for example, were being increasingly challenged by

1. P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871.

2. G.S. Jones, Outcast London: a study in the relationship between classes in Victorian society (1976), p.64

3. C.V. Butler, Social conditions in Oxford (1912), pp.84-8.

4. J.H. Treble, op.cit., pp.72-3; G.S. Jones, op.cit., pp.37-8

5. O.C., 14.1.1871, p.7

6. ibid., 10.12.1887, p.8

7. J.H. Treble, op.cit., pp.73-5

8. C.V. Butler, op.cit., pp.81-8

technological and structural change.[1] With nothing to offer but their physical strength, many casual workers were forced into residual occupations, becoming hawkers, sandwich-board man, carpet beaters or messengers; the only barrier to entering such trades was "the minute profit to be gained from them and the endemic poverty that engulfed them."[2]

The real wages of the middle-class and the regularly-employed working-class were rising during the second half of the nineteenth century, giving them increased opportunities to choose their place of residence.[3] The unskilled worker scarcely benefited because of irregular employment[4] and, in Oxford, the surfeit of casual labour kept wages at a low level; indeed, the earnings of the whole family might be required to achieve a mere subsistence income. In 1834, the Oxford labourer was said to earn about 12/- a week and to work, on average, four or five days a week throughout the year.[5] Builders' labourers in 1867 were earning 15/- in a full week, but irregularity of employment diminished their average weekly wage to 11/-;[6] their full hourly rate was held at 4d. (18/- per week) from about 1874 until 1894[7] and although some were earning 5½d. an hour (24/6 per week) by 1910, others were still employed at the old rate.[8] Lower wages of as little as 17/- a week were to be found among carters, milkmen and shop-porters[9] and

1. J. H. Treble, op.cit., pp.33-8, 82-5; C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.44, 46; G.S. Jones, op.cit., p.67
2. C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.86; G.S. Jones, op.cit.,p.61; D.R. Green, Street trading in London: a case study of casual labour, 1830-80. In J.H. Johnson & C.G. Pooley, eds., op.cit., pp.130-4
3. G. Best, op.cit., pp.101-14; M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.264; D. Bythell, The history of the poor. English Historical Review 89 (1974), p.370
4. G.J. Barnsby, The standard of living in the Black Country during the 19th century. Economic History Review 24 (1971), pp.220-39
5. Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, H.C. 44 (1834), xxxvi, pp.38-9
6. O.C., 25.5.1867, p.8
7. ibid., 2.5.1874, p.8; 30.6.1894, p.8
8. C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.50
9. ibid., p.51

the apparent increase of between 42% and 104% in labourers' wages between 1834 and 1910 needs, in any case, to be seen in the context of very erratic earnings. Artisan wages, by contrast, rose by between 78% and 125% during the period, from £1 a week in 1834 to between 35/8 and 45/- in 1910.[1] The labour aristocracy had a skill to sell and their bargaining position was strengthened by increasing unionization and the formation of a Trades Council in 1888;[2] labourers, on the other hand, were easily replaced or forced back to work at the old rates during disputes in 1867 and 1874.[3] As in London, the concentration of male casual labour generated the parallel development of casual female employment, unskilled factory work for the unmarried daughters of the casual labourer and unskilled homework for his wife. Wives only worked because they had to do so[4] and the pay for laundering, charing and most outwork trades was low, serving only to supplement the husband's wage.[5] Taking in lodgers, fostering children and running small schools would also generate supplementary income,[6] especially, perhaps, for mothers tied to the home by the Education Act.[7] Many of these occupations were casual and intermittent[8] and were liable to go unrecorded in the census; so, too, were the numerous blind-alley jobs pursued by the children of poor families.[9] The employment of machine boys at the Uni-

1. Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, H.C. 44 (1834), xxxvi, pp.38-9; C.V. Butler, op.cit., pp.46-9

2. R.Q. Gray, The labour aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (1976) pp.144-6; O.C., 17.11.1888, p.8; infra, p.431

3. O.C., 1.6.1867, p.8; 16.5.1874, p.8

4. G.S. Jones, op.cit.,pp.84-5; S. Meacham, A life apart: the English working class,1890-1914 (1977), p.97; C.V. Butler, op.cit.,pp.72-5

5. J.H. Treble, op.cit., pp.22, 43; M. Jahn, Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900, In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The rise of suburbia (1982), pp.107-8

6. L. Davidoff, The separation of home and work: landladies and lodgers in 19th and 20th century England. In, S. Burman, ed., Fit work for women (1979), pp.84-9

7. G.S. Jones, Working-class culture and working-class politics in London, 1870-1900. Journal of Social History 7 (1974), p.486

8. G.S. Jones, Outcast London: a study in the relationship between classes in Victorian society (1976), p.85

9. ibid., p.69; J.H. Treble, op.cit.,pp.68-9; C.V. Butler, op.cit.,pp.51-5

versity Press, many of whom were made redundant at the age of 16, was checked by the workings of the Education Act and, in 1876, young women were taken on instead.[1] Children could still find part-time work in shops or as street traders, however, and, in Oxford as in Salford, boys gathered at the station to earn coppers for carrying parcels.[2] Children might stay away from school to help with the harvest and haymaking, because they were selling strawberries or because they were fetching snails for the family pig.[3] Families dependent upon casuality for a precarious income were trapped in a vicious spiral of poverty which could continue from generation to generation;[4] unable even to contemplate removing to new suburban houses, they had to stay, like *the poor in Ramsgate "in* little corners of land which nobody else wanted."[5]

The census books provide a statistical overview of housing conditions in the city and suburbs in 1871, hinting dispassionately at the squalor of one neighbourhood and inferring the comparative wealth of another. The residents themselves are no more than names on the pages, recorded like unknown passers-by in a photograph, but a systematic ten per cent sample of the entries provides the means by which certain aspects of their daily lives may be recreated.[6]

The family is the basic unit of the household and in the Oxford suburbs, as elsewhere, it was generally quite small. In Oxford, as in Ramsgate, more than 80% of families contained fewer than five people.[7] In the

1. O.C., 17.6.1865, p.8; 28.10.1876, p.7
2. R. Roberts, The classic slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (1973), p.157; O.C., 10.10.1868, p.7
3. O.C.A.T/SL31. St. Frideswide's Boys' School log-book, 1873-1900, pp.144,457, 3.9.1880, 8.7.1898; T/SL56. Summertown Mixed School log-book, 1863-74, pp.130, 283, 14.6.1865, 19.6.1868
4. G.S. Jones, op.cit., pp.87-97
5. R.S. Holmes, op.cit., p.79
6. This study makes use of the scheme suggested by W.A. Armstrong in his chapter, The use of information about occupation which appeared in E.A. Wrigley, ed., op.cit., pp.191-310
7. Table 42 Family sizes in Oxford suburbs and Ramsgate, 1871

Table 42 Family sizes in Oxford suburbs, and Ramsgate, 1871

Family size	All Oxford suburbs	North Oxford	Other suburbs	Ramsgate
1	8.2	6.1	8.9	17.5
2	19.6	22.4	18.5	25.3
3	19.0	10.2	22.2	17.9
4	20.1	22.4	19.3	12.7
5	14.7	12.2	15.5	9.3
6	10.9	12.2	10.4	6.4
7	2.7	2.0	3.0	4.5
8	1.6	6.1	-	2.8
9	2.2	4.1	1.5	1.9
10	1.1	2.0	0.7	0.2
11	-	-	-	0.2
Total nos.	670 (sample)	209 (sample)	461 (sample)	3011

Sources: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871.
R.S. Holmes, op.cit., p.96

Oxford suburbs, single person families were very much less common, however, reflecting perhaps their more specifically domestic nature. To a lesser degree, the same was true of two-person families, with the Oxford figure of 19.6% comparing with 25.3% in Ramsgate. More than half the Oxford families were between three and five in number, comprising the typical nuclear family of mother, father and between one and three children or a single parent with between two and four children. In each of these size classes, the Oxford figure more or less decisively exceeded the equivalent in Ramsgate. Six-person families were also more common in the Oxford suburbs, accounting for 10.9% of the sample as opposed to 6.4% in Ramsgate. Families containing seven or more people tended, by contrast, to be rather less frequent in Oxford and the sample included no family with as many as 11 members. Within the Oxford suburbs, the large family was most conspicuous in North Oxford where family sizes of six or over accounted for 26.4% of the sample; in the other suburbs, the same categories accounted for just 15.6%. It would be natural to assume that bigger families were occurring in the larger and more exclusive homes of North Oxford; in fact, arrangement of the sample according to the class of the household head shows that large families were most often to be found in the homes of the lower social classes.[1] The mean family sizes of Class III - V households in North Oxford were 4.27, 3.46 and 3.67 respectively, whereas the equivalent figures for classes I and II were 3.29 and 2.44. In the other, less fashionable suburbs the contrast was perhaps less marked but remained significant with family sizes of 3.71, 3.66 and 3.62 for the three lower classes set against 3.00 and 3.46 in classes I and II. Taking all the suburbs together the mean family sizes for class I and II households were 3.15 and 3.03 respectively, well below the figures of 3.86, 3.69 and 3.63 for classes III - V; in this respect, the difference between the higher and lower social classes is still more clearly defined in Oxford than it was in York 20 years earlier where

1. Table 43 Variations in household size in North Oxford, 1871, arranged by class and compared with other Oxford suburbs.

Table 43. Variations in household size in North Oxford, 1871, arranged by class and compared with other Oxford suburbs

	I		II		III		IV		V	
	North Oxford	Other suburbs	North Oxford	Other suburbs	North Oxford	Other suburbs	North Oxford	Other suburbs	North Oxford	Other suburbs
Mean no. of household heads	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wives per household	0.86	0.86	0.56	0.73	0.88	0.80	0.71	0.79	0.67	0.62
Children	1.43	1.14	0.88	1.73	2.39	1.91	1.75	1.87	2.00	2.00
Family size	3.29	3.00	2.44	3.46	4.27	3.71	3.46	3.66	3.67	3.62
Servants	1.57	1.29	1.00	0.41	0.24	0.15	0.21	0.11	-	-
Lodgers	-	0.14	0.44	0.27	0.24	0.14	0.14	0.17	0.17	0.15
Relatives	-	0.71	0.44	0.23	0.29	0.30	0.14	0.28	0.17	0.31
Visitors	-	0.14	0.06	-	0.04	0.08	0.04	0.02	-	-
Household size	4.86	5.28	4.38	4.37	5.08	4.38	3.99	4.24	4.01	4.08

Source: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871

the family size of class I households (3.39) exceeded that of class IV (3.22).[1]

The most crucial determinant of family size was, of course, the presence or absence of children. This was influenced by general factors such as the readiness and ability of parents in the upper echelons of society to send their children away to school; later on, such children were also more likely to leave home in pursuit of a career. Later marriage and the practice of birth control might also have helped to diminish the numbers of children of wealthier and better informed parents. In pleasanter suburbs too, the existence of genteel retirement houses for the elderly was likely to depress still further the proportion of children found in each household.[2] All this is borne out by the fact that households with co-resident children were least common in North Oxford (65.5%) and East Oxford (69.7%), both areas falling short of the suburban average of 70.7%. In other suburbs children were present in at least three-quarters of all households.[3] The mean number of children was lowest among the higher social classes and in North Oxford for example the figures for class I and II families were 1.43 and 0.88 respectively; these compared with figures of 2.39, 1.75 and 2.00 for classes III - V. A more gradual progression was evident in other suburbs as the mean number rose from 1.14 in class I to 2.00 in class V, the only break in the sequence being the marginal decline of class IV (1.87) over class III (1.91).[4] The aggregate figure for all the Oxford suburbs follows much the same pattern, but differs from York especially in the far smaller proportion of children in class I households; in the lower social classes, however, children were rather more numerous in the Oxford suburbs, reflecting perhaps the existence of a more youthful

1. Table 44 Variations in household size in Oxford suburbs, 1871, arranged by class and compared with York, 1851

2. R.S. Holmes, op.cit., p.143

3. Table 45 Household statistics in Oxford suburbs, 1871

4. Table 43

Table 44. Variations in household size in Oxford suburbs, 1871, arranged by class and compared with York, 1851.

	I		II		III		IV		V	
	Oxford suburbs	York	Oxford suburbs	York	Oxford suburbs	York	Oxford suburbs	York	Oxford suburbs	York
Mean no. of household heads	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Wives per household	0.86	0.54	0.66	0.61	0.82	0.78	0.76	0.70	0.63	0.71
Children	1.29	1.85	1.37	1.37	2.04	1.93	1.83	1.52	2.00	1.94
Family size	3.15	3.39	3.03	2.98	3.86	3.71	3.59	3.22	3.63	3.65
Servants	1.43	1.88	0.66	0.75	0.16	0.12	0.15	0.10	-	-
Lodgers	0.07	0.22	0.34	0.53	0.17	0.46	0.16	0.52	0.16	0.73
Relatives	0.36	0.41	0.32	0.41	0.30	0.29	0.23	0.24	0.28	0.34
Visitors	0.07	0.12	0.03	0.26	0.07	0.08	0.03	0.07	-	0.08
Household size	5.08	6.02	4.38	4.93	4.56	4.66	4.16	4.15	4.07	4.80
Family and relatives as % of household	69.1	63.1	76.5	66.9	91.2	85.8	91.8	83.4	96.1	83.1

Source: P.R.O. RG 10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871
A. Armstrong, Stability and change in an English county town: a social study of York, 1801-51 (1974), p.189

Table 45. Household statistics in Oxford suburbs, 1871

	All Oxford suburbs	East	Jericho	North	South	West
Mean household size	4.4	4.1	4.8	4.6	4.0	4.3
% households with 8 or more people	8.8	4.5	16.7	10.9	-	7.1
% households with co-resident children	70.7	69.7	77.3	65.5	75.0	78.6
% households with co-resident kin	17.9	18.2	18.2	18.2	25.0	10.7
% households with lodgers	14.2	11.4	18.2	17.3	-	14.3
% shared houses	5.4	4.8	3.1	4.8	6.7	16.7
% households with visitors	4.0	3.0	7.6	3.6	-	3.6
% households with servants	18.2	19.7	10.6	26.4	6.3	3.6
Total persons (sample)	1537	539	314	501	64	119

Source: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871

population in areas which were still extending out into the countryside.

In addition to the basic family, a household might contain servants, lodgers, relatives and visitors, some or all of whom might add considerably to its size. Relatively small households of six or fewer people were in fact the norm, accounting for 85.6% of those in the combined Oxford suburbs and for the smaller proportion of 79.6% in contemporary Ramsgate.[1] The Oxford figure was slightly lower in North Oxford (82.6%) where there were more large houses and higher in the other suburbs (86.7%). Households with eight or more people accounted for 13.1% of those in Ramsgate but for only 8.8% in Oxford; the mean household sizes of these communities were almost identical, however, at 4.4 in the Oxford suburbs and 4.5 in Ramsgate.[2] Within the Oxford suburbs, households were largest in Jericho (4.8) where convenience and cheap housing helped to generate the highest proportions both of households with eight or more people (16.7%) and of households with lodgers (18.2%). The mean household size in North Oxford was boosted to 4.6 because servants were present in 26.4% of households and lodgers were again a significant factor (17.3%). Shared houses, forming 16.7% of the total and households with lodgers (14.3%) were common in West Oxford, betokening the suburb's great convenience for railway employees, but the mean household size was still no higher than 4.3 because of the almost complete absence of servants. In East Oxford, domestic servants were a more important factor, being present in 19.7% of households; the suburb was less convenient for employees in the commercial district of Oxford, however, and shared houses (4.8%) and households with lodgers (11.4%) were both comparatively rare. Only 4.5% of East Oxford households contained eight or more people and the overall household size was 4.1. There were no very

1. Table 46 Household sizes in Oxford suburbs and Ramsgate, 1871

2. Table 47 Household statistics in Oxford suburbs and Ramsgate, 1871

Table 46. Household sizes in Oxford suburbs and Ramsgate, 1871

Household size	All Oxford suburbs	North Oxford	Other suburbs	Ramsgate
1	3.4	1.8	4.1	5.4
2	19.9	22.7	18.6	17.6
3	18.5	18.2	18.6	18.3
4	15.1	10.9	16.9	16.4
5	15.3	14.5	15.7	12.5
6	13.4	14.5	12.8	9.4
7	5.7	6.4	5.4	7.1
8	3.7	4.5	3.3	5.1
9	1.7	0.9	2.1	3.2
10	2.3	2.7	2.1	2.1
11	0.6	0.9	0.4	1.0
12	0.6	1.8	-	0.4
13 & over	-	-	-	1.3
Total persons	1537(sample)	501(sample)	1036(sample)	14110

Sources: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871
R.S. Holmes, op.cit.,p.104

Table 47 Household statistics in Oxford suburbs and Ramsgate, 1871

	Oxford suburbs	Ramsgate
Mean household size	4.4	4.5
% households with 8 or more people	8.8	13
% households with co-resident children	70.7	82
% households with co-resident kin	17.9	21
% households with lodgers	14.2	15
% shared houses	5.4	27
% households with visitors	4.0	-
% households with servants	18.2	26
Total persons (sample)	1537	

Sources: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871.
R.S. Holmes, *op.cit.*, pp.105-20

large households in South Oxford, no households with lodgers and very few servants; in this instance, the mean household size was only raised to 4.0 by a higher than average proportion of shared houses (6.7%) and the highest proportion of households with co-resident kin.[1] The aggregated figures for all Oxford suburbs show that domestic servants, as in Ramsgate,[2] formed the largest single component of the household after the family. Although so rare in South (6.3%) and West Oxford (3.6%), and scarcely more common in Jericho (10.6%), they were to be found in some 18.2% of all suburban households, a figure which compares with one of 26% at Ramsgate.[3] Co-resident kin were almost as numerous a group, being present in 17.9% of Oxford households, and were of less account only in West Oxford (10.7%) where there were many first generation Oxonians.[4] Nevertheless, the Oxford figure was lower than that recorded in contemporary Ramsgate and suggests the stronger presence of the nuclear family in Victorian suburbs. House-sharing and taking in lodgers presupposed a great demand for accommodation which clearly varied from one area to another; overall, 14.2% of suburban households had lodgers and a further 5.4% of houses were shared by at least one other family. In Ramsgate, by contrast, the proportion of households with lodgers was 15% and shared houses accounted for a further 26.5%,[5] a level of demand which approximated more closely to that of West Oxford[6] than it did to the much lower Oxford suburban average. Visitors form perhaps the most enigmatic component of household size; some were visiting relatives, described as such in the occupation columns, others were family friends, while a few were probably lodgers recorded as visitors by heads of households mindful of their social aspirations.[7] Any attempt to disentangle

1. Table 45
2. R. S. Holmes, op.cit., p.107
3. Table 45
4. supra, p. 322
5. R. S. Holmes, op.cit., pp.111, 120
6. Table 45
7. P.M. Tillott, Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses. In, E.A. Wrigley, ed., op.cit.,pp.112-6; L. Davidoff, op.cit.,pp.84-5

the boarding lodger from the non-paying guest is fraught with uncertainty, however, and the enumerators' designation of the visitor has been accepted in all instances. Visitors were, in any case, a minor element of household size, present in only 4.0% of Oxford suburban households.[1]

It has so far been implicit that household size bore some significant relationship to class and this is made clear by comparing the household statistics for North Oxford with the combined data of the four less favoured suburbs.[2] It is generally true that the higher the class of the household head the larger his or her household was likely to be.[3] The presence of domestic servants was the key factor in this respect since they were most likely to be found in middle-class households. In the Oxford sample, eight out of nine class I households (88.9%) and 15 out of 32 class II households (46.9%) contained resident domestic servants whereas the proportions fell to 10.8% and 7.8% in classes III and IV respectively. The wealthy tended also to have more servants and three, usually a cook, a housemaid and a parlourmaid, were regarded as the bare minimum for the high-grade professional or the more substantial businessman.[4] As a result, class I household in North Oxford enjoyed the highest proportion of domestic servants, the mean number per household being 1.57; class I households in the other suburbs had to be satisfied with the lower ratio of 1.29:1. The proportions again diminished with each class, but remained considerably higher in North Oxford than elsewhere; thus, in class II the mean number of servants per household was 1.00 as against 0.41, in class III 0.24 as against 0.15 and in class IV 0.21 as opposed to 0.11. These figures do, however, show

1. Table 45
2. Table 43
3. R. S. Holmes, op.cit.,p.143
4. P.L.R. Horn, op.cit., pp.19-20

that not all the wealthy had servants and that servant-keeping was not necessarily a sign of middle-class status.[1] Philanthropists might set up training schools for domestic servants,[2] as Mrs. Morrell did in St. Clement's in 1858,[3] and parish schools might be trawled for suitable nursemaids,[4] but employment of domestic servants always had an element of risk. Embarrassments such as the betrayal of family secrets, troublesome 'followers' and servants running home to their families were guarded against, particularly in the best houses, by employing servants from a distance.[5] In North Oxford, only 13.0% of the living-in servants in the sample had been born in Oxford and a further 34.8% in Oxfordshire; in the other suburbs, the equivalent figures were 20.0% and 45.0%. The 'servant problem' became worse by the end of the century, however, because of alternative employment opportunities, the diminished status of domestic service and the restraints which servants had to endure.[6] In 1894, for example, Myfanwy Rhys described the new housemaid as "a moke" and the family servants went on strike briefly in 1898;[7] Mrs. Haldane discovered that her parlourmaid had been hiding all her visiting cards as a way of diminishing the flow of visitors.[8]

1. E. Higgs, Domestic servants and households in Victorian England. Social History 8 (1983), pp.201-10; F.K. Prochaska, Female philanthropy and domestic service in Victorian England. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 54 (1981), p.84

2. P.L.R. Horn, op.cit., p.35

3. J.O.J., 6.3.1858, p.5

4. O.C.A. T/SL 38. St. Giles' Girls' School log book, 1863-84, p.357, 6.4.1882

5. P.L.R. Horn, op.cit., p.32; E. Higgs, op.cit., p.208; R.S. Holmes, op.cit., p.218

6. P.L.R. Horn, op.cit., p.24; A. Lee, Party walls and private lives: aspects of a railway suburb. Women's Studies 3 (1976), p.256; C.V. Butler, op.cit., pp.69-70

7. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.677. Myfanwy Rhys diary, pp.106, 171

8. L.K. Haldane, Friends and kindred (1961), p.156

If the benefits of servant-keeping were not being appreciated by a portion of the middle-class, the cheap labour of servants, provided perhaps by the work-house or a reformatory, was welcomed by the lower social classes.[1] In rural market towns in 1871, approximately 40% of the employers of servants were small tradesmen[2] and the Oxford suburban sample reveals that class III and IV households accounted for 34 out of 64 servant-owning households (53.1%). In a few cases, servants in commercial premises might have been serving a dual function,[3] but most were in the family homes of artisans and shopkeepers; the number of class IV households with servants, especially in North Oxford, was the result of more affluent college servants who could themselves afford to employ servants.

The presence of kin, visitors and lodgers provided a further contribution to household size, although the latter were a scarcely tolerable intrusion into the privacy of the finest Victorian home. None were therefore to be found in the class I households of North Oxford and only a small proportion (0.14) elsewhere. Lodgers were, however, proportionally most numerous among class II households both in North Oxford with a mean number per household of 0.44 and in the other suburbs where the figure was 0.27; presumably, the income from a boarding lodger helped to maintain appearances and thus offset the inconvenience arising from his or her presence. The higher proportion of lodgers in North Oxford properties is again evident in class III households, the comparison being 0.24 as against 0.14; this may reflect both the larger houses which were to be found in that suburb and also perhaps the growth of the University's licensed lodging houses.[4] Lodgers were surprisingly less common in class IV and V house-

1. F.K. Prochaska, op.cit., pp.82-3; C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.196
2. P.L.R. Horn, op.cit., p.18
3. E. Higgs, op.cit., p.208
4. supra, p.p. 178-9

holds where the extra income might have been most welcome; here, the combination of relatively large family sizes and smaller suburban properties left little space for letting and many such houses were also too remote for the urban labourer and were generally unacceptable on sanitary grounds as University lodging houses.[1] Relatives might obviously be present for a variety of reasons in every social class and no clear pattern in their distribution has been discerned. In general they contributed more than lodgers to household sizes and were especially numerous in class I households outside North Oxford where the mean number per household was as high as 0.71. Visitors, on the other hand, were of comparatively little significance in determining household size and were entirely absent from class V households.

Comparisons between the combined Oxford suburbs of 1871 and the city of York 20 years before make clear some of the fundamental differences between the two communities.[2] Except among class I households, family size in every class of Oxford suburban households exceeded or matched its York equivalent and yet household size was almost invariably lower in Oxford. Fewer servants were to be found in Oxford's class I households - 1.43 per household as opposed to 1.88 at York - and fewer also in class II, 0.66 as against 0.75. In class III where the figures were 0.16 against 0.12 and class IV, 0.15 against 0.10, the proportion of servant-owning households in Oxford was slightly higher than York, but the overall impression must be one of more modest prosperity spread perhaps with greater evenness. The relative paucity of lodgers in the Oxford suburbs was striking in every class and especially in the lower classes where they might have been most expected.[3] The mean number of lodgers per household in York was 0.46 in class III, 0.52 in class IV and 0.73 in class V; in Oxford, the figures

1. <u>supra</u>, pp. 179-81
2. <u>Table 44</u>
3. R. S. Holmes, <u>op.cit</u>., pp.146-8

were respectively 0.17, 0.16 and 0.16. The lack of demand for lodgings in most Oxford suburbs was a further reflection of a contemporary city which remained non-industrial in character and was growing at only a modest rate. There was predictably little real difference between the proportions of kin present in the two communities, but visitors were more common in every class at York, if only marginally so in class III. In class I, the mean number of visitors per household was 0.12 in York as against 0.07 in the Oxford suburbs; in class II the gap was much wider with the figure of 0.26 at York and 0.03 in Oxford. In these classes and perhaps others, the higher York figures might be explicable if some of the visitors were in fact lodgers rather than non-paying guests. Almost without exception though, Oxford suburban houses of every class tended to have fewer servants, fewer lodgers and fewer visitors; as a result, mean household sizes were usually lower and sometimes considerably lower than their York equivalents. Class I households in the Oxford suburbs had, for example, a mean household size of 5.08, well below that of 6.02 in York; similarly, in class II, the Oxford figure of 4.38 contrasted with one of 4.93 in York. The gap was much diminished in class III households (4.56 in Oxford, 4.66 in York), and disappeared in class IV, where the figures were respectively 4.16 and 4.15; in both classes larger family sizes and a higher frequency of servant-owning in the Oxford suburbs were counter-balancing the shortfall of lodgers. The gap widened again in class V, however, where the Oxford household size of 4.07 compared with one of 4.80 in York. It has been argued that class III households were most dependent upon the family,[1] the higher classes being beset with domestic servants and the lower ones with lodgers. This was the case in York where the extended family, including relatives, accounted for 85.8% of the mean household size in class III households but for the reduced figures of 83.4% and 83.1% in classes IV and V respectively; at the other end of the social spectrum, the extended family formed only 63.1% of the household size in class I and 66.9% in class II. The situation in the

1. R.S. Holmes, op.cit., p.150

Victorian suburbs of Oxford, and perhaps in other suburban areas, was clearly different. In every class, the family was a considerably larger component of household size and the proportion rose steadily from 69.1% in class I to 76.5% in class II, 91.2% in class III, 91.8% in class IV and 96.1% in class V. The suburb, envisaged very much as a place for familial privacy, was evidently fulfilling these expectations.

During the nineteenth century London was systematically sorted into "single-purpose, homogenous, specialised neighbourhoods"[1] and the same process of residential differentiation was at work in all towns, creating social segregation most quickly where there was rapid growth and industrialization.[2] Segregation of the classes was not entirely new and it is arguable that the early nineteenth century form where differentiation lay vertically within buildings or horizontally between the front street and court dwellings[3] was of considerable antiquity. Nevertheless, the development of social segregation by street and estate introduced a degree of spatial separation which had not existed before. The rising real income of the middle-class and the regularly-employed working-class was the major underlying factor in effecting this change of scale[4] because it enabled more people to make a status-oriented choice of housing. This potential demand and the sanitary improvments dictated by legislation and building byelaws encouraged builders and investors to concentrate upon high and middle status properties around the urban periphery at the expense of low-rent accommodation.[5] The outcome in Oxford is made clear by a study of

1. D.J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.18

2. C.G. Pooley, Choice and constraint in the 19th century city: a basis for residential differentiation. In, C.G. Pooley & J.H. Johnson, eds., The structure of nineteenth century cities (1982), p.202; H. Carter and S. Wheatley, Residential segregation in 19th century cities. Area 12 (1980), p.57

3. R. Dennis, Stability and change in urban communities: a geographical perspective. In, C.G. Pooley & J.H. Johnson, eds., op.cit., p.256; H. Carter & S. Wheatley, op.cit., p.60

4. R.G. Rodger, Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in 19th century Britain. In, J.H. Johnson & C.G. Pooley, eds., op.cit., p.40

5. C.G. Pooley, op.cit.,pp.205-7

rateable values which Holmes has shown to be "a better discriminator of social areas than....Class."[1] In 1905, the proportion of houses in North Oxford with a rateable value of over £20 was 60%, four times higher than the figure in any of the other suburbs. At the other end of the scale, the cheapest properties with a rateable value of £7 or less were only to be found in any numbers in East Oxford (15.7%) and Jericho (18.3%) where there were substantial areas of early nineteenth century housing. Outside North Oxford, the bulk of suburban housing catered for the clerk, the superior artisan and the regularly-employed working man; thus in East Oxford, 69.3% of the houses had rateable values of between £8 and £19 while the equivalent figures for Jericho, South Oxford and West Oxford were 70.3%, 82.8% and 85.8% respectively.[2] These contrasts were already becoming apparent by 1871 when heads of households in Classes I, II and X were relatively more common in North Oxford, accounting for 24.5% of the sample as against 16.2% in the other suburbs. The reverse was true for unskilled workers, and household heads in class V accounted for 9.9% of the sample outside North Oxford but for only 5.5% in that higher-status suburb. Few such individuals could afford to rent the newer suburban houses, however, and the majority of household heads were skilled and partly skilled workers in Classes III and IV. Class III heads were present in 44.5% of the households in North Oxford and in 54.5% of those elsewhere; the higher proportion of Class IV household heads in North Oxford - 25.4% as against 19.4% - may be attributed to the presence of elite college and university servants in that suburb.[3]

1. R. S. Holmes, op.cit., p.313
2. Table 32
3. Table 48 Class of household heads in the Oxford suburbs, 1871

Table 48 Class of household heads in the Oxford suburbs, 1871

	North Oxford		Other suburbs	
		%		%
Class I	5	4.5	4	1.7
II	12	10.9	20	8.3
III	49	44.5	132	54.5
IV	28	25.4	47	19.4
V	6	5.5	24	9.9
X	10	9.1	15	6.2
	110	99.9	242	100.0

Source: P.R.O. RG10/1264, 1434-6, 1438, 1440-1. Census enumerators' returns, 1871

Table 49 Residential persistence in the Oxford suburbs, 1880-1890

	All		North Oxford		Other suburbs	
		%		%		%
1880	1336	100.0	251	100.0	1085	100.0
1882	908	68.0	190	75.7	718	66.2
1884	647	48.4	141	56.2	506	46.6
1887	502	37.6	120	47.8	382	35.2
1890	359	26.9	88	35.1	271	25.0

Sources: Valters & Co., Oxford post office directory, 1880, 1882, 1884/5, 1887, 1890, passim.

