'Try the alternative': the built heritage of the temperance movement

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At a time when newspapers are full of lurid stories about binge-drinking and the alleged ill-effects of the liberalisation of the licensing laws, it is hard to conceive of a time when the total suppression of the alcohol trade was seriously debated. The cause of temperance has almost completely vanished from view, yet for over a century, from 1830 to the outbreak of the Second World War, the control, or even the total abolition, of the liquor trade was a major political issue - one that split the country, brought thousands onto the streets in demonstrations and counterdemonstrations, and on more than one occasion significantly influenced the outcome of a general election. The temperance movement has largely vanished, killed off by the practical example of America, where prohibition of the legal sale of alcohol served only to hand control of the liquor traffic to organised crime. The rise and fall of the temperance movement has been widely studied by social historians; this paper, in contrast, examines the architecture of the the temperance movement, and particularly the buildings which the movement left behind.

Alcohol was all-pervasive in early 19th century Britain. The proliferation of drink outlets - notably for spirits such as gin and the social consequences of drinking provoked increasing concern amongst the middle and upper classes. Official attempts to control or moderate alcohol consumption were less than effective the Beer Act of 1830, for example, although intended to boost the consumption of good old British beer at the expense of foreign spirits, caused an explosion in the number of outlets for drink, and loosened the control of local magistrates over them. In these circumstances, the concept of temperance found a sympathetic audience.

The first temperance societies appeared in the USA in the 1820s. The idea soon crossed the Atlantic; societies were formed in Belfast, Dublin and Glasgow during 1829, and in February 1830 the first English society was formed in Bradford. Others rapidly followed in Warrington (April), Manchester (May), Liverpool (July), Bristol (October) and London (November 1830). By the end of June 1831 there were 30 societies in

England. The early temperance societies were opposed to the drinking of spirits. but endorsed the drinking of beer and wine in moderation. They drew significant support from the middle classes, from the established Church, and even from the brewers. The character of the movement changed radically during the 1830s, following the adoption of the 'total abstinence' pledge in Preston on 1st September 1832. Numerous other societies followed the lead of the Preston one, until by 1840 the 'moderation' temperance movement was effectively dead. With its demise, temperance lost many of its middle-class supporters, as well as that of many in the Church of England. For the next couple of decades the total abstinence movement found most of its religious allies amongst the Nonconformists. It was not to regain the support of the Church of England or of the middle and upper classes until the 1860s.

The move to total abstinence created many problems for its adherents. England in the 1830s had few public halls or assembly rooms. Most facilities for meetings and social gatherings were provided by inns and public houses; it is no exaggeration to say that the country's social life revolved around these facilities, and the drink available in them. The odd room might be available to rent on an occasional basis, or meetings might be held in sympathetic chapels their schoolrooms, or the few public halls available, but the lack of readily available accommodation placed additional pressure on

organisation whose supporters already faced considerable hostility and pressure to conform with a society whose main social lubricant was alcohol. Whilst the pages of the numerous journals and broadsheets produced by the movement contain many accounts of triumphant meetings and the signing up of eager new recruits, they also chronicle meetings broken up by angry mobs or by thugs in the pay of the brewers and publicans. The Preston Temperance Advocate for August 1835, for example, reported that in Chester 'the Mayor, a decided friend to the Temperance Society, had kindly lent out the Town Hall, but owing to repeated outrages ... he has withdrawn the use of it for the present'. To resist the pressures upon their members, and to ensure that new converts were supported in their resolve to avoid the demon drink, the temperance movement needed to provide alternative facilities for their meetings, for their education, and for their refreshment.

The aspirations of the total abstinence movement were set out in the *Star of Temperance* for September 1835, where the committee of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Society announced that they were 'sensible of the importance of not only persuading the drunkard to leave those dangerous places of resort, the public-houses and beer and gin shops, but the imperative necessity of providing them with suitable and innocent places of amusement as substitutes'. They hoped to achieve this by:

'establishing in various parts of the town coffee-houses and eating-houses'.

'opening reading-rooms, either separately or in conjunction with coffee-houses, supplied with generally useful books'.

'endeavouring to form....writing and reading schools'.

