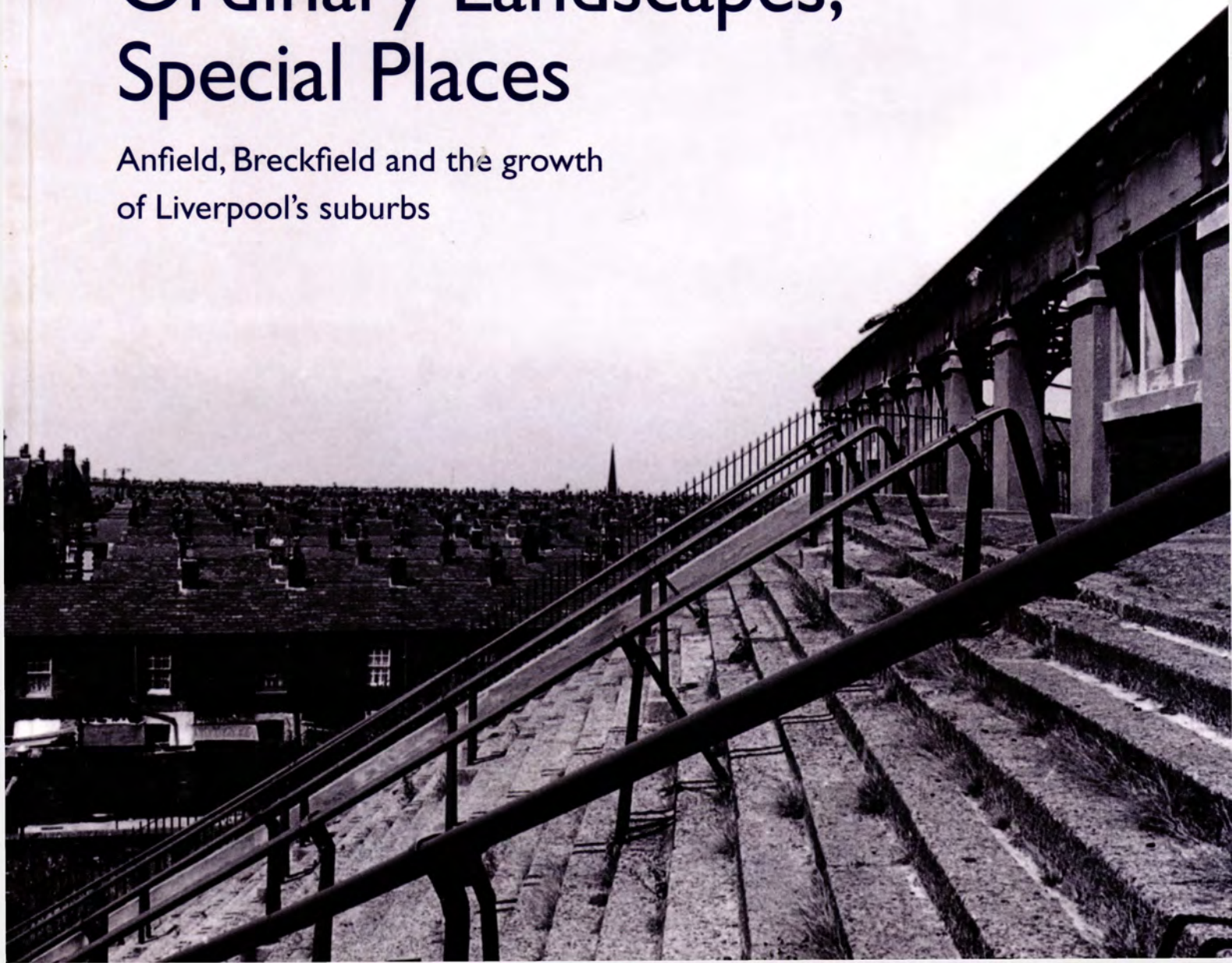




ENGLISH HERITAGE

# Ordinary Landscapes, Special Places

Anfield, Breckfield and the growth  
of Liverpool's suburbs







# ORDINARY LANDSCAPES, SPECIAL PLACES

Anfield, Breckfield and the growth of Liverpool's suburbs

Published by English Heritage, Kemble Drive, Swindon SN2 2GZ

[www.english-heritage.org.uk](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk)

English Heritage is the Government's statutory adviser on all aspects of the historic environment.

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Printing 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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First published 2008

ISBN 978 1 873592 89 2

Product code 51343

Liverpool Football Club has made a financial contribution towards the publication of this book.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

**Front cover**

*Anfield, looking north-west from the Kop steps c1960, seems to typify a common preconception about suburbs – a sea of unvaried housing stretching for mile after mile. The reality, as this book seeks to demonstrate, is both varied and fascinating. [Len Humphries/Liverpool Football Club]*

**Inside front cover**

*The junction of Breck Road (left to right), Breckfield Road South (bottom) and Breckfield Road North (top), as shown on the Everton Tithe Map of 1846. These houses, mostly villas of various sizes, were swept away for terraced housing and commercial property in the 1860s. North is towards the top-right corner. Compare with Fig 12. [Reproduced with permission of the County Archivist Lancashire Record Office, DRL/1/25]*

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Photographs by Bob Skingle, David MacLeod, Roger J C Thomas, Tony Perry, Peter Williams and Adam Menuge.

Graphics by Allan T Adams and Tony Berry.

Brought to publication by Rachel Howard and Susan Kelleher, Publishing, English Heritage.

Edited by Susan Kelleher.

Page layout by Simon Borrough.

Printed in the UK by Cambridge Printing.



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Adam Menuge



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*Anfield Stadium viewed from the junction of Walton Breck Road and Oakfield Road, with Skerries Road to the right. The boarded-up houses were demolished in 2007. The large stand to the left replaced the Kop which was demolished in 1994 (see Chapter 5). [FF001202]*







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## Acknowledgements

This book has its origins in fieldwork and research undertaken principally by Adam Menuge and Simon Taylor in 2003. Liverpool Football Club has provided generous financial support for the publication; we are grateful to Andrea Titterington and Stephen Done for much assistance. We also thank Liverpool City Council and other partners in the Historic Environment of Liverpool Project (HELP) for their long-standing collaboration. Special thanks are due to Frank Green and Len Humphries, examples of whose work are reproduced, and to the staff of Liverpool Record Office & Local Studies Library (especially Roger Hull) and Lancashire Record Office. The specially drawn figures and maps are by Allan T Adams and Tony Berry. The colour photographs are by Bob Skingle with the exception of the frontispiece, Figures 1, 9, 33, 47a, 52 and 66 (David MacLeod), Figure 5 (Roger J C Thomas), Figure 26 (Tony Perry),

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## Foreword

Most of England's larger towns and cities are ringed by extensive suburbs dating from the 19th and 20th centuries. They range from the opulent, spacious and leafy villa suburbs of the great mercantile and manufacturing centres and parts of London to the dense gridirons of working-class and lower middle-class housing – the 'inner city' of contemporary journalism. While the former have long attracted the notice of conservationists and historians of the built environment, the latter have seemed too monotonous and too commonplace to merit prolonged attention. At the start of the 21st century we can no longer be complacent about the future of these 'ordinary' suburbs. While in many areas they continue to display a vitality which should guarantee their survival for many years to come, adapted to new needs and purposes, in others, particularly in parts of northern England, there has been a deterioration of the economic, social and physical fabric over many years, prompting schemes for the wholesale regeneration of large areas. What we have been accustomed to regard as commonplace may become ever rarer over the coming decades, with potential not only for the loss of individual buildings of interest but for the erosion of local and regional identity. Nowhere is this truer than in Liverpool. As England's suburbs enter a

new period of change, as Liverpool celebrates its reign as European Capital of Culture 2008, and as a mixture of public programmes and private initiatives – including Liverpool Football Club's planned new stadium in Stanley Park – take shape in Anfield and Breckfield it is time to take stock.

English Heritage advises that wherever large-scale changes to the historic built environment are contemplated an architectural and historical assessment of the affected area is a necessary preliminary. This helps to ensure not only that valuable evidence of past ways of life is not needlessly destroyed, but also that consideration is given to the positive contribution which historic assets can make to regeneration and to the sense of place that binds successful and sustainable communities. This understanding of 'place' is seen as increasingly important by local and national government, whether as a driver for regeneration in its own right, or to inform the contextual planning and design of new development. This book, one of a series championing 'informed conservation' in Liverpool, reflects the concern of English Heritage, Liverpool City Council and other partners in the Historic Environment of Liverpool Project (HELP) that the importance of Liverpool's past should be acknowledged in plans for the city's future.

Lord Bruce-Lockhart, Chairman, English Heritage  
Councillor Warren Bradley, Leader, Liverpool City Council  
Rick Parry, Chief Executive, Liverpool Football Club







## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction: suburbs and history

The idea of the suburb is firmly rooted in English culture, to the extent that we speak not only of suburban landscapes but also – and often disparagingly – of suburban values and ways of life. As with so many familiar ideas, however, the suburb is subject to widely differing interpretations (Fig 1). For some, suburbs are synonymous with tree-lined avenues and substantial houses occupying generous garden plots. But suburbs are not defined by their layout or appearance so much as by their relationship to urban centres. A suburb is by definition subordinate and peripheral to a nearby urban centre, which is typically the source of employment for the bulk of the suburb's inhabitants and where many functions particularly characteristic of towns, including administration, commerce and cultural exchange, are likely to be concentrated. Suburbs may indeed have many of the characteristics of towns – a relatively high population density and little or no agricultural employment, for example – but they lack the full range of amenities and institutions, and most are largely residential in character.

The transformation of 19th-century England into a predominantly urban society, first recorded in the 1851 census, was acknowledged by contemporaries as a momentous phenomenon. Unprecedented population growth combined with rapid urbanisation resulted in many towns and cities spectacularly overflowing their historic boundaries. Outside London the major growth centres were the manufacturing towns of the Midlands and the North, and those commercial centres such as Liverpool that profited from the associated increase in trade. Early growth, much of it fuelled by migration from the countryside, was absorbed in part by existing housing, and in part by piecemeal growth and infilling. The result, all too often, was severe overcrowding, insanitary conditions and disease.

Increasingly, those who could afford to looked beyond the old confines of the town for a more attractive place to live. Typically the wealthiest moved first, but as conditions in the towns deteriorated successive strata of urban society, each a little less wealthy than the previous one, followed suit. The resulting demand for housing was met by landowners releasing land for sale or development. By the end of the 19th century suburbs of one kind or another housed a large and rapidly

Figure 1 *Our understanding of the more densely packed suburbs, built to house ordinary men and women in the 19th century, has been conditioned by rising aspirations which have outstripped the modest ambitions of the suburbs' first inhabitants, and by journalistic perceptions of the 'inner city' as a zone in crisis. [NMR 20747/35]*



growing sector of the population, while the population of town centres was falling. Both trends continued well into the 20th century; only within the last 15 years or so has government planning policy decisively reversed the population decline of some urban centres.

England's suburbs result directly from the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation through which the modern nation was forged (Fig 2). Spreading out over hundreds of square miles of former agricultural land they are the horizontal counterpart of the towering

Figure 2 *John Isaac's Aerial View of Liverpool, 1859, vividly illustrates how the expansion of the docks, principally northwards to the mouth of the Mersey, drew urban development in its wake. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries]*



cotton mills and dock warehouses which, for a century or more, symbolised Britain's industrial and trading might. Although growth – at least until the First World War – was achieved almost entirely through private enterprise, such a rapid expansion of the housing stock was not accomplished without a degree of standardisation. From the 1840s municipal authorities framed increasingly stringent building by-laws to ensure that the damage inflicted by largely unregulated development in the early industrial era was not repeated. Such by-laws sought to raise the standard of living for ordinary people by specifying such things as sound building construction and sanitation, and adequate space, light and ventilation, and by segregating industrial and other activities injurious to health. Acting alongside certain practical and economic constraints, by-laws disposed builders in favour of particular house types, especially the terraced house with its typically narrow frontage and deep plan. The resulting streetscapes exhibit a degree of uniformity which is eloquent of both the pressing needs of a fast-growing and modernising economy and of the increasing consolidation of society around common values of rational planning, decency and public health.

'Standardisation' is a reminder of that most persistent criticism of the suburb: that it is dull, repetitive and uninspiring, lacking the pent-up vigour and excitement of the urban scene as much as it does the spaciousness, tranquillity and proximity to nature of the countryside. Both town-dwellers and country-dwellers are prone to endorse the stereotype and a superficial acquaintance with some suburbs may seem to confirm its validity. But a closer look will usually reveal considerable variety, the result in part of piecemeal development prolonged over many years, and in part of the intensely stratified nature of 19th- and early 20th-century society, which found expression in countless ways of differentiating wealth and status. Suburbs also vary in appearance according to the building materials and architectural styles employed. These change over time, but they also differ from place to place, conferring a badge of individuality or local character on an area. In fact careful scrutiny of any particular suburb will reveal that an environment which we have long felt to be familiar still has the capacity to surprise us and challenge our preconceptions.

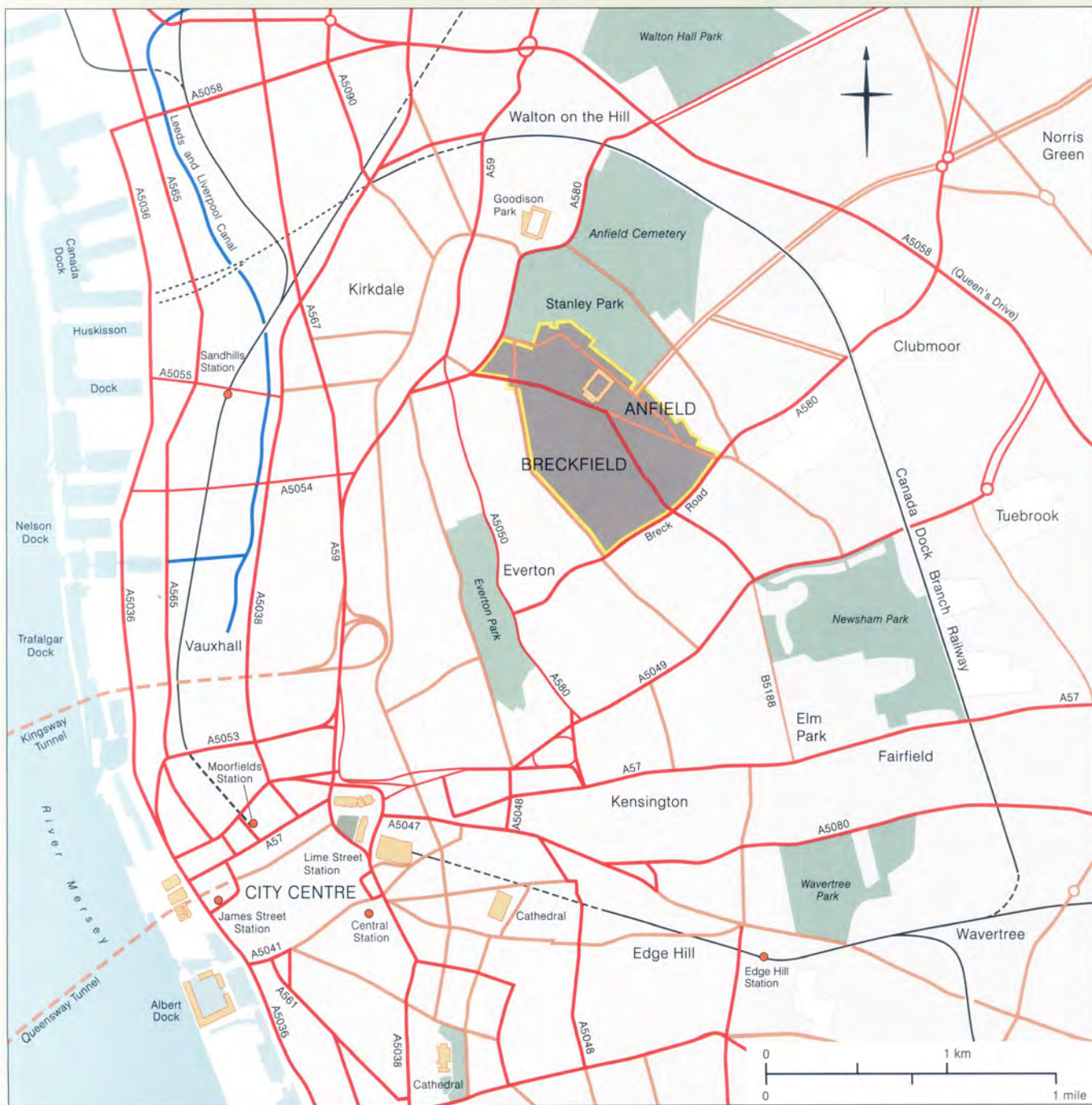


This book focuses on a suburban district of Liverpool and explores the nature, significance and value of the 'ordinary' in the historic environment. Now part of Liverpool's inner-city suburbs, the district embraces portions of the modern wards of Anfield and Breckfield, just over a mile (2km) north-east of central Liverpool and east of Everton (Fig 3). There are many areas of equal interest in Liverpool and elsewhere. The reason for looking at this one in particular is that in 2003 a large proportion of Anfield and Breckfield was designated as a target area under the Government's Housing Market Renewal Initiative, which envisages a combination of clearance, refurbishment and new housing and infrastructure as a vehicle for economic and social regeneration. These plans are already being implemented and are likely to change the area dramatically. English Heritage urges that in such circumstances an audit of the historic environment is essential to assess both the historic interest of the affected area and its potential to underpin a wider process of regeneration. This position has been endorsed by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), the government department responsible for the Initiative. But the historic environment is not the only consideration. Change on the scale envisaged must reflect a wider balance of needs, aspirations, opportunities and resources, and if it is to deliver long-term, sustainable benefits it must command the support of those who will live and work in the area for years to come.

Anfield is known to millions around the world as the home of Liverpool Football Club and the approaches to the stadium are familiar to the thousands who regularly attend matches there, but the origins, development and architectural character of Anfield and Breckfield have never been explored in detail. They have their own story to tell about the evolution of a particular landscape; they tell us much about the development of Liverpool, once the nation's foremost provincial seaport and still a city of international renown; and they can enlighten us about factors influencing the development of suburbs all over England. The purpose of this book is to explore these intertwined strands of Liverpool's, and the nation's, past and to draw attention to the ways in which everyone can understand and appreciate a characteristically English historic environment that becomes, day by day, less and less ordinary.