The degree of satisfaction with which suburban residents viewed their environment may only rarely be measured by their own opinions, but this short-coming may be remedied, at least in part, by looking at their willingness to stay or readiness to move. The study of residential mobility has been challenged because neither the cause nor the overall effect of the moves is known and because the historian's arbitrary boundaries between social areas would have had little significance to contemporaries;[1] the latter were, in fact, apt to give each street a social rating and even to class one side or end higher than another.[2] Moves could, moreover, be regarded casually because most families had few possessions and it was easy to remove short distances from one rented property to another.[3] Further problems are caused by trying to match decennial census records with less complete electoral rolls, ratebooks and directories;[4] in Oxford the situation is worsened by the loss of most Victorian ratebooks and the absence of regular street directories before 1880. As a result, a limited study of residential persistence has been undertaken from directories published between 1880 and 1890, covering 30 selected streets in the Oxford suburbs.[5] The overall results show quite high levels of persistence with 68.0% resident at the same address after two years, 48.4% after four years, 37.6% after seven and 26.9% after ten.[6] Other studies quoted by Dennes and Daniels[7] produced ten-year figures of between 13% and 20% and it would

1. M. Anderson, Indicators of population change and stability in 19th century cities: some sceptical comments. In, J.H. Johnson & C.G. Pooley, eds., op.cit., pp.294-6.
2. R. Roberts, The classic slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (1973), p.17; H. McLeod, Class and religion in the late Victorian city (1974), p.192
3. M.Anderson, op.cit., pp.285-90
4. C.G. Pooley, Residential mobility in the Victorian city. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), pp.259-60
5. Valters & Co., Oxford post office directory, 1880, 1882, 1884/5, 1887, 1890, passim.
6. Table 49 Residential persistence in the Oxford suburbs, 1880-1890
7. R. Dennis & S. Daniels, 'Community' and the social geography of Victorian cities. Urban History Yearbook (1981), pp.8-9

appear that, although most residents of the Oxford suburbs were tenants ratherthan owner-occupiers,[1] they had an above-average degree of attachment to their homes. Several researchers have noted that mobility was in inverse relationship to class[2] with greater persistence among the middle classes who moved not through necessity but in order to obtain a better address or for reasons connected with the family life cycle.[3] Such individuals were more likely to be owner-occupiers or, in the Oxford context, occupying long-term lessees and their stake in a property was of a more permanent character. In North Oxford, residential persistence was therefore substantially above the suburban average with 75.7% remaining at the same address for two years, 56.2% for four years, 47.8% for seven years and as many as 35.1% for ten years. In the other suburbs, the persistence rate was lower by about ten percentage points each year, culminating at 25% after ten years.[4] Although still high by the standards of most other studies, these figures echo the general finding that mobility was highest in low-status areas[5] because of unemployment, industrial disputes, the death of the breadwinner or simple inability to pay the rent.[6] The average figure also masks great extremes since the ten-year rate of persistence in the undesirable cul-de-sac Dover's Row was a mere 7.1%; in the more respectable Osney Town or in Alma Place, by contrast, equivalent figures of 43.6% and 45.2% show a degree of persistence far higher than the

1. supra, p. 306

2. R. S. Holmes, op.cit., p.273; C.G. Pooley, op.cit.,p.268; R.M.Pritchard, Housing and the spatial structure of the city (1976), pp.54-5

3. H. Carter, The study of urban geography 3rd ed. (1981), p.263

4. Table 49

5. R.S. Holmes, op.cit., p.273; C.G. Pooley, op.cit., p.268

6. D. Englander, op.cit., pp. 9-10

than the 33% recorded on the artisan estate of West Hill Park, Halifax between 1871 and 1881.[1] Both Pooley and Pritchard have noted above-average rates of mobility in new housing areas[2] but in suburban Oxford mobility seems generally to have been low, reflecting the basic contentment of those who could afford its cottages and villas.

The residents of Oxford's Victorian suburbs were predominantly local people drawn from the city itself or from the surrounding countryside. Their work focused partly upon the city centre and partly upon conveniently located industries such as the University Press or the railways; for many suburban residents and especially women, however, each suburb formed a market for goods and services reproducing on a smaller scale the characteristics of the city itself. The variable nature and regularity of their employment helped to create a pattern of social segregation that was, to some degree, made manifest by the presence or absence of living-in servants and by differing levels of residential persistence. Household sizes were comparatively low and many suburban houses were single family homes where a tableau of domestic issues could be enacted daily behind closed doors.

1. R. Dennis & S. Daniels, op.cit., p.10
2. C. G. Pooley, op.cit., p.268; R. M. Pritchard, op.cit., p.55

8. Life in the Suburbs

Amenities helped to transform a new suburb into a living community and the variable ways in which they were introduced helped to reinforce the existing social differentiation between rich and poor, between the articulate and those who had no political voice. The quality of the infrastructure provided by the developer gave most middle-class estates an initial advantage over poorer suburbs[1] and residents had to persuade or compel local authorities and private utilities to make further improvements. The needs of the various suburbs for churches and schools or for shopping and recreation facilities could be interpreted very differently by their inhabitants and by those individuals or bodies that sought to provide them. The relationship between the providers and those for whom the amenities were provided is the main theme of this chapter.

8.1 The political background

The later nineteenth century was marked by a massive growth of public activity in towns as local authorities developed a commitment to environmental control into an acknowledged responsibility for the general welfare of the community.[2] This adoption of a positive social role may have owed something to a growing willingness to restrict individual freedom in the interest of society, and increasing numbers of professional administrators served to inform councils and public opinion about the urgent need for reform. Technological

1. supra, pp. 150-1

2. D. Fraser, Power and authority in the Victorian city (1979), p.167.

advances also tended to concede new areas of activity to local authorities but structural factors were probably the most significant, causing an expansion of public intervention to fill the gap between the actual and the desired performance of the urban environment.[1] The widening definition of the concept of municipal reform, the 'civic gospel' expounded most forcefully in Birmingham,[2] led to a substantial enlargement of local authority services which might now include provision for intellectual needs and the management of utilities as well as the necessities of security and survival.[3]

The extent to which these powers were adopted varied considerably from place to place,[4] and, in Oxford, neither the size of the city nor its rate of growth encouraged large-scale public intervention. The division of local government responsibilities between the Corporation and the Local Board until 1889[5] was a further barrier to the growth of municipal enterprise which flourished most vigorously when powers and institutions were amalgamated.[6] The decisive influence, however, was the composition of these local bodies and the degree to which members reflected or tried to mould public opinion. A tradition of public service encouraged some men to serve on a local

1. A.Sutcliffe, The growth of public intervention in the British urban environment during the nineteenth century: a structural approach. In, J.H. Johnson & C.G. Pooley, eds., The structure of nineteenth century cities (1982), pp.110-3; J.R. Kellett, Municipal Socialism, enterprise and trading in the Victorian city. Urban History Yearbook (1978), p.44.

2. D. Fraser, op.cit. p.101

3. J. R. Kellett, op.cit., p.41

4. D. Fraser, op.cit., passim

5. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.224

6. D. Fraser, op.cit., pp.166-7

authority, but most were drawn rather by its functions so that they could defend vested interests or by its social attraction.[1] Working men were excluded by the franchise and by the hours of council meetings,[2] and authorities which lacked substantial powers tended also to be unattractive to leading business and professional men.[3] In these circumstances, the City Council with relatively few areas of responsibility was clearly dominated by a 'shopocracy'[4] representing small business and manufacturing interests which were most hostile to increased expenditure.[5] Dealing and Manufacture accounted for 69.2% of the city's councillors in 1869 and for 66.6% twenty years later, but the Drink trade was only marginally represented. Five men from the Professions and Public Services, or 12.8% of the total number, were on the Council in 1869 and eight (22.2%) in 1889. No other trade grouping achieved a significant representation, but individuals from the Building trades were present in both years. The Local Board by contrast was the major sanitary authority for Oxford until 1889 and with a membership elected by the University, by the City Council and by individual parishes, it had a substantially different composition. The Professions and Public Services, composed mostly of Oxford academics, accounted for more than two-fifths of the Board in 1869 and just over one-half in 1889; Dealing and Manufacture, on the other hand, provided only about two-fifths of the members in both years.

1. E. P. Hennock, Fit and proper persons: ideal and reality in nineteenth century urban government (1973), p.170

2. E. Gauldie, Cruel habitations (1974), p.124; E.P. Hennock, op.cit., p.10

3. D. Fraser op.cit., pp. 158-9

4. This description is used by A. Elliott, Municipal government in Bradford in the mid-nineteenth century. In, D. Fraser ed., Municipal reform and the industrial city (1982), p.144

5. D. Fraser, op.cit.,p.69; Table 50 Known occupations of members of Oxford local authorities, 1869-90.

Table 50 Known occupations of members of Oxford local authorities, 1869-90

	Local Board 1869	City Council 1869	Local Board 1889	City Council 1889	City Council 1890
Professions & Public Service	19(43.2)	5(12.8)	21(51.2)	8(22.2)	21(37.5)
Teaching	15(34.1)	-	17(41.5)	2(5.6)	12(25.0)
Dealing	14(31.8)	19(48.7)	11(26.8)	16(44.4)	19(33.9)
Drink trade	1(2.3)	1(2.6)	-	2(5.6)	1(1.8)
Industrial Service	-	1(2.6)	3(7.3)	2(5.6)	2(3.6)
Manufacture	4(9.1)	8(20.5)	5(12.2)	8(22.2)	8(14.3)
Building	4(9.1)	3(7.7)	-	2(5.6)	5(8.9)
Transport	2(4.5)	1(2.6)	1(2.4)	-	1(1.8)
Domestic Service	1(2.3)	2(5.1)	-	-	-
Total	44(100.0)	39(100.0)	41(99.9)	36(100.0)	56(100.0)

Sources: Webster's Oxford directory, 1869; Valters' Oxford directory, 1889-90

Table 51 Places of residence of members of Oxford local authorities, 1869-90

	Local Board 1869	City Council 1869	Local Board 1889	City Council 1889	City Council 1890
City Centre	25(53.2)	21(52.5)	22(46.8)	14(35.9)	20(33.3)
East Oxford	6(12.8)	4(10.0)	6(12.8)	7(17.9)	8(13.3)
Jericho	-	-	1(2.1)	1(2.6)	-
North Oxford	12(25.5)	12(30.0)	15(31.9)	15(38.5)	28(46.7)
South Oxford	3(6.4)	3(7.5)	1(2.1)	1(2.6)	1(1.7)
West Oxford	1(2.1)	-	2(4.3)	1(2.6)	3(5.0)
Total	47(100.0)	40(100.0)	47(100.0)	39(100.1)	60(100.0)

Sources: Webster's Oxford directory, 1869; Valters' Oxford directory, 1889-90

In a sense then, this was an elitist body with a far higher professional content than was usual, but these were not necessarily the elitists who, in late nineteenth century Leeds, helped to revolutionise the city's municipal administration.[1] On the contrary, heads of colleges had every reason to fear mounting rates, and academics with substantial North Oxford houses had a personal, vested interest in municipal economy. In 1889, a new City Council was elected, drawing together the functions of the Corporation and the Local Board, and, with a quarter of its members elected by the University, its composition reflected its dual origins. As on the old Local Board, members from the Professions and Public Services formed the largest single group and accounted for 37.5% of the council in 1890; most were academics, but the category also included a retired colonel and three members of the legal profession. The Oxford 'shopocracy' provided nearly half of the councillors, a lesser proportion than they had achieved on the Corporation but a substantial improvement in their position on the Local Board. The Building trades were the only other significant grouping, accounting for a further 8.9% of the councillors. Although the new Council embarked, as Leeds had done in the 1850s, on the building of a new Town Hall which "symbolised the enlarged horizons of municipal administration...,"[2] there was no significant change in its outlook; instead, it took pride in the city's low rates and, "as becomes the authorities of a 'residential' town, labours to keep them low."[3].

1. E. P. Hennock, op.cit., p.227
2. D. Fraser, op. cit., p.67
3. C. V. Butler, Social conditions in Oxford (1912), p.151

The attitudes of local authority members towards expensive sanitary or other improvements were conditioned by their places of residence[1] as well as by their occupations. With the University and colleges at its heart, Oxford was unusual in retaining a city centre which, in parts at least, remained desirable for middle class life. In 1869, more than half of the Local Board members and city councillors were therefore to be found living in colleges, above business premises or in still fashionable houses around St. Giles'.[2] Twenty years later, the proportion of Local Board members living in the centre had fallen to 46.8% and that of councillors to 35.9%, the substantial difference emphasising that many University members of the Board still lived in college while the city's tradesmen and small manufacturers had more freedom and incentive to move to the suburbs. Of the councillors in the new City Council in 1890, only one-third still lived centrally. The figures for North Oxford, which accommodated 25.5% of Local Board members and 30.0% of councillors in 1869, show a corresponding increase as wealthier members of the community moved there; by 1890, nearly half of the councillors were living in the city's premier suburb, a similar situation to the one obtaining in Edgbaston, the home of Birmingham's elite.[3] The proportion of councillors resident in all the other suburbs put together barely exceeded one-fifth of the total number.

1. K. A. Cowlard, The identification of social (class) areas and their place in nineteenth century urban development. Transactions of the Inst. of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979) p.251.

2. Table 51 Places of residence of members of Oxford local authorities, 1869-90.

3. D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.199

This striking contrast, demonstrating the social segregation of Oxford's Victorian suburbs, was increasingly manifested, too, by their political affiliations. Between 1836 and 1889 Oxford was divided into five wards for electoral purposes; Central Ward comprised the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen and All Saints' and West Ward the parishes of St. Ebbe, St. Michael & St. Martin. North Ward included St. Thomas', Godstow and parts of St. Giles' and North Hinksey parishes while South Ward took in St. Peter le Bailey, St. Aldate's, St. Mary the Virgin, St. John's and part of South Hinksey. Finally, East Ward comprised Holywell and St. Peter in the East parishes as well as St. Clement's and parts of Cowley, Headington and Marston.[1] These wards maintained a Conservative ascendancy in the Council from 1836 to 1853,[2] but the Liberals subsequently held the balance of power until 1887.[3] The major source of Conservative strength lay in the small Central Ward where there were 334 voters in 1850 and only 493 in 1888/9;[4] here 13 Tory councillors as against three Liberals were elected in the 1850s and 17 Conservatives as against three Liberals during the 1880s. Even when Liberalism was at its municipal zenith in the 1860s and 1870s, it still did less well in Central Ward than elsewhere. Overall, 47 out of 91 councillors (58.0%) elected for Central Ward between 1850 and 1888 were Conservative and only 32 (39.5%) were Liberal.[5] In all

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.264

2. ibid., p.230

3. ibid., p.232; O.C., 19.11.1887, p.5 suggests that the Liberal majority dated from ca.1856.

4. Table 52 Numbers of burgesses in the Oxford Wards, 1850-1900; D. Fraser, op.cit., p.115 quotes a similar situation in Bristol where wards allocated by rateable value and not by ratio of population led to unbroken Conservative rule in a Liberal parliamentary seat.

5. Table 53 Councillors elected to Oxford Wards, 1850-1900. I am indebted to C.J. Day for his help in the preparation of this table.

Table 52 Numbers of burgesses in the Oxford wards, 1850-1900

	Central	East	North	South	West
1850	334	344	536	304	465
1856	282	363	616	361	594
1873	465	1282	2119	592	1182
1880/1	480	1295	2536	598	1196
1888/9	493	1291	2968	594	1189
1889/90	-	2002	1998	1994	2120
1900/1	-	2715	2337	2322	2296

Source: O.C.A. M.7. 36-40, 61-65, 67-72; N.6.7, 15-17, 26
Burgess Rolls, 1850-1900/1

Table 53 Councillors elected to Oxford wards, 1850-1900

	Central			East			North			South			West		
	C	L	Ind	C	L	Ind	C	L	Ind	C	L	Ind	C	L	Ind
1850-9	13	3	-	12	7	2	3	20	-	7	15	-	3	19	-
1860-9	9	14	-	3	19	1	3	17	-	1	16	-	-	19	-
1870-9	8	12	-	1	24	-	10	11	-	2	20	-	3	19	-
1880-9	17	3	2	15	8	-	19	2	-	3	17	1	6	17	-
	47	32	2	31	58	3	35	50	-	13	68	1	12	74	-
	58.0%	39.5%	2.5%	33.7%	63.0%	3.3%	41.2%	58.8%	-	15.9%	82.9%	1.2%	14.0%	86.0%	-

	East			North			South			West		
	C	L	Ind	C	L	Ind	C	L	Ind	C	L	Ind
1889-1900	17	31	-	44	3	1	13	35	-	16	29	-
	35.4%	64.6%		91.7%	6.3%	2.1%	27.1%	72.9%	-	35.6%	64.4%	

Sources: O.C., 1850-1900, passim; information from C. J. Day

other wards, Liberal councillors were predominant and most conspicuously so in South and West Wards which took in most of the poorer city centre parishes. South Ward, for example, with 304 burgesses in 1850 and 594 by 1888/9, elected Liberals on 68 out of a possible 82 occasions (82.9%); West Ward, with a voting population rising from 465 to 1189, did so on 74 out of 86 (86.0%). The new suburban populations were, however, to be found mainly in East Ward and in North Ward which comprised Jericho and West Oxford as well as North Oxford. East Ward had only 344 voters in 1850 and some of the Conservative support evident in the 1850s when the ward elected twelve Tory as against seven Liberal councillors[1] doubtless came from the parishes of Holywell and St. Peter in the East. The enfranchisement of the urban working man in 1867[2] and the eastward extension of the boundary in 1868[3] diminished the significance of these older areas and substantially increased the number of voters in the Ward to 1,262 by 1873. During the 1860s the Ward elected 19 Liberal and only three Conservative councillors and in the 1870s, 24 as against one.[4] In 1875, East Ward was described as "a Liberal stronghold"[5] and it undoubtedly contained many of those working class individuals who valued their self-respect without feeling the need to sharpen it by attacking their immediate superiors; people who by thrift had raised a little capital and whose individualism was often

1. Tables 52 and 53
2. 30 and 31 Victoria c.102, passim
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.263
4. Table 53
5. O.C., 6.11.1875, p.8

manifested by a combination of religious Non-Conformity and political Liberalism.[1] It was perhaps significant that the Ward swung firmly to the right during the 1880s, electing 15 Conservative and only eight Liberal councillors, because it was precisely these small savers who were worst hit by the collapse of the Liberal-dominated Oxford Building & Investment Company in 1883.[2] Between 1850 and 1889, however, East Ward elected a total of 58 Liberal councillors (63.0%), 31 Conservative (33.7%) and three known Independents (3.3%). With suburban development to the west, north-west and north of the city, North Ward grew still more swiftly than East Ward, having 536 voters in 1850, 2,119 in 1873 and nearly 3,000 by 1888/9. At first, the ward was almost a mirror image of Central Ward, electing only six Conservative councillors and 37 Liberals during the 1850s and 1860s.[3] Thereafter, the growth of North Oxford villadom began to change the picture not only because its residents were increasingly attracted to Conservatism[4] but also because some, like Montagu Burrows, Chichele Professor of Modern History, were prepared to galvanize the local party into action.[5] Thus, in August 1873, the Oxford Chronicle noted grudgingly the assiduous cultivation of North Ward by leading lights of the Tory party who "turn up at the most unexpected times and in equally unexpected situations - at tea meetings, dances, concerts and dinners; at

1. B. Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England, 1815-1872 (1971), p.25; G. Crossick, The labour aristocracy and its values: a study of mid-Victorian Kentish London. Victorian Studies 19 (1976), p.316

2. supra, pp. 236-7

3. Tables 52 and 53

4. G. Crossick, An artisan elite in Victorian society: Kentish London, 1840-1880 (1978), p.213; D. Englander, Landlord and tenant in urban Britain, 1838-1918 (1983), p.72

5. S.M. Burrows, ed., Autobiography of Montagu Burrows (1908), pp.232-5

one time bidding for clerical support, at another time fanning the ill-humour of the publicans."[1] Tacit Anglican support for the Conservative cause was ensured by Gladstone's disestablishment of the Irish church in 1869, by the 'godless' Education Act of 1870 and by the Licensing Act of 1872.[2] In 1882, it was plainly stated in Summertown when the vicar, Rev. J. E. Binney, became Associate President of the local Conservative Association;[3] elsewhere it was perhaps more muted but in 1882, for example, Liberals alleged that clergymen, visiting ladies and guilds had provided unfair support for the Conservative candidates at a North Ward bye-election.[4] The Conservative cause in working class districts was also advanced by the unpopular Licensing Act of 1872[5] and if the break between Liberalism and drink was not as complete as has been suggested,[6] Conservative attitudes were much more sympathetic. In 1877, for example, the North Ward Conservative Association built its hall behind the Plough & Anchor in Great Clarendon Street,[7] and the local brewer, Alexander Hall, allowed the local Conservative Association to use his grounds for their picnics and fetes.[8] A combination of all these factors allowed

1. O.C., 16.8.1873, p.4
2. R.L. Greenall, Popular Conservatism in Salford, 1868-1886. Northern History 9 (1974), pp.135-6; R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), pp.190-1
3. O.C., 29.7.1882, p.8
4. ibid., 15.4.1882, pp.5, 8
5. R. Newton, op.cit., p.191
6. B. Harrison, op.cit., pp.279-88
7. O.C., 13.10.1877, p.6
8. ibid., 7.8.1875, p.5; 28.8.1875, p.5

North Ward to become something of a Tory stronghold, electing 10 Conservative and 11 Liberal councillors during the 1870s and an overwhelming number of Conservatives - 19 as against two - in the next decade. Between 1850 and 1888, the Ward elected 50 Liberal councillors (58.8%) and 35 Conservatives (41.2%), respectively the lowest and highest percentages outside Central Ward.[1]

When Oxford became a County Borough in 1889, the inequitable electoral wards were abolished and four new ones of almost equal size were created.[2] East Ward was now wholly concentrated in the area to the east of the Cherwell and North Ward comprised only the parishes of St. Giles and Holywell; the parish of St. Thomas', including West Oxford and most of Jericho, was therefore removed from North Ward and added to a West Ward which also included the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Michael as well as Binsey and Godstow. South Ward took in the remaining central parishes, Grandpont and New Hinksey.[3] Elections based on these new wards in November 1889 brought a crushing defeat for an over-confident and badly organised Conservative party which had in 1887 obtained a majority in the old Council; after the election of Aldermen, Liberals had 31 seats and the Conservatives only 17.[4] This Liberal supremacy faded gradually until the parties were equal in 1896,[5] and the Conservatives attained an actual majority in 1897.[6] The Council itself came under the increasingly collaborative

1. Table 53
2. Table 52
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol.4 (1979), p.264
4. ibid., p.240
5. O.C., 7.11.1896, p.5
6. ibid., 6.11.1897, p.7

influence of two Aldermen, the Liberal Robert Buckell and the Conservative Walter Gray,[1] both of whom were North Oxford residents;[2] the new Wards made clear, however, the political gulf which existed between North Oxford and other parts of the city. Thus, between 1889 and 1900, North Ward elected 48 councillors at municipal and bye-elections, 44 of whom (91.7%) were Conservative; the one Independent was a Liberal Unionist, Samuel Hutchins, who was elected on that ticket in 1893 but stood successfully as a Tory in the following year.[3] Just three Liberals (6.3%) were elected to represent the Ward during those twelve years. In all the other wards, by contrast, the Liberals performed much more successfully, accounting for 72.2% of the councillors elected in South Ward, 64.6% of those in East Ward and 64.4% of those in West Ward.[4] In 1895, East Ward was again described as "the greatest Radical stronghold in the city,"[5] but the title could, with equal justice, have been awarded to the South or West Wards.

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.240

2. Buckell lived at 115 Woodstock Road; Gray moved from 1 St. Margaret's Road to 318 Banbury Road and eventually to The Lodge, Woodstock Road, Summertown.

3. O.C., 18.11.1893, p.8; 3.11.1894, p.5

4. Table 53

5. O.C., 2.3.1895, p.5

8.2. The provision of basic utilities

PUBLIC HEALTH

Responsibility for sewerage, paving and lighting lay with the Paving Commissioners and their successor authorities, the Local Board and the City Council. These were the least controversial elements of local authority expenditure since the balance of urban opinion agreed that they should not be left to the whims of individual landowners. Nevertheless, large sanitary improvements could be interpreted as expenditure by short-term ratepayers for the ultimate gain of permanent landlords and rising rates were always liable to generate a ratepayers' economy movement.[1]

The Oxford local authorities were generally parsimonious, but the continuing growth of the suburbs added substantially to the cost and scale of providing basic public services. It was therefore tempting to ignore those areas which contributed little to the rates and depended upon absentee landlords to argue their case for improvement.[2] Hence, King Street in Jericho, "more familiarly known as Mud Lane," was laid out in the 1820s but was not adequately kerbed, channelled and paved until 1860.[3] As late as 1900, the City Council could embark upon footpath work in North and East Wards only, ignoring the needs of South and West Wards because no requests had come from those areas.[4] Individual or community-based complaints were therefore a necessary prerequisite

1. A. Offer, Property and politics, 1870-1914: landownership, law, ideology and urban development in England (1981), p.225.
2. K. A. Cowlard, op.cit., p.251
3. O.C., 10.3.1860, p.5
4. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscutting Book 10, pp.73-4

and they were a growing feature of local government, encouraged by higher expectations of the quality of life, better schooling and, not least, by the extension of the franchise. In their most public form such complaints were voiced in letters to the press or by petitions to the local authority. Thus, in September 1877, T. H. Ward of 5 Bradmore Road wrote to the Oxford Chronicle likening the Banbury Road north of Park Town to "a bog, a morass, a great dismal swamp.... A train of covered spring-carts, coming from the Oxford market, passed me at a trot, it was like artillery-waggons dashing across a ford. At one point, a countrywoman, bracing herself for a serious effort, managed to cross; she emerged bespattered to her knees."[2] With the Chairman of the Local Board, Ald. Hughes, and the Town Clerk, George Hester, both resident in the immediate vicinity, this problem caused by the demise of the Gosford and Kidlington Turnpike Trust was speedily resolved. In 1878, the Board took special highway powers over the area and levied a rate on Summertown property owners, thus avoiding a more general rate increase to pay for the improvement.[3] A memorial to the local authority reflected concerted action and was potentially a more powerful weapon. In January 1865, for example, the first three residents in Norham Gardens, Goldwin Smith, Montagu Burrows and William Phillips, memorialized the Paving Commissioners, "having suffered much inconvenience for want of light thro' (sic) these winter nights;" in February, the Commissioners agreed to lighten their darkness with a single lamp.[4] In 1877, all the

1. E. Gauldie, op.cit., pp.123-4
2. O.C., 22.9.1877, p.2
3. ibid., 5.1.1878, p.8; 12.10.1878, supplement; A. Offer, op.cit., pp.225-6
4. O.C.A. R6.9 Paving Commissioners M.B., 1852-62, pp.154-5, 1.2.1865.

inhabitants of Bevington Road sent a petition to the Local Board, re-iterating complaints about the road and the inadequate surface drainage which caused "a large amount of stagnant water and vegetable refuse to accumulate;" furthermore, they threatened to take the matter up with the Local Government Board if no action was taken.[1] By February 1878, an agreement had been reached by which the Local Board would take over responsibility for the road from St. John's College on payment of £85.[2]

Memorials from less fashionable suburbs tended to have a more mixed response because manifest need was set against the revenue derived from the area and the political influence of its inhabitants.[3] Thus, a petition from New Botley householders in 1881 seeking regular watering of their streets was acted upon rapidly. Discussions at the Local Board meeting confirmed that whereas most streets had been watered twice daily, others, notably in New Botley, New Hinksey and parts of Cowley St. John, had not been watered at all; in future, all streets were to be watered at least once.[4] Less successful were the 50 or 60 residents of Pembroke Street, St. Clement's who had made a similar request in 1870 and complained that the surveyor fobbed them off with the claim that the street was already being watered when "they were almost choking with dust."[5] In 1889 Ald. Eagleston attacked the delay

1. O.C., 8.9.1877, p.8
2. ibid., 9.2.1878, p.7
3. K. A. Cowland, op.cit., p.251
4. O.C., 6.8.1881, p.7
5. ibid., 18.6.1870, p.8

in responding to a petition about roads in the Crown Street and St. Mary's Road area as another instance of "those who live in wealth and splendour" fighting to stop "the manifest improvement of the people." Although the Board's Chairman, Charles Laker, contended that East Oxford was in fact receiving 4s. 8½d for every 2s. 6d contributed in rates,[1] the differing standard of provision from one area to another was reflected in the pavements themselves; in narrow streets, they were generally black-bricked, but in 'respectable' neighbourhoods they were surfaced with gas tar or asphalt.[2]

If, in matters of lighting and paving, the Oxford local authorities were able to economise and to differentiate between areas of the city, there was much less scope for this in the treatment of sewage. Cholera, for example, struck haphazardly at all classes of the population and not simply at the poor;[3] here indeed was "a catalyst of public opinion,"[4] causing an anxious Local Board in 1866 to seal a great many notices requiring people to make drains from their houses to the common sewers.[5] The growth of Oxford exacerbated the sewage problem, increasing both the gross pollution of the riversThames and Cherwell, and the number of cesspools which, in 1851, were described as being almost universal throughout the city.[6] Damaging rumours about the

1. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 5, p.14, 5.1.1889.

