In the Footsteps of Peter Ellis

Robert Ainsworth
& Graham Jones

Architect of Oriel Chambers and 16 Cook Street, Liverpool
Since Oriel Chambers gained Grade I listed status, 16 Cook Street achieved Grade II*, and they became world famous, a tradition has grown up that very little else is known of their architect Peter Ellis (1805 – 1884).

Using the vast resources of the Liverpool Record Office and the library of the Liverpool Athenaeum, and supplemented with material from other key sources, particularly the Liverpool Mercury, the authors follow Peter’s journey through life, tracing his upbringing, his career, and his marriage to Mary Helen Syers, and identifying a number of their relations. They revisit the various places where Peter lived and worked and consider other buildings, inventions and professional matters with which he was concerned.

Archive pictures, photographs, maps and historical accounts of the 19th century Liverpool with which Peter Ellis was familiar have been carefully brought together and interwoven with photographs of those locations in the 21st century city.

The result is a fascinating story with lots of surprises. If you thought that history had left little memory of Peter other than his two famous buildings and wished you knew more, you will find this book a delightful revelation.
# In the Footsteps of Peter Ellis

**Architect of Oriel Chambers and 16 Cook Street, Liverpool**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 9</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 10</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 11</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 12</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postscript</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographies</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

Although Peter Ellis is now known in architectural circles the world over as a pioneer in the method of construction of office buildings which later would lead to American skyscrapers, this is not a book on architecture.

It is the history of Peter himself, the story of a man born 1st August 1805 at Shaw's Brow, and who died 20th October 1884 at Falkner Square, having lived to see the town of Liverpool become a city.

It is perhaps a book for the many people who came to know of Peter Ellis through the account of his work by Quentin Hughes in his marvellous book Seaport (‘every town needs this kind of poem’ had written one reviewer), and who were saddened to learn that the design of Oriel Chambers was so ahead of its time that Peter was ridiculed by the architectural press of the day and that his career may have suffered badly as a consequence. Our account of Peter’s life suggests that this concern can be laid to rest.

Our story traces Peter’s upbringing and his marriage to Mary, and identifies a number of their relations; it looks at the various stages of his career, and revisits the places where he lived and worked to see how they have changed between his time there and the present day; it identifies several other buildings for which he was the architect – both before and after his two famous offices – and illustrates other professional matters with which Peter was concerned as a valuer, surveyor and civil engineer. And, in the very last year of Peter’s life, we will discover an intriguing entry in Gore’s Liverpool Directory.
The Water Street entrance to Oriel Chambers, October 2010.

The plaques either side of the doorway read:

on the left hand side: ‘Oriel Chambers 1864. Peter Ellis Architect. Pioneer in the use of prefabricated structural units in cast iron.’

Chapter 2
From Gloucester Street to Low Hill

Four years after the Ellis family’s arrival at Primrose Hill, and with construction of the courts well advanced (half of them had entered Gore’s 1811 street listing), although the 1811 directory lists the family as still there, the record of the birth of John Ellis to Peter and Ann shows that they must have moved during that year, for John was born on 20th August 1811 and baptised on 15th September 1811, also at St John, Haymarket, where the entry reads ‘John s. of Peter and Ann Ellis, joiner, Gloucester Street’ (LRO microfilm ref. 283 JOH 1/1). The next directory, that for 1813, indicates that Peter Ellis senior, entered as joiner and flour dealer in the earlier directories, had by then discontinued his involvement with the flour trade. Charles Ellis perhaps was a relative, being listed in the directories between 1790 and 1811 as a flour dealer with a flour warehouse at 1 Old Ropery, off Fenwick Street.

When Peter’s family arrived at Gloucester Street in 1811 it must have been at the very earliest stages of construction for, a century later, it was Charles Hand’s understanding that, ‘Gloucester Street, although projected in 1802, was not built upon until 1814.’

Thus Peter Ellis senior appears to have moved there in order to be on site and fully involved in the development from the outset, just as he had done at Primrose Hill. By 1824, shortly after the Ellis family had departed, Baines’ Directory shows the street as being numbered from 1 to 94, whilst Michael Gage’s 1835 plan (fig. 2,1) shows that it had been constructed east-west from Copperas Hill to Lime Street.