Figure 3 *Anfield and Breckfield in relation to central Liverpool and the docks, the earliest of which were close to the centre. Everton, just south-west of Breckfield, developed as a villa suburb in the late 18th century but as the docks spread northwards (Trafalgar Dock opened in 1836, Canada Dock in 1859) it began to fill with working-class housing, prompting villa builders to look inland for suitable sites.*

*[This map is based upon Ordnance Survey material with the permission of Ordnance Survey on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes Crown Copyright and may lead to prosecution or criminal proceedings. English Heritage 100019088.2008]*









## CHAPTER 2

### Villas and the suburban impulse

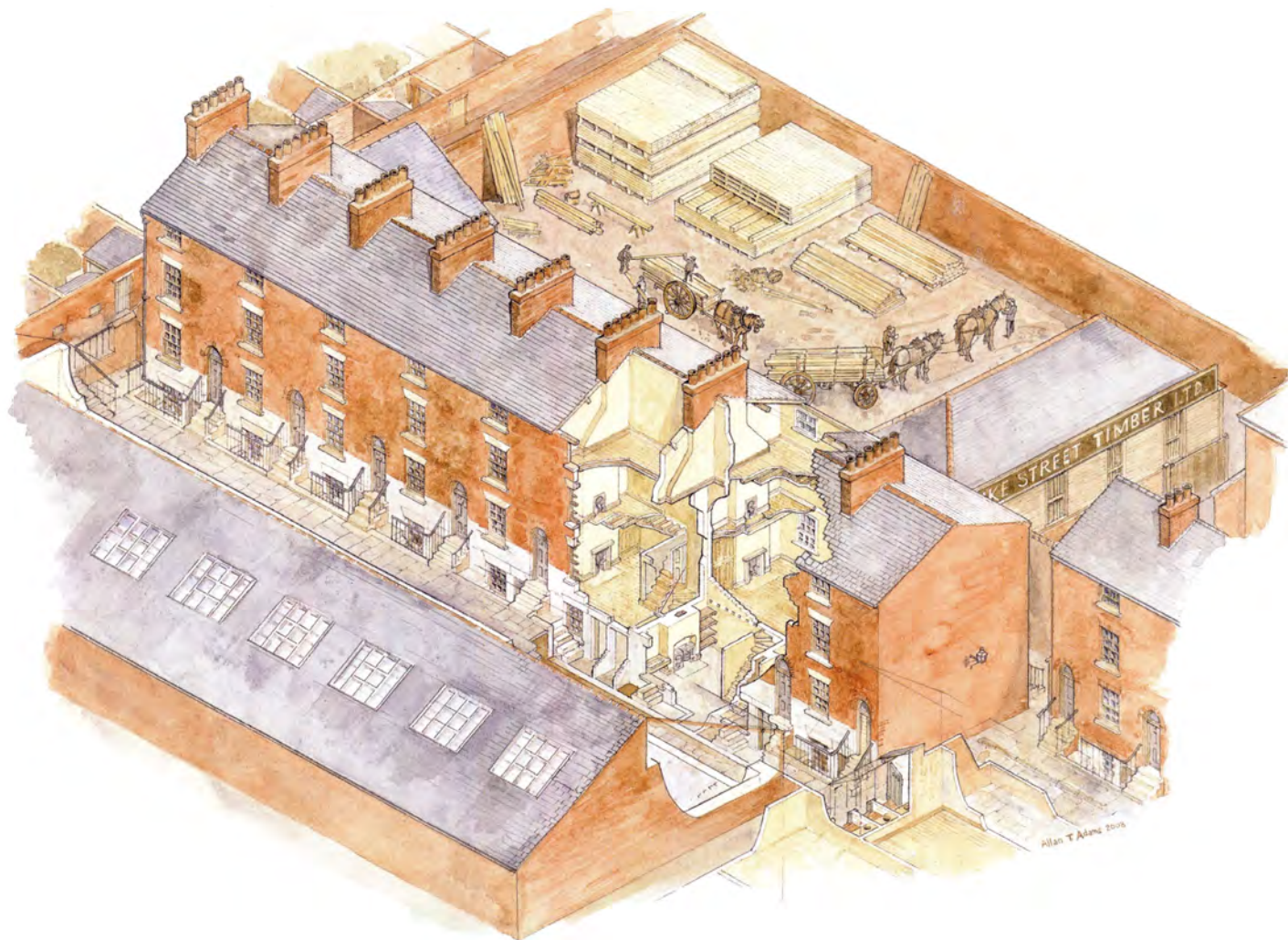
Twin forces of repulsion and attraction propel people from town to suburb. These forces, which have varied in intensity over time and from place to place, have their origin in much wider patterns of thought and feeling contrasting the relative merits of town and country, in which the suburb occupies a middle ground seeking to maximise the advantages, and minimise the drawbacks, of both – blending the best of nature and society (Fig 4).

In 18th-century towns the houses of the better off – professional men, merchants, wealthier tradesmen and their families – tended to line the main thoroughfares. While some individuals built houses on the outskirts of town, many remained in the central areas, close to their place of business (Fig 5). Poorer housing either lined the lesser thoroughfares, which were typically narrower and less favourably situated, or developed in the courts behind thoroughfare houses and inns. Many houses in courts were built as ‘blind-backs’ against the wall of the neighbouring court or were placed back-to-back with other houses, arrangements which considerably diminished light and

Figure 4 (opposite) William Herdman's view of Anfield Road, dated 1861, captures the sylvan setting of many early villas. In the distance gate piers announce the drive to St Ann's Cottage and in the foreground a stable and coach house stand next to the road, facing the tree-lined grounds of BelleVue House (demolished 1870s). The stable and coach house are characteristic villa details in the area but Herdman seems to have invented them here to balance his composition. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, Herdman Collection 178]

Figure 5 (right) Thomas Parr's c1799 house (later the Liverpool Royal Institution) on Colquitt Street typifies, albeit on a grand scale, the 18th-century merchant's preference for a house next door to his business interests: Parr's warehouse stands immediately behind the house. This photograph was taken before the buildings were refurbished in the 1990s. [FF001203]





ventilation (Fig 6). Liverpool's many thousands of cellar dwellings suffered from similar defects. Sanitary provision was meagre and often squalid. As the population rose, houses whose position might once have been attractive were tainted by the proximity of poorer-quality dwellings, and courts became ever more densely inhabited (Fig 7). Even by contemporary standards Liverpool's problems were severe enough for it to be dubbed 'the most unhealthy town in England' in the early 1840s, with a mean life expectancy of just 26 years.<sup>1</sup> The response was vigorous.

Figure 6 These back-to-back houses forming Duke's Terrace (formerly Bridson's Buildings), Court No 5, Duke Street, were built just a stone's throw from Parr's house (see Fig 5) in 1843. Though hemmed in by a timber yard and a police station they were by no means the worst of their kind; despite having separate external doorways the cellars appear not to have been intended for separate occupation. This reconstruction drawing shows how they would have been occupied in the middle of the 19th century. The three privies (bottom right) served 9 of the 18 houses.



Figure 7 (right) No 2 Court, Silvester Street, Liverpool, photographed by Richard Brown in July 1913. By the 1830s just over a third of Liverpool's entire population lived in court housing or cellars. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries 352 HOU 82/19]

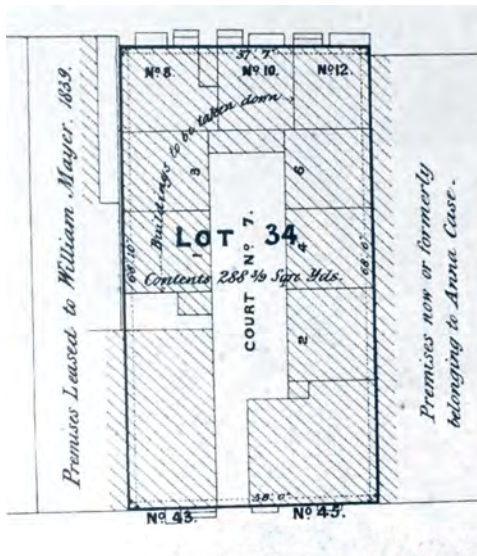


Figure 8 (above) In 1869 Liverpool Corporation sold various properties on condition that the purchaser demolished and did not replace those examples of housing which it considered unfit. The condemned houses were mainly built in narrow courts. In this example – Court No 7 between Parr Street (bottom) and the narrow Back Seel Street (top), only yards from Thomas Parr's house (see Fig 5) – four houses were to be taken down, leaving more space, light and ventilation for the remainder. The houses fronting Back Seel Street have light wells in front of them and may have incorporated cellar dwellings. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries Hf 333 COR]



A Building Act was secured in 1842, allowing the Corporation to enforce basic standards for housing, and the 1846 Liverpool Sanitary Act, conferring among other things the power to close the worst cellar dwellings, paved the way for the appointment of the country's first Medical Officer of Health the following year. Shortly afterwards Liverpool Corporation began buying up slum property and selling it on condition that the worst housing was demolished (Fig 8).

It was to be many years, however, before real advances were achieved by such measures; in the short term overcrowding actually increased in some areas since it proved easier to close cellars than to induce builders to provide homes to the new standard. In the meantime 19th-century towns, despite the economic and cultural opportunities which they undeniably presented, became increasingly associated in the public mind with overcrowding, disease, pollution, crime and immorality. Recurrent epidemics of typhus and cholera were especially feared, and Liverpool





suffered severely in 1847 and 1849 as victims of the Irish famine crowded into cellars and common lodging houses. In tempting contrast the suburbs offered a safer, healthier and more spacious environment better suited to family life, albeit at the cost of a longer journey to one's place of work.

One of the privileges of wealth has long been the freedom to allocate one house to business and another to pleasure. It was exercised long before

*Figure 9 Views across the Mersey were especially prized by early villa builders in Everton, Breckfield and Anfield, but with urban expansion the nature of these views changed. Everton Brow is situated between Breckfield and the docks. [NMR 20748/41]*



the widespread adoption of the term ‘villa’ in early 18th-century England but thereafter the practice grew rapidly in popularity. Some relinquished their town residence altogether, centring family life in the suburbs and decisively separating the realms of work and domesticity (though associates might continue to be entertained in the family home as a way of cementing business relationships). For Liverpool merchants a favoured location for villas was Everton Brow. Perched high above the Mersey and its shipping, these houses enjoyed ample grounds and semi-rural surroundings, yet by horse and carriage they were within a few minutes of the docks and counting houses of central Liverpool. A 19th-century writer, recalling the appearance of the area around 1825, drew this picture:

The crown of the hill and its western slope were sufficiently built on to take away the appearance of baldness or nakedness, and yet not so densely as to crowd it inconveniently. From the umbrageous foliage of their gardens and pleasure-grounds, noble mansions, in tier above tier, looked out on a lovely landscape.<sup>2</sup>

Inevitably the best sites for villas were quickly taken and what was once select became more crowded, though still genteel. Prospective builders began to look further afield and by the end of the 18th century the first villas had appeared in Anfield and Breckfield. Though less well placed than Everton for views across the Mersey the area was similarly elevated and was only a little further removed from the city centre (Fig 9).

Although they now merge seamlessly, Anfield and Breckfield were originally administratively distinct. Breckfield lay within Everton township, which was formally absorbed by the town of Liverpool in 1835, whereas Anfield formed part of Walton-on-the-Hill, which did not become part of Liverpool until 1895 (Fig 10). But both were on the periphery of their mother settlement (the name Walton Breck was often applied to an area straddling the boundary) and although the ancient administrative distinction remains fossilised in the modern ward boundary and the roads which overlie it, it had little impact on development: Anfield and Breckfield evolved at much the same time and in similar ways.

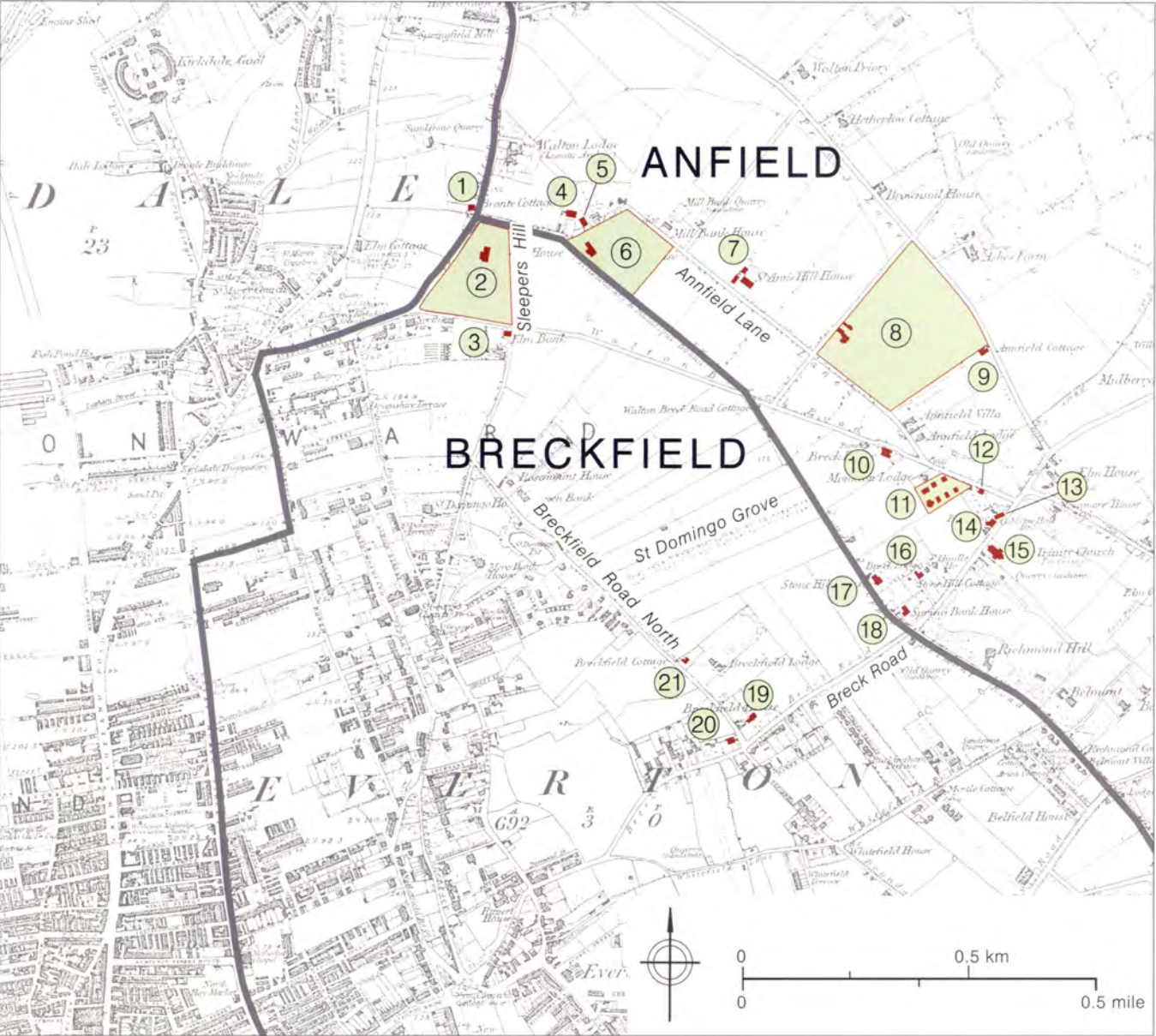




Figure 10 (opposite) *The 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey 6-in map, surveyed 1845–9, showing the boundary between Everton (which included Breckfield) and Walton-on-the-Hill (which included Anfield). The still-rural nature of Anfield and Breckfield contrasts with the increasingly built-up character of Everton. Villa building in Anfield and Breckfield has thus far been concentrated in Cabbage Hall, near the newly built Holy Trinity Church, and along Annfield Lane. Villas mentioned in the text, and some associated buildings, are numbered.*

- 1 Bronte Cottage
- 2 Bronte House
- 3 Elm Bank
- 4 Woodlands
- 5 Roseneath Cottage
- 6 Belle Vue House
- 7 St Ann's Hill House
- 8 Annfield House
- 9 Annfield Cottage
- 10 Breck House
- 11 Ash Leigh
- 12 Broadbent's Cottages
- 13 Cabbage Hall Inn
- 14 Post Office
- 15 Holy Trinity Church
- 16 Stone Hill Cottage
- 17 Stone Hill House
- 18 Spring Bank House
- 19 Breckfield House
- 20 Odd House
- 21 Breckfield Cottage

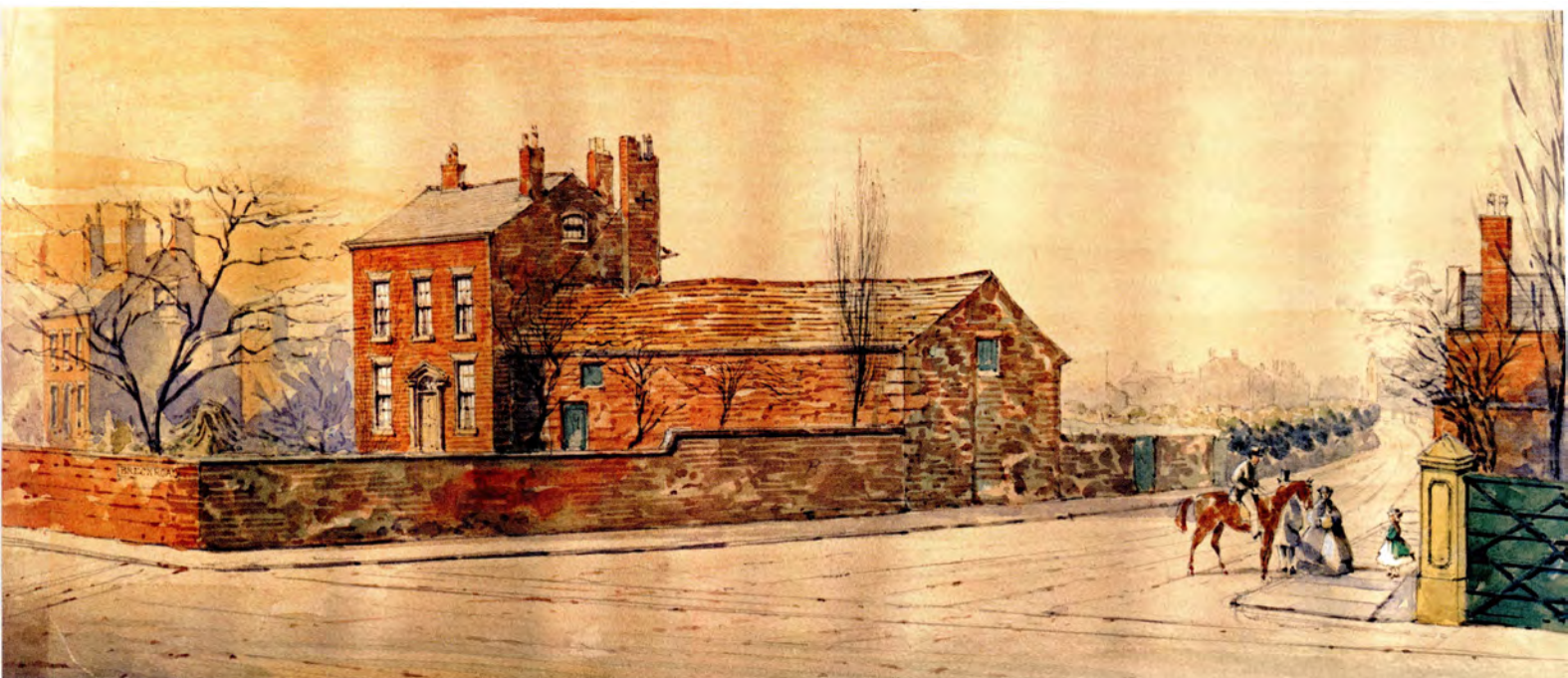
[Reproduced from the 1851 Ordnance Survey map]

Figure 11 (right) *The Cabbage Hall Inn on Breck Road, depicted here in a photograph of c1865, was a well-known rendezvous when the character of the area was still largely rural. The destination board in the carriage reads 'NECROPOLIS' – a reference to the Liverpool Necropolis, a cemetery on West Derby Road, Everton, a private initiative opened in 1825 and closed in 1898. A large extension to the inn was built in the 1930s and the earlier building was subsequently demolished. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, Photographs and Small Prints]*

In the early 19th century only a handful of roads criss-crossed the area and the villas, congregating along those roads which offered an elevated outlook, stood in what was otherwise an almost entirely rural landscape, with here and there a quarry of red sandstone supplying building materials, and a solitary windmill on Anfield Road (then known as Annfield Lane). A small group of houses clustered around the long-established Cabbage Hall Inn (Fig 11), which gave its name to the immediate locality – reputedly 'the very Arcadia of Liverpool', and the object of 'rural excursions' 'by the lower and middle orders'.<sup>3</sup>

None of the earliest villas in Anfield and Breckfield – those built in the late 18th and early 19th centuries – survives, but we know the names and trades of many of their occupants, whilst maps, and occasionally historic views, tell us something of their architectural character and grounds. Breckfield House, at the junction of Breck Road and Breckfield Road North, was home in the late 18th century to George Case, Mayor





of Liverpool (Fig 12). Bronte House (Fig 13), between Walton Lane and Sleepers Hill, was built around 1813 for the merchant Samuel Woodhouse, and was named after Bronte in Sicily (Horatio Nelson was made Duke of Bronte in 1799 for assisting Ferdinand III, King of Naples, in suppressing an insurrection). Anfield Road, then a country lane lined with hedges and hedgerow trees, was especially favoured. Perhaps the best sites were those towards the north-western end where Belle Vue House looked south-westwards towards the Mersey, but others to the south-east, such as St Ann's Hill House and Annfield House, enjoyed a pleasantly rural garden outlook to the north-east.

The trend of the field boundaries was generally from south-west to north-east, at right-angles to the contours of the gently undulating ground. Only the largest villas, such as Bronte House and Annfield House, had grounds extensive enough to encompass a whole field, and

Figure 12 This watercolour by William Herdman, dated 1863, shows the junction of Breck Road (passing across the foreground) and Breckfield Road North. Well-spaced small villas line the road to the left; to the right is the main entrance to Breckfield House. The building in the centre, known as the Odd House, was purchased for road widening in 1865 and demolished. (See also inside front cover). [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, Herdman Collection 642]





Figure 13 *Bronte House, one of the more opulent villas, as shown on the Everton Tithe Map, 1846. A gate lodge at the junction of Walton Lane and Walton Breck Road marks the start of a long sinuous drive through the landscaped grounds. The house, built c1813, has a south-facing entrance front and a bow-fronted west elevation overlooking a shrubbery and the distant Mersey. To the north lie the stable yard, kitchen garden and what was probably a gardener's cottage. The house was demolished and Bodley, Butterfield, Goldie, Paley and Nesfield Streets, with their small terraced houses, covered the grounds in the late 1870s. [Reproduced with permission of the County Archivist Lancashire Record Office, DRL/1/25]*

where they did a part might be cropped as meadow, as happened at Belle Vue House in the 1840s. More often villas occupied just a corner of a field, but in either case they respected the existing field system, inaugurating a process which ultimately saw these boundaries perpetuated in the modern street pattern (compare Figs 10 and 25). Some of the names of these fields have endured to the present day. Anfield takes its name from the Hangfields, narrow strips running back inland from a brow overlooking the Mersey. Sleepers Hill has its origin in Great and Little Sleepers, two areas of former common land, while the 'Breck' in Breckfield probably refers to an area of uncultivated land.