2. ibid., Book 2, p.51, 10.5.1879

3. E. Gauldie, op.cit., p.109

4. Asa Briggs, Cholera and society in the nineteenth century. Past and Present 19 (1961), p.86

5. O.C., 1.9.1866, p.5

6. Report of evidence.....into the state of the sewerage, drainage and water supply of..Oxford (1851), p.51

unhealthiness of Oxford threatened the city's trade [1] and the resolve of the local authorities was stiffened in 1867 when the Thames Conservancy obtained legislation giving Oxford and other Thames-side towns until the end of May 1868 to cease putting their sewage into the river.[2] The Local Board agreed in principle to accept the 'separate' system, excluding rainfall from the sewers,[3] and defused most local objections to the scheme by obtaining further professional opinions.[4] The main drainage scheme carried out between 1873 and 1880 at a cost of over £180,000[5] virtually eliminated privies from the Local Board district and placed Oxford in the van of sanitary progress. Cities such as Birmingham and Manchester which opted for pail closets found them to be an unhealthy, temporary expedient and towns where the midden still predominated had eventually to instal water closets.[6] In one respect, however, the execution of Oxford's main drainage presented a more familiar pattern of unequal provision; New Botley was omitted because it was too low-lying to drain by gravity into the Osney sewer and had been condemned by the Medical Officer of Health as an unsuitable site for the erection of houses. Privies therefore survived in this outlying area until the later 1880s.[7] Other environmental issues in the suburbs provided further contrasts between the treatment accorded to

1. e.g. O.C., 19.1.1867, p.4
2. ibid., 18.5.1867, p.5
3. ibid., 4.5.1867, p.8
4. ibid., 28.11.1868, p.5; 13.2.1869, p.4; 6.5.1871, p.7
5. ibid., 6.12.1880, p.6
6. M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), pp.247-58.
7. supra, p. 127

those with influence and those with none. As has been shown,[1] North Oxford had the most favourable geographical location of all the Victorian suburbs and was therefore free from the flooding which was a regular affliction in low-lying areas.[2] In 1875, some of the affected families in New Hinksey were said to be "in a wretched condition, being confined to their upper rooms, with no firing, very little clothing and many with scarcely any food to eat. The stench, too, in their houses arising from the flood is in some cases very offensive." Worse still, many of the menfolk had been thrown out of work and the family pig, sustainer of a subsistence economy, had in some cases been sold or killed at a great loss.[3] The inhabitants of New Hinksey appealed for coal and food,[4] but they seem on this and other occasions to have regarded the flood as an unavoidable act of God.[5] The problem of flooding in Jericho was alleviated by surface water drainage in 1873-4[6] and in 1873 the Local Board tried to deter builders from erecting houses in flood-prone New Botley.[7] Having failed to do so, it made no attempt to stop the building of estates near the Abingdon Road which were accused in 1894 of helping to pen the floodwater back in the south and west of the city.[8] After the 1891 floods, the Council wrote to the Thames Conservancy asking whether every effort had been made to let down

1. supra, p. 20

2. O.C., 20.11.1852, p.5; 29.3.1862, p.5; 12.1.1861, p.5; 25.1.1873, p.8; 20.11.1875, p.7; 28.10.1882, p.8; 29.1.1887, p.5; 24.10.1891, p.5; 17.11.1894, p.5

3. ibid., 20.11.1875, p.7

4. ibid.

5. ibid., 6.12.1873, p.6

6. ibid., 17.10.1874, p.7

7. supra, pp. 126-7

8. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 7, p.160, 6.4.1895.

the floodwater,[1] but no serious negotiation between the two bodies seems ever to have taken place. Three years later, the city was no better prepared for the disastrous floods of November 1894, but in the aftermath, the Council agreed that the lowest habitable rooms of all future houses should be at least 18 inches above the 1894 flood level.[2] This was belated recognition of a problem which might have been deemed more serious if the sufferers had enjoyed greater influence.

The general acceptance of unpleasant conditions by residents in the poorer suburbs was again evident in the area of refuse disposal. The dumping of street and household refuse was a haphazard affair and Oxford's Town Clerk, George Hester, was later accused of setting a precedent by using it to raise his building estate at Osney.[3] In 1867, 'A Ratepayer of Jericho' complained that low-lying fields south of Cranham Street had been for some time "considered fit receptacles of all kinds of refuse, vegetables, putrid fish, dead rats and other animals....Is the law to be interpreted one way for the rich and another way for the poor?"[4] Nine years later, land to the north of Cranham Street was being similarly treated although it was already probable that Juxon Street would be extended across it.[5] Refuse was also used to fill exhausted gravel diggings in North Oxford but, when the process offended, it was rapidly brought to a halt. In June 1879, for example, a Miss Sawbridge of Norham Road wrote to the Bursar of St. John's College complaining that "Whilst I write, the Local Board men are emptying their

1. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept., Newscuttings Book 6, p.79, December 1891.

2. ibid., Book 7, pp.131-3, 142-3, 160, 24.11.1894, 5.1.1895, 6.4.1895.

3. O.C., 11.1.1873, p.6

4. ibid., 16.2.1867, p.5

5. ibid., 19.2.1876, p.7

cart of rubbish in front of this house.....Lately the women dust-pickers have brought their donkey-carts and turned out the refuse of their pickings - and this morning the road was strewn with every imaginable dirty papers (sic) you can think of...."[1] The Bursar quickly followed the matter up and in early July was informed that the Local Board's Chairman, Ald. Hughes, a nearby resident, had experienced no annoyance from the dumping which had included nothing "really offensive;" nevertheless, dumping there was to cease.[2] How different this was to the experience of Jericho where refuse, in the form of "immense heaps of organic matter," was regularly stored at the Board's Nelson Street wharf before being transported by canal to a site in Summertown.[3] Even in the late 1890s, potential housing sites off the Iffley and Abingdon Roads were still being used as tips.[4] The very act of collecting the household refuse was performed differently in North Oxford for in that area, "The men with the carts go to the houses and carry the refuse directly to the carts, and the dirt-boxes or tins, as the case may be are then returned to the houses."[5] In the other suburbs where, it was suggested, Christmas boxes were unlikely, householders had to tip their own refuse into the streets creating piles of "soot, ashes, parings, etc." which were then investigated and spread about by the less fortunate.[6] Inevitably, there resulted an appalling mess unknown in the litter-free streets of North Oxford.

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.31. Letters In 1879. Letter from Miss J. Sawbridge, 6.6.1879.
2. ibid., Letter from Clerk to Local Board, 2.7.1879
3. O.C., 3.12.1881, p.2
4. ibid., 7.3.1896, p.7; 10.9.1898, p.9
5. ibid., 5.12.1891, p.8
6. ibid., 29.1.1887, p.6

The contrast between rich and poor suburbs was also evident in attitudes towards the development of potentially annoying industrial and commercial activity. On the North Oxford estates of St. John's College and, indeed, on most of the later Victorian building estates, covenants sought to ensure that properties would not be used for any purpose "injurious to the health or comfort of the neighbourhood."[1] By and large, these conditions were effective and in North Oxford the most substantial source of complaint seems to have been against the establishment of private schools with noisy children.[2] A piano-tuning business irritated Alfred Nicholson of Leckford Road in 1880[3] and in September 1898, James Murray, editor of the Oxford English Dictionary, complained to the City Council from his home in Banbury Road about bonfires of garden rubbish at The Mount opposite; that very day, the smoke had penetrated into his garden scriptorium and made his work highly unpleasant.[4] On the western fringes of Walton Manor, St. John's College had long since tolerated the development of the Eagle Foundry,[5] and in 1886 was prepared to allow a slaughter house to be opened in Kingston Road on the grounds that similar establishments elsewhere "are not found to create a nuisance".[6] In fact, some at least of the slaughterhouses which had sprung up in Jericho and East Oxford were said by the City's Medical Officer of Health to affect the comfort and even the health of neighbours.[7] A slaughterhouse on St. John's College land between Rich-

1. supra., p.168

2. e.g. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.39 Letters In 1892. Letter from L.A. Selby Biggs complaining about the school next to his house, 33 St. Margaret's Road.

3. supra, p.168

4. O.C.C.; City Secretary's Dept. City Letters, 1898. Letter from J.A.H. Murray, 14.9.1898.

5. supra, p.57

6. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.11. Bursar's Letter Book, 1885-8. Letter to John Peattie, 20.4.1886.

7. Annual report of the Medical Officer of Health for the city of Oxford (1874), p.11.

mond Road and Walton Crescent was, for example, the subject of complaint in 1866[1] and again in 1884 when 'Qui Odorat' remarked upon the unhealthy and odious smell and "the music of departing swine."[2] Most of the suburban slaughterhouses were however in freehold areas and not subject to the intervention of a lessor; from 1866, the need for a local authority licence imposed regular inspection,[3] but this did little to alleviate an unsatisfactory situation. In 1889, 17 residents of Canal Street petitioned the Local Board against the smell and noise of animals at Huggins' adjacent slaughterhouse,[4] but 25 years later in 1914, it was still necessary for 37 resident householders to complain about "the abominable stench ensuing from two slaughterhouses situated in close proximity in Canal Street....offal and entrails are often left until nearly putrid, and maggots are frequently seen crawling on the public footpath."[5] In 1881, the Medical Officer of Health called for a public abattoir and the abolition of slaughterhouses adjoining houses[6] but such a facility was never provided in Oxford. Similar inertia followed other complaints about "industry established in those areas least able to resist."[7] In 1881, for example, Temple Street residents objected to a blowing fan at Dean & Son's foundry, "the loud and unpleasant noise of which is a source of considerable annoyance and inconvenience to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood; also to the unpleasantness arising from

1. O.C., 25.8.1866, p.5
2. ibid., 14.6.1884, p.6
3. Oxford Local Board, Byelaws....(concerning) slaughterhouses (1865), passim
4. O.C., 6.7.1889, p.2
5. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. City Letters, 1914 L-Z Filed S
6. Annual report of the Medical Officer of Health for the city of Oxford (1881), p.11
7. K. A. Cowlard, op.cit., p.251

the dense smoke proceeding from the Foundery (sic)".[1] Investigation by the Local Board's Engineer and the Inspector of Nuisances found that the noise was indistinguishable 30 or 40 yards away and that most of the smoke and steam escaped on to Dean's premises; they "could not discover anything unusually objectionable in the way Mr. Dean's business is carried on," and the Board took no further action.[2] A long-standing nuisance in Jericho was the tallow factory at the north end of Canal Street established in 1864[3] and deprecated with one accord by local residents.[4] Although no public complaint seems to have been made until 1896,[5] a petition signed by 20 residents was sent to the City Council in 1899 and this was, perhaps crucially, supported by a letter from the vicar of St. Barnabas' church, Rev. Noel.[6] A prosecution under the terms of the Public Health Act 1874 was initiated but an out of court settlement was agreed when the firm, Messrs. Harrison & Lucas Ltd., promised to make improvements.[7] In cases of trade versus amenity in less influential neighbourhoods, the consistent local authority attitude was best expressed by Ald. Carr in 1879; "It was their duty to secure, as much as they possibly could, the comfort of the inhabitants

1. O.C.C. : City Engineer's Newscuttings Book 2, pp.101-2, 6.8.1881

2. ibid., Book 3, p.(ii), 8.10.1881

3. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P251. 20 Canal Street. Conveyance, 4.5.1864

4. Bodl. Ms. Top. Oxon. d.484 Hawtrey, Scrapbook of Jericho, 1954, p.25

5. O.C., 18.1.1896, p.8

6. ibid., 5.8.1899, p.3; O.C.C.: Secretary's Dept. City Letters 1899. Letter from Rev. M.H. Noel, 25.7.1899

7. O.C., 5.8.1899, p.3: 23.12.1899, p.12

but they must not do anything to suppress the trade of the town."[1]

In another area of public health the local authority found itself ranged against those suburban residents who pursued the rural habit of keeping animals and especially pigs as an economic necessity. The problem was of course paramount in poorer, crowded areas and scarcely affected North Oxford, but the two cultures came into conflict on the west side of Chalfont Road where high class properties backed on to the gardens of Hayfield Road. Pigsties here infuriated W. J. Walker of no. 37 Chalfont Road who complained in 1895, "It is not only the Keeping of the pigs that is a nuisance, but also the killing, two were killed last year, close to my garden, a pleasant sort of thing to have close to you."[2] From 1866, the Local Board's Inspector of Nuisances could order the removal of pigs if they constituted a nuisance and in 1874 a man was prosecuted for defying one such order relating to premises in St. Barnabas' Street.[3] Action depended, however, upon an initial complaint and a tenant was hardly in a position to object to animals kept by his landlord; in 1884, the pseudonymous correspondent 'Roast Pork' was therefore protesting about the growing numbers of pigs, fowls and ducks in Osney, Jericho and St. Clements.[4] The problem was such that in 1886 the Local Board proposed byelaws regulating the keeping of pigs, which sought to forbid them within 40 feet of a road or 80 feet of a dwelling house.[5] Fears of increasing hardship among the poor led to delay and compromise,

1. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 2, p.54, 7.6.1879 following a controversial decision to permit a slaughterhouse to open in congested York Place.

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F. 44. Letters In 1895-7. Letter from W. J. Walker, 19.4.1895.

3. O.C., 10.10.1874, p.8

4. ibid., 28.6.1884, p.2

5. ibid., 10.4.1886, p.2

and when the byelaws were eventually approved in February 1888, the minimum distance from a house had been reduced to 50 feet and the clause about distance from the road was omitted.[1] Even so, many families could no longer keep pigs and the Local Board had shown that amenity was more important than the dying embers of a subsistence economy.

1. O.C., 11.2.1888, p.2

WATER, GAS AND ELECTRICITY

Water, gas and electricity were among the services that might be provided either by local authorities or by private companies. With the growth of municipal enterprise in the second half of the nineteenth century the balance was shifting towards the public sector[1] and in Leicester, for example, the Council purchased the waterworks in 1878 because the company was slow to extend water to working-class housing and was therefore hampering the removal of privies.[2] Purely commercial considerations lay behind the Council's purchase of the gas and water companies in Leeds, and, in Birmingham, Joseph Chamberlain set a precedent in 1872-4 by taking over companies on the grounds that they were private and that their profits should accrue to the community.[3] In Oxford, the Corporation, having set up a waterworks in 1694, was one of only ten local authorities to control its own water supply in 1846.[4] Towards the end of the 1840s, a rival water company was mooted, but the idea had evidently been abandoned by 1851[5] and the city's substantial outlay on a new waterworks at New Hinksey probably deterred private investors from further thoughts of competition. The Corporation seemed satisfied with management of the water supply, and its unwillingness to interfere with the gas company was probably strengthened by the presence in its ranks of Ald. James Hughes, the company's

1. M. Falkus, The development of municipal trading in the nineteenth century. Business History 19 (1979), p.134

2. M. Elliott, Victorian Leicester (1979), p.126

3. B. J. Barber, Aspects of Municipal government. In, D. Fraser, A history of modern Leeds. (1980), pp.316-9; J. R. Kellett, Municipal socialism, enterprise and trading in the Victorian city. Urban History Yearbook (1978), p.43

4. M. Falkus, op.cit., p.140; V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.355

5. Report of evidence....into the state of the sewerage, drainage and water supply of Oxford (1851), p.44

chairman.

The unequal supply of water, gas and, later, electricity emphasised the differences between the houses of those living in splendour and their humbler neighbours. Few Oxford residents enjoyed the benefits of piped water in the first half of the nineteenth century and an improvement in the quality and quantity of the supply was only possible after a new city waterworks was opened at New Hinksey in 1856.[1] By 1867, water was laid on to 2477 out of 5577 houses (44.4%) in the Local Board district;[2] the supply was still intermittent, however, and large houses were usually equipped with a cistern which literally acted as a reservoir when the mains supply was shut off at night or for some other reason; in small houses, direct supply from the mains was preferred because of fears that cisterns might be polluted by gasses escaping into the feeder pipes from sink traps, sewers and water-closets when water supplies were turned off;[3] lack of space and builders' desire for economy may also have played a part in the decision. The result was to create another inequality between rich and poor, since the occupier of a small house might be left without water at any time.[4] In August 1865, for instance, an East Oxford correspondent complained that there had been no water to flush the toilets for a week and that families were in danger of being swept away by cholera.[5] Three years later, 130 people petitioned the Local

1. O.C., 21.6.1856, p.5
2. ibid., 9.2.1867, p.7
3. H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.144
4. O.C., 28.6.1873, p.7
5. ibid., 25.8.1865, p.5

Board criticising the insufficiency of water in the St. Clement's area.[1] The rapid growth of the population east of Magdalen Bridge had in fact far exceeded the capacity of the service mains and larger pipes had to be installed in 1867 and again in 1871.[2] With the construction of a high level reservoir on Headington Hill, a continuous supply of water could at last be promised,[3] but complaints about the quality of the water persisted for a few more years.[4] The Corporation was persuaded to construct filter beds at the waterworks in 1883,[5] and, by 1886, the Medical Officer of Health could describe the city water as being of "the now usual good quality."[6] If it was now beyond reproach, was it also equally accessible to residents in different areas of the city? By 1868, Ald. Browning was "unaware of any street which was not supplied with water,"[7] and since it was clearly in the interests of developers to be able to offer a wholesome water supply, the mains were generally extended to new suburban estates without delay. Thus, in 1875, pipes had been laid to new streets in St. Clement's and Cowley district and also to Winchester Road, Canterbury Road and Leckford Road.[8] Running water was now regarded almost as a necessity and 679 out of a sample of 686 suburban houses (99.0%) *proposed between 1875 and 1900* were to have mains water laid on from the beginning.[9] The replacement of privies by water-

1. J.O.J., 11.7.1868, p.5
2. O.C., 21.3.1868, p.2; J.O.J., 12.10.1871, p.6
3. J.O.J., 29.9.1877, p.8
4. e.g. O.C., 21.2.1880, p.8; Report of the Delegates for Licensing Houses on the sanitary inspection of lodging -houses, 1881-2 (1882), pp.37-8.
5. O.C., 15.9.1883, p.7; 11.10.1884, p.7
6. Annual report of the Medical Officer of Health for the city of Oxford (1886), p.11
7. O.C., 21.3.1868, p.2
8. ibid., 16.10.1875, p.7
9. Table 23

closets during the main drainage scheme of 1873-80 brought city water to many older properties,[1] and, from 1866, the Local Board's Inspector of Nuisances could require owners to provide a proper supply of water to their houses. In 1874, for example, the builder John Winterborne was ordered to supply water to eight houses in Cranham Terrace within 14 days,[2] and when he failed to do so, the Board was to carry out the work and recover the cost from him.[3] By the end of the nineteenth century pure water was available to all, but in older and poorer districts the supply was still liable to be shared by two or more households.[4]

Water was a necessity of life which even the poorest had to afford; the supply of gas and electricity for lighting and, to a lesser extent, cooking was desirable but not essential, and the spread of these facilities was primarily a reflection of commercial considerations. The Oxford Gaslight & Coke Co. was established by Act of Parliament in 1818[5] and its gasworks in St. Ebbe's opened the following year. The poor quality and high price of the gas supplied encouraged the attempted flotation of rival companies in 1836, 1844 and 1851 and the Oxford company was compelled to reduce its prices.[6] Dissatisfaction with the supply led in May 1865 to a meeting of East Oxford residents at the Elm Tree public house in Cowley Road where a company for that area was proposed;[7]

1. Annual report of the Medical Officer of Health for the city of Oxford (1877), p.8
2. O.C., 17.3.1874, p.6
3. ibid., 6.6.1874, p.8
4. supra., pp. 251-2
5. 58 George III c. 64 (Local and Personal)
6. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.356; O.C., 19.12.1868, p.5
7. O.C., 20.5.1865, p.5

within a month, 500 shares were said to have been taken up,[1] but the scheme came to nothing. In 1868-9, the Oxford company staved off yet another rival by price-cutting, by settling a dispute with the Local Board over back interest and by obtaining a new Act of Parliament which extended its area of supply and its power to raise capital for improvements.[2] Oxford was therefore spared the kind of competition which in mid nineteenth century Camberwell saw four companies laying as many as ten sets of pipes in a single street.[3] The physical extension of the gas supply usually followed individual applications or local authority requests for lighting to be supplied to new streets; in either case the applicant paid a proportion of the cost of laying on the supply. In North Oxford, for example, gas mains were gradually extended northwards to Summertown, reaching George Hester's house in Banbury Road in 1852,[4] Gorden Dayman's in 1857[5] and Archibald Maclaren's in 1871.[6] In suburbs with few potential major consumers, street lighting needs and institutional requirements formed the major initial impetus towards obtaining a supply of gas. In 1855, for example, the Paving Commissioners applied for the mains to be extended to Osney Town where the company anticipated three public lamps and possible demand for 20 or 30 lights from private consumers in the houses fronting Botley Road;[7]

1. O.C., 10.6.1865, p.8

2. ibid., 19.12.1868, p.5; 13.2.1869, p.7; 24.4.1869, p.2; 16.4.1870, p.5

3. H. J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.147

4. O.C.R.O. Acc 451 Oxford Gaslight & Coke Co. Management Cttee M.B. 1818-62, fol. 201, 8.11.1852

5. ibid., fol. 227, 7.11.1857

6. ibid., Management Cttee M.B. 1862-82, fol. 73, 18.11.1871

7. ibid., General Meetings of Proprietors M.B. 1818-78, fol.150, 2.7.1855

not until 1876 was the main extended further west to New Botley at the request of the Local Board.[1] The mere extension of gas lighting to a suburb was, of course, no guarantee that the residents could or would afford to take it into their homes. In North Oxford, the company was, in 1886, prepared to lay larger mains in Banbury Road in anticipation of private demand,[2] but it would not indulge in such speculation elsewhere. In areas where the demand was less easily quantifiable, rapid growth was liable to dislocate the supply. A Cowley Road resident who, in the spirit of Mr. Pooter, had gone to the expense of laying on the gas, adorning his room with pendants and trying all sorts of burners and globes, was therefore jaundiced to find that he could not "entice the gas from the works."[3] The obvious benefits of gas lighting in the home, its greater availability and above all the steady reduction in price from 8s. 4d per 1000 feet in 1850[4] to 1s. 7d in 1894[5] made gas a practical and desirable proposition in most new suburban homes; by the 1880s, developers were beginning to apply for gas to be laid on to their estates at an early stage confident that this, like the supply of pure water, would be a useful selling point.[6] Following a trend observed in Camberwell a few years earlier, the further extension of a gas supply to all but the poorest households was facilitated by the introduction of slot meters in 1897, and 600 had been fitted by November 1898.[7] The use

1. O.C., 4.3.1876, p.7; 20.5.1876, p.5; 9.9.1876, p.5
2. O.C.R.O. Acc.451. Directors' M.B. 1883-91, fol. 87, 1.12.1886.
3. O.C., 9.12.1876, p.6; G. & W. Grossmith, The diary of a nobody (1976), p.83
4. O.C.R.O. Acc.451. General Meetings of Proprietors M.B. 1818-78, fol.217, 10.6.1850
5. ibid., Directors' M.B. 1892-8, fol.76, 30.4.1894
6. supra, p.151
7. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.148; supra, p.263

of gas for cooking was demonstrated at an exhibition in April 1890 which marked the introduction of a scheme by which the company let out stoves at a rental of between 1s. 9d and 3s. 6d per quarter.[1] Within two months, 120 gas stoves had been fixed,[2] and as they became cheaper and filtered down the social scale they gradually ousted the coal-fired range, releasing the back living room of small houses for general domestic use and transferring all cooking activity into the scullery or back kitchen.[3] This process was well advanced by 1924 in the largely Victorian southern part of St. Clement's parish, where, out of a total of 397 houses, 368 (92.7%) had gas, 201 (50.2%) used it for lighting and cooking and 167 (42.1%) used it only for lighting.[4]

As the advantages of gas became appreciated by those at the lower end of the social spectrum, the middle classes of North Oxford were beginning to convert their homes to electricity. In 1890, the Oxford Electric Lighting Order empowered the Electric Construction and Maintenance Co. to supply Oxford with electricity,[5] and the company announced plans to build a generating station at Cannon Wharf in New Osney in August 1891.[6] The site had several advantages because water for the boilers and condensers could be taken direct from the Thames and the river could also be used for the delivery of coal and the removal

1. O.C., 26.4.1890, p.8

2. O.C.R.O. Acc. 451. Directors' M.B. 1892-8, fol.169, 12.6.1897

3. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1. Rev. N.W. Bradyll-Johnson. Housing in the parish of St. Clement's.... 1924, p.115; M.J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.262

4. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1. Rev. N.W. Bradyll-Johnson. Housing in the parish of St. Clement's... 1924, p.76. It is worth pointing out, however, that only 44.5% of the houses in the northern part of St. Clement's had gas even at this late date.

5. 53 and 54 Victoria, c.190

6. O.C., 1.8.1891. p.5

of ashes;[1] nothing was said, however, about the close proximity of the works to houses in Osney and the potential noise nuisance. In March 1892, the City Council approved the transfer of the Provisional Order to the Oxford Electric Lighting Co., Ltd.,[2] and the electricity supply was inaugurated on the 18th June 1892 with a banquet at the generating station.[3] The area of supply was at first limited to the very heart of the city,[4] and the company had only 70 consumers by August 1893.[5] This figure had risen to 112 by March 1894 but only 15 of these were private houses and the company, which had been tempting residents with displays of lighting and cooking equipment at its Broad Street showroom, was already considering an extension of the mains to North Oxford.[6] Norham Manor and Banbury Road as far north as Bardwell Road were duly connected during the autumn of 1894,[7] and the mains were continued to Rawlinson Road in 1895.[8] By 1897, the number of consumers had risen to 316[9] and included the Rhys family at no. 43 Banbury Road; Olwyn noted in her diary for September: "The house is becoming lively - workmen doing electric light for our bedroom and the walnut room...." A few days later she added, "The electric light in our room is finished - it looks very nice," and a visitor was soon reported to have admired

1. O.C., 12.12.1891, p.5; 25.6.1892, p.6
2. ibid., 5.3.1892, p.6
3. ibid., 25.6.1892, p.6
4. ibid., 1.8.1891, p.5
5. ibid., 5.8.1893, p.6
6. ibid., 24.12.1892, p.5; 17.3.1894, p.8
7. ibid., 13.10.1894, p.2; 13.4.1895, p.2
8. ibid., 12.10.1895, p.7
9. ibid., 26.3.1897, p.7

their new bedroom arrangements.[1] The price per unit was reduced to 6d. by December 1899,[2] but remained prohibitive for most residents in the poorer suburbs. When the mains were at last extended across Magdalen Bridge to Cowley Road in 1900[3] shops and other commercial premises must have been envisaged as the major customers. In 1924, electricity was still very rare throughout St. Clement's parish and, to the north of St. Clement's Street, not a single house could boast of a supply.[4]

POLICE AND FIRE BRIGADE

The utilities so far described contributed in varying degrees to a more comfortable life, but there was little comfort without security. The middle-class suburbs of any Victorian city were potentially ripe for the attention of criminal elements, offering the prospect of almost unlimited money and valuables to which access was facilitated by remote, bosky and poorly lit streets and large, well-planted gardens; in most such households, too, the risk of violent resistance was seemingly diminished by the preponderance of females and, in particular, young domestic servants. In 1856, for example, the intending burglars of a

1. Bodl. Ms. Eng. misc. e.697. Olwen Rhys diary, 1897-8, pp.7, 9, 11.

2. O.C., 1.3.1901, p.12

3. ibid.

4. O.C.A. Misc/Bra/1. Rev. Bradyll-Johnson, op.cit., pp.76, 115.

large house in Summertown, were opposed only by a 15 year old servant and a widow of over 80.[1] The police were almost a sine qua non in such areas, protecting middle-class houses and possessions;[2] in North Oxford one might almost add their lives too, since George Hester, living at The Mount on Banbury Road, thought it necessary to carry a gun on his way home at night[3] while Gorden Dayman, another solicitor living further north at Cherwell Croft, arranged a police escort through the trees north of Park Town.[4]

The policing of Victorian Oxford was complicated by two factors, the first being the existence of separate city and university forces, operating respectively during the day and at night. The city police had been established in 1836 following the Municipal Corporations Act of the previous year,[5] while the University force had been founded in 1829 with the express purpose of controlling the rampant prostitution which thrived upon undergraduate custom.[6] The potential confusion of such an arrangement was not unknown elsewhere and in Exeter, for example, a separate day police and night watch co-existed uneasily between 1836 and 1847;[7] in Oxford, however, the separation lasted until 1869 when an amalgamated force was created comprising one superintendent, two

1. O.C., 4.10.1856, p.4
2. G. Best, Mid Victorian Britain (1971), p.293; M.A. Simpson, The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914. In M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., Middle class housing in Britain (1977), p.84
3. Bodl. MS. Top.Oxon. d.501. Recollections of Henry Minn, 1929, p.80.
4. F. M. Gamlen, My memoirs (1953), pp.15-16
5. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.357
6. A.J. Engel, Immoral intentions: the University of Oxford and the problem of prostitution, 1827-1914. Victorian Studies 23 (1979/80), pp.79-107
7. R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), pp.62-7

inspectors and 32 constables. A second complication, arising from the spread of housing beyond the municipal boundary, meant that Summertown and a large part of East Oxford were policed by the Oxfordshire County force and New Hinksey by the Berkshire authority. This situation was rationalised only in 1889 when these areas were incorporated within the municipal boundary and the strength of the city police force was increased from 44 to 62.[1] Disunity therefore sapped the efficiency of the police response throughout much of the period and, as late as 1897 shortage of manpower left one man to patrol Osney, Binsey and New Botley while another was responsible for the whole of Cowley St. John east of James Street.