2.1. A detail from Gage’s plan showing the development of Gloucester Street by 1835 with the ‘Intended Entrance to the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Tunnel’ marked on Lime Street. The location of this area within the town is identified on the map on p. iv by the letter E. Private collection.
By 1931 Michael O’Mahony was commenting that

‘Whatever Low Hill looks like to-day, it doesn’t look like a place with a past; and yet its story can be traced to a time anterior to the Danish occupation in England... The air being pure and salubrious, roses once flourished luxuriously round the thatched eaves of the Low Hill cottages. Indeed, up to 1820, and long after, where modernity now spells itself so emphatically in Low Wood Street and Holborn Street, stretched the green vistas of Stringfellow’s Nursery. Building on the hill came slowly, though a large stone quarry, open to Prescot-street, stood on the spot where the bridewell is erected. Near the northern side of this delf was a small building shaped like a summer-house, called “Rats’ Castle”... Harper Street commemorates Mr. Harper, whose house stood in a large garden opposite Phythian Street. Close to his garden was a deep well which was at one time open to the public. The inmates of Low Hill Workhouse used, by crossing through a passage cut in the rock from the opposite side of the street, to draw water from this well.’

2.13. ‘Liverpool from Low Hill’ ca. 1790, copied by W. G Herdman from a scene looking west by McMorland. Private collection.

2.14. Liverpool from Low Hill in 2012, looking west from Holborn Street, corresponding to the position and direction in fig. 2.13.

2.15. An undated watercolour entitled ‘Harrison’s “Rats’ Castle” or “Rats’ Tower”, Low Hill.’ Image courtesy of the LRO, ref. Herdman Collection 1414.
The precise site of Peter’s office – occupied today by a building in which the ground floor is a casino – can still be identified through its being opposite Heathfield Street (currently clinging onto its existence in the face of redevelopment between its Renshaw Street and Bold Street ends). Standing on the spot where his office was once located and looking around him today, Peter would find almost everything utterly changed. The sole survivor of his time – though only just – at the southern end of Renshaw Street is the ruin of St Luke’s Church where, as will be seen, two of Peter’s brothers were married. James Picton commented that the church was, ‘generally considered the crowning point of Liverpool ecclesiastical architecture,’ but then rather spoilt it by adding that, ‘as an original composition, it must be pronounced a failure’ (Memorials, vol. II, p. 242). Quentin Hughes more charitably described it as being of ‘a rather loveable cardboard Gothic design of the two Fosters, father and son’, noting also what must have been on the cards in 1964 as part of the Shankland Plan, but from which the city was spared: ‘The ruined nave, the fine cast-iron gates and railings and the regular flower-beds of trained ivy may soon go to make way for the elevated motorway...’

An important event whilst Peter was at Renshaw Street will be mentioned in chapter 5 and, during this period in his early career, archive material enables us now to follow a little of the lives of two of his brothers. Although the directory for 1835 shows members of the Ellis family – Peter senior (and an invisible Ann), Peter junior, John and Robert – still resident at Gloucester Place (fig. 3.23), the three brothers had no doubt become somewhat distracted from concentrating on work and home life with thoughts of their beloved Mary (though fortunately not the same one).
Chapter 4

The road to Everton Village

Mary Helen Syers was born on the 16th of February 1811 and baptised at St Anne’s Church, Richmond, on the 17th of April of the same year (fig. 4.1).

Her parents were listed as William Syers, merchant, and Margaret his wife of Rose Hill, which in those days ran into Richmond Row. William Syers (1778-1833) is listed in Gore’s Directory for 1811 as ‘ship chandler, Rosehill’, with the firm of Syers and Walthew, ship chandlers, having premises near the Salthouse and Duke’s docks. William and his bride Margaret Rideing had married in 1799 at St Mary’s Church, Walton on the Hill, and Mary Helen grew up with three elder brothers, William, John and Thomas.