The earliest surviving villas date from the years immediately after 1840. By this time Everton was beginning to fill up with lower-grade housing attracted by the northwards spread of Liverpool's docks, and as attention shifted to newly desirable Anfield and Breckfield the pace of villa building there quickened. The earliest surviving villa on Anfield Road is Woodlands, a stuccoed Italianate house now hemmed in on two sides by later extensions (Fig 14). A substantial detached villa in generous grounds, it was the home in the 1860s of Henry Tate (1819–99), later



Figure 14 *The entrance front of Woodlands (now the Abbey Lawns Nursing Home), Anfield Road. Built c1840, possibly by William Nickson, its owner and occupier in 1847, it was home to Henry Tate in the 1860s, and was much extended after it became the Queen Mary High School for Girls in 1910. [AA045472]*



Figure 15 *Gate piers, such as these at 24 St Domingo Grove, set villa owners, with their leafy grounds, apart from ordinary people and conveyed a distant echo of the country house estate. [AA045531]*

famous both for his sugar-refining business and as the first benefactor of London's Tate Gallery, who moved here after a number of years living at nearby Belle Vue House.

The names given to these early villas, and often proclaimed on elaborate stone gate piers (Fig 15), are particularly revealing. The very use of names was laden with social pretension: in Liverpool, where street numbering was well established in the central district by 1800, a named address conferred a social distinction on the occupants. Some villas were called 'lodges', a label often adopted for the secondary seats of the gentry and aristocracy, while others bore names (like Spring Bank House) which evoked their pastoral or sylvan setting. The term 'cottage' expressed a particular yearning for the simple pleasures of country life. Although these



Figure 16 Small villas were often known in the early 19th century as 'cottage-villas' – cottages for short. *Roseneath Cottage*, unusual for Anfield in being faced entirely in red sandstone, was home to Mary Nickson in 1847. William Nickson and Thomas Nickson, doubtless relatives, lived at nearby *Woodlands* and *St Ann's Cottage* respectively, giving a clannish quality to this exclusive stretch of Anfield Road. [AA045474]



cottages were mostly among the smaller villas they should not be confused with the cramped and often insanitary homes of rural labourers, to which they are only distantly and whimsically related. They were more directly influenced by the popularity of the *cottage orné* style, which emphasised a rarefied notion of picturesque rusticity, usually in parkland settings. Half a dozen or so can be identified in Anfield and Breckfield, and of this number four (Annfield Cottage, Bronte Cottage, Breckfield Cottage and Stone Hill Cottage) share the same name as a larger villa alongside, suggesting that their origins – and perhaps their households – were related. Roseneath Cottage, Anfield Road, is a rare survivor (Fig 16). Built in the local red sandstone it differs from the larger villas nearby in being built hard against the roadside, where it had an attached stable and coach house.

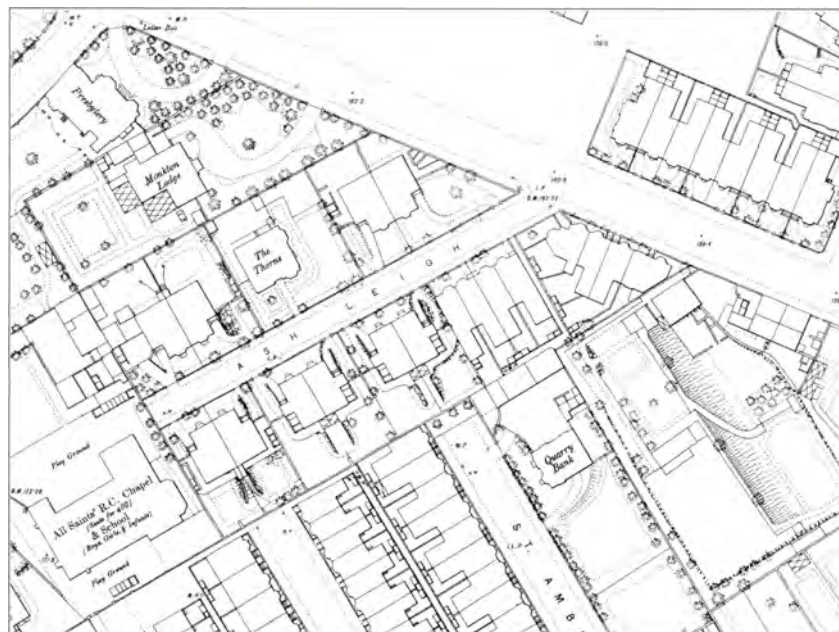


Figure 17 Ash Leigh, a villa development of the 1840s. In the 1851 census 3 of the 12 householders – Gottlieb Beyer, described as a Prussian general merchant; Juncker Philips, a German general commissioning merchant; and John Bincke, a general merchant and hemp broker of Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland) – reflected the cosmopolitan influences of a major seaport. [Reproduced from the 1891 Ordnance Survey map, surveyed 1890]

Two important new villa developments of the 1840s were the building of Ash Leigh (Fig 17), a short cul-de-sac off Walton Breck Road, and the laying out of St Domingo Grove (Fig 18), a long tree-lined avenue opening off Breckfield Road North and initially closed at the other end. Where previously the villas had been built singly and styled idiosyncratically on scattered plots of widely varying size, these were systematic and more intensive developments undertaken on a substantial scale by one or more speculative builders. The development of Ash Leigh was completed before 1847 and swept away in the 20th century. In St Domingo Grove construction commenced before 1846 but promptly stalled: in 1851 two houses were occupied, one by a merchant and one by the Secretary to the Liverpool Dispensary, but a further two stood empty, casualties of a housing market that was volatile, highly competitive and socially fine-tuned. Work did not resume in earnest until the early 1860s, suggesting weak demand for these houses. Faster progress was achieved on a parallel street, St Domingo Vale, where somewhat smaller villas





Figure 18 By contrast with Ash Leigh, the development of St Domingo Grove no sooner started than it stalled. In this watercolour, by James Innes Herdman, the grounds of one of the first houses in St Domingo Grove are visible on the extreme right but the Grove is otherwise still a field – the meagre trees may be

the beginnings of the intended avenue. The distant church is probably Queen's Road Presbyterian Church, 1861. This was the view from West Villa, 41 St Domingo Vale, the home of the artist's father, William Gawin Herdman, from 1855. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, Herdman Collection 1479]



found a readier market from the mid-1850s. The houses in both streets were more regimented than those in Ash Leigh, built in 'semi-detached' pairs with a common building line, a broad uniformity of scale and a limited range of styles and plan-forms (Fig 19).

The increasing standardisation and diminishing stature of these houses herald the arrival in Anfield and Breckfield of a less wealthy stratum of society. But even as they were being built the downward social trend was continuing apace and neither St Domingo Grove nor St Domingo Vale was completed as planned. In their place came successive waves of terraced housing, breaking first on Breckfield's southern margins and sweeping steadily northwards.

By the late 1860s villa building in Breckfield had ceased but in the most select part of Anfield, along Anfield Road, it continued for another decade. This was the part of the area most distant from central Liverpool, and its eligibility as a location for villa building was prolonged by the opening of Stanley Park in 1870 (Fig 20). The park's grounds were landscaped by Edward Kemp (1817–91), who learnt his trade at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, with Joseph Paxton (with whom he

Figure 19 (a) 9 and 11 St Domingo Grove and (b) the adjoining pair, 13 and 15, have identical plan footprints and massing, but the former is Italianate, distantly recalling the houses of the merchant princes of Renaissance Italy, while the latter is Tudor Gothic, a self-consciously English style. [AA045527, AA045528]

Figure 20 (opposite) The villas of Anfield Road can be seen in the distance (right) in this detail of a coloured lithograph by John M McGahey depicting the Grand Fancy Fair, Flower Show and Bazaar held in June 1870 at Stanley Park. The event was in aid of the new Stanley Hospital. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, Binns Collection C113]







Figure 21 (left) Mill Bank, 35–45 Anfield Road, c1860: three pairs of stuccoed villas with Gothic detailing. The residents in 1862 included a timber merchant, a tobacco manufacturer, the manager of the Liverpool & London Insurance Company (see Fig 26), a broker and a merchant. [AA045492]



Figure 22 The size and aspect of the villa plot led to variations in design: (a) (left) at 21 and 23 Anfield Road (1870s) unusual apse-like sculleries are placed on the entrance front in order to keep the more prestigious garden front (overlooking Stanley Park) clear; (b) (above) 90 and 92 Burleigh Road South (c1870) occupy shallow plots and consequently place services, as well as the entrance, in a side projection. [AA045478, AA045546]



subsequently worked on Birkenhead Park, 1843–7), and the buildings were designed by the Borough Surveyor, E R Robson (1835–1917), later a distinguished schools architect in London. Although the park, which stretched as far as Walton-on-the-Hill to the west and Anfield Cemetery to the north, was explicitly dedicated to the recreation of working people it had the possibly unintended consequence of guaranteeing the outlook of houses on the north-east side of Anfield Road at a time when cherished views elsewhere were succumbing to new housing.

During the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s the remaining plots bordering the north-east side of Anfield Road were built upon. Paired villas duly made their appearance (Fig 21) and a handful of them were as modest in size as those in St Domingo Vale. Generally, however, a more generous scale prevailed and the houses, even when paired, were more individually styled. Two pairs (21 and 23, 25 and 27), dating from the 1870s, responded in an unusual way to the proximity of Stanley Park by disguising small sculleries as chapel-like apses on the street elevation of the house so as not to clutter the more prestigious rear elevation towards the garden and park (Fig 22). One of the last of the villas, Stanley House,



Figure 23 Stanley House, 73 Anfield Road, built for brewer and football promoter John Houlding in 1876, exploits its position overlooking Stanley Park through the form of this tall stair turret on the garden elevation. [DP027855]

built in 1876 for John Houlding, brewer and football promoter, is as brash as any in the area and also one of the best preserved externally. Here too the value of the outlook towards the north-east is emphasised in the form of a tall, well-lit stair turret rising on the garden elevation, while towards the street a stable and coach-house block is set to one side of a large forecourt (Fig 23; *see also* Fig 55).

The occupants of these villas, on the whole, were not the cream of Liverpool's mercantile elite – Henry Tate, for example, moved further out to Allerton Beeches (1883–4), a house designed for him by high-flying architect Norman Shaw, as his wealth increased – but they were men of substantial means, including bankers, merchants, manufacturers, brokers and managers, and by the standards of the day they lived comfortably. In 1851 the banker George Arkles, who lived at Annfield House, had a household of seven tended by three domestic servants; the grounds were looked after by a gardener who lived with his family in a separate cottage, and a coachman and his family occupied the gate-lodge. Few villas enjoyed the luxury of a gate-lodge but several of the larger ones, including St Ann's Hill House and Belle Vue House, had separate accommodation for a gardener or had either a coachman or a groom among their resident servants. James Moon, a retired merchant who had taken Bronte House, was unusual in having a butler.

The occurrence of grooms and coachmen in the census returns is a reminder of the importance of the horse in this relatively far-flung suburb. Before the 1860s there were few facilities in Anfield and Breckfield for the use of the villa-dwellers. They were a well-off, thinly spread and relatively mobile population, who could count on the assiduous attentions of tradesmen based outside the locality, soliciting business and delivering orders. There was no need, consequently, for neighbourhood shops. The few facilities which the area afforded in the 1840s included the long-established Cabbage Hall Inn and the nearby Post Office. For everything else a visit to town, or to a more populous suburb such as Everton, was required.

There were also a few individuals who evidently worked for the villa-dwellers but were not found accommodation by them. Broadbent's Cottages stood on Walton Breck Road on the rear of the property



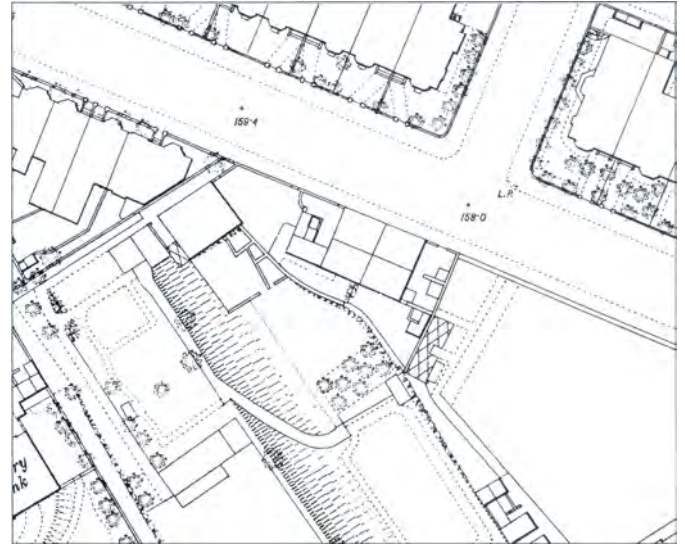
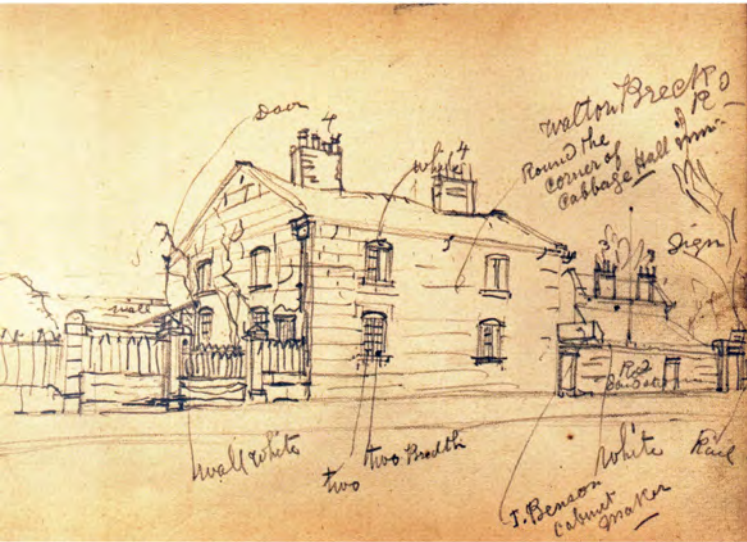


Figure 24 (a) *Broadbent's Cottages* as depicted by Hugh Magenis, 1886–8. Two entrances can be made out in the left-hand gable and there must have been another two on the opposite end. Most back-to-backs were built in longer rows; ‘clusters’ of just four, where each house has two external walls, are better ventilated. Hugh Magenis sketched the cottages at a time when the area was changing rapidly, but they survived until at least 1911 (see also Fig 78). [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries Hq 741.91 MAG]; (b) the cottages (the square block of four fronting the road at the T-junction) as shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1891, surveyed 1890.

belonging to the Cabbage Hall Inn (proprietor John Broadbent in 1835). Here in 1851 lived a liveryman, a gardener's assistant and his laundress wife, and another laundress who was married to a shoemaker. Map and directory evidence confirms that there were four cottages, not three, and that they were arranged back-to-back (Fig 24; see also Fig 78). The Liverpool building by-laws discouraged the building of back-to-backs but they did not ban them explicitly until 1861;<sup>4</sup> in any case the by-laws did not apply to Walton-on-the-Hill township, where these cottages were situated, until 1895.







## CHAPTER 3

### Terrace upon terrace

By the middle of the 19th century Liverpool was growing at an unprecedented rate (Fig 25). The trade of the port outgrew the existing docks, which expanded northwards by leaps and bounds. The docks employed thousands of casual labourers whose precarious conditions of employment and poor rates of pay compelled them to live as close as they could to their place of work. But they also employed hundreds of stevedores and warehousemen, whose work was regulated by port officials and government excisemen, while the railway companies, whose sidings threaded their way onto the waterfront, employed a further range of functionaries in similarly responsible positions. All these typically chose to live apart from the poorer labourers. There was also a rapidly growing commercial and insurance sector, intimately linked to shipping and the merchandise handled in the docks, but increasingly divorced from the physical circumstances of trade, occupying opulent chambers or offices in central Liverpool (Fig 26). In an age of manual

Figure 25 (opposite) *By 1890 the area was very largely built up, as shown on Philip's New Map of Liverpool and its Environs, 1891 (compare with Fig 10). The few remaining areas of vacant land were nearly all built on by 1905. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries]*



Figure 26 (right) *The offices of the Liverpool & London Insurance Company (architect C R Cockerell, 1856–8) in Dale Street. In the 1860s the firm's manager, William Wilks, lived at Mill Bank, Anfield Road (see Fig 21). [AA040746]*

bookkeeping, lacking the computer or the photocopier for assistance, these businesses relied upon thousands of clerks to keep their accounts and record their correspondence with clients. A growing population required the services of an ever-increasing multitude of craftsmen, tradespeople and public servants and they, like everyone else, looked to the suburban fringes of Liverpool as soon as their means allowed. Speculative builders were quick to respond and by the 1860s even once-exclusive Everton was, in the words of a near-contemporary, 'as dingy and commonplace as the town',<sup>5</sup> so builders turned to more distant neighbourhoods such as Anfield and Breckfield.

The modest circumstances of these aspiring suburban dwellers called for housing very different in form from the earlier villas. Nearly all the houses that were built in Anfield and Breckfield from the late 1860s onwards were grouped in rows or terraces. The terrace, a quintessentially though not uniquely urban architectural form which rose to prominence in 17th-century London, is highly efficient in its use of space and building materials, yet flexible enough to allow numerous variations in design and scale. Liverpool's earliest terraces dated from the middle of the 18th century and were often formal developments such as the former Clayton Square. But terraces governed by the rigorous enforcement of an overall design were uncommon. More typical even of the early decades of the 19th century were rows of broadly consistent houses, many of which were built to the south-east of the commercial centre, for example in Canning Street (1820s–40s). Elaborate compositions remained rare and some, like the palace-fronted Gambier Terrace (begun early 1830s), were never completed in their intended form.

The earliest terraces to be built in Breckfield were long rows composed of substantial houses of three storeys and basements. Some of these filled up spaces in the uncompleted development of St Domingo Vale, where their building line is thrust well forward of the earlier villas and the narrow front and rear gardens contrast sharply with the more spacious villa grounds. At 60–94 St Domingo Vale the occupants in 1870 included a ship broker, a coal proprietor, several accountants and master mariners, two bookkeepers and a commercial traveller – a mixture of lesser merchants and professional people,



Figure 27 *This terrace, 60–94 St Domingo Vale, was built from the late 1860s to the early 1870s. The houses, though substantial, marked the collapse of the villa ideal in Breckfield. [AA045537]*



prosperous tradespeople and the higher echelons of the salaried white-collar sector (Fig 27).

These large, early terraced houses acted as a kind of social buttress to the existing villa communities (Fig 28). The newcomers were, on average, of distinctly lower wealth and status, but their presence ensured that the homes of the still less well-off, which proliferated slightly later in the 1870s and 1880s, were built at a discreet and socially supportable distance. Where the villa developments were completed (as at Ash Leigh), nearly so (as at nearby Oakfield, a major development of the 1860s), or were joined by large terraced houses (as at St Domingo Vale), the villas tended to survive for many years, though they inevitably lost some of their exclusivity. Elsewhere isolated villas invariably succumbed sooner or later to the rising tide of mass housing, as owners observed the rising price of land and contrasted it with the dwindling social cachet of the area.