The Victorian police have been described as agents of the propertied classes against the working classes[2] and this was very much their role in North Oxford. Tramps, encouraged no doubt by more liberal-minded residents who were prepared to succour them,[3] were a continuing problem. On winter evenings in 1872, the area was said to be "infested with beggars, who if not relieved, become very insolent,"[4] while, in about 1893, Myfanwy Rhys visited another North Oxford household to find everyone "in a state. They had had a scare with a tramp, who had not taken anything however."[5] The police response to complaints about the situation was demonstrated in May 1885 when a policeman in plain clothes was sent up to North Oxford and arrested a tramp for begging in Southmoor Road.[6] In 1885, these was a still more determined reaction to an outbreak

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.357
2. F.M.L. Thompson, Social control in Victorian Britain. Economic History Review 34 (1981), p.199
3. C. Colvin, 14 Norham Gardens (1980), p.3
4. O.C., 6.1.1872, p.5
5. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.675. Myfanwy Rhys diary, (189-), p.67
6. O.C., 16.5.1885, p.7

of vandalism in Norham and Walton Manor gardens; "constables in plain clothes were placed on duty in different parts of the north of Oxford" and after an hour skulking in the bushes of Thomas Cousins' house in Banbury Road, P.C. Fundall was able to seize a 14 year old for pulling up a shrub.[1] Burglars were a more intractable policing problem in the suburb not only because "the large residences....afford ample scope for their nefarious designs"[2] but also because many properties were unoccupied during the Long Vacation. Thus, in 1861, a Park Town house was broken into in broad daylight while the household was at the seaside,[3] and, in 1897, a Fellow of Brasenose College even went to the trouble of leaving a notice on the front door of no. 96 Banbury Road informing the world that he was on holiday in Bournemouth.[4] At times, the threat of burglaries created almost a siege mentality and, having gone to bed early one evening in September 1897, Olwen Rhys could "already hear the locking-up voyage going round the house - Mr. Morfill has alarmed us by burglary tales - Mr. Bebb's house Mr. Seary's in the Crescent and others have been robbed while shut up."[5] In the circumstances, there was little the police could do to solve the problem, but regular patrolling was successful in catching one burglar red-handed in South Parks Road in 1884 and disturbing another in Polstead Road in 1898.[7]

1. O.C., 16.5.1885, p.7
2. ibid., 21.8.1897, p.8
3. ibid., 14.9.1861, p.5
4. ibid., 21.8.1897, p.8
5. Bodl. Ms. Eng. misc. e.697. Olwen Rhys diary 1897-8, p.8 Sep.1897
6. O.C., 9.2.1884, p.8
7. ibid., 9.7.1898, p.10

The role of the police in North Oxford was almost entirely one of defending the population against external aggressors; in the other suburbs, they not only served to protect the respectable against the rough elements but also acted as domestic missionaries exercising "constant surveillance of all the key institutions of working-class neighbourhood and recreational life."[1] The crimes committed were not, of course, entirely dissimilar to those in North Oxford and in 1861, there was a burglary in New Hinksey while a couple were absent on a railway excursion;[2] similarly, an Iffley Road house was robbed in 1862 while the family and servant were at church.[3] Gardens, too, were always being robbed or vandalized in East Oxford,[4] although, in this area, there was no substantial police operation to catch the people responsible; rather, there was a lament in 1883 from a sufferer in Iffley Road about "the entire absence of police in that locality."[5] If crimes against property were common to all areas, violence, drunkenness and prostitution were very much a feature of life in the poorer suburbs. With limited numbers and mobility, the police were rarely on the spot to deal with particular incidents and when they made a special effort to stop the fights and quarrels in Dover's Row in 1886, Superintendent Head complained that "directly the people saw a policeman they went indoors."[6] This was a characteristic reaction by people who preferred to settle their own disputes and it expressed the general mistrust with which the

1. R. D. Storch, The policeman as a domestic missionary: urban discipline and popular culture in northern England, 1850-1880. Journal of Social History 9 (1976), pp.458-7
2. O.C., 20.7.1861, p.5
3. ibid., 22.2.1862, p.5
4. e.g. ibid., 8.6.1867, p.5; 24.4.1869, p.5; 16.6.1894, p.5
5. ibid., 13.1.1883, p.7
6. ibid., 31.7.1886, p.7

police were regarded in working-class areas.[1] Nevertheless, the police presence encouraged more lawful behaviour by increasing the fear of being caught and by re-inforcing law-abiding tendencies in society.[2] Their influence was nowhere more significant perhaps than in their dealings with children who might be summarily punished by a blow or, increasingly, brought to court.[3] The general efficiency of the police was, moreover, improved at the end of the century by the use of specialist detectives, by the purchase of bicycles and by the establishment of telephone links between the central police station and district stations in Cowley St. John and Summertown.[4]

The services of a fire brigade were inevitably called upon less frequently than those of the police, but it was nevertheless a source of great comfort to the householder to know that an efficient fire service was available in case of need. In Oxford, this ideal was only gradually attained and in the mid nineteenth century the city lacked any form of fire-fighting organisation; indeed, the city's fire engine was sold in 1854 because it was out of repair, and it was not replaced.[5] Years of indecision were brought to an end by a serious fire in St. Aldate's in June 1870, which claimed two lives and led directly to the formation of an Oxford Volunteer Fire Brigade; by the end of July, this new force

1. S. Meacham, A life apart: the English working class, 1894-1914 (1977), p.18; R. D. Storch, op.cit., p.494

2. F.M.L. Thompson, op.cit., p.197

3. O.C., 11.10.1879, p.6; 12.7.1884, p.7; J.R. Gillis, The evolution of juvenile delinquency in England, 1890-1914. Past and Present 67 (1975), p.108

4. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Newscuttings Book 9, pp.48-9, 5.2.1898; Book 10, p.17, 4.11.1899.

5. O.C., 16.9.1854, p.4; 19.11.1861, p.5

had purchased a Merryweather Steam fire engine.[1] The Local Board reacted more ponderously, resolving only in November to link the police station and the waterworks by telegraph, thus reducing the time taken to get water into the mains; at the same time, 24 fire ladders were to be installed in various parts of the town, but only six of them, two in Great Clarendon Street, two in St. Giles' churchyard and two at The Plain, were located in the suburbs.[2] The Board also tried to bring the Volunteer Fire Brigade under its control but, having failed to do so, it arranged instead for the city police to become an official fire brigade, using old engines which the University supplied.[3] Lengthy negotiations sought to establish a modus vivendi between the two brigades but these were finally declared to have failed in May 1873;[4] the result could be farce of the richest kind as the police, often the first to hear of a fire, hastened to the scene, either omitting to alert the Volunteer Fire Brigade altogether or neglecting to do so until their engine was on its way.[5] The rivalry reached a climax in October 1886 during a fire at the Cowley Fathers' Mission House in Marston Street when the Local Board's engine so taxed the small main that the Fire Brigade's supply was reduced to a mere trickle; "A large crowd had collected, and far from complimentary remarks were applied to both the Brigade and the police."[6] Following this incident, it was at last announced in January 1887 that the police would henceforth concern themselves only with the preservation of life, the maintenance

1. O.C., 2.7.1870, p.5: 9.7.1870, p.1: 16.7.1870, p.8; 30.7.1870, p.4
2. ibid., 5.11.1870, p.7
3. ibid., 7.1.1871, p.7
4. ibid., 17.5.1873, p.5
5. ibid., 24.8.1872, p.2; 13.1.1872, p.8
6. ibid., 9.10.1886, p.8

of order and the prevention of looting.[1] The better equipment and greater expertise of the Volunteer Fire Brigade had long made it the recognised fire-fighting agency, however, and in 1879 Rev. Benson offered it a site in East Oxford for a district fire station.[2] The first such station was in fact opened in Summertown in 1881,[3] suggesting that North Oxford wealth and influence was effective in this respect as in others; nevertheless, an East Oxford station was opened by October 1883[4] and the University Press Fire Brigade, established in 1885, provided another on the fringe of Jericho.[5] Finally, in 1895, another district station was opened in the growing area of Grandpont.[6] Rescue facilities were gradually improved by the provision of fire ladders in suburban areas, beginning in North Oxford in 1887 when two were fixed against the churchyard wall of SS. Philip & James' church;[7] there was a substantial delay of four years, however, before the first fire ladders were installed in East Oxford and New Hinksey.[8] The network was steadily extended during the 1890s[9] and by 1899 there were 31 fire ladder sites.[10]

1. O.C., 8.1.1887, p.5
2. ibid., 1.3.1879, p.8
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.358
4. O.C., 20.10.1883, p.5
5. ibid., 6.3.1886, p.2; Some account of the Oxford University Press, 1468-1926 (1926), p.32
6. V.C.H., Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.358
7. O.C., 9.4.1887, p.8
8. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 6, p.64, 10.10.1891.
9. e.g. O.C., 15.4.1893, p.2; 10.2.1894, p.2
10. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 10, p.16, 14.10.1899.

8.3. The development of community facilities

The services and utilities so far described helped in many ways to determine the quality of life enjoyed by the residents of each of the new suburbs; if they provided the foundations of the community, the structure was, however, completed and rendered habitable by the provision of churches and chapels, schools, shops and recreation facilities.

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

Inadequately served by places of worship, the suburbs of Victorian towns and cities provided an enormous challenge to every denomination and, in poorer areas, clergy and ministers sought to remedy the deficency with missionary zeal.[1] In 1851, there were 32 places of worship within the Oxford municipal borough boundary, 19 of which were Anglican, two Independent, three Particular Baptist and two Primitive Methodist; a further six denominations, the Society of Friends, the Wesley Methodists, the Wesleyan Reformers, the New Church, the Jews and the Roman Catholics, had just one place of worship each. These buildings provided sittings for 15,518 people out of a population of 27,843 (55.7%)[2] and most were, of course, located in or near the historic core of the city. New suburbs implied potential if not actual congregations[3] and in East Oxford, for instance, Rev. Richard Benson, perpetual curate of Cowley, purchased a site in Stockmore Street and, largely at his own expense, erected St. John the Evangelist church, a structure of galvanised iron better known as the Iron Church.[4] In 1869, he resigned the cure of

1. H. E. Meller, Leisure and the changing city, 1870-1914 (1976), p.83; H. McLeod, Class and religion in the late Victorian city (1974), pp.78-9

2. O.C., 6.5.1854, p.5

3. Nigel Yates, The religious life of Victorian Leeds. In, D. Fraser, A history of modern Leeds (1980), p.258

4. O.C., 23.4.1859, p.5

Cowley in order to become the first vicar of Cowley St. John and he later purchased the site of SS. Mary & John church.[1] The vicar of St. Thomas', Rev. Thomas Chamberlain, was as swift in his response to the development of Osney Town, purchasing two lots in Bridge Street in 1854 for the erection of a school-chapel.[2] Few clergymen, perhaps, were in a position to be so generous and sought instead to arouse the social consciences of laymen, especially wealthy laymen, who could be persuaded to contribute money for church-building as a means of creating a 'good society.' Such gifts could only enhance their public reputation and yet did nothing to subvert the existing social order.[3] Thus, in 1888, Rev. William Scott, vicar of St. Mary & John church, appealed for funds to build St. Alban's church in an area "very little touched by existing church ministrations."[4] More directly in 1886, the Bishop of Oxford supported an appeal for the proposed Mission Room and School Room in St. Clement's Street by writing, "Good houses, suited for the residents who have ample means, have been built in abundance on the Northern side of the city; to the East the influx of new inhabitants belong to a class able to do but little for the supply of their own - and their children's - needs."[5] The climate of opinion generated by such appeals doubtless encouraged Thomas Combe, Superintendent of the University Press, to pay for the building of St.

1. supra, pp. 94-5; Cowley Parish Magazine, Oct. 1869

2. O.C.C.: City Secretary's Dept. P.260. Bridge Street. Conveyances, 16.8.1854, 15.4.1873.

3. H.E. Meller, op.cit., p.76; H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.160; H. McLeod, op.cit., p.172

4. Bodl. Ms. Top.Oxon. c.105. Papers re Oxon churches, fol.69 Appeal for Proposed Mission Chapel, (1888)

5. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b.155. City 7, fol.2. Appeal for Proposed New Mission Room, etc., 1886.

Barnabas' church in 1868-9[1] and Herbert Morrell, the Oxford brewer, to donate £1,000 towards the building of the nave of SS. Mary & John church in 1881;[2] if such sums were unusual in the Oxford context, many smaller donations were made by people of all denominations whose means were more modest. Landowners, and especially in Oxford the colleges, might also be prepared to listen to appeals for land or funds for Anglican church-building, influenced both by philanthropy and by the knowledge that churches tended to improve the value of a building estate.[3]

Zealous clergymen, bolstered by external forces and with varying degrees of local support, were thus able to initiate a veritable explosion of suburban church-building dominated as in Camberwell, not so much by new denominations as by the proliferation of the churches and chapels of existing ones.[4] Between 1850 and 1900, over 30 new places of worship were opened in the Oxford suburbs,[5] helping to develop and maintain a sense of localism in these new districts.[6] The Anglican churches tended always to be the most ambitious, encouraged by optimistic assessments of income from donations and Diocesan Church Building Society grants. Architects of local and even national repute were engaged for the major churches,[7] but their schemes were not always wholly practicable in the poorer suburbs and some were never completed.[8]

1. O.C., 2.5.1868, p.5; 23.10.1869, p.5
2. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (November 1881)
3. D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords: the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.97; D. Reeder, Suburbanity and the city (1980), p.8
4. H.J. Dyos, op.cit., p.161
5. Table 54 Church- and chapel-building in the Oxford suburbs, 1850-1900
6. R. Dennis and S. Daniels, 'Community' and the social geography of Victorian cities. Urban History Yearbook (1981), p.18
7. J. Sherwood & N. Pevsner, Oxfordshire (1974), passim.
8. e.g. St. Frideswide's church in West Oxford, SS. Mary & John's in East Oxford, St. John the Evangelist in South Oxford and St. Margaret's in North Oxford.

Table 54. Church- and chapel-building in the Oxford suburbs, 1850-1900

Suburb	Denomination	Church name/dedication	Location	Date opened	Notes
EAST	Anglican	Iron Church (St. John the Evangelist)	Stockmore Street	1859	Extended 1873 and demolished 1896
	Particular Baptist	Chapel	opposite Bullingdon Road	1868	
	Congregational	Cowley Road Congregational Church	corner of James Street	1869	Mission had begun in East Oxford in temporary premises, 1868; a new and larger chapel was built next to the 1869 building in 1881.
	Primitive Methodist	Chapel	Rectory Road	1875	Had a room in William St., now Tyndale Road, from 1865.
	Non-sectarian	Magdalen Road Mission Hall	-	1879	Extended 1884 and rebuilt 1901
	Anglican	SS. Mary & John	Cowley Road	1876	Only the chancel was built in 1876; the nave was added in 1883 and the tower in 1893.
	Wesleyan	Chapel	Tyndale Road	1883	Had premises in Chapel Street, Cowley Road prior to 1876 when removed to former Primitive Methodist Meeting room in Tyndale Road.
	Congregational	Mission Hall	New Marston	1885	

Table 54 cont'd.

Suburb	Denomination	Church name/dedication	Location	Date opened	Notes
EAST	Anglican	Cowley St. John Mission chapel (St. Alban)	Charles Street	1889	
	Anglican	Mission Hall	St. Clement's Street	1891	
	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist	Iffley Road	1896	Replaced the Iron Church
	Unitarian	Church and Mission House	Percy Street	1898	Founded by Rev. Vernon Hurford
JERICHO	Anglican	St. Barnabas	Cardigan Street	1869	
	Wesleyan	Chapel	Cranham Street	by 1871	
	Church of Scotland	Chapel	Nelson Street	1879	Building taken over by Society of Friends in 1888.
	Strict Baptist	Chapel	Albert Street	1881	Had worshipped for 40 years previously in a room in King Street
	Jews	Synagogue	Richmond Road	1892	Replaced temporary premises in Worcester Place
NORTH	Anglican	SS. Phillip & James	Woodstock Road	1862	
	Roman Catholic	St. Aloysius	Woodstock Road	1873	Supplemented chapel in St. Clement's Street built 1793
	Anglican	Mission Room	Hayfield's Hut	by 1876	
	Wesleyan	Chapel	Walton Street	1883	
	Anglican	St. Margaret	St. Margaret's Road	1884	Built in stages between 1884 and 1899

Table 54 cont'd

Suburb	Denomination	Church name/dedication	Location	Date opened	Notes
NORTH	Primitive Methodist	Mission room	Walton Street north of Little Clarendon Street	1883	Also held meetings in Jericho Gardens
	Congregational	Church	Banbury Road, Summertown	1894	Replaced chapel built in 1844
	Free Baptist	Victoria Hall Baptist Free Church	Woodstock Road, Summertown	1897	Site had been used for open air services for some years.
SOUTH	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist	Vicarage Road	1870	
	Wesleyan	Chapel	Gordon Street	1882	
	Methodist Free Church	Mission Hall	Brook Street	1890	
	Anglican	St. Matthew	Marlborough Road	1891	
	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist	Vicarage Road	1900	Replaced the 1870 building
WEST	Anglican	School-chapel	Bridge Street	1854	
	Anglican	St. Frideswide	Botley Road	1872	Ended the dual role of the Bridge Street building.

Sources: O.C., 1850-1900; V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), passim

Away from the heartland of North Oxford, which the vicar of SS. Philip & James thought to be the easiest place in the world to raise money,[1] the suburbs were basically unable to support expensive building schemes. In 1889, when applying for a grant towards the building of St. Matthew's church in Grandpont, Canon Christopher stated that the richest man in his parish had only been able to give £10;[2] in East Oxford, assiduous local collectors struggling to pay off debts of £7,000 on the nave of SS. Mary & John church only managed to increase the sum raised or promised from £2,100 in June 1882 to £2,933 in March 1884.[3] In 1900, after ten years of trying to raise money in New Hinksey, the vicar found that "At times the strain and anxiety of so constantly begging is almost more than I can bear."[4] In new and poorer districts, cheaper buildings like the Iron Church[5] might therefore be erected as a temporary expedient.

If those humble edifices were atypical in the Anglican context, they were much nearer to the pattern set by Non-Conformist churches, which had to place greater reliance upon the donations of their congregations and local well-wishers. Few had noted architects, some indeed were the work of builders alone, and they tended to be smaller and to serve a more localised population than their Anglican counterparts. Lacking also the general support of landowning interests which granted prime sites for Anglican churches, Non-Conformists commonly sited their places of worship away from main roads in less commanding and cheaper locations.[6]

1. O.C., 17.5.1890, p.6
2. Bodl. Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 105, pp.158-9. Papers re Oxfordshire churches: St. Matthew's, Grant application, 1889
3. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (June 1882), (March 1884)
4. Bodl. G.A. Oxon b.151 City 3, p.66. Letter from Rev. W.D.B. Curry, 1.11.1900
5. supra, p. 398
6. e.g. the Wesleyan chapels in Cranham Street, Jericho and Tyndale Road, East Oxford.

Most Non-Conformist missions in the suburbs started in a very small way and their subsequent prosperity depended to a large extent upon the charisma of the minister and his ability to communicate with his congregation.[1] The most striking example of this was the ephemeral Scottish Presbyterian church in Nelson Street, Jericho which was founded by Rev. Henry Bazely in 1879 but barely survived his death in 1883;[2] in 1888 it became the site of a Quaker mission.[3] More lasting progress was achieved by the Congregational church in East Oxford which began humbly in 1868 in a room provided by Edward Radbone, a grocer in Cowley Road; in the same year, increasing numbers necessitated a move to an old chapel in Caroline Street and the popularity of the preacher, Rev. Isaac Scammel, was such that a chapel to accommodate 300 people had been built in Cowley Road by October 1869.[4] Much smaller buildings sufficed in less heavily populated areas and members of Cowley Road Congregational Church built the New Marston Mission Hall of 1885 by voluntary labour.[5] Even greater economy was achieved by the expedient of using houses in *poor areas for* services or as temporary mission rooms. Thus, 'cottage services' in the Magdalen Road area preceded the building of the unsectarian Magdalen Road Workmen's Hall in 1879,[6] and in 1881, Summertown Congregational Church fitted up a mission room in Swan Yard, Woodstock Road "amongst the people that lived regardless of God and His holy day."[7]

1. H. J. Dyos, op.cit., p.159
2. O.C., 12.4.1879, p.4; 3.3.1883, p.8
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), pp.415-6
4. O.C., 2.10.1869, p.6
5. ibid., 15.8.1885, p.7
6. ibid., 19.4.1879, p.6
7. ibid., 15.10.1881, p.2

The practical results of all this church building and missionary endeavour are difficult to measure, but their effectiveness was undoubtedly diminished by inter-denominational rivalry. On March 30th 1851 some 16,515 worshippers and Sunday School children, or 59.3% of Oxford's population of 27,843, attended the city's 32 places of worship. The figure was depleted by the omission of one Anglican church housing a maximum of 1,000 people per service,[1] but was, on the other hand, boosted by those attending more than one service. It compared unfavourably with the national index of church attendance for small towns and rural areas which stood at 71.4% and was far exceeded by the figure of 84.5% recorded at Exeter.[2] Anglicans accounted for 11,275 (68.3%) of the Oxford total and Non-Conformists for 5,180 (31.4%): only 50 (0.3%) were Roman Catholics and 10 (0.1%) were Jews.[3] The substantial predominance of the Church of England was increasingly challenged in the later nineteenth 19th century by the growth of Non-Conformity, but local evidence for the outcome of this struggle is limited to an unofficial census of church attendance in East Oxford on Sunday May 6th 1883.[4] The number of churchgoers on that day was 2,043 or about one-fifth of the population of St. Clement's and Cowley parishes at that time;[5] in a predominantly artisan district, where Non-Conformity might have been expected to be strongest,[6] 718 (35.1%) went to Anglican churches and associated mission rooms and 1,325 (64.9%) to Non-Conformist places of worship. A further 856 children went to Non-Conformist Sunday schools,

1. O.C., 6.5.1854, p.5
2. R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), pp.100-1
3. O.C., 6.5.1854, p.5
4. ibid., 23.6.1883, p.8
5. Table 2
6. C. V. Butler, Social conditions in Oxford (1912), p.153; G. Crossick, The labour aristocracy and its values: a study of mid-Victorian Kentish London. Victorian Studies 19 (1976), p.311; G. Crossick, An artisan elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London, 1840-1880 (1978), p.140

far more than the 500 who attended all those available in Oxford in 1851,[1] but this may only reflect parental concern to give themselves a rest and their children some moral education, some discipline and the prospect of an annual treat.[2] If the reliability of the census is open to question, it does at least suggest a considerable drift towards Non-Conformity similar to that experienced in contemporary Camberwell.[3] The supremacy of Non-Conformity in East Oxford may even have been increased by popular innovations such as the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon (P.S.A.) services begun by Cowley Road Congregational Church in 1893,[4] and in 1900, a not unbiased reporter contrasted the 30 people at a recent Sunday evening service in Cowley St. John church with the crowded scene at Magdalen Road Mission Hall.[5] Elsewhere in Oxford, the Baptists regarded Osney Town as "a peculiarly promising field for Christian work" because the population was composed largely of railway servants from various parts of the country who "are more independent than a village people, and than many in towns in religious matters, being free from the dominion of both landlords and customers."[6] Non-Conformity was predictably weakest and the Church of England strongest in the wealthy suburb of North Oxford. Middle-class areas were "strong-holds of institutional religion,"[7] and, unlike the Calthorpe estate at

1. O.C., 6.5.1854, p.5
2. H. McLeod, op.cit., p.29; R. Roberts, The classic slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (1973), p.173
3. H. J. Dyos, op.cit., p. 159
4. O.C., 28.10.1893, p.5
5. ibid., 9.11.1900, p.2
6. New Road Chapel Sunday School Society, Centenary souvenir booklet, 1813-1913, (1913), p.36
7. H. McLeod, op.cit., p.280

Edgbaston, St. John's College does not seem to have needed to state its refusal to accommodate Dissenters.[1] Covenants in every lease ensured that no house on the College estate would be used as a place of worship,[2] and chapels were restricted very much to the periphery[3] and to a 'Free Church' which met for many years at a private house in Park Town.[4] Church-going in the suburb was conditioned by the need to maintain a show of decorum, especially in front of the servants, and those who were relatively undecided tended to become 'sermon tasters.'[5] The Lucy family in Woodstock Road seems to have been in this category, utilising the nearby SS. Philip & James' church on occasions but also visiting several others.[6]

If the census of East Oxford church attendance showed the strength of Non-Conformity, it revealed also that churches were attracting to their services only a small minority of the population. Almost all churches responded to this problem by diversifying into the business of providing healthy and rational recreation,[7] but if this was a potential source of unity, rivalry between Anglican and Non-Conformist churches was fuelled by their contrasting approach to public worship.[8] New Anglican

1. D. Cannadine, Lords and landlords; the aristocracy and the towns, 1774-1967 (1980), p.211

2. supra, p. 168

3. Table 54

4. O.C., 4.3.1876, p.5; Bodl. Ms. Dep.d.477. Park Town Trustees M.B. 1854-1951, p.11, 8.5.1857

5. H. McLeod, op.cit., pp.139-40

6. Mrs. C. Colvin. Catherine Lucy diary 1884-90, 26.6.1887; 3.11.1889; 29.12.1889

7. infra., pp. 432-8

8. N. Yates, op.cit., pp.262-3

churches in the suburbs were, with the sole exception of St. Matthew, Grandpont, very much a product of the Oxford Movement and their clergy sought to attract worshippers by bringing colour, fine singing and impressive ritual back into the church services. Thus,in 1889, the High Service at St. Barnabas' began with a procession of choir and priests led by two boys with long, lighted candles and an acolyte bearing a large crucifix; these three and all the other attendants wore scarlet gowns under their surplices.[1] At SS. Philip & James, St. Barnabas and SS. Mary & John, the sexes were separated during services, incense was regularly used and confessions were heard.[2] The design, decoration and fittings of the buildings themselves played a part in the drama, focusing the attention of the congregation upon an ornate chancel. The visual splendour of the services, reinforced by energetic parochial work, was clearly effective and the number of Easter communicants at St. Barnabas' rose from 326 in 1872 to 598 by 1890;[3] similarly, those at the Iron Church increased from 114 in 1867 to 227 in 1877.[4] In 1873, a leading Congregationalist worried that three Ritualist churches had on the previous night had larger congregations than all the Non-Conformist churches.[5] This success was, however, bought at considerable cost since the apparent drift towards Roman Catholicism caused much disquiet among Anglicans and seemed to make the Non-Conformists the true defenders of the Protestant faith. Fears of 'Popery' were reinforced by

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b.154. Misc. papers re parish of St. Barnabas, p.31. Cuttings from Methodist Times, 22.8.1889

2. ibid.; O.C., 3.4.1875, p.8; 31.10.1868, p.2; 12.3.1898, p.10; 15.4.1899, p.5

3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.408

4. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (May 1867), (February 1878)

5. O.C., 1.11.1873, p.8

the secession to Rome of curates from St. Paul's[1] and St. Barnabas,'[2] and intemperate language served only to fan the flames. Thus, in 1873, the vicar of Cowley claimed that the "Devil was the father of Dissenters"[3] and, in June 1888, the Cowley Road Congregational Church magazine 'Light and Love' carried an editorial berating the ritualistic principles and practices of Anglican clergy and warning against "the subtle encroachment of these dangerous heresies."[4] The battle between High Anglicans and Non-Conformists continued throughout the period and, at times, seemed to assume as much importance as the need for missionary endeavour. Extreme ritualism seemed, however, to become less popular and at St. Barnabas', for example, attendances diminished somewhat after 1890, supposedly because of improvements in the services elsewhere.[5] In 1899, the Bishop of Oxford ordered all clergy to discontinue the use of incense during services and, with manifestations of reluctance, the vicars of St. Barnabas' and SS. Mary & John church, agreed to do so.[6] The opposition of individual Anglicans to High Church practices was made evident by calls for an Evangelical church in North Oxford which began as early as 1881 and bore eventual fruit with the building of St. Andrew's church in 1906-7.[7] At the same time awareness of mutual problems encouraged the development of a more ecumenical spirit between Low Church Anglicans and Non-Conformists echoing the contemporary change of attitudes in Exeter.[8] In East Oxford, the P.S.A. movement, so vigorously

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.4
2. O.C., 24.2.1872, p.8
3. ibid., 18.1.1873, p.8
4. Bodl. Per.G.A. Oxon 4° 120, p.61
5. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p. 408
6. O.C., 30.9.1899, p.2 ; 7.10.1899, pp.9, 12
7. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.407; H. McLeod, op.cit., p.187 describes similar objections leading to the building of St. Mark's, Lewisham.
8. R. Newton, op.cit., p.238

opposed by the vicar of SS. Mary & John,[1] received the support of Canon Christopher and, in April 1898, it was holding weekly services in St. Clement's church by invitation of the rector, Rev. F. Pilcher.[2] Growing reconciliation was, finally, expressed in May 1898 when the Mayor, Cllr. G. W. Cooper, and 29 councillors attended a civic service at a Non-Conformist place of worship, the New Road Baptist Church.[3]

SCHOOLS

If inter-denominational rivalry continued to be an issue in spiritual matters it was no less apparent in the field of education, traditionally a religious preserve. Pre-existing religious differences in education were fostered and institutionalised from the early nineteenth century by the foundation of the Non-Conformist British & Foreign Schools Society in 1810 and the rival National Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church in 1811.[4] These two societies excluded the lowest social segment,[5] but

1. O.C., 12.2.1898, p.10
2. ibid., 16.4.1898, p.5
3. ibid., 1.6.1895, pp.5, 7
4. P.L.R. Horn, ed., Village education in the 19th century Oxfordshire (1979), p.xvi. Although founded in 1810, the British & Foreign Schools Society was only given this name in 1814.
5. M. May, Innocence and experience: the evolution of the concept of juvenile delinquency in the mid-nineteenth century. Victorian Studies 17 (1973/4), p.22

rapidly brought into being a national network of voluntary schools which supplemented the random scatter of ancient grammar, charity and Dame schools. By 1851 there were 17 public elementary schools in Oxford with 1,856 children on their books; by contrast, there were still 43 private schools but these were usually much smaller and between them had only 883 pupils. Public and private schools together had on their books 2,739 children in a population of 20,172.[1]

Subsequent suburban growth began to tax the resources of the voluntary system and although Anglican parochial schools continued to predominate they began to be challenged wherever Non-Conformity was strong. With schools as with churches and chapels the birth of a new suburb was a signal compelling the energetic churchman to begin the search for a suitable site and to start raising money for the building. In Osney Town, for instance, the vicar of St. Thomas', Rev. Thomas Chamberlain quickly secured a site for a school-chapel which was opened in 1854.[2] In fast-growing Jericho also, the parish clergy of St. Paul's started a boys' school in temporary premises in 1854, and were able to transfer it to permanent premises in Great Clarendon Street in January 1856.[3] A parish school was established in Cowley St. John in 1867,[4] and another in the parish of SS. Philip and James in 1869;[5] finally, in 1870, a school-chapel was provided in New Hinksey, some 23 years after the suburb was initiated.[6] In all these church schools, the local vicar

1. Census Reps., 1851. H.C. 1692 (1852-3) xc, 16-17
2. Oxford University Herald, 25.11.1854, p.11
3. Bodl. Mss. D.D. Par. Oxf. St. Paul's (uncat.)School folder. Log book fragment, 18.5.1863; V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.451.
4. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (May 1867)
5. O.C., 15.6.1872, p.8
6. ibid., 29.1.1870, p.5; supra,p.106

or rector was a regular visitor and, at St. Barnabas' Boys' School in February 1873, for example, the vicar attended and read prayers twice in one week; on the Friday, he also gave a catechism lesson to the first three classes.[1] At SS. Philip & James' Infants' school, the first head teacher was an Anglican nun and it was customary for many years for the boys and infants to attend church on all important Saints' days, on Wednesdays during Lent and every day in Easter Week.[2] Parental fear of unacceptable religious teaching encouraged the development of rival Non-Conformist schools in some areas. Thus, in Osney, a Baptist school was opened in a private house in 1857,[3] and in Summertown, the active Congregationalists established a rival to the National School by 1869.[4] Neither school flourished for long[5] and inadequate funding was probably the root cause of closure, making it almost impossible to provide suitable premises, equipment or staffing; in September 1877 the headmaster of Summertown School therefore received an influx of children from the defunct Congregational school who "can read a little but have no knowledge of writing or arithmetic. Children of 9, 10 and 11 years of age have to be placed in Standards I or II."[6]

Prior to 1870 the extension of the voluntary system was seen as a moral duty but had no element of compulsion; with the passing of Forster's Education Act in that year, there loomed the prospect of elected

1. St. Barnabas' C.E. First School. St. Barnabas' Boys' School log book, 1873-90, p.7

2. K. Hewitt, SS. Philip & James' Schools from 1873 to 1979 (1979), pp.8-9

3. New Road Chapel Sunday School Society, Centenary souvenir booklet 1813-1913 (1913), p.36;

4. O.C., 30.1.1869, p.8

5. ibid., 13.2.1863, p.2; 20.2.1869, p.5; 22.7.1882, p.5; V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.454; Oxford School Board, Report of the Attendance Committee for the year 1875, (1876), p.1.