'the delivery of monthly or weekly lectures on important subjects connected with the interests of the working classes, in addition to meetings held on behalf of temperance'.

'establishing friendly societies or sick clubs ... in private rooms and not in public-houses'.

It seemed to many in the movement that these aspirations could only be realised if temperance societies acquired their own premises. The opening of a temperance hall at Garstang, Lancashire, on 24th November 1834 heralded the move to acquire dedicated facilities. The Garstang hall was a simple wooden hut erected by voluntary labour following objections from some of the congregations of the Methodist and Independent chapels in the town to their use by the local temperance society. Its most impressive feature was the nickname, the 'Lighthouse', conferred upon it by members of the neighbouring Preston Temperance Society.1

Inspired by the example of the Garstang society, who despite 'being only labouring men', had raised funds from sympathis-

ers in the town and in the surrounding area as well, had located and purchased land, and erected their hall, all within a matter of a few months, other temperance societies began to raise funds to obtain their own accommodation. 'If we had had accommodation on neutral ground, for 1000 people, I believe they would have been present. We have again agitated for a large public building, and shares amounting to £600 are available through humble individuals', wrote a correspondent in Darlington to the *Preston Temperance Advocate* in April 1835.

The second temperance hall in England, that at Burnley, opened on Christmas Eve, 1837, was a conversion of an earlier building, but it was followed by one at Bradford, opened on 27th February 1838, which was purpose-built at a cost of £1400 [Fig. 1]. This contained not only a large assembly room or lecture theatre, but an educational institute where lessons in arithmetic, book-keeping and other skills were given, and a library containing a wide range of novels, technical handbooks and temperance tracts.²

The Bradford hall provided a model for many others in combining facilities for a range of functions. The Rotherham Temperance Institute, for example, opened in 1842, was on two floors. On the lower were two news-rooms, one for businessmen and other middle class patrons, the other for working-class users, whilst on the upper floor were a library containing 1200 books, reading-room and class room, together with living



Figure 1. The Bradford Temperance Hall, as illustrated in the Preston Temperance Advocate for June 1837. Despite the date shown, it did not open until 27th February 1838.

accommodation for the librarian. The new Temperance Hall and Mechanics' Institute opened at Woodhouse, Leeds in 1850, was described as 'a noble structure 66 feet by 33 feet ... [which] contains 8 classrooms and a lecture hall'.³ The Temperance Hall at Pocklington, opened in 1840, was unusual in that it incorporated an hotel, perhaps as a way of sustaining its running costs.⁴

The Bradford hall, now demolished, also provided an architectural model for the first wave of temperance halls, being designed in a classical style echoing that of many contemporary Nonconformist chapels. 'The style of architecture is of the Grecian order', reported the *British*

Temperance Advocate and Journal for 15th January 1840 of the Temperance Hall, Bolton, which had been opened on New Year's Day, '[and] great pains have been taken to make it at once worthy of the cause and an ornament to the town'. The interior of the Bolton Temperance Hall was also reminiscent of a chapel, with a long gallery along its south wall, and a smaller one on the north, which was reserved for lecturers or an orchestra. Where the Temperance Hall differed from the typical chapel was in the provision for making and serving tea. The Bolton Hall could provide tea for up to 900 people at a time, and was fitted out with 'apparatus for boiling the water ... on an enlarged and improved scale'. The two boilers held 50 gallons of water each, and would boil within 20 minutes; the British Temperance Advocate thought it particularly noteworthy that the water was supplied direct from the Bolton waterworks.

The move to acquire dedicated facilities involved many temperance societies in fund-raising activities which distracted them from their core function of reclaiming drunkards and sustaining their new, abstinent lifestyle. After the first flush of acquisition, many societies found themselves saddled with buildings which were expensive to run and maintain; no doubt this contributed to the loss of momentum suffered by the movement in the mid 1840s. Not all activists were convinced that dedicated facilities were desirable, feeling that the fundraising involved in providing them in the first

place, and the effort necessary to maintain them, diverted the efforts of the movement away from the essential work drunkards. reclaiming Joseph Livesey, the 'Father of Temperance', expressed a widely held view in replying to an MP who had claimed that temperance buildings needed to be of superior quality in order to fight the public houses on equal terms. 'The temperance people have not the cash to begin with', he argued in the Staunch Teetotaller for May 1867, 'and to do as here suggested means getting into debt and difficulties'. He preferred to see temperance activists working among the people -'We must attack the drink traffic with something more effectual than paint, plate glass, and gilding'.