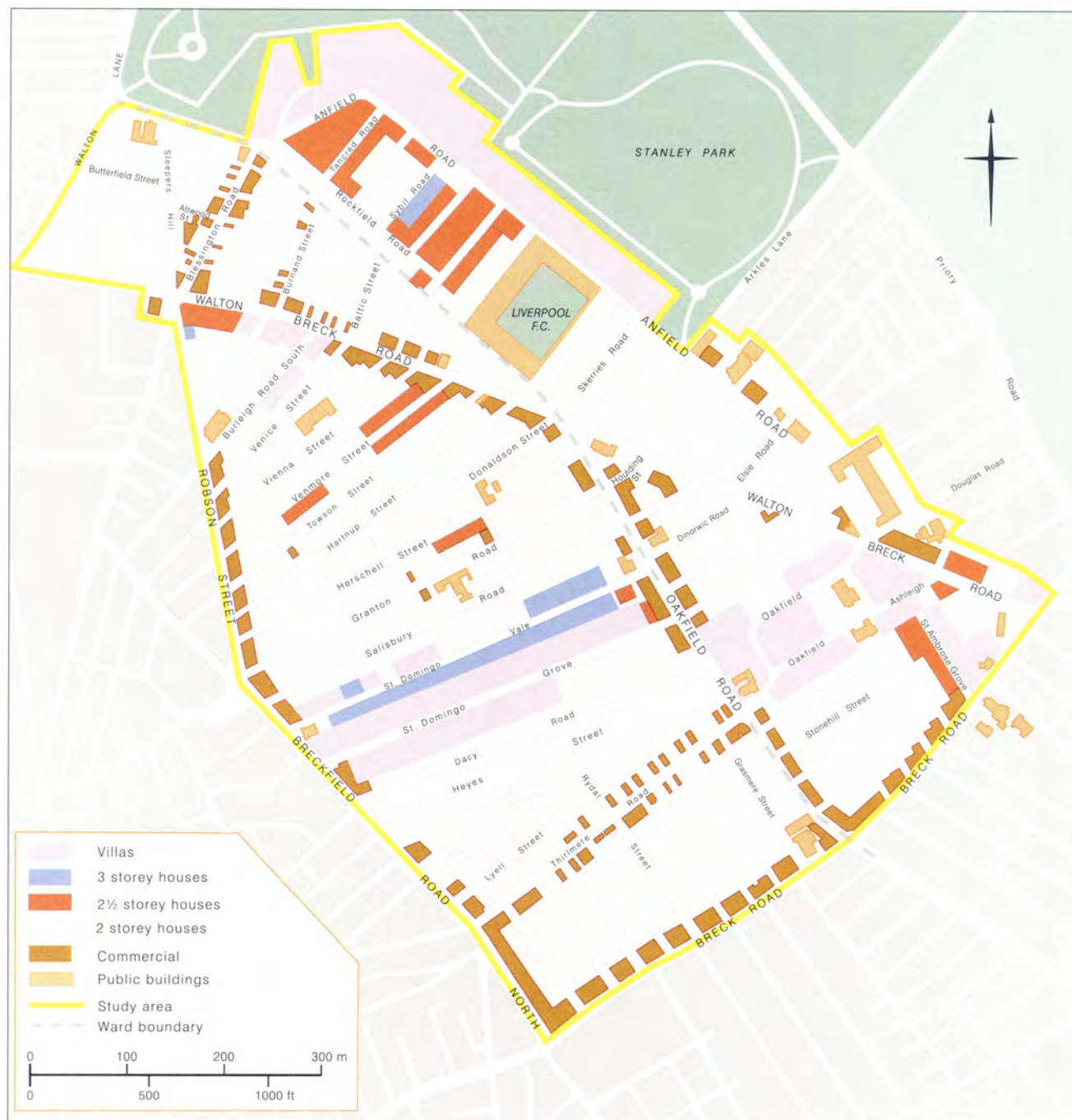




Figure 28 (opposite) *By plotting different building types on a map we reveal something of the social make-up of the area. This map (showing the area as it appeared in 1905) shows how houses of different sizes and status tended to be built in distinct areas. The villas cluster in groups and the larger terraced houses nearly all occur close to them. The map also shows how residential and commercial property were segregated, with the latter largely confined to the main thoroughfares.*

*[This map is based upon Ordnance Survey material with the permission of Ordnance Survey on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes Crown Copyright and may lead to prosecution or criminal proceedings. English Heritage 100019088.2008]*

The first large developments of smaller houses had their origins shortly before 1865 when a villa named Breckfield House was demolished and Thirlmere Road was laid out together with a grid of streets linking it to Breck Road. Six of the new streets were named after lakes in the English Lake District, then as now a byword for rural tranquillity. Not unusually, initial progress was slow, and by 1868 only 2 streets out of 11 had been built up, the others following in the early 1870s (Fig 29). Most of these houses were built in relatively short rows, probably by a number of different builders, but the cumulative result was akin to a series of long terraces. Much of this area has been cleared in recent years, and Thirlmere Road has lost all but a handful of its houses, but a number of streets survive. The houses, uniformly of two storeys though varying in detail, have small forecourts and rear yards. The latter are encroached upon by paired rear ranges known locally as 'outriggers'. In Grasmere Street in 1871 households averaged five people, supplemented by a lodger in about every third house, and resident domestic servants were rare. Heads of household included a bookkeeper, a telegraph clerk, a customs officer, a stonemason, a seamstress, an unmarried woman maintained by her son, and a married woman



Figure 29 Grasmere Street, part of the 'Lake District' behind Breck Road, was laid out before 1865 and built up in the early 1870s. These houses are among the earliest small terraced houses in Breckfield.  
[AA045535]

maintained by her children, one of whom was an architect's assistant, and two of whom were governesses. The lower ranks of 'white-collar' employment predominated.

It is apparent that Liverpool Corporation foresaw that the city's expansion would shortly transform the area and overwhelm the existing network of lanes inherited from its rural past. A number of improvements to the road network were quickly made, not only in the direction of the city centre but to the north as well, where Walton-on-the-Hill was also developing rapidly (Fig 30; *see also* Fig 25). Around 1865 Breck Road was widened in preparation for a major building campaign. Then in 1868 Oakfield Road was created by widening the former Upper Belmont Road north of its intersection with Breck Road and extending it as far as Walton Breck Road. Robson Street, doubtless named after E R Robson, the Borough Surveyor and architect of Stanley Park, was laid out to a generous width between 1870 and 1873, cutting off a corner between Breckfield Road North and Sleepers Hill, which was itself widened at about the same time. By the early 1870s many more side streets had been laid out between Breckfield Road North and Walton Breck Road, and development between the latter and Anfield Road was already under way. With the exception of Sleepers Hill the improved thoroughfares became the principal commercial streets of the area, profiting from both the residential streets behind them and from passing trade.

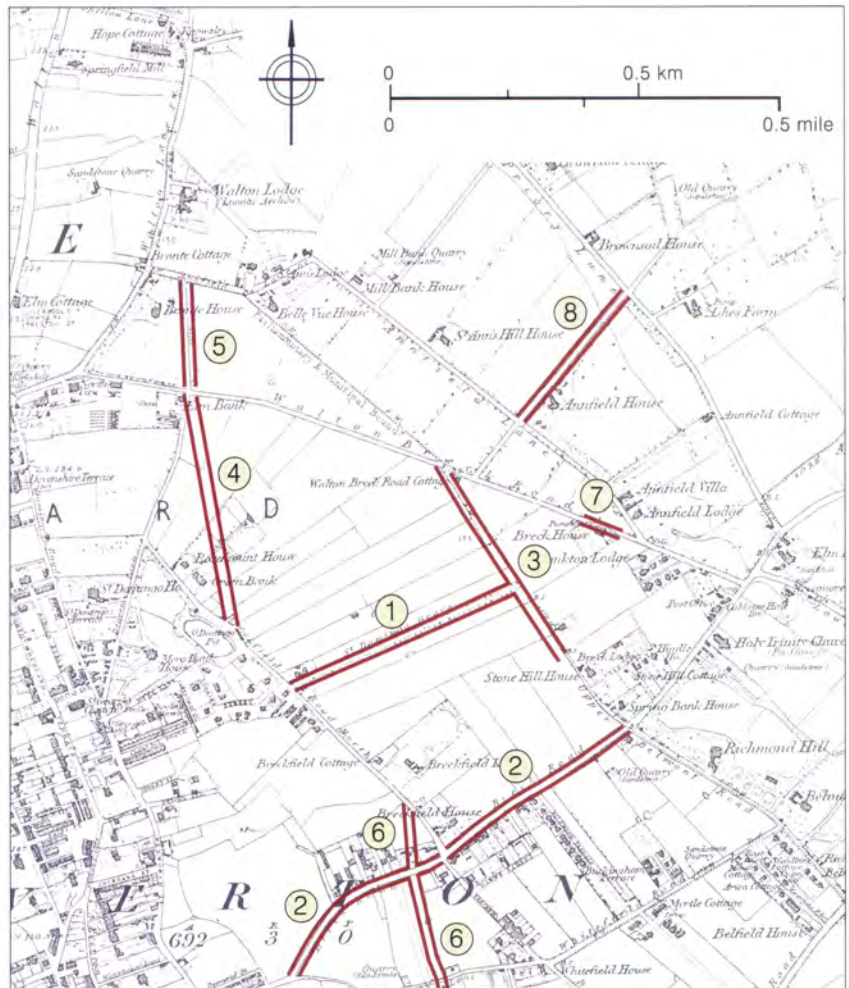
The manner in which land was developed for mass housing in the late 19th century can be briefly summarised. Owners of agricultural land or land previously appropriated for villas sometimes acted as their own developers but more often released land for development by others. Of its very nature this process tended to perpetuate existing property boundaries, since only when two adjoining properties were available simultaneously did the opportunity arise to realign or erase a boundary. Whatever the land released, the developer needed to calculate the most desirable way of dividing it up into plots. This was not simply a matter of cramming in the maximum number of houses. A smaller number of more prestigious houses might make a better investment, but only if people of sufficient means could be persuaded to live in them. An assessment of the house type best suited to the social standing of the area was therefore



Figure 30 As Anfield and Breckfield were transformed by residential development major improvements to the network of country lanes were called for. St Domingo Grove, the first major new street, was a private initiative, but the remainder were municipal enterprises.

- 1 St Domingo Grove, laid out by 1845
- 2 Breck Road, widened c1865
- 3 Oakfield Road, new road 1868
- 4 Robson Street, new road 1870–3
- 5 Sleepers Hill, widened c1873
- 6 Queen's Road, new road by 1875
- 7 Walton Breck Road, straightened c1890
- 8 Arkles Lane, widened c1906

[Based on the 1851 Ordnance Survey 6-in map, surveyed 1845–9]



required in addition to the judicious planning of streets, back-alleys and plot boundaries, within the constraints imposed by the lie of the land and the building by-laws, so as to maximise the number of houses of the chosen quality for rent or sale. An owner might also impose conditions, or covenants, on the development, for example to preserve the character of an area close to his own residence. Sometimes an owner might veer in the opposite direction if he wished to provide workers' housing to support a nearby factory or business, though in Anfield and Breckfield, where industries never developed on any scale, this consideration scarcely applied. Whatever the circumstances, these calculations had a profound impact on the way in which the landscape developed.

Where relatively high housing densities were required, the normal practice in urban and suburban housing developments throughout the 18th and 19th centuries was to create a rectangular grid of streets, yielding the 'rational' benefits of order, regularity and efficient use of space. Much depended on the shape of the available parcels of land, however, and whether these became available for development piecemeal or could be assembled into larger blocks. In essentially rectangular parcels any minor irregularities could be accommodated unobtrusively by varying the size of gardens or yards, but more pronounced irregularities might prove troublesome. Peculiar problems occurred at those corners of parcels which did not approximate to a right-angle, especially where the market called for high-density housing (Fig 31). Here not only the plots, but often the houses as well, adopt irregular rhomboid plans, and occasionally this expedient is extended along a whole row. A particularly striking example can be seen at 266–74 Walton Breck Road, where the houses, built in the 1890s, have sharply raking gable and party walls, and rooms that must always have been a trial to furnish (Fig 32a). The walls respect the trend of the former field on which they are built, which intersects Walton Breck Road at a pronounced angle. Nos 78–82 Robson Street and 1 Burleigh Road North, a row dating from the late 1870s, illustrate a less common approach to the same problem (Fig 32b). Where the newly created Robson Street sliced through the middle of Burleigh Road North, which had been conventionally laid out in relation to earlier field boundaries less than 10 years previously, the ensuing houses were

Figure 31 *The junctions of Walton Breck Road (bottom right) with Valley Road (bottom left) and Dinorwic Road show how the preferred rectangular geometry of terraced development was adapted to local conditions. The awkward corner site was occupied by a town dairy and its yard. Comparison with Fig 6 shows that although this was a densely built-up landscape, individual households enjoyed privacy, hygiene and space for such things as drying clothes, to an extent undreamt of by court and cellar dwellers.*







arranged *en échelon* to give a staggered series of house fronts. These houses retain a rectangular ground plan, resulting in rooms which are much easier to furnish neatly, but at the expense of an outlook which is shadowed on one side by the blind wall of the next house. Awkward parcels were often among the last to be built upon, as happened with the tapering field now covered by Sockbridge Street and Handfield Street, not built until the late 1880s (Fig 33).

The terraced houses built in Anfield and Breckfield between the late 1860s and about 1900 vary considerably in size, form, architectural style and detailing. These differences reflect the relative status of different parts of the locality at different periods, and hence the kind of occupants a developer could hope to attract, and the features, both functional and decorative, thought necessary to do so. The largest houses, on 3 floors and a basement (*see* Fig 27), might contain 12 main rooms and enjoy perhaps 4 times the floor area of the smallest, which had just 4 rooms arranged on 2 floors. But even the smallest houses had some pretensions. The most basic house type was built right up to the street and had a door opening directly into the front room, usually doubling as a kitchen and living room with a scullery to the rear. Even in these houses there was always some decorative brick patterning or eaves decoration on the front elevation and contrary to widespread practice elsewhere in England, where a single window sufficed for the front ground-floor room, there

Figure 32 (a) 266–74 Walton Breck Road show a typical response to developing an awkward-shaped parcel of land; (b) an alternative approach was adopted for 78–82 Robson Street and 1 Burleigh Road North. [AA045513, AA045548]

Figure 33 (opposite) Handfield Street (left) and Sockbridge Street (right), both late 1880s, converge at an acute angle – one consequence of developing a triangular parcel of land. [NMR 20747/60]









Figure 34 *The smallest houses built in Anfield and Breckfield between 1860 and 1900 were of the two-up, two-down terraced variety, but all had elements of decoration. This example at 15 Saker Street has a brick diaper pattern and a moulded brick eaves course, whilst the paired sash is divided by a turned wooden mullion. These mullions, once common, are now increasingly rare. [DP027838]*



Figure 35 70 and 72 Rockfield Road, built early 1880s, typify the more generous two-storey terraced house: forecourted, with a canted bay and two first-floor windows. [AA045484]



was invariably a window of two sashed lights separated by a turned wooden or plain brick mullion (Fig 34). Details such as these mark out even the smallest houses as a cut above the most basic by-law housing.

Superior houses were distinguished in a variety of ways – and contemporaries would have been alert to the clues. A wider frontage allowed a passage to be run past the front room, which was therefore better suited for use as a parlour, the kitchen-living room being relegated to the rear. By setting the house-front behind a small walled and railed forecourt, enough space was left for a bay window to project, dignifying the parlour and affording it a degree of privacy (Fig 35). On the first floor, where the front bedroom extended over both parlour and passage, the greater width of the frontage might be signalled by a pair of windows unless a two-storey bay window, as on many of the houses built in Granton Road in the early 1880s, was preferred (*see* Fig 39). Most bay-

fronted houses had accommodation projecting to the rear as well, in the form of paired 'outriggers' or rear ranges (Fig 36). These vary in what they accommodate: most house water closets or bathrooms and some are large enough to include a scullery and one or more bedrooms. Where shallow plots limited the space for outriggers houses might adopt a double-fronted plan, with a central entrance flanked by bay windows, as at 250, 252 and 254 Anfield Road, built in the 1890s (Fig 37). Alternatively they retained a narrow plan footprint and found extra space in an additional full storey or attic (Fig 38).

Another decision confronting a prospective builder concerned building materials, which could accentuate distinctions based on plan and morphology. Anfield, Breckfield and the surrounding area yield an attractive red sandstone, but this was used very sparingly on local houses in all but a handful of cases. Instead the terraced houses were built predominantly of brick, much of it thought to have come from brickworks in north-east Wales. The dour brown brick which was used for ordinary work was considerably diversified by the use of polychrome chequer-work, diapers, bands and string courses in red, blue, buff and white and, from the 1880s, moulded terracotta ornament (Figs 39 and 40). Extensive use of the lighter, more even-toned red and buff bricks was restricted to superior buildings.

North Wales was also the source of the slate which became the ubiquitous roofing material of 19th-century Liverpool, and the brisk trade that resulted acted as a conduit both for Welsh migration to Liverpool and for the infiltration of the Liverpool building trade, in which the Welsh established a powerful presence. They included the Venmore family of builders and estate agents, commemorated in Breckfield's Venmore Street. The Welsh influence is reflected in a number of other street names: Dinorwic Road takes its name from one of the largest Welsh slate quarries, Valley Road is probably named after Valley in Anglesey, and Vyrnwy Street possibly recalls the River Vyrnwy, but is more likely to be named after the Lake Vyrnwy Reservoir, created during the 1880s to supply Liverpool's burgeoning population with water.

House building in Anfield and Breckfield continued apace into the early 1890s. Liverpool as a whole suffered a slump in the mid-1890s and



Figure 36 (right) *Two types of paired 'outriggers' to the rear of 82–96 Rockfield Road (early 1880s). The more distant examples are large three-storey gabled rear ranges; the nearer examples are small two-storey lean-tos. Other houses have small outshots, often with a shallower roof pitch than the main part of the house.* [AA045486]



Figure 37 (below right) *Double-fronted terraced houses such as 250, 252 and 254 Anfield Road, built in the 1890s, are rare, but made the most of shallow plots lining a prestigious street. The alternation of canted and square bay windows is characteristic – the former for the parlour, the latter for the dining room.* [AA045504]

Figure 38 (below) *Houses in Venmore Street – named after the Welsh Venmore family of builders and estate agents – have narrow plans but benefit from an attic storey.* [AA045544]







Figure 39 (a) (left above) Some striking effects were achieved in the 1880s by extending simple brick patterns across a whole terrace, as here at 60–6 Granton Road; (b) (left below) modern owners have often preferred individuality, as at 45–55 Herschel Street. [AA045540, AA045543]

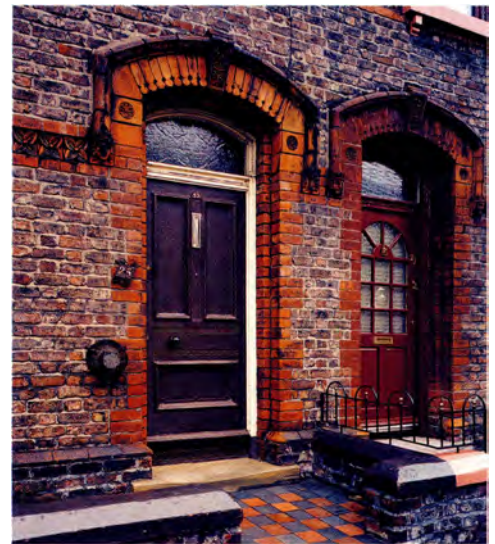


Figure 40 (above) 25 Arkles Road illustrates the range of mass-produced terracotta ornament available to the builder by the 1880s. The original iron railings to the forecourt walls are lost, but other details, including the panelled door and under-floor ventilation grille, remain. [AA045520]



though recovery speedily followed, and building continued vigorously through most of the first decade of the 20th century, Anfield and Breckfield were by then almost entirely built up and the builders moved on. Some of the last plots to be developed were along the main thoroughfares where they may have been held back while their value rose. A few small parcels and plots, overlooked or withheld in earlier phases of development, were infilled (they can sometimes be identified by anomalies in street numbering) but in most respects the character of the area had already been formed.

What we see in Anfield and Breckfield today is the achieved form of a landscape which was shaped over many decades, most dramatically in the 30 years between 1865 and 1895. The experience of someone moving to Anfield or Breckfield in the 1870s would have been altogether different from our own. We see streets fully built up in regimented rows, and conclude all too easily that they were the product of a stable, orderly society. The original occupiers, the vast majority of whom were tenants rather than owner-occupiers, and could therefore move from house to house much more freely, would have known how fluid this society really was.