In the 1830s William Harper Syers (born 1804) became an appraiser and auctioneer, inherited his father’s business in Houghton Street, Clayton Square, married and moved to Low Hill; John Aspinall Syers (born 1805) became a cotton broker, married and later moved to Warwickshire; Thomas Syers (born 1807) became a tailor and draper with a premises in Clayton Square, married and moved briefly to Great Homer Street, but died in his early 30s. Mary Helen’s brothers will be mentioned again in other chapters, and one of Thomas’s sons will appear many years later at Oriel Chambers.

After early days as a ship chandler, Mary’s father became an appraiser and auctioneer, and the family moved home several times within a small radius during Mary’s upbringing: Richmond Row, Mansfield Street and Myrtle Street. Richmond Row in the Township of Liverpool led eastwards into Everton Brow in the neighbouring Township of Everton (fig. 4.2).

For several years before Mary Helen was born, William and Margaret Syers had lived in Netherfield Lane (subsequently Netherfield Road) and it was to Everton Village, a few hundred yards away, that the directory shows they had returned by 1829.

Robert Syers was one of William Syers’ elder brothers and therefore one of Mary Helen’s uncles. In his highly detailed account of The History of Everton, published in 1830, he described the positions and occupiers of many of the houses in the village with the aid of maps from 1790 (fig. 4.2) and 1821.

4.1. The record at St Anne’s Church, Richmond, for February 1811.

Image courtesy of the LRO, microfilm ref. 283 ANN 1/2
(there is also a second entry, ref. 283 ANN 8/1).
Of the view of the village, Charles Hand wrote that it shows:-

‘Everton Village early in 1820. On the extreme left stands Molly Bushell’s House, the original Everton Toffee Shop, next some cottages and the Old Ivy Public House, with horse-steps in front, such as are now very seldom seen, except at very old country houses. Then comes one of the old Everton ‘mansions’, and a portion of the residence of Thomas Shaw, Esq. In the foreground is the noted ‘Everton Cross’ which was a round stone pillar, about four feet in height, surmounted by a sun-dial, and standing on a square pedestal or base, consisting of three stone steps. The Cross, as Everton increased in population, ultimately became a nuisance; standing as it did almost in the centre of the roadway, it became the cause of constant collisions by vehicles and pedestrians, especially after dark, when oil lamps only shed faint rays around and gas lights were not in use. Many applications for its removal were made to the authorities, but to no purpose; the Evertonians loved their Cross, and would not hear of its abolition, and the authorities shrank from their task. At length, one dark and stormy winter’s night in 1820 – when all Everton was at rest – two bold spirits, armed with crowbar, pickaxe and spade, approached the ancient gathering place... and made short work of its destruction. In the course of two or three hours every stone was safely locked up in the Round House on Everton Brow, and the place where it had stood being carefully raked and smoothed over, it appeared as if the Cross – raised doubtless by pious hands on some remarkable occasion long forgotten – had never existed. When morning dawned, the consternation was extreme. From house to house – then few in number – ran the news that the Father of Lies had taken it away during the storm of the previous night. And so the report spread through Liverpool in the year 1820, that the Devil had run away with the Cross at Everton; and it was not until many years afterwards that it became known that the abductor of Everton Cross was the late Sir William Shaw, the surveyor of the high roads of the township.’
The buildings would occupy less space than the land granted, especially in length, which would greatly improve the East and West approaches, – that at Lime Street being rather narrow. The Portico extends beyond the allotment, which is frequently done, and in this case, the space being so very great, would not be attended with the most remote shadow of inconvenience.’

Peter also kept within the requirement that ‘the cost of the building is not to exceed £30,000’, and it is interesting that the final cost of the Hall designed by Elmes, albeit incorporating the later Assize Court, was approximately £300,000.

It is perhaps an indication of how proud Peter was of his work that, even after his submission was unsuccessful, he was prepared to pay for publication of his designs and for the publication to be made available to a number of subscribers.

Peter’s life having begun in a home on Shaw’s Brow, a mere hundred yards from the site of the Hall, working on his designs must have been immensely exciting and perhaps quite emotional. On the left in fig. 5.13 (and more obvious on the much larger original) Peter had faintly sketched the windmill on Shaw’s Brow.