Despite opposition from some in the movement, temperance societies across the country raised funds for the provision of halls and institutes. Fund-raising might involve soliciting donations or loans from well-to-do supporters, but more typically involved the issue of shares to raise the necessary capital. Clarence Temperance The Hall Liverpool, for example, opened on 23rd November 1846, cost £3500 to build and fit out, which was raised by the sale of £1 shares.⁵ Not all were newly built; the Temperance Hall in Whitby, for example,



Figure 2. The Temperance Institute, Keighley, of 1896 (now a Wetherspoon's pub). It incorporated a separate hall for meetings.

opened on 25th September 1840, was 'a large building, formerly occupied as a sail manufactory'.⁶

Like many popular movements, the temperance movement experienced an initial surge in support, which was followed by a period in the 1840s when support dwindled, the enthusiasm of its supporters dampened by the apparent failure to achieve its objectives. The foundation of the Band of Hope in 1847, and of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1853, signalled a renewed vigour, whilst the foundation of the Church of England Temperance Society in 1861 demonstrated a renewed commitment from the established Church which was particularly evident in the work of its members amongst the urban poor. From now on the movement was to experience steady growth until the first decade of the 20th century, with periodic injections of campaigning spirit epitomised by the appearance of the Blue Ribbon Association in 1877 (whose headquarters, Hoxton Hall, was a converted London music hall) and the foundation of the Salvation Army in 1878.

The growth of the temperance movement during the second half of the 19th century was reflected in the increasing number of temperance halls and institutes constructed across the country. By 1900 virtually every town had its temperance hall; many villages could also boast one. In many places the growth of the movement led to the construction of larger, more sophisticated premises. In Keighley, for

example, a mid-Victorian hall was replaced in 1896 by a magnificent Temperance Hall and Institute, with a row of shops on the ground floor to provide rental income [Fig 2]. The Keighley hall, with its baroque corner turret and detailing, also reflected the greater choice of architectural styles available in the later 19th century. Whilst many of the earlier halls were clearly influenced by the classical style of contemporary Nonconformist chapels [Fig. 3], later examples were rather more eclectic in design. Some had few architectural pretensions, such as the West End Temperance Hall, Carlisle, of 1861, the Temperance Hall and Mechanics' Institute of 1866-7 at Armley, Leeds, or

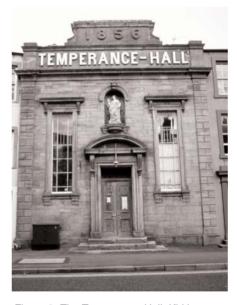


Figure 3. The Temperance Hall, Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria, of 1856, is typical of early temperance halls in resembling a contemporary Nonconformist chapel.



Figure 4. The Temperance Hall, Finedon (now the Town Hall). Built in 1868, it had a meeting hall on the first floor, with living accommodation for the caretaker below.

the corrugated iron shed which served as the temperance hall in Hexham, Northumberland. Some, such as the hall of 1868 at Finedon, Northamptonshire [Fig. 4], adopted the Gothic style which was increasingly seen as appropriate for respectable public buildings, whilst others, like the hall at Morley, West Yorkshire, of 1895, were designed in a classical Renaissance style [Fig. 5].

The halls and institutes of the mainstream temperance movement were generally to be found in the better parts of town, reflecting the respectable status of temperance in the later 19th century. The Salvation Army, in contrast, dedicated to work amongst the urban poor, built its citadels in the areas where their clients lived; areas of poor housing and few opportunities for escape, except those offered by the public house. Their often fortress-like architecture reflected the Salvationists' view of themselves as working for good whilst surrounded by the forces of evil. Many of the Salvation Army's citadels have been demolished, along with the slum districts which they served. However, as one of the few organisations dedicated to temperance to have survived into the 21st century, the Salvation Army continues to erect new buildings where required. Most are purely functional in design, but the Salvation



Figure 5. The Temperance Hall, Morley, of 1895.