Contemporaries would also have seen streets newly laid out on what months before was pasture, and streets which languished in a half-built state while a builder attempted to ride out an economic downturn. The consistent elevations of the houses in Wylva Road, Arkles Road, Edith Road, Miriam Road, Elsie Road and the corresponding length of Walton Breck Road, for example, obscure the protracted evolution of a scheme (including the demolished Kemlyn Road) that was 10 years or more in the making. The first houses were occupied by 1881 but some, including those on Walton Breck Road, were not completed until after 1890. By the time the terraces were going up the earlier villas would have mellowed and their landscaped grounds matured appreciably, so that the contrast with the raw brick terraces, their crisp, mass-produced brick or terracotta ornament and their freshly dug gardens or arid yards would have been for a while as pronounced as the differences in architectural form, scale and setting (Fig 41). Terraces that began with extensive views might see them shut out only months later by another wave of building, while others would overlook small, awkwardly shaped parcels of land for many years –

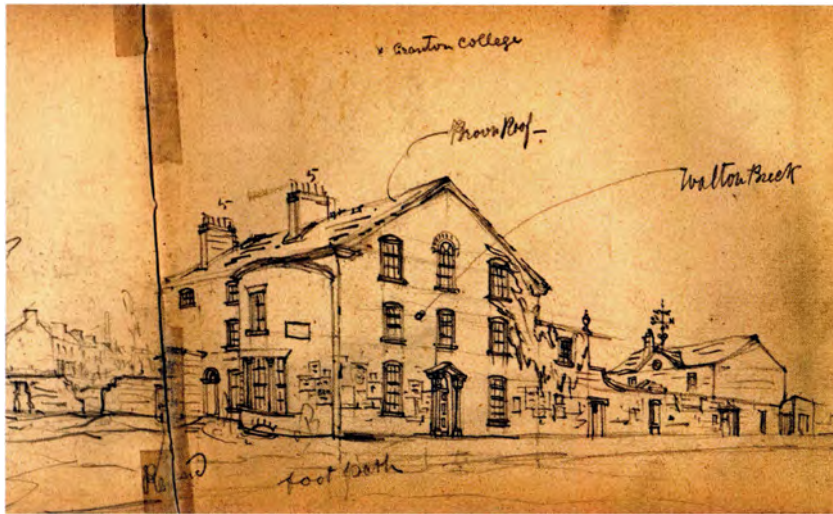
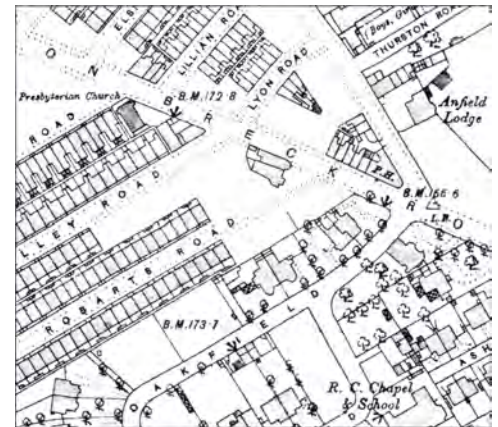


Figure 41 (a) (left) This view, sketched by Hugh Magenis between 1886 and 1888, shows Breck House, also known as Walton Breck, a late 18th-century villa on Walton Breck Road. The evidence that bill-posters have been active suggests that the house is empty and about to be demolished. The newly built terrace beyond foreshadows the fate of the older house. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries Hq 741.91 MAG]; (b) (below) the Ordnance Survey map of 1893 (surveyed 1890) shows Breck House as a forlorn island (upper centre), subdivided and shorn of its name and garden, the streets around it laid out and the pavement already realigned in anticipation of its passing. William Tristram of Breck House initiated the proposal for Holy Trinity Church in 1844; his successor at the property was prompted to sell up when The Breckside public house (now The Flat Iron, marked 'P.H.') opened a few yards away on the opposite side of the road.

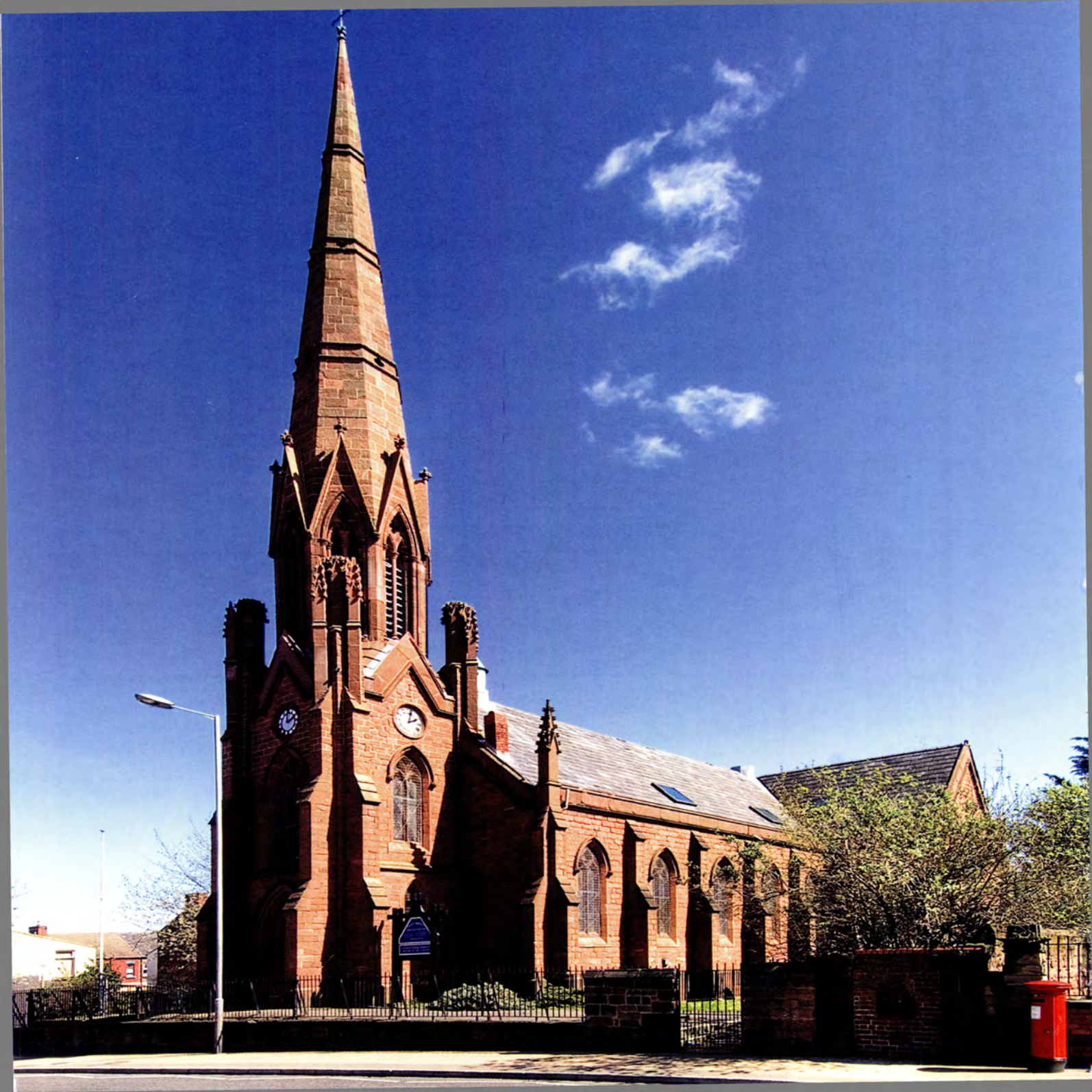
until all the more attractive building plots had been taken up and builders deigned to tackle what was left. It was a landscape both of considerable diversity, and of rapid, sometimes brutal change prolonged over a generation or more. As a writer for *The Porcupine*, observing the changes at the lower end of Anfield Road, noted bitterly in 1878:

Old-fashioned houses are being dismantled; the rafters show through the unslated roofs; beams and spars stick out like parts of a huge skeleton, and the ragged framework of laths from which the plaster has been stripped seems like a torn bunch of sinews wrenched in pain from the anatomy of the place. And in the stead of these, old hulks stranded in the midst of the advancing desert of town buildings, is springing up the rapid growth of mushroom tenements, each like its fellow, all clean and new, smelling of paint and plaster, marshalled in rows like an army of soldiers; each rank held in command by the towering sergeant who occupies every corner in the shape of the omnipresent 'corner public house in a genteel and rising neighbourhood; certain in a few years to pay well in the midst of a dense population'.<sup>6</sup>





The novelist and social thinker H G Wells spoke for many when he lamented in 1905 ‘that multitudinous, hasty building for the extravagant swarm of new births that was the essential disaster of the nineteenth century’.<sup>7</sup> History has judged the impact of this phenomenon more kindly. Between the 1840s and 1914 by-law housing transformed huge areas of land on the fringes of England’s towns and cities. There were losses, both environmental and emotional, in this process. But over a sustained period the result, undeniably, was a permanent improvement in the average standard of housing for ordinary town-dwellers. The new suburbs were better built, healthier and more spacious than the cellars, courts and back-to-backs of the congested town centres, and they demonstrated that the monster growth in the urban populace could be housed decently. For thousands, single-family occupancy of a house enjoying its own sanitation and a constant water supply – even if that meant a single tap in the kitchen or scullery – became an achievable goal. It is true that the houses mostly remained the property of landlords, who might raise rents or neglect repairs as arbitrarily as before, and that many of the people who took the new houses lived lives which we – and perhaps they – would have considered pinched and thwarted. It is equally true that for decades much poor-quality earlier housing elsewhere continued in use, for many could not afford the rents which the new houses commanded and some were reluctant to sunder bonds of kinship and association cemented by the older, cheek-by-jowl pattern of urban life. But the slum-dwellers of the late 19th century occupied an increasingly marginal space in society. The popular unrest which had periodically threatened the social and political establishment before 1850 diminished sharply as the century progressed, and while many reasons for this change can be advanced, including generally rising national prosperity and progressive electoral reform, it is likely that the spread of by-law housing played a not insignificant part in allaying discontent. Standards of order and decency had been set which in later decades, through slum clearance and public housing programmes, would come within reach of all sections of the population.





## CHAPTER 4

### Nourishing body and soul

The rapid influx of population to Anfield and Breckfield created a variety of human needs which either had not existed in the locality before, or for which existing small-scale provision now proved inadequate. All the larger villas enjoyed the mobility which a stable and coach house conferred but the smaller semi-detached villas erected from the 1840s onwards generally lacked such provision and the later terraced houses nearly always did so. Being relatively elevated the area was not penetrated by railways, but in 1866 the Canada Dock Branch of the London & North Western Railway skirted it to the east and north, and from 1870 until 1948 passenger trains called at Walton (from 1910 Walton & Anfield) and Breck Road Stations. Horse-drawn trams served the area from 1870 until about 1900 when electric trams were introduced, running until the 1950s when they were replaced by buses. Tram routes were established along Breck Road, Breckfield Road North, Robson Street, Oakfield Road and Walton Breck Road, providing services not only to central Liverpool but to a number of adjoining suburbs. But, at a time when most people could afford neither to keep their own horse nor (even after workmen's fares were introduced on the railways in the 1880s) to make regular use of public transport, numerous facilities needed to be within reasonable walking distance of people's homes. In the wake of the terraced housing, therefore, came churches and chapels, shops and pubs, cow-houses and dairies, a large public park, and later schools, a football ground and a police station. The manner in which these buildings were distributed, and the forms which they took, tell us much about the nature and workings of the late 19th-century suburb.

Across the nation unmanaged urban growth in the first half of the 19th century had outstripped the provision of churches, as the 1851 Religious Census confirmed, and the perceived godlessness of the nation's towns and cities dismayed many. In the decades that followed many faiths vied for the souls of the new urban and suburban populace. Churches and chapels, in many cases combined with schools, sprang up quickly in Anfield and Breckfield, reflecting a wide variety of Christian denominations. In the countryside the dominance of the Anglican Church was often reinforced by local landowners who could withhold building plots from rival sects, but in the growing towns social control

Figure 42 *Holy Trinity Church, Breck Road, built mainly to serve the villa community, was the first church in Anfield, opening in 1847. [DP045348]*

was looser. Most had a long Nonconformist tradition and in Liverpool this was particularly, though not exclusively, associated with the growing Welsh community. Liverpool also had a considerable Roman Catholic population, much of it of Irish extraction.

The various faiths and sects sprang from diverse cultures and their buildings project these differences in the landscape. The Anglicans were first to address the needs of the fledgling suburbs of Anfield and Breckfield, creating a perpetual curacy within the ancient parish of Walton-on-the-Hill and building Holy Trinity Church, Breck Road, in 1845–7 (Fig 42). The beneficiaries of this Gothic stone church designed by John Hay would initially have been villa-dwellers in the main, many of whom actively promoted its construction, though a capacity of 700 suggests that new development was anticipated. The Baptists were next off the mark, their brick-built Italianate-style Richmond Baptist Church, designed by J A Picton, opening further along Breck Road in 1865 at a time when the construction of mass housing was poised to begin. Though an imposing building on a corner site, the church's immediate neighbours were shops and pubs in what was the area's first and most important commercial street, giving it a less exclusive, more workaday air (Fig 43). Its energetic first minister, Frederick Hall Robarts, is probably commemorated in nearby Robarts Road.

By the 1870s Anglican parishes were proliferating to meet the challenges posed by the influx of population. A second foundation, St Cuthbert's Church, Robson Street (demolished), was built in 1875–7 to a design by T D Barry & Sons. Constructed of stone in the Decorated style of medieval church architecture, it exploited a prominent site with three street frontages: the west front was placed at a raking angle to the newly laid out Robson Street, with a steeple rising from one corner (*see* Fig 73). The result was that it stood apart from, and towered above, its neighbours in a way that the Richmond Baptist Church did not. The vicarage was a substantial villa placed somewhat aloofly on the more exclusive Anfield Road (most ministers of religion, of whatever faith, lived alongside the villa-owners). A later Anglican church, St Simon and St Jude, Anfield Road (T C Edby, 1893–6; demolished), was executed in brick without a tower, sounding a less strident note, but it occupied a



Figure 43 *Richmond Baptist Church, the earliest Nonconformist church in Breckfield, thrusts itself among the ordinary lives of working men and women, occupying a site on what was emerging as the area's main commercial street. [AA045103]*



Figure 44 *The former English Presbyterian Church (now the Temple of Praise) with its adjacent manse on Oakfield Road. [AA045092]*



similar triple-frontage site suggestive of the determination of the established church to assert its supremacy.

The Catholic community in the area appears never to have been very numerous, and typically congregations were less wealthy than those of the Anglicans. The Catholics did not acquire a chapel until 1889 when All Saints, Oakfield, was opened with an attached school. This was evidently found wanting and in 1910 the present stone church was built alongside to a relatively elaborate Gothic design by J & B Sinnott, the chapel becoming part of the school. The present church incorporates a rose window in the east end, but it lacks the soaring accents of more lavish church building, and it nestles unobtrusively in one of the surviving villa enclaves.

The other places of worship in the area are all Nonconformist churches and chapels. Like the Richmond Baptist Chapel they can be imposing structures but their landscape setting mirrors their less exclusive social standing, and typically they mingle more evenly with the general run of houses and commercial buildings. One of the liveliest designs, dating from shortly before 1896, is that of the former English Presbyterian Church (now the Temple of Praise) with its adjacent manse on Oakfield Road (Fig 44). Others, like the austere and industrial-looking former Free Welsh Church (now Crete Hall), Donaldson Street, built c1900 on the site of a former quarry, speak of the determination of a fiercely independent and far from wealthy immigrant community to preserve its identity in a new setting (Fig 45).



Figure 45 *The former Free Welsh Church, Donaldson Street. [AA045091]*

None of the churches mentioned above has a graveyard. The Burial Act of 1852, a response to the shockingly overcrowded state of graveyards in London and other large towns and cities, led to the creation of large multi-denominational cemeteries on the rural fringes. Anfield Cemetery, laid out between 1861 and 1864 north-east of what was to become Stanley Park, served the parish of Liverpool, but it also took burials from the immediate neighbourhood (Fig 46). The work successively of William Gay and Edward Kemp (landscaping) and Lucy & Littler (buildings), it is divided into Anglican, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist zones, each originally with its own chapel.

A number of the churches and chapels were built with, or subsequently acquired, schools for either daily or Sunday attendance. Prior to the 1870 Education Act the various religious denominations were the main providers of education for the less well-off, and even after 1870 state educational provision initially aimed at filling gaps in the existing network of schools rather than supplanting the church authorities. In promoting education the churches were fulfilling a Christian mission but they were also competing with one another for congregations. The popularity of Sunday schools waned during the 20th century and most have been demolished, but the Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Church and Sunday School on Oakfield Road, built between 1906 and 1908, remains, as does the Sunday school attached to the Richmond Baptist Chapel, albeit as rebuilt in 1930–1 (*see* Fig 80). Not all schooling was in the hands of the church. William Gawin Herdman (1805–82), one of Liverpool's foremost artists, ran a drawing academy in his house at 41 St Domingo Vale. His family included his artist sons William and James Innes, whose work is reproduced here (*see* Figs 4, 12 and 18), and his wife Martha, who ran a music academy. A number of other villas hosted small schools for 'young ladies'.

Under the 1870 Education Act school boards were established wherever gaps or shortfalls were identified in the existing church and voluntary educational provision. Keeping pace with rapid suburban growth was understandably a major preoccupation. Breckfield fell under the Liverpool School Board, which opened premises in Granton Road in 1880 (demolished 2005) and Venice Street in 1886; in the same year

Figure 46 *Anfield Cemetery as depicted in an engraving published by Rock & Co in Views of Liverpool, 1864. The three mortuary chapels served (from left to right) the Roman Catholic, Church of England and Nonconformist communities. The lower buildings in between served extensive catacombs.* [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries H942.7214 ROC]





*Amfield Park Cemetery, Liverpool.*



Anfield, which was the responsibility of the Walton-on-the-Hill School Board, acquired its own school in Anfield Road. All three schools were built on a substantial scale but those in Venice Street and Granton Road strikingly sit at the heart of their communities – not on the main thoroughfares but in residential side streets, where as a result they sacrifice some of the visual potency of their tall, well-mannered elevations (Figs 47a and b). The large and much-extended Anfield Road School more conventionally (for a major public building) occupies a key street frontage, where its ventilation spire is a striking landmark (Fig 47c). All three schools were influenced by the Domestic Revival style of architecture, dignified yet approachable, and resolutely secular in contrast to the Gothic styles favoured by most church authorities.

Prominent street corners, so attractive for the siting of churches, were also seized upon by brewers, whose ministry to corporeal needs assumed very different architectural forms, some revelling in the challenge of using a triangular plot effectively (Fig 48). The larger public houses of the late





Figure 47 Three board schools: (a)(opposite, left) Venice Street; (b) (above) Granton Road, both Liverpool School Board, 1886 and 1880 respectively; (c) (right) Anfield Road, Walton-on-the-Hill School Board, 1885, much enlarged c 1900. [NMR 20748/20; AA045096; AA041068]





Figure 48 Hotels and pubs often exhibit some of the liveliest architecture of the suburban landscape; in Anfield and Breckfield nearly all compete for business on the main thoroughfares, usually on corner plots:

(a) (left) *The Windermere*, dated 1866, and its twin *The Breck*, Breck Road, were among the earliest competitors of the old Cabbage Hall Inn [AA045101]; (b) (below) *The George*, showing vestiges of 'late-Georgian' design, curves around the major intersection of Breck and Oakfield Roads [AA045104]; (c) (opposite, top left) *The Midden*, Rydal Street, is one of only a handful of pubs on the area's side streets, but this unusually named pub still asserts its superiority over its residential neighbours through its scale and ornament [AA045099]; (d) (opposite, top right) *The Flat Iron* (formerly *The Breckside*), Walton Breck Road, construction of which prompted the owner of nearby Breck House to sell up and leave [AA041070]; (e) (opposite, bottom left) *The King Harry Hotel*, Anfield Road, dated 1885, is a fanciful evocation of Merrie England [AA045085]; (f) (opposite, bottom right) *The Arkles* (formerly *The Royal Hotel*), Anfield Road, late 1880s, occupies part of the site of Annfield House, once home to banker George Arkles [AA041064].







19th century temptingly offered a home from home – a heightened version of the domestic ideal. They are substantial, ostentatious and frequently gaudy, their exteriors – often brightly coloured with glazed brick or terracotta, and incorporating fanciful embellishments – promising instant gratification for the senses rather than rewards in the hereafter. Typically containing two or more bars and a separate area for off-sales as well as function rooms, letting rooms and accommodation for the publican's family, they required careful planning and preferably multiple entrances – one factor in the popularity of corner sites. Besides serving refreshments the larger establishments, like The Arkles (formerly The Royal Hotel) and The King Harry Hotel, both on Anfield Road, provided meeting places for a range of purposes, and since they were eye-catching they became natural reference points for residents and visitors alike. There were few pubs on the residential side streets but where they occur (The Midden on Rydal Street is characteristic) they are smaller, though still taller and more ornate than their domestic neighbours.

The manner in which shops were distributed in the suburb was rather different from that of pubs. The vast majority, and all the more prestigious examples, were on a small number of main thoroughfares – Breck Road, Oakfield Road, Walton Breck Road and Breckfield Road North – and most were grouped in rows or parades running from the junction with one side street to the next (Fig 49). Behind these main streets shops of any kind were rare. Two lesser thoroughfares – Thirlmere Road (c1870) and Blessington Road (1880s) – served less affluent parts of the suburb; here, although a modest shop stood on practically every street corner, the intervening plots were mostly taken for ordinary houses. Most of the shops in the suburb would have served essentially local needs – provisions and domestic necessities of one sort or another – and consequently they are not lavish in appearance. All the shops in the suburb combined retail and domestic accommodation, the shopkeeper and his family living 'over the shop' in most cases. The most interesting buildings are perhaps those that illustrate the relationship between retailing and the warehousing of merchandise (Fig 50).