By then 34 years old, and with Mary smiling with approval and offering ideas and encouragement at each stage, the failure to secure the winning entry must have been hugely disappointing for them both. Had he won it, however, Peter’s career would almost certainly have developed along very different lines.

Losing that competition was perhaps the price he was called upon to pay in order that he would design more modest buildings for the town’s community – a school, a dispensary, a chapel – as well as the office buildings for which he is now so widely known.

Opposite left: 5.12. A section through the middle of the building.
Image courtesy of the LRO.

5.13. The perspective from the south east.
Image courtesy of the LRO.
The *Mercury* article describes the arrival of the Corporation fire brigade and the firemen of the West of England Company, and some indication of what fire-fighting equipment may have been available can be gauged from a drawing by John Isaac (fig. 8.3) and an advertisement in *Gore's Directory* for 1862 (fig. 8.4).

The *Liverpool Mercury* article continued:-

'Although there was a plentiful supply of water, for several hours the labours of the firemen appeared to have but little effect beyond the raising [of] dense volumes of smoke, the height of the warehouse (which contained cotton), in which the fire seemed to have got the greatest hold, rendering it both difficult and dangerous to bring water to bear upon it with effect. About half-past seven o'clock the roof fell in with a tremendous crash, the fire at the time raging with undiminished fury.' Subsequently, with floors giving way and walls collapsing, 'Bricks and other materials were continually falling, and great exertions were made in order to keep back the multitude assembled, with a view to prevent accidents.'

For many years the building had provided office accommodation for Peter Robinson McQuie. In addition to his various pursuits as a merchant (p. 28, fig. 2.28) and antiquary, he had also listed himself in the 1859 directory as an agent for fire-bricks, not knowing that bricks from a fire would literally be landing upon his desk in abundance only four years later. Although it became necessary to try to prevent an extension of the fire to neighbouring property, at about nine o'clock:-

'...one of the walls of the burning building fell with a loud crash, and did considerable damage to the offices on the east side of Covent-garden, known as the Borough-buildings. The roof was smashed, and several offices on that side of the street were more or less damaged.'

8.3. The West of England fire engine setting off from the fire station in Henry Street. From a portfolio by John Raphael Isaac, Art-Union Rooms, 62 Castle Street. Image courtesy of the LRO.

8.4. An advertisement in *Gore's* 1862 directory by Shand & Mason, 'manufacturers of steam and hand-worked fire engines & pumps' at their Blackfriar's Road works in London. Image courtesy of the Athenaeum.
In May 1932 *The Liverpolitan* began its life in editorial offices at Oriel Chambers, proclaiming itself as ‘*A Monthly Review of Merseyside Affairs*’ and with the aim of ‘becoming a forum of responsible and well-informed opinion on all questions bearing on the prosperity and progress of a great maritime, mercantile and industrial community.’ In September 1932 it carried an article about the restaurant and its bar which was said to be ‘of goodly size, being able at a rush hour to accommodate 300 men...’ What the women were supposed to do is not stated. Apparently at that stage of Liverpool’s highly exotic life-

‘There can be bought and drunk on the premises a little-known drink called Pimm’s Cup; which, in hot weather, has nearly all the properties of nectar...’ whilst the writer of the article went on to observe that, upon entering the bar, ‘You are on hallowed ground. That the Oriel is spoken of in reverent voice and with bared head by sea-going men in every port in the world is more than a well-known fact. It is an authentic legend. With his hand on his heart, a second officer has told me that when Liverpool sailors meet in China or Peru, in the icy mountains or on the coral strands, the mention of the Oriel is a sheer inevitability.’

*The Oriel* was bombed out of existence in WWII, but the sign for no. 7 was still on the entrance wall when Quentin Hughes came to prepare his book, as p. 76 of *Seaport* indicates. Although the mosaic tiling still seeks to welcome visitors to the restaurant, the gate to the deserted courtyard is now routinely locked; but maybe the ghosts of the past don’t mind.

In the mid 1870s Oriel Chambers became home to the *Brocklebank Line*, whilst the *Houlder Bros. Line* was resident there for several decades (both lines operating to Australia), and various other shipping lines and ship owners joined them.