Army always preferred to spend its money on its campaigning activities rather than the architectural detailing of its buildings.

Whilst halls and institutes provided a focus for the movement, providing a secure base from which the gospel of temperance could be spread, it soon became clear that different facilities were required if converts were to be sustained in their commitment to total abstinence. Inns and public houses provided the sole accommodation for the traveller in the 1830s, whilst most refreshment to be found on sale in the streets was alcoholic. 'We still lack one thing, the necessity of which we feel more and more

every day, and that is a "Temperance House". lamented the Moral Reformer for July 1832, '... here persons would be supplied with good water, milk, tea, coffee, or any sort of harmless beverage, and meet with all the accommodations of a respectable eating house ... and if beds and stables were kept for travellers, these houses would be complete establishments for temperate persons'. In January 1834, the Preston Temperance Advocate gave a more detailed specification, following the opening on Christmas Eve, 1832, in Church Street in Preston itself, of the first temperance hotel, to be followed very shortly afterwards by hotels in Bolton, Huddersfield, Manchester and Oldham. 'Temperance Houses, called by different names, have been attempted in several towns in Lancashire. Of their utility there can be no doubt, and it is vain ever to expect Temperance to prevail without houses of this sort', '... whether they be called simply Temperance House or Temperance Coffee House, Temperance Hotel, they should have something in their designation to indicate that they are eating houses ... and perhaps Victualling House is as appropriate as any other ...'.

The *Advocate* listed 'four *objects* which should be sought to be accomplished ...':

'A respectable eating house.

'A respectable *lodging* house, to accommodate persons who object to stopping at public houses'.

'A place of casual accommodation, where persons can come to transact business, read the papers, or enjoy social intercourse, or where parties, societies and committees can meet for similar purposes'.

'... rather than let people go to the publichouses ... it is also recommended to supply various liquids which are pleasant to the taste ... coffee, tea, milk, ginger beer, lemonade, peppermint water and raspberry vinegar. The latter are much in use, diluted with hot water, and sweetened'.

In its November 1835 issue the *Preston Temperance Advocate* was able to list 22 temperance hotels spread across northern and midland England from Newcastle in the north to Birmingham in the south, and Leeds in the east to Knutsford in the west. Not all these 'hotels' provided overnight accommodation - some provided only food and drink, plus usually a news or reading room well stocked with improving tracts, but most, like the Commercial Coffee House at 38 Oldham Street, Manchester, which opened in late 1833, provided beds for travellers. So popular did this particular establishment



Figure 6. The former 'Drayton's Temperance Hotel', 1-3 West Street, Crewkerne, Somerset, was typical of small-town temperance hotels.

prove that its proprietor, Sarah Brown, was able to move to larger premises at 22 Oldham Street only a year later.⁷

Like the temperance movement itself, temperance hotels soon began to spread beyond its northern and midland heartlands. In April 1836 the first establishment to open in London, the British Teetotal Temperance Coffee-Rooms and Hotel, began trading at 159 Aldersgate Street, an address convenient for those with business in the City. Larger towns began to offer a choice of accommodation for the traveller who preferred to avoid alcoholic drink; Bristol, for example, could offer the Temperance Hotel and Commercial House at 17. Narrow Wine Street, opened in late 1835, and the Bristol Temperance Hotel, on the corner of Bath Street and Thomas Street. opened in December 1836. The latter was operated by the Bristol Tee-total Temperance Society.8

By the 1850s it was entirely possible for the teetotal commercial or business traveller to stay at a temperance hotel in any large town in the country, and the great majority of the smaller ones. Not all offered a comfortable experience for their guests, however, and there were regular complaints in the temperance press about the quality of the accommodation offered. Many hotels, particularly in the early years of the movement, were owned and operated by individuals whose primary motivation was the opportunity to make money. The majority of the early hotels were, in any case, conver-

sions or re-fittings of existing buildings [Fig 6], and the accommodation was often cramped and spartan as a result. The 1870s saw the appearance of firms dedicated to providing a better experience for the teetotal traveller. The Temperance Hotels Company Ltd was founded in 1872 to provide quality hotels in larger towns, whilst Trevelyan Temperance Hotels offered superior accommodation in London, Leeds and Manchester. These hotels were, in many instances, purpose-built. Leeds, in partic-