A number of the shops were dairies, which remind us of the importance of local milk supplies at a time when home refrigeration was



Figure 49 Continuous parades of shops line much of Oakfield Road whilst the side streets are uniformly residential. This row (the name Plas Buildings suggests a Welsh builder or owner) dates from 1904. [AA045068]



Figure 50 Nos 96, 98 and 100 Breckfield Road North, built c1885. No 100 (nearest), originally the premises of a bread-and-flour dealer named Richard Taylor, has a long taking-in slot in the left-hand wall for receiving goods on the upper floors. [AA045107]





not widely available. When the suburb was new and fringed with fields, local farms would have supplied milk but as the population grew and the countryside receded purpose-built town dairies sprang up. Now largely forgotten, town dairies provided fresh milk for local distribution drawn from cows kept in nearby cow-houses. These humble buildings were tucked away on the scraps of land least attractive to house builders, often triangular spaces remaining to the rear of houses following the laying out of an irregular parcel (Fig 51). Cow-keepers were not, on the whole, wealthy members of the community either, and their terraced houses seldom rise above the level of those they adjoin.

It requires an effort of the imagination to visualise the streets of Anfield and Breckfield as they would have appeared in the closing decades of the 19th century. The great majority of wage-earners would have worked outside the locality, and there would have been a considerable flow of people, mostly on foot, but some on trams and



Figure 51 (a) (opposite, left) 8 Attwood Street was built as a cow-keeper's house, mid-1880s; the cow-house roof is visible above the blue gate [AA045083]; (b) (opposite, right above) The word 'DAIRY' set prominently over the entrance. [DP027841]; (c) (opposite, right below) the 1:500 map (with the house and cow-house highlighted; the yard in a paler tone) shows how cow-houses typically occupied awkward spaces left over when laying out residential streets. [Reproduced from the 1891 Ordnance Survey map, surveyed 1890]

omnibuses, towards the city and the docks in the early morning, and back again in the evening. Children would have flocked to the three board schools. During the working day women, servants and the elderly would have been more conspicuous, buying the day's food. Many women, however, would have had paid work, and for them, and for many of their male counterparts, shopping for food and other items would have continued into the evening. Horses would have been much in evidence, drawing tradesmen's carts and the lighter equipages of wealthier residents, the iron-shod hooves and wheels resounding on the setts that paved the main thoroughfares and the rougher cobbles of the side streets. Cattle driven to and from the local cow-keepers' premises would have been a rarer but evocative sight, briefly recalling the sounds and smells of the countryside. The day would be punctuated by the deliveries of draymen and coal merchants, by the closing of many shops at lunchtime, by the noisy afternoon outpouring of schoolchildren and, in the evening, by the reconvening of family life and a variety of social, educational and sporting pursuits, some centring on the numerous pubs but many, for children at least, in the open street. Recreation, relaxation and spiritual nourishment dominated the short weekend, from Saturday afternoon (when football fixtures would be held) to Sunday evening.







## CHAPTER 5

### Anfield football ground

Most suburbs are a blend of the ordinary and the remarkable (Fig 53). Many, like Everton and Walton-on-the-Hill, have coalesced around an older village, giving rise to marked variations in character as one passes from the historic core, with its knot of early roads, vestiges of irregularly sited older buildings and perhaps a medieval church, to the regimented lines of 19th-century streets or the more spacious and fluid planning of the 20th century. Others can boast of some special feature or characteristic – a once-isolated country house and its grounds, a major municipal park, an institution of more than local repute, or a dramatic piece of topography which shapes the development of the landscape in exceptional ways. We have already seen how Stanley Park and Anfield Cemetery reflected the needs respectively of the wider locality, and of Liverpool as a whole. Anfield football ground, like its near-neighbour Goodison Park (*see* Fig 52), has the rare distinction of being known

Figure 52 (opposite) *The proximity of the Anfield and Goodison Park football grounds has its origins in the fierce dispute of 1892. Few readers will need to be told that the flash of red indicates Anfield (Liverpool FC) whilst blue distinguishes Goodison Park (Everton FC) in Walton-on-the-Hill. [NMR 17780/08]*



Figure 53 (right) *Anfield's terraced streets as seen from the steps of the Kop around 1960. The distant church spire is St Mary's, Kirkdale. [Len Humphries/ Liverpool Football Club]*

around the world, in name at least, to football's millions of followers. But the way in which its remarkable history is woven into the fabric of the surrounding area is much less well known (Fig 54).

The origin of Anfield football ground can be traced to the 1870s, when the population of Anfield and Breckfield was growing at an unprecedented rate and football was just emerging as the nation's premier sport – simultaneously a healthy pursuit for young men and a male spectator sport promising rich rewards to enterprising promoters. In the early days football appealed especially to the clerks and skilled workers with which Anfield and Breckfield abounded; unlike their unskilled counterparts these groups enjoyed the crucial privilege of a half-day on Saturdays, when fixtures were held. In 1878 the congregation at the St Domingo Methodist Chapel (demolished) on Breckfield Road North, a stone's throw from Everton, formed a team which played in Stanley Park. Such was its success that it rapidly outgrew the chapel community, adopting the non-denominational name of Everton Football Club in 1879.

When in 1883 Everton Football Club was asked to vacate Stanley Park, apparently because of the rowdiness of some supporters, the club's president, John Houlding (1833–1902), secured a stopgap venue in a field at Coney Green Farm on still-rural Priory Road. Houlding, the son of a cow-keeper from the Scotland Road district, worked as a young man for Clarkson's Brewery in Soho Street, Everton. Here he learned the skills needed to set up in business on his own account, acquiring a brewery in Tynemouth Street, off Breck Road, together with a string of public houses, and becoming known as the 'King of Everton'. An active trade unionist in his youth, Houlding became more conservative with growing prosperity and he served variously on the West Derby Board of Guardians (from 1877) overseeing the management of workhouses and other instruments of the Poor Law, as a Conservative Councillor for Everton and Kirkdale Ward (from 1884), and as Lord Mayor of Liverpool (1897–8), as well as contributing to philanthropic ventures. From 1876 he lived comfortably at Stanley House (Fig 55), an ostentatious newly built villa on Anfield Road, where in 1881 the census styled him 'brewer and builder' (he presumably built Houlding Street,





Figure 54 (opposite) *Buildings and places associated with the history of Everton and Liverpool Football Clubs.*

- 1 Everton Football Club, Goodison Park
- 2 Coney Green Farm, demolished
- 3 Stanley House
- 4 Liverpool Football Club, Anfield
- 5 Kemlyn Road, demolished 1992
- 6 Houlding Street
- 7 The Sandon public house (formerly Sandon Hotel), Oakfield Road
- 8 St Domingo Methodist Chapel, demolished
- 9 Tynemouth Street Brewery, demolished

*[This map is based upon Ordnance Survey material with the permission of Ordnance Survey on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office © Crown Copyright. Unauthorised reproduction infringes Crown Copyright and may lead to prosecution or criminal proceedings. English Heritage 100019088.2008]*

Anfield, c1890). In 1884 Houlding leased a field on Anfield Road from fellow brewers John and James Orrell. Had he not done so it would probably have been developed for housing within the next decade; instead the field formed the nucleus of the present Liverpool ground.

The first facilities for spectators were primitive. From an early date the new ground had 'a very humble stand on the east side for officials, members, press men and affluents' (the slang term for better-off supporters), who were thus insulated from the boisterousness of the ordinary match-goers. In 1886 Houlding commissioned George Rutherford, a local builder (possibly the joiner of that name living at 17 Faraday Street, Breckfield, in 1891), to replace the original stand backing onto Kemlyn Road with a narrow covered terrace extending the full length of the pitch, and to construct a further pavilion for about 300 'affluents' on the opposite side next to Lake Road. Some bench seating was provided in these pavilions. Two wooden open-air stands, raked or terraced for standing spectators, followed before the end of the decade: a smaller one at the south end and a larger one to the north, backing onto



Figure 55 Stanley House, 73 Anfield Road, home of John Houlding from 1876 (see also Fig 23).  
[DP027853]

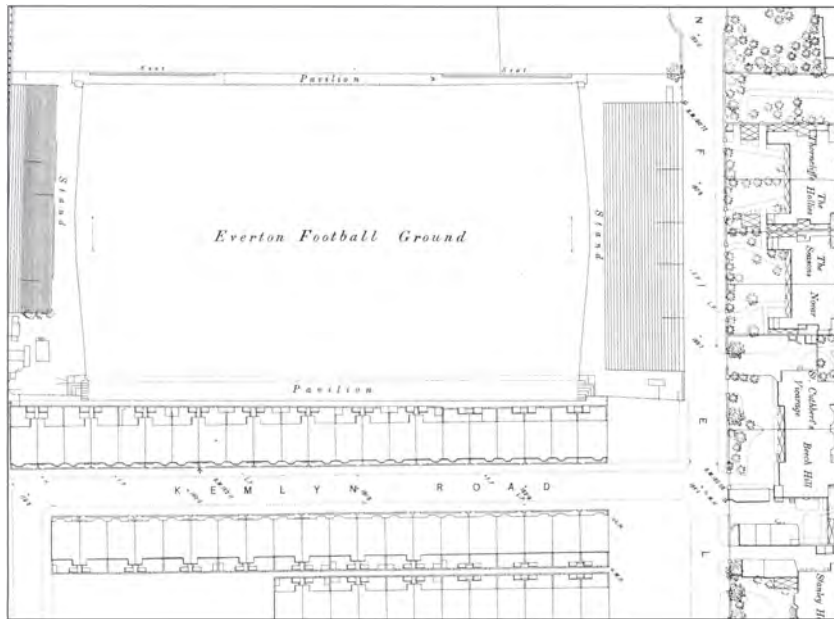


Figure 56 *The spartan facilities of the Anfield ground.*  
[Reproduced from the 1891 Ordnance Survey map,  
surveyed 1890]

Anfield Road (Fig 56). They improved the ordinary match-goer's view of the play dramatically, though not his protection from the weather. These facilities, capable of accommodating about 17,000 fans, largely filled the Orrells' field.

Organised football (in 1888 Everton became a founder member of the English Football League) has always been a mixture of passion and pragmatism: of the Corinthian spirit and fierce local loyalties on the one hand, and of professional players and hard-headed businessmen on the other. Houlding's rule was no exception. Professional players appeared in the team from 1885 and in 1890 the Glasgow Celtic player Dan Doyle was lured to Anfield by the offer of £5 per week and the tenancy of a local pub. For brewers and publicans the crowds of men who gathered to watch football on Saturday afternoons represented rich pickings and Houlding, who as Chairman of the Liverpool Brewers' Association once defended the sale of alcohol to children, ensured that only his own beer was sold on the club's premises. One of Houlding's pubs, the Sandon



Figure 57 *Houlding's Sandon Hotel (now The Sandon public house), Oakfield Road, as refaced c1930.*  
[DP056261]



Hotel on the corner of Oakfield Road and Houlding Street, provided the club's first offices and changing room (Fig 57). The links between football and beer must have troubled many in the Methodist community from which the club sprang.

In 1891, the first year in which Everton topped the league, Houlding bought the remaining undeveloped land to the south and west of the Anfield ground, proposed the setting up of a limited company and suggested that Everton should rent the land from him. But the offer provoked a storm and the majority of club members, led by George Mahon, the organist at St Domingo Methodist Chapel, voted early in

1892 to sever their connections with Houlding (Fig 58). Despite his best efforts, they took both the team's name and the bulk of the players with them, and built a new ground at Goodison Park in time for the new season. Everton Football Club has remained there – barely half a mile away – ever since (*see* Fig 52).

Houlding's response was to form the ambitiously named Liverpool Association Football Club, though strictly his ground lay just outside Liverpool until 1895. The new club prospered: admission to the League was gained the following year and in 1901, the year before Houlding died, the team were First Division champions. The growing popularity of the game, assisted by the increasingly universal adoption of Saturday half-day working, quickly outstripped the facilities erected in the 1880s. The land acquired to the west of the Orrells' field permitted the construction in 1894 of a new Main Stand for 3,000 spectators where the slender Lake Road Pavilion had stood, and in 1903 the Anfield Road stand was covered.

The alterations of 1894 and 1903, substantial though they were, failed to address the constriction along the east side, where the ground was hemmed in by the houses lining Kemlyn Road. In 1906 the radical step was taken of dismantling the 1894 Main Stand, repositioning the pitch 55ft (16.8m) to the west and building a new Main Stand to designs by Archibald Leitch (1865–1939), the leading football ground engineer of his day (Fig 59). Leitch employed the new ferro-concrete system of construction pioneered by the French engineer François Hennebique (1842–1921), and roofed the stand with metal trusses and galvanised corrugated sheeting, gracing the front with a central mock-Tudor 'eyebrow' gable. The old Main Stand was re-erected opposite, next to Kemlyn Road. Spoil made available by the building of a new tram route along nearby Arkles Lane allowed the level of the pitch to be raised, and Leitch banked up more spoil where the wooden South Stand once stood to create a huge new stand. Quickly christened Spion Kop, after a 1900 Boer War engagement in which several local regiments had suffered heavy losses, the new stand, which could hold nearly 30,000 supporters, more than doubled the ground's capacity (Fig 60).



Figure 58 John Houlding, the 'King of Everton', struggles to reconcile his brewing and football interests. This cartoon appeared in the *Liverpool Review* in 1892 as Houlding lost his grip on the Everton team. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries]

Figure 59 (opposite) One of Archibald Leitch's 1906 designs for the Anfield ground. The massive earthworks of the Kop dominate the south (left) end. Even after the pitch had been repositioned, the constriction caused by the houses on Kemlyn Road can be appreciated. [Liverpool Football Club]



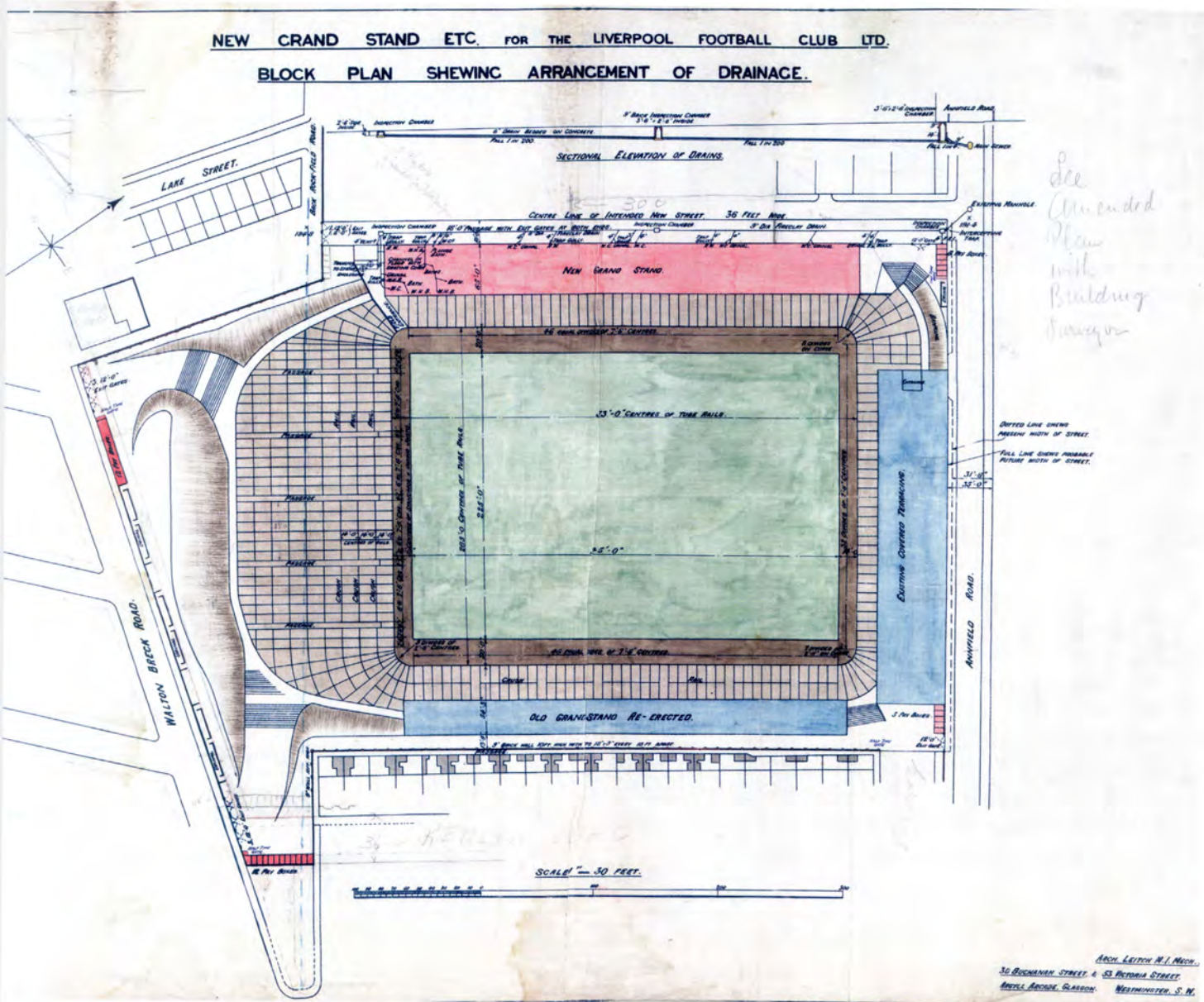




Figure 60 *This early photograph shows the Kop before it was roofed. [Liverpool Football Club]*

During the 20th century Leitch's work was gradually modified or replaced. Although he had prepared designs for a roof, the Kop remained exposed to the weather until 1928, when it was enclosed by art deco screen walls and roofed to a design by a Crosby architect, J Watson Cabré (Figs 61 and 62). The Kemlyn Road stand was rebuilt in 1963, and in 1992 the 42 terraced houses behind it were demolished to make way for offices, boardrooms and other facilities in the stand's shadow. Meanwhile in 1970 Leitch's Main Stand was reroofed, though the bulk of his work survived. The Kop, endeared to generations of supporters by its densely packed, standing-only camaraderie, survived longest, but in 1994, in the wake of the Taylor Report into the 1989 Hillsborough Disaster, it was swept away and replaced by the present all-seater stand (*see pp iv–v*).

Throughout the ground's history players (Fig 63) and supporters exercised a powerful yet ephemeral presence in the surrounding streets, and during the 20th century attendances grew to a colossal size. With the introduction of floodlighting in 1956 evening games became possible throughout the year, and from the 1960s international fixtures tempted



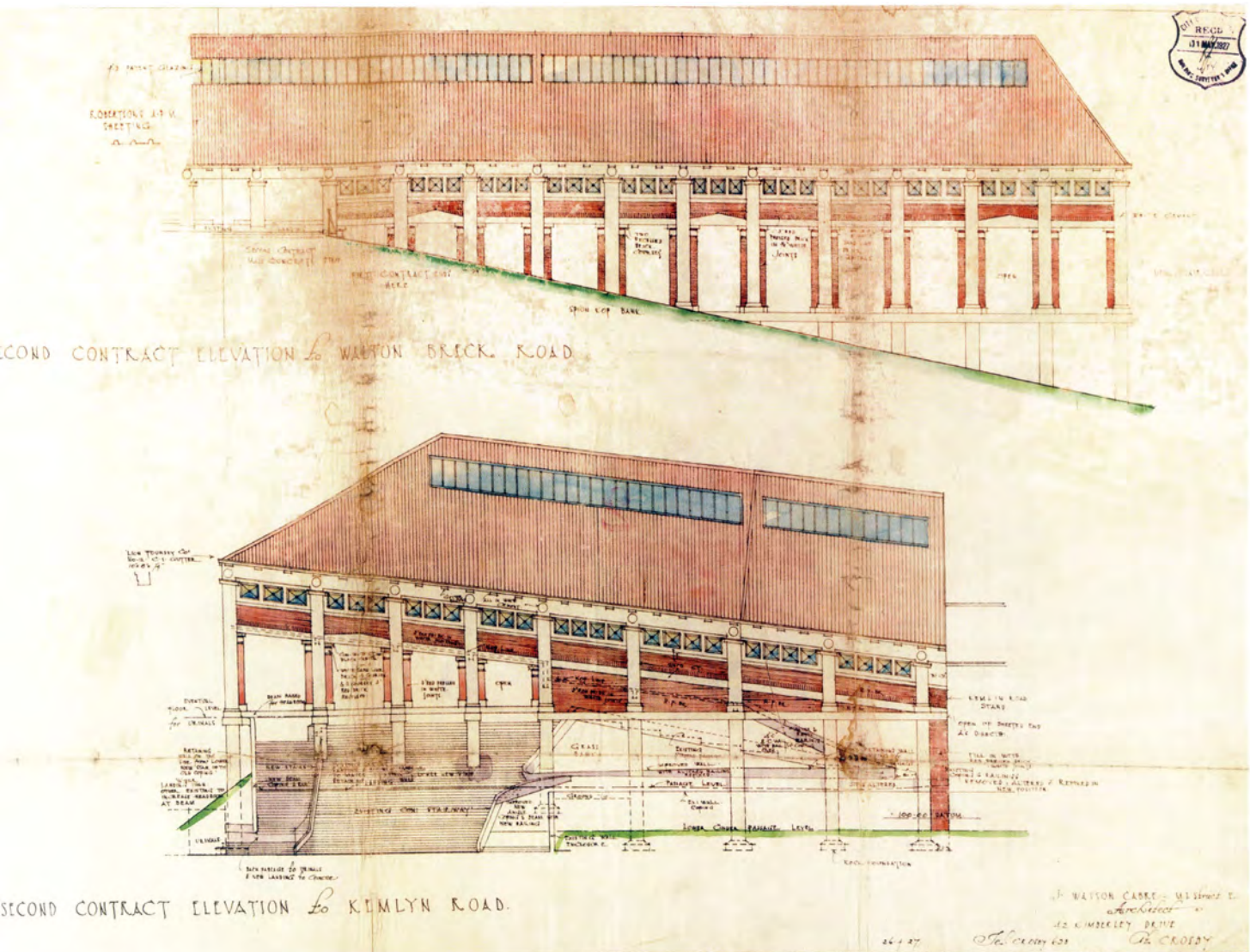


Figure 61 J Watson Cabré's design, dated 1927, for roofing the Kop. Remarkably, this drawing was recovered from a skip. [Liverpool Football Club]

## Liverpool Football Club.



(Sketch shows also the proposed Anfield Road New Stand).