6. O.C.A. T/SL57. Summertown Mixed School Logbook, 1874-1903, p.92, 5.9.1877.

School Boards which could make attendance compulsory between the ages of 5 and 13 and, where accommodation was insufficient, could establish rate-supported undenominational schools. Undenominational education was welcomed by Liberal and Non-Conformist elements,[1] but bitterly opposed by most Anglicans and the Local Board's decision in October 1870 to apply for the formation of a School Board was countered by a petition from the incumbents and churchwardens of the Oxford Rural Deanery.[2] When the Education Department notwithstanding approved the application in January 1871,[3] clerical influence reinforced general suspicions of rising rates and compulsory powers and the School Board elections on February 1st elected a small majority "pledged to maintain, as far as possible, the existing system."[4] A census carried out by the new Board in May and June 1871 showed that the voluntary system had provided sufficient accommodation but not always in the places where it was most needed. Overall, the various public elementary and elementary schools in the city provided accommodation for 5,281 pupils in a population which included 5,498 children between the ages of three and 13. These schools had on their books 3,722 children and private schools a further 756, leaving 1,020 children (18.6%) who attended no school at all. The deficiency was predictably serious in the fast-growing parish of St. Barnabas and most apparent in the parishes of St. Clement and Cowley St. John where 344 out of 1,328 children of school age (26.1%) were receiving no education.[5] With the Board's adoption of compulsory attendance byelaws and the appointment of an Attendance Officer,[6] considerable school building

1. G. Best, Mid Victorian Britain (1971), p.208; O.C., 19.11.1870, p.5
2. O.C., 15.10.1870, p.5; 26.11.1870, p.5
3. ibid., 14.1.1871, p.5
4. ibid., 4.2.1871, p.5
5. Oxford School Board, (First Annual Report) (1872), p.1; O.C., 15.7.1871, p.7
6. O.C., 17.6.1871, p.8

in these and other areas became a matter of necessity if the Board's 'Secular Schools' were to be avoided.[1] Between January 1870 and March 1873, the School Board reported that 17 new public elementary schools were opened in Oxford and two more were then in progress; others had been extended.[2] New schools or departments of existing schools were erected, for example, in the parishes of Cowley St. John, St. Frideswide, St. Barnabas, St. Paul and SS. Philip & James.[3] In St. Clement's parish, however, accumulated debts of £120 precluded any building work and, in November 1871, the managers, encouraged by the rector, Rev. J.T. Darby, were ready to transfer the schools to the School Board.[4] Darby, whose support for the Board was apparently unique among Oxford churchmen, strongly defended the proposal at a noisy parish meeting, declaring himself in favour of undenominational education and preferring reliance on the rates to dependence "on the caprice, and the good or bad feeling of men in high position."[5] This was an oblique reference to the largely absentee 'squire' of St. Clement's, George Herbert Morrell, who, with G. Ward, agreed to pay off the debt and successfully marshalled opposition to the scheme. Forty new subscribers were found for the school and, in early December, Darby wrote to the School Board regretting that he could take no further action.[6] In a climate of opinion where surrender was unthinkable the fight to maintain the voluntary system in poor, fast-growing suburbs had to go on. Thus, in Cowley St. John, a new Infants'

1. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (Feb 1871)
2. Oxford School Board, Second Annual Report (1873), p.1
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), pp.448-52
4. O.C., 2.12.1871, p.5
5. J.O.J., 2.12.1871, p.5
6. ibid., 2.12.1871, p.5; 9.12.1871, p.5; 16.12.1871, p.5

school had to be built next to the Girls' school in Cowley Road in 1872 and a classroom was added to the Boys' school, linking it to a newly-purchased head-master's house.[1] In 1880, a new Girls' school was built on a site between James Street and Marston Street,[2] and during the next year, the Infants' school in St. Mary's Road was substantially extended.[3] By 1888, however, the continuing growth of the population made it necessary to include temporary school accommodation in the proposed St. Alban's church[4] and the SS. Mary & John schools were built in 1895 to house 150 boys and 150 girls at a cost of £3,800.[5] By 1898, it was necessary to extend the schools to accommodate a further 190 boys and 190 girls at a cost of £3,000 but the extension was filled almost before it opened.[6] Expenditure of this order was clearly beyond the resources of local parishioners and there were, in fact, only 18 private subscribers to Cowley St. John school in 1885, contributing just £18. 10s; by 1889, their numbers had fallen to nine and their net contribution to £12.0s. 6d.[7] Inevitably, there was heavy reliance upon those who had a vested interest in church schools; work on the Cowley St. John schools in 1872 seems, therefore, to have been undertaken wholly at the expense of the vicar, Rev. Benson.[8] Benson's foundation, the Society of St. John the Evangelist, was the largest subscriber to the schools, contributing

1. O.C., 12.10.1872, p.10
2. ibid., 23.10.1880, p.2
3. ibid., 15.10.1881, p.6
4. Bodl. Ms. Top.Oxon. c105. Papers re Oxon churches, p.69. Appeal for 'Proposed Mission Chapel.' (1888)
5. O.C., 4.5.1895, p.8
6. ibid., 16.7.1898, p.10; 27.5.1899, p.8
7. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (Dec.1885), (Dec.1889)
8. O.C., 12.10.1872, p.8

£90 in 1885 and £156. 10s. in 1889.[1] In 1896, the resigning senior curate at Cowley St. John church donated £900 to the SS. Mary & John schools' building fund.[2] Wealthy sympathisers were also important and a 'Friend' offered £200 a year over five years in 1898.[3] In 1886, the bishop of Oxford had appealed directly to North Oxford residents to help in the building of a mission and school room in St. Clement's[4] and the vicar of SS. Philip & James' ensured that his parishioners were aware of the financial problems of church schools in Oxford.[5] To an extent these appeals were successful and some North Oxford ladies, for example, took an active interest in supporting New Hinksey school, holding sales of work on its behalf from 1896.[6]

If the long-term survival of the Anglican-dominated voluntary system in Oxford owed much to the strenuous efforts of churchmen and their lay supporters, its demise was at least postponed by those who, with equal persistence, maintained the minority of Non-Conformist and undenominational schools. In central Oxford, these included the Girls' British School, the Wesleyan Boys' School[7] and the Central Boys' School, a superior, undenominational school which was established immediately after the School Board elections in 1871.[8] In suburban Oxford, the Roman Catholic St. Ignatius' girls' and infants' school was founded in St. Clement's in

1. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine. (Dec. 1885), (Dec. 1889)
2. O.C., 8.8.1896, p.8
3. ibid., 16.7.1898, p.10
4. supra, p. 399
5. e.g. Bodl. Per. G.A. Oxon. 4° 215. SS. Philip & James Parish Magazine, Jan. 1896.
6. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b.151. City 3, pp.65-7
7. V.C.H. Oxon, vol. 4 (1979), pp.455-6; the Girls' British School was re-named the Central Girls' School in 1880
8. ibid., p.456; O.C., 11.3.1871, p.8; 29.4.1871, p.8

1869 and St. Aloysius' boys' school followed in Woodstock Road in 1881.[1] More significant as a reaction to the overwhelming predominance of church schools was the establishment in 1882 of the undenominational East Oxford British School in part of the old Congregational chapel in Cowley Road.[2] In a strongly Non-Conformist locality,[3] the school had, by May 1883, drawn in more than 200 children from local private schools and more distant elementary schools: others had not previously attended school and a few had transferred from church schools in the area.[4] The School Board, which had retained a denominational majority at the January 1883 election,[5] calculated, however, that there was already sufficient school accommodation in East Oxford and threatened to withdraw its sanction for the school, thereby depriving it of any government grant.[6] In a rare example of community concern for schooling, 690 St. Clement's and Cowley householders petitioned the Education Department seeking recognition of the school as a public elementary school.[7] In January 1884, the Education Department overruled the Board and gave the school an annual grant.[8] With 278 children on its books by the end of the first year[9] and 292 by 1895,[10] East Oxford British School served as a panacea for those local parents who feared High Church indoctrination but the premises were condemned in 1890 and an appeal had

1. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p. 454
2. O.C., 23.9.1882, p.5
3. supra, pp. 406-7
4. O.C., 19.5.1883, p.6
5. ibid., 23.1.1883, p.4
6. ibid., 12.5.1883, p.5; 9.6.1883, p.5
7. ibid., 23.6.1883, p.8
8. ibid., 12.1.1884, p.5
9. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.455
10. Oxford School Board, Report for the school year 1894/5 (1895)

to be made for funds to improve them, beginning with the infants' school.[1] When in 1898, the Education Department warned that the Central Boys', Central Girls' and East Oxford British Schools would have to close if their buildings were not improved or altered, it seemed at first that the Central Boys' School would follow the usual course of trying to comply with the demands.[2] Realizing, however, that the church schools were full and would be unable to absorb the extra numbers, the managers of all three schools eventually signified their inability to satisfy the Department's requirements.[3] The School Board was left with no alternative but to take over the schools[4] and find new sites for them. East Oxford Board School, housing 200 boys, 200 girls and 160 infants was built in 1899-1900 on a site in Union Street.[5] In Exeter, the School Board elected in 1871 had, after brief denominational arguments, built five infants' schools and one girls' school;[6] in Oxford, the denominational party had staved off the inevitable for nearly 30 years.

Victorian schools mirrored the social stratification of contemporary society[7] and above the Ragged Schools which were formed only in the more deprived urban areas, schools were effectively classified by the size of their fees.[8] Public elementary schools of the same denomination were by no means uniform in character and varied according to the locality and

1. O.C., 27.12.1890, p.5
2. ibid., 19.3.1898, p.5; 2.4.1898, p.5
3. ibid., 21.5.1898, p.5
4. ibid., 9.7.1898, p.7
5. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.457
6. R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), pp.224-6
7. H. J. Dyos, op.cit., pp.164-6
8. G. Best, op.cit., pp.178-9; W.E. Marsden, Education and the social geography of nineteenth century towns. In, D. Reeder, ed. Urban education in the nineteenth century...(1977), p.61; D. Reeder, Suburbanity and the Victorian city (1980), p.20

and the level of parental demand. In 1875, the weekly fees charged at Oxford boys' schools therefore ranged from 2d. at St. Clement's, St. Barnabas' and St. Giles' schools to 2d., 6d. or 1s. at St. Frideswide's, where children learning extra subjects paid the higher amounts; at the latter school, parents were also liable to be charged for books.[1] SS. Philip & James' boys' school, serving an area still more exclusively occupied by regularly employed and relatively highly paid artisans, could afford to drop the lower fee altogether and generally charged 9d. per week.[2] In girls' schools the weekly fee was a 1d. or 2d. at St. Ignatius' school in St. Clement's according to parental means; more generally it was 2d. but at Trinity Convent school in North Oxford four girls paid 6d. and 98 8d. while a further charge of 1s. per child was levied for coals and music. The standard fee for infants seems to have been 2d. per week but second and subsequent children were charged only 1d. at St. Giles' and SS. Philip & James' schools.[3] By 1891, a social hierarchy of schools had evolved[4] and it was generally those schools in the poorer suburbs which took advantage of the Education Acts and accepted a government fee grant based on attendance instead of struggling each week to collect the children's pence. Thus, St. Clement's, St. Barnabas', Summertown and New Hinksey schools became free,[5] while St. Frideswide's diminished its fee to 1d. which was remitted for regular attendance; at SS. Philip & James' Boys' school, however, fees were simply reduced from 9d. and 6d. to 6d. and 3d., effectively maintaining its superior status.[6] In East Oxford, Cowley St. John Boys' and Girls' schools also continued

1. Rtn. Public Elem. Schs. H.C. 133 (1875) lix, 266-7
2. O.C., 15.3.1879, p.8
3. Rtn. Public Elem. Schs. H.C. 133 (1875) lix, 266-7
4. W. E. Marsden, op.cit., pp. 63-4
5. O.C., 5.9.1891, p.5; O.C.A. T/SL13 New Hinksey Mixed School Log book 1871-92, p.501, 31.8.1891; T/SL 57 Summertown Mixed School Log book 1874-1903, p.341, 31.8.1891.
6. O.C., 5.9.1891, p.5

to be fee-paying and aimed to meet the wishes of those parents who desired their children to have special advantages in the higher standards. The fees, it was openly admitted, would serve to check the pressure for admission to these higher grades,[1] while other local children were siphoned off to SS. Mary & John School.[2] In all but the poorest areas parental choice was also catered for by a wide variety of private schools which ranged from Dame schools through schools for "the trading and respectable classes" to the superior schools established in North Oxford.[3] Despite the continuing expansion of public elementary schools, private schools still flourished and the numbers of children attending them rose from 756 in 1871 to about 1,000 in 1878.[4] The formation of School Boards may even have encouraged Dame schools because they formed an escape route for parents who sought to keep their children away from school to earn money or to look after younger siblings.[5] When, for example, the School Board Attendance Officer took out a summons against Mary Jones for irregular attendance at New Hinksey school in 1884 the whole family was taken away from the school and transferred to Miss Dyer's private school.[6] Private elementary schools were not simply a refuge, however, and may have had a positive attraction for working-class parents who disapproved of the religious, moral or disciplinary content of public education[7] or resented the teacher's role as a social missionary disseminating middle-

1. Cowley Evangelist (March 1892)
2. O.C., 8.6.1895, p.2
3. ibid., 7.12.1871, p.5; 9.11.1878, p.5
4. ibid., 9.11.1878, p.5
5. R. Newton, op.cit., p.227
6. O.C.A. T/SL13. New Hinksey Mixed School log book 1871-92, p.331, 26.9.1884
7. F.M.L. Thompson, Social control in Victorian Britain. Economic History Review 34 (1981), pp.194-5; G.S. Jones, Working-class culture and working-class politics in London, 1870-1900. Journal of Social History 7 (1974), p.488

class values.[1] Ephemeral private schools were rarely efficient, however, and, in November 1881, the headmistress of Cowley St. John Infants' school attributed the backwardness of Standard I to the fact that many of the children had recently come from Dame schools.[2] Schools of this calibre were dealt a severe blow in 1891 when many public elementary schools became free,[3] but private schools of a higher standard continued to cater for Dissenters who were reluctant to send their children to denominational schools[4] and, more generally, for those middle-class elements who preferred private education.

The provision of suitable locations for private and preparatory schooling has been described as one of the functions of a middle-class suburb.[5] In Oxford, as in Southport and Birkdale, virtually all private schools were located in the best residential areas or in the better parts of mixed, generally respectable property.[6] Parts of East Oxford were therefore acceptable and, in 1861, Mrs. Mundy began a day and boarding school for girls in Cowley Road, rapidly transferring it to an Iffley Road villa where it became known as Westbourne College "near Oxford."[7] The suburb lacked the appropriate social tone, however, and the head-

1. R.Johnson, Educational policy and social control in early Victorian England. Past and Present 49 (1970), pp.113-6; R. Roberts, The classic slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (1973), pp.133-4

2. O.C.A. T/SL2 Cowley St. John Infants' School log book 1873-1910, p.99, 8.11.1881

3. supra, p. 420

4. O.C., 19.5.1883, p.6

5. D. Reeder, op.cit., p.10; W.E. Marsden, op.cit.,p.70

6. K. A. Cowlard, The identification of social (class) areas and their place in nineteenth century urban development. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), pp.251-2; W. E. Marsden, op.cit., p.70

7. O.C., 19.1.1861, p.1; 6.4.1861, p.4; 11.1.1862, p.1

master of the nascent St. Edward's School dismissed a site on the Cowley Road as wholly unsuitable, settling instead for Summertown in 1873.[1] North Oxford was very much the preferred location, and two private schools had appeared in The Crescent at Park Town by November 1855.[2] In 1864, the wife of Archibald Maclaren, founder of the Oxford University Gymnasium, started to take pupils at their home, Summerfield, in Summertown.[3] Schools were not always welcome neighbours, however,[4] and restrictive covenants limited but did not prevent the development of private schools on the St. John's College estate. One well-known preparatory school that was allowed was the Dragon School, which owed its foundation to a group of 30 Oxford dons, who, in 1877, chose A. E. Clarke, a Demy of Magdalen College, to educate their sons. Beginning in temporary premises in St. Giles' the school moved to no. 17 Crick Road in 1879 and, during the headship of 'Skipper' Lynam, to new premises in Bardwell Road.[5] Girls of the same class were provided for at the Oxford High School for Girls' founded in 1875 by the Girls' Public Day School Company. This school moved to purpose-built premises in Banbury Road in 1880 and with fees ranging from nine to 15 guineas a year was open to girls "from all walks of life."[6] In truth, this claim implied only the uneasy co-existence of trade and the professions; the fees, though modest, were more than sufficient to exclude children like those in North Parade Avenue who played in the street and were always ready for any

1. R. D. Hill, A history of St. Edward's School, 1863-1963 (1962), pp.20-5

2. O.C., 28.7.1855, p.4; 17.11.1855, p.4

3. R. Usborne, ed., A century of Summer Fields (1964), pp.4-5

4. supra, p. 169

5. C. H. Jaques, A Dragon century 1877-1977 (1977), pp.1-23

6. V. E. Stack, ed. Oxford High School: Girls' Public Day School Trust 1875-1960 (1963), pp.1-2

unattended 'University children'. "Jumping about with excitement and pointing with their fingers they shouted 'gentry' with such scorn and contempt as almost to imply 'a la lanterne!' 'Cads' called back a breathless victim sprinting for safety...."[1] The episode was no more than an apt summary of the way in which "a competitive and divisive ethic had been grained into the education sphere."[2]

RECREATION

In the sphere of recreation as in that of education the facilities provided in North Oxford contrasted quite markedly with those elsewhere. In the poorer suburbs, the traditional pastimes which focused upon the street and the public house came under increasing attack from a multiplicity of well-meaning organisations offering opportunities for rational recreation. In largely middle-class North Oxford, on the other hand, the home was the focal point of most recreational activity and places of amusement were not only unnecessary but also thoroughly undesirable.

The pub lay at the heart of the early nineteenth century community, catering for long-distance road travel, serving as a recreation centre and providing rooms where public meetings could be held.[3] Of these functions, the first was least significant in suburban pubs which anti-

1. M. Fletcher, O, Call back yesterday (1939), p.46
2. W. E. Marsden, op.cit., p.73
3. Brian Harrison, Pubs. In, H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 1 (1976), pp.162-76

cipated or responded to more local needs. Pubs had always been much more than dispensaries of alcoholic drink, although that role was itself very necessary before a constant supply of pure water was provided and non-alcoholic drinks such as tea and coffee became more readily available.[1] In the absence of other suitable premises, pubs provided a venue for auction sales[2] and inquests,[3] and for similar reasons, builders usually paid their men in pubs as the only alternative was to keep them waiting in the street.[4] Political meetings were often held in pubs[5] and tap-rooms served more generally as a forum for the discussion of ideas; thus, in 1852, when a public library was mooted for Oxford, five or six working men, although themselves teetotallers, held meetings at various public houses, "Knowing that if they had the interest of the beer-drinkers with them they must be successful."[6] The activities of many local societies and institutions also focused upon the pub, drawn there by the availability of a room which might be hired free in the expectation of profits from the sale of food and drink.[7] In 1860, for example, the North Oxford Cricket Club was meeting at the Horse & Jockey in Woodstock Road,[8] and another club of the same name was formed at the Rose & Crown in North Parade

1. Brian Harrison & B.S. Trinder, Drink and sobriety in an Early Victorian country town: Banbury 1830-1860 (1969), p.5; Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England 1815-1872 (1971), pp.301-3

2. e.g. O.C., 30.6.1860, p.8; 20.10.1860, p.4

3. e.g. ibid., 25.1.1861, p.5

4. ibid., 21.8.1852, p.5

5. Brian Harrison, Pubs. In, H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, eds., op.cit., p.175

6. O.C.L. Library scrapbook

7. Brian Harrison and B.S. Trinder, op.cit.,p.6

8. O.C., 2.6.1860, p.5

Avenue in 1865.[1] Some pubs also provided accommodation for traditional games and there was a skittle alley at the Clarendon Arms in Walton Street by 1857.[2] Pugilism centred on pubs in the 1840s and dog-fighting was popular - for example, at the Plasterer's Arms in Marston Lane where badger-baiting also persisted.[3] As in Exeter and elsewhere, prostitution flourished with the connivance or active encouragement of publicans;[4] thus, Mrs. Fox's beerhouse in King Street, Jericho had a communicating back door with Bull's Brothel in 1853.[5] If pubs had generally become a male preserve some of the more favourably situated suburban ones could still attract a wider audience.[6] In 1852, for instance, aquatic and other sports took place at the Isis Tavern near Iffley and these included dinghy, punt and hurdle racing and a ninepin match.[7] Stressing also their continuing links with traditional entertainments, three East Oxford pubs provided further attractions for St. Clement's Fair in 1867. A greasy pole was set up in the yard of the Cape of Good Hope, dancing took place in a pavilion erected behind the Black Horse and a sheep was roasted and distributed to customers of a cheapjack in the yard of the Prince of Wales.[8]

Outside the pub there were many other secular entertainments consisting largely of informal activities in and around the street and irregular commercial amusements such as circuses and fairs. In all but the busiest

1. O.C., 4.2.1865, p.5
2. O.C.A. 2.9. Police Court M.B. 1857-60, 31.7.1857
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.429
4. R. Newton, Victorian Exeter, 1837-1914 (1968), p.69; Brian Harrison, Pubs. In, H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., op.cit., p.172
5. O.C.A. 2.7. Police Court M.B. 1851-3, 30.6.1853
6. Brian Harrison, op.cit., p.174
7. J.O.J., 14.8.1852, p.3
8. ibid., 28.9.1867, p.5

thoroughfares the street was still a place of recreation for all ages.[1] Children could play whips and tops on the pavement or marbles in the gutter, they could bowl hoops up and down the street and festoon the roadway with skipping ropes.[2] Lamp-posts were used as "an anchor for ropes on which we could swing, or boys would shin up the lamp and grasping the arm, swing out over the pavement."[3] Tracts of undeveloped land, of which there were many examples in East Oxford, might easily become unofficial playgrounds and "The Green" at the corner of Howard Street was a place where "children played cricket or football, dug trenches and fought battles, much to the harassment of the poor lady whose house adjoined the Green."[4] Such activity could indeed be a powerful irritant and in 1880, for example, one boy was fined 6d. with 10s. 3d. costs for playing cricket in Stanley Road "to the annoyance of the public." He, together with six or eight others, had been playing there on Sundays for many weeks and P. C. Walker testified that the language "the lads used was disgraceful and disgusting, and they could not speak without using oaths.... A tin was used for stumps."[5] Police intervention in this case probably stemmed from a householder's complaint and shows how the consensus for the use of the street as a place of assembly and recreation was being eroded;[6] increasingly, respectable children were able to play in private gardens well away from the 'roughs' outside.[7] Beyond the

1. P. Bailey, Leisure and class in Victorian England: rational recreation and the contest for control (1978), p.15; R. Roberts, The classic slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (1973), p.124

2. P. Surman, Pride of the morning (1977), pp.47-51

3. ibid., p.122

4. ibid., p.10

5. J.O.J., 26.6.1880, p.8

6. M. J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914 (1983), p.270; P. Bailey, op.cit., p.21.

7. S. Muthesius, The English terraced house (1982), p.78; P. Thompson, Voices from within. In, H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 1 (1976), p.63

streets, men and boys clung to the habit of nude bathing in local rivers,[1] a practice condemned in 1869 as "annoying to ladies, who cannot indulge in a row on the water or even take a walk by the side of the river without encountering such disgraceful indecency."[2] Gambling, another favourite pastime,[3] was driven underground or into remote corners of the city by effective policing; thus, in 1868, up to 150 children were found playing pitch and toss on Sundays on the Thames towpath beyond St. Ebbe's.[4] Among people who were in many cases recent immigrants from the countryside traditional customs were for a time preserved and May garlanding was a cause of absences at Summertown school in 1876.[5] Street musicians and other entertainers were perhaps most common in North Oxford where the rewards were likely to be greatest, and Margaret Fletcher recalled that from early spring until late autumn Park Town was visited by a succession of them.[6] Less generally acceptable to North Oxford residents, perhaps, were two institutions of seventeenth century origin, the Oxford races on Port Meadow and St. Giles' Fair,[7] both of which brought undesirable characters perilously close to the suburb. The races were last held in 1880,[8] but St. Giles' Fair, on the other hand, developed from a small pleasure fair into a major annual holiday for working people, including many who came from a distance. In 1850, for example, a special train

1. J. R. Gillis, *The evolution of juvenile delinquency in England, 1890-1914.* Past and Present 67 (1975), p.122
2. O.C., 10.7.1869, p.5
3. R. Roberts, op.cit., p.162
4. O.C., 17.10.1868, p.7
5. O.C.A. T/SL 57 Summertown Mixed School log book 1874-1903, p.60, 5.5.1876
6. M. Fletcher, O, Call back yesterday (1939), p.17
7. V.C.H. Oxon, vol. 4 (1979), pp.429, 312
8. ibid., p.429

brought 900 visitors from Banbury and intermediate stations;[1] with the extension of the local railway network, such excursions drew in people from further afield and, in 1855, visitors came from Wolverhampton and Birmingham.[2] As a market place for goods, the fair contrived to offer a wide range of household items and food, toys and other novelties,[3] but visitors could also carouse at drinking booths which local pubs had erected[4] or enjoy the many fairground amusements. These included menageries, theatrical companies, photographic establishments, shooting galleries and dancing booths;[5] increasingly, too, there were mechanised entertainments such as steam-powered roundabouts which first appeared at St. Giles' in 1866.[6] Pick-pockets, drunkards and mischievous youths armed with squirts, feather dusters or scratch-my-backs excited middle-class hostility to the fair, and an attempt was made to abolish it in 1893;[7] by this time, however, the city police were prepared to tolerate this surviving example of misrule as a harmless safety valve.[8]

The growth of St. Giles' Fair and the excursion trains which served it were but two manifestations of the increasing significance of leisure in Victorian society. The Bank Holidays Act of 1871 gave statutory sanction to some traditional holidays and added to them holiday Mondays

1. Sally Alexander, St. Giles's Fair, 1830-1914 (1970), p.38
2. O.C., 8.9.1855, p.4
3. Sally Alexander, op.cit.,pp.9-19
4. O.C., 9.9.1871, p.5
5. ibid., 13.9.1862, p.5
6. Sally Alexander, op.cit.,pp.44-5
7. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. Newscuttings Book 7, pp. 75-8, 6.1.1894
8. J. R. Gillis, op.cit.,p.123

at Easter, Whitsun and in early August.[1] For substantial numbers of working people, the hours spent at work were gradually diminished,[2] giving them both the time and a greater inclination to indulge in recreational activity. Thus, in Oxford, solicitors' offices introduced a Friday half-holiday for their clerks in 1866[3] and building firms were reluctantly persuaded to adopt the nine hour day in 1872.[4] Some shops began to close at 7 p.m. in 1867[5] and the Oxford Early Closing Association was founded 18 months later.[6] Progress was slow, but in 1884 the High Street draper Edward Beaumont pioneered the Thursday half-holiday, closing at 4 p.m.,[7] and this had been almost universally adopted by the late 1890s.[8] The general trend for production to move out of the home and into the factory,[9] seen locally in the clothing factories,[10] substituted long but finite working hours for the often unremitting toil of the outworker.[11] The more sociable working environment of the clothing factory,[12] the University Press or the larger building firm provided further contrast with the lot of domestic servants who might

1. J.A.R. Pimlott, The Englishman's holiday: a social history (1976), pp.142-6

2. R. Q. Gray, The labour aristocracy of Victorian Edinburgh (1976), p.148; H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), pp.60-1

3. O.C., 30.12.1865, p.8

4. ibid., 24.2.1872, p.5; 16.3.1872, p.5

5. ibid., 27.7.1867, p.1

6. ibid., 9.1.1869, p.5

7. Bodl. Ms. Top Oxon, d.237 Early Closing Association M.B. 1884-90, p.1

8. O.C., 4.9.1897, p.7; 2.10.1897, pp. 2, 5

9. M. J. Daunton, House and home: working class housing in the Victorian city, 1850-1914 (1983), p.264

10. supra, p.16

11. Christ Church Ms. Estates 78/361. Letter from Bessie Haycroft, 13.6.1898

12. C. V. Butler, op.cit., pp.69-70

only experience leisure "second hand through the life-style of those they served."[1] More time to spare was one factor behind the growth of leisure provision, but equally crucial was the rising level of real wages at a rate of 1.94% per annum between 1871 and 1895.[2] As with the reduction of working hours, the benefit of this improvement was not evenly spread, continuing and possibly increasing the wage differentials between skilled and unskilled and also between skilled workers in different industries.[3] In Oxford, which lay at the heart of a low pay area,[4] wage increases were therefore wrung out of employers by the best organised groups of workers whose skills were in short supply. Thus, in 1873, several craft unions in the building trade made simultaneous demands for wage rises and, with some strike action, especially by the stonemasons, they achieved a general increase of ½d. an hour.[5] In 1888, an Oxford Trades Council was formed to protect the interests of an estimated 800 to 1,000 trades unionists in Oxford,[6] and its influence was soon revealed in the City Council decision to insist that local authority contractors should pay 'fair wages.'[7] Finally, an enlarged local electorate after 1867 and again after 1889[8] put more people in the position to demand improved

1. J. Lowerson and J. Myerscough, Time to spare in Victorian England (1977), p.16

2. M. J. Daunton, op.cit., p.264

3. R. Q. Gray, op.cit., pp.46,51; G. J. Barnsby, The standard of living in the Black Country during the nineteenth century, Economic History Review 24 (1971), pp.223-6; Duncan Bythell, The history of the poor. English Historical Review 89 (1974), p.370

4. C.V. Butler, op.cit., p.61; R. Lawton, Rural depopulation in nineteenth century England. In, R.W. Steel & R. Lawton, eds., Liverpool essays in geography: a jubilee collection (1967), p.252

5. O.C., 26.4.1873, p.8; 3.5.1873, p.8; 17.5.1873, p.5; 26.7.1873, p.5

6. ibid., 17.11.1888, p.8

7. ibid., 4.1.1890, p.5

8. Table 52

facilities from the local authority, and a better educated and informed population was in a position to exercise that power.