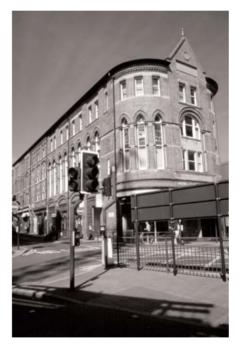


Figure 7. Westminster Buildings, 25-41 New York Street, Leeds, built in 1877 to the design of Thomas Ambler, incorporated a public hall and shops as well as a temperance hotel.

ular, has a number of surviving buildings which were purpose-built as temperance hotels, including the former Trevelyan Temperance Hotel of 1872 on the corner of Boar Lane and Briggate, and Westminster Buildings, 25-41 New York Street, which included a public hall (St James's Hall) and dining rooms as well as an hotel; this was aimed at the more cost-conscious traveller, offering accommodation in dormitories rather than in individual rooms. Built in 1877 to the designs of the fashionable local architect Thomas Ambler, it was enlarged in 1884 to deal with the volume of trade [Fig 7].

As mentioned above, some of the early temperance 'hotels' did not provide overnight accommodation. Whether dignified with the title 'hotel' or not, coffeehouses and eating houses were an important feature of the temperance effort from the beginning. Offering tea, coffee, soft drinks and hot and cold food. most also provided news-rooms or reading-rooms, where patrons could read a selection of newspapers, journals, and temperance tracts, whilst some also offered rooms for meetings. They were not aimed solely at the temperance convert, but were intended to spread the gospel of temperance to those attracted by their cheap, good-value food and drink, and were soon to be found across the country.

Early temperance coffee-houses were straightforward establishments, which made no attempt to replicate the appearance or atmosphere of the public house. However, there was a change in tactics in the 1850s, with the appearance of 'public houses', very basic bars, not dissimilar to the beerhouses of the day, selling coffee and snacks. The first appeared in Dundee in 1853, and within a decade similar establishments had appeared in Manchester and London. In September 1867 the first British Workman's Public House opened in Leeds. This was deliberately designed to look like a pub, and to provide a similar social ambience, but without the alcohol. It provided a range of temperance drinks, as well as coffee and food. It was an instant success. and the movement spread rapidly, with branches opening around Leeds and in other northern towns over the next few years. The



Figure 8. The former 'Rising Sun' temperance tavern, 30 Silver Street, Reading, was built in 1877 for the local Parish Council.



Figure 9. The former 'Bee-Hive' coffee tavern, 496 Streatham High Road, SW6, was designed by Ernest George in 1878. Its construction was sponsored by local businessman P B Cow, manufacturer of 'Cow Gum'.

formula reached London a few years later - in October 1872 Dr Barnardo bought the Edinburgh Castle, Limehouse, and re-opened it in 1873 as the Edinburgh Castle Coffee Palace; the Dublin Castle, Mile End Road, followed in 1875.

Companies appeared operating chains of coffee pubs. One of the largest was the Liverpool British Workman Public House Company, founded in March 1875 with a capital of £20,000. Within a year the company was operating five houses in the

city, and by 1892 there were 92 in Liverpool and the surrounding area. The company's share capital was increased on several occasions, and it paid a healthy dividend on shares for some years. A trade association, the Coffee Public House Association, was founded in 1877, and amongst other services, provided loans for those starting new businesses.

Some coffee pubs were, like the Edinburgh Castle and the Dublin Castle, former public houses which had been converted to the cause of temperance, but many more were purpose-built, and designed to look like pubs [Fig 8]. Some went so far as to replicate the cut glass, mirrors and lamps of the late Victorian 'gin-palace'. The Cobden Coffee House, in Corporation Street, Birmingham (now demolished), was arguably the most magnificent; an enormous Gothic building opened in 1883 by the Birmingham Coffee-House Company, it was designed by William Doubleday to outshine the most splendid pubs the town could offer, with stained and diamond-cut glass and spectacular tilework.¹⁰

Others deliberately avoided such vulgarity; the coffee pubs designed by Ernest George, for example, are in restrained architectural styles which look forward to the 'improved' public houses of the early 20th century. The Bee-Hive, Streatham (1879) is in the 'Queen Anne' style [Fig 9], whilst the Ossington Coffee Palace, Newark-on-Trent (1882), is in an 'olde English' style reminiscent of the work of



Figure 10. Dedication of the former 'Lamb Coffee Tavern', Alma Place, Redruth, Cornwall.