### OPENING OF SPION KOP NEW STAND

— by —

The President of the English Football League, etc.,

JOHN McKENNA, Esq.

At 3-0 p.m. on SATURDAY, AUGUST 25th, 1928, prior to  
THE OPENING GAME—LIVERPOOL v. BURY.

Figure 62 *The Anfield ground as depicted in a 1928 programme celebrating the opening of the new roofed-over Kop. [Liverpool Football Club]*



Figure 63 *Liverpool FC players in Anfield Road during a training walk, 1936. Left to right: Ted Rogers, Jim McDougall, ?, E V Wright, Adolf Hanson and Ben Dabbs. [Liverpool Football Club]*



growing bands of foreign fans to Anfield. The ebb and flow of match-goers, liberated from work, high-spirited and attended by cohorts of police, added noise, colour and excitement to the neighbourhood (Fig 64), generated passing trade in pubs and shops, and attracted numerous street vendors who congregated around the half-time gates while matches were in progress. Paradoxically these regular bouts of commotion also gave a distinctive flavour to the tranquillity which descended once the roar from the stadium had subsided and the supporters had dispersed.

The football ground of today is an all-year-round place of pilgrimage. Football has generated its own mythology and the ground, hallowed by the reputations of distinguished players and managers, has become a kind of sacred spot, regardless of whether a match is in progress. A memorial pays tribute to the 96 Liverpool fans who died at Hillsborough; visitors pass through gates erected to the memory of Bob Paisley (manager, 1974–83) and beneath the statue of Bill Shankly (manager, 1959–74);



Figure 64 *A busy scene at the Kemlyn Road entrance, 1958, showing the top-mast of Brunel's SS Great Eastern (launched 1858), re-erected at the ground after the ship was broken up on the Mersey. [Liverpool Echo/Liverpool Football Club]*

in the museum they see trophies not unlike the treasures of a great cathedral and they are encouraged to relive those memorable club victories which are to football what miracles were to the early Church – powerful reaffirmations of faith.

Under plans approved in November 2007 the Anfield football ground will relocate to a corner of Stanley Park, taking us full circle to where Everton Football Club originated as a chapel team in Anfield some 130 years ago (Fig 65). The site of the old ground, adapted to commercial uses as Anfield Plaza, will create jobs and generate trade in the area while the building of the new 60,000-seat stadium on a less cramped site will provide enlarged state-of-the-art club facilities as well as securing the restoration of the remainder of Stanley Park.



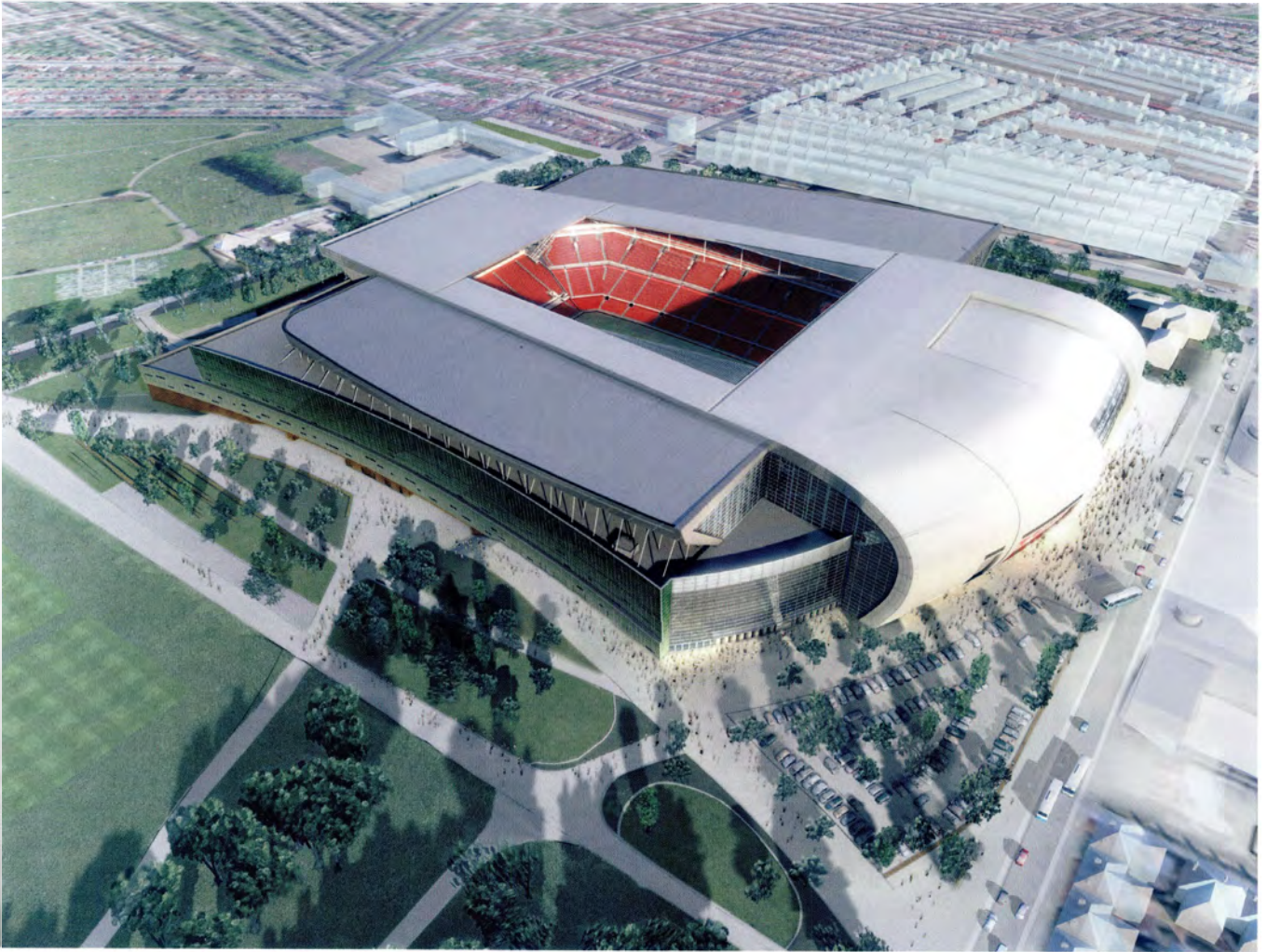


Figure 65 *A visualisation of the new Anfield Stadium, designed by Dallas-based HKS Architects. [Reproduced by kind permission of HKS Inc]*







## CHAPTER 6

### Decline and renewal

By 1900 those parts of Anfield and Breckfield that form the focus of this study had been almost entirely built up, forcing builders and developers to look further afield for new opportunities. Some minor infilling of small vacant plots occurred before the First World War after which the area entered upon a prolonged period of relative stability. The building stock was still recent and serviceable and the great themes of inter-war suburban development – the emergence of local authority housing and the rampant growth of private housing, both tending to reflect, however imperfectly, the garden suburb ideal – had only a minor impact on the area. Instead they occurred on the new rural fringe, in places such as Norris Green. Here, in stark contrast to the piecemeal development of Anfield and Breckfield, the existing landscape was erased and a geometrical pattern of residential streets laid out with no regard to the former field boundaries; from the outset the community was planned as a whole, with the requisite schools, churches and shops. In Anfield and Breckfield the most conspicuous additions of this era were public buildings such as the Gaumont Palace Cinema of 1931 (Fig 67) and small numbers of semi-detached houses built in the gaps among the

Figure 66 (opposite) *Tancred Road encapsulates Anfield's decline and the beginnings of renewal. Refurbishment in progress in 2008 after the houses had become derelict or damaged can be seen in this photograph. (See also Fig 72). [NMR 20747/09]*

Figure 67 (right) *The Gaumont Palace Cinema, Oakfield Road, built in 1931 to designs by Gray & Evans, was the second cinema on the site. It closed as a cinema in 1960. Previously the site was occupied by a training home and orphanage. [AA045067]*



uncompleted villa developments (Fig 68), the new houses in Oakfield (a villa development of the 1860s) being comparatively large and well-detailed examples of the type. There is a certain fitness in this sequence since despite considerable differences in style and proportion the 1930s 'semi' reflects many of the same aspirations as the mid-19th-century villa.

Although the school adjoining Holy Trinity Church was destroyed in an air raid in October 1940, Anfield and Breckfield were otherwise little marked by the enemy bombing which devastated large areas of central and dockside Liverpool during the Second World War. The slum-clearance programme of the post-war period likewise left the area unscathed, concentrating on less satisfactory housing, some of it pre-by-law, in the inner ring of 19th-century suburbs. The area nevertheless began to suffer a slow ebbing of fortunes. Post-war Liverpool shed jobs and population as the balance of British trade moved away from the old Atlantic and imperial economies towards closer ties with Europe, as liner passengers were seduced by the speed of air travel, as cargoes were containerised and as shipping was increasingly placed under foreign flags of convenience. In post-war England 'inner-city' suburbs like Anfield and Breckfield no longer conformed to expectations of what a suburb should provide – few of the houses possessed gardens, open space for recreation was limited to Stanley Park, and the housing stock appeared old-fashioned and in some instances cramped. At the same time generally rising prosperity and car ownership freed increasing numbers of better-off Liverpoolians to move out to more spacious suburbs, to satellite towns or to the countryside, some continuing to work in the city whilst others found new jobs elsewhere. This mini diaspora contributed to changing patterns of match attendance at Anfield as the pedestrian surges of early years were augmented by an influx of cars and coaches. Match attendance has continued to supply the area's many pubs with custom, as Houlding would have wished, but falling population and declining religious observance left many churches under-used and a number were demolished (Fig 69). By the mid-1960s many of the larger villas, intended for well-off Victorian households with their numerous children and servants, had already been subdivided and a handful had been replaced by blocks of flats (Fig 70). Since then the spread of the



Figure 68 *In St Ambrose Grove the few villas were succeeded by a long terrace on the opposite side of the street. In the 1930s semi-detached houses were built on the gardens of the existing villas. In the foreground the original cobbled surface of the street can be seen.* [DP027858]





Figure 69 (above) *The former Wesleyan Methodist Church on the corner of Oakfield Road and Walton Breck Road, photographed from the Kop c1970. At this time the area was still very largely intact and there are no obvious signs of impending decline. The site of the church is now occupied by a petrol filling station.*  
[Len Humphries/Liverpool Football Club]



Figure 70 (right) *Anfield Court, consisting of two blocks of flats, was built in the late 1950s on the grounds of a single villa (59 Anfield Road). The flats were demolished in 2007. [AA045490]*



Figure 71 Tancred Road: (a) when photographed in 2003 all 26 houses were empty and some were fire-damaged; (b) five years later refurbishment was well under way (see also Fig 66). [AA045481; DP056263]



supermarket and the advent of the retail park have deprived neighbourhood shops, already undermined by the faltering local economy, of a growing proportion of their trade. The cumulative effect of these changes has been to leave the commercial thoroughfares at the heart of the neighbourhood looking forlorn and uninviting, and to expose residential streets to the perils of low occupancy levels, dereliction, vandalism and arson.

The acutest period of decline in Anfield and Breckfield was within the last 30 years, and it occurred despite considerable efforts to counteract it (Figs 71 and 72; see also Fig 66). Throughout the area it is possible to identify a range of measures to adapt, improve, and in some cases renew, the housing stock and its setting. A few villas have found new uses as offices but some, including the whole of Ash Leigh and a number on Anfield Road, have been demolished. Many houses have been substantially rebuilt to counter physical deterioration and others,



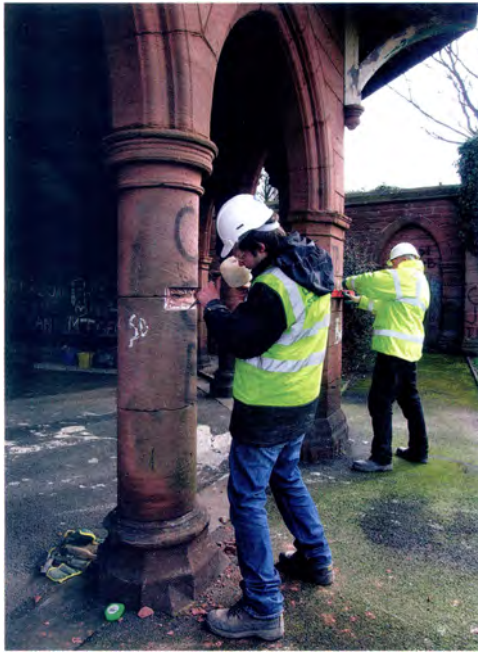
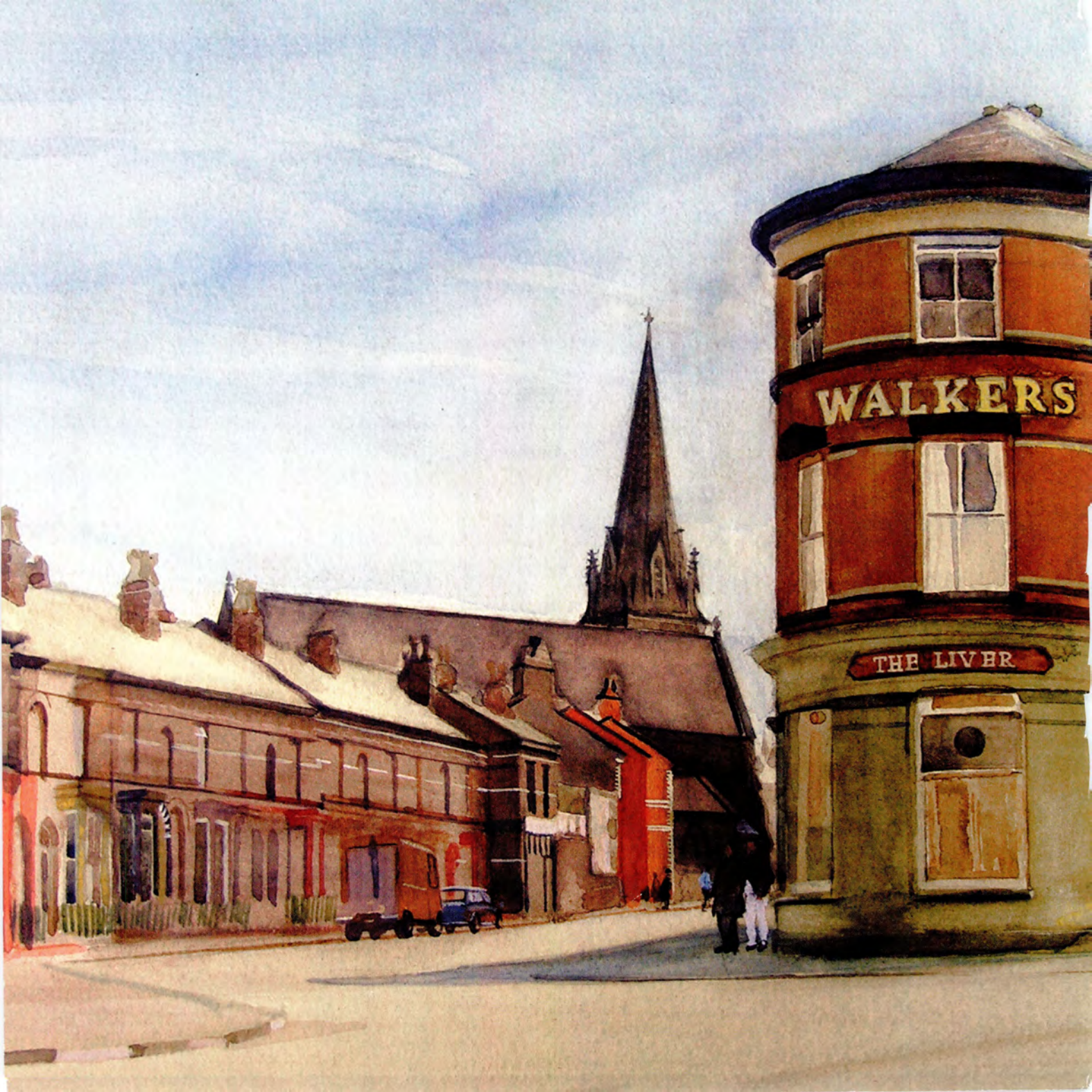


Figure 72 In 2007 the restoration of Stanley Park commenced following many years of decline. Masons restore one of Robson's original park shelters. [DP056262]

including some in Skerries Road, have been attractively refurbished to meet modern needs and aspirations. In a few areas houses have been demolished to build lower-density housing with gardens and off-road parking, or bungalows for the elderly. Some of the earliest terraced streets, for example, including Fowler Street, Hunt Street and Bulwer Street, were cleared to make way for Harding Close, a scheme of houses with gardens surrounding a large sheltered housing unit. Traffic-free open spaces have been created for children along Thirlmere Road and elsewhere through selective demolition. Streets serving purely local needs have been calmed by restricting access or laying down speed humps, particularly the long sloping streets between Breckfield Road North and Oakfield Road. Most of the back alleys or 'jiggers', which had become conduits for criminal and anti-social activity, have been gated, and access restricted to adjoining householders. The investment – both public and private – which these schemes represent is considerable but the underlying social and economic problems have proved intractable.

This study has been undertaken at a time when Anfield and Breckfield stand on the brink of momentous change. Other parts of Liverpool, Merseyside and a string of towns and cities in the English Midlands and the North are similarly affected by pockets of low housing demand. They are currently the subject of Housing Market Renewal Initiatives, established locally with government backing to oversee the regeneration of these areas through a mixture of demolition of surplus housing, refurbishment of existing housing for modern needs, the provision of new housing and investment in public realm improvements. Opinions on the merits of this approach are sharply divided, but there is less disagreement on the need for action of some kind. A fundamental precondition for the responsible and effective management of change in ways that affect people's lives so profoundly is an understanding of what the historic environment, in its present form, has to offer the future – of what it can contribute to the regeneration of *places*.







## CHAPTER 7

# Understanding historic suburbs

This book has been concerned up to now with the history and character of one small area of Liverpool's extensive suburbs. Many other areas in Liverpool and elsewhere are of comparable interest and would amply repay the effort invested in researching their history. An understanding of the environment in which we live or work, or in which we or our forebears grew up, heightens our sense of place, allows us to appreciate and celebrate its best or most distinctive features, and may make us passionate in their defence. This knowledge need not be the rarefied preserve of academics and professionals. Indeed 'local history' has always been enriched by the dedication and intimate knowledge of local people. Once derided by the academic community, local history has made a serious contribution to research in recent decades, yielding detailed insights capable of sharpening our understanding of wider historical trends and arguably helping to democratise the study of history itself. The concluding section of this book sets out some of the ways in which anyone with the inclination to do so can learn more about the suburb of his or her choice. All that is required is an inquisitive outlook and perseverance.