Out of the increasing leisure time and affluence of part of the working population grew the concept of 'rational recreation,' regulated amusements by which churches and middle-class reformers sought to divert working men from the pub and expose them to a superior example. The motives behind this movement included a basic humanitarianism and fear of political disaffection,[1] but for local churches and chapels, the provision of recreation facilities became a "civilizing mission to the poor."[2] Old fashioned missionary methods remained the style of small evangelical sects but other denominations and especially in Oxford, the Anglicans, concentrated from the 1860s on positively attracting people to organisations and institutions by offering them more than just salvation. In Cowley St. John, for example, Rev. W. J. Priest, curate in the late 1860s, was responsible for "many innocent recreations" such as the winter lectures and entertainments which were held weekly in the Princes Street schoolroom from 1867.[3] In 1868, he founded the Cowley St. John Horticultural Society[4] and went on to establish a musical society,[5] a parish lending library[6] and reading rooms which were set up in parish schoolrooms.[7] A local branch of the Church of England Temperance Society was formed in 1871 and apart from encouraging its members to practise total

1. P. Bailey, op.cit.,pp.35-6
2. H. E. Meller, Leisure and the changing city, 1870-1914 (1976), p.122
3. O.C., 2.4.1870, p.8; Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (Nov.1867)
4. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (May 1868)
5. ibid., (Feb. 1869), (May 1869)
6. ibid., (Nov. 1867)
7. ibid., (Dec. 1867)

abstinence, entertained them with instructive lectures and annual tea parties.[1] Similarly, Christmas treats and annual outings provided an incentive for Sunday School children.[2] If some of these activities and organisations appealed only to parts of the community, the penny reading, which became well established in Bristol during the 1860s, provided family entertainment for a wider public.[3] Thus, in January 1868 a penny reading organised in Summertown by the vicar and others had an audience consisting "not only of the elite of the village but of those for whose instruction and amusement these popular entertainments were originally designed."[4] No doubt in Oxford, as in Salford, the poor were happy to attend these diversionary activities regardless of the denomination "with broad-minded eclecticism."[5] By the mid 1870s the penny reading had become something of a joke[6] and the spelling bee enjoyed brief popularity. More than 60 competitors, including several women, took part in one organised by the vicar of St. Barnabas', Rev. M. H. Noel, in February 1876.[7] A less usual variant of the spelling bee was the musical bee held in Osney in November 1878 where prizes were given for the best songs by male parishioners aged 17 or over; as an insurance policy, the vicar insisted on hearing the words of every song before the event.[8]

1. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (July, September 1871, Jan. 1880)
2. ibid., (Sep. 1875, Feb. 1876)
3. H. E. Meller, op.cit., pp.134-6
4. O.C., 1.2.1868, p.8
5. R. Roberts, op.cit., p.174
6. H. E. Meller, op.cit., p.145
7. O.C., 12.2.1876, p.5
8. ibid., 23.11.1878, p.8

The policy of achieving change through permeation was reinforced by church-chapel involvement in the development of organised sport on the public school and university model. In Bristol, this 'muscular Christianity' was pioneered by the Young Men's Christian Association, especially from 1879;[1] in Oxford the movement stemmed more directly from churchmen and was more quickly under way, reflecting the prominent example set by University sportsmen. Thus, the first University foot races and athletic sports held in the presence of the Prince of Wales and several thousand other spectators in December 1860[2] showed the way to the Oxford Churchmen's Union which organised its first athletics meeting in 1862. The availability of university sporting facilities was a further stimulus, enabling the Churchmen's Union event to expand quickly and become a two day fixture by 1867.[3] Parish clergymen were very keen to channel youthful energies into sporting activity and in July 1867, for example, the choir of St. James' church, Cowley was defeated by seven wickets in a low scoring cricket match with the choir boys of Cowley St. John.[4] Choir clubs formed a prelude to more general community clubs such as the St. Giles' Cricket Club formed in May 1871[5] and the St. Barnabas' Cricket Club established in the following year.[6] Such clubs inevitably challenged the primacy of the older, secular clubs based in pubs[7] and showed the determination of clergymen to make the church the focal

1. H. E. Meller, op.cit., p.146
2. J.O.J., 8.12.1860, p.5
3. ibid., 2.4.1864, p.5; 27.4.1867, p.5
4. Cowley St. John Parish Magazine (Aug. 1867)
5. O.C., 20.5.1871, p.5
6. ibid., 19.10.1872, p.5
7. supra, pp. 425-6

point of the community and a centre for social righteousness.[1] At the first anniversary meeting of the St. Barnabas' club, the vicar, Rev. Noel, thus expressed a willingness to co-operate in any plan for the improvement of the parish: "He thought that the church should be the centre of everything - of worship, of education and of amusement as well."[2] The acceptability of football as a rational recreation was demonstrated everywhere by the appearance of church and chapel teams,[3] and St. Barnabas' Football Club was in existence by January 1882;[4] three years later, the parish also had a Rugby Football Club.[5] In the mid 1890s, the popularity of cycling throughout society[6] led to the sudden flowering of church cycling clubs such as the Victoria Mission Cycling Club in St. Clement's in 1893,[7] the Oxford Congregational Cycling Club in 1897[8] and the William Street Wesleyan Guild Cycling Club in 1898.[9]

If the parish clergy most often drafted schoolrooms into use as reading rooms, concert halls and meeting places, this was clearly no more than an expedient and the temporary nature of such arrangements was hardly calculated to woo drinkers from the public house. For this reason, club rooms were built in some suburbs to serve as a more permanent base for rational recreations of all kinds. In 1865, for example, the Oxford

1. H. McLeod, Class and religion in the late Victorian city (1974), pp.111-3; H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.163

2. O.C., 19.10.1872, p.5

3. T. Mason, Association football and English society, 1863-1915 (1980), pp.24-6,226-7

4. O.C., 28.1.1882, p.8

5. ibid., 10.10.1885, p.8

6. D. Rubinstein, Cycling in the 1890s. Victorian Studies 21 (1977/8), p.58

7. O.C., 26.8.1893, p.8

8. ibid., 17.4.1897, p.3

9. ibid., 28.5.1898, p.9

Churchmen's Union obtained a site in Cranham Street from St. John's College and appealed for funds to build the North Oxford Working Men's Club; this was intended to attract sick-clubs, insurance societies and other useful institutions and, more generally, to provide a comfortable place "for those who are at present almost obliged to resort to public houses."[1] The club opened in February 1867, providing a well-equipped reading room and offering tea and coffee. A subscription of 2d. a week excluded the more indigent, but between 60 and 70 men enrolled as members and about 200 working men and their wives attended the opening night's entertainment.[2] A later lecture on 'The dignity of labour' attracted only eight people,[3] however, because tired workers were generally seeking amusement rather than instruction.[4] As so often happened, the founders' concept of an 'improving' club gave way to something more completely recreational, offering the advantages of public houses "without their special temptations."[5] Thus, facilities for gymnastics were provided in 1868 and quoits were played during the summer.[6] In 1870, members formed a quadrille band[7] and a dramatic class was established in the following year.[8] Because interest tended to diminish in the summer months, a cricket club was started in 1873[9] and a railway excursion to

1. Bodl. G.A. Oxon a.21. Oxford Churchmen's Union, 1860-90, fol.146
2. O.C., 2.3.1867, p.2
3. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. a.21 op.cit., fol.149
4. S. Meacham, A life apart: the English working class, 1890-1914 (1977), p.133; R. Roberts, op.cit.,p.146
5. O.C., 9.3.1878, p.8; S. Meacham, op.cit., p.121; F.M.L. Thompson, Social control in Victorian Britain. Economic History Review 34 (1981), p.203
6. O.C., 20.6.1868, p.5
7. ibid., 28.5.1870, p.8
8. ibid., 1. 4.1871, p.5
9. ibid., 31.5.1873, p.8

Cambridge for about 360 members and friends was organised for August Bank Holiday 1874.[1] A similar East Oxford Working Men's Club was founded in St. Clement's in 1870 with the active support of Rev. Benson[2] but it seems to have been a short-lived venture lacking the middle class 'friends' whose subscriptions helped the North Oxford club to survive until the late 1870s.[3] In 1870, the Oxford Chronicle criticised the diffusion of resources represented by these suburban clubs and expressed the wish that half as much energy might be channelled into a single, beneficent institution.[4] At the very outset, Dr. Henry Acland had also expressed regret at the denominational character of the North Oxford Working Men's Club.[5] Nevertheless, the geography of Oxford and the strong rivalries which existed between denominations ensured that later clubs followed much the same pattern. In 1883, for example, the Wesleyans opened a reading room in Tyndale Road,[6] and in 1887, the curate of St. Clement's church, Rev. W. J. Guerrier personally funded the building of the Victoria Coffee House which provided a tea and coffee bar, a reading room and a dining room for midday meals.[7] A Cowley St. John Working Men's Club was founded by the vicar, Rev. William Scott, in 1887,[8] and the clergy of SS. Philip & James' parish formed a club for "shopmen and mechanics" in 1889. In the latter case

1. O.C., 8.8.1874, p.5
2. ibid., 11.6.1870, p.8
3. ibid., 8.1.1870, p.5; 31.5.1873, p.8; 27.2.1875, p.6. The club seems finally to have collapsed in ca 1879
4. ibid., 18.6.1870, p.5
5. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. a.21, op.cit., fol.148
6. O.C., 6.10.1883, p.8
7. An Account of the opening of the Victoria Coffee House (1887), p.7
8. Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b.155. City 7, fol.16, Appeal, 1888

at least the club owed its creation to the wish of local churchmen to maintain their influence over older boys[1] who might otherwise have been detached by the pull of the world of work or by the peer group pressure of their friends.[2] By the end of the nineteenth century, local churches and chapels had therefore provided many community centres in the suburbs and if these institutions were paternalistic, denominational and almost exclusively male, they were nonetheless important recreational facilities.[3]

The beneficent effects of recreation expressed by the public school motto 'mens sana in corpore sano' (a healthy mind in a healthy body) became widely appreciated and facilities were further multiplied by philanthropists, employers and other agencies. In St. Clement's, for example, the young Balliol philosopher T.H. Green and Rev. Arthur Butler, Dean of Oriel College, helped to set up a British Workman club in 1875,[4] which followed the pattern of the first temperance tavern of the name founded in Leeds eight years earlier.[5] It was very much envisaged as 'a conventicle of respectability,'[6] providing not only the usual combination of coffee, games, books and newspapers but seeking also to modify the local environment through weekly discussion classes and a night school.[7] The institution never lived up to these high expectations,

1. O.C., 11.5.1889, p.5; 17.5.1890, p.6

2. R.D.Storch, The problem of working-class leisure, some roots of middle-class reform in the Industrial North, 1825-50. In, A.P. Donajgrodzki,ed., Social control in 19th century Britain (1977), p.154

3. cf. H.E. Meller, op.cit., p.204; O.C., 15.4.1893, p.6 contains a complaint about the exclusion of women from St. Barnabas' Institute

4. O.C., 1.1.1876, p.7

5. Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England 1815-1872 (1971), p.304

6. R.D. Storch, op.cit., p.149

7. O.C., 1.1.1876, p.7; 26.1.1878, p.6

however, and some of Green's friends running the night school for 20 or 30 lads found it "difficult to make much of them because they were so riotous and ignorant to begin with."[1] By 1878, Green was disappointed that "they did not do a larger business"[2] and the club's financial state was causing concern in 1879.[3] After Green's premature death in 1882,[4] Rev. James Bright, Master of University College, took over the premises, but the Victoria Coffee House opened nearby in 1887[5] and further affected the club's viability; in 1894, Bright therefore made the building available to the city as an evening continuation school.[6] A substantial recreational facility was established by East Ward Conservatives who, in 1889, formed the East Oxford Constitutional Hall Co., Ltd., to erect in Cowley Road a block of buildings comprising a public hall, a reading room and library, premises for the East Oxford Conservative Club and two shops with dwelling houses. The site had been conveyed to the company on generous terms by the Tory brewer, George Herbert Morrell,[7] and he offered the reading room to the City Council as a potential branch library. The Liberal majority on the Council rejected the offer as an attempt to make political capital,[8] but the scheme was carried through to completion anyway and became, in effect, a Conservative reading room.[9] The adjacent Club, which was

1. O.C., 1.1.1876, p.7
2. ibid., 26.1.1878, p.6
3. ibid., 1.2.1879, p.5
4. J.O.J., 1.4.1882, p.5
5. supra, p. 437
6. Oxford School Board, Report....for the year 1894 (1895), p.4
7. Bodl. Per. Oxon. 4° 194. East Oxford Constit. Hall Co. Ltd. Misc. papers, 1889-98
8. O.C., 7.6.1890, p.7
9. ibid., 8.11.1890, p.2

designed "to promote and maintain Conservative principles amongst the working classes....,"[1] had a main club room, a billiard room, a smoke room, refreshment and committee rooms;[2] by 1893, members had formed an East Oxford Conservative Cricket Club.[3] Liberals generally found it unnecessary to establish distinctive working class organisations because of strong links with chapels, Trade Unions, co-operatives and national reform organisations;[4] in East Oxford, however, the revived Conservative Club forced the Liberals' hand and the former Lamb & Flag coffee tavern on the corner of St. Mary's Road and Crown Street was hurriedly converted into an East Oxford Liberal Club.[5] Like its rival, the East Oxford Liberal Club soon spawned a number of associated bodies such as the cricket club established in February 1891[6] and the Ixion Cycling Club formed in 1893.[7]

'Welfare capitalism'[8] added to the range of recreational facilities as larger employers provided their employees with amenities which would, in the case of the University Press Band, be a way "of binding them to their employers by some sign of personal attachment and interest...."[9] The movement therefore combined seeming generosity with the search for industrial efficiency,[10] and the annual treat was an

1. Bodl. Per. Oxon. 4° 194 East Oxford Constit. Hall Co. Ltd.
2. J.O.J., 5.4.1890, p..
3. O.C., 20.1.1894, p.8
4. Brian Harrison, op.cit., pp.162-3
5. O.C., 6.12.1890, p.2
6. ibid., 14.2.1891, p.5
7. ibid., 3.6.1893, p.5
8. P. Bailey, op.cit., p.44
9. O.C., 18.10.1856, p.5
10. J.A.R. Pimlott, op.cit., p.157

increasingly common feature. The University Press, Wolvercote Paper Mill and some of the city's larger building firms were pioneers in this respect in the 1850s and early 1860s,[1] but other prominent firms were soon arranging similar outings[2] and the Local Board was persuaded to follow suit in 1875.[3] Employees at the University Press were enjoying a three day wayzgoose by 1866,[4] but this example does not seem to have been followed by other firms. The Press was an exceptionally paternalistic employer in the Oxford context establishing inter alia a night school in 1853 and a savings bank in 1849.[5] Other social and sporting clubs were gradually founded,[6] and, with the number of employees rising to 540 by 1890,[7] the firm built the Clarendon Press Institute in 1893 at a cost of £5,000.[8] Few other Oxford employers operated on so large a scale as to consider providing expensive facilities but some nevertheless pursued the concept of reinforcing company loyalty through recreation. Thus, a temperance string band was founded at Thomas Kingerlee's Abbey Works in 1886[9] and an Abbey Cricket Club flourished for a time.[10] In 1871, the Eagle Foundry's Cricket team managed to defeat the O.U.P. XI[11] and the

1. Oxford University Press Ms. PR/14/10/2. Records of Press schools, concerts etc.1852-9, pp.22-30, 2 July 1853; O.C., 8.6.1861, p.5; 13.7.1861, p.5

2. O.C., 12.5.1866, p.5; 30.7.1870, p.5; 4.7.1874, p.5

3. ibid., 5.8.1876, p.5

4. ibid., 21.7.1866, p.5

5. Oxford University Press Ms. PR/14/10.2. pp.2,119; O.C., 18.10.1856, p.5

6. Some account of the Oxford University Press, 1468-1926 (1926), p.33

7. Oxford University Press Ms. PR/30/1/9 Horace Hart, Proposed institute for persons employed at the Press (1890), p.3

8. O.C., 14.10.1893, p.7

9. ibid., 6.11.1886, p.5

10. ibid., 31.1.1891, p.8; 28.4.1900, p.11

11. ibid., 5.8.1871, p.7

local employees of the Great Western & London & North Western Railway Companies were playing annual cricket matches in the late 1870s.[1]

While other recreation facilities proliferated, local authorities which prided themselves on the city's low rates[2] came under increasing pressure to provide or improve social amenities. A typical example was the campaign in the early 1850s to secure the adoption of the Public Libraries Act of 1850. A vocal minority of influential citizens helped by the Savilian Professor of Geometry, Baden Powell, were able to argue that the establishment of a public library would encourage the moral and intellectual improvement of the working classes who, at that time, had "nothing but the attractions of the ale-house or the blandishments of pleasure."[3] The argument was reinforced by appeals to municipal pride[4] and 596 burgesses were persuaded to vote in favour of the proposal in October 1852; only 72 opposed it and the massive apathy of a further 1,401 who did not vote[5] was no immediate barrier to the small public library which opened under the Town Hall in June 1854.[6] Thereafter, funding became the crucial problem and in March 1865, a parsimonious Council agreed to transfer administration of the library to the newly-formed sanitary authority, the Oxford Local Board.[7] Despite the continuing growth of the city and frequent complaints about Oxford's "apology for a library," the public library remained a low priority and was only rehoused in the 1890s after the City Council had resumed control of it.[8]

1. O.C., 27.4.1878, p.5
2. supra, p.18
3. J.O.J., 28.8.1852, p.3
4. ibid., 22.11.1851, p.3
5. O.C.A. T.4.3 General Business Letter Book 1839-61, p.138
6. O.C.L. Statistics of the Reference Library 1864-78
7. J.O.J., 25.3.1865, p.5
8. M. Graham, Public Library facilities in Oxford before 1914. Oxoniensia 43 (1978), pp.232-5

Branch libraries for North and East Oxford were first suggested in 1887[1] and, in 1894, a petition from Summertown residents led to the opening of a branch reading room in the Temperance Hall in January 1895; by March 1896, a small lending library had been added with the help of one or two generous contributors.[2] In other suburbs, lack of funds and a surfeit of church, temperance and political reading rooms effectively stifled the development of branch libraries.[3] The Oxford experience in respect of public libraries was in marked contrast to that of Bristol where the Council was slow to adopt the Public Libraries Act but, having opened its first library in 1876, built a further three branch libraries in 1885.[4] Bristol also had two municipal swimming baths by 1884[5] whereas Oxford relied for many years upon river bathing places which were cheap to create and manage but were available for only part of the year and then only to males. Frequent drownings and the immodesty of nude bathers on the river banks provided the background to the formation of the first Council bathing place in St. Ebbe's in 1846.[6] A second one was opened to the north of Osney Town at Tumbling Bay in 1853,[7] but it was not until 1884 that public pressure from East Ward ratepayers[8] encouraged the Local Board to arrange temporary use of the University bathing place at Long Bridges during the Long Vacation.[9] An ambitious scheme to establish a bathing place at Aston's Eyott

1. J.O.J., 10.5.1890, p.6
2. M. Graham, op.cit., p.236
3. supra, pp. 432, 437, 443
4. H.E.Meller, op.cit., pp.104-5
5. ibid., p.109
6. J.O.J., 20.6.1846, p.2-3; 4.7.1846, p.3; 25.7.1846, p.3
7. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.428
8. O.C., 26.4.1884, p.8; 14.6.1884, p.6
9. ibid., 5.7.1884, p.7

at a cost of £2,000 was roundly condemned as extravagant[1] and, in 1886, the Board purchased the lease of the Long Bridges site instead.[2] The local authority also came under pressure to make provision for women bathers and, in 1884, 'An Oxford Lady Bather' compared Oxford unfavourably with Abingdon in this respect.[3] Eventually, the City Council was persuaded in 1892 to make Tumbling Bay available to females on Fridays[4] but this arrangement and a similar one at Long Bridges were patently unsatisfactory. In 1899, a petition from 261 women in East Ward requested more convenient hours for bathing or a special bathing place for females;[5] plans were subsequently drawn up for a women's bathing place adjacent to the men's one at Long Bridges and these were approved in April 1900 following the receipt of a further petition from 1,717 people, all but ten of whom were women.[6] This long-awaited facility was opened in August,[7] but the only covered pool in the city was, and continued to be for many years, the privately-owned Merton Street swimming bath opened in 1869.[8]

The typical reluctance of local authorities to undertake long-term provision for recreation[9] was seen again in the case of parks and recreation grounds. The formation of the University Parks[10] and the continued availability of Christ Church Meadow helped to justify municipal

1. O.C., 22.11.1884, p.pp.5-6; 21.2.1885, p.6
2. ibid., 9.10.1886, p.6
3. ibid., 20.9.1884, p.8
4. ibid., 11.6.1892, p.7
5. ibid., 5.8.1899, p.2
6. ibid., 9.9.1899, p.8; 7.4.1900, p.2
7. ibid., 3.8.1900, p.7
8. ibid., 1.5.1869, p.4
9. J. Lowerson and J. Myerscough, op.cit., pp.111-4
10. supra, p.77

inertia, and if access to these places was restricted to 'respectable' citizens who refrained from objectionable activities this was a characteristic of Victorian public parks.[1] The vast expanse of Port Meadow to the north-west of the city also provided opportunities for more informal recreation,[2] but new suburbs to the east, south and west of the city were surrounded by privately-owned land. In East Oxford, the question of recreation ground provision came to the fore in the 1889 Municipal elections,[3] and, in January 1892, an East Ward councillor, Col. Swinhoe, floated the proposal to buy seven acres of Castle's brick field behind Cowley Road and form a recreation ground there at a cost of about £3,000.[4] Not surprisingly, the scheme was rejected,[5] but in August the Council agreed to spend up to £50 on establishing a temporary and experimental recreation ground on a more remote field beside the Cowley Road.[6] Its success was not unqualified, for vandalism necessitated the removal of the swings and other equipment on Sundays and, at night, the place was a resort of "horrible prostitutes."[7] The additional expense of employing a caretaker was considered necessary in March 1893[8] and the Council was not tempted to form any more suburban recreation grounds prior to 1900.

1. S. M. Gaskell, Gardens for the working class: Victorian practical pleasure. Victorian Studies 23 (1980), p.490
2. Oxford Waterways' Action Group, Oxford's Waterways (1974), pp.11-2
3. O.C., 19.4.1890, p.5
4. ibid., 9.1.1892, p.2
5. ibid., 4.6.1892, p.5
6. ibid., 6.8.1892, p.5
7. ibid., 5.11.1892, p.7
8. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept., Newscuttings Book 6, p.198

If the local authorities were reluctant to provide purely recreational facilities, the Council at least displayed a greater readiness to heed the demand for allotments. The Allotments Act of 1887 empowered municipal authorities to form and manage allotments wherever there was sufficient demand from working men,[1] but the Local Board's response to a flurry of petitions[2] was paralysed by its imminent demise. The City Council elected in November 1889 adopted a very different attitude, reflecting both the strong feelings of the "industrious and respectable poor"[3] and the extensive middle-class support for a movement which could only encourage thrift and self-improvement.[4] The vicars of New Hinksey and St. Frideswide's, for example, were prominent supporters of allotments[5] and the Rev. W. B. Duggan, vicar of St. Paul's, felt that it was good for Oxford to encourage "the sober, refining, meditative work of the garden and of the seed-plots."[6] Temporary allotments were made available by the end of February 1890,[7] and permanent sites were soon provided.[8] The allotments provided a new focus of recreation and in August 1891 the Osney Allotment Association held its first annual show in an adjoining field, complete with swingboats, coconuts, Aunt Sally and music from the City Police Band.[9] In August 1892, there were nearly 500 entries for the first Oxford Corporation Allotments' Show[10] and the 1895 show attracted nearly 1,000.[11]

1. 50 and 51 Victoria, c.48
2. O.C., 10.12.1887, p.6; 11.5.1888, p.2; 17.3.1888, p.2
3. ibid., 15.9.1888, p.5
4. S.M. Gaskell, op.cit.,pp.484-5
5. O.C., 2.3.1889, p.7
6. ibid., 27.10.1888, p.2
7. ibid., 1.3.1890, p.5;
8. ibid., 5.4.1890, p.8; 15.11.1890, p.6; 4.4.1891, p.7
9. ibid., 22.8.1891, p.5
10. ibid., 27.8.1892, p.6
11. ibid., 7.9.1895, p.7

The relatively small size of Oxford's Victorian suburbs and the proliferation of other recreational facilities militated against the development of permanent commercial ventures distinct from pubs; in addition, the city centre remained within easy walking distance of all but the remoter suburbs and, for the better off, was rendered still more accessible by horse trams after 1881. The Victoria Theatre, re-opened after some years of disuse in 1866,[1] and the New Queen's Theatre in Queen Street opened in 1883[2] were therefore as likely to be patronised by suburban residents as by people who lived in central Oxford; so too was the New Theatre built in 1885-6 after the lifting of the University's long-standing veto on professional drama during term-time.[3] East Oxford, with a population of over 10,000 by 1881[4] was, however, something of a special case and the building of a large public hall in the East Oxford Constitutional Hall complex provided a venue for commercial entertainment from 1890.[5] At first, the company derived income from miscellaneous lettings for concerts, entertainments and large gatherings of all kinds, but the returns were poor;[6] as a result, the company decided to lease the building as a music hall, the major contemporary counter-attraction to the pub.[7] The London impresario, A.L. Baron, had the building refurbished and renamed it the Lyric Hall, intending "to bring some really good companies down into Oxford."[8] By 1900, however, the lease had been taken over by Albany Ward who changed the name once more to the Empire

1. O.C., 13.10.1866, pp.4, 8
2. ibid., 11.8.1883, p.5; 25.8.1883, p.4
3. V.C.H. Oxon. vol. 4 (1979), pp.430-1
4. Table 2
5. supra, p. 439
6. Bodl. Per. Oxon. 4° 194. E Oxf. Constit. Hall Co. Annl reports, 1891, 1897
7. F.M.L. Thompson, op.cit., pp.203-4; P. Bailey, op.cit., p.147
8. O.C., 1.1.1898, p.8

Theatre of Varieties and claimed to have transformed the building into "The most comfortable and attractive place of amusement in the Provinces."[1] Advertisements stressed that late trams passed the door[2] and Town and Gown scuffles during some performances confirm that patronage of the theatre was not wholly restricted to residents of the suburbs.[3] The combination of relatively cheap land, a sizeable local population and proximity to the city centre encouraged a proposal in 1893 to establish a permanent circus on a former market garden behind Marston Street. The scheme, proposed by two local businessmen, W.F. Cross and Robert Buckell, was denounced by all local churches in a rare display of unity and it was rapidly withdrawn.[4] In general, therefore, East Oxford and the other artisan suburbs offered few opportunities for permanent commercial enterprise, but they did provide useful sites for travelling circuses and other temporary entertainments. Thus, Newsome's Alhambra Circus was staged on land between Cowley and Iffley Roads during the summer of 1861[5] and was commemorated in the long term by the street-name Circus Street. For two days in July 1889, Lord George Sanger's circus was set up in a field adjoining Botley Road[6] and Barnum and Bailey's circus attracted an estimated 21,000 people to two performances at a site in Abingdon Road in 1898.[7] In 1880, a marquee beside the Cowley Road formed the setting for a cheap jack entertainment which apparently introduced a novelty to Oxford "in the shape of a baby show, succeeded by a vocal concert, for admittance to which seven or eight hundred persons are said to have paid the required fee of 2d. per head."[8]

1. O.C., 3.2.1900, p.12
2. ibid., 17.2.1900, p.1
3. ibid., 24.2.1900, p.12; 19.10.1900, p.12
4. ibid., 22.4.1893, p.8; 6.5.1893, pp.5-7
5. J.O.J., 29.6.1861, p.1
6. ibid., 13.7.1889, p.4
7. ibid., 29.10.1898, p.3
8. ibid., 6.3.1880, p.8