Norman Shaw. It was built on the instructions of Viscountess Ossington in memory of her husband and nephew. It cost £20,000, an enormous sum for the time, and was described on its dedication plaque as 'a perfect model of a 17th cent hostelry'. It contained bars, an assembly room, reading room, club room and billiard room, whilst behind it was stabling for 50 horses and a garden containing an American bowling alley.¹¹

Although the Ossington Coffee Palace was an unusually large and elaborate example, it was typical of the coffee public house in several ways. It owed its exis-

tence to aristocratic sponsorship, and it was a commercial failure, closing within a few years. A significant number of coffee pubs were sponsored by the local aristocracy or committees of the well-to-do [Fig 10], and survived whilst their sponsors were prepared to subsidise them. However, few of these businesses seem to have been profitable, partly because the attempt to replicate the public house experience was difficult without the social lubrication of alcohol, partly because many of those running them were idealists, but lacked business experience or ability, and partly because customers who might otherwise have patronised them resented the tendency of the temperance movement to preach at them. Coffee pubs survived rather longer in the north of England, not only because the temperance movement was stronger in Yorkshire and Lancashire, but because many were operated by commercial companies on strict business lines

Rather more successful than the coffee public houses were the cafés, coffee-houses and cocoa-houses which began to appear alongside them in the later 1870s. Developing from the earlier temperance coffee-houses, they provided non-alcoholic refreshments, food and entertainment in buildings which made no pretence at being public houses. The Leicester

Coffee and Cocoa House Company, for example, was founded in July 1877, with the object of establishing 'houses, rooms, coffee carts, stalls and other places' in and around Leicester to provide non-alcoholic refreshment. The first of the coffee-houses, the Granby, opened only three months after the foundation of the company, was a conversion of an existing building, but the majority of the company's houses were purpose-built, designed by the architect Edward Burgess. Several of these buildings survive, although no longer in use for their original purpose. The High Cross, on High Street (now operated as a pub by Wetherspoon's), is built of red brick with white masonry detailing [Fig 11], whilst the East Gates (1885), on the corner of



Figure 11. The former 'High Cross Coffee House', High Street, Leicester, was one of a number in the city designed by Edward Burgess.

Church Gate opposite the Clock Tower, was described as 'built in the domestic style of the fifteenth century'; it is now a shop. The most impressive of the Leicester coffee-houses was the Victoria (1888) in Granby Street, which was 'in the style of the French Renaissance'.¹²

The Leicester Coffee and Cocoa House Company's establishments were well known for the quality and value of their food and drink, as well as for the range of facilities which they offered, several having billiard rooms. They were very popular, and not just with the working-class clientele whom they were intended to serve. Trade began to decline in the first decade of the 20th century, in the face of competition from more modern cafés and restaurants, and a number of the company's premises were sold before the First World War. The War had an even greater impact, and the company went into liquidation in 1921. By then, however, the town could offer a large range of cafés and other establishments offering nonalcoholic refreshments of all kinds; in a sense, the aims of the company's promoters had been achieved.

Cafés offering a range of food and nonalcoholic drinks became a feature of many towns in the twenty or thirty years before the First World War, many of them designed, like the Leicester Coffee and Cocoa House Company's premises, by highly competent architects. The New Central Coffee Tavern in Worcester (later the Central Temperance Hotel and Restaurant), for example, was built in 1901 to the designs of the local Diocesan architect Louis Sheppard, and was an imposing example of contemporary commercial architecture [Fig 12]. Cafés, teahouses and cocoa-houses all helped to make alternatives to alcohol available in pleasant surroundings at low cost.