There are two main paths to understanding a suburb. One is to look at the suburban landscape itself – at the buildings, streets and other spaces of which it is composed and at the patterns which they create. The other is to make use of a variety of published and unpublished visual and documentary sources, many of which are easily consulted in local studies libraries and record offices (Fig 73). Looking at the landscape (commonly called 'fieldwork'), we see what has survived, and we see clues which help us to picture some, but not all, of what has been lost. We may be able to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge by looking at the documents. These are particularly good at populating the landscape with real people, but even so they can offer no more than a series of snapshots over time, so inevitably there will be much that is untold here as well. The two approaches are complementary, however, and progress in one will usually allow more to be made of the other.

Before embarking on a study it is important to consider what you hope to know at the end of the process. If you simply want to know, in broad terms, when the suburb came into being, which parts emerged first, which at a later date, and what kind of landscape they replaced, then

Figure 73 *Frank Green, a local artist, has documented many buildings and street scenes in Anfield and Breckfield, often prompted by impending change. This detail of a watercolour, painted in 1971, shows the former Liver Hotel at the junction of Robson Street and Beacon Lane. The houses in Robson Street (left) survive, but St Cuthbert's Church (1875–7), the hotel and Beacon Lane have disappeared. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries LIC521]*

maps may provide all that is needed. If, however, you are interested in finding out who financed development, who built the houses, who occupied them and how they made their livings, a further range of documentary sources will be required. If you wish to know in detail how streets and buildings developed, how people used the buildings, how the social and economic status of occupants was reflected in the architectural character of their houses and how much of the past has survived in today's suburb, it will certainly be necessary to examine the physical landscape as well.

Even a cursory assessment of the suburb will benefit greatly from the evidence embodied in its buildings, streets and open spaces. By looking around us we can identify which kinds of building the suburb contains and the extent to which the housing is interspersed with commercial, institutional and industrial buildings. We may be able to identify particular zones where one or more non-residential categories of building are concentrated, or where houses of a particular type are found. Many building types are readily identifiable in the field from characteristic features or arrangements. Even without looking inside buildings it is usually possible to understand their internal arrangement in some detail simply by drawing inferences from the positions of doors, windows, chimneys, external plumbing and so on. On a map, by contrast, they may only appear as so many undifferentiated shapes. We will get a clearer sense of the varied scale (vertically as well as horizontally), density and setting of the buildings and whether these variations are the result of deliberate contrivance – to emphasise the setting of a public building, for example – or the accidental consequence of piecemeal development. The occurrence of date-stones, coupled with some knowledge of architectural styles, will help to plot the chronological development of the suburb, but other signs, such as straight masonry joints and blocked openings, will alert us to the fact that many buildings have been altered since they were first built. The degree of architectural ornament will prompt questions about the relative status of different streets, while the choice or arrangement of ornamental features may serve to associate scattered groups of buildings, since these features sometimes have the quality of a builder's signature. It will also begin to be apparent which are the



characteristic features and motifs of buildings of a particular type and date, and whether these features survive in abundance or have been extensively eroded.

The most practical way to gather field data is through a combination of photography and note-taking. A printed pro-forma sheet, the headings serving as *aides-memoire*, helps with consistency of approach, especially if more than one person is involved. The headings you adopt will depend on your interests and what you hope to achieve, so it is worth trialling a pro-forma before finalising it. But since not everything can be reduced easily to regimented headings, it is also important to leave space for unstructured notes. Some buildings will call for one pro-forma apiece, but where there is considerable uniformity a group – sometimes a whole street – may be covered. To accompany each pro-forma a single photograph may be all that is needed, but where possible front and rear views will provide a fuller picture and sometimes representative or unusual details will warrant further photographs. A similar approach can be adopted to other landscape features. It is also worth considering which photographs – general views, street scenes, etc – will best convey the overall character of an area. Aerial photographs literally give an overview – the National Monuments Record in Swindon has a huge public collection of recent and historic shots. It is likely that you will take quite a large number of photographs (with digital photography this need not be expensive) and to avoid confusion later it is important to keep a contemporaneous log of addresses or subjects.

A basic source for any research in the history of suburbs will be historic maps (Fig 74). Comparing the present-day landscape with progressively older maps – an exercise known as map regression – allows us to chart the physical growth of the built-up area and the impact of subsequent changes, as well as to identify features which may have been lost or radically altered, and elements of the pre-suburban landscape which have shaped its evolution. Large-scale maps (at a scale of 6in to one mile or greater) are of most use since they permit individual buildings to be distinguished. Before the middle of the 19th century large-scale cartography was the preserve of professional surveyors who made estate maps for private clients, surveyed parishes or townships for administrative purposes such as enclosure or

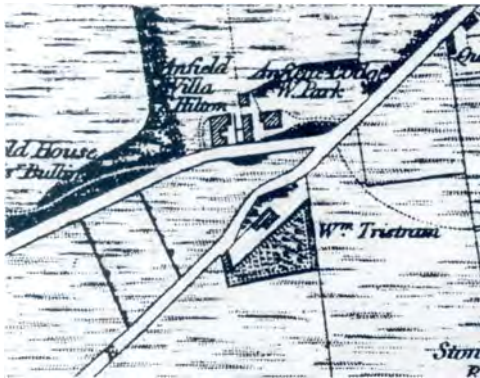


Figure 74 Detail from Jonathan Bennison's Map of the Town and Port of Liverpool, with their Environs, 1835. Anfield and Breckfield are shown as a mixture of farmland and villa properties. The occupants of the principal houses are given. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries]

tithe apportionment, or produced town plans with a view to publication and sale. Their maps vary considerably in accuracy, scope and level of detail, but they are always worth examining and most will be available in local studies libraries or record offices. The most comprehensively available large-scale maps are those published by the Ordnance Survey from the 1840s onwards (*see* Fig 10). Coupled with the magnificent town plans (at scales up to 1:500), these depict a greater range of detail than all but the very best productions of independent surveyors, but the interval between successive editions may amount to many years. For example Lancashire, to which Liverpool belonged until 1874, was the first county to benefit from six-inch mapping, with Liverpool and its environs being surveyed between 1845 and 1849, but Anfield and Breckfield had to wait until 1890 for the first maps at the larger scales of 1:2,500 and 1:500 to be surveyed. Other maps may help to fill in the gaps (Fig 75), though one effect of the Ordnance Survey's massive programme of large-scale mapping was to reduce very considerably the opportunities for professional surveyors in this field.



Figure 75 Directories often contain street maps which give an indication of the progress of suburban development. This example, from Gore's Liverpool Directory, 1881, shows that many streets were only partially built up and some had yet to be developed. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries]



Figure 76 Houses built on the former grounds of Bronte House were named after a series of architects: George Frederick Bodley (1827–1907), William Butterfield (1814–1900), George Goldie (1828–87), Edward Paley (1823–95) and William Eden Nesfield (1835–88) – or possibly his father, landscape architect William Andrews Nesfield (1793–1881). There are numerous similar clusters of themed street names in Anfield and Breckfield. [AA045555]



Maps allow us to visualise the layout and, depending on the map scale, the plot sizes and plan-types of an area. Much may be deduced from the ways in which streets and boundaries relate to each other, whilst place names and street names contain many clues to their origins (Figs 76 and 77). But maps generally show only the two-dimensional layout of the suburb; most large-scale maps do not even include contours, which help us to visualise the lie of the land. To see what it actually looked like, and to glimpse the emotional response of past generations, we turn to the work of topographical artists and photographers. Actuated by the prospect of change, writers, artists and photographers often record features of antiquarian interest or picturesque appeal (Fig 78; *see also* Figs 4, 12, 18, 24a, 41a and 73), and sometimes they document building work in progress. Much of their work can be found in local galleries, museums and libraries, though items scattered further afield can be hard to locate. Local newspapers sometimes printed detailed accounts of the opening of major buildings and many have generated extensive photographic archives.



Figure 77 The Salisbury public house, Granton Road (built 1880s), commemorates Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury (1830–1903) and Conservative prime minister for three terms between 1885 and 1902, whose family owned a series of fields (on one of which Salisbury Road was laid out c1880) stretching from Walton Breck Road to Breckfield Road North. Building and street names are essential clues to understanding the development of the suburban landscape. [AA045080]

Directories are another invaluable source, helping us to relate the physical form of an area – the size, type, elaboration and density of houses and other features – to the social and economic composition of the neighbourhood at different dates. Trade directories were produced for some major towns in the 18th century, and during the 19th century coverage extended to every town and village in the land. Liverpool's earliest directory appeared in 1766 and *Gore's Liverpool Directory*, which first appeared the following year, appeared more or less every two years

from 1805. Directories were commercial publications and their contents reflect what was judged to be commercially useful information at the time. Early suburbs, often beyond the municipal boundaries of the day, were at first poorly served. The initial almost exclusive emphasis on merchants and professional people gradually expanded to include lesser tradesmen, craftsmen, churchmen, public and private officials, and private individuals above a certain social level. By the late 19th century coverage of a large city such as Liverpool was comprehensive enough to include a substantial proportion of the working-class population, but the very poor make only sporadic appearances. The ways in which the information was presented also proliferated over time. Early trade directories listed individuals alphabetically and gave rudimentary addresses, usually no more than the street in which the individual's business was located. Later examples also grouped the names by occupation, allowing the distribution of trades and industries to be plotted much more easily, and in addition, in the larger towns and cities, listed them street by street. These street directories usually allow the occupants of individual houses to be quickly and confidently identified, though changes to street numbering can cause problems. Even at their most complete, however, directories normally list only the head of the household; other household members – including many elderly people, wives, children, lodgers and servants – rarely appear.

For a more developed understanding of the social composition of households, streets and areas, the records of the national census are invaluable. Since 1801 the census has been taken by Government every ten years except in 1941, but the information recorded before 1841 was too brief to be of much assistance for this kind of research. Moreover, detailed census returns remain confidential for 100 years, so the latest census currently available for use is that of 1901. The ease with which census information can be confidently related to individual buildings varies, but where this objective is achieved a much more rounded picture of life in the Victorian suburb emerges. But to understand how people felt about their own environment in the past the most fruitful approaches will be through oral history (for recent decades) or the more intimate records left behind in diaries and journals, such as the diary of David Brindley in 1880s Everton (*see* References and further reading).



Figure 78 This watercolour by F Beattie shows Broadbent's cottages (*see* Fig 24a) as they appeared in 1911 – shortly before they were demolished. Unlike the Magenis view and the various map representations, Beattie's suggests that the cottages were stone built – a comparative rarity in the area. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, Beattie Collection 96]





Figure 79 19 Kemlyn Road, part of a whole street of 1880s houses photographed by Liverpool Corporation prior to demolition for the enlargement of Anfield football ground. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries 352 HOU 111-9]

Other record types yield more detailed information on individual properties. Property deeds are concerned essentially with ownership, including leases, rather than occupation. Often still in private hands, they may extend as far back in time as the original development of the suburb, providing clues to who was actively involved in the development process, and they may recite deeds going back still further, shedding light on the pre-suburban landscape. They rarely state exactly when streets were laid out or buildings erected, but they will often point to a limited span of years during which the land was developed.

Local authority records are often extensive. Rate books survive for many towns, sometimes from before the 19th century. They record occupancy and rateable value on an annual basis and sometimes give telling details about the size and nature of the property being assessed. From the mid-19th century onwards many local authorities photographed buildings (Fig 79), including slum properties earmarked for demolition. Building control plans were required by local authorities to ensure that new buildings, and certain alterations to existing ones, met the standards enshrined in building by-laws, the precursors of modern building regulations. Different authorities made them mandatory at different times, but generally large towns and cities, where the problems caused by sub-standard buildings aroused most alarm, were quickest to adopt the practice. The resulting records typically consist of floor plans, drainage plans, sections and elevations. The name of the architect or builder, as well as the owner, often appears either on the drawings or in the register recording their deposition, together with the date of submission and the date of approval. Building control plans are an invaluable indication of an architect's or builder's declared intention, though the existence of approved plans does not guarantee that the building concerned was actually constructed, nor, if it was, that it adhered in all particulars to the deposited plans. The survival of these documents is erratic and sadly those for Liverpool appear, with a handful of exceptions, to be lost (Fig 80). Many other local authority records, including those concerned with public health and public institutions such as schools, are potentially valuable, as are church records.

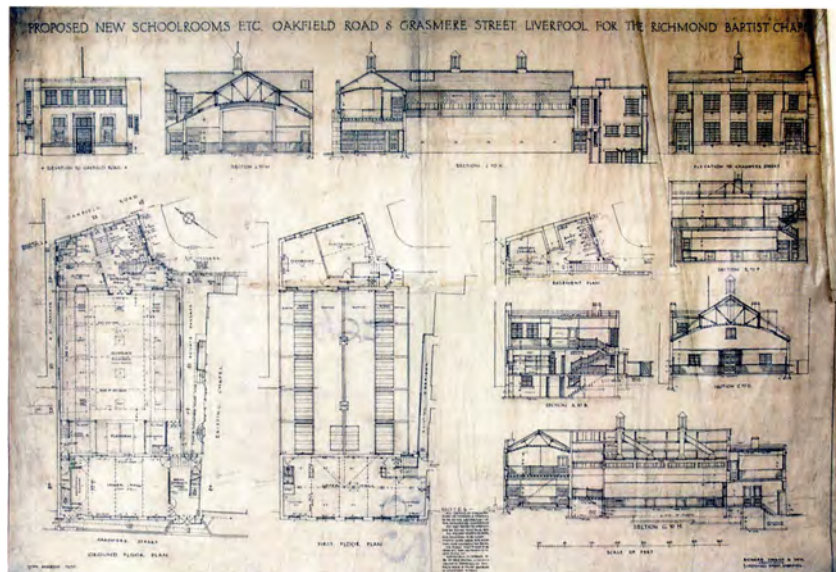


Figure 80 *These designs by Richard Owens & Son for a new Sunday school behind the Richmond Baptist Chapel, dated 17 March 1930, are typical of the drawings deposited for the purposes of building control. In Liverpool, sadly, such drawings are scarce. [Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, Measured drawings, M720WDL-13-2-19]*

Except where very small areas are being studied it is unlikely that all of the sources described here will be fully exploited. The sheer quantity of available information is vast, and consulting sources can be very time consuming. The most pragmatic approach will often be to examine them with particular questions in mind once you have built up a preliminary impression of the main lines of development (Figs 81 and 82). Merely describing the sources available for study does not, of course, reveal how we come to an understanding of the historical evolution, form and character of historic suburbs. The gathering of field and documentary evidence needs to be followed by careful analysis if its full potential is to be realised. There is a real danger that the accumulation of facts may obscure the main threads of the narrative; much better to concentrate on identifying patterns in the data and explaining their causes and meanings. Existing studies of other areas will often suggest fruitful approaches.

A useful and widely applicable technique is that of 'sampling'. Your initial analysis (using maps, fieldwork and existing histories) will have charted the main lines of chronological development and geographical variations in the character of the area. You may wish to know how and why these patterns have emerged, and what they meant for those whose lives were shaped by them. Ask yourself which are the key developments – they may be pioneering, or typical of a particular





Figure 81 (left) *The wall dividing St David's Road from Stonehill Avenue poses an obvious question – why was it built? The development of different parcels of land by different owners left an earlier property boundary intact, but its retention in the form of a high brick wall is probably a deliberate form of social segregation: the houses in St David's Road, with their bay windows, are of a higher class than those in Stonehill Avenue. [DP027857]*



Figure 82 (right) *Sybil Road, part of a series of streets named after the novels of Benjamin Disraeli, also demands answers. Why are the houses two-storeyed on one side of the road and three-storeyed on the other? Is it because the market for larger houses here was changing in the 1880s? [AA045483]*

period, or special for one reason or another – and look for the examples that best help you to understand them. Well-preserved or well-documented examples are especially valuable and if examined carefully will often provide the answers you need without having to probe every instance in detail. You will then be able to make cautious generalisations about the wider picture.

Finally, having established the origins and development of the area it is helpful to consider the significance and value of what survives. This is inevitably a subjective exercise but it should be an important consideration in determining the future of the area. For some, notions of historical and architectural importance will be a touchstone. Buildings may be protected by placing them on the Statutory List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest provided they meet certain national criteria, but buildings of only local significance can now be formally acknowledged in local development frameworks through the compilation of 'local lists'. Other people will champion aesthetic considerations, which may in part reflect the present state of repair of properties; others again may see value only in those things that demonstrably fulfil a local need, or which can be restored to beneficial use at reasonable cost. One way of exploring the diversity of local opinion is to ask a number of people each to photograph the ten buildings that matter most to them and to explain the reasons for their choices. Reconciling not only these points of view but those of planners,

developers, employers and visitors can be difficult, but a number of questions may bring matters into focus. How did the area evolve? Is everything that survives of much the same date or can phases of development be identified? What is the significance of the various phases of evolution? What types of building and open space does the area exhibit and how are they arranged? Are the resulting landscapes commonplace or unusual? Do they survive much as designed or have they been extensively altered, and are any alterations of interest in their own right? Which elements (building types, materials, stylistic motifs, etc) are distinctive of the locality? Which individual features or buildings are important to illustrate the area's development or preserve its character and to what extent is their importance dependent upon the physical context of neighbouring buildings or spaces? Which buildings and spaces do people enjoy for the contribution they make to the local scene? Which might meet the same test with appropriate investment and refurbishment? Are there buildings which might be lost with no detriment to the area?

Finally, make your findings known through community engagement, publication (traditional or web-based), deposit in a local library, talks to local societies and so on. Sound research and well-documented community views should be vital considerations in decision-making when changes to the character of an area are proposed. Change is inevitable, and often desirable, but change that recognises the value of what is already there and of what the past may yet contribute to the future is more likely to lead to the creation of sustainable communities – of places where people want to live and work, places that they will feel pride in. As in our lives, so in the places we inhabit, a sense of identity, rooted in knowledge of where we have come from and what has shaped us, is invaluable.

This book is not the product of exhaustive research or detailed surveys. Instead it is an illustration of what can be achieved relatively quickly by examining a range of physical and documentary source materials with particular questions in mind. The intention has been to demonstrate the interest and complexity of an apparently ordinary suburb, elucidating the meaning of a half-forgotten historic landscape, exploring its significance and prompting debate about its value in the future.



## Notes

- 1 Treble 1971, 188
- 2 Picton 1875, **II**, 332
- 3 Parrott 1897, 7
- 4 Burnett 1980, 74
- 5 *The Porcupine*, 11 May 1878, 89
- 6 *The Porcupine*, 11 May 1878, 89
- 7 *Kipps*, Book III, ch 1, section 2



## References and further reading

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## Map of Anfield and Breckfield today, showing principal streets and selected buildings

### KEY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 Site of Methodist Chapel  | 24 Former dairy, 264 Walton Breck Road                               |
| 2 The King Harry Hotel  | 25 Former dairy behind 142 St Domingo Vale                           |
| 3 Former dairy, 8 Attwood Street                                      | 26 Site of St Domingo Methodist Chapel                               |
| 4 The Stanley public house  | 27 Site of Douglas Road Methodist Chapel                             |
| 5 Site of St Cuthbert's Church  | 28 All Saints' Roman Catholic Church                                 |
| 6 Venice Street Schools   | 29 Site of All Saints' Roman Catholic Chapel and School              |
| 7 Former dairy, 58-60 Venice Street                                   | 30 Good News Mission, 27 Oakfield                                    |
| 8 The Albert public house   | 31 Oakfield Methodist Church, former Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Church |
| 9 The Park Hotel  | 32 The Oakfield public house   |
| 10 Crete Hall, former Free Welsh Church                               | 33 The Midden public house   |
| 11 Site of Anfield Wesleyan Methodist Chapel                          | 34 Cabbage Hall public house   |
| 12 The Salisbury public house   | 35 Former Post Office  |
| 13 Former dairy, 95 Granton Road                                      | 36 Holy Trinity Church   |
| 14 Site of Granton Road Schools                                       | 37 Site of Holy Trinity Church School                                |
| 15 Gaumont Palace Cinema, site of earlier orphanage                   | 38 Rawdon Library  |
| 16 Temple of Praise, former Oakfield Road English Presbyterian Church | 39 The Old Barn public house   |
| 17 Former dairy, 19 Hawkesworth Road                                  | 40 The George public house   |
| 18 The Arkles public house  | 41 Richmond Baptist Church and Sunday School                         |
| 19 Site of St Simon's and St Jude's Church                            | 42 The Breck public house  |
| 20 Site of Tabernacle Mission Hall                                    | 43 The Windermere public house (formerly Windermere Hotel)           |
| 21 Former County Police Station                                       |  |
| 22 Anfield Road Schools   |  |
| 23 The Breckside public house   |  |

Back cover  
Decorative swag tablet in Butterfield Street.  
[DP027840]