Commercial entertainments and the many other forms of recreation so far considered were provided largely for those in less favoured districts; in affluent areas, especially, the home itself formed the major focus of recreation.[1] Inside the large North Oxford houses, well-lit by gas and later by electricity, there was ample opportunity for reading and Catherine Lucy, daughter of the Oxford ironfounder William Lucy, noted in her diary that she had read 47 books during 1890 and 54 in 1891; among her favourite authors were Kipling, Hardy, Jane Austen, Charlotte Bronte, Wilkie Collins, Thackeray, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Jerome K. Jerome and Oliver Wendell Holmes.[2] Many indoor games were available[3] and hand-stereoscopes, well-suited to domestic use, became very popular.[4] Calling on friends became almost a ritual for many North Oxford ladies and, in 1898, Myfanwy Rhys noted an afternoon when she and her mother visited 11 households unsuccessfully before finding the twelfth at home.[5] Ethel Hatch's mother, like many hostesses, held a weekly 'At Home' when visitors called for tea; occasionally, she staged afternoon receptions when musical friends entertained the company with songs and violin or piano solos after tea or coffee had been served in the dining room.[6] Dinner parties were a great feature of North Oxford life,[7] and at the

1. J. Lowerson and J. Myerscough, op.cit., p.56
2. Mrs. C. Colvin. C. S. Lucy diary 1890-2, passim.
3. O.C., 24.12.1864, p.1
4. G. H. Martin and D. Francis, The camera's eye. In, H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities vol. 2 (1978), p.233
5. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.677 Myfanwy Rhys diary, (189-), p.184
6. Ethel Hatch, Some reminiscences of Oxford. Oxford Magazine 74 (1955/6), pp.501-2
7. ibid., p.501

Rhys' household, for example, 14 people, including the Principal of Jesus College and his wife, came to dinner one Saturday in January 1898.[1] In order to cope with such occasions, Florence Gamlen's father, Charles Owen, regularly employed a college porter as family butler at 2/6d. an evening.[2] Music wove a common thread through many of these activities and in June 1891, for instance, a Mr. Dixon came for coffee at the Lucys, "brought his flute and played and sang to us;" in October, Catherine's younger sister, Edith, played the newly-delivered piano after dinner and a visitor in November played the mandolin .[3] Domestic life was further enlivened by the widespread keeping of pets which included Catherine Lucy's dog Mike[4] and the Haldanes' macaw Polly[5] as well as the more exotic mongoose, tree frogs and chameleons kept by Arthur Smith of Balliol at the family home in Crick Road.[6] In summer, the North Oxford garden provided a secluded adjunct to the house "vital for tea parties, croquet, amateur theatricals and other mild dissipations."[7] These gardens were ingeniously contrived to create "the illusion of a country estate"[8] and some at least were professionally designed. Thus, the garden of no. 5 Canterbury Road was designed in the mid 1870s by William Baxter, curator of the Oxford Botanic Garden, who had, twenty years earlier, laid out the ornamental gardens and pleasure grounds at Park Town; Baxter's scheme

1. Bodl. Ms. Eng. misc. e.697. Olwen Rhys diary 1897-8, p.60
2. F. M. Gamlen, My memoirs (1953), p.36
3. Mrs. C. Colvin. C. S. Lucy diary 1890-2, 23.6.1891, 8.10.1891, 13.11.1891
4. ibid., 31.5.1891
5. L. K. Haldane, op.cit., pp.200-1
6. E. C. Hodgkin, ed., Arthur Lionel Forster Smith, 1880-1972: chapters of biography (1979), p.12
7. Mavis Batey, First of the garden suburbs. Country Life 20.3.1980, p.889
8. J. Lowerson and J. Myerscough, op.cit., p.55

was put into effect by the local nurseryman, Joseph Bates, and James Perry, a Banbury nurseryman, was called in to fit up the conservatory.[1] At no. 15 Norham Gardens, the Waynflete Professor of Chemistry laid out his garden with the help of his father-in-law, Dr. Alfred Smee, the eminent surgeon and ecologist who, in 1872, had published My Garden, Its Plan and Culture together with a general description of its Geology, Botany and Natural History.[2] Most North Oxford gardens evolved out of the relationship between owner and gardener and George Claridge Druce, High Street chemist and author of the Flora of Oxfordshire (1886), was exceptional in doing his own gardening.[3] By the 1880s, spring in North Oxford had become worthy of comment and the Oxford Chronicle in 1885 noted especially the double-flowered peach and cherry trees, the white and scarlet horse chestnuts, laburnum, syringa, rowan, clematis, white pink and scarlet hawthorns, guelder rose, rhododendrons and paeonies.[4] Victorian favourites such as laurustinus, mahonias, aucubas, hollies, berberis, arbutus, pampas grass and yuccas were also plentiful.[5] By 1897, villa gardening in North Oxford had become a fine art and proud owners vied with each other in providing splendid floral displays in their front gardens. At no. 143 Woodstock Road, for instance, Montague Wootten's gardener had designed a bed of 1,500 tulips which were to be succeeded by zonal geraniums and tuberous begonias.[6]

1. O.C., 17.10.1874, p.7; Mavis Batey, op.cit.,p.55
2. Mavis Batey, op.cit., pp.888-9
3. Naomi Mitchison, Small talk: memories of an Edwardian childhood (1973), p.90
4. O.C., 6.6.1885, p.5
5. ibid.,; Mavis Batey, op.cit., p.889; Ralph Dutton, The Victorian home (1954), pp.192-3
6. O.C., 24.4.1897, p.8

Beyond the confines of house and garden, the middle classes had the wealth, education and time to indulge in a wide range of pastimes which varied from the purely recreational to the intellectual. Walking was popular and family promenading promoted the concept of domestic felicity associated with suburban life;[1] one Sunday, for example, Myfanwy Rhys joined her mother and father for a walk in the University Parks "and we met acquaintances at every step."[2] The surroundings of Oxford were ideal for country walks[3] and the bicycle widened the scope for exploration during the 1890s. Catherine and Edith Lucy learned to ride a bicycle in 1892[4] and, in 1898, Myfanwy Rhys thought nothing of cycling to Culham one afternoon with her father and sister.[5] With ready access to boats, the local rivers provided another outlet for recreation and, in June 1890, Catherine Lucy enjoyed three outings on the Thames; on one of these thickening cloud drove the party into the upper room of the Trout at Godstow where they had tea, played the piano and sang until the weather cleared.[6] As it became acceptable and desirable for girls to take some form of physical exercise[7] a group of parents of Oxford High School girls acquired a plot of land at the end of Norham Road for organised games. In 1896, the daughters of all Oxford residents were invited there to play cricket, rounders, fives, lawn tennis or bat, trap and ball, but a sub-

1. D. Reeder, Suburbanity and the Victorian city (1980), p.11
2. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.677. M. Rhys diary (189-), p.208
3. ibid., e.675, pp.58, 63; Mrs. C. Colvin. C.S. Lucy diary 1890-2, 12.10.1891
4. Mrs. C. Colvin. C.S. Lucy diary 1892-4, 28.7.1892 - 23.9.1892
5. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.677 M. Rhys diary (189-), p.113
6. Mrs. C. Colvin. C.S. Lucy diary 1890-2, 3.6.1890, 3.6.1890, 12.6.1890
7. R. Dutton, op.cit.,p.169

scription of 5s. per term ensured that the offer did not have unfortunate social repercussions.[1] Margaret Fletcher recalled that there was nowhere for girls to learn to swim in about 1870,[2] but local initiative was again equal to this problem in the 1890s; a company was formed by several University dons and negotiations were rapidly concluded with St. John's College to provide a secluded bathing place for women on the Cherwell.[3] With a surfeit of men at the University, young North Oxford ladies had no lack of male attention even if some undergraduates, like Charles Oman, were slow to realise that "it was possible for a girl to be both merry and wise."[4] At the beginning of Trinity Term 1891 Catherine Lucy fell to wondering whether "anything specially curious (will) happen; anyhow the summer term is usually amusing generally uncommonly nice."[5] Commem Week in particular was a continuous round of concerts, balls, fetes and flower shows, and at the Worcester College Ball in 1889, Catherine was introduced to 16 men who put their names down for a dance and others for whom she had no space on her card.[6] University contacts also led to more intellectual pastimes for girls as well as men and although Mrs. A. L. Smith discouraged her daughters' bookish interests,[7] this attitude became less general in middle-class homes. Thus, the Lucy girls both attended geological lectures and went on geological outings with Professor Green.[8]

1. O.C., 23.5.1896, p.6
2. M. Fletcher, O, Call back yesterday (1939), p.29
3. St. John's Coll. Ms. Est. I.F.15. Bursar's L.B. 1897-8, pp.34, 297. Letters to Mrs. A. G. Collier, 15.5.1897, 21.2.1898; O.C., 29.10.1898, p.10
4. Sir Charles Oman, Memories of Victorian Oxford (1941), p.138
5. Mrs. C. Colvin. C. S. Lucy diary 1890-2, 17.4.1891
6. ibid., 1884-90, 23.6.1889
7. E. C. Hodgkin, ed., op.cit., p.34
8. Mrs. C. Colvin. C. S. Lucy diary 1890-2, 25.4.1891

Catherine Lucy was a regular concert-goer,[1] attended debates at the Oxford Union[2] and in March 1889, for example, attended an Oxford University Dramatic Society performance of 'Julius Caesar.'[3] In the autumn of 1888, she was also attending a local Shakespeare Club at no. 9 Canterbury Road where play-reading was combined with "a great deal of fun."[4]

If the middle-class recreations of North Oxford were often beyond the resources and, indeed, the imaginings of other suburban residents, the latter also began to have opportunities to organise their own increasing leisure-time. The railways provided a crucial technological change, enabling people to travel beyond their local community and offering all but the poorest access to recreation, beauty and quiet.[5] During the summer of 1855, there were excursions from Oxford to Bath and Bristol, to Brighton, to Wychwood Forest Fair and to Epsom Races; the Oxford Chronicle pointed out that these trains were "the only means of recreation and enjoyment to the working and middle classes of the community."[6] Within Oxford, horse trams afforded easier access to the surrounding countryside, but the bicycle in the 1890s gave much greater freedom to all who could afford to buy one;[7] as has been seen, many riders joined cycling clubs,[8] but this was a matter of personal choice rather than dictation. Greater

1. Mrs. C. Colvin. C. S. Lucy diary 1884-90, 8.3.1889, 20.6.1889
2. ibid., 1890-2, 5.11.1891
3. ibid., 1884-90, 5.3.1889
4. ibid., 30.11.1889, 7.12.1889
5. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, (1971), p.222; H.E. Meller, op.cit., p.210; J. Simmons, The power of the railway. In, H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 2 (1978), p.304
6. O.C., 19.5.1855, p.4; 8.9.1855, p.4; 15.9.1855, p.4
7. J. A. R. Pimlott, op.cit., pp.167-8
8. supra, pp.435, 440

space in and around the home encouraged the development of personal hobbies such as flower and vegetable gardening, woodwork and the breeding and keeping of animals, fish or birds.[1] In 1890, for instance, three Iffley Road residents won prizes for their pigeons at the National Poultry, Pigeon and Rabbit Show[2] and Oxford was said to be the home of the magpie, a variety of domestic pigeon.[3] Reading was everywhere encouraged by improved education and the spread of cheap literature,[4] and locally also by the opening of a lending department within Oxford City Library in 1857.[5] A passion for music was fostered during the second half of the nineteenth century by cheaper instruments and increasing facilities for concerts.[6] The purchase of a piano had a symbolic importance in the new "family centredness,"[7] but could have unfortunate consequences for neighbours; in 1893, 'A Respectable Ratepayer' in Grandpont was therefore threatening to dynamite the piano next door because it was used from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. by the 11 girls in the family.[8]

The profusion of recreational opportunities provided for and made available to the late Victorians offered a direct challenge to the public house which was, moreover, strongly attacked on moral grounds by the temperance movement. Initially, very few regulations had controlled the

1. H. E. Meller, op.cit., p.240
2. O.C., 22.11.1890, p.8
3. ibid., 7.10.1894, p.2
4. G. Best, op.cit., p.246
5. M. Graham, Public Library facilities in Oxford before 1914. Oxoniensia 43 (1978), p.228
6. H. E. Meller, op.cit., p.219
7. G. Crossick, The emergence of the lower middle class in Britain: a discussion. In, G. Crossick, ed., The lower middle class in Britain, 1870-1914 (1977), p.27
8. O.C., 24.6.1893, p.2

establishment of public houses and speculative builders opposed licensing restrictions because drink facilities were likely to raise the value of an estate.[1] The Beer Act of 1830 encouraged a spate of beerhouses, which were relatively free from magistrates' control, and in Summertown, for example, six opened within two and a half years of the Act. Badcock's complaint that the system was "a serious nuisance and ruinous to morals"[2] showed that the middle classes were already becoming associated with a sobriety which filtered gradually down the social scale. By 1840, it was regarded as socially dangerous for a woman to enter even the best inn,[3] and developers of estates with any social pretensions were soon confining licensed premises to blighted sites as did the Conservative Land Society in East Oxford in 1859[4] or, like St. John's College, were excluding them altogether.[5] By 1868, on George Hester's New Botley development, similar restrictive covenants were beginning to affect artisan estates[6] and this trend became universal by the 1880s.[7] Following the Licensing Act of 1872[8] magistrates were able to check the increase in licences and owners of beerhouses, for example, found it almost impossible to obtain spirit licences on the grounds that their houses were of insufficient value, that the facility was not required by the locality or that their accommodation was inadequate. Temperance organisations

1. Brian Harrison, Pubs. In, H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities, vol. 1. (1977), p.183

2. Bodl. Ms. Top.Oxon.e.240. John Badcock, Origin, history and description of Summertown, 1832, fol.19n

3. Brian Harrison & B. S. Trinder, Drink and sobriety in an early Victorian country town: Banbury 1830-1860 (1969), pp.8-9

4. supra, p.154

5. supra, p.168

6. supra, p.154

7. Brian Harrison, Pubs. In, H.J.Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian city: images and realities vol. 1. (1977), p.183

8. 35 and 36 Victoria, c.94

such as the United Kingdom Alliance and the Church of England Temperance Society attended licensing meetings[1] and sought to stiffen the magistrates' resolve by presenting petitions and cogent arguments against almost every application. At the annual licensing meeting in 1879, for example, Mr. Gregson appeared on behalf of 145 petitioners and the Oxfordshire Band of Hope and Temperance Union to oppose the granting of a full licence to the Walton House in Richmond Road. With nine public houses in a 200 yard radius, he argued that licensed accommodation was already adequate and claimed that the residents of new houses with rentals of £20 to £40 would not be "persons who wanted to frequent a public house." His arguments and the petitioners' fears of diminished property values, increased poverty and higher rates succeeded in warding off the application.[2] Existing licences might also be taken away if circumstances warranted it and in 1886, the Bird in Hand beer-house in Cross Street lost its licence because it was "a habitual resort of prostitutes;" one witness had trembled to see "soldiers and women leave the house with jars of beer on Sunday afternoons and go to Dover's-row."[3] Before licensing was so rigidly enforced, the increase in the number of licensed houses seems broadly to have kept pace with the growth of the population. Thus in 1869, there were said to be over 280 such houses or approximately one drinking place for every 123 people;[4] by 1878, there were more than 350 licensed premises or one for every 18 families.[5] This figure suggested a ratio of about 1:128 and compares

1. O.C., 26.8.1876, p.5
2. ibid., 30.8.1879, p.6
3. ibid., 23.10.1886, p.2
4. J.O.J., 13.11.1869, p.5
5. ibid., 21.9.1878, supplement

with the 1:116 recorded in the much smaller town of Banbury in 1861.[1] Thereafter, the increase was checked and the Drink Map of Oxford published in 1883 by the Oxfordshire Band of Hope and Temperance Union identified only 319 licensed premises, 143 of which were fully licensed houses, 125 were beerhouses, seven were breweries and 14 were off-licences held by grocers, wine merchants and others.[2] Of the total number, 115 were in suburban locations where they tended to avoid the best streets and the most select areas. Fully licensed houses were comparatively rare in the suburbs but no fewer than 71 of the city's 125 beerhouses (56.8%) were situated there, being concentrated especially in the poorer parts of Jericho and St. Clement's. The fact that Cowley Road, St. Clement's Street and Walton Street were busy thoroughfares generated a large number of licences in those streets but, in Woodstock Road and Iffley Road, pubs had been restricted to the periphery; in Banbury Road, there were none at all.[3] Breweries retaliated against the temperance movement by purchasing their outlets, the pubs, and often raised the money for this by becoming limited liability companies[4] - as Hall's Oxford Brewery did in 1896.[5] They also turned to advantage the closure of superfluous central pubs, adopting the ploy of transferring licences from redundant premises of this kind to more profitable suburban sites.[6] Thus, in 1896, permission was given to transfer the licence of the Boar's Head in Queens Lane to a house on the corner of Chester Street and Argyle

1. Brian Harrison & B. S. Trinder, op.cit., p.2

2. Bodl. C17.70 Oxford (70) Drink map of Oxford, (1883); O.C., 25.8.1883, p.5; O.C., 15.9.1883, p.6 contains a letter drawing attention to inaccuracies on the map.

3. cf. Brian Harrison, op.cit., pp.177-8

4. J. Lowerson & J. Myerscough, op.cit., pp.70-1

5. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 2 (1907), pp. 263-4

6. O.C., 1.10.1892, p.5

Street which became the Chester Arms.[1] Any sizeable reduction in the number of licences was also prevented by the growth of off-licences. In 1882, for example, William Walker was granted an outdoor licence for a property in Kingston Road because, although there were nine public houses in the vicinity, it was impossible to send a little girl out for beer without her having to go "to a house where men were drinking on the premises and perhaps smoking, spitting or swearing."[2] In well-to-do areas especially there was a tendency for grocers to obtain wine licences which enabled the rich to replenish their cellars without inconvenience.[3] The North Oxford heartland, however, was possibly better served by city centre wine merchants and college cellars and Francis Twining's application in 1893 to sell beer and wine off the premises at his North Parado Avenue shop was successfully countered by a large petition headed by the vicar of SS. Philip & James'.[4] The potential convenience of being able to send to a respectable grocer for a few bottles of beer might, however, have changed some minds by 1894 because Twining's revised application for a beer off-licence was then approved with no local furore.[5]

If the licensing trade showed resilience in its dealings with the temperance movement, the pubs themselves were, to a significant extent, able to maintain their role as the focus of working-class recreation.[6] From the 1860s at least public houses became larger and more luxurious than the old 'front room' pub, being marked off from neighbouring houses

1. O.C., 29.8.1896, p.2
2. ibid., 2.9.1882, p.7
3. Brian Harrison, op.cit., p.168
4. O.C., 30.9.1893, p.8
5. ibid., 1.9.1894, p.7
6. F.M.L. Thompson, Social control in Victorian Britain. Economic History Review 34 (1981), p.202

by their size, by their bold signs and decor and by the brilliant lamps which must have attracted passers-by out of the darker streets like moths to a flame.[1] Inside, the buildings were more extravagantly fitted out with long bars and specialized equipment.[2] In 1876, a variety company reinforced the attractions of the Jericho House in Walton Street[3] and some pubs were able to attract a much wider public to outdoor activities. In 1880, for example, the Elm Tree in Cowley Road staged a carnival on Whit Monday, seeking to attract Bank Holiday crowds with the promise of first class London talent, a band, sports, dancing, a balloon ascent and fireworks.[4] Freemasons as well as many sporting and social clubs continued to use pubs as meeting places and at the Jericho House, for example, a new club room opened in 1865[5] provided a venue for the Loyal Walton Lodge of Odd Fellows,[6] the Walton Lodge of Druids[7] and the North Oxford quadrille party.[8] In 1881 the Lily Rowing Club had its headquarters at the Victoria in Walton Street[9] and the Wanderers Football Club held its first annual dinner there in 1888.[10] Artisans could comfortably unite conviviality, drink and thrift,[11] and a social club founded at the Jericho House in 1889 combined recreational outings with mutual aid, contributing over £20 to the widow and family of one of its members.[12] Political groups

1. D. J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.112
2. Brian Harrison, op.cit., pp.170-1
3. O.C., 15.4.1876, p.6
4. ibid., 15.5.1880, p.5
5. ibid., 28.1.1865, p.5
6. ibid., 27.1.1866, p.8
7. ibid., 8.7.1871, p.7
8. ibid., 25.9.1886, p.8
9. ibid., 8.1.1881, p.8
10. ibid., 14.1.1888, p.8
11. G. Crossick, The labour aristocracy and its values: a study of Victorian Kentish London. Victorian Studies 19 (1976), p.322; ibid., An artisan elite in Victorian London: Kentish London, 1840-1880 (1978), p.153
12. O.C., 16.2.1893, p.2

continued to meet in pubs and a Conservative Hall for North Ward was built behind the Plough & Anchor in Great Clarendon Street in 1877.[1] The Liberals, too, although openly hostile to the Oxford brewing interests,[2] had perforce to use pubs and the inaugural dinner of the new West Ward Liberal Association in 1889 took place at the Jericho House.[3] The old connection between pubs and trade was also maintained at the Jericho House where the adjoining yard was the scene of a weekly Saturday evening "cheap jack sale, frequented by all housewives and multitudes of children...."[4] The fact that there was no general diminution in the consumption of alcohol bore witness to the continuing popularity of pubs as drinking places[5] and the results of excessive drinking were all too evident in the local press. An incident in Jericho in April 1899 where a policeman came upon two drunken men fighting in the midst of a large crowd showed that, in the poorer areas at least, little had really changed.[6]

1. O.C., 13.10.1877, p.6
2. e.g. ibid., 21.3.1874, p.5; 2.11.1889, p.5
3. ibid., 5.4.1889, p.2
4. Bodl. Ms. Top.Oxon. d.464. Hawtrey, Scrapbook of Jericho, 1954, p.7
5. B. Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England, 1815-1872 (1971), pp.311-8
6. O.C., 8.4.1899, p.8

SHOPPING

The development of suburban shopping facilities again showed a contrast between middle-class North Oxford where shops were virtually excluded and the poorer suburbs where corner shops developed and busy thoroughfares metamorphosed into neighbourhood shopping centres. The movement of street traders could not be so easily restricted, however, and they remained a common sight everywhere, welcomed by some but increasingly resented by respectable suburban residents.

Both St. John's College and its lessees displayed an antipathy to trade which kept shops, like public houses, at a respectful distance from the most fashionable areas of North Oxford. From 1863, St. John's inserted a covenant into its leases which prohibited the commercial use of most subsequent buildings,[1] but these controls might be relaxed a little in more expendable districts; in 1867, for example, a Mr. Lovis was allowed to convert a house in South Parade, Woodstock Road into a grocer's shop[2] and a shop was permitted opposite the pub at Hayfield's Hut on the condition that it was not to be "a butcher's shop or similar trade, but such as a grocer's, or any business which will not be noisy or offensive."[3] Elsewhere, the efforts of the College to preserve the peaceful, domestic character of its estate were firmly supported by lessees who objected strongly to even the faintest whiff of commercialism.[4] The only trade which was thought likely to enhance rather than depress

1. <u>supra</u>, p.168

2. St. John's Coll. Ms. Admin.II.A.1. Estates Cttee.M.B. 1863-9, p.233

3. <u>ibid.</u>, . Ms. Est.I. F.11. Bursar's L.B. 1885-8, p.978. Letter to George Horne, 6.3.1888

4. <u>supra</u>, pp. 168-70

property values was that of flower-selling and Emma Bates was therefore granted the lease of no. 48 Banbury Road in 1867 on the condition that the premises were used only as a florist's and for no other business.[1]

Most North Oxford shopping activity focussed inevitably upon the city centre where specialist shops and a growing number of department stores provided "a total alternative environment, a vision of abundance, a succession of surprises, a place to go to be cosseted, flattered and amused."[2] The newest fashions in clothes were only to be seen in central shops such as Elliston's and Crow's in Magdalen Street, Badcock's in Queen Street and Frank East's at Carfax. These shops were an endless source of temptation for Myfanwy Rhys whose diary records regular shopping expeditions for dresses, jackets, hats or dancing slippers.[3] Central cafes were also well patronised by the Rhys family, and Olwen often weighed herself at the station before visiting the Oriental Cafe.[4] The diary of the Rev. Dr. Edwin Hatch, Vice Principal of St. Mary Hall and resident of Park Town until 1876, further emphasises the extent to which city centre businesses profited from North Oxford custom. His accounts for July 1874, for example, record payments of £7. 4s. 0d to the Anglo-Bavarian Brewery, £3.14s. 3d to Cousins the druggist, £4. 14s. 6d. to Day for books, £2. 7s. 0d for Spiers & Son for paper, £3. 19s. 2d to Edward Beaumont the draper and £5. 5s. 0 to the photographers, Hills & Saunders.[5] The middle classes therefore had less need of local shops

1. St. John's Coll. Ms. Oxford Properties. 48 Banbury Road. Lease, 4.7.1867

2. D. J. Olsen, The growth of Victorian London (1979), p.125

3. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.675. M. Rhys diary (189-), pp.42-6, 187

4. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.697. Olwen Rhys diary 1897-8, p.55

5. Pembroke Coll. Ms. Edwin Hatch diary 1858-86, July 1874

and the extra cost implied by travel or delivery was immaterial.[1] For everyday household needs, however, it was not always convenient to go into town, even by the regular service of horse trams on the Banbury Road; on one occasion, for example, Myfanwy Rhys had to return to the grocer's and ask them to open the tin of tongue that she had just bought.[2] Anticipating this local requirement, a growing number of businesses was established in North Parade Avenue, a convenient location for much of North Oxford and yet outside the jurisdiction of St. John's College. The development was a rapid one for the 1866 directory listed only a public house, a beer retailer, a market gardener, a tailor and a piano tuner.[3] Ethel Hatch remembered only two shops there in the 1870s, Messers, the greengrocers, and a sweet shop where she bought acid drops, hardbake and penny packets of sherbet.[4] In 1900, by contrast, there were eight food shops, three selling items of clothing and five selling household goods; the public house and the beer retailer had survived and there was also a chemist and a nurseryman.[5] In many cases, these shops were small branches of existing Oxford firms and they were doubtless intended, in part at least, to attract custom or maintain loyalty to larger central premises. During the 1890s, for example, both Francis Twining, the Oxford grocer and the City Drapery Stores opened small branches in the street.[6] This little street, convenient and yet unobtrusive, was therefore able to cater for

1. R. Scola, Retailing in the nineteenth century town: some problems and possibilities. In, J. H. Johnson & C. G. Pooley, eds., The structure of nineteenth century cities (1982), p.167

2. Bodl. Ms. Eng. Misc. e.675. M. Rhys diary (189-), p.44

3. Wheeler & Day, pub., The Oxford directory.... for 1866 (1866), p.38

4. E. Hatch, Some reminiscences of Oxford. Oxford Magazine 74 (1955/6), p.501

5. Kelly's Oxford directory...for 1900 (1900), p.208

6. supra, p.459; O.C., 23.12.1899, p.4

many of North Oxford's mundane shopping needs without vulgarising the area. Middle-class attitudes to trade remained hostile and Naomi Mitchison recalled that "If a new errand boy unwittingly went to the front door he was sharply reproved."[1] She herself was severely lectured for becoming too friendly with the assistants in one of North Parade Avenue shops, being "made to feel they were somehow different, that they 'smelled.' "[2]

Away from leasehold North Oxford, the growth of shopping facilities was subject to far less control and depended rather upon the operation of market forces. Constraints were predictably to be found on those estates with social pretensions and in 1860, the Conservative Land Society restricted the possibility of commercial development on its Iffley Road estate to a blighted lot on the corner of Stanley Road and Magdalen Road.[3] Developers of lesser estates became increasingly anxious to forestall the establishment of "noisy noxious offensive or dangerous trade or business"[4] but a covenant of this kind did not preclude the development of most shops. In the majority of suburban areas, builders were therefore able to gamble on including a shop in their schemes and some at least of them did so. In 1879, for example, when the Grandpont estate was still in its infancy, Thomas Gale submitted proposals for a house and ground floor shop at the corner of Western Road and Buckingham Street.[5] With shops as with pubs, corner premises were always favoured because they

1. N. Mitchison, Small talk: memories of an Edwardian childhood (1973), p.114

2. ibid., p.50

3. supra, p. 154

4. supra, p. 153

5. O.C.C.: City Engineer's Dept. 456 (O.S.) 36 Western Road, 9.12.1879

provided two display frontages; in addition, the back garden was accessible from the street and could be used as an adjunct of the business. Nevertheless, the planned shop was a comparative rarity in the early years of Oxford's Victorian suburbs because few retailers were bold enough to risk much capital in an uncertain market place. In East Oxford, for example, Cowley Road was at first almost entirely residential, but main road sites maximised potential market areas[1] and this busy thoroughfare soon became a prime retailing location. By 1866, Cowley Road had 12 food shops, including five grocers, three bakers and butchers; there were also four clothing shops, four shops selling household goods and a few miscellaneous shops such as Peter Bancalari's cricket bat depot which reflected the proximity of the Magdalen and college cricket grounds.[2] Suburban shops were often formed by converting houses into shops which could then be enlarged by building out into the front gardens;[3] in 1891, Ald. Buckell criticised the irregular building line in Cowley Road which this process had created and noted that where there was a gap between shopfronts and the pavement the space was "utilised for the setting out of barrows, furniture, cooking ware and greengrocery until the road had a very odd appearance."[4] The road had in fact evolved from a smaller working-class shopping complex into a more diversified retail structure.[5] In 1900, it contained 47 food shops, including 14 grocers, 11 butchers, six bakers and five confectioners; in addition, shoppers had a choice of 29 clothing shops, 27 shops selling household goods and a further 28