The most enduring association however was with *Gracie Beazley and Co*. The Company, founded in 1864 by James Beazley as the *British Shipowners’ Co Ltd* (fig. 9,5), arrived at Oriel Chambers in 1896 and stayed faithfully at the building throughout WWII and the reconstruction that followed. The Company was still there in 1970 when the last edition of Kelly’s directory was published.

9.5. A dividend certificate issued in 1900 by the *British Shipowners’ Co Ltd* which was founded in 1864 by James Beazley and subsequently managed by Gracie Beazley and Co at Oriel Chambers. 
*Private collection.*
The southern end of Low Hill was at the junction with Prescot Street and Kensington (p. 69, fig. 4,12). Hall Lane was its continuation south, a few yards from Peter’s earlier home at Gloucester Place. The lane was last shown by its earlier name of Mount Vernon on Mawdsley’s map of 1864 which accompanied their Gore’s Directory of that year (fig. 10.2), and James Picton wrote of the area that:-

‘The land on the east side of Mount Vernon Street, extending to Hall Lane (originally Mount Vernon), was for several years the Volunteer parade-ground, and witnessed many a gay display of martial ardour in the early days of Volunteering. In 1864 it fell into the hands of the Welsh builders, and was soon covered with neat rows of cottages.’

The chapel is first listed in the 1870 directory at the corner of Hall Lane and Doddridge Street, and Mawdsley’s map of 1872 (fig. 10.3) shows the streets that the builders had constructed. The map is marked ‘14a’ at the junction, and in the accompanying legend the building is confirmed as an addition to the list of Liverpool’s several Welsh chapels. James Picton continued his commentary on the area with the observation that:-

‘The only building of a public character in this block is the Welsh Baptist Chapel, Hall Lane, built in 1869. It is a brick building, in the pointed style. The front has a three-light window, the mullions of which are neatly moulded in brick.’

Whether he unwittingly bracketed Peter with the Welsh builders into whose hands the Volunteer ground had fallen, perhaps unaware that he had been the architect of the chapel, is not known, and this appears to be the only occasion in which one of Peter’s buildings received a favourable comment in James Picton’s Memorials.
Quentin Hughes, writing of Charles Cockerell’s 1849 Bank Chambers (which stood almost opposite 16 Cook Street), noted that:

‘With the short northern days in winter, Liverpool streets can be dark, and architects [of that period] found it difficult to adapt classical designs to provide adequate lighting conditions in the offices. Proportions and relationships of window opening to wall surface established for generations in warmer climates could not be easily terminated. Bank Chambers was one of the first attempts made to solve this problem.’  

Cockerell’s building was able to retain classical proportions, but it had the distinct advantage of facing south. 16 Cook Street which faces north required Peter’s more radical engineering solution (fig. 10,12). Bank Chambers was demolished in 1959 whereas no. 16, now a Grade II* listed building, quietly and confidently lives on. Comparing the three north-facing buildings of nos. 14, 16 and 18, the upper floors of nos. 14 and 18 each have a window opening to wall surface area of a little over 20%, whereas for the central floors of no. 16 the figure is a little over 50%.
Having been an executor for the estate of Mary's brother William Harper Syers in 1858, Peter's services were called upon again when the last of her brothers died in 1882. The probate for 10th January 1883 reads:-

‘The Will of John Aspinall Syers formerly of Everton near Liverpool in the County of Lancaster but late of 38 Leam-terrace Leamington in the County of Warwick who died 8 September 1882 at 38 Leam-terrace was proved at the Principal Registry by Peter Ellis of 40 Falkner-square Liverpool Architect the surviving Executor.’

John's wife, Lavinia, lived a further 10 years and died at Worthing. One of their sons, Henry Walter Syers (born 1853), graduated from London University, became a medical practitioner, and will be mentioned again shortly.

Then, on Monday 20th October 1884, Peter's own time had come. He was born into a town of approximately 100,000 inhabitants and lived long enough to see it become a city in 1880 with over six times as many residents. The places where he had grown up – Shaw’s Brow, Primrose Hill, Gloucester Street and Low Hill – had all been transformed before his death, and would be transformed once again long after he had gone. The buildings that had provided his offices at Renshaw Street, Clayton Square and Orange Court outlived him, but they too would vanish in the 20th century as the city changed.