The temperance movement lost no opportunity to provide alcohol-free versions of leisure facilities more closely identified with drinking. There were even attempts to replicate the music halls, a highly popular form of working-class



Figure 12. The former 'New Central Coffee Tavern', 59-60 High Street, Worcester, built in 1901 to the designs of Louis Sheppard.

entertainment with its origins firmly in the mid-19th century public house. The opening of the Colosseum Theatre, Paradise Street, Liverpool, in late 1879, as a temperance music hall, was successful for a few months, but only until the novelty had worn off. In Lambeth, the Royal Victoria Coffee Tavern Music Hall, offering 'Variety Entertainments, after the style of the ordinary music halls, but free from any objectionable features', was similarly unsuccessful, but ultimately survived to become the Old Vic Theatre. ¹³

Billiards had been a popular attraction closely identified with the public house,

but the late 19th century saw the appearance of billiard halls offering only nonalcoholic drinks to refresh the players. They proved extremely popular, perhaps because they offered a relatively cheap opportunity to play the game. Formed in the early 20th century, Temperance Billiard Halls Ltd was just one of the firms to offer an alcohol-free environment in which to play. Manchester architect Norman Evans designed a number of halls in Manchester and the surrounding towns for the company, as well as several in suburban London. The former Charlton Snooker Centre Manchester suburb of Chorlton-cum-



Figure 13. The former Temperance Billiard Hall, Manchester Road, Chorlton (now a Wetherspoon's pub) was designed c1907 for the Temperance Billiard Hall Co Ltd of Pendleton by their architect, Norman Evans.

Hardy is typical of his designs, featuring a long barrel roof with dormers, plus exuberant art nouveau glass and tilework. It survived as a temperance establishment, being converted to a public house by the Wetherspoon chain only after closure in the late 1990s [Fig 13]. The unusual double hall at Bury is now the Bury Snooker Centre. It retains some of the decorative tiling installed by Evans, but it is no longer a temperance establishment.

Temperance halls and institutes were provided by the temperance campaigners themselves, often after months or years of fundraising, whilst the cafés and billiard halls of later years were typically operated as commercial concerns. A third strand of temperance provision was the buildings provided by enlightened or paternalistic employers. In 1860, for example, the Stockton and Darlington Railway Company spent 'upwards of £1000' on a building for its employees comprising a library, lecture room, reading room, committee- and class-rooms, together with a refreshment room from which intoxicating liquors were excluded. In the increasingly complex world of the railways, it was clearly in the Company's interest to ensure that its employees were sober and alert

Between 1850 and the First World War many other employers followed suit, providing their employees with accommodation or leisure facilities from which alcoholic drinks were banned [Fig 14]. The scale of provision could range from a single building to a complete drink-free estate such as Ackroydon (Halifax), founded by textile mill owner Colonel Edward Ackroyd in 1859, or Saltaire (Bradford), built for mill owner Sir Titus Salt between 1850 and 1872, or even a complete new settlement, such as the industrial 'garden villages' of Bournville (Birmingham), largely dating from the period 1894-90, or New Earswick (York), begun in 1901. The model settlements at Bournville and New Earswick were both founded by employers who had a strong moral and religious objection to alcohol, the Cadbury and Rowntree families respectively. The founders of



Figure 14. The former Holme Head Coffee Tavern and Reading Room, North Street, Carlisle, designed by George Dale Oliver, was provided by the local firm Ferguson Bros for their workers in 1881.

Ackroydon and Saltaire had no personal objections to alcohol *per se*; however, they were well aware of the impact on productivity that alcohol might have. Whatever the motivation of their promoters, model settlements such as these had a significant impact on urban design, directly influencing the 'garden village' and 'garden city' movements of the first half of the 20th century.

The temperance movement had a major impact on the political and social life of the country for over a century, yet today it has almost completely vanished. This paper deals only with the main classes of building constructed by the movement - there is no mention, for example, of the statues, drinking fountains and water-troughs which were sponsored by temperance advocates to celebrate their cause, as an adornment to the streets, or to refresh passers-by and their horses - yet it may serve to draw attention to the fact that temperance had a physical impact on the streets of our towns and villages. Even though very few establishments now operate on temperance principles - a temperance bar in Rawtenstall, Lancashire, a temperance pub at Cautley, Cumbria, and a few hotels operated by an arm of the Salvation Army (the Carfax Hotel, Great Pulteney Street, Bath, being an example) the physical legacy of the temperance movement is still widely visible today.

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