1. R. Scola, op.cit., p.165
2. Wheeler & Day, pub., The Oxford directory....for 1866 (1866), pp.24-5
3. H. J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), p.148
4. O.C., 4.7.1891, p.7
5. G. Shaw, The growth of retailing in the urban economy. In, J.H. Johnson & C. G. Pooley, eds., The structure of nineteenth century cities (1982), p.184

specialised outlets which included four hairdressers, three photographers and three stationers. There was also a solitary toy dealer, a musical instrument warehouse, a cycle maker, a chemist, a watchmaker and even a firework agent.[1] Many of these firms were unique to East Oxford and thrived on local custom; others, like the ironmongers Dean & Son at no. 23 Cowley Road had a more extensive trade.[2] Central businesses had also moved in for their share of a lucrative and growing market, and in 1868, for example, William Wixon, a butcher in the Covered Market for 15 years, opened a shop in Circus Terrace, Cowley Road.[3] Greenaway's sewing machine depot in Queen Street had a branch in Cowley Road by 1880,[4] and another Queen Street firm, Henry Prior's furnishing warehouse, opened "a branch emporium" there in 1890.[5] Such firms could achieve scale economies by increasing the number and range of articles sold and this led in turn to larger shops and the amalgamation of premises.[6] This process was illustrated in 1900 when Cape's, the St. Ebbe's Street drapers, opened its largest branch at nos. 86/90 Cowley Road.[7] This firm was a typical department store for the lower middle class, operating on the ready cash system to offer the lowest possible prices and to undercut traditional businesses which had the extra expense of calling for and booking deliveries, giving credit and delivering goods.[8]

1. Kelly's Oxford directory....for 1900, (1900), pp.165-7
2. O.C., 26.9.1868, p.1
3. ibid., 27.6.1868, p.4
4. ibid., 23.10.1880, p.1
5. ibid., 27.9.1890, p.1
6. G. Shaw, Retail patterns in the Victorian city. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series 4 (1979), p.284
7. R. Foster, F. Cape & Co., of St. Ebbe's Street, Oxford (1973), p. (7); O.C., 14.12.1900, p.12
8. G. Crossick, The emergence of the lower middle class in Britain: a discussion. In, G. Crossick, ed., The lower middle class in Britain, 1870-1914 (1977), p.34

Cowley Road represented the more dramatic form of commercial development, but lower income suburbs also generated local shopping centres and many isolated businesses located away from main roads. Specialist retailers could expect less custom from the smaller catchment area of the back street, and local shops usually provided the more basic household requirements.[1] Magdalen Road, for example, developed as a neighbourhood shopping centre by 1900 when it boasted ten food shops, two boot repairers, five shops selling household goods, two hairdressers and a marine store dealer.[2] Most of these shops were quite small but Smart, Faulkner's grocery business on the corner of Hertford Street had "the floor daily strewn with fresh sawdust and the assistants wore spotless white coats and white, deep fringed aprons reaching almost to the floor. Here one was offered a high, cane-backed chair and given individual attention."[3] South Parade, lying between the Banbury and Woodstock Roads in Summertown, had just two butchers, a grocer and a boot and shoe maker in 1866;[4] by 1900, there were seven food shops and one of them - Strange's Grocery Stores - had been quick to appreciate the commercial benefits of the tramway extension to Summertown, promising passengers who visited the shop a free cup of Rowntree's Elect Cocoa.[5] The street also had three clothing shops and two shops selling household goods, one of which was a branch of the City Drapery Stores. A watchmaker, a cycle maker, a stationer and a hairdresser made up the complement of more specialized shops.[6] The concentration of businesses in connecting side streets like South Parade and Magdalen Road was supplemented by a scatter

1. R. Scola, op.cit., p.165; G. Shaw, The role of retailing in the urban economy. In, J. H. Johnson & C. G. Pooley, eds., The structure of nineteenth century cities (1982), pp.181-4

2. Kelly's Oxford directory...for 1900 (1900), pp.197-8

3. P. Surman, Pride of the morning (1977), p.73

4. Wheeler & Day, pub., The Oxford directory...for 1866 (1866), p.54

5. O.C., 12.11.1898, p.10

6. Kelly's Oxford directory...for 1900 (1900), pp.227-8

of general shops which served the everyday needs of much smaller areas. Typical of these was James's in Charles Street, "its exterior walls plastered with enamelled advertisement plates extolling the virtues of such things as Bryant & May matches and Brooke Bond tea....;" inside, almost every available space was occupied by stock and the customer could buy, among other things, flour, sweets, dog biscuits, soap, stamps, note-paper, cheese, fruit, kindling wood and Union Jack corn plasters. Small bakers, for example in Catherine Street and Hertford Street, cooked Sunday dinners for local residents who did not have adequate cooking facilities in their homes.[1] Shopkeepers in these poorer localities were unlikely to grow rich[2] and for some, like the woman in Catherine Street who sold home-made toffee apples and sweets from her front room,[3] retailing might simply be a desperate attempt to stave off poverty. The competition between local shops could be intense and inability to assess customers' creditworthiness was potentially fatal.[4] Narrow profit margins could only be preserved by enlisting the whole family into the business, by self-sufficiency and by reciprocal arrangements with other tradesmen or small farmers.[5]

The rapid growth and increasing sophistication of retail shopping challenged the itinerant traders who had traditionally hawked their wares around the streets;[6] at the same time, respectable suburban residents came to regard them as an unmitigated nuisance. Thus,

1. P. Surman, Pride of the morning (1977), p.71

2. T. Vigne and A. Howkins, The small shopkeeper in industrial and market towns. In, G. Crossick, ed., The lower middle class in Britain, 1870-1914 (1977), p.206

3. P. Surman, op.cit., p.72

4. R. Roberts, The classic slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (1973), pp.19, 81-2

5. T. Vigne and A. Howkins, op.cit., pp.197-9

6. H.J. Dyos, Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell (1973), pp.148-9; J.H. Treble, Urban poverty in Britain, 1830-1914 (1979), p.48

in 1862, an exasperated Martha Mildmay complained that with so many door to door salesmen it was almost one person's work to answer the door bell: "One rings to know if you want a nightcap: another whether you want laces for your - : another, needles and knitting pins; another for crockery and glass ware; another for matches, tin ware or tracts." Even while she penned her letter she was disturbed by a man selling cabbages.[1] In 1886, a resident of Worcester Terrace objected to the "constant stream of milk, cabbage, coke, 'all pretty ferns' and other vendors"[2] and 'A Respectable Ratepayer' from Grandpont made similar complaints in 1893.[3] The very persistence of these complaints testified to the continued existence of street traders whose numbers were swelled during periods of cyclical and seasonal unemployment because of the low capital requirements and the availability of credit.[4] In middle class North Oxford, the most successful itinerants were probably the entertainers who so intrigued the young Margaret Fletcher in Park Town;[5] others, however, hawked through the area seasonal or perishable foods which were of universal appeal. Ethel Hatch, for instance, recalled that in the early morning "a musical cry was heard, as an old man dressed as a fisherman passed our windows, crying 'Fresh Yarmouth bloaters!" Again, on warm summer mornings a man pushing a barrow would come past with the cry: "Cherries, cherries, fourpence a pa-ound.' "[6] Such tradesmen would doubtless have been found in every suburb as would the milkman, watercress sellers, knife-grinders, salt merchants and muffin men noted in East Oxford in

1. O.C., 19.4.1862, p.8
2. ibid., 14.8.1886, p.7
3. ibid., 24.6.1893, p.2
4. J. H. Treble, op.cit., p.48
5. supra, p.428
6. E. Hatch, Some reminiscences of Oxford. Oxford Magazine 74 (1955/6), p.500

the 1900s.[1] Other itinerants probably derived their trade more specifically from the poorer suburbs, and hawkers of food were of especial significance where houses lacked adequate heating facilities.[2] In such areas, itinerant dealers remained a vital part of the local economy, not only providing themselves with a precarious means of livelihood but also rendering a necessary service and bringing life and interest to the streets.

There is no doubt that,by 1900, the residents of Oxford's Victorian suburbs were, almost without exception, enjoying a range of services and facilities that would have astonished their forebears. Their houses were supplied with pure water and many were lit by gas - a few even by electricity. Outside, the streets and pavements were in most cases well-made, lit at night and regularly cleansed. Police patrols discouraged the ne'er-do-well and a fire brigade was at hand in time of need. Churches and chapels brought opportunities for spiritual succour and every child now attended school. Shops in the major thoroughfares offered merchandise to suit all but the poorest and recreation facilities were available on an unprecedented scale. Yet, the quality of these services and facilities, and the speed with which they were provided depended very much upon the ability to pay or at least upon the ability to make a forceful case. In about 1900, the Oxford photographer and Cowley Road resident Henry Taunt reproduced a map of Oxford shading the built-up areas so as to depict North Oxford Man riding a donkey. The

1. P. Surman, op.cit., pp.77-81
2. E. Gauldie, Cruel habitations (1974), p.93

accompanying jingle contained more than a grain of truth:

'The Map of Oxford forms an Ass,
Much burdened with a heavy load,
And thus with all the rates to pass,
The rider has a sharpen'd goad;
For this much smaller uppish class,
North Oxford, rides the Oxford Ass.' [1]

1. M. Graham, Henry Taunt of Oxford: a Victorian photographer (1973), p.(12)

Conclusion

In the 1830s, Oxford was still a compact, post-medieval city although the transition between town and country had been blurred in places by the beginnings of suburban growth.[1] An increasing population had largely been housed in areas to the south-west and north-west of the city centre or to the east in St. Clement's parish. To the west, however, St. Thomas' church still marked the furthest point of development and, to the south beyond Folly Bridge, few could have envisaged remote meadows as potential building sites. On the northern side of the city, the village suburb of Summertown was too remote to seem part of Oxford and the scatter of houses and villas in St. Giles' Field scarcely impinged upon an area which was still chiefly devoted to market gardening and agriculture. Beyond Magdalen Bridge, Cowley Field lay unenclosed and apparently inviolate, providing part of the rural frame into which a jewel of a city had for centuries been set.

The continued growth of Victorian Oxford and the building of low-density suburbs radically transformed this setting by the early years of the twentieth century.[2] To the west, the once separate suburbs of Osney Town and New Botley were in the process of being linked by much later developments along the Botley Road. South of Folly Bridge, distant New Hinksey had been joined to the city by later nineteenth century housing in Grandpont and suburban development was pressing on towards Coldharbour. To the east and south-east, the enclosure of Cowley Field had heralded a period of intensive estate development and led to the creation of a suburb with a population which was itself larger than that of any other Oxfordshire town in 1901.[3] On the north-western fringe of the city,

1. Map 1

2. Map 2

3. Census of England and Wales, 1901. County of Oxford. Area, houses and population (1903), pp. 17-23

beside the railways and the Oxford Canal, land for development in the suburb of Jericho had long been exhausted. In North Oxford, the sporadic and unorganised growth of the years before 1850 had been replaced by the cautious control of the major landowner, St. John's College.[1] The policies of that estate helped to create the "leafy thoroughfares of the bewildering New Jerusalem,"[2] the detached and semi-detached villas of the ambitious and successful which were overwhelming the older and socially mixed suburb of Summertown.

Many characteristics of nineteenth century suburban development were high-lighted by the manner in which Oxford's Victorian suburbs came into being. The thesis has, for example, stressed the way in which the character of suburban development was, to a significant extent, predetermined by physical features. The gravel terrace to the north of the old city, which offered fine views and easy access by two major roads, would therefore have been an attractive location for middle-class development regardless of land tenure. The status of Cowley Field, on the other hand, was compromised by the pre-existing suburb of St. Clement's and, to the south and west of the city, low-lying and flood-prone meadows retarded both the quantity and the quality of house-building. Attempts to render the swamp of Osney desirable for middle-class residence were virtually fore-doomed to failure[3] and those with sufficient means inevitably looked to North Oxford as their place of residence or lifted their eyes to the more distant hills beyond the municipal boundary.

1. <u>supra</u>, pp. 56 ff
2. Rev. W. Tuckwell, <u>Reminiscences of Oxford</u> (1900), p.255
3. <u>supra</u>, pp.128-30

If the land and existing land uses could not be ignored, this study has also emphasised the crucial power of the landowner to decide when, how and indeed whether development was to take place. Classic urban theory would suggest that such decisions were always taken on strictly economic grounds in a well-informed land market, but this was by no means the case in Oxford. Land prices in the suburbs were tending to rise, but the price fetched by a particular estate depended very much upon its precise location and the timing of its sale. In this climate of uncertainty, private landowners with little personal stake in their estates were usually keenest to initiate development while the predominant 'aristocratic' landowners could afford to take a longer view. The result was a series of isolated suburban villages such as Summertown, New Hinksey, Osney Town, New Botley and New Marston. The private individual also preferred the swift return and limited commitment of freehold development whereas the colleges and other corporate landowners, often restricted in their ability to sell land, almost invariably chose leasehold tenure; in doing so, they also sought to ensure the building of a better class of property which would retain its reversionary value over many years. In Huddersfield, Springett remarked upon the landowners' decreasing ability to choose the terms for development and observed a trend from 99 year leases towards longer terms or freehold tenure;[1] no such movement was perceptible in late nineteenth century Oxford, perhaps because the city was smaller and corporate landowners who favoured the short lease enjoyed a greater monopoly of potential building land. Colleges were sometimes prepared to sell land which was blighted by its situation, but their financial security gave them the option to leave potentially valuable estates undeveloped; in the most extreme instance, Christ Church adopted the consciously aesthetic rather than economic policy of obtaining land as a barrier against development.[2] This defensive gesture reflected the

1. R.J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D. (1979), pp.349-52
2. *supra*, pp.85-6, 101

fragmented pattern of landownership in East Oxford which seemed certain to encourage piecemeal, disconnected development of a poor quality. In North Oxford, by contrast, St. John's College possessed the largest and most strategic land-holding and had little to fear from the actions of neighbouring estates.

The proposals of the landowner, or the developer in areas with no overall plan of development, had to be translated into reality by developers and builders whose interpretations of market requirements were subject to ever increasing oversight and regulation. The controls which active landowners and developers had long used on middle-class estates were refined and more successfully applied with the help of a growing body of professional advisers. The effects were seen most clearly in leasehold North Oxford where St. John's College, like the Ramsden estate in Huddersfield, was not only responsible for the spatial pattern of development but also encouraged the building of higher-cost houses at lower levels of density and forced sub-standard builders to look elsewhere for sites.[1] Freehold developers did not have the same long-term commitment to their estates, but they showed a growing reluctance - made manifest by the Oxford Board of Guardians at Park Town[2] - to compromise their respectability and social standing by becoming involved in the creation of slum property. The small industrial population of the city diminished the effective demand for cheap housing and developers were, in any case, more concerned to attract investors in house property and tenants whose rising real incomes enabled them to pay higher rents. Even on modest freehold estates, builders therefore became hedged about by covenants which encouraged suburban-type housing and sought to maintain the initial

1. R.J. Springett, Landowners and urban development: the Ramsden estate and 19th century Huddersfield. Journal of Historical Geography 8 (1982), pp.138-40

2. supra, p. 155

character of the development. Suburbs consisting mainly of middle-class villas and artisan cottages were becoming evident even before public health fears led to the introduction of building byelaws which gave the Local Board an important role in shaping the urban morphology. Like other aspects of development control, the byelaws were not always enforceable in their entirety, but they represented a growing consensus between controller and controlled as to the desired urban environment. Regulation served as a safety net, preventing the worst excesses of the speculative builder and offering the articulate resident the chance of redress; at the same time, it accelerated the trend towards low-density, suburban-type housing.

In Victorian Oxford, as elsewhere, the house-building industry was dominated by small and short-lived firms which typically undertook a few, small-scale projects. A few local firms operated on a larger scale, especially by developing alternative sources of income, and they made a more substantial contribution to the housing stock; nevertheless, this study has shown that the building industry in the smaller provincial city was experiencing few of the economies of scale that were becoming evident in larger urban centres by the end of the nineteenth century. House-building fluctuated according to changes in the money supply and the growth of alternative investment opportunities, but local factors such as the effects of population growth and movement and the degree of local prosperity also played a part. Fluctuations were particularly violent in East Oxford where freehold tenure, far from being a barrier to small builders,[1] served positively to attract them by offering easy access to numerous building plots on payment of a small deposit; in leasehold North Oxford, by contrast, land was released with greater

1. M.J. Daunton, Coal metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914 (1977), p.84; R.J. Springett, The mechanics of urban land development in Huddersfield, 1770-1911. University of Leeds Ph.D. (1979), p.351

caution, the building process was more rigorously supervised and small builders were discouraged. These differences and the greater stability of the demand for middle-class houses were made manifest by the higher levels of voids which subsisted in East Oxford until the provision of freehold plots in Summertown began to blur the distinctions between the areas. The study has made clear the continued reliance of builders upon loans and credit and, by comparison with Reading earlier in the century,[1] has illustrated the greatly enhanced role of local building societies during the Victorian period. Solicitors continued to channel investments into building, but the most substantial investors were tending to look for newer and more profitable outlets for their money. As building increasingly became a matter of assembling ready-made products,[2] credit from suppliers assumed a more crucial role, and transport improvements which enabled materials to be brought from farther afield probably widened the range of potential sources of credit.

The suburban houses of Victorian Oxford provided new standards of comfort and amenity, but these benefits were only available to those who could afford them. In the early nineteenth century, Oxford, like other towns and cities, had witnessed the building of many working-class houses which were characterised by pinched dimensions and a lack of sanitary facilities, but represented a real advance on previous workers' housing.[3] Rising costs made it increasingly difficult for a fragmented building industry to build such basic accommodation and costs as well as standards were propelled upwards by local authority building byelaws. Landowners and developers preferred to initiate higher-status development and builders themselves anticipated higher profit margins from larger properties in a buyer's and tenant's market. At the same time, the rising

1. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.81
2. C.G. Powell, op.cit., p.72
3. supra, p.252

real incomes and expectations of the middle-class created a demand for single-family, suburban dwellings which reflected the separation of the home from the workplace and the increasing feminization of the home. These various pressures encouraged the building of better designed and constructed houses which provided more and larger rooms, better sanitary facilities and a wider range of fittings. The middle-class villa blended opulence and seclusion and its design was complicated by the need to separate the household and the servants; the presence of cheap labour militated against rationalisation of the house plan and delayed the phasing-out of the basement kitchen. The terrace remained standard for artisan housing, but ornamental details stressed the individuality of each house and the interior more nearly resembled a scaled-down middle-class house than the basic working-class property of the early nineteenth century. The three-bedroom tunnel-back house which predominated in the Oxford suburbs was the characteristic house-type in southern England[1] and reflected both the availability of cheap suburban land and the absence of an industrial population. The growing size and quality of suburban properties had inevitable repercussions upon rents and prices but these were also crucially affected by location and by the condition of the property and its fittings. By 1901, 85.5% of Oxford's housing stock was let for £10 or more a year,[2] but few households with an irregular or inadequate income could have afforded even the cheapest of these properties. The inability of the poor to pay higher rents excluded them from the suburban exodus and restricted them to a diminishing number of central courts and alleys.

1. M. J. Daunton, House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing 1850-1914 (1983), pp.48-9

2. Table 28

In the Oxford suburbs, as elsewhere, the private landlord was the dominant provider of housing[1] and owner-occupation was comparatively rare. A fragmented building industry led naturally to a similar housing market which was dominated by local people in the middle of the social spectrum. Many suburban houses were indeed built to provide security or additional income for people of modest means and, in every suburb, the vast majority of landlords owned five or fewer houses. Those few landlords who owned a substantial number of houses did not form a true social elite since members of the University, many leaders of the business community and most professional people had clearly found alternative sources of investment. Some major landlords served on the Council, however, and their common interest in economy may have outweighed their political differences and contributed to the spirit of political consensus that existed in late Victorian Oxford;[2] they also played a part in keeping the Council on its customary path of economy and were prominently involved in staving off the threat of municipal housing. Home-ownership was not regarded as socially necessary for the better off and, although the artisan desired it as a symbol of attained independence, few members of the working-class could fulfil this aspiration. Owner-occupation was therefore uncommon and especially so in the suburbs of Jericho and West Oxford where investing ownership was most remunerative. Because of the prevalance of leasehold property in North Oxford, owner-occupation of larger houses was at a lower level than it was, for example, in Cardiff or Leicester; it was most common in South and East Oxford, new housing areas which were occupied by the lower middle-class and regularly employed artisans.

The promise of employment was a crucial factor in attracting migrants to nineteenth century towns and Oxford, despite the absence of

1. <u>supra</u>, p.295
2. <u>supra</u>, p.316
3. <u>supra</u>, pp.299-302

any major growth industries, offered the most varied job opportunities in its region. Most suburban residents came from the city and its surroundings and migration from farther afield was most evident among the independent and professional residents of North Oxford and among those in West Oxford who worked on the railways; in all areas, wives tended to have travelled less far than their husbands. The occupational structures of the suburbs generally reflected the city's traditional role as a provider of goods and services, but each area possessed characteristics of its own. Thus, proximity to the University Press attracted above average proportions of printing tradesmen to Jericho and North Oxford while swift access to the stations made West Oxford something of a railway suburb. The property-owning and independent elite as well as people in the public services and professions were, predictably, more common in North Oxford than elsewhere and so too were 'living-in' male and female domestic servants. Building craftsmen, on the other hand, were proportionally less common in Jericho and North Oxford, perhaps because their seasonal occupations reduced their ability to pay higher rents. The issues of irregular employment and low wages affected the unskilled and semi-skilled most seriously because their bargaining position was weakest and their jobs were most at risk from cyclical or seasonal unemployment and during University Vacations; as a result, their wages rose less quickly and were less regular than those of skilled workmen. The difficulties which they faced in earning a living wage led to the parallel development of casual labour for women and blind-alley jobs for boys, but these occupations served only to trap families in a recurring cycle of poverty. A few such households strove to maintain a respectable appearance in the remoter areas of Victorian East Oxford,[1] but most had to be satisfied with older, cheaper and less sanitary properties in and around the city centre.

1. O.C., 16.12.1893, p.8

The Victorian suburb was quintessentially domestic in character[1] and the new suburban houses in Oxford were, for the most part, occupied by small, nuclear families. Family size which was largely determined by the presence or absence of children tended to be lowest among the higher social classes, but their households were generally larger because of resident domestic servants. The middle classes of North Oxford were most likely to have servants and to have more of them, but some clearly found it possible and desirable to do without living-in servants; servant-keeping declined through the social classes but the availability of cheap servants, especially from workhouses and reformatories, ensured that retention of a living-in servant was not an exclusively middle-class prerogative. Lodgers tended to be commonest in convenient locations where rents were higher and the household's need for supplementary income coincided with demand for accommodation. In general, however, the modest growth of the city and the absence of a significant industrial population reduced this demand and the family figured as a larger proportion of household size than it did, for example, in contemporary York.[2] The same factors should have delayed the progress of spatial segregation but, by 1871, residential differentiation between the areas was already evident from the high proportion of class I, II and X household heads in North Oxford and class V household heads in the other suburbs. At the end of the period, the distribution of rateable values provided a further measure of this growing differentiation. High mobility has been described as characteristic of low-status neighbourhoods and new housing areas,[3] but this study only confirmed the first point. Since the suburban houses of Victorian Oxford generally provided better accommodation for those who could afford to move, it is perhaps not

1. supra, p. 335
2. supra, pp. 347-9
3. supra, pp. 353-4

surprising that address persistence was higher than usual, expressing the greater degree of attachment which many residents felt for their homes.

The Victorian period witnessed a massive growth in public intervention in towns, but a narrower range of powers was available in a smaller, steadily growing city like Oxford; in addition, responsibilities continued to be shared between a number of authorities, diminishing the social attraction of public participation in local government. The Oxford local authorities tended therefore to be dominated by vested interests, by a 'shopocracy' of small tradesmen and craftsmen and by members of the University whose concern for economy was at least as great. The 'Civic gospel' and the concept of Municipal Socialism struck few chords in these circumstances and, as in Leicester, both political parties tended to be champions of frugality and honesty.[1] A clear political divide opened up between the Villa Tories of North Oxford and the other, predominantly Liberal suburbs, but the attitudes of local authority members were conditioned at least as much by their places of residence as by their polities. With an increasing proportion of councillors resident in North Oxford, it was natural that the concerns of the area should loom large in their discussions; when they failed to notice problems, influential residents were quick to point them out with a reasonable expectation that their complaints would be heeded. In the poorer suburbs where less attention had been paid to the basic infrastructure of roads, drains and water supply, the inhabitants were least able to effect improvement, lacking political or economic influence and, in many cases, lacking also the education to articulate their demands. The result was to widen the inherent gulf between North Oxford and the other suburbs, providing one standard of service for those who

1. M. Elliott, Victorian Leicester (1979), p.39

could demand or pay for it and another for those who could not. Thus, highway and lighting improvements in less fashionable areas were balanced against rate income and an absence of protest might be taken as proof that no work needed to be done. Little was done to alleviate flooding in working-class areas and the operation of slaughterhouses or objectionable industries next to houses was accepted as necessary for the prosperity of the town. Small houses without cisterns suffered most from the intermittent supply of water,and gas was supplied most erratically in areas where least demand had been anticipated. By contrast, electricity was rapidly made available to wealthy North Oxford residents and they also enjoyed higher standards of policing and a more satisfactory method of refuse collection; even their asphalt pavements proclaimed a higher status than the black brick ones laid down in the workaday suburbs.

The development of community facilities provided further evidence of the contrasts between rich and poor suburbs. New housing areas provided an enormous missionary challenge[1] and the response in Oxford was a characteristic one, a veritable orgy of church- and chapel-building. Landowners and especially colleges were always ready to offer sites for Anglican churches and when such offers were not forthcoming, local clerics were apt to purchase land from their own funds. Influenced by the wish to impress and encouraged by the prospect of grants and donations from wealthy sympathisers, Anglican churches tended to be ambitious and SS. Philip & James' in the North Oxford heartland was one of the very few to be completed as originally designed; elsewhere, unfinished buildings still testify to a long and ultimately unsuccessful struggle for funds. Colleges were much less keen to provide land for Non-Conformist churches and these were virtually excluded from North Oxford where the Church of

1. supra, p.398

England, like the Tory party, was strongest. Non-Conformity tended to prosper in the poorer, Liberal-dominated suburbs where freehold sites, many of them in side streets, accommodated structures that were generally of a modest character. The fierce inter-denominational rivalry that existed between High Church Anglicans and Non-Conformists was equally apparent in the field of education and Oxford witnessed a battle against 'Godless' Board Schools which lasted for nearly 30 years. Suburban schools were typically classified by their fees which were predictably highest in the North Oxford church schools, but similar financial gradings were also evident in the other suburbs. Middle-class North Oxford became an ideal location for private schools despite the suspicions of St. John's College, since it provided a social milieu which the other suburbs were unable to match. In the recreational sphere, this study has illustrated the difference between a middle-class suburb like North Oxford where recreation was largely home-based and humbler suburbs where churches and chapels, philanthropists, employers and a reluctant local authority competed to provide a host of rational alternatives to pubs and other commercial enterprises. The licensing trade showed its usual resilience in the face of temperance attacks, but those families which could afford the new suburban houses had more time and opportunity to make their own amusements than ever before. Shopping facilities provided a further contrast between North Oxford where the ground landlord and the inhabitants kept commerce at bay and the other suburbs where market forces were the key to development. In central North Oxford, shops were virtually restricted to a single freehold estate; elsewhere, busy thoroughfares metamorphosed from residential streets into major shopping centres while local shopping centres, corner shops and itinerant dealers provided more basic requirements.

The thesis has, finally, served to illustrate the overwhelmingly local and personal nature of the whole development process. As in Reading,[1] the vast majority of the landowners were local people or institutions and most developers, with the notable exception of the freehold land societies, had local origins. The builders and those who financed them tended also to be Oxford or Oxfordshire people and investment in the new suburban houses was most commonly undertaken by middle-ranking local residents. The people who moved into the new areas had, for the most part, travelled only short distances and had, typically, been born in Oxford or in the surrounding countryside.

The development process also had a strong personal element and many individuals played a crucial role in all its various stages.[2] Individual landowners had to decide whether or not to dispose of their land and to what extent they wished to control the subsequent development; even where colleges or other institutions owned the land, the professional advice of individuals could be a vital goad, rousing into action bodies with quite different priorities. Developers and builders had to assess the requirement of the housing market and, by their success or failure, did much to determine their own future and that of the built environment. The investment decisions of individuals helped to check or advance the progress of building and, to complete the building cycle, many people had to be persuaded that the new suburban houses met their differing requirements.

The actions of these numerous individuals changed the face of the ancient city which William Morris so admired[3], surrounding it with

1. S.T. Blake, op.cit., p.406

2. M.C. Carr, The development and character of a metropolitan suburb. Bexley, Kent. In, F.M.L. Thompson, ed., op.cit., p.258

3. J.O.J., 29.10.1881, p.5

"flippant spick and span villas and villakins.....that would not disgrace a cotton city of to-day."[1] They had not, however, changed the character of Oxford very much and, at the turn of the century, industrialization was scarcely even a remote prospect. Yet, in 1900, a wry observer "began to fancy that Oxford is the home of the motor-car, and Banbury Road its peculiar exercising ground."[2] Within little more than a decade, another William Morris was making his first car and so launched the process which rapidly transformed Oxford into an industrial city. The social, economic and topographical context were crucial factors in this transformation, but the catalyst was the individual decision-maker; it was perhaps appropriate that Morris had been brought up in East Oxford,[3] a suburb which was itself the product of so many individual decisions.

1. Rhoda Broughton, Belinda: a novel (repr., 1984), p. 152
2. O.C., 14.7.1900, p.5
3. V.C.H. Oxon., vol. 4 (1979), p.217

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MAP 4.

MAJOR LANDOWNERS IN THE OXFORD SUBURBS

1. EARL OF ABINGDON
2. BRASENOSE COLLEGE
3. HENRY BULL
4. CHRIST CHURCH
5. MARTHA COLLINS
6. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE
7. DONNINGTON HOSPITAL
8. REV. P. W. FURSE
9. HENRY GREENAWAY
10. RACHAEL HURST
11. WILLIAM HURST
12. TYNDELL KNAPP
13. J. H. LANGSTON
14. MAGDALEN COLLEGE
15. DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
16. MERTON COLLEGE
17. JAMES MORRELL
18. ORIEL COLLEGE
19. BISHOP OF OXFORD
20. CITY OF OXFORD
21. UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
22. PEMBROKE COLLEGE
23. REV. J. S. PHILLOTT
24. ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE
25. SIDNEY SMITH
26. STONE'S HOSPITAL
27. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
28. HENRY WALSH
29. HENRY WARD

Note. This map identifies the holdings of those who owned 10 or more acres in the suburbs. Hatching denotes land in aristocratic or corporate hands.