Peter died at home, and the certificate recorded death as a result of endocarditis (inflammation of the lining membrane of the heart) followed by (or concurrently with) pneumonia (fig. 11,13; by a curious twist of fate the Liverpool Register Office for obtaining a copy of the death certificate is now situated at St George's Hall, the building for which Peter had so hopefully submitted his designs in 1839).

Two things of note are revealed by the certificate. The first is that it was Dr John James Drysdale of Rodney Street who certified Peter's death. He had settled in Liverpool in 1841, was the first practitioner of homoeopathy in the town and a member of the first meeting of the Society, and is listed in the 1884 Annual Report of the Dispensary as their leading physician. It is thus clear that right up to his death Peter had remained a firm believer in the homoeopathic system of treatment. He had thus not only been a pioneering architect, prepared to experiment with new engineering ideas for old problems, but had also been a practising supporter of alternative medicine.

The second point of interest is that the signature and residence of the informant of Peter's death is shown as ‘Samuel Belcher who caused the body to be Buried,’ who was living at Egremont. Why should a distressed Mary have entrusted this man with the task of informing the registrar, and why should Samuel have been one of those who also attended Peter's burial at Toxteth Cemetery?
Chapter 12

20th century acclaim

History, to be accurate, must be thick enough to include the various levels of taste, to explain, or at least to expound, survivals as well as innovations, for frequently it is the conflict between tradition and novelty which produces the total culture of a time.

George Boas, quoted by Henry-Russell Hitchcock in *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, Vol. 1

That an appreciation of the importance of Oriel Chambers did not come until a very considerable period after Peter’s death is evident from Charles Reilly’s adverse comments as late as 1921:

‘After the empty site where the old Cunard Building was, comes the oddest building in Liverpool – Oriel Chambers. It is a sort of honeycomb of numberless plate-glass oriel windows held together by a stonework skeleton frame designed to look like cast-iron. One feels sure it obeys in every detail Mr Ruskin’s lamp of truth – it is at once so logical and so disagreeable. But I hope it won’t be destroyed for many years to come. Its humour as a cellular habitation for the human insect is a distinct asset to its town’.

Whether the German High Command pencilled a ‘note for action’ in their own copy of Reilly’s book is unknown, but the May Blitz of 1941 did indeed destroy a substantial part of the Covent Garden section of Oriel Chambers (facing page and fig. 12.1).

Facing page. A photograph taken in 1942 by W H Tomkinson showing the bomb damage to the Covent Garden face of Oriel Chambers in May 1941.

Image courtesy of the LRO, ref. Photographs & Small Prints: Commerce & Industry: Firms: Oriel Chambers.

12.1. A detail from a view along Covent Garden in 1949 showing what had been lost through wartime damage.

Image courtesy of the LRO, ref. as for facing page.
Despite wartime bombing, Oriel Chambers was destined to 'Stand Sure', as the façade continues to proclaim (see inside back cover). Providence has also protected Peter and Mary's cross in a part of the cemetery where quite a number of gravestones are now lying broken and forlorn (fig. 12.21).

In October 2011, Rob and I planted primroses at their grave, and also in one of the beds of shrubs at Primrose Hill, exactly 200 years after Peter had moved from his home there at the age of six to his third home in Gloucester Street, and fresh plants were added in March 2012 and February 2013.

It would be good to think that some aspiring architects on one of the city’s university courses might like to adopt the site in Primrose Hill, to tend the beds occasionally and keep them tidy.

12.21: February 2013. Some of the many fallen and damaged gravestones close to that of Peter and Mary.
Index

People (excluding Peter and Mary)

Alderson, John, 26, 37.
Anderson, Thomas, 136, 140, 147, 186, 194-197, 219 (Thomas Darney, 147).
Anderson & Collins, 147, 151.
Appleton, Ann and Robert, 1, 6, 12.
Aspinall, James, 54, 56, 59.
Atherton, James, 66, 80.
Beavan, Margaret, 85, 117.
Belcher, John E., 173, 193.
Belcher, Samuel, 173, 192, 193.
Berr, Henry, 43.
Booth, Henry/Thomas, 16, 43, 52.
Bowker, Adam, 7, 159, 160, 166, 167.
Bowker, Edward, 52, 160.
Brooke, Richard, 131, 144.
Cockerell, Charles, 45, 145, 146, 179.
Cragg, John, 55, 56, 141, 148, 149, 190.
Crosse, John, 8, 9.
Curry, Henry, 151, 152, 164, 223.
Davies, Edward, 98, 101, 193.
Drysdale, John James, 192, 201, 202.
Elias, Owen, 80.
Ellis, Ann (née Appleton), chapter 1, and 15, 20, 30, 38, 53, 56, 59, 98, 128.
Ellis, Ann (sister), 1, 12, 30, 59, 73.
Ellis, Ann Ellen, 157, 159.
Ellis, Charles, 15.
Ellis, Elizabeth (née Symonds), 54.
Ellis, Elizabeth (others), 29, 98.
Ellis, George, 1, 12, 101.
Ellis, John (nephew), 56, 58, 84, 128, 186, 187, 191, 193, 197.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Lewis, 28, 29, 55-59, 141.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Longton), 128.
Ellis, Mary (née Procter), 54, 56.
Ellis, Mary (née Black), 54, 56.
Hahnemann Homoeopathic Dispensary, 117, 172, 189, 190, 191, 200, 201.
Hatrick Building, 210.
Hope St (34), 191, 197.
Huskisson Monument, 187.
Laurence’s Temperance Hotel, 115, 119.
Law Association Rooms, 130, 195, 196.
Low Hill Coffee House, 25, 37.
Mawdyke & Son (4 Castle St), 125.
Middleton Buildings, 144, 161.
Molly Bushell’s, 65, 77, 83, 84.
Myrtle Street Gymnasium, 191.
Oriel Chambers/Close: chapters 8-12, and x; xi, 28, 50, 56, 119, 123, 129.
Oriel Restaurant, 153, 154, 161, 212.
Owen Owen’s, 30, 115, 116.
Philharmonic Hall, 158, 188, 200.
Philharmonic Hotel, 166, 191.
Picton Reading Room, 194.
Prescot St Bridewell, 21, 36.
Prince Rupert’s Cottage, 63-68, 78, 83.
Prince of Wales Theatre, 115, 116.
Rats’ Castle, 21, 36.
Rock Lighthouse, 66, 67.
Renshaw St (22/45/47), 41, 42, 52-58, 109.
Sailor’s Home, 146, 219, 220.
St George’s Hall, chapter 5, and 4, 44, 114, 146, 166, 172, 185, 192, 195, 196.
St Saviour’s National Schools, 112-114, 125, 130, 141, 146, 172, 185, 192.
School Lane (20), 172, 185, 192.
School Lane (20), 172, 185, 192.
School Lane, 172, 185, 192.
Seaman’s Church, 172, 185, 192.
Selborne, 23, 24, 25.
Shaw’s Brow, chapter 1, and x, 59, 97, 185, 203, 221.
Shaw Street, 63, 81, 144.
Shaw’s Brow, chapter 1, and x, 59, 97, 185, 203, 221.
Shaw Street, 63, 81, 144.
Sherriff St, 32.
Sickman’s Lane, 8, 9.
Silver St, 54, 55.
Skelhorne St, 18, 35, 55, 80.
Strawberry Gardens, 70, 73.
Sugnall St, 128, 131.
Toxteth Cemetery, 12, 192, 198, 199, 217.
Trueman St, 6, 9, 11.
Upper Parliament St, 88, 89, 104, 111, 119.
Villas St, 19, 20.
Volunteer Parade Ground, 170.
Walker St, 70.
Water St, chapters 8-12, and 28, 80, 125.
Waterloo Rd (Rake Lane), 70-75, 100, 156.
White St, 46, 47, 53, 58, 195.
Whitehead St, 11, 12, 185, 196.
Williamson St, 128, 131.
Wood St (Hanover St), 52, 172.
Wood St (Low Hill), 21-28.
Woodville Terrace, 157, 158.
York Terrace, 156.
Zoological Gardens, 68-73, 83.